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Contents

A Vaulted Figurine from İnönü Cave: A New Link between the Balkans and Northwestern Türkiye

F. GÜLDEN EKMEN*

Abstract

Bone figurines depicted with vaulted heads are the common types since the middle of the fifth millennium BC in the Eastern and partly Central Balkans, primarily in the Varna Cemetery. Excavations carried out in Anatolia and Turkish Thrace have not yet encountered these figurines that are typical of Balkan prehistory.

At level V of İnönü Cave on the Black Sea coast in northwest Türkiye, archaeologists unearthed a figurine during the 2022 excavation season. The protruding bone formed the head of the figurine. The aforesaid figurine, similar to the samples unearthed in the Balkans, represents the first example unearthed in Anatolia to date. In the present study, we will discuss the technological and typological characteristics, production method, function, and the representation and context of this bone figurine. This figurine establishes a new connection between Anatolian and Balkan cultures.

Keywords: vaulted figurine, bone industry, Chalcolithic Age, İnönü Cave, Kodjadermen-Gumelnita-Karonovo VI culture

Öz

Baş kısmı kemerli ya da tonozlu olarak tasvir edilen kemik figürinler, başta Varna Mezarlığı olmak üzere Doğu ve kısmen Orta Balkanlar'da MÖ beşinci binyılın ortalarından itibaren yaygın görülen tiplerdir. Balkan prehistoryası için tipik kabul edilen bu figürinlere, Anadolu ve Türkiye Trakyası'nda yürütülen kazılarda henüz rastlanmamıştır.

Türkiye'nin kuzeybatısında, Karadeniz kıyısında bulunan İnönü Mağarası'nın beşinci tabakasında, 2022 kazı sezonunda, baş kısmı çıkıntılı kemikten yapılmış bir figürin bulunmuştur. Balkanlar'da ele geçen örnekler ile benzerlik gösteren söz konusu figürin, şimdilik Anadolu'da ele geçen ilk örneği temsil etmektedir. Bu çalışmada, Anadolu Balkan kültürleri arasındaki yeni bir bağlantıyı işaret eden bu kemik figürinin teknolojik ve tipolojik özellikleri, üretim yöntemi, işlevi, neyi temsil ettiği ve bağlamı tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kemerli / kubbeli / tonozlu figürin, kemik endüstrisi, Kalkolitik Çağ, İnönü Mağarası, Kodjadermen-Gumelnita-Karonovo VI kültürü

Introduction

Concave figurines unearthed in eastern Bulgaria and the Danube Valley were defined as "angesprochen" by Filov, Velkov, and Mikov because of the vaulted structure in their head parts.[1] Lichardus used the expression "T-shaped" for these figurines;[2] Comşa and Voinea called them "violin-shaped."[3]

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[1] Filov et al. 1934, 195.

[2] Lichardus 1991, 172.

[3] Comşa 1995, 63; Voinea 2008, 8.

Todorova and Vajsov made a detailed typology by introducing an example made of marble apart from bone.[4] According to this typology, Todorova and Vajsov created four groups, including those with schematic forms (Type A), those with square heads (Type B), those with pointed extensions hanging from both sides or just protrusions (Type C), and those with a pointed head (Type D). Adreescu divided what Todorova classified as Type C into two variants: those with pointed extensions and those without them.[5] In the typology based on the production method, there are only two groups: the first comprises stylized vaulted figurines while the second comprises flat figurines depicted with their feet and arms.[6]

In all these typological classifications, vaulted figurines, which are distinguished from others by their concave body forms, comprise the head and body connected by a neck. Sometimes the head parts depict pointed and hanging protrusions, while other times, they only have square-shaped protrusions. The body usually takes on a rectangular shape. Some have various numbers of holes in them.[7] All others, except for a single marble example, are made of bone.

In 2017, during the excavation of İnönü Cave in the Western Black Sea Region of Türkiye, archaeologists discovered a vaulted figurine made of bone at level V, which was inhabited during the Chalcolithic Age. Here we will define the figurine and explain its technological, analogical, and functional analysis, as well as what it represents.

The Vaulted Figurine of İnönü Cave

İnönü Cave is within the borders of the village of Alacabük in the district of Karadeniz Ereğli in the province of Zonguldak and approximately 235 meters above sea level (figs. 1, 4). The entrance of the cave is wide measuring 25 x 10 meters and faces west (fig. 2). Researchers named the three recesses inside the cave A, B, and C. The excavations conducted in chamber C provided important information about the archaeology of the region.[8] The researchers obtained the first clues about the cultural characteristics of the region between 4500 and 1000 BC through the excavations carried out in the cave since 2017 (table 1).

Level V sits on bedrock, which was reached in trenches G/7, H/7, İ/7, and J/8. The excavations revealed that the bedrock slopes from east to west from the bottom of the cave towards its mouth. Based on the investigations in this sector, researchers found that the first inhabitants reduced the slope by plastering the bedrock floor with gray clay soil to form a level surface. The cultural deposits immediately above this clay contain material culture and features dated to the fifth millennium BC.

The archaeological team uncovered limited architectural remains in Level V, which included floors found in patches in trench J/8. The absence of wall remains may suggest that walls did not divide living spaces within the cave. However, future excavations at the site may provide more information for understanding the structure and layout of the Level V settlement, only poorly understood at the current time.

The pottery of level V provides significant data for dating this level. Researchers have divided it into two paste groups. The first comprises a few sherds representing handmade

4 Todorova and Vajsov 2001, 92.

5 Andreescu 2002, 65.

6 Averbouh and Zidarov 2014, 183.

7 Todorova and Vajsov 2001, 93-94.

8 Ekmen 2020a, 2020b; Ekmen and Ekmen 2021; Ekmen et al. 2020, 2021; Yalçın et al. 2021.

vessels with cream, beige, or buff surfaces. This ware was tempered with straw and grit. The second group, represented by more pieces, is dark-colored, handmade, and burnished. Sand, limestone, and mica was used to temper it. The surfaces are in varying shades of grayish-black, dark gray, and brownish-black. Among the shapes of the pottery from Level V, the long-necked vessels with flattened biconical body and carinated shapes of different sizes are remarkable. Besides very few samples with handles, the number of horizontally and vertically pierced lugs is high. Beige or buff-colored vessels do not have any incisions, but dark-colored pottery is adorned with knobs, white paint, incisions, and pattern burnishing, although they are scarce.[9]

Near the eastern section of the trench, under the mud-brick fragments of the Early Bronze Age, the researchers unearthed a bone-vaulted figurine (fig. 3). Measuring 11.4 cm in length, the figurine's width and thickness along the body vary between 2.9-4.6 cm and 0.2-0.4 cm, respectively. The researchers carefully processed the concave-shaped bone into a stylized human form. The head part has a "T-shaped" appearance, protruding at both ends. A thick neck connects the head and the rectangular body. There are four holes on the figurine, two on the protrusions on the head and two on the lower body.

Analyses of the Figurine

Analogical

Vaulted figurines are a group of artifacts found in both settlements and cemeteries in the Kodjadermen-Gumelnita-Karonovo (KGK VI) culture area.[10] This also includes the Varna Cemetery and the Krivodol-Salcuta-Bubani area in the Balkans and are innovative for the Chalcolithic Age (fig. 4).[11]

The cemeteries of Varna I (fig. 11), Provadia Solnitsata, and Kozareva Mogila[12] yielded vaulted figurines.[13] Varna I Cemetery is about 400 meters north of modern Lake Varna, a bay connecting to the Black Sea west of the Bulgarian coastal city of Varna. The cemetery belongs to a society known nowadays as the Varna culture, which produced and used many weapons, ornaments, stone tools, bone figurines, quality pottery, and metal objects, particularly gold objects.[14] The 25 vaulted figurines unearthed in Varna I Cemetery, one made of marble and the remaining part made of bone, have different dimensions varying between 21 and 10 cm. Averbouh and Zidarov classified these figurines according to their dimensions as small, large, and very large.[15] Researchers unearthed 16 of the 25 figurines in Varna in graves without skeletons, known as cenotaphs, while they found nine in graves with skeletons. Due to a destroyed skeleton in one of these nine graves, no anthropological information could be gathered. However, five of the other eight graves belong to males, one of whom was a teenage boy.

9 Ekmen 2020a, 51-57.

10 The Copper Age cultures in the eastern Balkan Peninsula and north of the Lower Danube are referred to as KGK VI. Although this term suggests there has been a homogeneous culture, Müller states that there is no homogeneity in other artifact groups, especially pottery; see Müller 2015.

11 Hansen 2013, 551; Stavreva 2020, 8.

12 Georgieva 2014, 227.

13 Stavreva 2020, 9-11.

14 Slavchev 2010, 193.

15 Averbouh and Zidarov 2014, 186.

Of the remaining three graves, two belong to females and one belongs to an infant.[16] Provadia-Solnitsata is near the modern city of Provadia in northeast Bulgaria. In the settlement, known as the oldest salt production center in Europe,[17] archaeologists discovered production areas, a castle, and a cemetery. Archaeologists unearthed a vaulted figurine in female grave number 28 of the Late Chalcolithic Age cemetery.[18] In Kozareva Mogila archaeologists discovered a more schematized figurine without a hole. They found it together with stone tools inside a jar within a grave. Another broken piece was found in Kozareva Mogila as well.[19]

Vaulted bone figurines were found in numerous settlements except the cemeteries of Varna, Provadia, and Kozareva Mogila and in the Kodjadermen-Gumelnita-Karanovo VI culture area, the region producing the highest number of vaulted figurines (fig. 4). Among the sites are Karanovo, Pietrele, Ruse, Durankulak, Sava, Smiadova, Zagorci, Goljamo Delcevo, Zavet, Navodari, Seinoiu, Gumelnita, Oltenita, Cascioarele, Vidra, Jilava, Vitanesti, and Hotnitsa.[20] Currently, we only know of the Ginlyane Okol-glava settlement in the Krivodol-Salcuta-Bubani culture area.[21] Apart from these, it is noteworthy that the ornaments on the graphite-painted pottery pieces found in both the settlement and the cemetery in Kozareva Mogila resemble the head parts of pointy-eared samples.[22]

Productional

Many researchers have discussed the raw material of vaulted figurines. Todorova stated that thin bones, such as the forehead, jaw, or shoulder blade bones of the Bovidae, might have been preferred as raw material for the vaulted figurines unearthed in graves. However, the samples found in settlements were produced from long cattle bones.[23] Subsequent research has provided information that people mostly used long bone diaphyses of large-sized animals for the production of vaulted figurines, while they less commonly used the shoulder blade of the large-sized Bovidae.[24] Hansen stated that the animal species of the Pietrele samples was unclear and drew attention to the possibility that they might have used bones of wild horses.[25]

Averbouh has written various studies on the bone industry and production method. Regarding the production process of these figurines, he indicates that a plate was created by making grooves on the raw material bone (Façonnage d'approche) at the first stage, and later the details were processed (Façonnage d'entame).[26] At the first stage, the artisan opens a channel on the rectangular bone using a flint tool to create the initial grooves. The grooves on the outer edges of the unearthed figures represent the evidence of this stage.[27] Afterward, they

[16] Ivanov 1982, 21-24; Stavreva 2020, 19.
[17] Nikolov 2022, 134-36.
[18] Nikolov et al. 2015, 90.
[19] Georgieva 2014, 227-29.
[20] Stavreva 2022, 165; Averbouh and Zidarov 2014, 196; Hansen 2013, fig. 14; Stavreva 2020, 18-19.
[21] Stavreva 2020, 8.
[22] Georgieva et al. 2021, 57.
[23] Todorova and Vajsov 2001, 92.
[24] Averbouh and Zidarov 2014, 189; Stavreva 2020, 15.
[25] Hansen 2013, 544.
[26] Averbouh 2000, 167.
[27] Averbouh and Zidarov 2014, 189.

create the neck cavity and extensions on the sides of the head. Finally, they finish the production by drilling holes and rasping.[28]

The method described by Averbouh was used to produce the vaulted figurine found in İnönü Cave from the long bone of *Bos Primigenius*. At the cave's level V belonging to the Chalcolithic Age, archaeologists found a radial bone of *Bos Primigenius* that was first cut and then broken. This belongs to the first stage of the production process (fig. 5).[29] The artisans created the neck cavity and head protrusions by scraping. They used a chipped stone-tipped bow drill to open the holes, mostly from the posterior surface and less from the anterior surface. The wider holes on the posterior surface and narrower holes on the anterior surface explain this (fig. 6). While the rasp procedure to make the figurine's surface smooth was performed only vertically on the posterior surface, they applied it horizontally and diagonally on the anterior surface (fig. 7).

Functional

The function of vaulted figurines has been the subject of many studies in recent years. Todorova reported that the use of the figurines found in the settlements caused their remarkable shine. By drawing attention to the shine in the holes of a sample unearthed in Karanovo, Todorova concluded that the areas around the holes shone because they were fixed to a place with skin and could move easily.[30] Based on the wear and tear on the posterior surfaces of the figures unearthed in the settlements, she concluded that they might have served as arm protection. Their use explained the lack of shine on the figurines found in the graves, as she explained. They were not used in real life and were produced only as grave gifts.[31] In Voinea's evaluation of the Varna samples, this researcher showed that graves rich in finds contained large-sized vaulted figurines, which she described as violin-shaped, whereas graves with few grave gifts yielded smaller samples. She interpreted flint knives and pottery in the southern sections of the graves as evidence of a ritual. However, she concluded that there was no evidence to support the idea that they were used as clothing accessories or amulets.[32] According to Hansen, the possibility exists that the holes on the figurines indicate they were sewn onto something organic. Taking into consideration that the figurines unearthed in Varna were discovered in graves or cenotaphs with abundant artifacts, the researcher interpreted these figurines as prestige objects owned by high social status groups. He regarded the artifacts unearthed in the settlements as the belongings of people with the same high social status.[33] To support Todorova's view, Averbouh and Zidarov think they are a bracelet or an object worn on the arm, or an accessory attached to clothing. However, they underlined that the context determined the function of each figurine unearthed and stated that the large-sized figurines found in cenotaphs in Varna, for example, did not show any traces of use or shine. This indicates that they were not sewn on any place.[34] Georgieva suggested that the sample without a hole, unearthed in Kozareva Mogila and found in a vessel along with stone tools, might also

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28 Averbouh and Zidarov 2014, 189.

29 I express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Benjamin Stanley Arbuckle for this information.

30 Todorova and Vajsov 2001, 92.

31 Todorova and Vajsov 2001, 92.

32 Voinea 2008, 13.

33 Hansen 2013, 553.

34 Averbouh and Zidarov 2014, 191.

serve as a tool.[35] Kotsov showed that these were amulets worn mostly by men and sometimes by women, and showed social status. He interpreted the figurines unearthed in the settlements as having an apotropaic function.[36] Stavreva stated that these figurines were objects worn as personal pendants, appliqued to clothes, or hung somewhere.[37]

The shine resulting from use attracts more attention to the anterior surface of the vaulted figurine found in İnönü Cave, as well as its posterior surface and hole edges. This gives the impression that someone sewed it in place, as mentioned earlier.

Representational

Scholars have differing opinions about the representation of vaulted figurines for the culture or society where they were found. Gimbutas likened these figurines to ugly old people with messy hair protruding from the sides and said that they might be copies of dolls made of straw.[38] Ivanov stated that these figurines depicted the god or individuals to whom the grave goods were dedicated.[39] Lichardus thought that they represented a horned animal.[40] Biehl and Marciniak stated that bone figurines might be a marker showing people, families, or groups who believed in a certain abstract idea.[41] Based on the positions of the skeleton and grave gifts in graves 1 and 43 in Varna I Cemetery, Todorova reported that the headdresses worn by high-ranking men were probably covering the ears. Such figurines were male anthropomorphs, referring to the gold jewelry hanging from both sides of these headdresses.[42] Hansen considered this interpretation of the analogy to the headdress as suspicious since we do not have any information about clothing in the Chalcolithic Age. While Hansen, on the one hand, agreed with Todorova's interpretation that these figurines represented males, he was skeptical of this interpretation because they found them next to a female skeleton in Varna I-grave 66. He regarded these figurines as prestige objects representing the male organ and showing high status.[43] Avramova associated them with objects or symbols of specific gods or natural forces that members of prehistoric society revered.[44] Voinea stated that a stylized human scheme represented them and that they were part of a religious ritual, along with the schematic and prismatic bone figurines with which they were mostly found. Moreover, she explained that bucrania and animal figurines were found together with them in Varna I-grave 36. They were related to male divinity, as evidenced by their association with the scepter in the cenotaphs unearthed in Varna I. She also likened the droopy ear tips to the diadem worn by men. This researcher interpreted this schematized human as a sky god or part of a shamanic practice.[45] Kotsov deemed it incorrect to explain these figurines with only one gender group or that they represented religious or mythological persons. He stressed that these figurines could be considered markers showing social status in these two cemeteries. He referred to the fact that one

[35] Georgieva 2014, 229.
[36] Kotsov 2017, 15.
[37] Stavreva 2020, 14.
[38] Gimbutas 1996, 206.
[39] Ivanov 1982, 21-24.
[40] Lichardus 1991, 172.
[41] Biehl and Marciniak 2000, 197.
[42] Todorova and Vajsov 2001, 92.
[43] Hansen 2013, 552-53.
[44] Avramova 2002, 153.
[45] Voinea 2008, 13.

region in which Varna and Provadia are located is a metal production area while the other is a salt production area.[46] Finally, Stavreva considered vaulted figurines as objects of prestige, listing reasons such as their association with wealthy items like spondylus and gold, the imitation of stone samples, and their rare presence in settlements.[47]

Considering that the T-shaped depictions in the reliefs and sculptures of Göbeklitepe[48] or the rock paintings of Latmos,[49] which symbolize masculine power, date much earlier than the age when vaulted figurines were used, there is a strong possibility that these figurines represent the male anthropomorph.

Conclusion

The most recent research in the Balkans divides the Chalcolithic Age that took place between 5000 and 3700 BC into four sub-periods: Early, Middle, Late, and Last.[50] These periods are characterized by the Vinca D and Tiszapoldar cultures, respectively, in the Central Balkans, the Krivodol- Salcuta-Bubanj culture in Western Bulgaria, the Karanovo VI culture in Southern Bulgaria, the Kodjadermen-Gumelnita-Karanovo VI culture in Muntenia and Northeastern Bulgaria, and the Hamangia IV, Varna II, and Varna I cultures, respectively, on the Black Sea coast.[51] Concerning the period to which the vaulted figurines detailed here belong, various researchers have suggested the end of the Eneolithic Period,[52] KGK VI / Cernavoda I culture,[53] and the period between 4600 and 4250 BC.[54] All these dating suggestions belong to a period within the Chalcolithic Age mentioned above. These figurines represent an important group of finds discovered from the Chalcolithic Age in the Balkans and distinguished from all other figurines for their region and age.

Level V, in which the vaulted figurine was unearthed in İnönü Cave, represents the oldest cultural level within the cave. The two sigma calibrations of seven radiocarbon analyses conducted on the horn, teeth (*cervus elephus*), and charcoal taken from level V yielded results between 4260 and 3976 cal BC (fig. 8). The pattern burnished potsherds provide significant information for the dating of this level. The cultures of the Early and Middle Chalcolithic Ages in Western Anatolia and the Late Neolithic / Chalcolithic Age in the Aegean are known for this tradition. In the Balkans, pattern burnishing is also one of the general cultural characteristics that appears contemporaneous with cemeteries such as Varna I and Durankulak showing the Kodjadermen-Gumelnita-Karanovo VI (KGK VI) complex in Northeast Bulgaria and the Muntenia region.[55]

An axe made of copper or bronze, a long blade / superblade, and beads made of gold, steatite, and agate (figs. 9-10),[56] unearthed in a pot near the water source in the cave, can be

46 Kotsov 2017, 15.
47 Stavreva 2020, 18-19.
48 Schmidt 2007.
49 Peschlow-Bindokat 2003.
50 Radivojevic and Roberts 2021, 199.
51 Radivojevic and Roberts 2021, table 1.
52 Voinea 2008, 14.
53 Todorova and Vajsov 2001, 92.
54 Hansen 2013, 547.
55 Ekmen 2020a, 51-57.
56 Ekmen et al. 2020; Ekmen 2021; Yalçın et al. 2021.

listed among the small finds unearthed at this level to date. The long and extra-long blades (also known as superblades), found among the sensational grave goods of the Varna cemetery, are several finds from the Chalcolithic Age in Bulgaria.[57] The gold beads of the İnönü Cave have their closest exemplars in terms of analogy, chronology and production with those unearthed in the Balkans, in Varna, Durankulak, Hotnitsa and Yunatsite. We know that these beads, which are among the oldest human-made gold items, belong to the Chalcolithic Age.[58] All these data show that the Western Black Sea coastal culture interacted intensely with the Varna culture in the Eastern Balkans during the Chalcolithic Age.

It is still difficult to comment on the lifestyle or settlement model at level V of İnönü Cave. The primary reason for this is that researchers have studied narrow areas in level V of İnönü Cave. No architectural remains have been identified in these areas yet. However, one can debate whether a cave settlement is expected to have architectural equipment. In other words, there is insufficient data on whether this was a settlement used by one or a few groups or families. Based on the fact that there is a natural water source inside the cave and gold, steatite, and agate beads were found in a vessel close to the water source, we can assume that people used this cave for some rituals and religious practices during the Chalcolithic Age. Finally, considering that many of the rich finds unearthed in the Varna graves have also been discovered in this cave albeit with no remains of human bones yet, we can speculate that there may be one or more cenotaphs here. The excavations to be carried out in the coming years will reveal which one of these three suggestions is correct.

The representation of the vaulted figurine found in İnönü Cave is completely related to the character of the settlement. Interpretations made solely based on grave finds, as Stavreva did, may cause other details to be overlooked. We did not assess the example of İnönü Cave in this regard because it is not very certain that the samples unearthed in graves are of larger dimensions than those unearthed in settlements. The most accurate interpretation of this subject will occur when we explain the figurine in its own context, and when the excavations in İnönü Cave reveal the character of level V settlement in the cave in the following years.

Currently, İnönü Cave on Türkiye's Western Black Sea coast is the only center in Anatolia where vaulted figurines have been found. It is the only cave settlement where vaulted figurines were unearthed, including the Balkan region where such figurines have mainly been discovered. Considering its details, the İnönü vaulted figurine differs from other similar ones found in the Balkans by the connection of the neck to the head and the form of the protrusion on the sides. This variation, not been found in the Balkans yet, can be referred to as the Anatolian variant of vaulted figurines.

This figurine demonstrates the connection of Anatolia with Balkan cultures. When evaluated in light of Ivanova's study emphasizing the maritime trade in the Black Sea in the fifth millennium BC, it reveals the similarity in lifestyle and traditions of the prehistoric inhabitants living in both regions.[59]

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[57] Gurova et al. 2016, 165.

[58] Yalçın et al. 2021.

[59] Ivanova 2012, 357-61.

TABLE 1 Stratigraphy of İnönü Cave.

Levels	Ages	Calibrated Dates
I	Medieval Age	-
II	Early Iron Age	1231-979 Cal. BC.
III	Late Bronze Age	1436-1123 Cal. BC.
IV	Early Bronze Age	3126-2133 Cal. BC.
V	Chalcolithic Age	4260-3976 Cal. BC.

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FIG. 1 Southwestern view of the cave (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project).

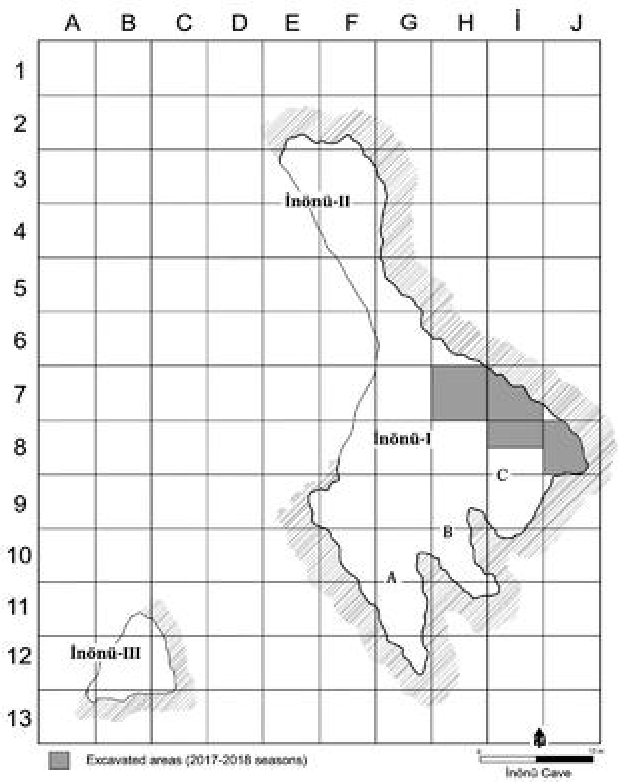

FIG. 2
Plan of the cave
(© Archive of İnönü
Cave Project).

FIG. 3 Vaulted figurine found in the cave (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project. Photographed by Burak Kader).

FIG. 5 Radial bone, first cut and then broken, from *bos primigenus* found in level V (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project).

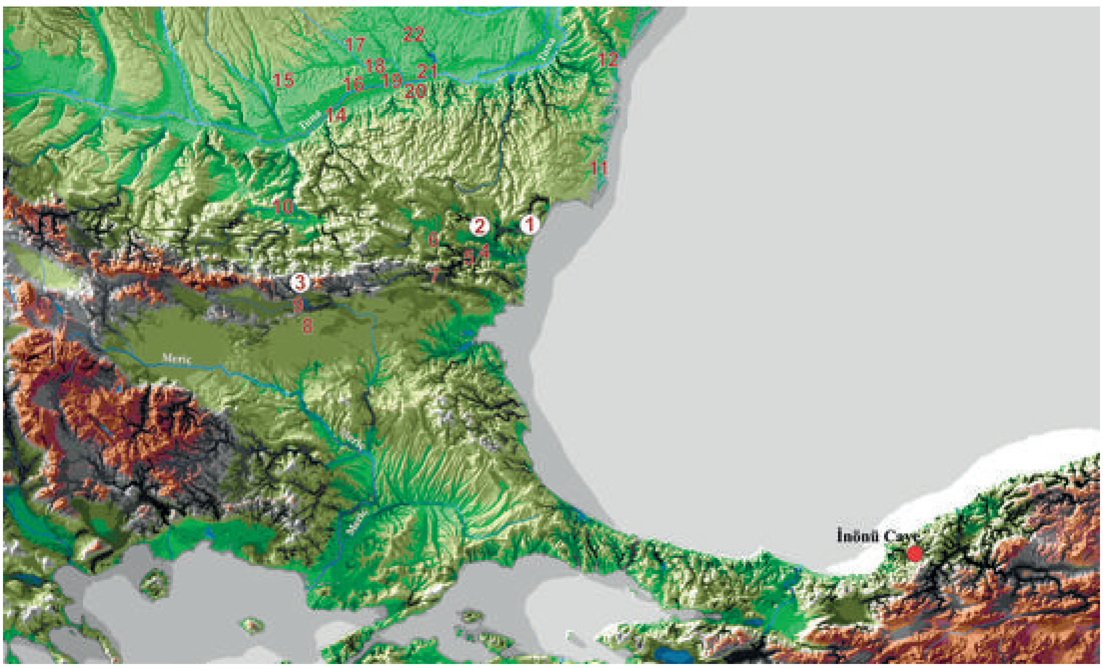

FIG. 4 Distribution map of settlements and cemeteries with vaulted figurines. Cemeteries: 1. Varna, 2. Provadia Solnitsata, 3. Kozareva Mogila. Settlements: 4. Goljamo Delcevo, 5. Sava, 6. Smiadova, 7. Zavet, 8. Zagorci, 9. Karanovo, 10. Hotnitsa, 11. Durankulak, 12. Navodari, 13. Gnilyane Okol Glava, 14. Ruse, 15. Vitanesti, 16. Pietrele, 17. Jilava, 18. Vidra, 19. Cascioarele, 20. Oltenita, 21. Gumelnita, 22. Seinoiu (Produced by Cartographer Volkan Topaloğlu).

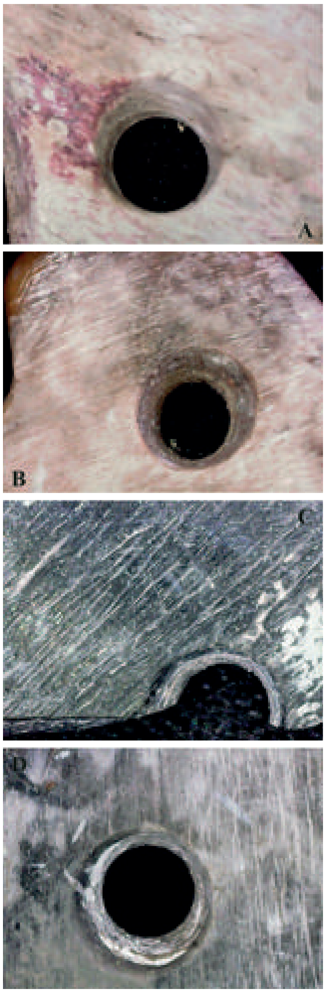

FIG. 6 Posterior surfaces of the holes on the figurine: A Upper left hole, B Upper right hole, C Lower left hole, D Lower right hole (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project).

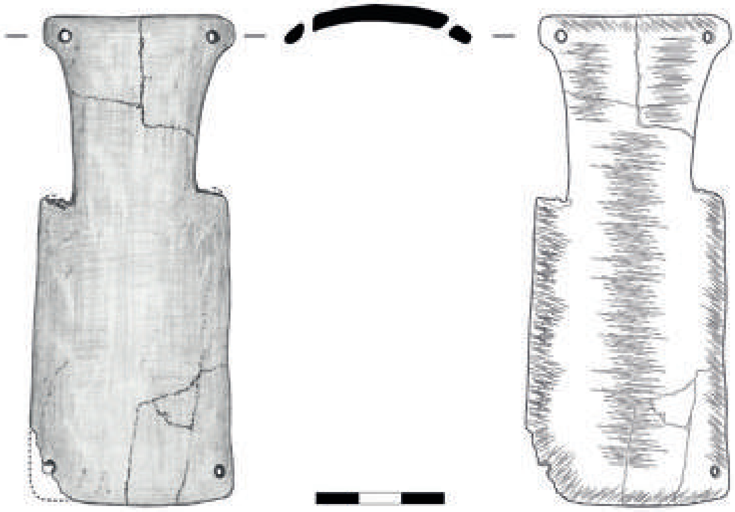

FIG. 7 Drawing of the figurine and directions of rasping on it (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project. Drawn by Burak Kader).

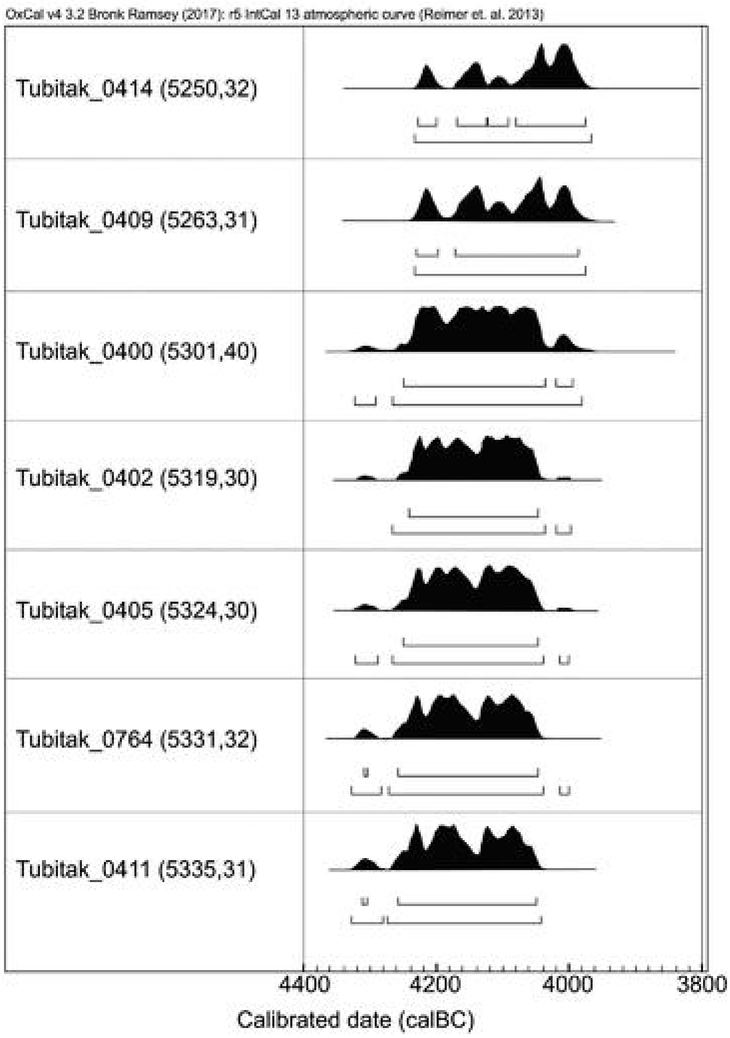

FIG. 8 C-14 analysis of the samples collected from level V contexts (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project).

FIG. 9
Restrung gold, carnelian, and steatite beads from level V (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project).

FIG. 10 Gold beads from level V (© Archive of İnönü Cave Project).

FIG. 11
Vaulted figurines found in Varna (Stavreva 2020, fig. 6).

Archaic and Early Classical Trade Amphorae from Old Smyrna

DUYGU AKAR TANRIVER – SERHAT FOÇA*

Abstract

This study analyzes the commercial amphorae found in Old Smyrna, one of the settlements located in the northeast of the Gulf of Izmir and localized in the Smyrna hinterland. These amphorae, dating from the late seventh century BC to the late fifth century BC, provide data on Smyrna's commercial relations during the Archaic and Classical Periods and give information about the city's economic structure. In this study, 50 finds from both previous and recent excavations were examined, grouped according to their production centers, and classified typologically. In the Archaic Period, imported amphorae produced in various centers such as Chios, Clazomenai, Lesbos, Miletos, Samos and Teos, as well as Athens, were in demand in the city. In addition to these groups, the study also includes types that were produced in the Archaic Period, but whose place of production is still under debate. It makes a new contribution to the literature on the typology of these groups with finds from Old Smyrna. Considering the economic activities of the Aegean region, the finds from Old Smyrna offer a wide repertoire of commercial amphorae and provide remarkable data on the commercial relations of the cities.

Keywords: Old Smyrna, amphora, Archaic period, Classical period, commercial relations

Öz

Bu çalışmada, İzmir Körfezi'nin kuzeydoğusunda yer alan ve Smyrna art bölgesinde lokalize edilen yerleşmelerden biri olan Eski Smyrna'da bulunmuş ticari amphoralar incelenmiştir. MÖ yedinci yy. sonlarından MÖ beşinci yy. sonları arasındaki zaman dilimine tarihlenen bu amphoralar, Smyrna'nın Arkaik ve Klasik dönemlerdeki ticari ilişkilerine veriler sağlamakta, kentin ekonomik yapısı hakkında bilgiler vermektedir. Çalışmada, hem eski dönem hem de yeni dönem kazılarından bulunmuş 50 adet buluntu incelenmiş, üretim merkezlerine göre gruplandırılıp tipolojik olarak sınıflandırılmıştır. Arkaik Dönem'de Atina dahil Khios, Klazomenai, Lesbos, Miletos, Samos, Teos gibi çeşitli merkezlerde üretilmiş ithal amphora grupları, kentte talep görmüştür. Bu grupların yanı sıra Arkaik Dönem'de üretimi yapılan ancak üretim yeri üzerine tartışmaların devam ettiği tiplere de yer verilmiş, bu grupların tipolojisine Eski Smyrna buluntularıyla literatüre yeni bir katkı sağlanmıştır. Ege teritoryasının ekonomik etkinlikleri göz önüne alındığında geniş bir ticari amphora repertuvarı sunan Eski Smyrna buluntuları; kentlerin ticari ilişkileri üzerine dikkate değer veriler sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eski Smyrna, amphora, Arkaik dönem, Klasik dönem, ticaret

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Introduction

The Aegean region's climatic advantage in producing quality crops such as olive oil and grapes inevitably influenced the marketization of these products, which were exported to many destinations ranging from the Mediterranean and the Black Sea to the Near East. In this context, one of the best sources of archaeological data on the commercial activities and relations of cities undoubtedly is the amphorae that carried these products. Amphorae are the most important of the critical elements of exportation and importation. They contribute to determining the commercial relations of the centers and to revealing the economic dimensions of the cities that produced these products. Smyrna has always maintained its geopolitical importance as a port city at the center of Mediterranean trade since the earliest periods. One of the several locations in the Smyrna hinterland where traces of settlement are evidenced at multiple points is Old Smyrna on the banks of the Meles Delta. Old Smyrna evidences traces of archaeological settlement data from the Early Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period. However, there has yet to be a comprehensive study on commercial amphorae, because the previous studies conducted by various researchers have been superficial. A white-slipped Chian amphora unearthed during the excavations of 1948-1951 was published by J.M. Cook,[1] while E. Akurgal included pictures of two fourth century BC Clazomenian amphorae with plastic bands under the rim in his book *Eski Çağ'da Ege ve İzmir*.[2] In 2005, K. Öztürk studied the Archaic Period imported amphorae found in the area of child burials. He published this as a master's thesis in which he made a superficial evaluation of the products and suggested their dating.[3] An article published by P. Dupont and V. Lungu in 2013 analyzed a group of trade amphorae recovered during the 1948-1951 Turkish-British excavations.[4] Finally, amphorae registered in the inventory of the İzmir Archaeological Museum and recorded as finds from Old Smyrna were also included in some studies.[5]

One of the main objectives of the ongoing Old Smyrna Excavation under the direction of Prof. Dr. Cumhur Tanrıver,[6] is to analyze the amphorae recovered in the excavation in a comprehensive project, and to find out the commercial relations of the city with its surroundings. The significant shortcoming is that many amphorae fragments found in old excavations before 2014 and preserved in excavation storage have not been researched yet. In line with this, one of the main objectives of this study is to publish not only the commercial amphora fragments recovered from recent excavations, but mostly those from previous excavations. The study aims to introduce imported commercial amphora groups produced between the seventh century BC and the fifth century BC (fig. 1). In selecting these groups, the earliest of which dates to around the seventh century BC, a wide range of fragments were examined concerning their place of production. These were classified in chronological order according to the centers from which they were imported. Dating suggestions have been made in line with similar examples found in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. In addition, the group of pottery with which the amphorae were found was also taken as a criterion. This study is essential as it contributes to the literature of amphorae produced in the Archaic Period

1 Cook 1958 / 59, 16, fig. 4.

2 Akurgal 1993, 51, pl. 65b-c.

3 Öztürk 2005, 4-18.

4 Dupont and Lungu 2013.

5 Sezgin 2012b, 202, fig. 2, 5; Sezgin et al. 2022, 49, cat. no. 034, 62; 045, 107; 080.

6 For the results of the recent excavation, see Erdem and Tanrıver 2016; Tanrıver et al. 2017, 2022, 2023; Cevizoğlu and Tanrıver 2023.

and whose production sites are still debated, especially those in Old Smyrna. The amphora finds examined in this study were selected from accepted amphora types, produced and traded during the Archaic and Classical Periods. While a detailed classification study was conducted in the depots of the Old Smyrna Excavation, each amphora fragment published here was placed typologically and chronologically. This study is a general evaluation of the amphora groups dated to the Archaic and Classical Periods found in Old Smyrna, without presenting statistical data.

Sos Amphorae

It is hard to talk with clarity about the origins of SOS amphorae[7] in terms of their form and design.[8] Thanks to the stylistic study of A. Johnston and R.E. Jones, which included clay analysis, the centers where these amphorae were discovered were listed, and C.E. Pratt updated this list.[9] The results obtained by clay analysis particularly prove that local production was carried out not only in Attica, but also in Euboea (Chalkis) as well as some other centers, even though it was limited.[10] SOS amphorae of Athens are a group of amphorae produced in the late eighth century BC to the early sixth century BC and found in many centers in a wide geographical area. Graffiti with names, abbreviations, or symbols were usually found on the shoulders and neck of many examples.[11] In early SOS amphorae, the neck profile is sharply connected to the molding below the highly vertical lip, a characteristic of these amphorae.[12] The globular body is elongated with slightly flared feet and rounded handles. During development, the neck became slightly concave and elongated, while the rim became conical and reached the form of an echinus. The ridge on the neck decreased over time, disappearing altogether towards the end of the seventh century BC. The body expands and the shoulders become straight. When SOS amphorae are analyzed in terms of decoration, motifs are observed in reserved areas on the neck. In the earlier productions, triangular motifs were used between the two "S" motifs, which were sloppy like squiggly lines at first. Then the "S" motif took on more of a sigma form in the seventh century BC.[13] The "O" motif has variations such as a dot with two rings, two rings and no dot, four rings, three rings with four spokes, and two rings with four spokes.[14]

While the SOS amphorae of Chalcis / Euboea were produced differently from the Athenian examples in form, their main features are a low base, tall body, flattened handles, slightly convex neck, and thick lips.[15] The similarities between the SOS amphorae of Chalcis / Euboea and

7 These amphorae are called SOS (ΣΟΣ) in the literature because the zigzags used as ornamental elements in the neck decoration resemble a sigma and the circles resemble an omicron.

8 Pratt 2015, 217. SOS amphorae are considered to be the predecessors of the Panathenai amphorae; see Fragkopoulou 2019, 367.

9 Johnston and Jones 1978, 107-22; Pratt 2015, 233-39, table AI.

10 Pratt 2015, 214.

11 Johnston and Jones 1978, 128. For SOS amphorae with graffiti dated to the late seventh century BC - early sixth century BC in Old Smyrna, see Jeffery 1964, 43, nos. 30-34a, fig. 1.

12 Johnston and Jones explain this feature as being designed to prevent / minimize the loss of product inside during pouring; see Johnston and Jones 1978, 132-33. Pratt, on the other hand, argues that this view is debatable, that this ridge is insufficient to protect liquid-derived products and that it disappears in the process; see Pratt 2014, 233.

13 Johnston and Jones suggest that the "S" motif symbolizes the oil dripping inside the amphora; see Johnston and Jones 1978, 139. Pratt, on the other hand, suggests that this decoration is derived from the decorative tradition of North Aegean amphorae; see Pratt 2014, 234.

14 Pratt 2014, 234.

15 Johnston and Jones 1978, 133.

the North Aegean Proto-Geometric and Late Geometric amphorae in recent studies have been striking.[16] This suggests that Euboean amphorae were influenced not only by Athenian products but also by North Aegean productions.[17]

Five rim-neck fragments from the SOS amphora group from Old Smyrna were recorded during the 1980s.[18] The samples with flaring high echinus rims are decorated with standard elements in the reserved area on the outer part of the slightly concave neck. Amphorae numbered cat. no. 1 (fig. 2.1), cat. no. 2 (fig. 2.2), and cat. no. 4 (fig. 2.4) have thick lips and walls; their necks are decorated with two rings without dots and four lines of zigzags side by side. The rims of all three are completely glazed, while the under-rim projection on examples cat. no. 1 and cat. no. 2 is very light and soft. However, on cat. no. 4 it is sharp. Cat. no. 3 (fig. 2.3) and cat. no. 5 (fig. 2.5) have thinner lips and walls but with the same decoration - two rings without dots and double zigzags with four lines. The zigzag pattern on cat. no. 3 is overlapping and rather sloppy, and the ridge under the rim projection is sharp. The zigzag pattern of cat. no. 5, which still has its glazed handle intact, is decorated with longer and shorter lines, while the ridge is softer. Cat. no. 5 shows characteristics of a slightly later period in both form and decoration.[19] All the sherds we examined have a clay color of 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow), indicating Athenian production. The Old Smyrna SOS amphorae, whose contexts are unknown except for one, can be dated to the late second half of the seventh century BC, while cat. no. 5 can be dated to the sixth century BC (possibly its beginning) based on the sherds it was found with.

Chian Amphorae

Thanks to the amphorae found in many centers around the Mediterranean and Black Seas, it is known that Chios was one of the centers producing some of the highest quality and desirable wines of Antiquity. Early Chian amphorae, characterized by their white slip, are a production group present in the commercial amphora market from the mid-seventh century BC onwards.[20] Different suggestions have been made for the production sites of commercial amphorae with this type of white-slip and decoration.[21] The finds from Kofina Ridge in particular, dated to the late seventh century BC, provide evidence that their production site was in Chios.[22] A white-slipped amphora with S-motifs found in Thasos is suggested to be produced in Chios.[23] Researchers date the white–slipped hydriae from Chios / Emporio between 660 and 630 BC,

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16 Catling 1998; Gimatzidis 2010, 252-69; Pratt 2014, 234.

17 Pratt 2015, 217.

18 The two SOS amphorae recovered during the 1948-1951 Turkish-British excavations were found in layers dating to the seventh century BC and sixth century BC; see Dupont and Lungu 2013, 214-15, figs. 8-9. A well-preserved SOS amphora in the inventory of the İzmir Archaeological Museum, unearthed during the excavation in 1974, was dated to 600 BC; see Sezgin et al. 2022, 107, figs. 80a and 80b.

19 Amphora cat. no. 5 was recovered on the same level as the floor identified at a depth of 11.25 m in square E-13 in 1984, named Layer 2. It is noted in the daily excavation notebooks that sherds from the sixth century BC predominate in Layer 2.

20 The early Chios and Clazomenai productions have a common denominator - thick glazed bands and S-shaped decoration. The white-slipped ones are identified as Chian amphorae, while the ones without a white slip are identified as Clazomenian amphorae; see Sezgin 2009, 150.

21 It has been suggested that the amphorae with white slip and S decoration found in Histria were produced in Miletos; see Lambrino 1938, 105-6. Based on a comparison with a similar amphora from Pitane, Metzger evaluated an amphora from Xanthos and suggested that these amphorae were produced in Pitane; see Metzger 1972, 70, pl. 25, cat. no. 111.

22 Anderson 1954, 136, cat. no. 17-21, figs. 5.17-18; 9, 20a, 21b, pl. 7a.

23 Bernard 1964, 138.

regarding them as early example.[24] The white-slipped commercial amphorae with "S"-shaped motifs found in Tocra are considered to be products of Chian workshops.[25] Having achieved a standardized decoration and shape from the last quarter of the seventh century BC, the amphorae of Chios maintained a distinctive position in the commercial market until the last quarter of the sixth century BC with their white-slipped production. During the development process, Chian amphorae evolved from an ovoidal shape into a slender form, with different diversifications in the rim and feet. The white-slipped Chian amphorae are recognized by horizontal bands on the rim, under the shoulders, above and below the body. Vertical bands are found on the handles from the rim to the shoulder with "S"-shaped horizontal motifs, as well as various bands on the neck and body. Old Smyrna find cat. no. 6 (fig. 2.6), which we consider to belong to this group and whose context is unknown, has a cylindrical neck with a thick and convex high rim. The outer part of the rim is covered with a brown to cream-colored glaze extending to the beginning of the neck, while the remainder is covered with an eggshell-thin white / cream slip. We also observed a very small portion of the round vertical band (?) on the broken neck where the handle joins the neck. The rim-neck sherd on cat. no. 7 (fig. 2.7), whose context is unknown, has a high band and flared rim with a vertical, elliptical broken handle. The rim's outer surface shows faint traces of white slip, and the rim and neck show a worn white slip. Amphora cat. no. 8 (fig. 2.8), recovered during recent excavations, is recognized by a thick, bracelet-shaped mouth with a high cylindrical neck expanding into the body, and an elliptical cane-shaped handle. The amphora is completely covered in white slip, and the standardized form of decoration is observed. The rim has a horizontal band slightly overhanging the neck, a horizontal thin band below the neck, glaze circles between the rim and the band below the neck, an "S"-shaped motif on the shoulder, and three up and down thin bands on the handle. The ceramic groups were discovered alongside the amphora fragment found during the excavations in the Archaic Period civilian building and date no later than 570 BC. Based on similar examples, the three Old Smyrna finds from this group are dated back to the late seventh century BC and early sixth century BC.[26]

While the decline in the quality of the white-slipped and decorated types can be traced chronologically until their disappearance from the market, a new form appeared in the second half of the sixth century BC before the white-slipped ones disappeared. The variations of these amphorae, recognized in the literature as funnel-shaped,[27] continued to emerge until the end of the century. The most prominent feature of these amphorae is that they pioneered the bulging neck types that emerged as a new style. Chian amphorae with bulging necks, which first appeared in the late sixth century BC, continued to be produced until the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[28] While band motifs are seen in the early examples from the middle to the end of the century, they gradually gave way to plain decoration. The first amphora, cat. no. 9 (fig. 2.9), a part of this group in Old Smyrna, is an early example of this type and was

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24 Boardman 1967, 140, cat. no. 513, pl. 45.

25 Boardman and Hayes 1966, 139, cat. no. 1414-415, pl. 90.1414; 1973, 62, cat. no. 2258-261, fig. 45.2258, 2261.

26 See parallels in Anderson 1954, 169, fig. 5, no. 17; Karageorghis 1969, 447, 449, fig. 25; Boardman and Hayes 1973, 62, fig. 25, pl. 32, no. 2258; Doğer 1988, 217-18, figs. 26-27, no. 53; Johnston 1993, 364, fig. 8b, pl. 78, no. 108; Hürmüzlü 2003, 397, fig. 68, no. 200 / m; Masson 2007, 366, fig. 1.1; Sezgin 2012a, 116, 130, Khi2.04.

27 Zeest 1960, 16, 139, pl. 3.10b. The specimens that belong to this group unearthed in Histria are grouped as Type A1-A2; see Lambrino 1938, 110-12, figs. 71-72.

28 This group of Chios amphorae is classified into three variations; see Knigge 1976, 23-24. C / 1 was produced from the late sixth century BC to 480 BC, C / 2 from 480 BC to 440 BC, and C / 3 from 440 BC to 430 / 425 BC; see Lawall 1995, 89-115, figs. 19-21, 23-31.

unearthed in the area where the children's graves were found.[29] The round and bracelet-shaped rim is flared, the neck is slightly bulging, and the handle emerging from under the rim connects to the slightly sloping shoulder. In terms of the decoration of the early examples of the bulging-necked types, the rim band overhangs the neck and there is a thin vertical band on the handle starting from the place where it is attached and reaching along the body. This find seems to be a transitional form, especially based on its slightly bulging neck. Below the mouth and just above the neck is the "O" (omicron) mark that functions as a trademark.[30] Based on other similar amphorae, it is dated to the end of the sixth century BC or the beginning of the fifth century BC.[31]

The C / 2 variations, which appeared after 480 BC, have a narrow body with a wide, bulky neck and a rim basic in form compared to the C / 1 type. While the mouth profile is high and thick, the distinctive feature is the bulge in the neck. The handles, coming out from just below the mouth to above the neck, are higher than the previous type.[32] The two finds, cat. no. 10 (fig. 2.10) and cat. no. 11 (fig. 2.11) from the Old Smyrna excavation in 2007,[33] were uncovered in the mudbrick fortification wall layer and bear the main characteristics of C / 2 or C / 2-C / 3 transition variations. The thick and high convex rim and the prominent bulging neck are quite thick and high, while the handles emerging from the neck are compressed on both sides, giving the rim an ovoidal form, characteristic of the type. The black slip seen on the interior of the amphorae must have been for the protection of the traded product (oil, wine, etc.). Trademark symbols, common in type C / 1, decline considerably in Type C / 2, whereas engraved dipinto letters and graffiti notches are commonly observed in Type C / 3. Cat. no. 11 has graffiti "A" and four notches drawn in graffiti under the bulging neck between the handles. Both amphorae are dated to the middle and third quarter of the fifth century BC.[34]

With the disappearance of the late versions of the bulging-necked Chian amphorae, a straight-necked type called the "New Style" emerged.[35] The bulging neck and the newly emerging straight-necked styles continued to be used together in the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[36] Although it has similarities with the C / 3 type with bulging neck, the prominent straight neck is its most distinctive difference. There are two types of straight-necked amphorae: bulkier and lighter. This form, which began to be produced in 430 / 425 BC, is characterized by a slightly rounded narrow mouth going outwards. It also has a long straight neck rising upwards from just below the mouth and transitioning sharply from the shoulder to the body connected to the shoulder. Its bulging low body and toe has features in common with the C / 3 version. Amphora sherd cat. no. 12 (fig. 2.12), classified in this group and whose context

29 For the child burials in Old Smyrna, see Mariud 2006; Foça 2021.

30 Round glazed marks appear in the mid to late sixth century BC; see Lawall 1995, 105, fn. 68.

31 For similar examples, see Lambrino 1938, 110-12, Type A1, figs. 71-74, 85e; Dimitriu 1966, 90, fig. 52, no. 369; Roberts 1986, 67, fig. 42, pl. 18, nos. 419-20; Lawall 1995, 356, fig. 23; Sezgin 1998, fig. 27; Monachov 1999a, 57-9, fig. 9, nos. 1-4; Irimia 2006, 143, fig. 4, 10.4a-4b.

32 Lawall 1995, 90-91.

33 The ceramic sherds recovered with both amphorae, whose context is recorded as the mudbrick fortification wall but an unknown level, are dated to the sixth century BC. The daily notes from the excavation site also indicate that sherds of pottery from the fifth and fourth centuries BC were recovered.

34 Boulter 1953, 104-5, pl. 39, no. 150; Knigge 1976, 180-81, pl. 92.3; 146, pl. 62.5; Williams and Fisher 1976, 107, pl. 20; Čistov and Domžalski 2002, 106, fig. 9, no. 6; Monachov 2003a, 237, fig. 7, nos. 4-6; Carlson 2004, fig. 29, no. 13.

35 Kakhidze and Khalvashi 2010, 136.

36 Finkielsztejn 2002, 142. Examples of both types are known from four wells in Athens; see Lawall 1995, 102. The combination of both types was proposed for the transportation of different products. It was also considered a new commercial venture for the producers of Chios in the foreign market; see Şenol 2007, 104.

is unknown, has a slightly flared and rounded mouth, a straight and cylindrical long neck, and broken handles with rounded sections coming out of the mouth. It is dated to the late third quarter or early final quarter of the fifth century BC in line with similar finds.[37] Cat. no. 13 (fig. 2.13), which has the characteristic toe features of this period, is dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BC.[38]

Clazomenian Amphorae

Clazomenai was one of the most important settlements of Ionia and a prominent production center for amphora. While many researchers have suggested East Greek as the place of production of Clazomenian amphorae,[39] P. Dupont proved that they were produced in Clazomenai through clay analysis and use of the XRF method.[40] E. Doğer, on the other hand, provides evidence for the existence of a production in Clazomenai in his evaluation of the production residues collected from the settlement and its surroundings.[41] As a result of these data, Dupont dated the production of amphorae at Clazomenai from the beginning of the seventh century BC to the end of the sixth century BC, while Doğer dates it to the last quarter of the seventh century BC. Based on the results of the burials unearthed in recent years, especially in the Akpınar Necropolis, Y. Sezgin reveals that there had been production in the area since the second half of the seventh century BC.[42] For the production and distribution of amphorae in the seventh century BC by the workshops of Chios and Clazomenai, the tilted "S" decoration had a brand value and expressed a common symbol for North Ionia.[43] The early Clazomenian amphorae produced during the second half of the seventh century BC are recognized by their profile of a thick torus rim,[44] bulbous belly, and wide ring shallow foot. At the same time, the "S" motif on the shoulders is the distinguishing criterion in the decorating concept, and a banded glaze was applied under the mouth, neck, shoulders and body.[45]

Although most of the Clazomenian amphorae from Old Smyrna analyzed in this study lack contexts, we have chosen to evaluate them based on typological similarities. The two sherds,

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37 For similar examples, see Lawall 1995, 92, figs. 33-36; Monachov 2003a, 19-20, fig. 8, no. 6; Kakhidze and Khalvashi 2010, 136, pl. 74.6.

38 For similar examples, see Abramov et al. 1991, 74, fig. 2.8; Monachov 2003a, 20, fig. 9, no. 6; Kakhidze and Khalvashi 2010, 136, pls. 74.7, 75.4.

39 The band-decorated amphorae found at Thera have been suggested to be East Greek; see Dragendorf 1903, 228. Lambrino attributed the Ionian origin of the banded amphorae, which he labeled Type B, to Rhodes; see Lambrino 1938, 123-24. It is stated that the Clazomenian amphorae found in Histria were imported from Doric centers. Anderson also emphasized that the band-decorated finds, including the Clazomenian amphorae, are from Chios; see Anderson 1954, 168, fig. 9.48d. Grouping the amphorae from the Black Sea region, Zeest, on the other hand, categorized the Clazomenian amphorae within the banded groups as East Greek imports and identified Miletos as the place of manufacture; see Zeest 1960, 70. The specimens recovered from Tocra may be from Chios (?); see Boardman and Hayes 1973, 62. East Greek / Ionian proposals have been made for the Cypriot finds; see Calvet and Yon 1977, 19, pls. 11-12, cat. nos. 118, 121, 122; Gjerstad 1977, pl. 23.2, cat. no. 199; Karageorghis 1977, pl. 2.6, cat. no. 11.

40 Cook and Dupont 1998, 156.

41 Doğer 1986, 465, fig. 11; 1988, 77-78.

42 Sezgin 2009, 52.

43 Y. Sezgin considers the slipped or pale slipped amphorae to be from Chios and the unslipped ones from Clazomenai. Sezgin 2009, 55.

44 The bracelet-shaped and rounded rim on the Clazomenian amphorae throughout the sixth century BC makes dating difficult. Sezgin 2009, 55.

45 The samples from the second half of the seventh century BC are classified as Kla1, Kla2, Kla3 by Y. Sezgin. Sezgin 2012a, 25-39.

cat. no. 14 (fig. 3.14) and cat. no. 15 (fig. 3.15), date to the end of the third quarter of the seventh century BC and reflect characteristics of the period. These include the overhanging, drooping rim form in cross-section, while the horizontal band on the outer part of the rim and the vertical band on the handle evidence production in Clazomenai which had started to become a standard. At the end of the seventh century BC and the beginning of the sixth century BC, Clazomenian amphorae achieved a standard type of form and decoration.[46] They became a popular commercial group in the amphora market throughout the century,[47] and include a rounded bracelet-shaped mouth, arching handles, a tightened body structure, and a convex, thumb-sectioned, truncated conical-shaped foot. The standard form continued in terms of ornamentation. Cat. no. 16 (fig. 3.16), recovered from the cemetery where child burials were organized in Old Smyrna, shows the characteristics of the late seventh century BC productions with its bracelet-shaped mouth profile, ovoidal body, and vertical decorative elements on the horizontal handles on the body. It is thought that the settlers of Clazomenai left the mainland because of the Persian invasion in 546 BC and moved to Karantina Island to set up new living spaces for a while. However, the data from excavations in the third quarter of the sixth century BC have yet to be discovered.[48] As a result of the settlers' return to the mainland in 530 BC, amphora production and trade increased probably due to the Persian's benevolent policy towards locals. Production thus flourished in the late fifth century BC, reached its peak by producing different variations such as the ovoidal form with a bulbous belly near the shoulders and the slender-elongated ovoidal form.[49] As for the decorations, the standard type was maintained except for minor changes.[50] The sixth century BC Clazomenian amphora fragments from Old Smyrna, which we examined in this study, need more context but were dated in line with similar fragments. While the bracelet-shaped rim profile, which breaks at an angle under the mouth and joins the body, stands out in fragments from the first half of the sixth century BC (cat. nos. 17-23; fig. 3.17-23), the glazed band over the lips shows standard features throughout the century. The flaring, thumb-section with deeply shallow foot is seen in Old Smyrna. Finds from the second half of the sixth century BC (cat. nos. 24-32, fig. 3.24-32) show the continuation of the rounded bracelet-shaped rim and the horizontal glaze on the lip. The standard form was maintained, while the shallow foot was deepened.[51] For amphorae produced during the sixth century BC, it should be noted that a precise form does not separate both rim and foot profiles, and therefore cannot be classified easily.

Teian Amphorae

Proposing a broad typology for the amphorae found around the Black Sea, S. Ju. Monachov considers this type of amphorae as close to the Clazomenai productions.[52] In his doctoral study, M. Pesenti analyzed the amphora finds from and around Egypt and associated this

46 E. Doğer classifies this group of specimens as Type 2 and 3, and Y. Sezgin classifies them as Kla5. Doğer 1988, 50-9; Sezgin 2012a, 42-45.

47 E. Doğer classified this group of specimens as Type 1 and Y. Sezgin as Kla4. Doğer 1988, 43-50; Sezgin 2012a, 39-42.

48 It is clear from the data that amphora production at Clazomenai weakened during this period. Y. Sezgin evaluated the amphorae of the third quarter of the sixth century BC recovered from other centers in the Kla6 group, but emphasized that they could be included in the finds of the second half of the sixth century BC. Sezgin 2012a, 46.

49 E. Doğer classifies this group as Type 4 and Y. Sezgin as Kla7. Doğer 1988, 59-74; Sezgin 2012a, 48-55.

50 The handle circles at the points where the handles were attached to the neck and shoulder and the horizontal firnis bands at the neck-circle transition have disappeared.

51 For the dating and comparing of the Clazomenian amphorae from Old Smyrna, see the "Catalog" section.

52 Monachov 1999b, 167-68.

group with the Clazomenai region in a similar manner.[53] However, contrary to these suggestions, no amphorae of this type were found in the settlement deposits or cemeteries of Clazomenai. In addition to these suggestions, an undecorated amphora from the first half of the sixth century BC has been attributed to one of the Samian types due to its similarities.[54] In his published article Y. Sezgin has added a different dimension to this debate by suggesting that this group of amphorae is a production originating from Teos.[55] In recent publications, this proposal has begun to be accepted by researchers and classified as the Teos type.[56] These types, especially the ones recovered from sites in Egypt and around the Black Sea region, have a flaring bracelet-shaped rim, a neck that slightly narrows where it meets the shoulder, elliptical-sectioned arching handles coming out from under the rim that connects to the shoulder, a sharp angle shoulder-body transition, a sharp narrowing to the foot, and a wide hollow foot with a flaring. Vertical and horizontal bands are also preferred for decoration. A fragment of a foot of this type recovered from Old Smyrna, albeit with an unknown context, is considered by us, not with certainty, to be a Teos production. In terms of the color and structure of the fragment's clay, it seems to be quite similar to the amphorae produced in the sixth century BC in Clazomenai, and it is similar to the Teian type we have detailed above with its slightly outward-facing thumb section and low, hollow and wide base. The only example we examined, the base fragment cat. no. 33 (fig. 4.33), is dated to the first half of the sixth century BC.[57]

Lesbian Amphorae

Lesbos, one of the quality wine production points of Antiquity, was a prominent amphorae production site, especially in the Archaic Period. Lesbian amphorae are classified into two main groups according to their clay colors, Grey and Red, even though both share similar form features. They were produced from the seventh century BC to the third century BC.[58] B.G. Clinkenbeard suggested that the "rat tail" detail on the ceramics, characteristic of Lesbian amphorae, is also found on the gray-colored Aeolian Bukkhero ceramics. This suggests that Lesbos may have been the production site.[59] The typological development of these amphorae is challenging to trace. While B.G. Clinkenbeard classified the amphorae based on criteria such as changes in the length, connection points of the handles, changes in the bases, and bulbous in the neck,[60] M. Lawall[61] and Y. Sezgin[62] used different criteria. Red clay Lesbian amphorae show a parallel development with the gray series in terms of form. They are called "fractional

53 Pesenti 2015.

54 Sezgin 2017, 21.

55 Sezgin 2017. In his Ph.D. thesis, he named these types, which he mentioned among the groups with unknown production sites, as North Ionian production. Sezgin 2009, 450-57. In his book "Arkaik Dönem İonia Üretimi Ticari Amphoralar", which he produced from this thesis, Y. Sezgin named it Ionia.γ. Sezgin 2012a, 283-88.

56 Chistov et al. 2020, 31-2; Monachov et al. 2020, 125.

57 For similar ones, see Monachov 1999b, 168, fig. 7; Pesenti 2015, 298-99, no. A-S-29.

58 Gray Lesbian amphorae appear from the third quarter of the seventh century BC; see Clinkenbeard 1982, 249. Studies at Tell Quadadi (Israel) suggest that early examples of gray Lesbian amphorae can be dated to the early eighth century BC and late seventh century BC; see Fantalkin and Tal 2010, 9. Red-clay Lesbos production appears in the late seventh century BC. For the amphora from Clazomenai, one of the early series dated between 620-600 BC, see Sezgin 2009, 393.

59 Clinkenbeard 1982, 258-59.

60 Clinkenbeard 1982, 250-52.

61 For Grey 1, Grey 2 and Grey 3 classification, see Lawall 1995, 198-204.

62 For the GLes 1-5 classification, see Sezgin 2009, 373-90.

red,"[63] whereas Zeest groups them as "tumbler-bottom."[64] Three Lesbian amphorae recovered from Old Smyrna were examined in this study. The earliest, amphora cat. no. 34 (fig. 4.34), is one of the early examples of the gray series. The amphora, used for a burial in the necropolis although its context is unknown, is missing the rim profile and neck. The amphora carries standard features with its rounded section handles, ovoidal bulbous body, and shallow hollowed base. It is dark gray, probably due to firing. The rat tail detail is visible where the intact handle joins the shoulder. The amphora can be dated to the first half to the middle of the sixth century BC based on a comparison of the base form.[65] In the gray series, the two base sherds cat. no. 35 (fig. 4.35) and cat. no. 36 (fig. 4.36) are narrow and cylindrical sherds that directly connect with the lower body. Fragment cat. no. 35 dates from the late sixth century BC to early fifth century BC, and fragment cat. no. 36 from the late fifth century BC to the first quarter of the fourth century and later.[66]

Milesian Amphorae

As a leading city in the production of olive oil in southern Ionia, Miletos also had an important position in commercial activities. The data on the ceramic production of the city has been analyzed in detail in many aspects. Through these studies, we learn about suggestions for the production of amphorae. P. Dupont, using clay analysis, suggests that some amphorae are of Miletos production.[67] W. Voigtländer, on the other hand, emphasized the local production of Miletos for amphora production with the results of his analysis.[68] Another recent study by P. Dupont suggests a wider region such as Southern Ionia and Caria instead of Miletos.[69] The Datça Peninsula provides new data on the suggestions for the production site of Milesian amphorae, and the ceramic workshops and sherds recovered from the dumps found around the region provide evidence of the existence of production outside Miletos.[70] Among the debated opinions persisting today is the suggestion that these amphorae were produced locally in South Ionian under the control of Miletos.[71] The most prominent feature of Milesian amphorae, which began to acquire a standardized form in the mid-seventh century BC, is the protruding high and thin torus-shaped rim with a single offset fillet under the rim. The Milesian amphora cat. no. 37 (fig. 4.37) examined in this study was found at a depth of 11.45 m and 11.25 m in Room no. 2 during the 1986 excavation.[72] The convex, torus-shaped rim and the single fillet at

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63 Clinkenbeard 1986, 354.

64 Zeest 1960, 18, pl. 3, 9a-b. M.L. Lawall typologically classified these amphorae as Red 1, Red 2 and Y. Sezgin as KLes 1-3.

65 For similar finds, see Ruban 1983, 285, fig. 1, no. 14; Cook and Dupont 1998, 158, fig. 23.4b; Fantalkin 2001, 94-95, fig. 34, no. 2; Monachov et al. 2020, 115, LG.2.

66 For a similar fragment of cat. no. 35, see Ruban 1990, 18, fig. 4, Type 2. For similar fragments of cat. no. 36, see Čistov and Domžalski 2002, 105, fig. 8, no. 10-12; Tzochev 2011, 81, fig. 6, no. 20.

67 Dupont 1982, 203-4, fig. 1d; 1983, 27, 32, 34, 42, fig. 19.

68 Voigtländer used the term "Goldglimmer" (Golden Mica) especially for a substance in the clay content and suggested that it was produced in Miletos; see Voigtländer 1986, 46. M. Seifert, who published another study of clay analyses, is skeptical of this idea, since the gold mica content is related to the geological structure of the Büyük Menderes basin; see Seifert 2004, 51.

69 Dupont 2007, 621-22.

70 Tuna 1987, 313-17.

71 Sezgin 2012a, 140.

72 According to the information in the excavation books, the other ceramic groups recovered together with the amphora fragment show periodic differences.

the transition point of the rim and neck are characteristic features that became popular from the mid-sixth century BC onwards. The broken handle comes out right over the sharp protruding fillet. This Old Smyrna find is similar to the amphora found at Kalabaktepe near Miletos, dated to the last two decades of the sixth century BC.[73] Even though the clay and slip color are not the same, they are likely the product of the same workshop. The find dates back to the mid-sixth century BC and later, in line with similar examples.[74] The amphora cat. no. 38 (fig. 4.38), found during the recent excavations, was uncovered in the room named TG-1. It dates back to the fifth century BC. The almond-shaped rim with a high echinus, the cylindrical neck that narrows slightly towards the shoulder, the pear-shaped body, and the high ring foot with a deeply hollowed, flared curved ring base are all characteristic of fifth century BC Milesian production. The almond-shaped rim profile is similar to the Black Sea finds, while the toe resembles the Athenian example. Especially the gold mica additive, seen in parts of the clay structure, leaves no doubt that it was produced in Miletos or its environs. It can be dated from the mid to the last quarter of the fifth century BC and later, in line with similar ones.[75] The last amphora fragment in this group, amphora cat. no. 39 (fig. 4.39), has a similar form to the toe of amphora no. 38 and is within the same date range.[76]

Samian Amphorae

A broad typology for Samian amphorae, which began to be produced in the last quarter of the seventh century BC, was created by V.R. Grace. To make a typology for the products of the fifth century BC, they were compared to Samian coins in terms of similarities.[77] Some researchers use the Samos-Miletos nomenclature for a commercial group that began to be produced in the second half of the sixth century BC.[78] While the rim profiles of the early Samian amphorae of the last quarter of the seventh century BC and the first half of the sixth century BC vary, there are two distinct characteristic features. One is the creation of horizontal fillet at the transition point from the neck to the shoulder, while the other is the bow-shaped, elliptical-sectioned handles that emerge from the center of the neck and connect to the center of the shoulder.[79] The Samian amphora cat. no. 40 (fig. 5.40) has a rim and neck profile. Uncovered in Old Smyrna, its context is unknown. The mouth of the amphora is protruding and slightly curved, and the neck has a conical form. The features presented in Samian amphorae date to the first half of the sixth century BC. These include elliptical bow-shaped handles that emerge from the center of the neck and connect to the shoulder and a horizontal overlapping fillet marking the junction between the neck and shoulder. These are also seen on this Old Smyrna example. The find is dated to the first half of the sixth century BC, in line with similar finds.[80]

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73 For similar example, see Naso 2005, 76, 83, fig. 3, cat. no. 10.

74 For other similar examples, see Voigtländer 1982, 55, fig. 28, no. 171; Ruban 1991, 182, fig. 2.1.

75 For similar ones, see Cook and Dupont 1998, 175, fig. 23.9e (base); Monachov 2013, 30, fig. 1, no. 5 (rim profile, Type 1-B).

76 For parallel examples, see Cook and Dupont 1998, 175, fig. 23.9e; Lawall 1995, 180-81, fig. 75 (below).

77 Grace 1971. A similar study was conducted by H.B.A. Mattingly for the comparison of Samian coins and amphorae; see Mattingly 1981, 81-85.

78 Johnston 1990, 47; Lawall 1995, 176-95, figs. 69-77; Whitbread 1995, 129.

79 Sezgin 2009, 296.

80 A similar find from Daskyleion is dated to the second half of the sixth century BC; see Atila 2005, 116, fig. 4, cat. no. 24. For similar examples dated to the first half of the sixth century BC, see Calvet and Yon 1977, 19, pl. 11, cat. no. 115; Docter 2000, 69-70, cat. 3, fig. 8c; Buyskykh 2014, 96, fig. 10, no. 8.

Ionian Alpha / Erythrai? Amphorae

The place or places of production of this group of amphorae, which emerged as a new type in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC, is debatable, as is the case for the Ionian Beta examples discussed below.[81] The most characteristic features of these amphorae are the offset ridge in the middle of the necks or between the neck and the shoulder, and the high plastic ring toes that hollowed. Two different variations of the rim profile are seen in these amphorae: a thick, curved and dipper-sectioned type is common, while an elongated almond-shaped type with a flared rim is also seen. The basic form features and the presence of offset ridge in the neck and neck-shoulder transitions are similar to the Samian productions of the second half of the sixth century BC.[82] M. Lawall, who based his classifications on finds from the Athenian Agora, classifies the products of several workshops on Samos and the opposite shores as the "Samos-Miletos" group, while the late examples of type S-1 are similar to the group with offset ridge.[83] In the S-3 type, these offset ridges are seen in the neck-shoulder transition.[84] P. Dupont attributed this group to Miletos based on similarities in the rim with the Milesian productions of the second half of the sixth century BC.[85] One of the other sites where the characteristic features of this type are observed is Clazomenai; this group of amphorae was also recovered from sondages on the Akpınar Necropolis and Karantina Island.[86] Y. Sezgin says that the finds from Karantina Island should be analyzed extensively and suggests that Clazomenai may have been one of the production sites of the Ionian Alpha amphora.[87]

One of the important data sources for the Ionian Alpha amphorae is the Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck, located west of Sığacık, and southeast of Çeşme. The ship mostly carried commercial amphorae that numbered more than 200; however, the place of production of most is unidentified, except for the types produced in Mendea and Chios.[88] In his doctoral thesis D.N. Carlson analyzed all the unknown finds and identified them as the "Pseudo Samian" type, since O. Lordkipanidze used this name to define Phasis amphora finds.[89] Among these amphorae, a commercial amphora sealed with the EPY (Epsilon-Rho-Upsilon) monogram on the neck provides evidence of production at Erythrai.[90] This amphora, understood to be an Erythrai production thanks to its sealing system, shares a similar form with the 200 other amphorae found on the wreck, showing that they were produced contemporaneously. It is noteworthy that both stepped and unstepped examples were used together. Especially the presence of types with

81 The nomenclature proposed by Sezgin for these amphora groups, whose place of manufacture is unknown, has also been used by us. Other suggestions have been made, but these remain debatable.

82 Sezgin states that the Ionian Alpha group, which was produced intensively in the first half of the fifth century BC, fills a gap in the chronology of Samian amphorae and that a group of production should be sought in Samos. He also noted that this group had not been published among the finds from Samos; see Sezgin 2012a, 246.

83 Lawall 1995, 370-72, fig. 73-74.

84 Lawall 1995, 371, fig. 76.

85 Cook and Dupont 1998, 175-76, figs. 23.9d-g.

86 Doğer 1988, 264-65, fig. 51, pl. 20, cat. no. 133 (Yıldıztepe Necropolis); Güngör 1994, 42-43, figs. 37-39, cat. nos. 130-35 (Karantina Island); Sezgin 2012a, 247, Ionia. α.18, α.20, α.15, α.14, α.19, α.3 (Akpınar Necropolis). See also Ersoy 2004, 66, fig. 23d.

87 Sezgin 2012a, 251.

88 The Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck is dated to 440-430 BC with the help of Mendean and Chian amphorae; see Carlson and Lawall 2005 / 06, 33.

89 Carlson 2004, 36-40. O. Lordkipanidze used the nomenclature "Pseudo Samos" based on Zeest's typology of "Samos and Protothasos"; see Lordkipanidze 1968, 39-40.

90 The abbreviation "ERY" is a monogram used on the city's coins from the fourth century BC until the Roman period. For later finds in which the abbreviation ERY is used as an amphora seal, see Kırkanlı 2021, 31-33.

high plastic ring toes and types with almond-shaped echinus rims corroborates the idea that this group is an Erythrai production.

While we know there was wine production in Erythrai from ancient sources, archaeological data supports this as well.[91] D.N. Carlson and M.L. Lawall proposed the typology of amphorae in the city and identified four main types of production from the mid-fifth century BC to the early first century BC.[92] The group with the tall rounded rim, short flaring neck and round body was classified as Type 1, based on the ERY sealed finds from the Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck.[93] S.Ju. Monachov, on the other hand, dated the echinoid-rimmed amphorae, which he classified as Type 1-A, to the third quarter of the fifth century BC. He considered them as a production of Erythrai.[94] The rim-neck fragments from Old Smyrna, cat. nos. 41 (fig. 5.41), 42 (fig. 5.42), and 43 (fig. 5.43), make critical contributions to this group of amphorae. Although there are minor changes in the rim profiles of all three samples, they are products of the same center judging from their basic form, clay, and slip colors. These amphorae - with protruding almond-shaped echinus rims and thick necks that narrow down towards the shoulder - are similar to the Erythrai amphorae from the Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck. The three Old Smyrna fragments, whose exact context is unknown, can be dated to the middle of the third quarter of the fifth century BC, in line with their counterparts.[95] Although the toe sherd cat. no. 44 (fig. 5.44) with deep grooves, a dished outer face, and a high plastic ring is similar to the Milesian productions in terms of basic form, it is considered to be among the Ionian Alpha group due to its larger toe diameter and unknown place of production. It can be dated from the end of the sixth century BC to the mid-fifth century BC, in line with similar examples.[96]

Ionian Beta Amphorae

A classification for these amphora groups found in many centers around the Black Sea was first established by I.B. Zeest. These amphorae were found extensively in layers from the first half of the sixth century BC to the beginning of the fifth century BC and named "Samos" and "Protothasos."[97] While Zeest's typology continues to be used by researchers today, the debate on the production place of this type continues, and researchers have offered different suggestions. Both series have various rim and toe combinations within themselves and show similar morphological characteristics.[98] Especially N.A. Leipunskaia's evaluation of the Olbia finds has added to the argument that this group of amphorae may have had more than one production site rather than a single center.[99] Based on clay analysis and typological studies, P. Dupont

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91 The discovery of amorphous ceramic sherds and slags in Banyoz Tepe in 1988 indicates the presence of ceramic workshops; see Özyiğit 1990, 125-26, 128, pl. 1.

92 Carlson and Lawall 2005 / 06, 33. The same typology was used in the study of the amphorae unearthed during the 1977-1988 excavations at Erythrai see Kırkanlı 2021.

93 Carlson and Lawall 2005 / 06, 34-35. For the amphora rim sherds dated to the late fifth century BC and early fourth century BC recovered during the sounding excavations in Erythrai and at Cennettepe, see Kırkanlı 2021, 36-37, pls. 1-3, cat. nos. 1-3.

94 Monachov 2013, 29-31.

95 For similar ones, see Carlson 2004, 170, fig. 34, cat. no. 15; Carlson and Lawall 2005 / 06, 35, fig. 3 (Gordion); Monachov 2013, 30-31, pl. 1.3 (Type 1 A).

96 For similar examples of the toe, see Doğer 1988, 136, fig. 51, pl. 20, cat. no. 133; Carlson 2004, 173, 229, fig. 41; Sezgin 2012a, 255, Ionia α.14.

97 Zeest 1960, 70, 79-80.

98 Sezgin 2009, 326.

99 Leipunskaia 1981, 23.

suggested that Thasos, Abdera, Chios and Miletos could be the production centers.[100] V.V. Ruban, on the other hand, categorized the finds in Zeest's typology as Milesian production.[101] Monachov classified the amphora finds from the centers around the Black Sea and those recorded in museums in a comprehensive study and considered this group of amphorae as North Aegean productions.[102] One of the noteworthy centers of production is Chios, and the studies conducted at Rizari on the island uncovered production residues.[103] These find provide evidence that Chios may also have been a production center. M. Kerschner and H. Mommsen included geological factors in their clay analysis studies on Ephesos finds, and suggested sites on the Gulf of Ephesus, including Samos, as places of production.[104] For Clazomenai, where a large number of fragments have been recovered, E. Doğer states that evidence of production should be sought in an area extending from north of Mount Mycale to Erythrai.[105] Recent studies suggest the existence of a production site originating from Ionia.[106]

This group of amphorae, whose place of manufacture is still debated today, is frequently found in the Old Smyrna layers. The four rim-neck sherds we analyzed in this study clearly show the shallow grooves on the neck under the rim, which are characteristic of these types. The rim, with an overhanging, bulbous almond form, is a common feature among all the sherds. Cat. no. 45 (fig. 5.45), with a conical neck narrowing towards the shoulder and oval-sectioned handles rising from below the rim, shows similarities to the pithoid type, according to Monachov's classification.[107] Although the profiles of rim sherds cat. nos. 46 (fig. 5.46), 47 (fig. 5.47), and 48 (fig. 5.48) differ slightly, they share basic characteristics and have straighter necks.[108] All four rim sherds are dated to the end of the sixth century BC and the beginning of the fifth century BC, in line with other similar examples. The first of the two toes examined in the study is cat. no. 49 (fig. 5.49) with a button-shaped low and sharp bottom, a hollow interior, and a spur on the upper edge of the outer face. It was a preferred toe type in the earliest series of this group (pithoid form). The find dates from the second half of the sixth century BC and possibly to the early fifth century BC, in line with similar finds.[109] The last find in the Ionian Beta amphorae group is shallowly hollowed and has a flaring concave plastic ring toe. It can be considered among the fifth series of Monachov's classification. The find cat. no. 50 (fig. 5.50) can be dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BC, in line with similar finds.[110]

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[100] Cook and Dupont 1998, 182; Dupont 2007, 622.

[101] Ruban 1991.

[102] These amphorae, which Zeest cites as Samian and Protothasian, are grouped in five different variations in a single group and date from the mid-sixth century BC to the mid-fifth century BC; see Monachov 2003b, 256-57.

[103] Tsaravopoulos 1986, 138-39, pl. 31.5.

[104] In this study, 39 percent of the fragments recovered from the early levels under the Tetragonos Agora include Zeest's Samian and Protothasos types. Only one sample was analyzed in the analysis results; see Kerschner and Mommsen 2005, 125-26.

[105] This group of amphorae is grouped as "ÜYB" in E. Doğer's classification; see Doğer 1988, 132.

[106] Bîrzescu 2012, 113-24; Sezgin 2012a, 259-71.

[107] For similar examples, see Monachov 1999a, 52, fig. 6, no. 1; Chistov et al. 2012, 24, pl. 11, no. 5; Astashova and Lomtadze 2017, 89, pl. 91.6, cat. no. 181.

[108] For similar amphorae of amphora 47, see Lomtadze 2005, 332, fig. 6, no. 11; Monachov et al. 2019, 117, NA.9. For parallel examples of amphora number 48, see Monachov 2003a, 255, fig. 25, no. 5; Astashova and Lomtadze 2017, 91-92, pl. 92.15, no. 205. For similar examples of the rim fragment number 49, see Ruban 1991, 187, fig. 5, no. 1; Monachov 2003a, fig. 25, no. 5.

[109] For similar examples, see Monachov 2003b, 248-49, fig. 1, no. 4; Astashova and Lomtadze 2017, 58, fig. 92.4, cat. no. 194; Zavoykin 2018, 145, fig. 4, no. 10.

[110] For close analogies see Lomtadze 2005, 332, fig. 6, no. 11; Monachov et al. 2019, 33, fig. 9, no. 10-11, 13; 119, NA.13.

Conclusion

Located at a strategic point northeast of the Gulf of Izmir, the settlement of Old Smyrna is included in the commercial sphere of the Aegean coast and its islands. The impact of being located in such a fertile geography paved the way for establishing a strong import and export network with its surroundings. There is a considerable void in the literature of Old Smyrna, which has been a long-term research topic for both foreign and Turkish researchers since the 20th century. However, relatively few commercial amphorae have contributed to it. The large number of amphora fragments recorded in the excavation storage, especially in the classification works carried out by us with the start of the new period excavations since 2014, reveals the commercial activity of Old Smyrna. In this context we have categorized many amphora groups first by place of production and then typologically and chronologically within themselves, without deviating from the methods adopted by scholars who have researched the subject.

The majority of amphorae discovered during previous excavations and some discovered during recent excavations were dated based on the contexts of the ceramic groups with which they were found and through comparison with samples from centers around the Aegean and Black Seas.

As a general assessment, these amphorae dated from the seventh century BC to the end of the fifth century BC and belonged to various groups according to their forms. The first is the Attic SOS amphorae, which represent the most distant trade. This group of amphorae, widely and popularly exported from the middle and last quarter of the seventh century BC to the first quarter of the sixth century BC and found in many centers, was also founded in the same period in Old Smyrna. Chian amphorae, whose typology can be traced clearly except for the funnel-shaped neck group, first appeared with the white-slipped amphorae of the late seventh century BC and early sixth century BC. This dominated the Archaic Period together with Clazomenian amphorae. The fifth century BC bulging-neck types from Chios were also popular as imported products during the period when Persian authority was observed. It is understood from the finds that Clazomenai, which had a wide commercial network with Chios in the Archaic Period, had a close relationship with Old Smyrna from the late seventh century BC through the sixth century BC until the early fifth century BC at the latest. During the fifth century BC, the commercial relations between Old Smyrna and Clazomenai stopped for the political reasons according to data obtained from amphora finds. The amphorae with plastic bands under the mouth, which emerged as a new type with the weakening of Persian policies, were produced throughout the fourth century BC, with the earliest example dating from the early fifth century BC. It shows that an intensive export to Old Smyrna was underway again.[111] Among the fragments we examined from Teos, which have recently begun to accept as a production site from the sixth century BC, there is one fragment. However, it still raising questions. Amphorae from Lesbos, one of the leading centers in the Aeolian region, are not a group found extensively in the Archaic Period layers of Old Smyrna. But an amphora with the standard features of this period is included in this study. Imported pieces were also identified in the fifth century BC. Our example of Samian amphorae, a preferred group in the production market of the Archaic Period, was dated to the first half of the sixth century BC. The Milesian amphorae found in Old Smyrna are important because they show a trade connection

111 The study of amphorae from Old Smyrna, some of which date to the second half of the fifth century BC and the majority to the fourth century BC, is currently under publication.

with Miletos during the sixth century BC and the fifth century BC, when the city was under Persian control. The most remarkable groups in this study are the Ionian Alpha and Ionia Beta amphorae, for which the researchers who conducted the amphora research made different suggestions as to their place of production. These types, which were intensively produced and traded in the late sixth century BC and early fifth century BC, were also in demand in Old Smyrna. By comparing the echinus-rim specimens in the Ionian Alpha group with finds from the Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck, it can be argued that this group was produced in Erythrai. Most researchers agree that the Ionian Beta amphorae found in the Old Smyrna layers were produced in an Ionian center of uncertain origin. All but one of the sherds analyzed in this article date between the late sixth century BC and early fifth century BC, while one example dates to the second quarter of the fifth century BC. By suggesting that these types are distributed from a center originating from Ionia, it can be argued that there may have been production in Old Smyrna. However, this idea is not provable without a clay analysis study or the presence of any production residues or workshops in the city.

As detailed above, amphorae were imported from the last quarter of the seventh century BC until the end of the fifth century BC. Our data proves that Old Smyrna was an import market for many centers that dominated the amphora trade during this period. It is also believed that the city's residents demanded quality and luxury products from a wide range of nearby centers. In addition, commercial actions changed from time to time due to the effects of political movements in the region. To summarize, the commercial amphorae found in Old Smyrna have been used to conclude the city's close or distant commercial relations. With this study, the finds from Old Smyrna will make critical contributions to the literature on amphorae.

Catalogue

SOS Amphorae

1. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 83, G 3 square, 10.85 m. Diam. of rim: 20 cm, h: 14,4 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand (little), mica (little); 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 7.5 YR 7 / 4 (pink). Glaze: 7.5 YR 4 / 4 (brown).

2. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 84, H 2 square, 10.42 m. Diam. of rim: 19 cm, h: 10,3 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand (little), mica (little); 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish brown). Glaze: 10 YR 3 / 1 (very dark gray).

3. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 83, G 2 square, 10.40 m. Diam. of rim: 20 cm, h: 13,6 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand; 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 5 YR 8 / 4 (pink). Glaze: 10 YR 3 / 1 (very dark gray).

4. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 20 cm, h: 10,9 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand, mica (little); 5 YR 8 / 4 (pink). Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 (pink). Glaze: 5 YR 4 / 1 (dark gray).

5. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 84, E-13 square, 11.28 m / 11.21 m. diam. of rim: 18 cm, h: 15,3 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand, mica (little); 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown). Glaze: 7.5 YR 3 / 1 (very dark gray).

Comparanda (1-5): Petrie 1888, 61, pl. 24, no. 9 (Tell Defenneh); Jacopi 1929, 120, pl. 4, Tomb 86 (Rhodes); 1931, 352, pl. 8, Tomb 205 (600 BC), (Rhodes); Burr 1933, 570-71, figs. 29-30, nos. 126-29, (seventh century BC) (Athens); Eilmann and Gebauer 1938, 28, pl. 39, no. 5; Lambrino 1938, 137, fig. 94; Robertson 1940, 19, fig. 8e (seventh-sixth century BC) (Al Mina); Weinberg 1948, 227, pl. 83, D69, (seventh century BC) (Corinth); Brann 1956, 372, fig. 5, no. 88, (600-540 BC) (Corinth) (second quarter and beginning of the third quarter of the sixth century BC); Karageorghis 1960, 278-79, fig. 57 (seventh-sixty century BC) (Cyprus-Nicosia); Brann 1961, 338-39, pl. 80, F 40-42, (third quarter of the seventh century BC), 354, pl. 80, G 37, (third and end of the seventh century BC), 369-70, pl. 80, H 45-46, (last quarter of the seventh century BC) (Athens); 1962, 32-33, pl. 2, nos. 24 (last quarter of the seventh century BC), 26 (first half of the seventh century BC), 27 (middle of the seventh century BC), 28 (end of the seventh century BC), (Athens); Daux 1966, 788, fig. 3 (seventh century BC) (Porto Cheli); Hind 1983 / 84, 79, fig. 10. (Berezan); Karadima and Koutsoumanis 1995, 683, fig. 10 (sixth century BC) (Samothrace); Johnston 2005, 363, fig. 26, no. 196 (end of the seventh century BC); Gimatzidis 2010, 288, cat. no. 661, pl. 89-661, 122f (Sindos); Filis 2013, 71, fig. 14a (seventh century BC), (Akanthos).

Chian Amphorae

6. Fragments of rim. Diam. of rim: 12 cm, h: 4,9 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand, mica (little); 7.5 YR 5 / 3 (brown). Slip: 2.5 Y 8 / 2 (pale brown). Glaze: 7.5 YR 2.5 / 3 (very dark brown).

7. Fragments of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 12 cm, h: 8,9 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, mica, sand (little), 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 2.5 YR 8 / 1 (white). Glaze: 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red).

8. Fragment of rim-neck-handle. BYR 2022 / FMZ, ST 22 trench, west of the wall, 9.41 m / 9.26 m. Diam. of rim: 10,2 cm, h: 22,1 cm. Fabric: lime (little), sand (little), mica (little); 5 YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white). Glaze: 10 R 4 / 6 (red) (dark), 10 R 5 / 6 (red) (light).

Comparanda (6-8): Anderson 1954, 169, fig. 5, no. 17 (end of the seventh century BC); Karageorghis 1969, 447, 449, fig. 25 (Cyprus, end of the seventh century BC - beginning of the sixth century BC); Boardman and Hayes 1973, 62, fig. 25, pl. 32, no. 2258 (Tocra, 620-590 BC); Doğer 1988, 217-18, fig. 26-27, no. 53 (Clazomenai, Monastrakia Necropolis, end of the seventh century BC - beginning of the sixth century BC); Johnston 1993, 364, fig. 8b, pl. 78, no. 108 (Kommos / Crete, end of the seventh century BC); Hürmüzlü 2003, 397, fig. 68, no. 200 / m (Clazomenai, Akpınar Necropolis, end of the seventh century BC); Masson 2007, 366, fig. 1.1 (Karnak, end of the seventh century BC - beginning of the sixth century BC); Sezgin 2012a, 116, 130, Khi2.04 (Pitane Necropolis, end of the seventh century BC - beginning of the sixth century BC).

9. Fragment of rim-neck. Necropolis. Diam. of rim: 10,2 cm, h: 16,7 cm. Fabric: stone, sand; 7.5 YR 6 / 4 (light brown). Slip: 7.5 YR 6 / 4 (light brown). Glaze: Rim, 5 YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown), 5 YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown); Trademark, 5 YR 3 / 3 (dark reddish brown).

Comparanda: Lambrino 1938, 110-12, Typ A1, figs. 71-74, 85e; Dimitriu 1966, 90, fig. 52, no. 369 (Histria, Archaic Period, Level 3); Roberts 1986, 67, fig. 42, pl. 18, no. 419-20 (Athens, 520-480 BC); Lawall 1995, 356, fig. 23 (until 480 BC); Sezgin 1998, fig. 27 (Clazomenai, Akpınar Necropolis, 530-510 BC) (especially rim); Monachov 1999a, 57-59, fig. 9, nos. 1-4 (Nymphaion Necropolis, second half of the sixth century BC (similar decoration, more swollen neck); Irimia 2006, 143, fig. 4 and 10 4a-b (second half of the sixth century BC).

10. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 07, trench of mudbrick fortification wall, between walls. Diam. of rim: 13,8 cm, h: 19,8 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand; 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 5 YR 7 / 3 (pink), inside: 5 YR 2.5 / 1 (black).

11. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 07, trench of mudbrick fortification wall, between walls. Diam. of rim: 13,4 cm, h: 19,3 cm. Fabric: stone, lime (little) sand (little); 7.5 YR 6 / 4 (light brown). Slip: 7.5 YR 6 / 3 (light brown), inside: 7.5 YR 2.5 / 1 (black).

Comparanda (10-11): Boulter 1953, 104-5, pl. 39, no. 150 (Athens, middle of the fifth century BC); Knigge 1976, 180-81, pl. 92.3 (Kerameikos, 470-460 BC); 146, pl. 62.5 (Kerameikos, middle of the fifth century BC); Williams and Fisher 1976, 107, pl. 20 (Corinth, 460-440 BC); Čistov and Domžalski 2002, 106, fig. 9, no. 6 (third quarter of the fifth century); Monachov 2003a, 237, fig. 7, nos. 4-6; Carlson 2004, fig. 29, no. 13 (Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck, 450-440 BC).

12. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 16,4 cm, h: 20,9 cm. Fabric: stone (little), lime (little) mica (little); 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Comparanda: Lawall 1995, 92, fig. 33.6 (Athens, 425 BC); Monachov 2003a, 19-20, fig. 8, no. 6 (440-430 BC); Kakhidze and Khalvashi 2010, 136, pl. 74.6 (Pichvnari, third quarter of the fifth century BC).

13. Fragment of foot. BYR 84, b 2 - c 2, 11.72 m / 11.62 m. Diam. of toe: 3,6 cm, h: 10,8 cm. Fabric: stone, mica, sand (little); 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Comparanda: Abramov et al. 1991, 74, fig. 2.8 (end of the fifth century BC); Monachov 2003a, 20, fig. 9, no. 6 (Olbia, 420 / 410 BC); Kakhidze and Khalvashi 2010, 136, pls. 74.7, 75.4. (Pichvnari, last quarter of the fifth century BC).

Clazomenian Amphorae

Seventh Century BC

14. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: -, h: 11.4 cm. Fabric: stone, mica, lime, sand; 10 R 6 / 4 (pale red). Slip: 2.5 YR 5 / 8 (red). Glaze: 2.5 YR 4 / 2 (weak red) / 2.5 YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Comparanda: Dupont and Skarlatidou 2005, 79, 81, fig. 2b (Abdera, beginning of the third of the seventh century).

15. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 11 cm, h: 5,2 cm. Fabric: stone, lime, sand; 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Glaze: 10 R 5 / 6 (red).

Comparanda: Boardman and Hayes 1973, 64, fig. 25, no. 2268 (Tocra, Deposit I); Calvet and Yon 1977, 18, cat. no. 106, pl. 10 (Cyprus, end of the seventh century BC); Doğer 1988, 184, fig. 1, pl. 1, cat. no. 1 (Clazomenai / Kalabak 2 Necropolis, 635-630 BC); Dupont and Skarlatidou 2005, 79, 81, fig. 2a (Abdera, beginning of the third of the seventh century).

16. Almost complete. Diam. of rim: 14 cm, Diam. of foot: 8,4 cm, h: 60,2 cm. Necropolis. Fabric: stone, lime, sand, mica (little); 5 YR 6 / 6 (yellowish red). Slip: 5 YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Glaze: 10 R 4 / 8 (red).

Comparanda: Boardman and Hayes 1973, 64, fig. 25, no. 2268 (Tocra, Deposit I); Calvet and Yon 1977, 18, cat. no. 106, pl. 10 (Cyprus, end of the seventh century BC); Doğer 1988, 188-89, fig. 4, cat. no. 10 (Clazomenai / HBT Sector, 600-590 BC and before); Dupont and Skarlatidou 2005, 79, 81, fig. 2a (Abdera, beginning of the third of the seventh century).

First Half of the Sixth Century BC

17. Foot, body, handles. Necropolis. Diam. of foot: 7,5 cm, h: 49,2 cm. Necropolis. Fabric: lime, sand; 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Glaze: 10 R 4 / 3 (weak red) / 10 R 5 / 6 (red).

Comparanda: Doğer 1988, 193-94, fig. 8, pl. 2, no. 19 (Clazomenai, Kalabak 2 Necropolis, first half of the sixth century BC); Rizzo 1990, fig. 198 (Vulci, Tomba Cantorini, 600-575 BC); Sezgin 2012a, 62, 77, Kla5.07 (Clazomenai, Akpınar Necropolis, 600-575 BC).

18. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 15 cm, h: 4,6 cm. Fabric: mica, stone, sand; 7.5 R 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 7.5 R 6 / 6 (light red), 2.5 YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown), Glaze: 5 YR 4 / 1 (dark gray).

Comparanda: Dimitriu 1966, 103, pl. 54, no. 525 (Histria, 600-570 / 560 BC); Doğer 1988, 190, fig. 5, no. 3 (Clazomenai, 600-590 / 570 BC).

19. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 14 cm, h: 6,6 cm. Fabric: stone, sand, lime; 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Glaze: 10 R 5 / 8 (red).

Comparanda: Dimitriu 1966, 103, pl. 54, no. 525 (Histria, 600-570 / 560 BC); Calvet and Yon 1977, 19, pl. 12, no. 121-22; Doğer 1988, 189, fig. 4, no. 11 (Clazomenai, 600-590 BC and before).

20. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 11,4 cm, h: 5,4 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand; 10 R 5 / 6 (red). Slip: 5 YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Glaze: 2.5 YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish gray) / 7.5 YR 5 / 6 (red).

Comparanda: Doğer 1988, 189, fig. 4, no. 11 (Clazomenai, 600-590 BC and before).

21. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 13 cm, h: 5,2 cm. Fabric: stone, sand; 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: 2.5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown) / 5 YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).

Comparanda: Tzochev 2011, 78, fig. 3, no. 10 (Bourgas, first half of the sixth century BC).

22. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 7,6 cm, h: 7,1 cm. Fabric: stone, lime, sand, mica (little); 10 R 5 / 4 (weak red). Slip: 5 YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red), 5 YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red), 2.5 YR 7 / 6 (light red).

Comparanda: Ersoy 1993, 57, 402, pl. 39, no. 344 (Clazomenai); Yaldır 2009, 394, fig. 21, no. T40 (Daskyleion, first quarter of the sixth century BC).

23. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 6 cm, h: 7,3 cm. stone, mica, lime (little), sand (little); Fabric: 5 YR 7 / 4 (pink), Slip: 5 YR 7 / 4 (pink), 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Comparanda: Boardman and Hayes 1973, 62, fig. 25, no. 2263 (Tocra, 590-565 BC, Deposit II); Atila and Okan 2018, 100, fig. 4, cat. no. 19 (Phocaea, first half of the sixth century BC).

Second Half of the Sixth Century BC

24. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of foot: 11,8 cm, h: 6,3 cm. Fabric: stone, lime, mica (little); 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown) / 2.5 YR 6 / 3 (light reddish brown). Glaze: 7.5 R 5 / 6 (red).

Comparanda: Lambrino 1938, 133-34, figs. 76-77 (Histria, second half of the sixth century BC); Doğer 1988, 197-98, fig. 10, pls. 3-4, no. 25 (Clazomenai, last quarter of the sixth century BC); Monachov 2003a, 54, fig. 33, no. 2 (second half of the sixth century BC).

25. Fragment of rim, neck, handle. Diam. of rim: 13 cm, h: 10,7 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand; 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white) / 2.5 YR 4 / 2 (weak red). Glaze: 2.5 YR 2.5 / 1 (reddish black).

Comparanda: Karageorghis 1970, 63, pl. 116.22 (Salamis / Cyprus, 550-500 BC); Doğer 1988, 197, fig. 10, pl. 10, no. 25 (Clazomenai, last quarter of the sixth century BC).

26. Fragment of rim, neck, handle. Diam. of rim: 13 cm, h: 4,7 cm. Fabric: stone, lime, sand (little); 10 R 7 / 6 (light red). Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 (pink) / 2.5 YR 7 / 8 (light red). Glaze: 7.5 YR 2.5 / 1 (black) / 10 R 5 / 6 (red).

Comparanda: Karageorghis 1970, 63, pl. 116.22 (Salamis / Cyprus, 550-500 BC); Doğer 1988, 197-98, fig. 10, pls. 3-4, no. 25 (Clazomenai, last quarter of the sixth century BC); Monachov 1999a, 73, fig. 15, no. 3 (Berezan, 500-480 BC).

27. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 15 cm, h: 4,3 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand (little), mica (little); 10 R 6 / 4 (pale red). Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown) / 5 YR 6 / 3 (light reddish brown). Glaze: 5 YR 2.5 / 1 (black) / 5 YR 6 / 3 (light reddish brown).

Comparanda: Karageorghis 1970, 63, pl. 116.22 (Salamis / Cyprus, 550-500 BC); Doğer 1988, 197-98, fig. 10, pls. 3-4, no. 25 (Clazomenai, last quarter of the sixth century BC); Monachov 1999a, 73, fig. 15, no. 3 (Berezan, 500-480 BC).

28. Fragment of rim. Diam. of rim: 10,4 cm, h: 3,4 cm. Fabric: stone, lime, sand, mica (little); 10 R 7 / 6 (light red). Slip: 5 YR 7 / 4 (pink) / 7.5 YR 8 / 3 (pink). Glaze: 2.5 YR 3 / 2 (dusky red) / 2.5 YR 5 / 6 (red).

Comparanda: Karageorghis 1970, 63, pl. 116.22 (Salamis / Cyprus, 550-500 BC); Doğer 1988, 197-98, fig. 10, pls. 3-4, no. 25 (Clazomenai, last quarter of the sixth century BC); Monachov 1999a, 73, fig. 15, no. 3 (Berezan, 500-480 BC).

29. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 84, C-14, 11.80 m - 11.49 m. Diam. of rim: 13 cm, h: 7 cm. Fabric: stone, sand, lime (little); 10 R 7 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 (light red) / 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Glaze: 2.5 YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown) / 10 R 5 / 6 (red).

Comparanda: Sezgin 2009, 129, pl. 24, cat. no. 7.16 (Pitane, 550-500 BC).

30. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 6,8 cm, h: 7 cm. Fabric: lime, stone, sand (little), mica (little); 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown) / 5 YR 8 / 1 (white), 5 YR 6 / 3 (light reddish brown).

Comparanda: Doğer 1988, 197-98, fig. 10, pls. 3-4 (Clazomenai, Yıldıztepe Necropolis, last quarter of the sixth century BC).

31. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 6,3 cm, h: 7,2 cm. Fabric: lime, sand; 2.5 YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Slip: 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown) / 5 YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).

Comparanda: Monachov 1999b, 181, 183, fig. 2.2 (Taurikon / Myrmekion, second half of the sixth century BC).

32. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 5,9 cm, h: 10,7 cm. Fabric: stone, lime (little), sand (little), mica; 10 R 5 / 4 (weak red). Slip: 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red) / 10 R 4 / 2 (weak red).

Comparanda: Doğer 1988, 207-8, fig. 19, 25, pl. 3, cat. no. 38 (Clazomenai, Yıldıztepe Necropolis, end of the sixth century BC, around 500 BC); Monachov 1999b, 181, 183, fig. 4 (Porthmeion, beginning fifth century BC).

Teian Amphora

33. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 6 cm, h: 9,9 cm. Fabric: stone, lime, mica; 10 R 5 / 4 (weak red). Slip: 10 YR 6 / 2 (light brownish gray).

Comparanda: Monachov 1999b, 168, fig. 7 (end of the seventh century BC - middle of the sixth century BC); Pesenti 2015, 298-99, no. A-S-29.

Lesbian Amphorae

34. Almost complete. Diam. of foot: 7,7 cm, h: 62 cm. Fabric: mica, stone; 10 YR 5 / 2 (grayish brown), Slip: 10 YR 2 / 1 (black).

Comparanda: Ruban 1983, 285, fig. 1, no. 14 (middle of the sixth century BC); Cook and Dupont 1998, 158, fig. 23.4b (first half of the sixth century BC); Fantalkin 2001, 94-5, fig. 34, no. 2; Monachov et. al. 2020, 115, LG.2 (second and third of the sixth century BC).

35. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 3,6 cm, h: 15,2 cm. Fabric: mica, stone, lime; 10 YR 6 / 3 (pale brown). Slip: 10 YR 6 / 2 (light brownish gray).

Comparanda: Ruban 1990, 18, fig. 4, type 2 (end of the sixth century BC - beginning of the fifth century BC).

36. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 2,8 cm, h: 12,7 cm. Fabric: mica, stone, sand (little); 7.5 YR 5 / 1 (gray). Slip: 10 YR 7 / 1 (light gray).

Comparanda: Čistov and Domžalski 2002, 105, fig. 8, nos. 10-12 (end of the fifth century BC-first quarter of the fourth century); Tzochev 2011, 81, fig. 6, no. 20 (Classical Period).

Milesian Amphorae

37. Fragment of rim-neck. BYR 86, A / 11-12, 11.45 m / 11.25 m. Diam. of rim: 15.4 cm, h: 8 cm. Fabric: mica, stone, lime (little); 7.5 YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: 7.5 YR 4 / 1 (dark gray).

Comparanda: Ruban 1991, 182, fig. 2.1 (Berezan, 550 / 490-480 BC); Voigtländer 1982, fig. 28, no. 171 (Miletos, sixth century BC); Naso 2005, 76, 83, fig. 3, cat. no. 10 (Miletos / Kalabaktepe, 520-500 BC).

38. Almost complete. TG-1 trench, BYR 15, 6.42 m. Diam. of rim: 14,3 cm, h: 76,2 cm. Fabric: sand, lime, mica, gold mica; 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 5 YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Comparanda: Dupont 1982, 175, fig. 23.9e (foot profile, middle of the fifth century BC); Monachov 2013, 30, table 1, no. 5 (rim profile, type 1b / last quarter of the fifth century BC).

39. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 3.8 cm, h: 4.7 cm. Fabric: lime, mica, stone (little); 5 YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow), Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Comparanda: Cook and Dupont 1998, 175, fig. 23.9e (middle of the fifth century BC); Lawall 1995, fig. 75, below (fifth century BC).

Samian Amphora

40. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 12,2 cm, h: 12,2 cm. Fabric: mica, sand, lime (little); 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 3 (light reddish brown).

Comparanda: Calvet and Yon 1977, 19, pl. 11, cat. no. 115 (Salamis / Cyprus, 600-550 BC); Docter 2000, 69-70, cat. 3, fig. 8c (Carthage, 600-550 BC), Atila 2005, 116, fig. 4, cat. no. 24 (Daskyleion, second half of the sixth century BC); Buyskykh 2014, 96, fig. 10, no. 8 (Borysthenes, not after middle of the sixth century BC).

Ionian Alpha / Erythrai? Amphorae

41. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 14,4 cm, h: 11,4 cm. Fabric: stone (little), sand, lime, mica (little); 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: 2.5 YR 6 / 4 (reddish yellow).

42. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 15 cm, h: 11,3 cm. Fabric: lime, mica, stone (little); 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: 2.5 YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

43. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 14,2 cm, h: 11,8 cm. Fabric: sand, lime, mica (little); 7.5 YR 6 / 4 (light brown). Slip: 5 YR 7 / 3 (pink).

Comparanda (42, 43, 44): Carlson 2004, 170, fig. 34, cat. no. 15 (Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck, 450-440 BC); Carlson and Lawall 2005 / 06, 35, fig. 3 (Gordion); Monachov 2013, 30-31, fig. 1.3 / type 1a, end of the fifth century BC).

44. Fragment of foot. BYR 84, C2 (?) 13.45 m / 13.40 m. Diam. of rim: 4 cm, h: 7,6 cm. Fabric: lime, sand, mica (little); 5 YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: 5 YR 6 / 1 (gray).

Comparanda: Doğer 1988, 264-65, fig. 51, pl. 20, cat. no. 133 (Clazomenai, Yıldıztepe Necropolis, end of the sixth century BC); Carlson 2004, 173, 229, fig. 41 (Tektaş Burnu Shipwreck, middle of the fifth century BC); Sezgin 2012a, 255, Ionia α. 14 (Clazomenai, Akpınar Nekropolisi / beginning of the fifth century BC).

Ionian Beta Amphorae

45. Fragment of rim-neck. Diam. of rim: 11,1 cm, h: 12 cm. Fabric: lime, mica; 5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown), Slip: 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Comparanda: Monachov 1999a, 52, fig. 6, no. 1; Chistov et. al. 2012, 24, pl. 11, no. 5; Astashova and Lomtadze 2017, 89, pl. 91.6, cat. no. 181.

46. Fragment of rim. Diam. of rim: 13 cm, h: 10,7 cm. Fabric: lime, sand, mica; 2.5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: 5 YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Comparanda: Lomtadze 2005, 332, fig. 6, no. 11 (end of the sixth century BC - beginning of the fifth century BC); Monachov et al. 2019, 117, NA.9 (500-480 BC).

47. Fragment of rim. Diam. of rim: 11 cm, h: 8,1 cm. Fabric: sand, mica, lime; 5 YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Slip: 5 YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Comparanda: Monachov 2003a, 255, fig. 25, no. 5; Astashova and Lomtadze 2017, 91-92, pl. 92-15, no. 205 (end of the sixth century BC - beginning of the fifth century BC).

48. Fragment of rim. Diam. of rim: 10,2 cm, h: 5,3 cm. Fabric: lime, sand, mica (little), stone (little); 10 R 6 / 6 (light red), Slip: 5 YR 7 / 2 (pinkish gray).

Comparanda: Ruban 1991, 187, fig. 5, no. 1; Monachov 2003a, 255, fig. 25, no. 5 (500-470 BC).

49. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 4,8 cm, h: 6,6 cm. Fabric: mica, stone, lime; 2.5 YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: 7.5 YR 6 / 4 (light brown).

Comparanda: Astashova and Lomtadze 2017, 58, fig. 92.4, cat. no. 194 (second half of the sixth century BC); Zavoykin 2018, 145, fig. 4, no. 10 (Phanagoria, end of the sixth century BC - beginning of the fifth century BC); Monachov 2003b, 248-49, fig. 1, no. 4 (Olbia Necropolis, 550-500 BC).

50. Fragment of foot. Diam. of foot: 3.6 cm, h: 7,7 cm. Fabric: sand, mica, lime; 2.5 YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: 10 YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).

Comparanda: Monachov et. al. 2019, 33, fig. 9, no. 10-11, 13; 119, NA.13 (second quarter of the fifth century BC); Lomtadze 2005, 332, fig. 6, no. 11.

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FIG. 1 Map of Sites in the Aegean.

FIG. 2 Amphorae 1-13.

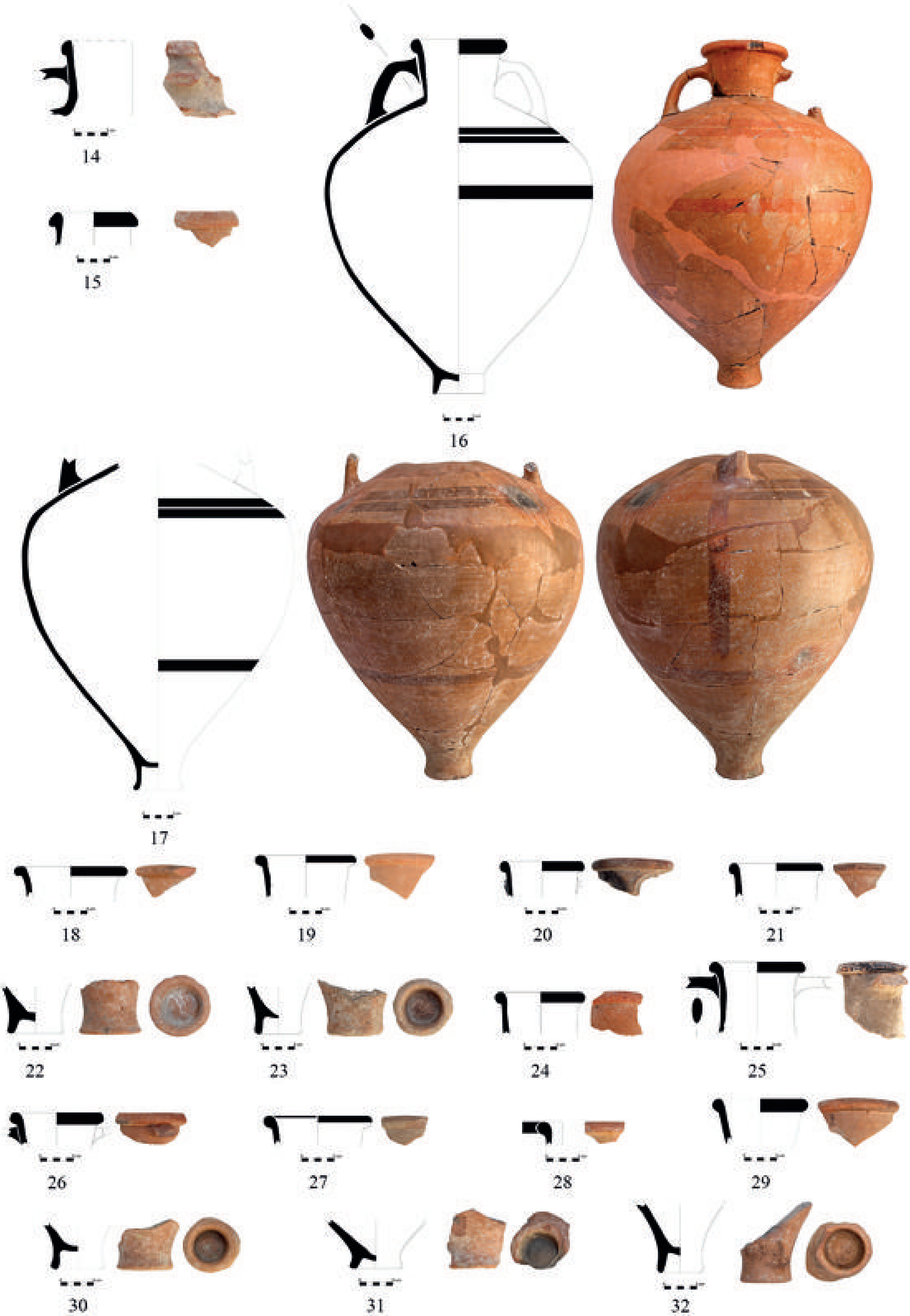

FIG. 3 Amphorae 14-32.

FIG. 4 Amphorae 33-39.

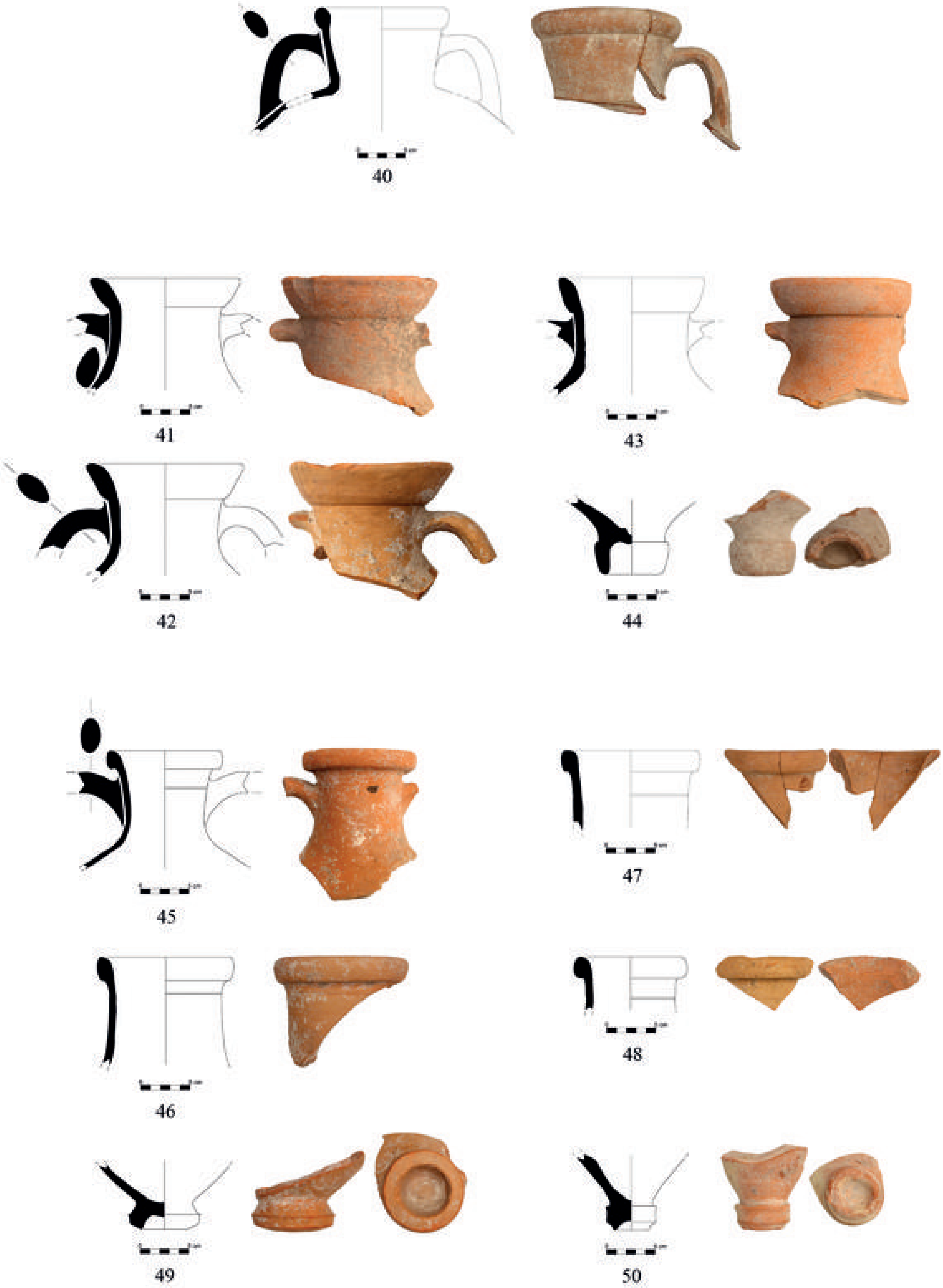

FIG. 5 Amphorae 40-50.

The Heracles-Melqart Head from The Hatay Museum

In memory of those who lost their lives in the Hatay earthquake

UTKU ARINÇ – FATMA BAĞDATLI ÇAM*

Abstract

The subject of our study is the head of Heracles found during the 1932-1934 excavation season at the Çatal Höyük settlement in the Amik Plain within the borders of Hatay. It is exhibited in the Hatay Museum and carved from limestone. That Heracles is in an attacking position with his club raised behind his head has enabled the statue to be evaluated within the "Cypriot Heracles" or "Heracles-Melqart" typology in the literature. Although this type has been found to be widespread throughout the Mediterranean world considering examples from Cyprus particularly, then Egypt, Al Mina, and Attica, this singular example from Anatolia demonstrates the unique value of our study. As a result of stylistic evaluation, we conclude that the Heracles head was made in Cyprus in the last quarter of the sixth century BC in the Heracles-Melqart type. Its typology was shaped by the cultural influences in Idalion or possibly Gorgoi, but by a master who closely followed the sculpture styles of Rhodes and Athens. The typological difference between the head from Hatay and the Cypriot examples can be explained by locality. In terms of meaning, the Cypriot example indicates that the Heracles-Melqart typology may be a combination of a local cult and Heracles-Melqart iconography in Anatolia. Therefore, the Heracles head at Çatal Höyük was produced in a local workshop in the late sixth century BC. Although

Öz

Çalışma konumuzu, Hatay sınırları içerisindeki Amik Ovası'nda lokalize edilen Çatal Höyük yerleşiminde 1932-1934 kazı sezonunda bulunan Herakles başı oluşturmaktadır. Hatay Müzesi'nde sergilenen ve kireçtaşından yontulan eserde Herakles'in lobutunu başının arkasına kaldırmış, saldırı pozisyonunda olması onu, literatürde "Kıbrıs Heraklesi" ya da Herakles-Melqart" tipolojisi içerisinde değerlendirilmesine imkan tanımıştır. Bu tipin Kıbrıs başta olmak üzere, Mısır, Al Mina ve Attika'daki örnekleri yardımıyla tüm Akdeniz dünyasında yaygınlaştığı tespit edilmiş olsa da Anadolu'daki tekil örneğe sahip olması çalışmamızın özgün değerini ortaya koymuştur. Yapılan stilistik değerlendirmeler neticesinde de Herakles başının Kıbrıs'ta Idalion ya da büyük bir olasılıkla Gorgoi'deki kültürel etkilerle biçimlenmiş bir tipolojide, Herakles-Melqart tipinde, ancak Rhodos ve Atina heykel stillerini yakından takip eden bir usta tarafından MÖ altıncı yy.'ın son çeyreğinde yapılmış olduğu sonucuna ulaştırmıştır. Eserin Kıbrıs örneklerinden tipolojik farklılığı yerel olması ile açıklanabilir. Ayrıca anlam olarak Kıbrıs'taki örnek, bize Herakles-Melqart tipolojisinin Anadolu'da yerel kült ile Herakles-Melqart ikonografisinin birleşmiş olabileceğine işaret etmektedir. Bu bağlamda Çatal Höyük'teki başın MÖ altıncı yy.'ın sonlarında yerel bir atölyede üretildiği anlaşılmış ve bu sebeple Kıbrıs tipolojisine

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faithful to Cypriot typology, it appears more as an Anatolian artefact in terms of meaning.

Keywords: Heracles, Melqart, Hatay, Cyprus, Mediterranean region, Archaic period

sadık kalsa da anlam olarak daha Anadolulu bir eser olabileceğini göstermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Herakles, Melqart, Hatay, Kıbrıs, Akdeniz Bölgesi, Arkaik Dönem

Heracles-Melqart Head

Museum: Hatay Museum
Museum Inv. No: 3128
Material: Limestone
Findspot: Catal Höyük (Hatay)
Find Year: 1933 / 1934

Dimensions: Height: 10.5 cm, **width:** 12 cm. **thickness:** 11 cm

Introduction

The excavations at Çatal Höyük[1] (figs. 1-2), located on the banks of the Afrin Stream 4 km northwest of Reyhanlı, east of the Amik Plain in Hatay Province, were carried out between 1932 and 1938 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.[2] During the excavations, the heads of two statues made of limestone were found on the floor of a room at Level II (Locus N.13.01b) in Area II.[3] Among these heads, that of the male, the subject of our study, was identified as "Heracles of Cyprus" by M. Pucci. The aim of our study is to discuss the conformity of the artefact to the typology known as "Cypriot Herakles" or "Heracles-Melqart" in terms of form and style characteristics and the existence of the Heracles-Melqart cult in Anatolia as a place of production.

State of Preservation: Only the head of the statue is preserved. The fractures on the left side of the head were joined by restoration. There are breaks on the left eye and eyebrow, left ear, nose, and lips, where the lion's pelt meets the left cheek and on the chin.

Description: The head, made with normal dimensions and depicted from the front, represents Heracles (fig. 3). His head is dressed in a lion's pelt. The broad face ends with a pointed chin. On the forehead, two sawtooth-form rows of traditional hair protrude from under the lion's pelt. In profile, a flat and high forehead forms an almost right angle on the roof of the nose. The nose extends forward with a straight contour. Arched, thin eyebrows form an arc over the eye. The face is beardless. Eyelids and bags under the eyes are not indicated, for they are carved in relief within the eyeball. The almond-shaped eyes are large and bulging. The pupil is indicated with red paint. The painted lips are thin, the mouth is closed, and an archaic smile is dominant. The lips have a "U" shape due to this slight smile. A thin, nasolabial line is carved from the wings of the nose down to the end of the lips, due to the smile. Cheekbones are protruding and the cheeks are full. The mouth area is slightly sunken due to the full-fleshy cheeks. The ear structure differs from normal anatomy due to the pressure of the pelt. The helix of the ear is strongly curved; the tragus, antitragus and antihelix are not indicated (figs. 5-8).

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1 We would like to thank the former director M. Nalan Yastı for permission to study this artefact. We would also like to thank Necmi Burgaç who took the photographs of the artefact and all the expert archaeologists of the Hatay Museum for their help with the museum work.

2 Pucci 2013, 89-90; 2008, 17; 2019a.

3 Pucci 2019a, 282-83, cat. no. 1225, fig. 119.

The eyes on the lion's pelt, covers the entire head and are deep and incised as a dashed line (figs. 9-10). The eyebrows just above them are fleshy and raised, while the nose is a continuation of the eyebrow with long and wide channels extending to the top of the forehead. The muzzle of the pelt is at the level of Heracles' ear, leaving the upper half of the ear exposed, covering the earlobe and continuing to the cheekbone. The ears of the pelt are triangular in form, with a small structure. Not an anatomical treatment, they can be seen from the front. Just below the ear, the lion's mane is emphasized with red paint and, indicated by zigzag incised lines continuing down to the neck. At the point adjacent to the rear of the pelt and a little higher, a club with a broken end is depicted horizontally. The back is flat, painted in patches, and ends with a zigzag motif continuing from top to bottom (fig. 4).

Typology / Iconography / Problem of Origin

The Heracles Head was found during the 1933 / 1934 excavation season at Çatal Höyük on the banks of the Afrin River, east of the Amik Plain in the province of Hatay.[4] In his publication discussing the commercial relations in the Amik Plain with the help of the finds from Çatal Höyük, Pucci also published a photograph of the Heracles-Melqart head and the foot fragment found with it. Also found in this context was a fragment preserved up to the ankle and depicting the left foot stepping to the front over a plinthos.[5]

The head is now displayed in the Hatay Museum and belongs to a sculpture of Heracles that when viewed from the front, reflects a style similar to the smiling Kouros of the Mature Archaic Period. From the sixth century BC on, the typology of Heracles wearing a lion's pelt became widespread in Greek art through vase paintings, and along the Mediterranean coast such as Egypt, Cyprus and Al Mina, with the help of gems and sculptures.[6]

The club that is horizontally depicted at the end of the apex of his head distinguishes him from the common Heracles typology known from Greek art. The Heracles depicted in an attacking position with the club raised behind his head is known as "Heracles-Melqart".[7] In addition, due to the head and facial features of the artefact, it should be related to the Heracles-Melqart typology, defined as Cypriot rather than as the conventional Heracles typology.[8]

Before proceeding to the typological and stylistic analysis of our work it is first necessary to look at the copious Cypriot examples that appear to be related to its typology and iconography.

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[4] Çatal Höyük was excavated by the Oriental Institute between 1932 and 1936. The stratigraphy revealed the presence of a settlement dating from the Roman-Byzantine phases to the Late Bronze Age. The Heracles Head was found on the floor of a room at Level II_04 in Area II in Iron Age stratum (Locus N-13-01b). The excavation reports indicate that the Heracles Head was found together with the pedestal (cat. no. 1226), on which the feet were preserved; see Pucci 2019a, 1-3, 282-83, cat. no. 1225, fig. 119.

[5] Pucci 2020, 19, fig. 7b.

[6] The typology of Heracles wearing a lion's pelt on his head is dated to the late sixth century BC on terracotta examples from Egypt; see Boardman 1988, s.v. "Herakles", 734-35, nos. 4, 11-12. For the depiction on an amphora from Attica and the marble relief head found in the Athenian Agora, see Boardman 1988, s.v. "Heracles", 734-35, nos. 17 and 65.

[7] Counts 2008, 10; Jensen 2003, 101-9.

[8] In the excavation reports, Pucci suggested that the limestone artefact should be a Cypriot Heracles and that it could not be a local production based on similar examples. When compared with the examples from Golgoi in Cyprus, it is also stated that there are fundamental differences such as the absence of a beard and the presence of a row of teeth on the forehead. Pucci 2019a, 282-83; Karageorghis 2000, cat. no. 190; Hermary and Mertens 2014, cat. nos. 300-1, 303.

The Heracles-Melqart typology reflects the form of the lion-related gods of Mesopotamian and Egyptian origin resulting from cultural transformations and interactions that were reshaping the Mediterranean world and Anatolia in the first millennium BC.[9] The earliest iconography of Melqart is on a stele found on Roman walls at Bureij in northern Syria. Here its name was mentioned at the earliest and dated to the late ninth or early eighth century BC.[10] Melqart is bearded and dressed in an Egyptian kilt with a conical headdress, one foot is thrown forward, and he is waving a hollow axe with his left hand and holding an ankh in his right hand. The figure blends Egyptian, North Syrian, Neo-Hittite, and Phoenician elements. Besides the temple dedicated to Melqart at Kition in Cyprus in the ninth century BC, images of gods holding a hollow axe are also found in later periods.[11] Therefore, Hermary's observation that the basic typological transformation of Heracles-Melqart is clear but the meanings attributed to him in local cultures may vary is an important observation.[12]

Heracles-Melqart is seen throughout the Iron Age as the main male god of the island and protector of the rulers. The coins of Salamis and Kition certify this.[13] According to Counts's iconographic description, there are two important elements in the Heracles-Melqart typology. First, the club is raised in an attacking gesture, and second, the figure of the defeated lion is held in the figure's left hand.[14] These two important features of the figure are known from much earlier dates in Egypt and the Near East. It appears in the wall decoration of Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis, in the tomb of the Fifth Dynasty of Ti at Saqqara, and in the Early Dynastic Period in Egypt.[15] This type of depiction gained great popularity in the Syrian region in the middle of the second millennium BC, where it was transferred to a more symbolic representation of the victorious king or god without the need to depict the enemy.[16] This iconography of the god continued through the first millennium BC. A figure stepping forward with his right hand raised in an attacking position and holding a lion figure in his left hand is depicted on the famous Amrit stele from northern Syria and the Levantine coasts.[17] This figure is considered to be the predecessor of the Heracles-Melqart typology defined as Heracles of Cyprus. A similar depiction is seen at Carchemish, where a god wearing a bull-horned headdress is depicted.[18]

Counts[19] and Jensen,[20] in their studies on the eastern origins of the Cypriot Heracles, have found that this typology emerged intensively in Idalion and Golgoi, where Assyrian, Phoenician, Greek and Egyptian influences merged. As it can be understood from the Cesnola

9 Krappe 1945, 144-45. Krappe emphasises the Anatolian origin of Heracles and associates him with the Heraclidean dynasty in Lydia and the cult of Sandas in Tarsus. For examples in Iberia in Spain, see Marti-Aguilar 2021; Martin 2012, 119-42. See also Levy 1934 for the Eastern origin of Heracles.

10 Daniels 2021, 468, fig. 34.1.

11 Daniels 2021, 468-69.

12 Hermary 1989, 299; Martin 2012, 119-42.

13 Papantoniou 2012, 266, n. 573.

14 Counts 2008, 11.

15 Counts 2008, 11.

16 Counts 2008, 11.

17 Counts 2008, 11, fig. 8.

18 In the relief of Carchemish, the figure of the god who has grabbed the lion by the hind leg is holding an axe raised above his head. It dates to the early 10th century BC; see Gilibert 2011, 175, Charchemish 49; Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, inv. no. 9666+

19 Counts 2008, 10; 2014, 285-96.

20 Jensen 2003.

Collection, the artefacts produced in terracotta and mainly limestone since the mid-sixth century BC reflect the influences of Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek sculpture styles, especially Egyptian.[21] In the works found in the aforementioned centers of the island, it is possible to observe the stylistic features of Greek sculpture, such as the upward curvature of the mouth, the "U" shaped oval face, slanted eyes, and protruding orbits of the eyes. This produced the effect of the Archaic smile, which became widespread in the second half of the sixth century BC. The intense red paint observed on our piece continued to be used until the Hellenistic Period in the same centers.

Close examples of our artefact in the Heracles-Melqart typology come from Cyprus,[22] and their stylistic features also point to a Cypriot relationship.[23] In this typology there are slight differences among the early examples. The common point in all typologies is that the figure is depicted standing with the left foot poised to step forward and wearing a short tunic. The arms / paws of the lion's pelt, worn on the head of the figure with a belt around its waist, are dropped over the shoulder onto the chest and knotted there.[24] The typological differences are that the figure usually holds the lion in his left hand, while in some examples he carries the club. In some examples, his right hand is at waist level. Examples of Heracles raising the club above his head and carrying it horizontally are concentrated in the late sixth century BC.[25] The Hatay head seems to be associated with the cities of Idalion, Kition, and especially Golgoi, both typologically and in terms of paint remains. At the same time, the depiction of Heracles in the attack position with his club raised behind his head, as described by Counts, fits well with the eastern Heracles-Melqart typology of "Master of Lion".[26] According to the suggested source of this typology being ancient Tyre, the typology of young Heracles with his arm raised in the attack position, distinguished as "Master of Lion", must have continued to exist on civic coinage, even in the Hellenistic Period. Since no examples of sculptures belonging to the Heracles-Melqart typology have been found in Tyre, its origin is assumed to be Cyprus. Lichtenberger suggests that the Tyrian Heracles type seen on the coin of Alexander the Great minted in the city may have been influenced by a model existing at that time.[27]

Examples typologically similar to the Hatay head come from Idalion and Kition. Indeed, the closest example from outside these two cities is similar to the Heracles-Melqart head from Amrit on the Syrian coast that is exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum (figs. 11-14).[28] The similarity lies in the fact that the lion's pelt covers the entire head and extends to the center of the forehead. The ears protrude outwards from a piece of skin extending from both sides of the face to the cheek, and additionally is the presence of an oval face. Another striking relationship is the lion's skin surrounding the head like a wreath, with the feathers of the skin carved with diagonal grooves. They are prominently carved behind the ears in such a way that they can be seen from the front. Although the oval facial form is fuller on the Hatay head, the slanted eyes

[21] Hermary and Mertens 2014, cat. nos. 300-20.

[22] Cypriot examples, closely related to the Hatay head, come mainly from Golgoi and Idalion. For these examples see Hermary 1990, s.v. "Herakles," 190-94, nos. 9-10, 14, 21, 23.

[23] Counts 2008; Jensen 2003; Hermary and Mertens 2014, cat. nos. 300-20.

[24] Daniels 2021, 471.

[25] Boardman 1988, s.v. "Heracles," 734-35, nos. 17, 19-21, 38. These examples date to the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC.

[26] Counts 2008; Martin 2012, 119-42.

[27] Lichtenberger 2022, 5, fig. 1.

[28] Hermary and Mertens 2014, 236, cat. no. 313, Metropolitan Museum inv. no. 74.51.2655; Pucci 2020, 19.

and curved mouth are similar in expression. However, the most obvious difference between the Amrit and Hatay heads is their workmanship. Both artefacts appear to have been carved from the same prototype. This can be explained close relationship between them.

According to Counts, the Cypriot depiction of this versatile God is unique; he was worshipped throughout the entire Mesaoria region, probably under various local names used in its various temples. The cult of the "Lord of the Lion" covered several separate kingdoms such as Kition, Idalion, Tamassos, Chytroi, and possibly Salamis.[29]

On the basis of the large number of terracotta or local limestone figures found in the sanctuaries of sites such as Idolion and Kition in Cyprus, Papantoniou proposes that there was an intense cultural fusion in the first half of the Iron Age due to Assyrian, Phoenician, and Greek migrations. Separating this from the issue of whether there were clear distinctions in the identity of the people, he focuses on the style and iconography of the sculptural artefacts. He emphasizes that by the middle of the Iron Age in Cyprus there was a new iconography as well as a local culture, which he defines as "eteocypriot." In Cyprus, where local kingdoms existed during the Iron Age, Phoenician and Greek influence are the most prominent cultures. In addition, Papantoniou suggests that Salamis was a center that produced artefacts for many cities. It had extensive relations with other cities and even exported these artefacts outside Cyprus, based on the terracotta artefacts.[30]

Fourrier, in his study of the Iron Age of Cyprus, suggests that the Heracles-Melqart typology was probably created in Idalion in the first half of the sixth century BC. It then became widespread in Mesaoria, especially in the Golgoi region, which at that time was probably a secondary territory of the Idalion kingdom.[31] This typology begins to appear at Kition in the late sixth century BC.[32] An analysis of the Cypriot examples clearly reveals at what point the Hatay head differs from that of the "Cypriot Heracles." In the examples from Cyprus, the head of Heracles clearly shows the skin of a lion, and the paws / claws of this lion hang downwards over the shoulder. Likewise, the figure's role as an archer is also clearly demonstrated. Due to the density of archer types found in Golgoi, it has been suggested that the type originates from this region.[33] Other examples are known to be from Idalion,[34] Kazaphani,[35] and Lefkoniko.[36]

Based on the surviving Heracles-Melqart types and other sculptural examples from Cypriot settlements with which we have established both typological and iconographic connections, unfortunately no exact stylistic or technical similarities have been identified. For example, the

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29 Counts 2008, 22; Fourrier 2013, 113; Daniels 2021, 471.

30 Papantoniou 2012, 98-102. Two important colonization movements are known in Cyprus in the first half of the Iron Age. In the 12th-11th centuries BC, it received intensive immigration from Greece and in the ninth century BC from Phoenicia, especially from Tyre. This situation has been identified in the settlements of the city with both archaeological and written evidence. The political organization of the local culture of Cyprus, which started in the 10th century BC, was completed in the eighth century BC. and local kingdoms emerged. Kition in the south of the island is an important Phoenician settlement. With time, it also influences Idalion. Salamis and Kourion were known as the cities where Greeks were settled. In addition, Assyrian and Egyptian influences are clearly seen in the late eighth and sixth centuries BC, respectively. See Counts 2008, 16-17; Sørensen 2014; Durugönül 2016.

31 Fourrier 2013, 113.

32 Fourrier 2013, 113; Gjerstad et al. 1937, 54-61.

33 Hermary 1990, 195.

34 Senf 1993, 63.

35 Karageorghis 1978, 181, no. 207, pl. 47.

36 Myres 1940-1945, 64, no. 406, pl. 14.

facial form of Heracles and the shape of the eye witness this similarity.[37] However, the Cypriot head is more stylized than the Hatay head, which distinguishes the two works. Another example of this type of head was found at Amrit.[38] Although it has the same typology as the Hatay head, it differs in terms of workmanship. The Heracles-Melqart statue displayed in the Metropolitan Museum is one of the best examples of this type, both in size and in detailed workmanship.[39] The statue from Golgoi measures 2.17 m. and is dated to 530-520 BC. When compared with the Hatay sculpture, only the typological similarity of the two sculptures can be understood. The Golgoi sculpture shows a completely different workmanship and typological characteristics from the Hatay Herakles, with the lion's skin, facial structure, beard, plastic structure of the eyebrows, and the larger and more superficial structure of the eyes. Farnell states that the Heracles-Melqart type is bearded.[40] Since the beardless young Herakles typology, of which the Hatay head is representative, can be accepted to be representative of Tyre (and examples are also found in Syria), the examples in Cyprus are derivative of the communication with the mainland.[41] However, more evidence from Phoenician and Syrian sites is needed to prove such a suggestion.

In the light of all these considerations, it is clear that the Hatay head is typologically related closely to the Heracles-Melqart typology known primarily from the Cypriot centers of Idalion, Golgoi and Kition. However, its stylistic affinity with the Syrian Amrit head proves that it was produced from the same prototype. The Bureij Stele in northern Syria proves that the Melqart cult is more rooted here than in Cyprus and that the Amrit head is a continuation of this cult. The proximity between Çatal Höyük and Amrit indicates that the intensity of cultural relations was higher than with Cyprus. The Hatay head typologically reflects the Cypriot Heracles, but it also bears the influence of the same culture as Syria.

Since the first findings about Heracles in the ancient Greek world come from ancient texts associated with Homer and Hesiod, it is accepted that the hero entered the Greek Pantheon from the late eighth century BC.[42] He was intensively worshipped in Thebes, Messenia, and Argos, where *heroons* are seen rather than temples.[43] The Doric origin of the hero is associated with the Heraclid dynasty in Sparta. The same is also true for Lydia. Herodotus claims that he is of Egyptian origin.[44] Although the question of the origin of Heracles seems to be quite complex, his presence in almost the entire Mediterranean world from the seventh century BC onwards is certain. Examples of pictorial art on vase paintings come from Attica in the late eighth century BC.[45] In the sixth century BC, examples of sculpture are concentrated both in Attica and in Cyprus and its neighborhood.

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[37] Hermary and Mertens 2014, cat. no. 301. The artefact found at Golgoi, with a height of 22 cm, dates to the mid-sixth century BC.

[38] Hermary and Mertens 2014, cat. nos. 313, 236. It is dated to the early fifth century BC.

[39] Karageorghis 2000, cat. nos. 190, 123-25.

[40] Farnell 1921, 5.

[41] Although the presence of the young Heracles typology on the coins of Tyre in the fourth century BC. is evidence for the survival of traditional typology recognizable due to the continuity of the cult in the city, more evidence is needed; see Lichtenberger 2022, 1-9; Daniels 2021, 468-71.

[42] Farnell 1921, 96.

[43] Farnell 1921, 97.

[44] Farnell 1921, 97, 103, 106, 116.

[45] Cohen 1994, 696-97, figs. 1-2.

According to Hermary, despite the obvious iconographic links with the Greek Heracles, there is no conclusive evidence that Cypriots adopted the foreign hero as their own or even integrated him into their own divine pantheon.[46] It seems more likely that the sanctuaries here created a process of hybridization in which elements were fused to create a new image. They were deliberately modified to meet the concerns of the local population and to depict a local Cypriot god. For this reason, the depiction of the God wearing a lion's pelt and carrying a bow and arrow emphasises his divinity as an archer / hunter. This proves that the traditional Heracles typology has gained a new local meaning here. Although it is not possible to interpret the meaning of the Heracles-Melqart heads found at Çatal Höyük and Syrian Amrit, the Cypriot influence should be accepted without any doubt.

Stylistic Evaluation and Dating

The Cypriot centers of Idalion and Golgoi, especially in their sanctuaries, are known to have a large number of votive sculptures that can be regarded as products of Egyptian, Assyrian and Greek cultures. These terracotta and limestone artefacts were produced extensively from the seventh to the fifth centuries BC and reveal stylistic and typological similarities. If we disregard their different typological and iconographic features, similarities in style and form can be identified, which indicates that they were produced in the same center. Accordingly, it is noteworthy that the oval face, almond eyes and mouth structure, common in the Mature and Late Archaic Periods of Greek sculpture, are curved upwards in a way to indicate a smile. The hair usually surrounds the face on the forehead with a moulded structure, which we define as Egyptian influence. The different hair arrangements on the forehead have turned into spirals or curls since the late sixth century BC. From the end of the sixth century BC onwards, the facial smile began to gain a more natural appearance by emphasizing the cheekbones with nasolabial lines. All these features parallel the developments in Greek sculpture art. This situation allows us to suggest that perhaps it was applied by Greek masters influenced by the Greek population known to exist in the island's settlements.[47] It is possible to observe these features and the form characteristics considered as the common typology of this region in the Hatay artefact as well. However, a careful examination of the Hatay piece reveals that although it is closely related to the Cypriot Heracles in its general typological and iconographic lines, it is more closely related to the Greek Archaic pieces in its stylistic and formal characteristics.

Our work evidences an oval facial structure, upwardly curved mouth, and plasticity of the lips. However, the absence of nasolabial lines, expected to extend down on both sides of the nose to affect this smile, was not or could not be reflected on the face. The eyes are almond-shaped and slanted, a form observed in the East Greek sculpture workshops after the middle of the sixth century BC. Then the round of the eye is made prominent outwards. The lion's pelt surrounds the face like hair, and the lion's tooth row on the forehead is separated by horizontal grooves, just like a row of hair. It is possible to see a similar arrangement on the head of Hermes, dated to the fifth century BC at Golgoi.[48] The ears are delimited by the fold of the pelt on the cheek and are schematized as if they were added later.

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[46] Hermary 1989, 299.

[47] According to the chronology of Cypriot Archaic sculpture, the emergence of cultural interaction is proposed as the "Eastern and Western Neo-Cypriot Style (560-520 BC)" and the "Archaic Cypriot-Greek Style (540-480 BC)", in which Greek sculpture styles intensified; see Kaplan and Durugönül 2020, 58.

[48] Hermary and Mertens 2014, 256-57, cat. no. 347.

When all these features are taken into account, the Archaic smile on the face limited to the mouth and the presence of a fuller but flatter structure on the cheeks are observed on the Kouros of Florence, found in Rhodes and exhibited in the İstanbul Archaeological Museums. This is evaluated in the Volomandra Tenea group, the first group of the Mature Archaic Period, according to Richter's classification for the *Kouros* typology.[49] On the Kouros of Florence, the double row of spirals of hair bordering the forehead, the almond eye form under the arc-shaped eyebrow projection, and the upward-curved mouth, although wider than the head of Heracles, can be compared with the straight finish on the sides. A later work of the same group from the Glypthotek Museum, Munich, also resembles the head of Heracles: it has an oval face, hair forming a straight line on the forehead, flatness of cheeks, slightly curved mouth, plastic lips, and moulded hair surrounding the face.[50] Especially with the more rigid form of the hair structure, this belongs to an earlier date than Heracles.

After the middle of the sixth century BC, East Greek workshops produced a large number of artefacts. The angular hairstyle of the hair of the Kouros head,[51] the slanted form of the eyes, and the upward curve of the mouth are more softly finished than on Heracles. Nevertheless, the cross-hatching incised on the hair on the back of the neck at the same point is quite similar to on both heads.

The Late Archaic Kouros head found in the sanctuary of Ptoon, dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC, has a plastic arrangement of hair surrounding the forehead. The hair is raised above the skin as if it were a crown surrounding the head. The ears are schematically indicated between this mass of hair without much detail.[52] The form of the slanted eyes under the arc-shaped eyebrow projection can be associated with Heracles.

Among the kores, the slanted eye structure of the head found in Rhodes and the upward curve of the mouth in a smiling manner have flat ends. The ears are similar to those of Heracles in that the curve of the upper part is visible from the opposite side.[53] Although the head of one of the Acropolis kores from the Late Archaic Period (last quarter of the sixth century BC) shows superior workmanship compared to the head of Heracles, stylistic parallels can be drawn.[54] The oval form of the face, the slanted shape of the eyes, the protruding roundness of the eye, and the placement of the ears behind the hair are parallel. Although at first glance the hairline bordering the forehead is quite well executed on Heracles, the chisel distinctions between the curls show a more superficial execution on Heracles. A similar situation can be seen on the head of inv. no. 645 from the Acropolis kores.[55]

As a result of these comparisons, it is understood that the head of Heracles Melqart reflects the characteristics of Rhodian or Athenian sculpture styles in the second half of the sixth century BC. However, it was made by a master who was conservative crafting the soft structure of the cheeks that reflect the realism of the face, the nasolabial lines affecting the smile, and the details in the hair structure. He was a traditionalist who adhered to a certain typology in the

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49 Richter 1970, 83-84, figs. 243-44.

50 Richter 1970, 84, figs. 251-52.

51 Richter 1970, 110, figs. 369-70.

52 Richter 1970, 134, figs. 455-57.

53 Karasaki 2003, 113, pl. 105.

54 Karasaki 2003, 118, pl. 140, inv. no. 669.

55 Karasaki 2003, 85, 118, 161, pl. 163.

depiction of a God or a hero. Another similar example that supports this is the Amrit head.[56] Although the Amrit head, is typologically closest to the Hatay head, it is similar to the Hatay head with its slanted eyes and upward curved mouth structure and expression. The thinning of the face towards the chin and a more pronounced smile expression with cheekbones indicate that it must be of a slightly later date than our work. Stylistically, it is cruder than the Hatay head and perhaps has features that can be accepted as local characteristics. Although a one-to-one workmanship similarity with the Hatay head could not be found, in the light of the above comparisons, it seems that the Heracles head must have been made in the last quarter of the sixth century BC in a typology shaped by the cultural influences of Idalion or, more likely, of Gorgoi in Cyprus, in the Heracles-Melqart type, but by a master who closely followed the sculptural styles of Rhodes and Athens.[57] The surveys conducted by S. Durugönül in the region including Çatal Höyük led her to conclude that the sculptures, dated to the sixth century BC in the vicinity of Tarsus and in the Adana Museum, are of Cypriot origin.[58] The limestone head found in Tarsus is associated with Idalion.[59] According to Durugönül, although the Archaic Period artefacts in the Adana Museum resemble Ionian artefacts stylistically, local characteristics are dominant. This is explained by the Cyprus relationship.[60] Evidence for the existence of local production in the region is supported by ceramic finds. Based on the ceramic finds from Çatal Höyük, Pucci questions the Phoenician-Cypriot interaction and states that local production is quite common in addition to imported products.[61] He questions the possibility that this production was made by Cypriots at Çatal Höyük. In the surface survey conducted in the area, F. Tülek mentions that there is a high density of Cyprus imported ceramics in the Amik Plain settlements in the Iron Age, as well as Rhodian and East Greek ceramics from the seventh century BC onwards. Local ceramic production is also intensive.[62] Hermary, in a study of the sculptural finds at Amrit, states that Cypriot sculptural artefacts were found all along the Levantine coast until the fourth century BC. He explains the concentration of these offerings at Amrit Sanctuary, especially in the fifth century BC, by the presence of a Cypriot community in the region.[63]

These evaluations suggest that the Hatay head is typologically closely related to the Cypriot Heracles or Heracles Melqart type and Cyprus. It is also noteworthy that it closely followed the workshops of Athens and Rhodes. With its similarity to the Amrit head, it can be considered as a local interpretation of the Cypriot-influenced Heracles Melqart typology. Thus, its proximity to Cypriot typology and styles is not enough to prove that the artefact was produced in

56 Hermary and Mertens 2014, 236, cat. no. 313.

57 The relationship of Athens and Rhodes with the eastern Mediterranean has also been identified in ceramic products and is defined by Bukert as the period when the Greek world, after being shaped by Eastern influence, began to transmit its own products to the East.

58 Durugönül 2003; Kaplan and Durugönül 2020.

59 The fact that the closest examples of the Tarsus head are among the Cypriot finds points to connections between the two geographical regions. This is not surprising, since the same connections can be indicated for other Archaic figurines or ceramics from Cilicia. Moreover, the heads most similar to the head from Tarsus are from Idalion (Dhali), Kition, Golgoi and Vouni, where the limestone votive sculptures from 520-480 BC are most abundant; see Kaplan and Durugönül 2020.

60 Durugönül 2003.

61 Pucci 2020, 25-29. For the local ceramic production culture of Çatal Höyük, see Pucci 2019b, 7-8.

62 Tülek and Öğüt 2013, 59 and 68; for detailed information on the ceramic culture of Cilicia during the Iron Age, see Aslan 2010, 11-18.

63 Hermary 2007, 177.

Cyprus. On the contrary, as stated by Pucci in his excavation reports,[64] it reveals a more local character in terms of workmanship. The Hatay artefact was produced in a local workshop at Çatal Höyük under the strong influence of Cypriot and Greek workshops. However, the possibility that the workshop that produced the artefact is of Cypriot origin also remains strong.

Conclusion

The Heracles, whose origin dates back to the Trojan Wars in Greek mythology and is accepted to be of Doric origin, started to be depicted in Greek painting from the Geometric Period of the sixth century BC. He wore lion's pelt obtained by defeating the lion of Nemea. The Cypriot Heracles or Heracles-Melqart typology, which is a combination of two Gods that emerged as a fusion of Heracles and Melqart, the chief god Tyre in the Mediterranean, in Cyprus. It also appears in the same period. The artefacts exemplifying this typology were found in Al Mina, Egypt, Syria, Athens and particularly in Cyprus. Since it is the only excavated artefact from Anatolia, the Hatay artefact provides evidence for the presence of this typology in Anatolia. As stated in the excavation reports, the typological differences between it and the Cypriot Heracles indicate that it may be a local production.

Heracles and Melqart were born as God heroes in their own cultures and hybridized through cultural interaction. This is exemplified by the Dorian origin of Heracles who, starting from Sparta and Argos, appeared in Attica and many regions of the Mediterranean. Cyprus stands out as the most prominent center where these two heroes, who represent the Phoenician city of Tyre and Greek culture, fused. Although it is claimed that Tyre was kept alive even in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, both as a name in inscriptions and depictions on coins, it can be accepted, for now, that the first fusion started in Cyprus since there is not enough evidence. This fusion regarding the Cypriot example leads us to question the existence of the Heracles-Melqart typology as a cult in Anatolia. This, in turn, explains the typological difference and localism of the Hatay head. In this context, the Çatal Höyük artefact was produced in a local workshop in the late sixth century BC.

[64] Pucci 2019a, 282-83; 2020, 19, fig. 7.

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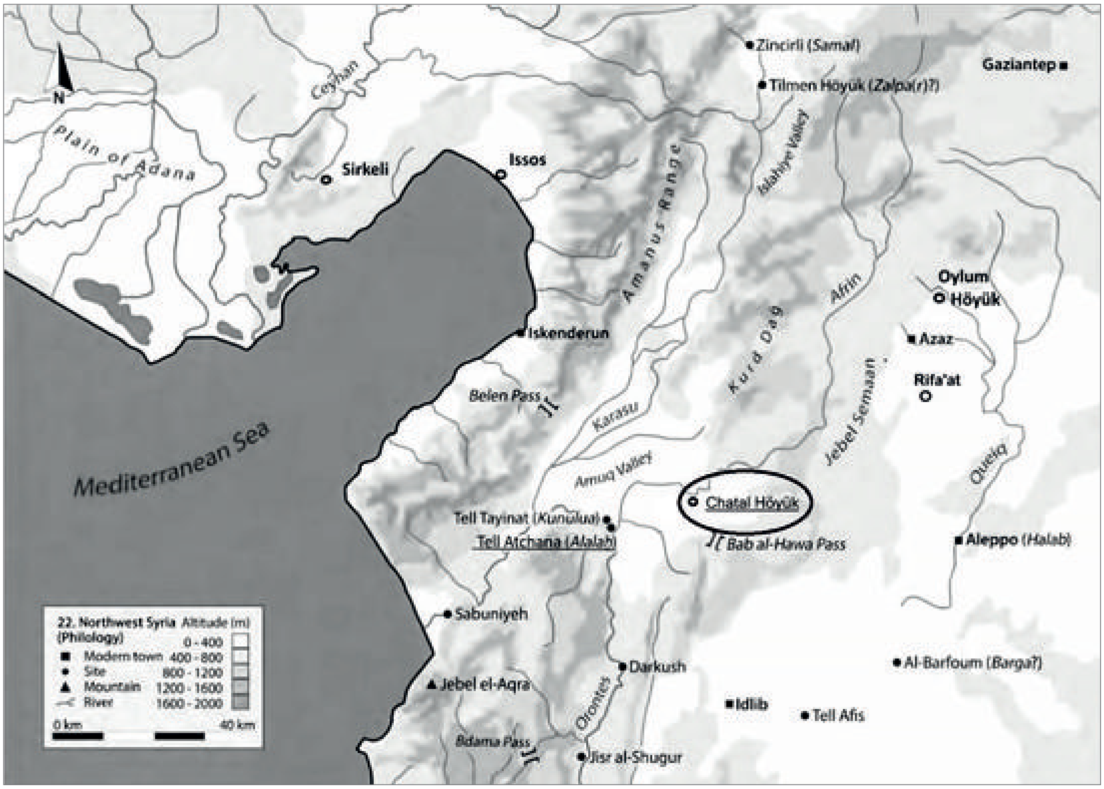

FIG. 1 Map of Amik Plain (Pucci 2019b, 2, fig. 1).

FIG. 2 Çatal Höyük general view (Pucci 2008, 17, fig. 1).

FIGS. 3-4 Head of Herakles-Melqart, fronty and back rear view.

FIGS. 5-6 Head of Herakles-Melqart, ¾ profile.

FIGS. 7-8 Head of Herakles-Melqart, right and left profile.

FIGS. 9-10 Head of Herakles-Melqart, top of head.

FIGS. 11-14 Head of Amrit (Hermary and Mertens 2014, cat. no. 313).

The "Winged Woman of Burgaz": A New Archaic Sculpture from the Territory of Knidos

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Abstract

A statue was found in 2019 in the sea about 30 m off the coast of the ruins of the ancient city of Burgaz in the Datça District of Muğla Province. Because of its findspot, the statue was named the "Winged Woman" of Burgaz and is currently preserved in the Marmaris Museum. Burgaz was in the territory of Knidos so for this reason the statue is evaluated within the Knidos settlement and culture domain. The naming, iconography, and dating of the statue, which is unrelated to any structure or context, are evaluated through similar statues, reliefs, and vase paintings in Anatolia, the Aegean Islands, and continental Greece. In accordance with its stylistic features, the school to which the statue belongs or the place where it was produced are determined. In our study, suggestions are made about the structure,

Öz

Heykel, 2019 yılında Muğla ili Datça ilçesi Burgaz'da, kıyıdan 30 metre açıkta denizde tesadüfen bulunmuştur. Buluntu yeri nedeniyle bu esere 'Burgaz Kanatlı Kadın Yontusu' adı verilmiştir. Bulunduğu tarihten sonra Marmaris Müzesi envanterine kaydedilen heykel, halen müzenin deposunda muhafaza edilmektedir. Heykel, Knidos teritoryumu içinde kalan ve kente 30 km uzaklıkta yer alan Burgaz antik kentinin kıyısında keşfedilmiştir. Bu sebeple, Knidos yerleşim ve kültür alanı içinde değerlendirilmiştir. Herhangi bir yapı veya kontekstle ilişkili olmadan denizde bulunması, heykelin isimlendirilmesi, ikonografisi ve tarihlendirilmesi sürecini zorlaştırmış; bu nedenle Anadolu, Ege Adaları ve Kıta Yunanistan'daki benzer heykeller, kabartmalar ve vazo resimleri üzerinden analojik tespit ve değerlendirmeler

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This study and article has been prepared within the scope of the Knidos, Burgaz, and Emecik Apollon Sanctuary Excavations and Research, which are being carried out on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Selçuk University, with the President's Decision dated 01.06.2021 and numbered 2587. The work is supported by the Turkish Historical Society.

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context, and function of this “Winged Woman.” According to the collected data, the “Winged Woman” of Burgaz is dated to the middle of the sixth century BC and probably belongs to a monument from the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary. However, its exact provenance and function are unknown.

Keywords: Knidos, Burgaz, Emecik, Greek archaic period, Winged Artemis, Gorgon

yapılmıştır. Stil özelliklerine dayanarak heykelin ait olduğu ekol ve üretildiği yer hakkında bazı tespitler aktarılmıştır. Diğer bir önemli husus ise 'Burgaz Kanatlı Kadın Yontusu'nun Knidos teritoryumu içindeki olası yapı veya konteksti ve işlevi hakkında yapılan önerilerdir. Bu verilere göre, heykel MÖ altıncı yy.'ın ortalarına tarihlendirilmekte olup, muhtemelen Emecik Apollon Kutsal Alanı ile ilişkili, ancak yeri ve işlevi tam olarak belirlenemeyen bir anıta aittir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Knidos, Burgaz, Emecik, Arkaik Dönem, Kanatlı Artemis, Gorgon

Specification

Height (protected): 0.85 m; width (protected from wing to wing): 0.4 m; width (knee from hip): 0.4 m; width (waist): 0.16 m; depth / thickness (head): 0.14 m; depth / thickness (body): 0.12 m. Marmaris Museum Inventory Number: 2019 / 4(A).

The statue was carved from rough white Paros marble, tight and fine. Her right arm is missing from the shoulder to below the elbow, while her left arm is missing from the shoulder to the top of the wrist. The right leg is missing from the knee, and the left foot is missing from the ankle. Only the initial parts of the wings on both sides, rising from the shoulders, have been preserved. Due to the time under the sea, there are abrasions and exfoliation on the front, especially intensifying in the head. Traces of lichen and shellfish can be seen on the surface. Although there is less wear on the back surface, partial darkening, blackening, and yellowing marks are observed on the left foot, waist, and hip. The preservation marks on both surfaces indicate that the back of the statue was buried during the period it was underwater, while the upper surface was exposed. As a result, its upper surface has been exposed to more sea erosion and damage. The details on the front face are heavily worn and erased, while the details on the back can be seen more clearly (fig. 1).

The statue depicts a winged woman wearing a chiton / tunic and long, strappy sandals. She is holding a lion in one hand and extending her other hand to the right on her waist. Although the statue is carved on all sides, it has very little depth and almost looks like a plaque (fig. 2). The head, upper body, and wings are given from the front; the lower body, arms, and legs are given in profile. The left leg is lifted to the level of the hip and extends forward to the right, almost parallel to the ground, then lowers vertically from the knee. With the left leg movement, the figure seems to have taken a wide step to the right. Then her left foot presses perpendicular to the ground. The right foot is pulled back in profile, and the knee is bent such that it almost touches the floor. The movement of the legs, hands, and arms shows that the figure is in a running pose called the knee run / *knielaufen.*[1]

The head is depicted from the front and is looking forward. Facial details cannot be seen due to excessive wear. However, the full chin, and the rounded, full, and fleshy lines of the face under the chin can be partially perceived from the cheeks. The “archaic smile” on the face, one of the details created by raising the wide lip to the edges, can also be seen despite

[1] Richter 1970, 37-39.

intense wear. The forehead is wide and rounded. The left ear is very worn and can only be seen in outline, while the right ear has been slightly better preserved. The neck is long, fleshy, and relatively thick compared to the head (fig. 3).

The hair was trussed on the forehead in almost equal-sized spiral curls, five on the right side and five on the left. Curls give the forehead a crescent shape, and this arrangement emphasizes the oval form of the face. A thin headband was worn over the forehead curls, continuing from ear to ear (figs. 4-5).

Along with the forehead curls, the hair was arranged in three sections: top, front, and back. The curls above the headband are embroidered to show only their lines and volume, as if a thin and transparent tulle covered the head. The curls on the top of the head are soft and more widely spaced and wavy backwards. The long hair was passed behind the ears in the front and lowered in four long curls from both sides of the neck to the collarbone. The end of each curl was curled forward. From under the headband, the hair was lowered back over the shoulders in twelve strands of curls.

The dress consists of a simple chiton / tunic with long, narrow short sleeves, tightened with a belt at the waist. Other details, such as the belt, wing and edge line of the dress, were given with scraped lines or a low embossed band. The tunic was attached to the body with a thin belt from the waist. Due to the *knielaufen*, the lower edge of the tunic was pulled backwards and downwards over the left knee. Because of the movement and pulling the tunic from left to right, the left leg was shown bare from the knee.

Even if the sleeves are not preserved, the traces show that the tunic has short sleeves. Two scraped lines are seen at the top, just at the beginning of the left arm. These two lines show the joining line of the fabric edges on the arm. Although the wings were preserved in the initial phase, they were depicted from the front as being raised with an oblique line from the shoulder on the front and back surfaces. Wings are shown separately on both sides, which implies that the figure has double wings. The wing feathers were formed from the oblique scraped line rising parallel to each other in the front and back (fig. 6).

Despite missing from the beginning of the shoulder, the right arm was bent at the elbow and lowered while the right hand was placed on the hip. According to the traces left behind, the left arm was first lowered, then bent at the elbow and raised to chest level. The figure holds a lion in her left hand, which is joined to her chest. The figure was shown holding the lion by its front legs (fig. 7).

The figure wears a long, highly decorated sandal made with scraped lines. The exact shape and appearance of the tip of the sandal are unknown, as the right leg and left foot are missing from the ankle. However, there are four horizontal bands made by scraping slightly above the wrist. These bands do not come forward and are only seen on both sides of the foot. A little above these horizontal bands, there is a knee pad protecting the shin with a scraped line consisting of two concentric circles placed on both sides of the lower calf and an oval high line connecting these circles from the top (fig. 8).

Iconographic Evaluation: Posture and Pose, Wings and Attributes

It is not easy to determine who or which mythological personality or concept the Winged Woman of Burgaz represents since it is not connected to any structure or context. This will only be possible with a careful examination of the statue's posture, pose, movement, description details, and existing attributes.

The upper body, wings, and head were shown from the front, and the lower body and feet were shown in profile. At first glance, it appears that the right knee of the figure rests on the ground and is therefore motionless. However, when the stance of the left leg seemingly bent and stretched with effort, the relative height of the legs, their alignment and leaning slightly forward, and the general movement of the body are considered, it is understood that the figure is about to take a walk towards the right. As is seen from the transition of the tunic from the left leg to the right, it is easily realized that the right knee cannot touch the ground; on the contrary, it will stay a few centimeters above the ground. The figure should be touching the floor with the toe of the right foot, not on the right knee. Thus, the body weight is given to the left foot, and the stance is balanced with the right foot. Due to the composition of the feet, the figure does not show the rigid stability required by inactivity. Rather, it has instantaneous stability, which is sufficient for motion or momentum. The pose of the arms, which can be easily seen thanks to the shape of the shoulders and the preserved hands, is more suitable for a figure in motion, walking or running, rather than standing still. The statue is in the Archaic *knielaufen*[2] pose with its posture and movement composition (fig. 9).

The sandal of the statue, given with scraped lines, is actually the "winged sandal" worn by flying divine beings such as Hermes, Gorgons, and Nike. The sandal of the winged young figure, seen on the tondo of a black-figure bowl, shows almost exactly the same features as the sandals of the Burgaz statue.[3] Although the continuation of the Burgaz statue sandal is not seen in its current condition, it is clearly understood from this similarity that it is a "winged sandal."

The pose of the hands, arms, and legs, and the wings spread on the shoulders front and back clearly show that the figure is in a state of rapid movement. In fact, the shape of the legs and wings, which are almost between stepping or not stepping on the ground, suggest that the general appearance of the figure is flying rather than running.[4] This flying movement of mythological beings in human form with wings can be identified from painted vase paintings and similar plastic artifacts.[5]

The Burgaz Statue depicts a winged woman wearing "winged sandals" on her feet, holding a lion in one hand and flying by raising her wings over her shoulders.

The figures shown in the flying position with the *knielaufen* express demonic or divine beings evaluated in their natural movements in the art of the Greek Archaic period. In such descriptions, the movement of running or flying may be related to a subject. Or it is often associated with the natural movement of a divine or demonic entity, without a specific event causing walking or flying.[6]

Despite being relatively uncommon, winged male, female, or mixed creatures are recognized from ancient Greek classical literature and mythology. E. Gerhard gave a description and a useful list of winged beings in Greek mythology.[7]

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2 For the knee run, see Curtius 1869; Kaiser Wilhelm II 1936, 32-37; Schmidt 1909, 253, 286; Kunze 1963, 74, 79; Richter, 1970, 37-38; Kunze-Götte 1999, 52.

3 Kunze-Götte 1999, 52, pl. 11.3.

4 Frothingham 1911, 369.

5 Richter 1970, 38, figs. 81-89.

6 Kunze 1963, 74.

7 Gerhard 1866, 157-77; 1868, pls. 9-12.

Wings for the main gods of Olympus are very rare. Hermes, with his winged shoes, can be counted among the main winged gods in this group. In contrast to the Olympian gods, the wing is the usual element of description for Potnia Theron "ruler of beasts," the Gorgons, Nike, Iris, Eris, Eros, Hypnos, and Thanatos.[8]

These type of winged beings usually belong to a secondary class of gods and demons.[9] Among the winged figures, Eris, Deimos and Phobos, the malevolent and vengeful Erinys / Eumeides or Furies, Keres, Enyo, Gorgons are the first ones that come to mind from both mythology and classical literature. In addition to evil or vengeful concepts, Eos, Eros, and Agon also took place in mythology as male winged beings. More common in the visual arts associated with mythology are Nike and Gorgons.

Artemis, who had a deep place in early Greek belief and was identified with the "rulers of animals" Potnia Theron, is remarkable among the divine beings.[10] Among the winged mixed creatures, Sirens, Harpies, Griffons, and Sphinxes, also known from classical Greek literature mythology, in Greek sculpture and vase art should also be counted. Daidalos and his son Ikaros, who wear false wings, and the seer Kalchas,[11] who is rarely depicted with wings, can be counted among mortals apart from divine beings and concepts.

In ancient culture and religious life, winged beings play the role of a superhuman helper or enemy, especially for the concepts of good and evil, as well as a mediator and messenger between divine beings and humans.[12] These roles have made them an indispensable element in the visual arts of antiquity.

In vase painting and plastic arts, metal and small handicrafts, the depictions of Nike and Gorgon with wings in a flying pose by making a *knielaufen* like the Burgaz statue are relatively more common subjects and decorative elements compared to other winged women during the Archaic period, albeit in different forms. The depictions of Potnia Theron / winged Artemis, which is rarely depicted in a *knielaufen* pose[13] but more often in a standing pose with her wings raised, also show similarities with the "Winged Woman" in terms of iconography. These mythological figures serve as a reference for the identity of the statue from Burgaz (fig. 10a-b).[14]

Depictions of winged women are a relatively common subject and decoration element in Archaic-period vase paintings. The depictions of the winged woman seen in the vase paintings show the same style as the "Winged Woman" in terms of pose, movement, and dress.

In Archaic period Greek painted vase art, figures commonly depicted in a flying pose with a *knielaufen* stance similar to the Burgaz "Winged Woman" include Medusa and her sisters, the Gorgons, who chase after Perseus, the slayer of Medusa. The most beautiful examples of the Gorgons'[15] story are the amphora painted by the Nessos Painter and the dinos of Gorgons.[16]

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8 Müller 1978, 49.

9 Curtius 1869, 6-7; Homolle 1879, 397; Müller 1978, 49; Kunze-Götte 1999, 55.

10 Homolle 1879, 397.

11 Wolters 1928.

12 Müller 1978, 49; Kunze-Götte 1999, 56.

13 Curtius 1869, nos. 2-3; Zazoff 1970, 165-66, figs. 12-15.

14 Radet 1908; Isler-Kerényi 1969; Zazoff 1970, 158-60.

15 Nessos Painter; *ABV*, 679; Beazley 1986, pl. 10.2-4; Boardman 1974, 21, fig. 5; Schefold 1993, 87, fig. 69B, 113, fig. 98; Simon 1976, pls. 44-46.

16 *ABV*, 8.1, 679; Beazley 1986, 15, pls. 14, 15.1; Boardman 1974, 23, fig. 11.1, 2; Simon 1976, pls. 47-48.

Other common figures depicted in vase art, painted in a flying pose with movements similar to the Burgaz statue, are the depictions of Nike and Iris. However, it is not easy to decide whether the winged woman is Nike or Iris,[17] since they are similar in terms of wings, clothing, and movement. For this reason, these types of figures, depicted without a clear attribution, were called Nike or Iris, or "winged goddess" or "winged woman."[18] Their common feature is the figure with their wings open and raised, oriented to the right or left in a *knielaufen* pose, usually wearing a long chiton or a long tunic. Most of the time, they are given in a floating pose to the right or left, irrelevant to the subject or composition of the vase.

In the vase paintings, not only Nike and Iris but also the Gorgons, except for the scary face, are given in completely similar iconography. It is noteworthy that Gorgons usually wear short chitons or tunics, while figures called Nike and Iris or "winged goddesses" generally wear long chitons. However, this is not a rule that is strictly followed, and examples to the contrary of this generalization are not to be underestimated.

Despite being rare, Eris[19] and Erinys[20] also appear in a similar pose in painted vase art.

As seen, it is not easy to identify the winged female figures (or male figures[21]) in the archaic *knielaufen* pose in Greek vase paintings, unless they are a distinctive feature or part of a certain iconography or subject known throughout the scene.

In addition to vase paintings, depictions of winged women in similar poses are seen in frescoes,[22] metal arts,[23] jewelry, and seal arts[24] in the Archaic period.

Being relatively more common in vase paintings, metal and small handicrafts, the number of winged female figures with the *knielaufen* pose is much more limited in archaic Greek sculpture. Identification of these statues is also problematic unless there is a distinct attribute or context. Some of the reliefs and statues shown in the winged and knee-running position in Archaic sculpture could be defined as Nike[25] or Gorgon[26] depending on their cloud location, attributes, or physiognomy.

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17 *CVA The J. Paul Getty Museum* 1.23, 39, 40, 41, 72, fig. 10, pls. 40.1-4, 44.1-2.

18 *CVA Italia* 57.1, 16, pl. 30.1.4; *CVA Espagne* 3.1, 21, pl. 12.3; *CVA Danemark* 3.3, 88, pl. 109.4; *CVA Great Britain* 5.4, pl. 73.3a-b; *CVA Great Britain* 2.2, pl. 16.1; *CVA Great Britain* 2.2, pl. 16.3; *CVA Italia* 20.1, pl. 14.6; *CVA Pologne* 1, 16, pl. 14-3a.3b; *CVA Pologne* 3, 29-31, pl. 1.3a-3b; Tuna-Norling 1995, 79, fig. 19.106, pl. 3; *CVA Greece* 5.1, 39, fig. 13, pl. 54.3-5; *CVA Italia* 14.1, pl. 3.1-3; *CVA Deutschland* 31.4, 27, pls. 152.1-3, 153.1.

19 Robinson 1930, 355, fig. 2; Graef and Langlotz 1925, pl. 104.2500; *CVA France* 9.6, pl. 70.2.4.

20 Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974, pls. 42, 59; Simon 1975, pl. 36.1; Kahil et al. 1986, 27, fig. 2.

21 Kunze-Götte 1999, 56.

22 Mellink 1970, 252, pl. 61, fig. 29; Mellink 1998, 54.

23 Nike, see Radet 1908, 227, fig. 4; Kunze 1963, pls. 36-37; Zazoff 1970, 162, fig. 10; *LIMC* 6.1, 856-57, nos. 43-49; Gorgon: *LIMC* 4.1, 307-8, nos. 250-54, 260; Male Gorgon: Martelli 2005, 127-28, fig. 14.

24 Winged woman: Curtius 1869, 5, 12, no. 2. Nike: Radet 1908, 228, fig. 5; Zazoff 1970, 154-60, 165-66, figs. 1-8, 12-15; *LIMC* 6.1, 857, nos. 50-52; Gorgon: *LIMC* 4.1, 307-8, nos. 249, 261.

25 Petersen 1886, pl. 10; *LIMC* 6.1, 852, nos. 16-21, Nike from Delos (560-550 BC): Homolle 1879, 1881; Radet 1908, 221-22, fig. 1; Löwy 1911, 6, pl. 7, fig. 18a-b; Papaspyridi 1927, 24; Rubensohn 1948, pl. 2; Isler-Kerényi 1969, 77-81, no. 129, pls. 13-14; Marcadé 1950, 182, pl. 31; Scheibler 1979, 20-22, figs. 10-11; Scherrer 1983; Ridgway 1986; Sheedy 1985; Bruneau and Ducat 1983, 66-67, fig. 9; D'Acunto 2007, 227-31, fig. 1; Athenian Acropolis no. 691 (510-500 BC): Studniczka 1898, 7, pl. 2, fig. 8; Schrader 1939, 119-20, no. 69, pl. 89; Langlotz 1927, 133, 136, pl. 83b; Athenian Acropolis no. 693 (535-525 BC): Studniczka 1898, 7; Langlotz 1927, 137-38, pl. 84b; Schrader 1939, 118, no. 68, pl. 88; Isler-Kerényi 1969, no. 130, 143; Delphi no. 1872 (525 BC): Picard and Coste-Messelière 1931, 55-57, pls. 10-11; Marcadé and Coste-Messeliére 1953, 369-71, figs. 5-6; Isler-Kerényi 1969, nos. 141, 144; Delphi no. 2164 (525-500 BC): Picard and Coste-Messelière 1928, 163-65, figs. 59-60, pls. 16-17; Isler-Kerényi 1969, no. 133, 143. Acropolis no. 694 (500-490 BC): Schrader 1939, 116, no. 67, pl. 90; Isler-Kerényi 1969, nos. 142, 144.

26 *LIMC* 4.1, nos. 232, 238b, 271, 275, 289; Gorgon-Acroterion of Old Temple of Athena at Acropolis (600 BC): Langlotz et al. 1939, 319-20, no. 441, pl. 148: Gorgon from Korkyra, Corfu (580-570 BC): Rodenwalt 1939, 18-43,

As in the painted vase art and the "Winged Woman" of Burgaz, the Nike and Gorgon statues or reliefs are figures depicted with open wings, wearing a long or short chiton or tunica, making a *knielaufen* to the right or left. Gorgons usually wear short chitons, while Nike usually wear long chitons. However, the presence of examples other than this generalization in the painted vase art indicates that there is no certainty in the clothing preference of Nike or Gorgons.

Most of the time, Gorgons were depicted with frightening facial features.[27] Therefore, gorgons are easier to identify. However, it is not easy to decide whether these statues belong to Gorgons on the condition that frightening facial features are depicted or the head and facial features of the statue are well preserved. Moreover, there are rare examples in painted vase art where Gorgons are sometimes depicted with close to a relatively normal female face that is not so scary.[28] In the ongoing process, Gorgons in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Imperial periods are depicted with a normal female face.[29] However, for the Archaic period, the frightening face is identified as a distinguishing feature for Gorgons.[30]

As the movement, pose and dress show common features for the Archaic Gorgon and Nike statues, the facial details should also be examined while identifying the Burgaz statue. However, since the face of the "Winged Woman" is worn, the physiognomic features cannot be clearly understood. However, with general descriptive features such as slightly full oval face and high cheekbones, the face of the Burgaz statue is closer to the depiction of a normal young woman rather than a frightening Gorgon face with a flattened and wide skull. With its face and skull, the "Winged Woman" is similar to the Delos Nike.

The wing shaping of Archaic-period Nike, Gorgon and Potnia Theron statues shows a general similarity. The two wings emerging from both sides of the back curl towards the head. An important distinguishing detail for the "Winged Woman" is seen in the shaping of the wing. The wings of the statue were shown as double wings rising on both sides of the back and on both sides of the shoulder in front. Thus, the Burgaz statue has a total of four wings, two on each side, one at the front and one at the back. At the same time, in this depiction the woman's arms seem to have remained between the front and rear wings. As in the Burgaz statue, double wings on both sides, front and back, are rarely seen in Archaic-period winged female statues. An example that closely resembles the the "Winged Woman" in terms of wing shape is the Nike of Delos.[31] Except for the Burgaz statue and the Delian Nike, the double wing feature is not seen among other statues. On the other hand, double wings are rarely seen in depictions of Nike,[32] Gorgon,[33] and Potnia Theron in the painted vase art, metal and seal arts.

figs. 3-29; Gorgon from Metropolitan Museum (510-500 BC): Bothmer 1958, 187-88; Lazzarini and Marconi 2014, 119, 130, 138-39, fig. 5; Karaoglou 2018, 8, fig. 5; Gorgon-Athenian Agora Gravestone: Noack 1907, 514-41, fig. 29, pl. 21; Harrison 1956, 30, pl. 10a; Gorgon from Syracusae (Terracotta, 620-600 BC); Benton 1954, pl. 19; Gorgon from Didyma (530-520 BC): Tuckelt 1970, 105-10, fig. 20, pls. 76-77.

27 Zolotnikova 2016, 353-55.

28 Allen 1970, 381, pl. 97; *CVA Great Britain* 5.4, pl. 60.4a-b.

29 For the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra and friezes of Temple of Didyma, see Zolotnikova 2016, 353, 356-59; *LIMC* 4.1, 296-99, 304-5, nos. 107-45, 214-28.

30 Apollod., *bibl.* 2.4.2-3; Pind. *Pyth*. 10.46-48; Zolotnikova 2016, 355-56, figs. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9.

31 Löwy 1911, 6, pls. 7, 18b; Richter 1970, 83, fig. 83.

32 *LIMC* 6.1, 858, nos. 72, 78.

33 *LIMC* 4.1, 306-12, 314, nos. 235, 249, 258, 261, 269, 280, 293, 320.

Since the pose, posture, movement, dress, and facial details and wing shapes have common characteristics for the winged woman statues of the Archaic period, these issues help in determining the identity of the “Winged Woman” of Burgaz to a limited extent.

Another of its distinctive features is that the figure holds a lion in its left hand, which it raises to chest level. Here, the size ratio between the predator and the female figure, created by the lion being held by its forelegs, makes it rather small compared to the figure. The obedience reflected in the animal’s head should be interpreted in such a way that it makes the figure seem heroic or divine.

The lion does not appear the same with other winged Nike statues or other visual art elements created for archaic Greek sculpture. There is no direct connection between Nike and the lion in mythology or classical literature.

Winged-woman figures of the Archaic period, depicted with a lion in their hands or around them, are Gorgons and Potnia Theron, winged Artemis. These are well known to be associated with the lion, not only in depictions but also in a cult sense. Accordingly, they are featured in reliefs and vase paintings but not in free statues though. Gorgon and Potnia Theron with a lion are examples from Archaic metal art.

Potnia Theron is represented by more examples, while depictions of the Gorgon with the lion are fewer. However, this is a relatively common practice in Archaic art. The depictions of the “bearded Gorgon” in Early Archaic vase paintings are often explained in connection with the lion and the lion’s mane.[34] An ivory seal dated to the second quarter of the seventh century BC from the Heraion of Argos depicts the bodies of two winged lions with a common Gorgo head. It is a different interpretation of the lio, and Gorgon’s relationship with the beings of the underworld.[35]

The Gorgon is depicted with a lion in the visual arts of the Greek Archaic period and is usually shown holding two lions by their front or hind legs with both hands. He lowers them while jogging at the knee or raises them to the level of the head, often bending at the elbow.[36] Another depiction of the relationship between the Gorgon and the lion is seen on the Karneol-Skarabaeus in the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna. The depiction here is considered to be a war or a struggle between the Gorgon and the lion. But it should probably be a scene where only the union of these two is shown. The Gorgon is wearing a short chiton in the depiction and holding the lion by the mane, which is rearing on both feet.[37] The Hippo-Gorgon and Lion depiction on an Amethys-Scarabaeus[38] from Byblos and exhibited at the British Museum can be counted in this group. Wearing a long chiton, the Hippo-Gorgon is depicted holding the lion by its foreleg with her right hand raised to the level of her head. Another group related to the union of Gorgon and lion is seen in Etrurian art of the Archaic period.[39] On the bronze plate of Orvieto origin, dating to the middle of the sixth century BC,[40] a wingless, knee-running masculine Gorgon is remarkable with two lions on her shoulders.

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34 Blinkenberg 1924.

35 Müller 1978, 68.

36 Kunze 1963, 74, pls. 36.1-2, 37.1-4; Zazoff 1970, 162, fig. 10; *LIMC* 4.1, 310-11, nos. 281-82.

37 *LIMC* 4.1, 311, no. 284.

38 Frothingham 1911, 374-75, fig. 14; *LIMC* 4.1, 311, no. 285.

39 *LIMC* 4.1, nos. 87-89, 337-38.

40 *LIMC* 4.1, nos. 87, 337.

In the Gorgon and lion association – as in animals such as swans, pigs, and geese shown together with the Gorgon – the role of the Gorgon is identical or related to the Great Mother, Rhea, Kybele, Demeter and "Mother Artemis" rather than a demonic or having apotrapaic role against danger.[41] The union and connection of Gorgon and Potnia Theron is clearly seen in the depictions of Gorgon, which are shown with animals and especially the lion.[42]

In addition to Gorgon and Potnia Theron depicted with the wing and surrounding animals especially a lion in the early worship tradition of Artemis in the eighth-sixth century BC, there are depictions of the goddess standing with wings on her shoulders and holding an animal or bird in both hands.[43] In ancient literature where Pausanias tells about Cypselus' chest, he tells that Artemis has wings.[44]

Apart from the depiction with wings, there are also depictions related to the connection of Artemis with the lion. In the Sanctuary of Orthia, Artemis held the goddess lion in Sparta, as in the winged statue of Burgaz.[45] The depiction of Artemis standing and holding the lion next to her by her foreleg and paw is seen on the Dorylaion Stele. In these descriptions, Artemis appears in the role of the "Goddess of the Animals," just like Potnia Theron.

Winged women with animals by her side are understood as a representation of the winged lion goddess Potnia Theron in the pictorial repertoire of the Orientalization period and are equated with the goddess Artemis, who appears in a distinctly oriental form.

In the Burgaz statue, the figure raises the lion to chest level and grabs the animal by its front legs and paws. The "Winged Woman" is the result of a similar context and thought content, although it has a different grip from the depictions of Artemis who holds the lion next to her by her foreleg and paw and is identified with the goddess who is the ruler of animals.

The concepts such as the wings, knee-running and lion, and the way she grips the lion in the "Master of Animals" goddess' figures like Potnia Theron, Artemis, and the Gorgon also appear in the "Winged Woman." The Burgaz statue is more associated with the goddess Artemis, the Ruler of Animals, or the Gorgon with the same role, rather than Nike or other winged characters and concepts.

Style, Dating, and Typology

The "Winged Woman" of Burgaz is depicted as running / flying, thus drawing attention with her upper body triangular from its front parallel to the lower body. The folds of clothing are uncarved, and its upward-opened wings are made of feathers formed from sloping scraped lines.

The *knielaufen* pose and its presentation are similar to Gorgon / Medusa figures in the Artemis of Syracuse[46] and the Artemis of Korkyra Temple pediments[47] whose clothing and wings date to 600-580 BC in the Early Archaic period, the Archermos / Delos Nike[48] dating to

41 Frothingham 1911, 349.

42 Müller 1978, 166-67.

43 Thompson 1909, 286, fig. 2.

44 Paus. 5.19.5.

45 Dawkins et al. 1907, 107, fig. 33; Waugh 2009, 165, fig. 16.9.

46 Richter 1970, 38, fig. 84; *LIMC* 4.1, 309, no. 271.

47 Rodenwalt 1939, 18-43, figs. 3-29; Richter 1970, 38, fig. 81; *LIMC* 4.1, 311, no. 289.

48 Homolle 1881, 272-78; Radet 1908; Löwy 1911, 6, pl. 7, fig. 18b; Rubensohn 1948; Isler-Kerényi 1969, 143, no. 129; Richter 1970, 38, fig. 83; Scheibler 1979, 20-22, figs. 10-11; Scherrer 1983; Ridgway 1986.

560-550 BC, the Athenian Acropolis Nike[49] and the Nike of Delphi[50] dating to the Late Archaic period 530-510 BC, and the Nike of Kallimachos[51] dating to 490-480 BC in the Early Classical period.

Dating to 580 BC, the Gorgon-Medusa[52] depicted in running pose on the pediment of the Temple of Artemis in Korkyra and the figure of Chrysaoreus[53] right next to it are similar to the Burgaz statue with their upper bodies triangular from the front, their lower bodies depicted in profile, and their being carved like a plaque rather than at depth. A similar fabric tightened with a belt of snakes wrapped around each other in the Medusa of Korkyra[54] is also seen in the Burgaz statue. However, the lines and layers are processed more sharply in it. The similarity between the arch and decorations in both statues is balanced. There are similarities in both figures in terms of the tightness of the fabric on the lower body, the roundness of the hips at the back, and the soft tissue hanging down between the two legs. However, the Burgaz statue differs from the Medusa of Korkyra in that the detailing made with scraped lines on the fabric texture, especially on the upper body and skirt end, is simpler. On the other hand, the Burgaz statue shows more elastic and fluid movement compared to the Medusa of Korkyra.

Another similar example to the “Winged Woman” in terms of pose, movement, and dress is the Nike of Delos by Archermos of Chios. It was found on the north side of the Temple of Apollo in Delos and dated to 550 BC. The similarity of pose to that of the Nike of Delos,[55] the posture of the legs, and the positioning of one arm on the hips show that both statues follow the same tradition and style in form. Although the way that the movement takes place, the posture of the body, and the texture of the fabric are similar, there are some differences between the two figures. The intense folding between the legs of the Nike of Delos is not seen in the Burgaz statue. Another important difference is that the Nike of Delos was processed in the form of a plate, so the body and especially the breasts are more voluminous compared to the Burgaz statue. Despite some differences, the unity of form between the two statues and the close resemblance of the movement styles of these Late Archaic figures indicate that they were not very distinct in terms of their period.

Another important issue regarding the dating of the Burgaz statue is seen in the hair arrangement. The processing of the hair to show only its lines and volumes, as if covered with a thin and transparent tulle on the head, is a practice encountered in the Sphinx of Acropolis dating to 560 BC in the Late Archaic period,[56] the Volomandra Kouros dating to 560-550 BC,[57] and the Anavysos Kouros dating to 540-530 BC.[58] The shape of the top of the hair, which

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[49] The Nike was found south of Erechtheion in Acropolis of Athens; see Payne and Young 1950, 62, pl. 50.4; Isler-Kerényi 1969, 143, no. 130; *LIMC 6*, 853, no. 17. Also compare the Nike found south of the Parthenon; see Isler-Kerényi 1969, 143, no. 131; *LIMC 6*, 853, no. 18, Nike of Athenian Acropolis; Langlotz 1927, 84.

[50] For the Nike acroterion of the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, see Marcadé and Coste-Messeliére 1953, 369-71, figs. 5-6; Isler-Kerényi 1969, 144, no. 14; *LIMC 6*, 853, no. 19: Nike acroterion at Delphi; Picard and Coste-Messelière 1928, 163-66, pls. 59-60; Isler-Kerényi 1969, 143, no. 132; *LIMC 6*, 853, no. 20.

[51] *LIMC 6*, 853-54, no. 23.

[52] Rodenwalt 1939, 18-43, figs. 3-29; Richter 1970, 38, fig. 81; *LIMC* 4.1, 311, no. 289.

[53] Rodenwalt 1939, 43-53, figs. 30-38.

[54] Rodenwalt 1939, 37-38, figs. 25-26.

[55] Homolle 1881; Radet 1908; Löwy 1911, 6, pl. 7, fig. 18b; Rubensohn 1948; Isler-Kerényi 1969, 143, no. 129; Richter 1970, 38, fig. 83; Scheibler 1979, 20-22, figs. 10-11; Scherrer 1983; Ridgway 1986.

[56] Payne and Young 1950, 10, no. 632, pl. 5-6.

[57] Richter 1960, 48, no. 63.

[58] Richter 1960, 84, no. 136.

seems to be under a transparent-thin cover, the flow of the wave, and the sharpness of the transition bring the winged statue of Burgaz closer to the Sphinx of the Acropolis and the Volomandra Kouros.

The spiral curl arrangement on the forehead hair of the Burgaz statue has been a practice since the Kouros from the Early Archaic period. However, the voluminous but mechanically processed curls of the winged statue of Burgaz show similarities with the hair arrangement of some Kouros statues dating to 550 BC.[59] This arrangement, curled at the ends of the long strands of hair, is seen in some of the Richter Melos Group statues with a different method.[60] The spirals at the ends of the curls combed behind the ear of the Rhodes head have a similar arrangement with the Burgaz statue.[61]

Another dating issue for the winged statue is the anatomical treatment of the ear. It is noteworthy that the helix and lobule are thick and full in the ear, which is placed a little further back from an anatomical point of view. Making the helix and lobule full, neglecting, or roughly determining the details such as tragus and antitragus can be seen on statues dating to 560-540 BC.[62]

The round, full, and fleshy lines of the winged statue's full chin, and the cheeks on the face and the details in the hair arrangement reflect the general characteristics of style, especially in Western Anatolia and on some Aegean islands close to the Anatolian coast.[63] These stylistic features – anatomical details in pose, clothing, hair and ear arrangement – suggest that the winged statue of Burgaz was created by a master working in the style of Caria, Ionia, and the Aegean islands and produced in their cultural environment between 560-550 BC.

Suggestion Regarding its Context in the Territory of Knidos

As stated, the state of the "Winged Woman" was found on the coastline of Burgaz without any specific context. Considering the rate of lichen and algae formation on its surface due to being underwater, it is understood that it did not stay in the sea for a long time. Accordingly, it is not possible to say that this statue belonged to an ancient ship cargo and that it fell into the sea for some reason. This statue must have been underwater due to different factors. Since it did not belong to a ship cargo, the statue must have been part of a monument or structure within the territory of Knidos, where the Apollon Sanctuary of Knidos-Burgaz and Emecik is located.

The settlement of Burgaz presents finds from the Archaic and Classical periods.[64] Hence, Burgaz is no stranger to this type of statue that dates to the middle of the sixth century BC.[65] On the other hand, there are no known structures or monuments where the statue could be placed in Burgaz. Since archaeological excavations are limited in the settlement, such a structure has not yet been unearthed and may be waiting to be discovered under the ground.

[59] Richter 1960, 58, 73, no. 91, no. 116.

[60] Richter 1960, 90-112.

[61] Richter 1960, no. 126.

[62] Richter 1960, 81-82, nos. 125-28.

[63] Nike of Delos: Isler-Kerényi 1969, 143, no. 129; Richter 1970, 38, fig. 83; 1960, 81-82, nos. 125-28; Scheibler 1979, 20-22, figs. 10-11; Scherrer 1983; Ridgway 1986, 239-47; heads from Rhodes: Richter 1960, 81, nos. 126-27. Head from Didyma: Richter 1960, 82, no. 128; Head from Kalymnos: Richter 1960, 82-83, no. 129.

[64] Berges 2002.

[65] For the Burgaz findings, see Berges 2002, 108-30.

With this iconographic evaluation, the settlements and cult areas in the territory of Knidos provide the possibility to make some tentative suggestions about the original place of the statue or the context to which it may be attached. While this evaluation of the "Winged Woman" shows that this statue is related to Artemis or the Gorgon, no cult area or temple directly related to Artemis has been identified in Knidos and its territory. Although there is a famous Demeter Sanctuary in Knidos in relation to the cult of the mother goddess, a cult or worship area related to the role of the mother goddess as the ruler of animals is not known.

Knidos and its territory appear as a center known mainly for the cult area of Apollon Karneios. Both the Temples of Apollo in the city center of Knidos and the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary in Knidos clearly show the importance of Apollo for Knidos and its territory. The Emecik Apollon Sanctuary in Knidos has many finds, especially relating to cult and religious statues from the Archaic period. Sculptures related to the cult of Apollo from the sixth century BC were identified in the sanctuary. Among these, male statues holding a lion in their hands, called the "Lion Trainer," are noteworthy characteristics for the Cult of Apollo.[66] The lion statues and figurines from these temples Knidos, Burgaz and Emecik Sanctuary in the territory of Knidos[67] are associated with Apollo as votive offerings.[68]

Among the sculpture repertoire of the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary, an example directly related to the goddess Artemis and the Gorgon, indirectly having the same role as embodied in the iconographic evaluation of the "Winged Woman," was found during the Emecik excavations.[69] The statue depicts a winged woman embracing the lion by its forelegs with her right hand. As in the winged statue of Burgaz, four wings are remarkable, while the lion on the lap has turned its head backwards.

Considered as a representation of Potnia Theron and equated with the goddess Artemis, this evaluation has a special meaning for the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary. In the context of the relationship between the lion and Apollo, the winged female figures holding a lion can be understood as the female counterparts of the Apollonian representations. Hence, it caused the figure of Emecik to be interpreted as Artemis, the divine twin sister of Apollo.[70]

The "Winged Woman" of Burgaz and the Winged Goddess from the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary are united with the winged Artemis, the Goddess of Animals, within the same iconographic origin and concept. This connection strongly brings to mind the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary, rather than Burgaz, regarding the possible original location of the Burgaz statue. It is not possible to prove this unless there is a new archaeological data or find. In addition, regarding the concepts of Artemis, Apollo, and the lion and their cult connection, the proposal for the Emecik Apollo Sanctuary should be kept in mind for the Burgaz statue as well. Probably, this statue belongs to a monument related to her twin Apollo, because of the Winged Artemis the Goddess of Animals, from the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary dating to the middle of the sixth century BC.

For another possible location and context of the statue, a funerary monument located near Burgaz or in its necropolis should also be considered. Although the Burgaz Necropolis area

[66] Berges 2006, 87-90, nos. 65-67.

[67] Schröder 1913; Bean and Cook 1952, 175; Blümel 1963, 40-41; Cahn 1970, 108; Doksanaltı 2020, 13-14.

[68] Berges 2006, 87-90, nos. 65-67; 2002, 109.

[69] Berges 2006, 89-90, no. 68, pls. 2.4, 41.4.

[70] Berges 2006, 90.

has mostly been under the modern settlement and no burial structure to place such a statue can be seen today, this possibility should not be ignored. The Lion of Burgaz, located in the borders of Burgaz and dated to the end of the sixth century BC,[71] must have belonged to such a mausoleum.[72]

Conclusion

The "Winged Woman" of Burgaz was found in the sea about 30 meters off the coast in 2019 at the ruins of Burgaz in the Datça District of Muğla Province, within the borders of ancient Caria. The statue depicts the Gorgon with its iconographic and cult features, including the Winged Artemis, the Goddess of Animals, or a similar figure. Because of its stylistic features, the statue is dated to 560-550 BC and was probably produced in the islands and Ionia workshops close to the Western Anatolian coast. It probably belongs to a monument in the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary or a funerary monument in the borders of Burgaz.

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71 Schröder 1913, 243; Alten Museum 1922, 110; Bean and Cook 1952, 175; Blümel 1963, 40-41; Cahn 1970, 108; Berges 2002, 109; Doksanaltı 2020.

72 Berges 2002, 109; Doksanaltı 2020, 13-14.

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FIG. 1 General view of the "Winged Woman" of Burgaz.

FIG. 2 View of the statue from the right and left profiles.

FIG. 3
General view of the head of the statue.

FIG. 4
Appearance of the hair curls and headband on the forehead of the statue.

FIG. 5 Upper part of the hair and the curls of hair on the back of the head.

FIG. 6 Front and rear views of the wings of the statue.

FIG. 7 Lion and its details held by the statue.

FIG. 8 Brace of knee of the statue.

FIG. 9 *Knielaufen* pose of the statue.

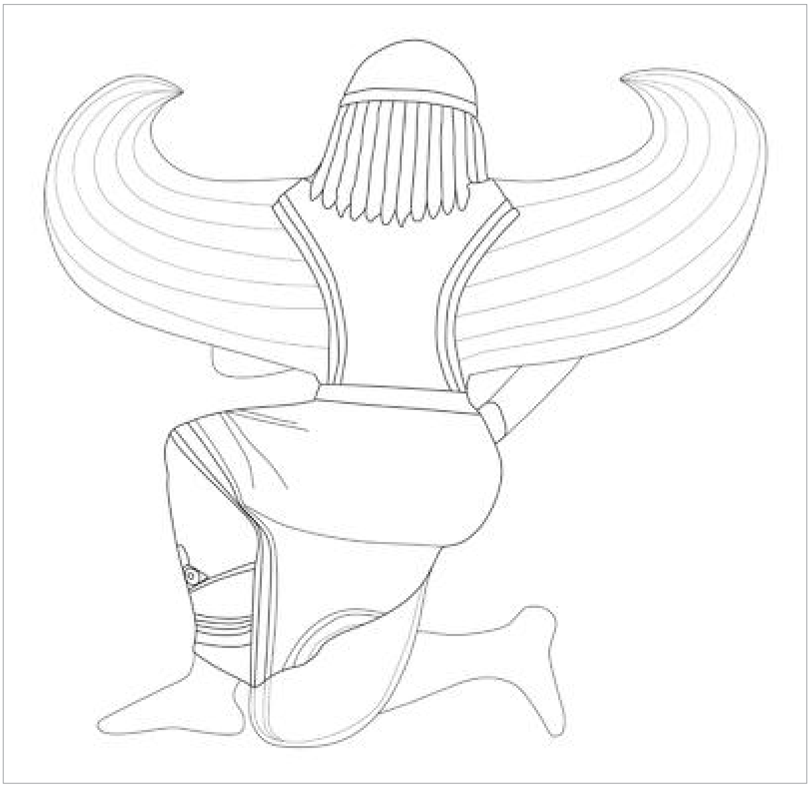

FIG. 10a and 10b Illustration of the statue.

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A Group of Phaselis Type 3 Amphorae by the Base of the Phaselis Central Tower: A New Pottery Dumpster (Bothros) and Amphora Production Area

UĞURCAN ORHAN*

Abstract

In 2021, seven test trenches were excavated by the base of the Central Tower using random sampling techniques. The purpose of the excavation was to assess the potential for conservation and landscaping projects planned for the area north of the Phaselis city center. Although the trenches are independent from each other, they were determined systematically. The finds indicate the production of ceramics and amphorae. In relation to this production organization, numerous fragments of broken or incomplete amphorae were also found in the area. Their discovery sheds light on the production organization of Phaselis. Among them are locally produced Phaselis amphorae, which have recently been introduced to the literature, as well as imported and imitation amphorae. New types of Phaselis amphorae were also identified based on their morphological characteristics. This study focuses on the forms belonging to Type 3 Phaselis amphorae, as faulty examples of this type were identified. The studies conducted in these test trenches revealed a new ceramic dumpster (bothros) and amphora production area in addition to the Hellenistic Temple Area. The production of ceramics and amphorae was carried out in different areas in a process-dependent manner, as shown chronologically. The aim is to reveal the production and consumption organization

Öz

2021 yılında Merkezi Kule'nin eteklerinde rastgele örnekleme teknikleri kullanılarak yedi test açması kazılmıştır. Bu kazının amacı Phaselis kent merkezinin kuzeyindeki alan için planlanan olası çevre düzenleme ve koruma projelerinin potansiyelini değerlendirmekti. Birbirinden bağımsız olmakla birlikte belirli bir sistematikle kararlaştırılan açmaların bulunduğu alanda yapılan çalışmalarda seramik ve amphora üretimini işaret eden buluntular elde edilmiştir. Bunlar arasında Phaselis'in üretim organizasyonuna ışık tutan önemli miktarda kırık-eksik amphora parçaları ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu amphoralardan bazıları kısa süre önce literatüre kazandırılan yerel üretim Phaselis amphoraları iken bazıları ithal ve taklit üretim amphoraları işaret etmektedir. Ele geçen Phaselis amphoralarının içerisinde mevcut bilinen formların yanı sıra morfolojik özelliklerinden yola çıkarak, yeni tip Phaselis amphoraları da saptanmıştır. Phaselis amphoraları içerisinde ise Tip 3'e ait üretim hatalı örnekler tespit edilmiş ve bu çalışmanın ana materyali olarak Tip 3'e ait formlar çalışmanın odağına alınmıştır. Söz konusu test açmalarında yapılan çalışmalarda Phaselis'te Hellenistik Tapınak Alanı dışında yeni bir seramik çöplüğü (bothros) ile amphora üretim alanı olduğu ve seramik / amphora üretiminin farklı alanlarda kronolojik olarak süreç bağımlı bir şekilde sürdürüldüğü anlaşılmıştır.

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in the area from the fifth century BC to the third century BC. A new ceramic dumpsite and amphora production area are introduced to the literature.

Keywords: Eastern Mediterranean, Phaselis, pottery dump, amphora production, Phaselis amphorae, trade

Sonuç itibarıyla söz konusu alanda MÖ beşinci yy.'dan MÖ üçüncü yy.'a kadar kentin üretim / tüketim organizasyonlarının ortaya konulması hedeflenmiş ve Phaselis'te yapılan çalışmalarda yeni bir seramik çöplüğü ile yeni bir amphora üretim alanı daha belgeleriyle birlikte literatüre kazandırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Doğu Akdeniz, Phaselis, seramik çöplüğü, amphora üretimi, Phaselis amphoraları, ticaret

Introduction[1]

Phaselis was formerly a city on the western coast of the Pamphylia Gulf, currently located within the borders of the Tekirova quarter of the district of Kemer District in the province of Antalya Province. The site is just south of the modern Antalya-Kumluca highway. Phaselis was an independent city-state in ancient times. It lays on the borders of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia. With its three harbors and lagoon, the city was one of the leading trade centers of the Eastern Mediterranean. Due to its strategic location between the Eastern and the Western Mediterranean, some conservation and landscaping projects have been initiated to protect the cultural heritage of Phaselis. In 2021, due to the potential for conservation and landscaping projects, seven test trenches were excavated at the base of the Central Tower, which is located on the northern slopes of the city center (fig. 1).[2]

In the studies conducted, finds were made in only three out of the seven test trenches (DNM-D, G, and F trenches). These finds in the hundreds offered a wide range of typology and forms. It was observed that the finds included defective pottery and amphora fragments indicating production in the area, amorphous and slag fragments, components related to pottery kilns, black-glazed pottery groups, coarse ceramics, and amphora fragments (fig. 5).[3] Numerically, the majority of the finds in the area are amphora fragments. Among the amphorae recovered from the test trenches and identified in terms of their forms, local amphorae (Phaselis amphorae), imported groups, and imitation production amphorae were identified. Among all these amphorae, the main material of the study consists of the Type 3 variant of local production Phaselis amphorae.

The scientific excavation system consists of multiple stages. The first stage includes creating a survey-plan map to document the current state of the area, topographic measurements, and photogrammetric studies. After documenting the entire area with a remote sensing aerial vehicle (drone) in the first stage, photogrammetric studies were conducted. Then aerial photographs were combined with CORS to obtain the topographic data of the area. The data obtained from PMK[4] Pottery Dumpsite and Amphora Production Area with CORS assistance were

1 This study was supported by Koç University Suna & İnan Kıraç Mediterranean Civilizations Research Center (=AKMED) under project number KU AKMED 2023/P.1073.

2 The Central Tower was built on a dominant point that can see all the harbors of Phaselis, especially important in terms of harbor security; see Kızgut 2017, 211-13; Taşkıran 2021, 10-17. The Phaselis team has been conducting research and excavation in this area since 2012; see Arslan 2018, 15-46; Arslan and Tüner Önen 2014, 78-82; 2016, 69-80; 2018, 295-301; 2019; 446-48, figs. 56-60; 2021; 153-58, figs. 15-25; 2023.

3 For finds and artifacts indicating production, see Orhan 2023b.

4 The abbreviation "PMK" is used for Phaselis Central Tower.

then transferred to CAD software. After this documentation stage, high-resolution photographs of the entire site were taken, topographic data were obtained, and orthophotos were created (fig. 2). This process allowed for understanding the relationship, position, condition, and distribution areas of the finds with respect to each other.

After the first phase, the locations of seven test trenches were determined by random sampling technique as a result of both remote sensing instruments and field investigations. With the start of the archaeological excavations, systematic documentation, classification, and recording of the finds began. The investigation of the finds in the PMK pottery dumpsite (bothros) and amfora production areas has started. The current status of the field is being documented. In this stage, all the amphorae that were found were classified according to their discovery areas. Once classified by discovery areas, they were further grouped based on their clay characteristics. Subsequently, they were numbered and photographed in a controlled environment. After obtaining scaled photographs of the amphorae, some digital processes were applied, such as creating a transparent background and digital scaling in Photoshop, to prepare them for the catalog. Following this, technical drawings of the amphorae were created, and clay structures and clay-lining color codes were determined using the Munsell catalog. Color codes and other information were added to the catalog, and cross-sectional views of the amphorae at 1000x magnification were photographed to determine their contents. Once the catalog data was complete and scaled drawings on paper were made, the amphorae were digitally drawn using CAD-based drawing software in the subsequent process. After these processes, catalogs containing technical information for all amphorae were prepared. When examining amphora finds, priority was given to evaluating them based on their stratigraphic context. The amphorae were then grouped typologically, and all groups were compared and classified.

In the classification of amphorae, priority was given to the mode of material, that is, clay structure. In this context, previous archaeometric studies conducted on amphorae from the Hellenistic Temple Area, amorphous fragments, defective production fragments, and raw clay obtained from clay deposits within the city were taken into consideration. These studies revealed that the clay structure of the amphorae from the local production, as proven in the Hellenistic Temple Area, was the same as the amphorae from the PMK Pottery Dumpsite and Amphora Production Area.

The research conducted indicates that local groups with typological continuity of amphora forms also demonstrate chronological continuity. Among the recovered Phaselis amphora groups, fragments belonging to Phaselis Type 1, Type 2, Type 3, and Small Scale Phaselis amphorae were identified. Within the Phaselis groups, production errors were observed in the Type 3 group. With the discovery of these production error examples, the focus of this study shifted to Phaselis Type 3 amphorae.

In previous studies conducted in the Hellenistic Temple Area, local production amphorae were identified. It was determined that these amphorae had four different types and two different subtypes from the mid-fifth century BC to the late fourth century BC.[5] Indeed, similar finds and artifacts indicating the same production area were encountered in the PMK Pottery Dumpsite and Amphora Production Area. Another noteworthy feature for these two production areas is their historical range. This historical range suggests that the two different areas

5 Both concrete archaeological evidence and archaeometric analyses have confirmed the Phaselis workshop. The finds related to this workshop are particularly supported by archaeological evidence obtained during excavations and scientific analyses; see Orhan et al. 2022, 2:558-70.

continued their production activities as an extension of each other. In this study, our primary aim is to introduce this new production area, the PMK Pottery Dumpsite and Amphora Production Area, and provide concrete data on the artifacts and their connections to the production area in the Hellenistic Temple Area. Additionally, we aim to propose some solutions regarding the location / localization and function / quality of this new production area. In addition to these goals, we also aim to present new insights into the city's production organization, interregional trade, and the area's connections with the Inner Harbor based on the data obtained from this new dumpsite and production area. Ultimately, the aim is to contribute to our understanding of Phaselis production activities in antiquity through the finds and artifacts from the PMK Pottery Dumpsite and Amphora Production Area.

PMK Pottery Dumpsite (Bothros) and Amphora Production Area Excavations

In the excavations initiated by the base of the Central Tower on the northern slopes of the city center, seven test trenches were planned (fig. 1).[6] Although these trenches were selected using a random sampling technique, the excavation progressed according to a predetermined plan. Once the predetermined levels and dimensions were reached based on the condition of the area, the excavations in that trench were concluded. Excavations revealed finds in only three of the established trenches. When examining these trenches, it was determined that no archaeological remains were in trenches 21DNM-A, 21DNM-B, 21DNM-C, and 21DNM-E. In contrast, trenches 21DNM-D, 21DNM-F, and 21DNM-G yielded numerous pottery fragments and a significant number of amphorae. In this context, when inspecting squares 21DNM-A, C, and E, remnants of river stones, clay-like soil, sea sand, and traces of marine organisms were identified on the ground. Indeed, no archaeological finds were recovered from these trenches, strongly suggesting that during the respective period, this area may have been part of the lagoon (figs. 1-2).[7] This is further supported by the absence of any archaeological finds in trench 21DNM-B, where rubble stones from the slope had fallen into the trench.

In the trenches that presented archaeological finds, specifically in square 21DNM-D, numerous amorphous pottery artifacts were discovered, along with rim, handle, and foot pieces of amphorae, and some pottery vessel forms. Furthermore, there is a wall line on the northern side of the aforementioned square "D." his wall, constructed with rubble stones and not of very high quality, is likely a terrace wall in an east-west direction. Another trench where finds were encountered is 21DNM-F. Within all the excavation areas, only ceramic deposits were identified, measuring 1.90 meters in length and 1.30 meters in depth in the eastern and western sections of F trench, which contains a considerable number of artifacts (fig. 3). Another point to be mentioned regarding F trench is the quality, function, and preservation status of the ceramic finds. In F trench, the ceramic artifacts were discovered in piles and remained in contact with both fresh and saltwater for an extended period.[8] When looking at the range of finds from the 21DNM-F trench, black glazed pottery, coarse pottery, roof tiles (stroter and kalypter pieces), and amphorae were found. Additionally, there are pieces of black glazed fish plates,

6 The labeling of the seven test trenches follow the alphabetical order starting from 21DNM abbreviation A to G. For the preliminary report of this work, see Arslan and Tüner Önen 2021, 153-58, figs. 15-25.

7 For research on the geography of Phaselis, see Genişyürek et al. 2022; Akköprü et al. 2022.

8 A kekamoz layer similar to the one observed on pottery or amphorae in underwater research was also seen on the finds in PMK. Therefore, it is believed that the aforementioned archaeological layer had been submerged under the water for an extended period. The presence of water in this area indicates that the lagoon within the city extends to this point.

bowls, brazier fragments, coarse wares, and components of ceramic kilns (bricks of kilns and plaster pieces), along with a substantial amount of ceramic slag and defective production amphora fragments.

The last trench providing artifacts from the area is 21DNM-G. In the studies conducted within the trench, a wall line constructed from a single row of cut stones that can be followed in continuous sections was revealed. Additionally, within "G" trench to the north of the wall line, a group of pottery fragments was also discovered. During the examination of these forms, fragments of black glazed pottery, including skyphos foot and body pieces, as well as fragments belonging to amphorae, were discovered.

Phaselis Type 3 Amphorae

Archaeometric analyses[9] have been conducted on Phaselis amphorae, for which it is certain that they were produced in Phaselis, based on findings from previous research in the Hellenistic Temple Area.[10] In this context, archaeometric analyses were performed on a total of 40 samples, including amphorae from different origins, amorphous / slag groups, clay clumps found during excavations, production residues, flawed production examples, and raw clay taken from the lagoon within the city.[11]

In the analyses conducted, four different clay groups were identified, with three found to be directly compatibile with formation in Phaselis and its surroundings.[12] The first of these three groups, consisting entirely of Phaselis amphorae samples, was found to be consistent with flawed production / firing faulty examples and raw clay samples, both in terms of petrographic and chemical analysis values.[13]

When examining the general clay composition of Phaselis amphorae,[14] microscopic examinations have revealed the presence of mica, limestone, sand particles, and thin-coarse iron oxide content. Through petrographic analysis, the following rock fragments were identified as part of these clay characteristics: serpentinite, diabase, basalt, gabbro, schist, and quartzite. In terms of minerals, the clay includes quartz, plagioclase, radiolarite, chert, pyroxene, chromite, magnetite, and leucite.[15]

Analyses were also conducted on the red particles that resemble brick-ceramic fragments (chamotte) at a macroscopic level. The results of these analyses revealed that these particles,

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9 The analyses were conducted in accordance with the letter from the Antalya Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism dated 05.10.2021 and with reference number E.1781311 and the permissions granted by the Antalya Museum 06.10.2021 with reference number 1787476.

10 For the studies and finds from the Hellenistic Temple Area, see Orhan 2020; for petrographic and chemical analyses (Section, XRD and XRF), see in detail Orhan 2023a, 37-42, 220-23, tables 11-14.

11 Orhan et al. 2022, 2:558-70; Orhan 2023a, 37-42, 218-23, tables 10-14.

12 Orhan et al. 2022, 2:564-70, figs. 7-15; Orhan 2023a, 37-42.

13 Although the finds and artifacts indicating production at these workshops are known to point to the production of amphorae, archaeometric analyses have also been conducted to answer the question of which types of amphorae were produced. The results of these analyses have made significant contributions in providing answers to these questions.

14 Another feature that easily distinguishes Phaselis amphorae from other forms, aside from typology, is their clay structure. The large granular chamotte-like iron oxide particles found in the clay allow Phaselis amphorae to be easily differentiated from other groups. In archaeometric analyses, large amounts of coarse iron oxide particles have also been detected in the raw clay taken from the lagoon in Phaselis; see Orhan 2023a, 37-42, 168, fig. 43.

15 Besides the defective production samples, Phaselis amphorae also possess a hard and well-fired clay structure.

initially thought to be chamotte, emerged through the transformation of pyroxenes in the soil into iron oxides, as determined by petrographic analysis. It was determined that these red particles are iron oxide-hematite.[16] Consequently, the identification of hematite (iron oxide) in both clay samples, slag, and amphorae serve as another piece of evidence indicating the production of iron oxide-containing amphorae in Phaselis.[17]

In previous studies, four different types of Phaselis amphorae have been identified, which were previously misclassified as Lycian amphorae.[18] When looking at the general typological characteristics of Phaselis amphorae, similarities can be observed with Aegean and Northern Aegean amphorae, especially with the Chian, Thasian, and Mendean groups, as well as with the Cypriot amphorae in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, this similarity is not entirely explained by a single form; instead, it appears to be a combination and transformation of several amphorae. When examining the general form typology, it is evident that the rim, neck, shoulders, and body projection are quite similar to Thasian and Mendean amphorae.[19] The angle at which the handles join the shoulders, broad shoulders, and spherical body structure resemble Mendean and Thasian amphorae,[20] while the bottom projection is similar to Chian and Cypriot amphorae.[21] In addition to these similarities,[22] there are finger impressions under the handles, which are also a common feature in Mendean and Thasian amphorae.[23] Apart from these similarities, there are also many distinguishing features that set these amphorae apart from each other.[24]

Traces of resin have been found in some samples of Phaselis amphorae. Although no analysis has been conducted to determine the product transported in these amphorae, ancient writers, inscriptions, and archaeological data provide some insights into the transported products.[25]

16 A Raman analysis has also been conducted on the red hematite sample, and it was determined to be hematite-iron oxide; see Orhan 2023a, 167-69, fig. 43.

17 Within our analysis groups, these iron oxide particles are not found in the Mendean and Thasian amphorae but only observed in groups associated with Phaselis clay.

18 The amphorae, described in the literature as Lycian amphorae, were found to be of Phaselis origin. That these amphorae are named Lycian makes it appear that all Lycian cities used these amphorae. As a result, it is of great importance to revise these groups incorrectly named Lycian amphorae and identify them as Phaselis amphorae to eliminate this error in the literature; see especially Dündar 2012a, 47-48, figs. 6-7; 2017, 51-60, figs. 43-55.

19 Monachov 1999, 189, figs. 20.10-12; 192, figs. 28-29; 194, fig. 31.

20 For Mendean amphorae, see Monachov 1999, 194, fig. 31; Lawall 1995, 360-61, figs. 37-39; 1998, 18, fig. 3. For Thasian amphorae, see Lawall 1995, 362-63, figs. 42-47.

21 The feet of the Chian amphorae bear only a formal resemblance; see Monachov 1999, 188, figs. 19.7-9. For the Cypriot amphora, see Şenol 2009, 193, no. 17.

22 Considering the similarities of Phaselis amphorae to Mendean, Thasian, Chian, and Cypriot amphorae, it is believed that the organic connection among these amphorae is not coincidental. Indeed, looking at the political and commercial history of Phaselis in antiquity, its trade connections with Chios and Mende have been ongoing since the Archaic Period. It is also believed that they had interaction over trade routes with Thasos and Cyprus. Both Demosthenes and Plutarch provide insights regarding the commercial / political communication of Phaselis with Chios and Mende; see Tüner Önen 2008, 215-18, TLit. 39a.

23 A feature that consistently appears in Phaselis amphorae is the fingerprints beneath the handles, which are also observed in the Thasian and Mendean amphora groups. The presence of these fingerprints only in specific groups is notable. Furthermore, in Phaselis amphorae, only one sample has been found with plaster-filled and painted fingerprints. In another example, they can be faintly seen. It is believed that these painted finger prints serve a specific purpose rather than being coincidental. While research on this topic continues, plaster-filled and painted fingerprints have only been encountered in samples from Phaselis.

24 For the differences between the amphorae, see Orhan 2023a, 69-76.

25 For Phaselis' production organization, wine and olive oil production, export products, and economy, see Orhan 2023a, 10-17.

The information from these ancient sources reveals that Phaselis was a significant exporter of olive oil and wine.[26] It is believed that these amphorae were mainly used to transport wine and olive oil, both in domestic and regional trade, due to their shape and size, which were ideal for storing and transporting such liquids.

As s well known, determining the origin holds great significance in amphora studies.[27] Indeed, because Phaselis amphorae have only recently entered the literature, they seem to have gone unidentified, despite being detected as finds by different researchers. For these reasons, based on published examples, similarities to Phaselis amphorae have been encountered in the Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian coasts, and Cyprus. Meanwhile, a new sample has also been identified in the Aegean. When looking specifically at the areas where these amphorae were found, examples have been identified in Caunus,[28] Xanthus,[29] Patara,[30] Avşar Tepesi,[31] Ağva Necropolis,[32] Karaçallı Necropolis,[33] Side,[34] Celenderis,[35] İzmir Archaeology Museum,[36] Ephesus,[37] Cyprus,[38] Tell el-Herr on the northern Sinai peninsula,[39] Euesperides,[40] and in some Black Sea centers.[41] Based on the studies conducted so far, the distribution of these amphorae has been traced to specific areas in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean (fig. 4).

The hypothesis that Phaselis amphorae were produced in the region where Phaselis is located has been definitely confirmed due to the amphorae recovered from the Hellenistic Temple Pottery Dumpsite and the Amphora Production Area. In the Hellenistic Temple area, while defective production samples of different types of Phaselis groups (Phaselis Type 1,[42]

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26 The Elephantine Papyri, dated to the fifth century BC and recorded by a customs officer named Ahiqar, mention ships and their cargo traveling from Phaselis to Egypt. According to the papyrus text, 36 ships are recorded as traveling from Phaselis to Egypt within ten months with each carrying substantial amounts of olive oil and wine on every voyage; see Kuhrt 2007, 680-700; Orhan 2023a, 18-23.

27 Previously referred to as Lycian amphorae, for which a satisfactory number of similar examples could not be found, these amphorae had not been subjected to essential typology, analogy, and origin determinations. However, in later studies, it has been verified that these Lycian amphorae were produced in Phaselis, and their typology has been established. Indeed, it is believed that these types of amphorae were likely overlooked by researchers in earlier studies due to uncertainties about analogy, typology, and origin; see Göransson 2007, 9-14.

28 Bulba 1994, 34, cat. no. TH3, pl. 22, no. 3; 42, cat. no. D6, pl. 31, no. 6.

29 During the studies conducted in the Xanthus excavation storage depot between 2020-2023 (which I participated in as a committee member), similar Phaselis amphorae were encountered. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Aslan, excavation director of Xanthus-Letoon, for providing me this opportunity.

30 Dündar 2012b, 454-57, cat. nos. LyA. 1-19, pls. 23-25, LyA. 1-19; 2014, 38-41, figs. 13-15; Dündar and Işın 2015, 212-13, fig. 40; Dündar 2016, 514, fig. 11; 2017, 51-60, figs. 44-45; 453-56, cat. nos. LyA. 1-19, pls. 9-10; 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32.

31 Rückert 2000, 115 and 135, fig. 40, no. 66.

32 For the Ağva Necropolis within the Phaselis Territory, see Özoral 1977; 1980, 96, pls. 14-15.

33 For the finds near Perge, see Çokay-Kepçe 2006, 145, cat. nos. TA 1 - TA 2.

34 For the Çenger Village and the highly probable shipwreck find related to this amphora, see Dündar 2012a, 47-49, figs. 6-10; 57, cat. nos. 6-7; 2017, 51, figs. 43; 55 and 57.

35 Zoroğlu et al. 2009, 38 and 47, fig. 4, no. 24.

36 Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112.

37 For a controversial example, see Lawall 2006, 137, cat. nos. 228, 305, pl. 35, no. 228.

38 Gjerstadt 1948, 90, fig. 69, no. 3b; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c.

39 Phaselis amphorae have been confused with the Mendean amphora groups; see Defernez 2007, 2:590, 611, fig. 4, nos. 12, 15; 595, 615, fig. 12, no. 32.

40 For the Benghazi-Libya samples, see Göransson 2007, 70-72, nos. 88, 90.

41 Mateevici and Redina 2010, 58, pl. 30, no. 10.

42 Orhan 2023a, 277-79, cat. nos. 82-87.

Type 2,[43] and Small Scale Phaselis[44]) had been previously identified, no production traces of Type 3 were found. However, in the studies conducted at PMK, defective production samples related to Phaselis Type 3 amphorae were discovered (cat. nos. 1-2, fig. 6). Examining the rim piece of these defective samples, the neck narrows irregularly in the area where the handles meet the neck (cat. no. 1, fig. 6.1). It is highly probable that it sustained an impact during the firing process, causing the neck to narrow excessively thus rendering it unusable. Another example of a faulty production sample for Phaselis Type 3a amphorae is the foot. Subjected to high temperatures, it became deformed. Due to this intense heat, the lime within melted, creating voids. In addition to these lime cracks, there are also separations in the pedestal section (cat. no. 2, fig. 6.2). These two defective production samples, due to their clay structure, typological characteristics, and discovery at the same level as Type 3a, have been identified as faulty production waste of Type 3a.

In addition to the defective samples, parts belonging to Type 3 amphorae, which have two subgroups, have also been recovered. These groups, understood to be amphora fragments belonging to Type 3a and 3b forms, have been chronologically and typologically evaluated, with both analogy and stratigraphy considered along with their catalog information.[45]

Phaselis Type 3a

Within the Phaselis groups Type 3a, a subgroup of the Type 3 variant, was distinguished both typologically and chronologically from Phaselis Type 1, Type 2, and other variants. When the form of the Type 3a group was examined, it was characterized by an outwardly extended and sharpened rim edge, a cylindrical neck that broadened towards the body, single, double, and sometimes triple spiral grooves on the neck just below the rim, and vertically oval-sectioned handles that began just beneath the rim and converged at the shoulders. Additionally, finger impressions could be found where the handles were attached to the body. The Type 3a amphorae with an ovoidal wide body showed a projection that extended outward with an inwardly concave profile at the transition from the body to the foot. The foot sections generally had painted bands in two different colors. A characteristic of the Phaselis amphorae was the hollow that indented inward from the base's resting plane and a profile inside the hollow at the very center of the foot resembling an inverted bowl.

In terms of general form characterization, the Phaselis Type 3a, which resembled the pioneer types, had an elongated neck and handles compared to Type 1 and Type 2. The handles first curved outward and then inward, merging at the shoulders. The transition from the shoulder to the body narrowed and also reduced in volume. The foot part of these types was seen to be further distanced from the body, and the foot approached the end with a more

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43 Orhan 2023a, 395, cat. nos. 314-15.

44 Orhan 2023a, 518-19, cat. nos. 558-60.

45 A similar Phaselis amphora is in the Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities Collection of the National Museum of Denmark. This amphora from Tomb 80 is similar to the Phaselis amphora in its clay structure (as described). The amphorae in the collection have been compared to North Aegean amphorae of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and their origin is uncertain. However, Cyprus has been suggested as a production site. There have also been comparisons with Mendean amphorae of a similar shape, as in our study. These amphorae have been analyzed in general terms (probably because of typological problems), and various dates proposed ranging from the second quarter of the fifth century BC to the end of the fourth century BC, according to the different finds. However, it is highly probable that the amphora in question belongs to one of the subtypes of the Phaselis amphorae. However, the exact form cannot be determined since there is no drawing in the publication; see Lawall 2013, 53-60, fig. 2.

flattened angle compared to Phaselis Type 1 and Type 2.[46] In addition to these distinctions, the outwardly pulled character of the rim and lip, the finger pressures under the handles, the spiral grooves, the painted bands, and the inverted bowl profile were preserved as in other types. Similar examples of Phaselis Type 3a were dated to 400-350 BC in the Side Museum[47] and Patara,[48] to the Classical Period and within the Late Classical Period at Avşar Tepesi,[49] to the fourth century BC for Cyrenaican amphorae with a similar foot structure found in Euesperides,[50] around 250 BC in Caunus,[51] and to 300-200 BC in the Anamur Museum.[52]

It was determined that the Phaselis Type 3a group was found in the same layer as Thasian forms 5 and 6, as well as the mushroom-rimmed Types 1-4, within the archaeological contexts of the Hellenistic Temple Area. The aforementioned context dated to the mid to late fourth century BC.[53] Consequently, the Phaselis Type 3a amphorae in the Hellenistic Temple Area were inferred to date between the mid and end of the fourth century BC.[54] Indeed, based on parallels from other similar examples and the archaeological context of the finds, the recommended dating of the Phaselis Type 3a group is between the third and fourth quarters of the fourth century BC (cat. nos. 3-17, fig. 7).

Phaselis Type 3b

Examined under sub-group 3b among Phaselis amphora types, this amphora shares similar forms with Phaselis Type 3a but is distinguished from Type 3a due to several different features. Therefore, as in all main and sub-groups, it can be observed that the general typology is maintained. This form retains its characteristics, especially with minor changes in the foot bowl profile and the foot circumference. When looking at the form of Phaselis Type 3b, it has a slightly outward pulled and rounded rim edge, a cylindrical neck expanding towards the body, sometimes single, sometimes double, and sometimes triple spiral grooves on the neck just below the rim, vertical handles with oval cross-section starting from below the rim and merging at the shoulders. Again, like other Phaselis amphora types, it has finger pressing at the area where the handles join the body, an ovoidal wide body, a projection protruding outward with a concave profile transitioning from body to foot, and a paint band on the foot circumference. It retains a foot form featuring a recess indented inward from the sitting plane of the foot and a projection in the form of an inverted bowl right in the center of the foot within the recess, a characteristic of Phaselis amphora groups. Indeed, the neck structure of Type 3b has shortened and widened compared to Type 3a, the handles have shortened compared to Type 3a, and the shoulders have narrowed resulting in a volumetric reduction compared to other groups. Finally, among all types, the foot circumference has significantly narrowed and flattened.

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46 For a comparison of the amphora forms, see Orhan 2023a, 233-34, pls. 2-3.

47 Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8; 57, cat. no. 6; 2017, 51, fig. 43.

48 Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14.

49 Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66.

50 The context of the aforementioned finds is "Area Q," dated between 350-250 BC; see Göransson 2007, 70-72, no. 90.

51 Bulba 1994, 34, cat. no. TH3, pl. 22, no. 3.

52 Zoroğlu et al. 2009, 37-47, cat. no. 24, fig. 4.24.

53 For the contexts see Orhan 2023a, 162-63, figs. 34-35; 197-217, tables 8-9.

54 Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

A similar example of Phaselis Type 3b in the İzmir Archaeology Museum is dated to the last quarter of the fifth century BC, the first half of the fourth century BC, and the second half of the fourth century BC.[55] Additionally, amphorae with a similar foot were uncovered in Tell el-Herr and dated to the fourth century BC,[56] in the Side Museum to 400-350 BC,[57] in Patara to 400-350 BC[58] and 336-310 BC,[59] in the Mazotos Shipwreck[60] off Larnaca in southern Cyprus to the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC,[61] and similar Cyrenaican amphorae in Euesperides to 325-250 BC.[62]

In the Hellenistic Temple Area, when looking at the context of the excavation finds of the Phaselis Type 3b group, they were found in the same layer as Thasian form 5, form 6, and mushroom-rimmed Type 1-4 groups.[63] Therefore, with this layer's general context dated to the mid to late fourth century BC, we suggest that the Phaselis Type 3b should be dated to the third and fourth quarters of the fourth century BC.[64] In conclusion, the discovery of Phaselis Type 3b and mushroom-rimmed amphorae in the cargo of the Mazotos Shipwreck indicates compatibility with the contexts in our study. Due to these reasons, the Phaselis Type 3b in the PMK area should also be dated to the late fourth century BC (cat. no. 18-30, fig. 8).

Evaluation and Conclusions

Ancient societies produced some tools and utensils from clay, particularly due to its economic and functional advantages. When such pottery made of clay lost its functionality, it was not completely destructible. Hence, some areas were transformed into ceramic dumpsites. The choice of location for these dumpsites occasionally coincided with the areas where production occurred, based on their characteristics. Sometimes areas quite outside the city were also preferred. However, such dumpsites were more often encountered in production areas and used to discard production and ceramics flawed in firing, workshop materials, amorphous materials, slags, and pottery or amphorae that had lost their functionality.

Besides the pottery in the production areas, it is known that all pottery in the city, along with the materials that had lost their functionality in daily use, were discarded in these dumpsites. This practice of creating dumpsites also prevented the accumulation of defunct pottery within the city.[65] Precisely for these reasons, some production and dumpsites were encountered in Phaselis. In the studies conducted so far, two different production and dumpsites have

55 Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112.

56 Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32.

57 Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; 2014, 38-39, fig. 13; 2016, 514, fig. 11.

58 Dündar 2012b, 454-55, cat. nos. LyA. 6, LyA. 8-10, pl. 24. LyA. 6, LyA. 8-10; 2014, 38-41, figs. 13-14; 2016, 514, fig. 11.

59 Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32.

60 Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c. When examining the cargo of the Mazotos Shipwreck, in addition to the Phaselis amphorae, Chian and mushroom-rimmed groups were also found. Indeed, chronologically, this shipwreck is closer to the last quarter of the fourth century BC in light of the aforementioned shipwreck cargo; see Demesticha 2011, 39-58; 2021, 46, fig. 3c.

61 Demesticha 2011, 39-58; 2021, 46, fig. 3c.

62 Göransson 2007, 70-72, no. 88.

63 Orhan 2023a, 162-63, figs. 34-35; 197, table 8.

64 Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

65 In some ancient societies, there was also the tradition that every piece of pottery produced had a soul. When they lost their function, they were buried like a human being.

been identified. The first is the dumpsite in the Hellenistic Temple Area. The other is the PMK Pottery Dumpsite and Amphora Production Area, where studies are still ongoing. It is located approximately 100 meters from the Hellenistic Temple Area. Seven test pits were established in this area with the first revealing finds in studies conducted in 2021. In the pits thousands of objects were unearthed. Indeed, hundreds of types of vessels ranging from black-glazed pots to roof tiles, and from commercial amphorae to coarse pottery emerged. Additionally, among the finds are components and wastes belonging to pottery production workshops, along with numerous production-related finds.[66] The recovered slags, kiln wastes, and concrete data indicating faulty production also pointed to a probable pottery workshop in this area.

Upon a general review of the finds, they did not form a complete context and were in contact with seawater or freshwater. The patina and kekamoz layers formed on the recovered findings indicate that the said materials were exposed to water for extended periods.[67] In the excavation works, a considerable number of marine shells were also observed, related again to water. When squares 21DNM-A, C, and E are reviewed, river stones, clay-like soil, sea sand, and remnants of marine organisms were identified on the ground.[68] Considering these reasons and concrete data, it is thought that a certain part of the dumpsite had a connection to the Inner Harbor during its active operational years.[69]

In addition to field research, the main material of our study consists of amphorae. Indeed, amphorae emerge as the concrete archaeological data where inter-regional commercial communication and interaction can be most clearly traced. For these reasons, our study aims to reveal the potential of local amphorae production in Phaselis production organization, distribution network, and connections with other regions (fig. 4).

In previous finds of Phaselis amphorae, faulty production examples belonging to Type 1, Type 2, and Small Scale Phaselis were obtained, while no evidence pertaining to Type 3 was identified. Hence, the concrete evidence regarding the production of Type 3, which has emerged from the PMK Pottery Dumpsite and Amphora Production Area, indicates that Phaselis amphorae were produced in multiple areas within the city. Additionally, the continuity of production at multiple points and over certain periods is another significant aspect. This is proof that Phaselis still produced amphorae to meet the demand.

From all areas of the city, a total of 199 pieces belonging to imported amphorae (examples of rim, handle, and foot) were identified, and this number constitutes 26% of the total amphora finds. In contrast to the ratios of imported amphorae, 566 Phaselis amphorae have been identified in the studies conducted so far, making up 74% of the total (fig. 5). Furthermore, within the 74% rate, 30.7% are Phaselis Type 1, 17.8% are Type 2, 18.4% are Phaselis Type 3, and 7.1% are Small Scale Phaselis amphorae. These ratios are significant in indicating the dimensions of the production organization in the city and showing that local production was more prevalent compared to imported groups.

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66 Orhan 2023b.

67 This position suggests that the Inner Harbor had a large basin up to this area and may have been a loading and unloading area. For the Inner Harbor, see Orhan 2023a, 45-46, figs. 51-53.

68 For land and sea snails, see Örstan and Yıldırım 2022; Örstan and Ovalis 2023, 1-3.

69 In underwater research conducted around the Lighthouse Breakwater in Cnidus, thousands of amphorae were identified. Indeed, this area also had terraced agricultural areas directed towards production and production workshops. It is believed that this breakwater area and its surrounding structures indicated a dock and that these amphorae were those broken during loading on to ships; see Aslan 2019, 342-45, figs. 1-6. That a practice similar to the situation in Cnidus might have occurred in Phaselis should not be overlooked.

Considering all of these factors, the broad temporal scope of the finds from PMK, along with the extensive range of pottery and amphora forms, suggests that this area was used as a dumpsite for an extended period, coinciding with the Hellenistic Temple Area. It is possible that a new manufacturing area was established at the PMK site after the temple area ceased to function. This is due to the concrete archaeological evidence obtained in this area for Phaselis amphorae dated to 450-400 BC (Phaselis Type 1, Type 2, and Small Scale Phaselis). However, the absence of any production traces of Phaselis Type 3 amphorae in the temple area suggests that production workshops were relocated from this area. This temple area was used as a dumpsite for a while longer and likely saw the termination of production activities and dumpsite usage with the commencement of the temple construction. It was then moved entirely to the PMK area. The Hellenistic Temple Area Dumpsite finds date to the early third century BC, while the PMK Dumpsite Area finds can be traced to the first century AD.

The studies described above lead to four possible conclusions based on objective evaluations. These are summarized as follows: First, the Central Tower Area (PMK) is connected to the Inner Harbor. Second, PMK is a dumpsite located near the pottery workshops region. Third, production activities continued in PMK after the cessation of production in the Hellenistic Temple Area. Finally, local production of Phaselis Type 3 continued in the workshops until the late fourth century BC. Further research is planned to gather additional data and provide insight into topics not yet conclusively determined from new perspectives.

Catalogue

Cat.: 1 (fig. 6.1)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F2-15

Findspot: PMK[70] Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 10 cm

Rim Dia. Min / Max: 10 / 11.5 cm

Thickness: 1 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few medium sand and medium coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium Soft

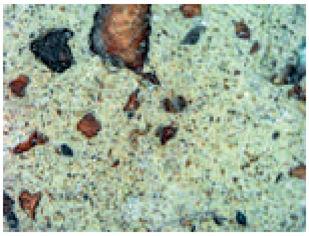
Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80 and 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Microscopic Section

70 Phaselis Central Tower.

Cat.: 2 (fig. 6.2)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-34



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 10.7 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 3.6 / 5.8 cm

Inner Profile of Foot: 0.1 cm

Colour of clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

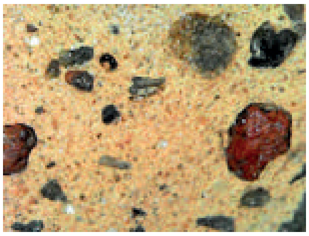
Inclusions: Few medium mica, medium thin limestone, few coarse sand and a lot of coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium Soft

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 3 (fig. 7.3)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-2



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 7.7 cm

Rim Dia. Min / Max: 13.3 / 14.5 cm

Thickness: 0.9 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

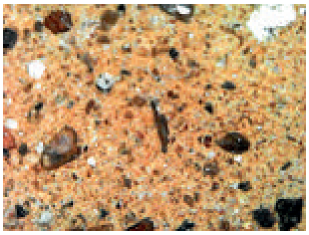
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few medium limestone, medium coarse sand and medium very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA.13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80 and 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 4 (fig. 7.4)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F1-19



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 7.5 cm

Rim Dia. Min / Max: 13 / 14.8 cm

Thickness: 1.2 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Medium thin mica, medium coarse limestone, medium coarse sand and medium coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 5 (fig. 7.5)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F2-22

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 8.4 cm

Rim Dia. Min / Max: 13 / 14.9 cm

Thickness: 0.9 cm

Microscopic Section

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Few thin mica, a lot of coarse limestone, a lot of coarse sand and medium coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 6 (fig. 7.6)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F2-14

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

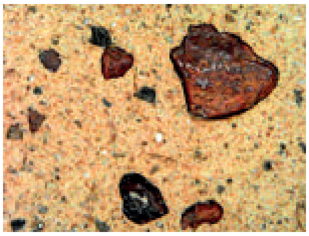
Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 11.5 cm

Rim Dia. Min / Max: 11.8 / 13.6 cm

Thickness: 1.4 cm



Microscopic Section

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

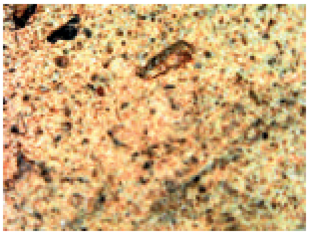
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and a lot of very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 7 (fig. 7.7)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-8



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 20.4 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.4 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and a lot of thin iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 8 (fig. 7.8)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-6

Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 16.9 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.3 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

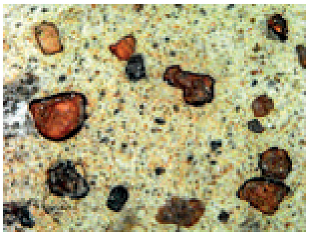
Inclusions: Few coarse mica, medium coarse limestone, medium coarse sand and few coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 9 (fig. 7.9)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-9



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 18.8 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.2 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

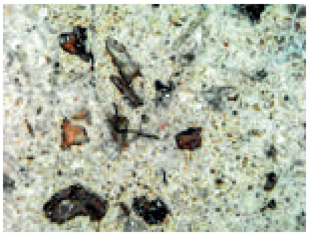
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, medium coarse sand and a lot of very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 10 (fig. 7.10)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F1-16



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 7.5 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.35 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

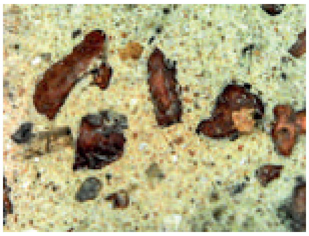
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, medium coarse sand and medium coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 11 (fig. 7.11)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-D-3



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench D

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 7.2 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 4.7 / 5.6 cm

Inner profile of foot: 0.9 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and a lot of very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 12 (fig. 7.12)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-D-4

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench D

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 8.73 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 5.4 / 6.9 cm

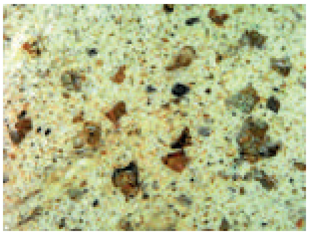
Inner profile of foot: 0.35 cm

Colour of band and: 2.5 YR 5 / 8 red

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, medium coarse sand and a lot of coarse iron oxide particles



Microscopic Section

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 13 (fig. 7.13)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-D-5

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench D

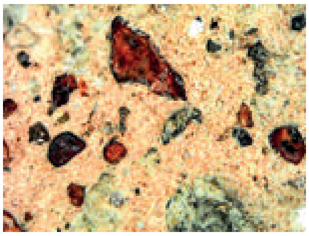
Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 6.2 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 6 / 4.4 cm



Microscopic Section

Inner profile of foot: 0.3 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and a lot of very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 14 (fig. 7.14)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-G-3

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench G

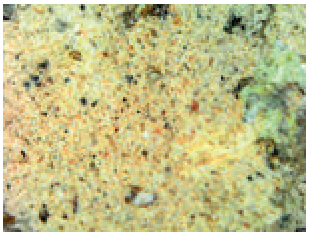
Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 6.5 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 4.7 / 6.5 cm



Microscopic Section

Inner profile of foot: 0.3 cm

Colour of band: 7.5 YR 6 / 4 light brown

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 7.5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

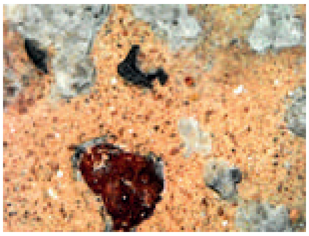
Inclusions: Few thin mica, medium thin limestone, medium thin sand and few thin iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 15 (fig. 7.15)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-11



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 7.55 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 4.5 / 5.7 cm

Inner profile of foot: 1 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

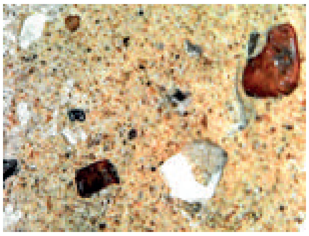
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few medium sand and few very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 16 (fig. 7.16)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-18



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 8.1 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 4.1 / 5.6 cm

Inner profile of foot: 0.7 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Medium thin mica, medium very coarse limestone, few medium sand and medium very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 17 (fig. 7.17)

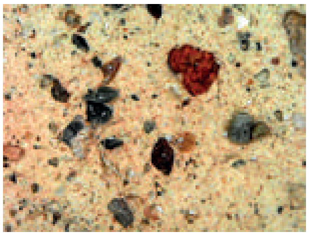
Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F1-10

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3a

Date: Between the third and last quarter of the fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil
Height: 6 cm
Foot D. Min / Max: 5.45 / 6.4 cm
Inner profile of foot: 1 cm
Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red
Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red
Inclusions: Medium thin mica, few medium limestone, few medium sand and few very coarse iron oxide particles


Microscopic Section

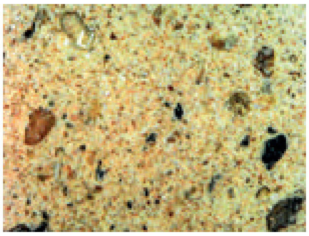
Texture of clay: Medium hard
Parallels: Rückert 2000, 135, fig. 40, no. 66; Dündar 2012a, 47, figs. 6-8, 57, cat. no. 6; Dündar 2012b, 456, cat. nos. LyA. 13-14, pl. 24, LyA. 13-14; Orhan 2023a, 79-80, 460-86, cat. nos. 443-95.

Cat.: 18 (fig. 8.18)
Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-1
Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F
Type: Phaselis Type 3b
Date: Late fourth century BC.
Contents: Wine and olive oil
Height: 8.6 cm
Rim Dia. Min / Max: 12 / 13.25 cm
Thickness: 0.8 cm
Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red
Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and medium very coarse iron oxide particles


Microscopic Section

Texture of clay: Medium hard
Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10, 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 19 (fig. 7.19)
Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-D-8
Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench D
Type: Phaselis Type 3b
Date: Late fourth century BC.
Contents: Wine and olive oil
Height: 6 cm
Rim Dia. Min / Max: 8.9 / 10.4 cm
Thickness: 1.1 cm
Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red
Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and few coarse iron oxide particles


Microscopic Section

Texture of clay: Medium hard
Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 20 (fig. 8.20)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F1-24

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Microscopic Section

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 10.9 cm

Rim Dia. Min / Max: 9.5 / 10.8 cm

Thickness: 1 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and medium very coarse iron oxide particles

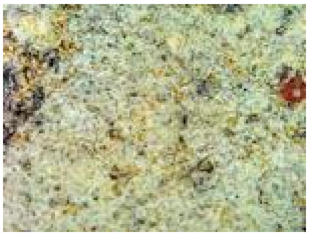
Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 21 (fig. 8.21)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-D-9

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench D



Microscopic Section

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 6 cm

Rim Dia. Min / Max: 13 / 14.6 cm

Thickness: 1.3 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few thin sand and few coarse iron oxide particles

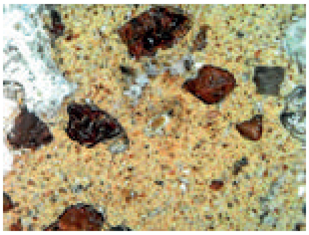
Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 22 (fig. 8.22)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F1-23

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F



Microscopic Section

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 6 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.2 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

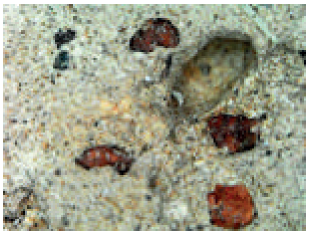
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few very coarse sand and a lot of very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 23 (fig. 8.23)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F1-22



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 10 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.3 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

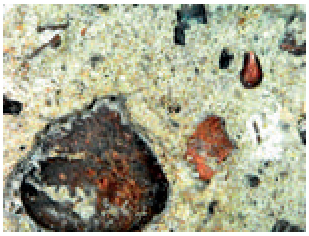
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few very coarse sand and medium very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 24 (fig. 8.24)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F1-20



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 14.8 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.35 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

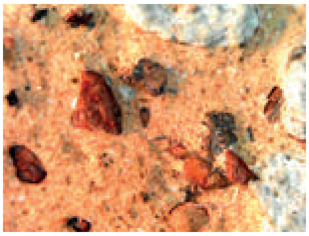
Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few medium sand and medium very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 25 (fig. 8.25)


Microscopic Section

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F2-23

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 15.2 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.1 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

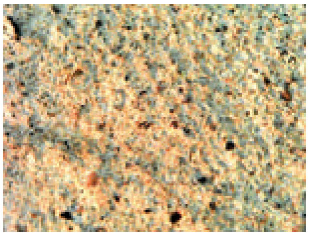
Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, few coarse sand and a lot of very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 26 (fig. 8.26)


Microscopic Section

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F2-24

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 20.9 cm

Depth of finger pressure: 0.4 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

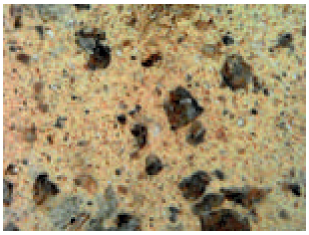
Colour of surface: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow

Inclusions: Medium thin mica, medium thin limestone, medium thin sand and medium thin iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 27 (fig. 8.27)


Microscopic Section

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F2-6

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 9.5 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 5.2 / 6.85 cm

Inner profile of foot: 0.14 cm

Colour of band: 10 R 5 / 8 red

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of Surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, a lot of coarse sand and medium thin iron oxide particles

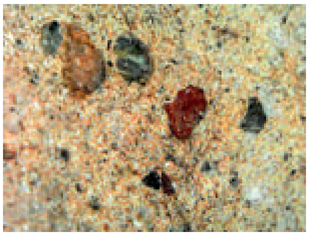
Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 28 (fig. 8.28)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-33

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F



Microscopic Section

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 8 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 5.3 / 6.6 cm

Inner profile of foot: 1 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few thin limestone, medium coarse sand and medium coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 29 (fig. 8.29)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-12

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Microscopic Section

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 7.8 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 6.1 / 7.45 cm

Inner profile of foot: 0.5 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 7 / 8 light red

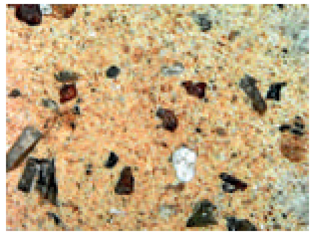
Inclusions: Few thin mica, few medium limestone, medium very coarse sand and medium very coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

Cat.: 30 (fig. 8.30)

Excavation Find No: 21PHA.DNM-F-32



Microscopic Section

Findspot: PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area, Trench F

Type: Phaselis Type 3b

Date: Late fourth century BC.

Contents: Wine and olive oil

Height: 5.4 cm

Foot D. Min / Max: 4.2 / 5.7 cm

Inner profile of foot: 0.4 cm

Colour of clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Colour of surface: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red

Inclusions: Few thin mica, few coarse limestone, few coarse sand and a lot of coarse iron oxide particles

Texture of clay: Medium hard

Parallels: Defernez 2007, 2:590, cat. no. 15, fig. 4.15; 595, cat. no. 32, fig. 12, no. 32; Dündar 2012a, 48, figs. 9-10; 57, cat. no. 7; Dündar 2021, 62, cat. no. 21, fig. 32; Demesticha 2021, 46, fig. 3c; Sezgin et al. 2022, 153-54, cat. no. 112; Orhan 2023a, 80-81, 487-518, cat. nos. 496-557.

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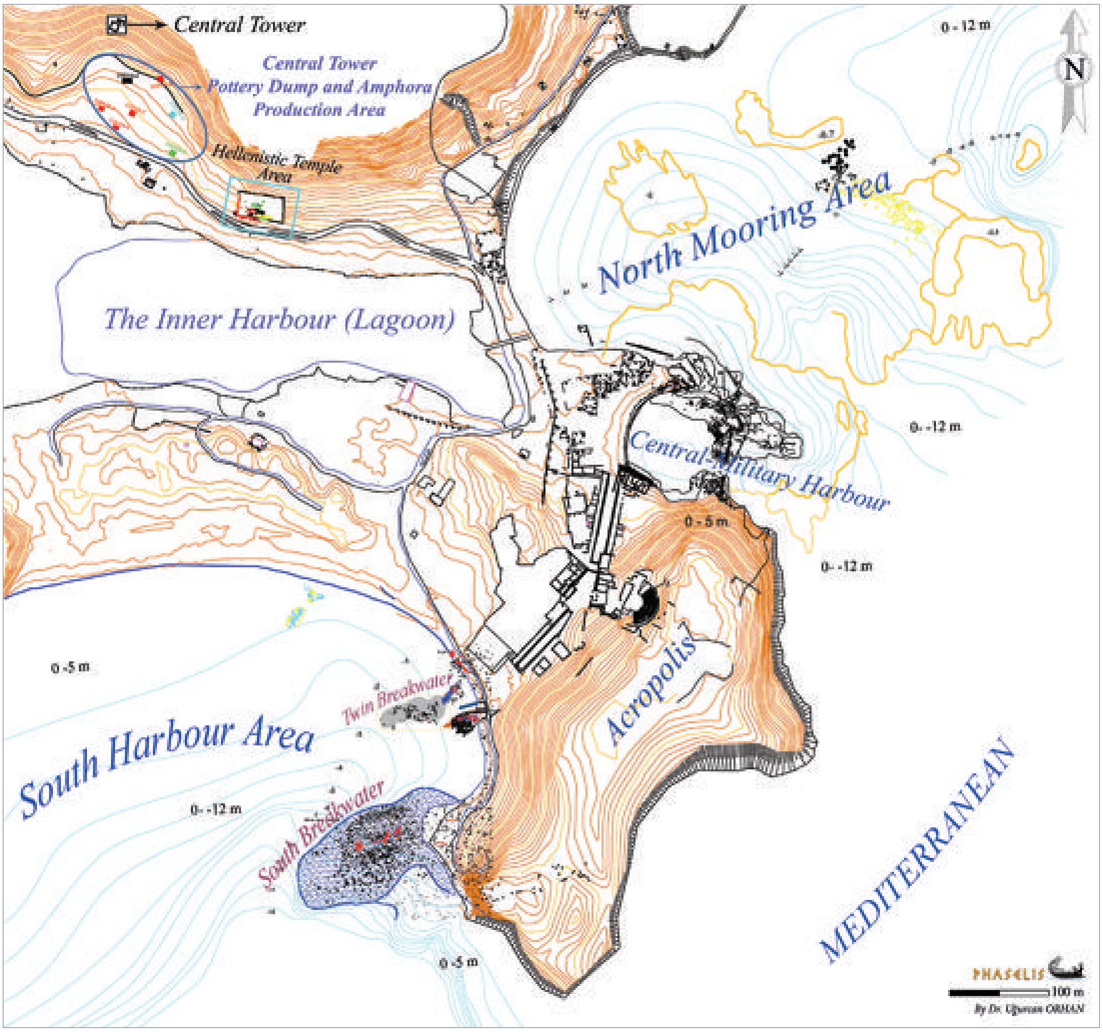

FIG. 1 Plan of Phaselis.

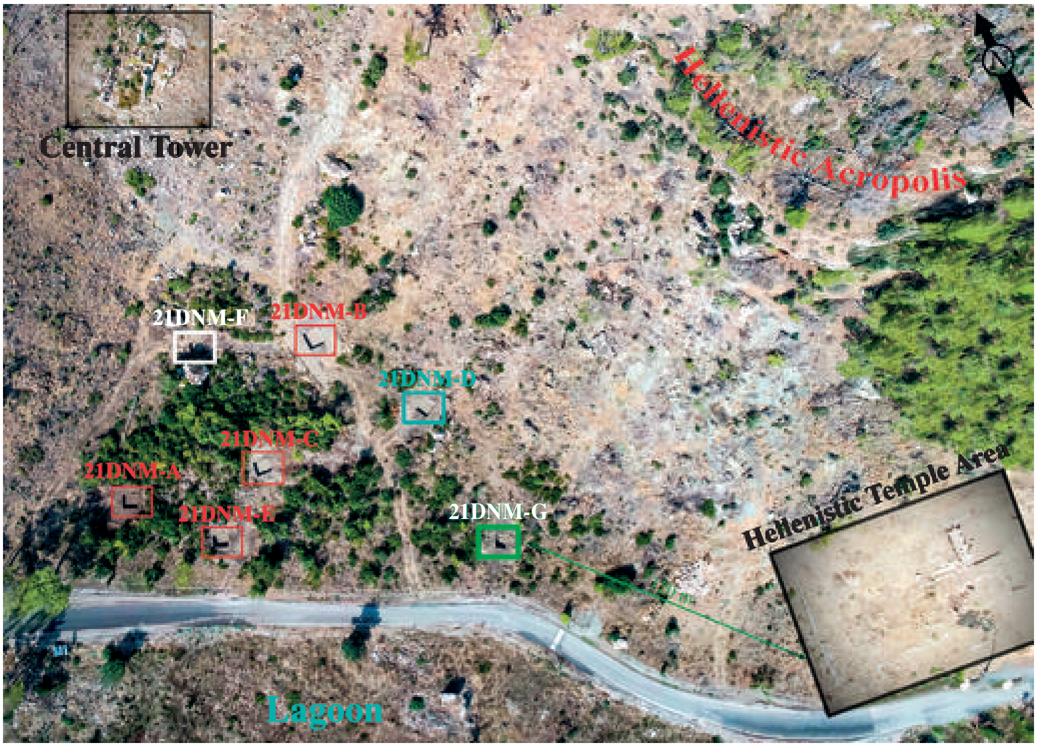

FIG. 2 PMK Pottery Dump and Amphora Production Area (Orthophoto).

FIG. 3 Trench 21DNM-F and Cross-Sections.

FIG. 4
Find Areas and Distribution Map of Phaselis Amphorae.

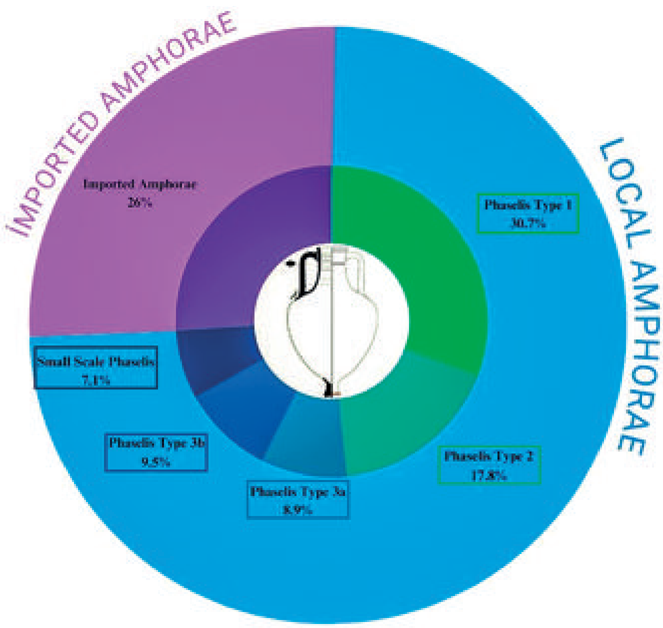

FIG. 5
Proportional Graph of Imported and Local Amphora Finds in Phaselis.

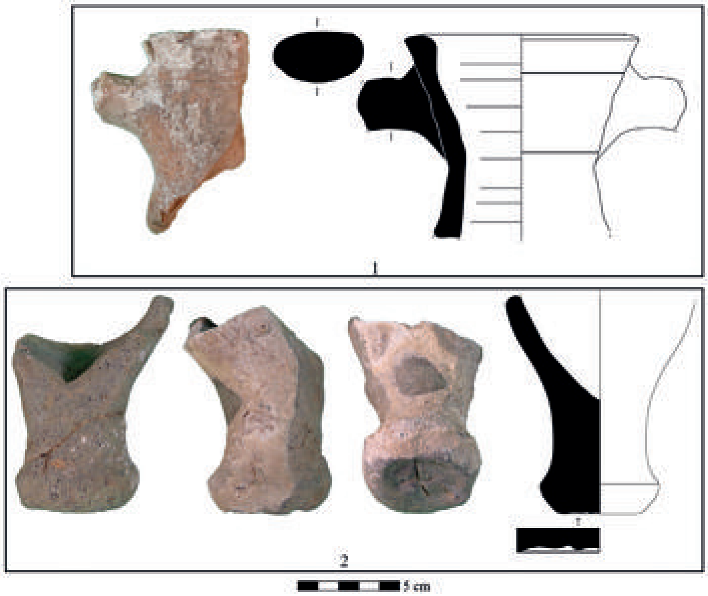

FIG. 6
Faulty Production Rim and Foot Fragment of Phaselis Type 3 Amphorae.

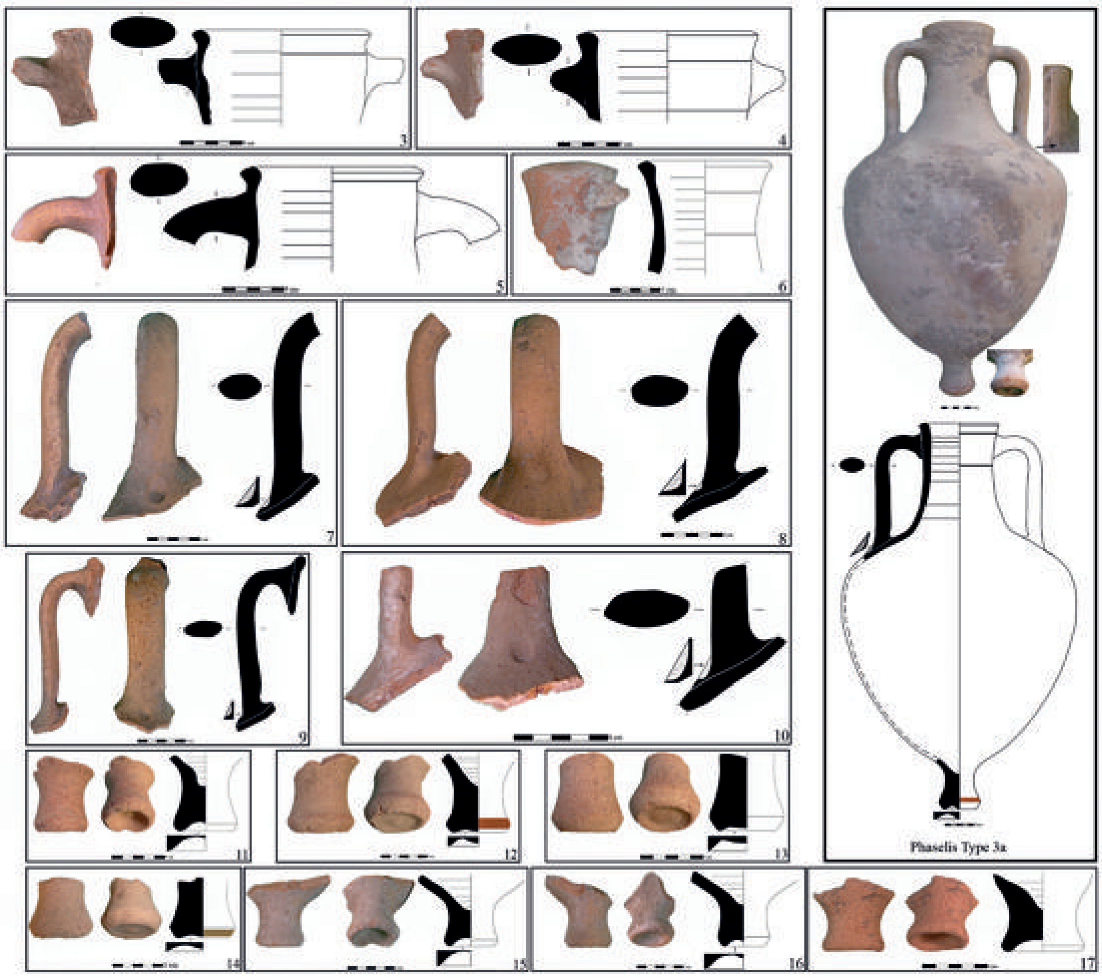

FIG. 7 Phaselis Type 3a.

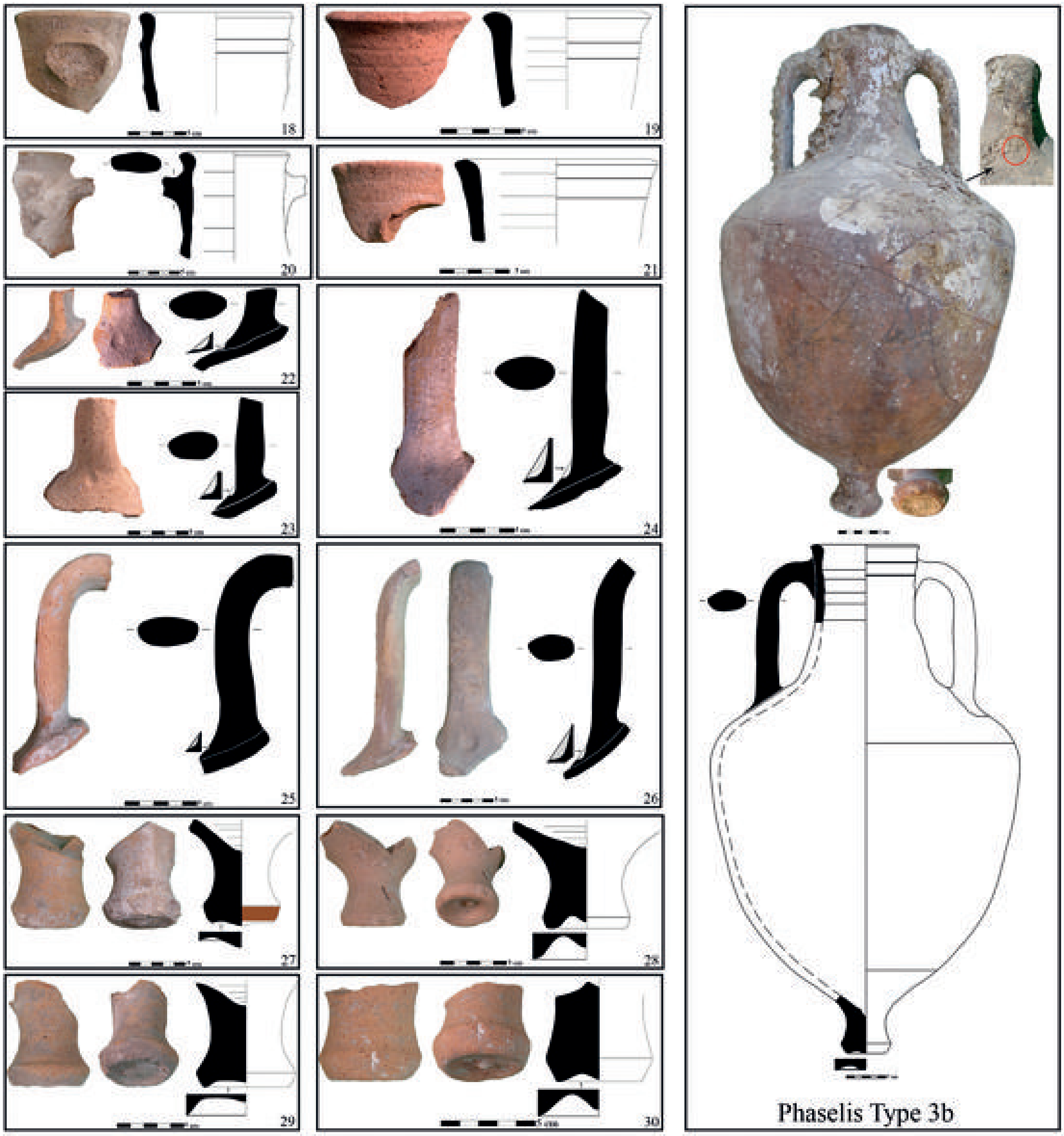

FIG. 8 Phaselis Type 3b.

An Underground Chamber Tomb with Serpent Relief in Ula, Muğla

ÖZLEM VAPUR – ABDULKADİR BARAN*

Abstract

This paper deals with an underground chamber tomb found at the Kızılkuyu area of Armutçuk Mahallesi in the Ula district of the province of Muğla and excavated in 2021. The rural area between today's Çiçekli Mahallesi and the Ula district center was in antiquity part of the *koinon* of the Ola[i]es (Ολα[ι]ες), first attested in 453 / 452 BC. It gave its name to modern Ula. The grave is carved entirely into the bedrock and contains an entrance room, a two-room chamber with five sarcophagus-shaped burials, and four niches for cremation urns or grave goods. The Kızılkuyu tomb is one of the important and unique examples in the region for several surprising and impressive reasons: the benches for ritual use in the entrance room, a relief with serpent and egg, the clockwise symposium-like arrangement of pillows on the burial beds, and the creation of the impression of a chamber tomb built of ashlar blocks in the first room. The grave seems to have belonged to a wealthy local family and was used for around 200 years between the late fourth / third century BC and the beginning of the first century BC. This dating is

Öz

Bu makalede, Muğla ili, Ula ilçesi, Armutçuk Mahallesi, Kızılkuyu mevkiinde 2021 yılında kazılan bir yer altı oda mezarı ele alınmıştır. Mezarın bulunduğu bugünkü Çiçekli köyü ile Ula ilçe merkezi arasında kalan kırsal alan, Antik Dönem'de modern Ula'ya adını veren ve ilk olarak MÖ 453 / 452'de bahsi geçen Ola[i]es (Ολα[ι]ες) *koinon*'unun bir parçasıydı. Tamamen ana kayaya oyularak yapılmış mezarda bir giriş ile lahit şeklinde biçimlendirilmiş beş ölü yatağı, kremasyon kapları veya mezar hediyeleri için dört niş bulunan iki oda yer almaktadır. Giriş kısmında ritüel amaçlı kullanıma yönelik yapılmış olan seki düzenlemeleri, yılan ve yumurta kabartması, ölü yatakları içerisindeki yastıkların saat yönünde yerleştirilmesi ile sağlanan symposium düzeni, ilk odadaki nişlerin etrafındaki bloklarla inşa edilmiş oda mezarı izlenimi yaratma çabaları gibi şaşırtıcı ve etkileyici uygulamalar, Kızılkuyu mezarını bölgenin önemli ve ünik örneklerinden biri haline getirmektedir. Taşralı, varlıklı bir aileye ait olduğu anlaşılan mezarın, seramik buluntular ışığında MÖ geç dördüncü / üçüncü yy. ile MÖ birinci yy.'ın başı arasında yaklaşık 200

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The rescue excavations were carried out under the supervision of the Muğla Museum. We are grateful to its director Gülnaz Savran for permission to work on the grave and its finds and to the museum experts for their help. The Ula Municipality provided workers and logistical support. The fieldwork was conducted by A. Baran in collaboration with archaeologists Kutalmış Kara and Sude Bayraktaroğlu and archaeology student Deniz Ece Kahveci. The drawing of the tomb was made by Gürol Aytepe; photographs were edited by Su Güner. Mehmet Gürbüzer contributed to the architectural evaluation of the tomb. Canan Özbil corrected the Turkish text. Alexander Herda shared his valuable insights on the architectural evaluation of the tomb and helped with editing of the article and its translation. We would like to thank everyone for their support.

based on ceramic finds. During this time, the region was part of the mainland territory of Rhodes (Rhodian *peraia*).

Keywords: Caria, Chamber tomb, hellenistic, pottery, Rhodian *Peraia*, Serpent relief

yıl kullanıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu dönemde bölge, Rhodos'un anakaradaki topraklarının (Rhodos *Peraia*'sı) bir parçasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karia, Oda Mezar, hellenistik, seramik, Rhodos *Peraia*'sı, Yılan kabartması

Introduction

The underground chamber tomb, located in the Kızılkuyu area of Armutçuk Mahallesi in the Ula district of the province of Muğla, was excavated in 2021 under the direction of the Muğla Museum as part of an emergency rescue excavation. The tomb is located in a forested area and was exposed during road construction work. Its upper cover was partially demolished by a bulldozer. The fact that no special grave goods or human bones were recovered from the grave, except for scattered ceramic sherds, indicates that the structure had experienced illicit digging several times previously. The underground chamber tomb was given partial protection with a roof provided by the Muğla Museum. Information and directional signs were placed around the tomb.

The grave is located between Çiçekli Mahallesi and the district center of Ula and reached by one of the branches of the valley extending from the Gökova plain to the south towards Ula in the north.[1] Surveys conducted in the area revealed that there was a settlement consisting of scattered houses spread over a large area around the grave (fig. 1).[2] Among the visible remains are a small castle used for shelter, two possible farmhouses, remains of unidentified rooms, scattered blocks belonging to various buildings, four chamber tombs,[3] cist graves, a buried pithos, a small altar fragment, and olive / wine-press weight blocks.[4] It is assumed that this area belonged to the *Olaies*, an independent Carian *koinon* without a central settlement. The *Olaies* (Ολα[ι]ες) are first mentioned as an ethnic, not a toponym, in the tribute list of the Attic-Delian League of 453 / 452 BC, paying a tribute (*phoros*) of 1000 drachmas.[5] This helps to estimate a population of 133 "norm citizens."[6] The ancient name of the *koinon* most likely survives in today's Turkish place name Ula.[7] Considering the existing remains, we can speak of a small settlement cluster and retreat fortifications that controlled the entrance and exit along the route of the road. This settlement feature is characteristic for Caria and also fits the

1 The distance to the center of the Ula district is roughly 6 km, while the distance to the village of Gökova is approximately 20 km.

2 Two extensive surveys were carried out in the area where the grave was found by K. İren, followed by A. Baran; see İren 2008, 256; Baran 2019, 32-33.

3 Chamber Tombs 2, 3, and 4 were not excavated. Chamber Tomb 2 is built of worked blocks, covered with a corbelled vault, and has a single chamber and three niches in the chamber walls. It was published with drawings by M. Gürbüzer and dated to the second half of the second century BC; see Gürbüzer 2019, 68, fig. 11. Chamber Tomb 4, which is partially preserved but almost completely filled with illegally excavated soil, and Chamber Tomb 3, which has been severely damaged, are examples constructed of roughly worked blocks; see Baran 2019, 32.

4 Baran 2019, 32-33.

5 Meritt et al. 1939, *ATL* 1, 529-30; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 1130, no. 918 *Olaies* (listed under the ethnic, not the polis name, because "a toponym is not attested").

6 For calculating the number of citizens, see Herda et al. 2019, 74 with n. 511 for the northern Carian polis of Naxos near Ionian Myous and Carian Latmos, paying a similar tribute of 1000 drachmas.

7 Meritt et al. 1939, *ATL* 1, 529-30 (identified with modern Ula); Zgusta 1984, 434-35, map 344 § 925 Ολ/α/ Ουλ/α/ (cautiously follows *ATL* in identifying with modern Ula); İren 2013, 355. For further discussion on the matter, see Herda (forthcoming).

settlement pattern of the *Olaies*. The *koinon* of the *Olaies* was annexed to Alexander's empire in 334 / 333 BC, like the whole region of Caria, and must have come under the control of the island state of Rhodes in the third-second century BC, like the larger settlements in the region.[8] Although G. E. Bean states that the area to the northeast of the Gulf of Keramos was probably annexed to the Rhodian mainland territory (*peraia*) in the early third century BC,[9] it is not entirely clear when and how the Rhodians acquired the area between Stratonikeia, Keramos, and Kaunos, as has been recently stressed by U. Wiemer.[10]

M. Gürbüzer, in an article briefly evaluating the Kızılkuyu tomb, states that the site was instead situated in the *koinon* of Idyma.[11] However, conclusive evidence for this assumption is missing, first of all because ancient Idyma is located much farther away at the modern village of Gökova approximately 20 km to the southwest.[12]

Architecture

The Kızılkuyu underground chamber tomb was built on the western slope of a hill consisting of soft sandstone.[13] It is oriented in an east-west direction, with the entrance to the west.

There is an arrangement of benches and a niche at the entrance of the tomb, therefore it can be defined as a complex grave type with an entrance room and a two-room chamber (fig. 2).[14] Five burials, two in the first room and three in the second room, are arranged along the side walls and made accessible by two short corridors. They were carved out of the bedrock and shaped like sarcophagi. Some fragments of separately worked stone lids were found scattered in the eastern room (fig. 16). It is noteworthy that the cushions inside the sarcophagi, indicating the position of the corpses, were placed in clockwise direction. The ceiling of the structure, which is preserved in most of the second, eastern room, is shaped as a flat vault over the corridor. However, it is straight and lowered towards the side walls over the sarcophagi, except over the central burial site at the eastern end of the chamber, which forms a flat vault (figs. 13, 15).

After its discovery during a survey in 2017 (fig. 3), the architectural features of the Kızılkuyu rock-cut chamber tomb had been preliminarily compared by A. Baran with Macedonian-type vaulted underground chamber tombs,[15] while, according to Gürbüzer, the tomb reflects Roman burial traditions.[16] However, the 2021 excavations (fig. 4), which led to the complete uncovering of the structure, have shown that these interpretations have to be revised.

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8 See İren 2013, 347.

9 Bean 1980, 128.

10 See Wiemer 2020, 421.

11 Gürbüzer 2019, 69, who identifies the grave site of Kızılkuyu as İncirpınarı.

12 See İren 2013, 346, fig. 1; Baran 2022.

13 The bedrock was formed as a result of the petrification of a sand deposit, and this soft texture allowed the tomb to be easily carved and the walls of the chambers to be decorated with incised and relief decorations. On the other hand, this malleable texture would not allow the rock-cut grave to be preserved in its original state for a long time. As can be observed since the excavations in 2021, natural factors such as temperature change and rain cause rapid destruction of the tomb, especially visible at the wall of the serpent relief which has now burst into several parts.

14 Henry 2009, 106.

15 Baran 2019, 32, figs. 7-8.

16 Gürbüzer 2019, 69, fig. 16. He does not indicate what makes him assume a Roman tradition. The central arched burial niche, resembling that of Roman arcosolium graves, was not yet excavated in 2007. Further, the likely abandonment of the grave in the Late Hellenistic period (see below section 3) would exclude any Roman influence.

Entrance Room

The tomb's entrance room is 1.60 m wide and 1.10 m deep, and descends by four steps. Each step has a different width, depth, and height (figs. 2, 5).[17] One or two of the uppermost steps were destroyed by a bulldozer along with the ceilings of the entrance room and of the first room of the tomb chamber.

The entrance has benches on both sides of the opening for the main entrance door (fig. 6). The southern bench forms part of a niche which has a slightly concaved back wall. There is no niche on the northern side. The upper part of the bench is partly broken off.

Above the northern, lower stone bench, is carved a snake ascending upwards 0.63 m (figs. 7-8). Its tail appears in the northeastern corner of the bench, and the curved body extends to the left, broader side of the asymmetrical doorway. This was obviously arranged to create enough space for the snake relief. To the right of the serpent and close to its partly preserved head is a carved egg measuring 0.08 x 0.12 m, which is now largely destroyed (fig. 7).

First Chamber

The entrance door with a threshold leads to the first room through an opening 0.80 m wide. There is no lintel preserved so that the height of the door cannot be determined. No data indicating the closure mechanism was observed on the door frame (figs. 2, 9). A flat step was placed between the threshold and the floor level of this chamber.

Measuring 2.95 x 2.15 m, the room is wider than deep. It has two sarcophagi carved directly into the rock on both sides of the north-south corridor 1.00 m in width. There are rectangular, central niches in the walls above (fig. 10). The dimensions of the northern sarcophagus vary due to the irregular execution of the carving. Its frame was not worked out at the western end, while the cushion for the head of the deceased is located at the eastern end. The niche in the center of the northern wall above the sarcophagus is rectangular (fig. 11). The dimensions of the southern sarcophagus are irregular like the northern one. The cushion is located on the western side, while the frame of the sarcophagus was not cut out on the eastern side. There is a niche in the south wall above the sarcophagus, whose upper part was damaged during the roadwork (fig. 12). The well-smoothed rock surface of these walls has incised vertical and horizontal lines which imitate block joints of isodomic ashlar masonry (figs. 11-12). The size of the single blocks in a layer varies.

Second Chamber

The second burial chamber is accessed through a door measuring approximately 0.68 m in width. The cut-out threshold 0.55 m deep is 3 cm higher than the floor of the first chamber and 8 cm higher than the floor level of the second chamber (figs. 2, 9). Both the roof and the lintel

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[17] All measurements taken in the grave are presented here, except where measurements are required in the text. The abbreviations used are as follows: L = length, W = width, D = depth, H = height, pH = preserved height. **Entrance hall:** stairs: W 0.90-1.15 m, D 0.26-0.32 m, H 0.20-0.45 m, southern bench: W 0.76-0.78 m, D 0.14-0.19 m, northern bench: W 0.20 m, D 0.73-0.76 m, pH 0.38 m; **first chamber:** threshold: W 0.80 m, D 0.50-0.60 m, H 0.09 m; northern sarcophagus: L 2.03-2.07 m, W 0.94-0.96 m (outside), 0.57-0.62 m (inside), D 0.44 m; cushion: W 0.19-0.23 m, H 0.10 m; niche: W 0.34-0.36 m, H 0.58 m, D 0.20-0.24 m; southern sarcophagus: L 2.09-2.25 m, W 0.93-1.01 m (outside), 0.55-0.63 m (inside), D 0.40-0.45 m; cushion: W 0.29-0.33 m, H 0.11 m; niche: W 0.34-0.36 m, H ?, D 0.21-0.26 m; **second chamber**: northern sarcophagus: L 1.96 m, W 0.93 m (outside), 0.63 m (inside), D ?, niche: W 0,42 m, H ?, D. 0,24 m; eastern sarcophagus: L 1.86 m, W 0.94-0.96 m (outside), 0.60-0.62 m (inside), D 0.40 m; cushion: W 020-0.23 m, H 0.15 m; niche: W 0.37 m, H 0.59 m, D 0.24 m; southern sarcophagus: L 2.04 m, W 0.88-0.91 m (outside), 0.59 m (inside), D 0.40 m; cushion: W 0,18-0,20, H 0,15 m.

are missing, and again no closure mechanism was observed on the frame. The room is 3.00 m wide, 3.30 m deep and 1.80 m high with three rock-carved sarcophagi placed in a π-shaped order in the north, south and east sides of the corridor. The irregularly smoothed floor with a slight inclination towards the east is about 5 cm deeper than that of the first, western chamber. These different levels are connected via a secondary(?), irregular cut in the floors and the threshold. Its purpose is likely to channel water from the higher western chamber into the lower eastern one. The channel extends for 0.90 cm in the first room, cuts through the threshold, and continues widening and deepening for another ca. 1.30 m in the floor of the second chamber. Here the rock surface is strongly corroded so that its measurements are less precise (figs. 2, 14). The ceiling of the room is mostly well preserved and shaped like a flat vault that starts above the bedrock sarcophagus at the eastern wall. After a step, it continues along the corridor towards the entrance in the west. Above the sarcophagi in the north and south, it turns into a straight, horizontal cover that descends like a saddle roof towards the side walls (figs. 13, 15).

The northern sarcophagus is largely damaged, and its frame was not worked out on the west side. The cushion is located on the east side. A long tunnel was cut by robbers in the northern upper wall behind the niche, causing substantial damage to the sarcophagus and the lower part of the niche. In front of the central rock sarcophagus in the east, a step was constructed differently from the others (fig. 13). The pillow is located on the southern end. The rectangular niche in the eastern wall was partially damaged with chisels and other tools during illicit digs. The pillow of the southern sarcophagus is located at its western end. Inside were found two fragments of the sarcophagus' thick stone lid measuring about 0.1-0.12 m. Unlike the other four sarcophagi, there is no niche in the south wall above this sarcophagus (fig. 16).

Architectural and Iconographic Evaluation

Underground chamber tombs in the Carian region are concentrated in an area extending from Kaunos in the south to Orthosia in the north, from Iasos in the west to the village of Elmacık in the east.[18] Among the underground chamber tombs constructed with differing techniques using different materials and having various plans, examples carved into the rock are encountered less frequently.[19]

The Kızılkuyu tomb is one of the important and distinctive tombs of the region with its unusual entrance carved out of the bedrock, two chambers, ceiling, rock sarcophagi, and clockwise positioned funerary cushions. That such a unique structure was built in the countryside also makes it remarkable. On the other hand, it should be noted that the shape and irregular dimensions of the stairs, door openings, ceiling, rock sarcophagi and niches show slipshod stone workmanship.

The structure was planned as a family tomb and finds no one-to-one comparison. However, it is possible to find similarities for some of its features in other tombs. Closely comparable examples pointing to the same tradition with similar building material, construction technique, two-chambered design, vaulted ceilings, and niches over the burial beds are known from the necropolis at Stratonikeia Akdağ.[20] The main differences in those rock-hewn chamber tombs

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18 Henry 2009, 104.

19 Carstens 2009, 386-87, fig. 14; Tamsü-Polat 2017, 45-50. The underground chamber tombs carved into the bedrock are also known from nearby centers such as Patara and Attaleia; see İşkan-Yılmaz and Çevik 1995; Büyükyörük and Tibet 1999-2000.

20 Tamsü-Polat 2017, 22-23, MK48, fig. 7b, pl. 17a-e, MK 49, fig. 8a, pl. 18a.

are the use of beds in the form of benches, the resulting change in plan, and the use of lintels and jambs made of marble or bedrock in many of the tombs.[21]

One of the most interesting features of the Kızılkuyu grave is the two side benches in the entrance room (fig. 6). Literary and epigraphical texts indicate that ceremonies for the dead continued after the official mourning period. As part of these ceremonies, certain events were organized for important deceased persons. It is thought that libations were often made, and various gifts were dedicated to the deceased. For example, flowers or incense were left on a grave altar or directly on the grave.[22] One of the best-known examples for this practice is the use of oil lamps. In some epigraphic documents, the owner of the grave asks his relatives to leave a lit lamp at his grave at certain times as an offering.[23] These rituals and offerings, which seem to have been organized at different times, must have been performed close by the tomb or at its entrance,[24] since the tombs could not be entered at any time.[25] Although it is often impossible to identify them due to their state of preservation, it is also known that courtyard-like arrangements associated with these funeral rituals were created in front of the graves.[26] A similar arrangement of benches at the entrance is found in a tomb of the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Period in Miletus. The rock-cut benches on both sides of the dromos yielded objects deposited in two or three layers. The majority of the material consists of ceramics. Trefoil jugs and drinking bowls, partly turned upside down, clearly show that some rituals were performed in the area and that the vessels used were afterwards left on these benches.[27]

Another exceptional application of the Kızılkuyu tomb related to this arrangement is the relief of a snake with an egg. The ascending body, with partly preserved head pointing upwards, extends from the roughly smoothed wall above the northern bench to the wall on the left side of the grave chamber's entrance (figs. 7-8). The symbolic meanings of the snake in prehistoric and historic times are varied, complex, and profound. For this reason, it is difficult to define with certainty the meaning of the relief here. Depictions of snakes associated with cemeteries are frequently encountered in Caria and the East Doric, Greek neighborhood of Cnidus and Rhodes. A gravestone found in Rhodes[28] and the reliefs on many round grave altars concentrated in Cnidus and its territory,[29] clearly reveal the snake's close relationship with the underworld and the cult of the dead. In the case of the Kızılkuyu tomb, it is necessary to

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21 Tamsü-Polat 2017, pls. 6b-c, 7a, 9b, 11b, 12a-b, 13a-b, 14a-c, 17a-e.

22 Nováková 2011, 217, 219-20.

23 Walters 1914, xiv-xv; Mitchell 1982, 210-11, no. 2571.

24 Tamsü-Polat states that the visitors of the tomb were waiting, and ritual preparations were made in the area measuring approximately 1.00 x 1.00 m between the dromos and the entrance of the burial chamber; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 46. Büyüközer, on the other hand, states that the areas he defines as *vestibulum* may have been an area reserved for simple rituals performed in the tomb or for grave gifts; see Büyüközer 2020, 32.

25 Except in cases of necessity, such as a new burial, it is not possible to enter graves at any time. To hold off grave robbers, the chamber tombs were closed with stone lids or by lockable doors. A second important point is that, although some graves have sarcophagi that are covered, in many graves the dead as well as the grave goods are laid directly on the benches and not protected. Therefore, grave visits including also rituals must have been carried out in the areas defined as entrances, vestibules, or courtyards.

26 Henry 2009, 104.

27 The chamber tomb was discovered on the northern foot of Zeytintepe; see Henninger and Kossatz 1979, 175, fig. 5; 177, fig. 6; 184-85, pl. 57 (1-2).

28 Lauter-Bufe 1983.

29 Berges believes that snake altars originated from Cnidus and states that all of the examples he analyzed in his study are related to the necropolis of Cnidus. The author reports that snake altars were also found on the islands of Rhodes and Nisyros; see Berges 1986, 84-85. An altar with a snake relief was also found during the excavations in Patara: https://pataraexcavations.org/hakkimizda.html

consider the chthonic meaning of the relief, and its connection with heroization of the dead. As H. Laufer-Bufe has pointed out, a snake may be a general symbol for the underworld or for the soul of the deceased, or a personification of the guardian of the tomb.[30] But the egg depicted to the right of the Kızılkuyu snake is clearly an offering, well known from the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia, wherein the sacred serpents received raw eggs besides living animals.[31] Therefore, the snake in the relief may represent the heroized soul of the deceased, being summoned from the underworld by means of an egg sacrifice. With the Hellenistic period, posthumous heroization became widespread, regardless of the identity and status of the deceased.[32] At this point, five pinakes placed as a kind of cover over the drinking bowls and trefoil jugs on the benches at the entrance of the aforementioned tomb in Miletus are noteworthy.[33] An armored horse rider is depicted on these pinakes. A snake crawls under the rider who is approached by a veiled woman and a girl with her head uncovered. Therefore, the scene is interpreted as devotees worshipping a hero. These finds in Miletus support the view that the snake relief in the Kızılkuyu grave is associated with the heroization of the deceased. Accordingly, the benches on both sides of the door in the entrance room are related to the rituals performed and served as altars where eggs and other offerings could be placed by family worshippers.

There are two doors in the tomb, one at the entrance and the other connecting the first and second chambers (fig. 9).[34] The entrance room had a ceiling to protect the offering benches and the snake relief from the weather, but likely no door. The lintels of the two doors are not preserved, and no closure mechanisms were detected.[35] For this reason, it can be assumed that the main door was closed with a simple capstone that fit into the door frame like a stopper,[36] as in some graves in the Akdag Necropolis.[37] There is no clear indication that the passage between the first and second chamber was closed. If so, this was done by installing a single- or double-winged wooden door in a wooden door frame, attached to the rock-cut door frame from inside the second chamber.[38]

Our information about the ceiling's form comes from the second chamber (figs. 2, 13, 15). The ceiling is completely preserved except for the southwest corner and the door opening. It is shaped as a flat arch respectively a vault over the sarcophagus in front of the east wall.[39] This vaulting, which is slightly irregular, continues after a step of about 10 cm over the corridor and extends to the wall with the door in the west. Over the sarcophagi to the north and south, it

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30 Lauter-Bufe 1983, 163-64.

31 Although ancient sources report that sacred snakes were symbolically offered honey cakes, in reality these snakes ate living animals and raw eggs. One of the statues of Asclepius and Hygieia provides iconographic data showing that eggs were offered to snakes on egg *phialai*, again in connection with the cult of Asclepius; see Ogden 2013, 364-66.

32 Nováková 2011, 215-17.

33 See fn. 27.

34 For door closure systems in Carian tombs, see Henry 2009, 109.

35 Since the ceiling over the door openings is not preserved, it is not possible to determine the door heights. But the height of the ceiling in the eastern chamber as only maximum 1.85 m gives an important indication.

36 Considering the general character of the grave, it is possible that local sandstone or harder limestone were used for the closure. However, no fragment that could have been used as a door was found around the grave.

37 Tamsü-Polat 2017, 47, fig. 1.

38 O. Henry states that the second doors connecting the rooms were generally double-leaf hinged doors; see Henry 2009, 109.

39 Of the 88 chamber tombs in the Akdağ Necropolis, 66 have vaulted ceilings; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 48, pls. 6c, 9b, 11b, 12b, 13b.

descends to the side walls in a flat-sloping, straight manner like a saddle roof.[40] This interesting construction mixing a vaulted roof design with a saddle roof is difficult to explain. Although it can be assumed that the stonemason was not experienced enough to shape the entire ceiling in the form of a vault, it cannot be ruled out that it may have been a conscious design.

The burials were formed by shaping the rock in the form of sarcophagi (fig. 10). Usually, beds for the dead arranged in the form of benches, couches, or *klinai* are common in underground chamber tombs.[41] Simple rock-cut shaft graves closed with monolithic stone lids with flat or saddle "roofs" are frequently encountered in Caria. However, they are typically found in the open.[42] In contrast, sarcophagi carved directly out of the rock within burial chambers are less common. Examples similar to those of Kızılkuyu were found in the rock graves at Keramos, Yenice, and Taş Yenice, including also one at near-by Ula.[43] Although no *in situ* example was found, the flat, worked stone fragments (ca. 0.12-0.12 m thick) made of sandstone and found around and inside the grave were part of flat monolithic(?) lids to cover the sarcophagi (fig. 16). Another remarkable practice is the creation of a symposium order in the tomb by carving out cushions in the sarcophagi arranged in a clockwise direction. This imitates the position of symposiasts on *klinai* in a dining hall (*andron*).[44]

The niches (figs. 11-13) cut into the walls above the rock sarcophagi may be associated with cremation burials. With dimensions ranging between 0.20-0.26 m in depth, they are large enough for the placement of urns. It is known from existing evidence in the region that both inhumation and cremation were practiced in the same burial chamber, and that cremation vessels were placed either on the burial beds or in the niches.[45] On the other hand, there is evidence that gifts were also left in both places.[46] Although it is not possible to determine the exact function of the niches in the Kızılkuyu grave with the help of the available data, a few suggestions can be made. First of all, some vessels found in the grave were probably used as urns.[47] It is likewise important to note that there is no niche above the sarcophagus on the south side of the second burial chamber. If the niches were intended for grave goods, it would be expected that a niche would have been provided also for this burial, which is not the case. This fact strengthens the assumption that the niches were used for cremation vessels and also suggests that they were cut out as needed, some after the initial construction of the tomb.

The rock surface around the niches in the first chamber was carefully smoothed and incised with an imitation of horizontal and vertical block joints to give the appearance of an isodomic ashlar masonry (figs. 11-12). The purpose of this application is very clear. The owner of the

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40 A tomb in the Akdağ Necropolis shows the opposite ceiling application having a saddle roof in the center and descends and turns into vaults over the burials on the sides; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 48, M64.

41 Tamsü-Polat 2017, pls. 6c, 9b, 11b, 12b, 14a-c.

42 More frequent than chamber tombs and rock-cut tombs, these types of sarcophagi are found cut directly into the rocky surfaces and often identified as Carian type tombs; see Bean 1980, 60. Henry reports that more than 25 sites in Caria have this type of tombs; see Henry 2009, 33.

43 Ross 2006, 33-43, pl. 14 (4) (Keramos), pl. 15 (3) (Yenice), pl. 16 (5) (Taş Yenice), pl. 20 (2) (Ula). An early rock-cut chamber tomb dating to around 460 BC with three shaft graves, not sarcophagi, arranged in a π-shaped order, is to be found on Aegina; see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 193-94, fig. 39.

44 Compare the famous *andrones* in the sanctuary of Zeus in Labraunda; see Hellström and Blid 2019.

45 Söğüt 2003, 252; Ahrens 2015, 191.

46 The closest example of grave goods left in the niche is the Menias tomb in Idyma; see Gürbüzer 2016, 112-13. 36 graves in the Akdağ Necropolis have niches in the walls where the burial beds are located, and six of them yielded grave goods thought to be *in situ*; see Tamsü-Polat 2017, 49.

47 See the pottery discussion with fn. 91.

tomb knew about underground chamber tombs built with marble or other local ashlar stones[48] and desired to have such a tomb. However, he did not have enough resources available, so wanted to at least create the impression that he was financially capable with the status to have such a tomb.[49]

Traces left by tools used for carving the soft sandstone rock are visible at many points on the walls. It is noteworthy that the coarsest tools such as small hoes were used on the stairs and on part of the walls and ceilings, while traces of a pointed chisel and an adze / *skeparnon* used for finer workmanship are found on the side walls of the sarcophagi. The serpent relief and the doorway between the entrance room and the western grave chamber further preserve clear marks of a dented chisel.[50]

As mentioned above, there is a certain carelessness in the construction of the tomb. The similar poorly worked and corroded channel about 2.75 m long is likely secondary too. It connects the floor level of the first chamber with the floor of the second chamber (5 cm lower) by cutting through its door threshold. It may have become necessary to cut this when rainwater started to seep through the porous rock of the ceiling and accumulated in the first chamber.[51]

In contrast to this slipshod workmanship, the details of the design reveal a remarkable familiarity with supra-regional architectural practices as well as regional burial customs. Its complex tomb type consists of an entrance and two chambers, snake relief, symposium arrangement provided by pillow placement in the sarcophagi, impression of a chamber tomb built with ashlar blocks in the first chamber, niches for cremation urns and grave goods, and benches made for ritual use at the entrance. From this point of view, the people who designed the plan of the Kızılkuyu tomb and the people who realized it were different. We cannot know whether the owner of the grave drew the plan himself or paid a skilled architect who knew the burial traditions of the region well. But it is clear that he did not have the resources necessary to construct a high-quality grave, so hired a less skilled local stonemason.

On the other hand, regardless of the construction material and form of the tomb, it requires significant financial means to build such a tomb carved directly into the bedrock.[52] The grave seems to belong to one of the prominent landowning families in the rural settlement and reveals that the wealthy families of the provinces were well educated and ambitious.

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48 The nearest tomb in this technique is chamber tomb 2 in Kızılkuyu; see Gürbüzer 2019, 68, fig. 11; above n. 3. Chamber tombs constructed with marble, limestone, and conglomerate ashlar blocks are known from different settlements in the region. For Mylasa see Akarca 1952, 367-405; for the Stratonikeia territorium see Büyüközer 2020, 25-36, fig. 17 (the masonry of the Taşkesik chamber tomb there is an especially good example of the masonry reflected in the Kızılkuyu tomb); for Idyma see Gürbüzer 2016, 105-7, figs. 3-4.

49 Similar applications imitating expensive constructions and made with the same concern are frequently encountered in the Roman Period. In some dwellings, owners who could not have the walls of the house covered with marble, had them decorated with wall paintings reflecting the appearance of marble; see Thorpe 2002, 73-74. There is a very extensive use of marble incrustations on the walls of the houses in Ephesos, Terrace House 2. Nevertheless, marble-like wall paintings were preferred instead of real marble on some walls; see Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2011, 95-96, 131, figs. 150 (1) and 243.

50 For tools used in ancient masonry, and their marks, see Kurapkat and Wulf-Rheidt 2017.

51 The most prominent example for such secondary channels cut through thresholds to get rid of seeping rainwater in a chamber tomb is the Hekatomneion in Mylasa (ca. 360 / 350 BCE). There, both the threshold of the grave chamber door as well as the threshold of the outer door of the dromos and the pavement outside have a cut channel, convincingly attributed by A. Diler to the reuse phase of the grave for the burial of Menandros, son of Ouliades in Augustan times; see Diler 2020, 375-77, 331, figs. 7-8 (channel in pavement in front of dromos door); Kızıl 2020, 158, figs. 26-27 (cuts in both grave chamber and dromos thresholds), 167, fig. 36 (channel in pavement in front of dromos door).

52 Henry 2009, 106.

Pottery finds

A total of 741 sherds, mostly coarse wares and amphora body fragments, were collected from the entrance room and the first chamber, while 68 sherds, mostly body fragments of coarse wares, were recovered from the second chamber. The ceramics were scattered in the grave chambers and entrance room during ancient robberies and modern illegal excavations.

Our primary aim has been to reveal the periods of use of the grave with the help of ceramic finds. Based on this aim, a number of fragments significant for dating were selected and studied, first of all sherds with rim and base profiles and decorated samples (fig. 17).[53]

The ceramics were analyzed under two groups: fine wares and plain wares. The first group consists of slipped and decorated sherds, while the second group consists of unslipped, coarse ware sherds mostly produced for daily use. The order of the sherds within the groups is from open vessel to closed vessel.

The ceramic finds indicate that the grave was used for about 200 years, but it was not possible to determine how many burials were made in specific periods.

The first and earliest ceramic that allows an approximate dating belongs to an Attic black glazed ware (cat. no. **1**) dateable to the late fourth-third century BC.[54] Together with a thin-walled skyphos fragment (**2**) found near the serpent relief in the entrance room, this example probably provides information about the first use and construction period of the tomb. However, the thick body fragment (**1**) does not allow a clear dating due to its state of preservation.[55] The skyphos (**2**) found next to it provides more reliable data. This thin-walled ware, reminiscent of Ionian productions in terms of fabric and glazed characteristics, is roughly dated to the third century BC.[56]

Table amphora no. **3** must be related to the Late Hellenistic use of the tomb. The amphora, with externally thickened rim and a little preserved black and matt glaze, must have ornaments made in the West Slope style like its counterparts.[57] Similar examples dating to the second half of the second century BC have been reported from Ephesos[58] and Pergamon.[59]

The most interesting example among the grave finds is a molded lamp decorated in the West Slope style (**4**). Part of the upper half of the body is preserved, and this form is reminiscent of the vessels described as inkwells. The molded example has a leaf wreath around the large filling hole in the center. The leaf motifs are thickened with a diluted clay solution in clay color, while the branches connecting them are incised. A white-colored clay solution is not

53 Most of the body and handle fragments that do not allow reliable dating have been excluded from the scope of this study.

54 Since it is not possible to precisely date the black glazed Attic wall fragment (cat. no. **1**) and the skyphos (cat. no. **2**) found in a disturbed layer above the serpent relief in the entrance corridor, the first use of the tomb is dated here in the late fourth to late third century BC.

55 Considering the flat profile of the sherd and the thickness of the clay, it belongs to a shallow plate. The black glazed, downturned rimmed plates from the Athenian Agora, generally dated between the mid-fourth and late third century BC, are similar to the Kızılkuyu example; see Rotroff 1997, 141-45.

56 Rotroff 1997, 95-96, 259, fig. 12, pl. 15 (162, 167). Athenian Agora examples have ornaments decorated in the West Slope style. The sample from the chamber tomb of Armutçuk-Kızılkuyu has a thin and matt black glaze, which is only partially preserved.

57 Although the Kızılkuyu amphora has a very poorly preserved black and matt glaze, in the light of similar examples, it may have been decorated in the West Slope style.

58 Gassner 1997, 55, pl. 8 (146).

59 Schäfer 1968, 58, 62, pls. 19, 20 (D 71).

used on it, which seems to indicate a Pergamene production. Two criteria can be taken into consideration for dating this lamp. The first is the decoration in the West Slope style, whose earliest examples are dated to the early third century BC.[60] In these early examples, motifs made with a thickened tan clay solution are accompanied by decorations made with a thinned white clay solution and incision (from the mid-third century BC).[61] In the examples from the Late Hellenistic Period, only incised decoration and the use of a white-diluted clay solution are preferred. Considering the use of the incised decoration technique together with the leaf wreaths made by thickening with a tan clay solution, it is clear that the Kızılkuyu example cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the third century BC. The second criterion to be taken into consideration for dating is the molding of the lamp. The production of lamps using double molds started in the first quarter of the third century BC.[62] This technique, which allows mass production and the production of dense relief decorations, became widespread and popular in the second century BC. It is noteworthy that the first molded examples produced in the third century BC imitate undecorated wheel-made lamps.[63] The Kızılkuyu example, with its large filling hole and round and slightly flattened body, closely resembles the wheel-made lamps of the third century BC.[64] Although lamps decorated in the West Slope style are not among the most common finds, wheel-made examples dating to the third century BC have been found in Pergamon[65] and the Athenian Agora.[66] In addition to the lamps, a wheel-made inkwell,[67] also found in the Athenian Agora and dated to the second half of the third century BC, is worth mentioning due to its similarity to the Kızılkuyu example in terms of body form and decoration technique. Although a published example precisely matching a molded lamp decorated in the West Slope style could not be located, the available data on decoration and manufacturing technique unequivocally places the Kızılkuyu example in the middle or second half of the third century BC.

The second lamp from the Kızılkuyu grave (**5**) is a Knidian production. Most Knidian lamps, easily identifiable by their grey fabric and anchor-shaped noses, have double conical bodies, small filling holes, and narrow discus with concave profile. The Kızılkuyu example, half of whose body is preserved, differs from the general type by having a flattened spherical body with an appliqué round decoration.[68] The filling hole is surrounded by a groove and

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60 Rotroff and Oliver 2003, 37-38.

61 Rotroff 1991, 60. The use of incising in detail became widespread in Athens after the middle of the third century BC.

62 Bailey 1975, 4. The use of two-part molding appeared as early as the fifth century BC with the production of terracotta figurines, but this production technique was used for lamps only about 200 years later.

63 Howland 1958, 5, 129. Relief decorations made by thickening the clay on lamps began to be seen in the middle of the third century BC.

64 Kassab-Tezgör and Sezer 1995, 72-76, cat. nos. 168, 177-80.

65 Schäfer 1968, 123-24, pls. 52, 53 (H 8). The profile of this example is different from that of the Kızılkuyu example, which is important because it shows that there are lamps decorated in the West Slope style among the Pergamon productions and that their upper surface is decorated with a white clay solution.

66 Howland 1958, 95-96, pls. 14, 41 (412). This example with a double conical body, which Howland assigns to Type 29A, has been dated to around 300 BC. This takes into account a lagynos with similar ornamentation as well as body form, thought to have been produced by the same potter. The Athenian Agora find has a different leaf-wreath ornamentation than the Kızılkuyu example.

67 Rotroff 1997, 199, 371, fig. 83, pl. 101 (1319). This example has been dated to the second half of the third century BC on the basis of its decoration in the West Slope style and a similar piece from Olympia.

68 Lamps with this type of body were defined as “aryballoid” by Kögler, and this definition has been adopted by other researchers; see Kögler 2010, 73; Betina 2021, 25.

has a wick hole with a rising funnel-shaped neck and a widening spout, as understood from similar examples.[69] The data from Knidos suggest that this rare group with a flattened spherical body was used in the same period as the typical conical-bodied Knidian lamps - between the second and early first century BC.[70]

The shallow plate (**6**), with an internally thickened rim and flaring flat body, is one of the most common vessel forms in the grave.[71] The same type of vessel is frequently encountered in levels of the Late Hellenistic Period in centers around the Aegean Sea.[72] The sample from Kızılkuyu[73] is probably a local / regional production whose closest similar forms were found at Idyma,[74] Knidos,[75] and Rhodes.[76] The stratigraphical data from Knidos reveals that these plates were in use between the second and third quarter of the second century BC and the first quarter of the first century BC.

On the body surface of the basin of no. **7**, with a convex body and externally thickened rim about 1.5 cm. below the rim, there is a decoration with an incised wavy line placed between the grooves. There are also finger-printed decorations on the rim.[77] In the Classical and especially Hellenistic Periods, a wavy line decoration is frequently found on the bodies of bowls or storage vessels and on the wide rims of ceramics such as lekanai.[78] However, among the Hellenistic Period ceramics, we have not encountered any basin with a similar rim and body form and finger-print decoration on the rim. In any case, considering the chronological distribution of the ceramics in the grave and the similarity of the incised decoration, the basin no. **7** also belongs to the Hellenistic Period.

The two chytrai (**8-9**) recovered from the grave provide important data for dating since they conform to the formal repertoire of cooking pots from the Aegean Sea area. Chytra no. **8** has a wide, flaring rim with a slot for a lid like similar examples from the Athenian Agora dating from the second century BC.[79] The close variations of chytra no. **9**, with a thickened rim that we have identified among the finds from the Athenian Agora, Knossos, and Ephesos, are

69 Knidos: Kögler 2010, 73-74, pl. 32 (F.L1-F.L2) (second-early first century BC); Bailey 1975, 136-37, pl. 46 (Q273-Q275) (first half of the second century BC); Rhodes: Betina 2021, 25, fig. 2.1 (C).

70 Kögler 2010, 73.

71 The rim and base fragments of about five plates of the same form with similar fabric characteristics were recorded in the grave, one of which was catalogued. However, the pedestal part of the sample that we catalogued is missing. Both the similar examples and the bases found in the grave, which seem to belong to this form, indicate that the plates had slightly high ring bases with a diameter of 5-7 cm.

72 Priene: Fenn 2016, 73-74, pls. 41-42; Ephesos: Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991, 23-24, 29-30, pl. 12 (A 60) (Late Hellenistic); Teos: Vapur 2021, 319, fig. 143 (late second-first century BC); Athenian Agora: Rotroff 1997, 314, fig. 49 (693) (150-110 BC), pl. 50 (698) (110-86 BC).

73 No glaze was found on this plate, which appears to have a very soft paste. Although we thought that the glaze on the surface might have flaked off due to the low temperature of the kiln and the state of preservation in the grave, the other similarly shaped plates found in the grave are unglazed too. However, on most of the plates similar in form in other places, a glaze is observed; see Vapur 2021, 319, fig. 143.

74 İren and Gürbüzer 2005, 15, 29, figs. 30-31 (second century BC).

75 Kögler 2010, 80, 132-37, fig. 19 (E.61-62, E.67), fig. 20 (E.68). It is similar to plate form 7 / type C and D; see Kassab-Tezgör 2003, 38, pl. 32 (4).

76 Betina 2021, 28, fig. 2.4 (A) (late second-first century BC).

77 In the Roman Imperial period, finger-printed handles are seen on the rims of some vessels. However, in these examples, clay is added to the rim to serve as a handle, and the finger-printed decoration is applied on this handle; see Vapur 2009, 90-100. The decorations on the Kızılkuyu example were applied directly on the rim.

78 Rotroff 2006, 262, 275, fig. 27 (165-66), fig. 49 (281-85).

79 Rotroff 2006, 170-72, 305, chytra form 3, fig. 73 (581). The Athenian Agora chytrai have a single twisted handle.

dated, like many of the finds from the tomb, between the second half of the second century BC and the early first century BC.[80]

We were not able to identify an example exactly similar to the profile of the storage vessel (**10**) with externally thickened rim and inverted body. The absence of any pottery from the grave dated later than the late second century BC-early first century BC suggests that example no. **10** also belongs to the Hellenistic Period. However, a dolium reported from Knossos has the same rim diameter as the Kızılkuyu example and a very similar rim body profile. The Knossos specimen, with a more rounded rim and slightly convex body, was recovered from the Claudian Period levels[81]. Although the Knossos specimen suggests Roman use of the grave, the lack of a precise dating of the fragment and the fact that no other finds dateable to the Roman Imperial Period were recovered from the grave do not allow us to put forward this idea.

Among the grave finds is a plain lagynos (**11**), frequently encountered in Hellenistic Period levels. It is presumed that lagynoi, such as the Kızılkuyu example, served in parallel to trade amphorae and were used for the sale of wine in the markets.[82] The stamps on the handles of some examples provide the most important support for this view.[83] Research suggests that these plain examples appeared earlier than the white-ground and decorated ones - in the first half of the third century BC. They became widespread in the second century BC and continued in use until the Augustan period.[84] The Kızılkuyu grave find, with its preserved long thin neck, is similar to the finds from the Athenian Agora, especially from the third-first half of second century BC.[85] Therefore, this lagynos is related to the early use of the tomb.

Another example from the grave is a foot fragment belonging to a fusiform unguentarium (**12**), one of the most common grave finds of the Hellenistic Period. Only the base is preserved, and the profile does not match third century BC examples. Unguentaria found in contexts dateable to the second century BC resemble the Kızılkuyu example.[86]

Comparable instances of amphora no. **13**, with its preserved base, can be identified among examples from Rhodes and the Rhodian Peraia.[87] Amphora produced in the Rhodian Peraia has been dated by K. Şenol to 225-215 BC, while those of direct Rhodian origin have been dated to the second century BC and the end of the second century BC and beginning of the first century BC.[88]

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80 Rotroff 2006, 309, fig. 78 (616) (from mid-second to early first century BC); Callaghan 1992, 122, pl. 101 (18) (probably 100-25 BC); Gassner 1997, 101-2, pl. 29 (360). The Ephesos example is identified as a funnel-mouthed cooking jug.

81 Sackett 1992, 202, pl. 149 (107).

82 A lagynos, with white ground decorations made with a thinned clay solution, was generally used for serving wine at banquets; see Rotroff 2006, 83; Akkurnaz 2016, 99-100.

83 Grace 1952, 519, 539, pl. 25 (38); Romano 1994, 78-79, fig. 9, pl. 21 (42) and pl. 20 (43).

84 Rotroff 2006, 82-84.

85 Rotroff 2006, 82-84, 254-56, pl. 15 (102), pl. 16 (104-9), pl. 17 (114).

86 İşkan-Yılmaz and Çevik 1995, 193, 209, fig. 8 (e-g); Rotroff 2006, 137-60, 233, table 33, figs. 63-64.

87 A stamped Rhodian amphora handle, perhaps related, was also recovered from the grave. The handle fragment, still in preparation for publication, was not analyzed in this study.

88 Şenol 2003, 19, 21, 23, cat. no. 10 (225-215 BC), cat. no. 12 (second century BC) and cat. no. 14 (late second-first century BC). For other similar examples, see Py and Sourisseau 1993, A-GRE Rho4 (275-75); Gassner 1997, 111, pl. 37 (418); Alpözen 1975, 8, pl. 2, fig. 2 (second century BC).

Almost all of the grave goods were stolen by looters. However, it is clear that the fragmented black glazed ware (**1**), skypos (**2**), table amphora (**3**), lamps (**4, 5**),[89] plate (**6**),[90] lagynos (**11**), and unguentarium (**12**) are the remnants of these grave goods. Regarding the intended use of basin (**7**), the cooking pots (**8-9**), a dolium / pithos (**10**), and the amphora (**13**), two suggestions can be made. The first is that all of them may have been used as urns,[91] while the second is that they were vessels used during funeral rituals and then left in the grave or at its entrance.

Dating

The frequent construction of underground chamber tombs in Caria started during the middle of the fourth century BC. The number of examples using different materials and techniques increased with the Hellenistic Period.[92] Although it is difficult to date them on the basis of architectural evaluation, O. Henry states that the main differences between fourth century BC tombs and third-second century BC tombs are the arrangement and aesthetics of the burial areas, the use of better materials, the quality of execution, and the complexity of planning.[93] Although the Kızılkuyu example seems to typify complex planning, it is difficult to consider these criteria for a grave built in the countryside and belonging to a prominent family from there. In terms of dating, the examples from the necropolis at Stratonikeia Akdağ, carved into the bedrock and reflecting a similar burial tradition, are important. R. Tamsü-Polat suggests the middle of the third century BC for the first period of use for the underground chamber tombs in Akdağ, based largely on the grave finds.[94]

The grave finds undoubtedly provide the most reliable dating for the Kızılkuyu underground chamber tomb also. Expensive and elaborately constructed family graves of this type were used continuously for hundreds of years, as seen in the Kızılkuyu grave. Although the robbery and destruction of the grave does not allow us to determine the exact number of the individuals buried,[95] the ceramic finds indicate that the first burial was created in the late fourth / third century BC. The use of the grave continued until the beginning of the first century BC. The use of many graves in the region continued throughout the Roman Imperial Period.[96] However, in the case of Kızılkuyu, there is no evidence for a definite Roman phase. If there were, a few sherds of pottery should have been found. The end of use for the grave after around 200 years may therefore be explained by the demise of the local family who owned the tomb. That the grave was not used after the beginning of the first century BC also raises

[89] The lamps constitute one of the largest groups among the grave finds and fulfil the function of illuminating the grave chambers in addition to being sacrificial gifts; see Walters 1914, xiv-xv; Bailey 1975, 9.

[90] The most frequent group among the uncatalogued sherds are fragments of plate no. **6**, all of which are understood to be grave goods.

[91] Although certain vessel forms are thought to have been used as urns, it turns out that burials can be carried out in any suitable vessel. These containers, mostly no longer in use, could be of different forms such as deep bowls, cooking pots, amphorae, and dolia.

[92] Some monumental examples date back to the fifth century BC; see Henry 2009, 110-11.

[93] Henry 2009, 111.

[94] Tamsü-Polat 2017, 146-47.

[95] The five sarcophagi and four niches for cremation urns add up to a minimum of nine burials. But sarcophagi were notoriously used for subsequent multiple inhumation burials. As there were no bones found in the sarcophagi or even in the chambers as a whole, the question of multiple burials has to remain open.

[96] Gürbüzer 2016, 105-14; Aytaçlar ve Gürbüzer 2007; Tırpan et al. 2013, 242-52; Tamsü-Polat 2017, 146-47.

questions about the post-Hellenistic period of the small settlement nearby. However, to be able to answer these questions, systematic excavations in the area are needed.

Conclusion

Rock-cut tombs, chamber tombs, tumulus tombs, rock-cut sarcophagi, and decorated sarcophagi are clear evidence of the wealth and diversity of the cultural and spiritual world of the peoples who lived in ancient Caria. This diversity in burial practices is undoubtedly related to the fact that people of different ethnic and social class identities lived in the region. The Kızılkuyu underground chamber tomb, discovered during road construction work, contributes to our knowledge of burial customs in the rural areas of the region during the Hellenistic period. Located in the settlement area of the *koinon* of the *Olaies*, the tomb shows that the tradition of burying the dead in monumental and ostentatious tombs, of which there are many examples in the region, was also emulated by wealthy agricultural families living in the countryside. The tomb was built in a strategic position in the dispersed settlement close to a main road connecting the high plateau of Ula with the plain of Gökova and likely close to the farmhouse of the owner.[97] It was designed by someone well acquainted with burial customs of the region. Some features of the tomb suggest that the designer directly imitated other types of tombs. For example, the rock-cut sarcophagi of the Kızılkuyu tomb are modelled on the rock-cut sarcophagi encountered in rock-cut tombs or in open areas in Caria, while the incised block joints on the walls of one of the chambers are reflections of chamber tombs built of ashlar masonry. Furthermore, the snake and egg relief combined with two benches for offerings in the entrance room stands in the tradition of grave altars with snake reliefs of Dorian-Greek Knidos and Rhodes. This indicates the increasing tendency of heroizing the deceased in the Hellenistic Period. Being part of the Rhodian *Peraia*, the *koinon* of the *Olaies* and therefore also this farming family in Kızılkuyu took part in this development. Although the owner planned a tomb with an interesting design, the quality of the stone workmanship did not come close to that of monumental rock-facade or built chamber tombs. Instead, it conforms to the poor construction quality of local and rural tombs. This may also indicate that the grave's owners did not have the economic power of aristocratic and urban elites.

The ceramic finds reveal that the tomb was built in the Early Hellenistic Period and used for about 200 years, or seven generations, until the beginning of the first century BC. Although the grave was robbed of its valuable objects, the presence of imported materials such as Attic black glazed ware and a lamp of Pergamene production decorated in the West Slope style is an indication that the *koinon* of the *Olaies*, small in size, was able to receive expensive products imported from distant centers, as evidenced by the rich grave offerings of the period. One example is the grave of Menias in Idyma.[98] Idyma was the closest harbor city to Kızılkuyu and would have served the *Olaies* as the hub of their supra-regional contacts, be it commercial or cultural.

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97 In the countryside, the tradition of building a family tomb in the immediate vicinity of farmhouses belonging to wealthy families is also known from other settlements in the Carian region of the Rhodian *peraia*, for example on the Carian Chersonesus; see Held 2014.

98 See Gürbüzer 2016.

Catalogue[99]

Fine Wares

1. Plate? (fig. 17 / 1)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 1

Body fragment; hard, fine, thin little micaceous; light-brown fabric (7.5YR 7/4); thick-matt black glazed; L 4 cm. W 2.7 cm.

2. Skyphos (fig. 17 / 2)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 54

Body and handle fragment; medium hard, fine; thin little lime; yellowish red fabric (5YR 5/6); thin-matt black glazed (5YR 2.5/1); pH 1.9 cm, W 2.7 cm.

3. Table amphora (fig. 17 / 3)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 41

Rim and neck fragment; soft, fine, many very fine white inclusions, very few fine black inclusions; reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6); thin-matt very dark grey glazed (5YR 3/1); Diam. of rim 14 cm, pH 3.4 cm.

4. Lamp (fig. 17 / 4)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 25

Body fragment; medium hard, many very fine lime; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6); exterior medium thick dark grey glazed (2.5YR 3/1), interior thin-matt reddish brown glazed (2.5YR 4/4); W 6.2 cm, L 4.8 cm, pH 1.7 cm.

5. Lamp (fig. 17 / 5)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 55

Body and base fragment; soft, very fine, very little fine lime(?), grey fabric (10YR 5/1); thin-glossy very dark greyish brown glaze (10YR 3/2); Diam. of body 5.6 cm, pH 3.6 cm.

Plain Wares

6. Plate (fig. 17 / 6)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 34

Rim and body fragment; soft, fine, very little fine grey inclusions, very few fine lime and micaceous; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6); light reddish brown surface (2.5YR 6/4); Diam. of rim 18 cm, pH 3.1 cm.

7. Basin (fig. 17 / 7)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 20

Rim and body fragment; medium hard, coarse grained, substantial quartz; red fabric (2.5YR 4/8); red surface (2.5YR 4/6); Diam. of rim 30 cm, pH 7.3 cm.

8. Cooking Pot (chytra) (fig. 17 / 8)

Inv. no. UKM 21/4

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99 The abbreviations used in the catalogue are as follows: cat. no. = catalogue number; inv. no. = inventory number, Diam. = diameter, L = length, W = width, pH = preserved height. The fabric and glaze colors are given according to the color codes in the “Munsell Soil Color Charts” (revised version 2009).

Rim and body fragment; medium hard, coarse-grained, many fine-coarse quartz, very little coarse lime, many micaceous; brown fabric (7.5YR 5/4); inner brown surface (7.5YR 5/3-5/4), outer black surface (7.5YR 2.5/1); Diam. of rim 18 cm, pH 2.5 cm.

9. Cooking Pot (chytra) (fig. 17 / 9)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 19

Rim and body fragment; hard, coarse-grained, many quartz, very little coarse lime, moderately coarse micaceous; yellowish-red fabric (5YR 5/6); strong brown surface (7.5YR 5/6); Diam. of rim 15 cm, pH 5.6 cm.

10. Storage Vessel (Dolium / Pithos) (fig. 17 / 10)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 39

Rim and body fragment; hard, coarse-grained, coarse-fine many quartz; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6) yellowish red surface (5YR 5/6); Diam. of rim 24, pH 7.3 cm.

11. Lagynos (fig. 17 / 11)

Inv. no. UKM 21 / 60

Fragment of rim and neck; soft, fine, fine and many white inclusions; reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6); pink surface (5YR 7/4); Diam. of rim 4 cm, pH 12.8 cm.

12. Unguentarium (fig. 17 / 12)

Env. no. UKM 21 / 62

Foot fragment; hard, fine, very few white inclusions; red fabric (2.5YR 5/6); yellowish-red surface (5YR 5/6); Diam. of foot 2 cm, pH 1.7 cm.

13. Transport Amphora (fig. 17 / 13)

Env. no. UKM 21 / 23

Foot fragment; soft coarse-grained, many coarse black inclusions; light-brown fabric (7.5YR 6/4); very pale brown surface (10YR 7/4); Diam. of foot 4.6 cm, pH 7.3 cm.

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FIG. 1 Location of the chamber tomb and its surroundings at Kizilkuyu, Ula (digital satellite image editing: Abdülkadir Baran).

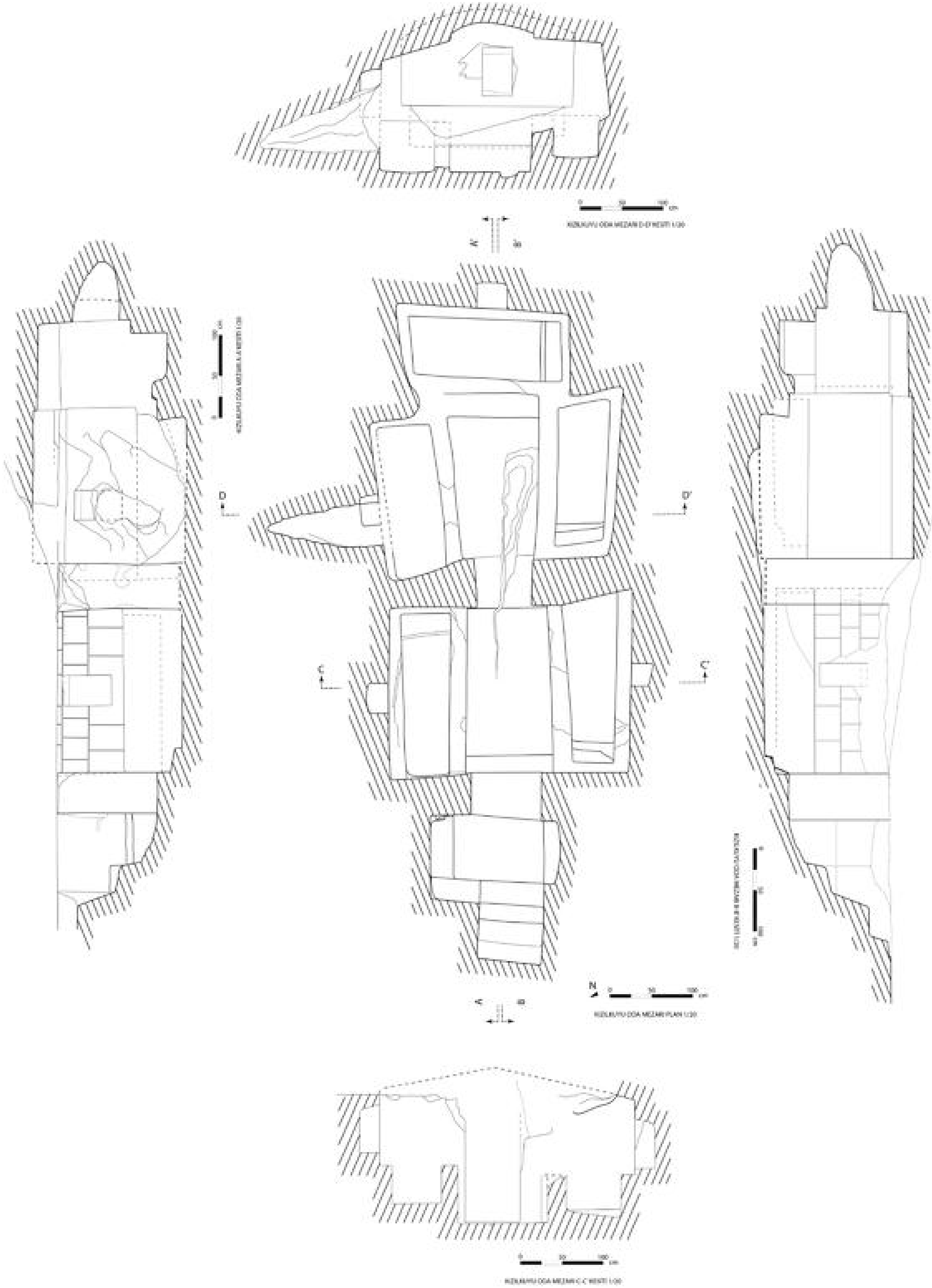

FIG. 2 Plan and cross section of the tomb (drawing by Gürol Aytepe).

FIG. 3
Condition of the chamber tomb before excavation (excavation archive).

FIG. 4
Chamber tomb after excavation in 2021 from the west (excavation archive).

FIG. 5
Stairs to the entrance room from the east (excavation archive).

FIG. 6 Entrance room from the west (excavation archive).

FIG. 7 Serpent and egg relief from the west (excavation archive).

FIG. 8 Serpent relief on the north side of the entrance room, from the south (excavation archive).

FIG. 9
Overview of the door openings from the west (excavation archive).

FIG. 10
First chamber with sarcophagi from the east (excavation archive).

FIG. 11
View from the south side of the northern sarcophagus, niche and incised wall in the first chamber (excavation archive).

FIG. 12
View from the north side of the southern sarcophagus, niche and incised wall in the first chamber (excavation archive).

FIG. 13
Eastern sarcophagus, niche and ceiling in the second chamber from the west (excavation archive).

FIG. 14
Water drainage channel from the first chamber to the second one, seen from the east. The two folding measuring sticks indicate the position of the cross sections in fig. 2 (photograph by Alexander Herda).

FIG. 15 Ceiling system in the second chamber from the west (photograph by Alexander Herda).

FIG. 16 Southern sarcophagus without niche in the second chamber and fragments of the stone lid of the sarcophagus from the east (excavation archive).

FIG. 17 Pottery finds (excavation archive, Özlem Vapur).

Stamped Amphora Handles from Kedreai

In memory of Prof. Dr. Adnan Diler

GONCA CANKARDEŞ-ŞENOL – OĞUZHAN İLERİ – A. KAAN ŞENOL*

Abstract

The subject of this article is the stamped amphora handles found during the archaeological excavations carried out in 2022 in the ancient city of Kedreai, located in the Rhodian Peraea in Karia. The stamped handles examined here are especially important as they are the first samples published from Kedreai. During the excavations in the Northern Wall, Southern Wall, Western Wall, and Sanctuary of Apollo, 27 stamped handles were unearthed. Except for three stamps belonging to amphorae produced in the Rhodian Peraea, the remaining 24 stamped handles are from the island of Rhodes. Among all finds, 11 stamps name the Rhodian eponyms, while 13 handles belong to Rhodian fabricants. Three other dies are not restoreable. The analysis of these amphora stamps provides new insights into the Hellenistic period of the Karian region and the city.

Keywords: Kedreai, amphora stamps, amphora, Rhodes, Rhodian Peraea, Karia

Öz

Karia Bölgesi'nde, Rhodos Peraiası içerisinde yer alan Kedreai antik kentinde 2022 yılında gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik kazı çalışmalarında ele geçen amphora mühürleri bu makalenin konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Kentte, Kuzey Sur, Güney Sur ve Batı Sur ile Apollon Kutsal Alanı'nda yapılan araştırmalarda 27 mühürlü amphora kulbu açığa çıkarılmıştır. Rhodos Peraiası üretimi amphoralara ait üç mühür dışında geriye kalan 24 mühürlü kulp Rhodos Adası kökenlidir. Tüm amphora mühür buluntuları arasında 11 mühür Rhodoslu yöneticilerin, 13 mühür de Rhodoslu üreticilerin adını taşımaktadır. Üç mühürdeki yazıtın restorasyonu yapılamamıştır. Bu amphora mühürlerinin analizi, Karia Bölgesi'nin ve kentin Hellenistik Dönemi hakkında yeni bilgiler sunulmasını sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kedreai, amphora mühürleri, amphora, Rhodos, Rhodos Peraiası, Karia

Kedreai is an ancient island settlement within the borders of the Marmaris district of Muğla / Türkiye, and situated on the eastern side of the Gulf of Gökova (fig. 1). Presently, it is referred to as Sedir Island. The island, with its abundant natural resources and strategic location in the Rhodian Peraea, served as a crucial harbor city. Its connection to the Keramos Gulf and Bozburun Peninsula also contributed to its economic prominence. Kedreai is located within the borders of the Rhodian Peraea and one of the demes in the area. The

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FIG. 1 Location of Kedreai (Diler 2007, 14).

city was certainly not Rhodian in 404 BC.[1] According to Xenophon, towards the end of Peloponnesian War the Spartan Commander Lysandros attacked the city, which was an ally of the Athenians.[2] When the city became a property of Rhodes, the hellenization process started around the fourth century BC.[3] Inscriptions indicate that the city was under Rhodian control, a status which remained in place even in 188 BC. In 129 BC Rome gained control of the city making it part of the Roman province of Asia. While its existence dates back to the Classical period, it thrived during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Subsequently, it evolved into a significant trade and religious centre during the Byzantine period. The existence of archaeological remains on the mainland as well as the island suggest that the settlement was not restricted to the island itself.[4] The Gelibolu Valley and Çamlı Village, in addition to two minor islands near Sedir Island, can be assessed within this context. The remains around the island comprise defensive walls, a harbor and harbor structures, agora, theater, Sanctuary of Apollo, churches and chapels, cisterns, tombs, structures for agricultural production, and inscriptions located in various parts of the island.[5]

The subject of this article is the stamped amphora handles found during the archaeological excavations carried out in 2022 in Kedreai.[6] The stamped handles examined here are especially important since they are the first samples published from Kedreai. These amphora stamps, datable between the mid-third century BC and the first century BC, provide information about the amphorae that reached the city during this period. A total of 27 stamped handles were found in the city, and except for three, all originate from the island of Rhodes. While 11 of the amphora stamps bear different Rhodian eponym names (nos. 1-11), 13 (or 14) stamped handles contain fabricant names (nos. 12-24 and probably no. 25). Among these, there are two stamps each belonging to Rhodian fabricants Alinos and Kallon (nos. 12-13 and 20-21). The amphora stamps originating from the Rhodian Peraea bear the names of the eponyms Aristarchos (no. 3) and Timarchos (no. 11) and the fabricant Phaiskos (no. 23). The stamps in question, which originated from the island and the Peraea, are examined alphabetically below, according to the names they bear, first the eponyms and then the fabricants.

1 Fraser and Bean 1954, 95.

2 Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.15.

3 Diler 2007, 30.

4 Diler 2007, 11, 34.

5 Anabolu 1965, 255-56.

6 While preparing this article for publication, we were deeply saddened to receive the news that Prof. Dr. Adnan Diler who was from Muğla University and the director of the excavation of Kedreai had passed away. We sincerely hope that he had seen this article about the amphora stamps that he handed over to us for publication about a year ago. It is our greatest wish that he rests in peace!

We are grateful to the Assistant Prof. Dr. Sevilay Yıldız and the Research Assistant N. Seda Eryılmaz and Gözde Adıgüzel (MA) for valuable information about the site.

Rhodian Eponym Stamps

1. Inv. No. KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.2.[7] Rectangular, 4.4 x 1.6 cm, three horizontal inscription lines. Fig. 2a-b.[8]

[Ἐπὶ Ἀν]δρο-
[νείκ]ου
[Πα]νάμου

FIG. 2a

FIG. 2b

Matrix: RE[9]-ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-002

The stamp names the eponym Andronikos with the month Panamos. His magistracy is dated to c. 132 BC.[10] He has connected with the fabricants Agathoboulos,[11] Artimas,[12] Bromios,[13] Diodotos I,[14] Eukleitos,[15] Euphranor II,[16] Hippokrates,[17] Lysion,[18] Midas and Timoxenos.[19]

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 247.

2. Inv. No. KDR.041022.SA.BS.S3.II.27. Rectangular, 4.6 x 1.7 cm, three horizontal inscription lines. Fig. 3a-b.

Ἐ[πὶ] Ἀρατο-
φάνευς
Σμινθίου

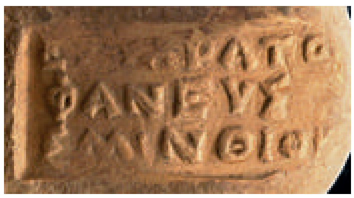

FIG. 3a

FIG. 3b

Matrix: RE-ΑΡΑΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ 02-ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ-003

The stamp belongs to the eponym Aratophanes II who was in charge c. 109 BC. The month is Sminthios. He dates the production of the fabricants Alexandros I (?),[20] Galestes,[21]

7 Abbreviations related to the inventory numbers: KDR: Kedreai ; SA: Sedir Island; GS: Southern Wall; KS: Northern Wall; BS: Western Wall; AKA: Sanctuary of Apollo; ALT: Altar; GM: South place / area; Y: Surface; S (first): Archaeological drilling; S (second): Level; T: Layer.

8 All stamps photographs and rubbings are given in their actual size.

9 RE: Rhodian Eponym.

10 The chronology of Rhodian eponyms follows Finkielsztejn 2001, 191-93, tab. 21. For updated chronology see Finkielsztejn 2021, 203-9. For detailed information about some eponyms see Sippel 1985, 121-28; Habicht 2003, 541-78.

11 Nilsson 1909, 369, no. 52.2.

12 Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Nicolaou 2005, 432, no. 124.

13 Finkielsztejn 2001, 123.

14 Barker 2004, 80, amphora six; Nicolaou 2005, 424, no. 97.

15 Barker 2004, 81, amphora ten; Nicolaou 2005, 424, no. 101.

16 Finkielsztejn 2001, 155, table 12.1.

17 An identical secondary stamp with monograms, an iota and a lunate sigma.

18 Paphos, MP 2894 / 2 (from the archives of J.-Y. Empereur); Pogwisch 1859, 65, table 1, no. 3 (correction of the fabricant's name); Porro 1914, 381, nos. 1-2 (correction of the fabricant's name).

19 Jöhrens 2001, 432, under no. 206; Palaczyk 1999, 97.

20 For a similar secondary stamp, see Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 141, no. 9; Brugnone 1986, 25, no. 5.

21 Ariel 1988, 32, pls. 7-8; Finkielsztejn 2001, 133.

Eirenaios,[22] Polyaratos,[23] and Philostephanos II.[24] Depending on the characteristic of letters on the eponym stamp, the handle probably belongs to an amphora produced by the fabricant Galestes.

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 287.

3. Inv. No. KDR.161122.SA.AKA.ALT.GM2.Y.8. Circular, R: 2,0 cm, one peripheral inscription line, retrograde rho, the letters are based inwards, a dot in the center, a circle around the inscription. Production of the Rhodian Peraea. Fig. 4a-b.

[Ἀρί]σταρχος
dot

FIG. 4a

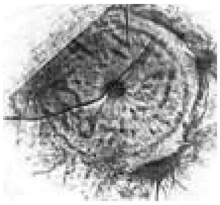

FIG. 4b

Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ-012

The stamp bears the name of the eponym Aristarchos who was in charge in a year between c. 262 and c. 247 BC. The fabricants Hieroteles[25] and Phanias I[26] were active during his magistracy.

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol and Canoğlu 2009, 125, B20; Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 317.

4. Inv. No. KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.1. Rectangular, 4.2 x 2.2 cm, three horizontal inscription lines. Fig. 5a-b.

Ἐ[πὶ Ἀρισ]-
τογένευς
[Ἀγριανίου]

FIG. 5a

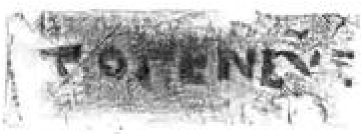

FIG. 5b

Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-001

The stamp belongs to the eponym Aristogenes who is dated to c. 129 BC. The month name Agrianios is restored with regard to a better preserved stamp in the Benaki Collection.[27] The eponym dates the production of the fabricants Agathoboulos,[28] Eukleitos, Euphranor II, Lysion,[29] Midas,[30] and Rhodon II.[31]

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 369.

22 Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 313, under E 34; Nicolaou 2005, 415, no. 52.

23 Jöhrens 2001, 430, no. 259.

24 Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 150, no. 26; Finkielsztejn 2001, 149.

25 Grace 1963, 328, n. 20; Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 293, n. 5; Nicolaou and Empereur 1986, 516; Nikolitsis 1981, 57, fig. 33; Doğer 1996, 247.

26 Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 285, no. 19 and 338, no. 109.

27 Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 369.

28 Nilsson 1909, 350, no. 6.

29 Finkielsztejn 2001, 155, table 12.1.

30 Hall 1885, 392-93, nos. 5053, 5063; Nicolaou 2005, 409, nos. 19 and 23.

31 Finkielsztejn 2001, 155, table 12.1.

5. Inv. No. KDR.300922.SA.GS.S3.II.18. Rectangular, 4.1 x 1.9 cm, three horizontal inscription lines. Fig. 6a-b.

Ἐ[πὶ Ἀρισ]-
τοπ[όλιος]
[Θευδαισίου]

FIG. 6a

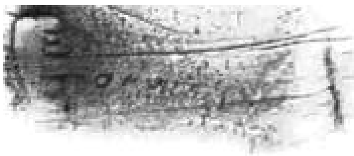

FIG. 6b

Matrix: RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙΣ-ΘΕΥΔΑΙΣΙΟΣ-001

The name of the eponym Aristopolis is on the stamp with the month Theudaisios. The magistracy of the eponym is dated to c. 118 BC. The eponym dates the productions of the fabricants Andronikos[32] Galestes[33] Menestratos,[34] Midas,[35] Sosikles (?),[36] Sotairos,[37] Tmolos,[38] and Philostephanos II.[39]

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 441 (ALEX MGR 020.28).

6. Inv. No. KDR.051022.SA.BS.S3.III.23. Rectangular, 4.2 x 1.7, three horizontal inscription lines. Fig. 7a-b.

Ἐπ᾽ἰε[ρέω]ς
Ἀσ[τ]υμή-
δ[ευς]

FIG. 7a

FIG. 7b

Matrix: RE-ΑΣΤΥΜΗΔΗΣ 02-005

The name of the eponym Astymedes II is read on the stamp with the title. The eponym dated to c. 144 BC is known to be associated with the fabricants Agathoboulos,[40] Bromios,[41] Damokles,[42] Eukleitos,[43] Hieron,[44] Midas,[45] and probably Nikagis[46]. This is a new die of the eponym. For stamps naming the eponym Astymedes II, see Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 581-92.

32 Paphos, no. 30 = T1 / 14 EMWA = Paphos, 88 / 91 (archives of J.-Y. Empereur).

33 Finkielsztejn 2001, 133 (possible association).

34 Grace and Savvatianou-Petropolukaou 1970, 296; Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130. *Cf.* Paris 1914, 322-23; Pridik 1926, 310-11.

35 Finkielsztejn 2001, 156, tab. 12.2.

36 Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994, 215, SAH 79 and 216, SAH 82.

37 Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Grace 1952, 537, no. 24, pl. 22.

38 Jöhrens 2001, 432, under no. 268.

39 Badaliants 1980, 166; Nicolaou 2005, 422, no. 86.

40 Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 306, E15; Nicolaou 2005, 430, no. 119.

41 Finkielsztejn 2001, 123.

42 Pianu 1980, 13, no. 1; Porro 1914, 382, nos. 5-6.

43 Grace 1965, 7, n. 8; Nachtergael 1978, 51, n. 4; Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Nicolaou and Empereur 1986, 526, no. 11; Nicolaou 2005, 421, no. 78; Jöhrens 2001, 376, fig. 6.2 and 386, no. 36.

44 Grace 1965, 7, n. 8; Nachtergael 1978, 51, n. 4; Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Nicolaou and Empereur 1986, 525, no. 9; Nicolaou 2005, 420, no. 76.

45 Mercando 1976, 165 and 193, figs. 35-37.

46 In the British Museum, without an inventory number (archives of J.-Y. Empereur).

7. Inv. No. KDR.041022.SA.BS.S3.II.20. Rectangular, 4.6 x 1.9 cm, three horizontal inscription lines. Double impression. Fig. 8a-b.

Ἐπὶ Ἐχεβού-
λου [Θεσ]-
[μοφορίου]

FIG. 8a

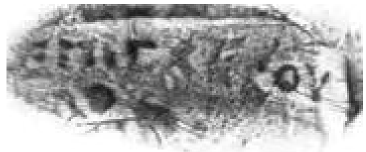

FIG. 8b

Matrix: RE-ΕΧΕΒΟΥΛΟΣ-ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ-002

The eponym Echeboulos is named on the stamp with the month Thesmophorios which is not visible on the stamp. The restoration of the month name is based on a better-preserved identical stamp in the Benaki Collection in Alexandria.[47] The eponym's magistracy is dated to c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC. The producers Arataios,[48] Damokrates III, Hierokles II,[49] Philippos,[50] and probably Philostephanos II[51] are known to be associated with him.

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 168.

8. Inv. No. KDR.300922.SA.GS.S3.II.17. Rectangular, 4.2 x 1.5 cm, two horizontal inscription lines, zeta is like an iota. Fig. 9a-b.

Ζηνοδότου
Παν[ά]μου

FIG. 9a

FIG. 9b

Matrix: RE-ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-004

The stamp bears the name of the eponym Zenodotos whose magistracy is suggested to be in Period VI or VIIa (c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC – c. 85-c. 40 BC). The month is Panamos. He dates the production of the fabricants Hermaios III Kabaleus and Menandros II Laodikeus as confirmed by double-named stamps.[52] This stamp from Kedreai indicates a new die naming the eponym.

9. Inv. No. KDR.061022.SA.BS.S3.IV-B.28. Rectangular, 4.1 x 1.8 cm. three horizontal inscription line. Fig. 10a-b.

Ἐπὶ Καλλ[ι]-
κράτευς
[Ἀ]γρ[ιανίου]

FIG. 10a

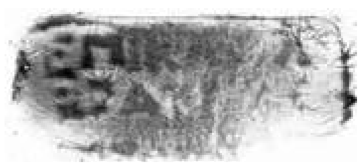

FIG. 10b

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47 Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 168.

48 Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 315-16, E42; Badaliants 1976, 40; Avram 1988, 311, no. 130, fig. 12,5.

49 Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 315-16, E42-E43.

50 Palaczyk 2001, 329.

51 Finkielsztejn 2001, 161, tab. 13.

52 Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 172-73.

Matrix: RE-ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ 03-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-001

The stamp belongs to the eponym Kallikrates III whose magistracy is dated to c. 130 BC. The month is Agrianios. The fabricants Agathoboulos,[53] Anaxippidas, Euphranor II, Lysion, and Midas[54] were active under his magistracy.

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 323.

10. Inv. No. KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.3. Rectangular, 4.6 x 1.5 cm, three horizontal inscription lines. Fig. 11a-b.

[Ἐπὶ Νικασα]-
γόρα
Πανάμ[ου]

FIG. 11a

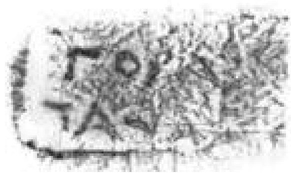

FIG. 11b

Matrix: RE-ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ 02-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-010

The eponym Nikasagoras II is seen on the stamp with the month Panamos. His magistracy is dated to c. 131 BC. He is known to be associated with the fabricants Agathoboulos,[55] Damophilos,[56] Diokleia,[57] Diophantos,[58] Drakontidas,[59] Eukleitos,[60] Euphranor II,[61] Linos,[62] Lysion,[63] Midas,[64] and Timoxenos.[65]

Parallel: www.amphoralex.org (ALEX MGR 328.41).

11. Inv. No. KDR.161122.SA.AKA.ALT.GM2.Y.7. Rectangular, 3.2 x 1.1 cm, one horizontal inscription line. Probably the production of the Peraea. Fig. 12a-b.

Τίμαρχος

FIG. 12a

FIG. 12b

Matrix: RE-ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΣ-017

The eponym Timarchos, whose magistracy is suggested to be c. 262-c. 247 BC, dates the

53 Gentili 1958, 34, no. 4.

54 Finkielsztejn 2001, 144, n. 196 and 155, table 12.1.

55 Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 100. See also Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 350, under E15.

56 Coulson et al. 1997, 55, no. 25.

57 Finkielsztejn 2001, 173, n. 41.

58 Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Cankardeş-Şenol, Şenol 1997, 57, no. 5; Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 204, n. 541.

59 Barker 2004, 80, amphora nine; Nicolaou 2005, 424, no. 100.

60 Macalister 1912, 357, nos. 216 and 363; Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 204, no. 116.

61 Nicolaou and Empereur 1986, 531, no. 15, fig. 14; Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Nicolaou 2005, 421, no. 81. Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 306, E15; Grace 1965, 7, n. 8; Grace 1985, 11 and n. 21.

62 Maiuri 1924, 268, no. 1.

63 Paphos, 88 / 28 = ΟΔ 5061 (archives of J.-Y. Empereur).

64 Finkielsztejn 2001, 155, tab. 12.1.

65 Jöhrens 2001, 432, under no. 266; Palaczyk 1999, 97.

productions of the fabricants Doros I[66] and Hieroteles.[67] This die from Kedreai is a new die bearing his name. The style of the stamp indicates another (currently unknown and produced the amphora bearing this eponym stamp) fabricant worked under his magistracy. For varied dies naming the eponym, see Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 53-55.

Rhodian Fabricant Stamps

12. Inv. No. KDR.300922.SA.BS.S3.II.29. Circular, R.: 2.6 cm, one peripheral inscription line. The letters are facing inwards, a rose device in the center. Fig. 13a-b.

[Ἀλίνου] *vac.*
rose

FIG. 13a

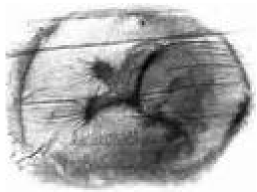

FIG. 13b

Matrix: RF[68]-ΑΛΙΝΟΣ-023

The inscription is completely rubbed out. The characteristic rose device permits us to identify the fabricant as Alinos. He is associated with the eponyms Aischinas[69] Aristonomos,[70] Archembrotos II[71] and Damon[72] permitting to date his activity between c. 116 BC and c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC in Periods Vc-VI. For detailed information about the fabricant see Cankardeş-Şenol 2023a, 170-77.

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2023a, 177. See also www.amphoralex.org (ALEX MGR 1105.38).

13. Inv. No. KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.4. Circular, R.: 3.7 cm, one peripheral inscription line, retrograde inscription, the letters are facing inwards, a rose device in the center. Fig. 14a-b.

[Ἀλίνου *vac.*] *retr.*
rose

FIG. 14a

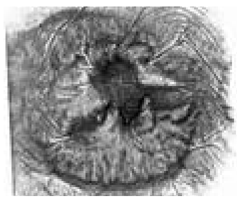

FIG. 14b

Matrix: RF-ΑΛΙΝΟΣ-019

For the fabricant Alinos see above no. 12. The incription is based on an identical die from Alexandria.[73]

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66 According to stylistic resemblance of eponym and fabricant stamps. RE-ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΣ-006 (ALEX ABC 0220.29 (MGR P. 20414) in Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 53 and RF-ΔΩΡΟΣ 01-001 and -002 in Lawall 2007, 38, AH 18; Held and Cankardeş-Şenol and Şenol 2010, 225, and 232, fig. 14 (BY 199); Cankardeş-Şenol 2019, 139, no. 84.

67 Doğer 1997, 248.

68 RF: Rhodian Fabricant.

69 Conovici and Garlan 2004, 117, under no. 43, n. 189 (stylistic resemblance of dies).

70 Depending on stylistic resemblance of some eponym stamps. See Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 429 (RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΟΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-006), 431 (RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΟΣ-ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΣ-006) and an unpublished stamp from Alexandria (RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΟΣ-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-005) (see in www.amphoralex.org).

71 Schuchardt 1895, 433, nos. 1422 and 1423 (correction of the producer's name).

72 With regard to some similar secondary stamps.

73 Cankardeş-Şenol 2023a, 176. See also www.amphoralex.org (ALEX ABC 0354.36).

14. Inv. No. KDR.051022.SA.BS.S3.III.22. Rectangular, 4.3 x 1.7 cm, two horizontal inscription lines, theta with a central point, misspelling of the name (Βαχχίου instead of Βακχίου). Fig. 15a-b.

Βαχχίου *sic*
Ὑακινθίου

FIG. 15a

FIG. 15b

Matrix: RF-ΒΑΚΧΙΟΣ-ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ-001

The fabricant Bakchios is on the stamp with the month Hyakinthios. His association with eponyms is not known yet. His activity is dated to Period V (c. 145-c. 108 BC).

Parallels: Cankardeş-Şenol 2023b, 13. See also www.amphoralex.org (ALEX ABC 0335.36). Cf. Nilsson 1909, 406, no. 144.2.

15. Inv. No. KDR.280922.SA.BS.S3.I.24. Rectangular, 4.1 x 1.9 cm, one horizontal line. A thyrsus below the name on the right, towards the right and a grape cluster below on the left. Fig. 16a-b.

[Δα]μοκράτευς
[grape cluster thyrsus]

FIG. 16a

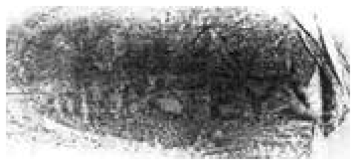

FIG. 16b

Matrix : RF-ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ 02-010 ?

The stamp names the fabricant Damokrates II whose activity is known in Period V (c. 145-c. 108 BC). His association with eponyms has not been recorded yet. The devices, a grape cluster and a thyrsus, are not preserved on the stamp.

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2023b, 112. See also www.amphoralex.org (ALEX ABC 0202.37).

16. Inv. No. KDR.290922.SA.GS.S3.I.9. Circular, R.: 2.6 cm, one peripheral inscription line, the letters are facing inwards, a rose in the center. Fabricant: Epikrates III ? Date: c. 85-c. 40 BC (Period VIIa). Fig. 17a-b.

Ἐπι[κράτευς]
rose

FIG. 17a

FIG. 17b

Matrix : RF-ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ 03-001 ?

The stamp is tentavily suggested to belong to the fabricant Epikrates III. He is known to be associated with the eponym Bakchios.[74]

[74] Grace 1953, 125, no. 64.

17. Inv. No. KDR.010822.SA.GS.SI.S3.12. Rectangular, 4.0 x 2.3 cm, two horizontal inscription lines, a caduceus below towards the right. Fig. 18a-b.

Εὐκλ[εί]-
του
caduceus

FIG. 18a

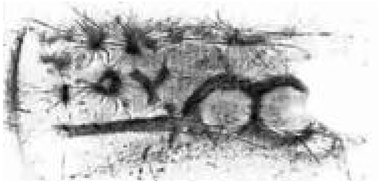

FIG. 18b

Matrix: RF-ΕΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ-008

The stamp belongs to the fabricant Eukleitos. The fabricant was active under the magistracies of seventeen eponyms.[75] This permits to date his activity between c. 161 BC and c. 125 BC. The matrix given here is datable to c. 131 BC as a fragmentary amphora from the sector Diana in Alexandria bears an identical fabricant's die mentioned here and a die of the eponym Nikasagoras II (RE-ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ 02-ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ-006) dated to c. 131 BC.[76]

Parallels: Sztetyłło 1990, 180, no. 47; Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 79, no. 13 and 204, no. 542, MC[77]: RE-ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ 02-ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ-006; Cankardeş-Şenol 2017b, 325, no. 7; Kızılarslanoğlu and Alkaç 2018, 51, nos. 7-8.

18. Inv. No. KDR.220722.KSI.T3.13. Circular, R.: 2.3 cm, one peripheral inscription line between two circles, the letters are facing inwards, a rose in the center. Fig. 19a-b.

Ζήνωνος *vac.*
rose

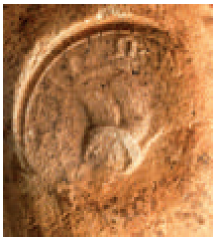

FIG. 19a

FIG. 19b

Matrix: RF-ΖΗΝΩΝ 01-005

The fabricant Zenon I is associated with fifteen eponyms permitting to date his activity between c. 245 and c. 219-c. 211 BC. His association with the eponyms Aretakles,[78] Exakestos,[79] Eukles II,[80] and Philondas[81] has been assured by double named stamps bearing both the fabricant's and the eponym names. The other associations are based on complete or fragmentary amphorae with preserved two stamped handles[82] or the stylistic resemblances of the eponym and fabricant stamps.[83]

[75] Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 227 and 251-52.

[76] Cankardeş-Şenol 2016, 97; 2023b, 397.

[77] MC: Complementary Matrix.

[78] Breccia 1931, 279, no. 28; Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 290 (RE-ΑΡΕΤΑΚΛΗΣ-RF-ΖΗΝΩΝ 01-001).

[79] Grace 1952, 536, no. 17; Crowfoot 1957, 387; Finkielsztejn 2001, 67; Nicolaou 2005, 418, no. 66; Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 96 (RE-ΕΞΑΚΕΣΤΟΣ-RF-ΖΗΝΩΝ 01-001).

[80] Getov 1988,23, no. 4 (RE-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ 02-RF-ΖΗΝΩΝ 01-001).

[81] Finkielsztejn 2000, pl. 2, no. 24; Cankardeş-Şenol 2015c, 160 (RE-ΦΙΛΩΝΔΑΣ-RF-ΖΗΝΩΝ 01-001).

[82] These eponyms are Aglokritos, Kallikrates I, and Sochares. See also Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 227 and 239.

[83] These eponyms are Ainesidamos I, Aristeus, Daemon, Kallikratidas I, Nikasagoras the Elder, Nikon, Pausanias I and Philokrates. See also Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 227 and 239.

Parallel: Cankardeş-Şenol 2023b, 445. See also www.amphoralex.org (ALEX ABC 0363.33); Jöhrens 2001, 419, no. 200; Bozkova 2010, 104, pl. 63, fig. 1.

19. Inv. No. KDR.061022.SA.BS.S3.IV-A.16. Rectangular, 4.6 x 1.6 cm, two horizontal inscription lines, caduceus below towards the right. Fig. 20a-b.

Ἡφαιστίωνο-
ς
caduceus

FIG. 20a

FIG. 20b

Matrix: RF-ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ-009

The fabricant Hephaistion is known to have produced amphorae between c. 152 BC and c. 142 / 141 BC in Periods IVb-Va under the magistracies of the eponyms Pausanias III,[84] Pythogenes[85] and Teisagoras.[86]

Parallels: www.amphoralex.org (ALEX ABC 0629.25); Nachtergael 1978, 46, no. 18.

20. Inv. No. KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.5. Rectangular, 4.0 x 1.3 cm, one horizontal inscription line, a herm device below with the head towards the right. Fig. 21a-b.

Κάλλων
herm

FIG. 21a

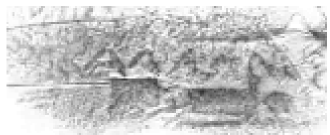

FIG. 21b

Matrix: RF-ΚΑΛΛΩΝ-012

The name of the fabricant Kallon is read on the stamp. His activity is dated to c. 142 / 141 BC- c. 124-c. 122 BC with regard to his association with the eponyms Andrias,[87] Thersandros,[88] Lapheides,[89] Teisagoras I[90] and Timagoras I.[91]

Parallels: www.amphoralex.org (BIBALEX 0399); Nicolaou 2005, 184, no. 466; Ariel 2014, 281, SAH 5.

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84 Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 304-5, E 12; Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Nicolaou and Empereur 1986, 522, no. 7, fig. 6; Nicolaou 2005, 420, no. 74. Unpublished double-named stamp from Alexandria, RE-ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ 03-RF-ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ-ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ-001 (ALEX MGR 814.33).

85 Hall 1885, 393, no. 5065; Nicolaou 2005, 409, no. 21, 412, no. 35 and 423, no. 94; Finkielsztejn 2018, 76, no. 238, complete amphora, RF-ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ-004, MC: RE-ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΣ-003.

86 Nicolaou 2005, 439, no. 140.

87 Monachov et al. 2022, 165, Rh. 15, complete amphora RF-ΚΑΛΛΩΝ-025, MC: RE-ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ-ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ-004.

88 Grace 1985, 13, n. 24.

89 ALEX ABC 0370.08 (MGR P. 27728) (the stamp of the fabricant with the trace of the *eponym* stamp).

90 Pogwisch 1859, 65, pl. L, no. 6; Porro 1914, 383, nos. 19-20; Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 213, under no. 132 (from the excavations of the Necropolis of Gabbari in Alexandria, GAB 0734-0735).

91 Archives of V. Grace in ASCSA.

21. Inv. No. KDR.290922.SA.GS.S3.I.11. Rectangular, 3.7 x 1.7 cm, one horizontal inscription line, a herm device above with the head towards the left. Fig. 22a-b.

herm
Κάλλωνος


FIG. 22a

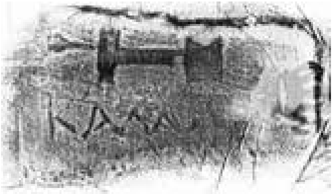
FIG. 22b

Matrix: RF-ΚΑΛΛΩΝ-034

The stamp bears the name of the fabricant Kallon. For the fabricant, see above no. 17.

Parallels: www.amphoralex.org (ALEX MGR P. 16276); Canarache 1957, 262, no. 636; Nicolaou 2005, 184, no. 467.

22. Inv. No. KDR.051022.SA.BS.S3.III.25. a. Circular, R: 3.6 cm, one peripheral inscription line between two circles, the letters are facing inwards, a rose device in the center, b. Rectangular, 1.2 x 0.8 cm, monograms (an iota and a lunate sigma) on the secondary stamp. Fig. 23a-b-c-d.

a. Τιμοξένου b. ΙΣ
rose


FIG. 23a

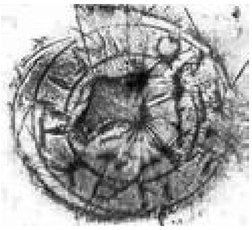
FIG. 23b


FIG. 23c


FIG. 23d

Matrix: RF-ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ-015 ? ; MC: RTS[92]-ΙΣ-012

The name of the fabricant Timoxenos is read on the stamp. He produced amphorae between c. 146-c. 118 BC under the magistracies of the eponyms Anaxandros,[93] Andrias, Andronikos,[94] Aristakos,[95] Aristogeitos,[96] Aristopolis,[97] Autokrates I,[98] Thersandros,[99] Lapheides,[100] Nikasagoras II,[101] and Timotheos.[102] The secondary stamp is below the handle and contains the letters, an iota, and a lunate sigma.

Parallels: www.amphoralex.org (ALEX MGR P. 15898). Cf. Nicolaou 2005, 380, no. 10; Ariel 2014, 143, SAH 13.

92 RTS: Rhodian Secondary Stamp.

93 Finkielsztejn 2001, 119 (similar secondary stamps).

94 Palaczyk 1999, 97; Jöhrens 2001, 432, under no. 206; Badoud 2010, 168, no. 5b.

95 From Centuripe, Tomb 45 (1942), inv. no. 50088 (archives of V. Grace).

96 Sztetyłło 1990, 185, no. 63; Finkielsztejn 2001, 119.

97 Badoud 2018, 130.

98 Badaliants 2000, 262 and 316 (*non vidi*).

99 Finkielsztejn 2001, 119.

100 Badaliants 2000, 277 and 292 (*non vidi*).

101 Palaczyk 1999, 97; Jöhrens 2001, 432, under no. 266.

102 Nicolaou 2005, 423, no. 95; Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994, 218-19, SAH 87-88.

23. Inv. No. KDR.280722.KSI.T3.15. Circular, R: 2.1 cm, one peripheral inscription line, retrograde inscription, the letters are facing inwards, a dot in the center, a wreath around the inscription and device. Production of the Rhodian Peraea. Fig. 24a-b.

wreath
Φα[ΐσ]κος *retr.*
dot

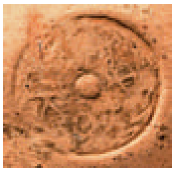
FIG. 24a

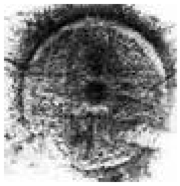
FIG. 24b

Matrix: RF-ΦΑΙΣΚΟΣ-005

The name of the fabricant Phaiskos, suggested to be active between c. 209-c. 199 BC, is seen on the stamp. His association with the eponym Klearchos is known.[103] The eponyms Aristonidas, Archokrates I,[104] and Euphranor[105] most probably date the production of the fabricant with regard to the stylistic resemblance of dies. This is a new die of the fabricant.

24. Inv. No. KDR.280722.SA.GS.S1.S2.26. Rectangular, 4.5 x 1.2 cm, one horizontal inscription line, a rose device on the right. Fig. 25a-b.

Φανία rose


FIG. 25a


FIG. 25b

Matrix: RF-ΦΑΝΙΑΣ 02-004

The stamp belongs to the fabricant Phanias II. His associations with the eponyms Xenophantos II[106] and Eudamos[107] are already known. Depending on this, he is suggested to start producing amphorae before c. 160 BC and continued until c. 151 BC.

Parallels: www.amphoralex.org Börker and Burow 1998, 52, no. 516, pl. 19; Pridik 1926, 330; Dündar 2017, 216, Rh.202 (correction of the reading).

Rhodian Unidentified Stamps

25. a. Inv. No. KDR.010822.SA.GS.S1.S3.30. a. Circular, R: c. 3.7 cm, one peripheral inscription line, a rose in the center. b. Rectangular, 1.0 x 0.8 cm, one horizontal inscription line, secondary stamp with ligatured monograms (retrograde alpha and kappa). Date: Second half of the second century BC. Fig. 26a-b-c.

Matrix: MC: RTS-AK-003

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103 Jöhrens 2009, 225, nos. 54-55.

104 See the die of the eponym RE-ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝΙΔΑΣ-001 and RE-ΑΡΧΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ 01-001 in Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 471 and 555.

105 See the stamp of the eponym in Fideliskiy, Ivaschenko, Sinika 2018, 117, no. 5.

106 Nicolaou 2005, 436, no. 135.

107 In Schuchhardt 1895, 426, the eponym is read as Sodamos. This eponym is too early for the activity period of that fabricant. Instead the eponym Eudamos is suggested to be associated with the fabricant. See also in Finkielsztejn 2018, 28-29, under no. 39. The name of the eponym Sodamos should be deleted and replaced with Eudamos in the lists given in Cankardeş-Şenol 2017a, 199, 210, 234, 246.

a. […………..]
rose
b. KA *retr.*

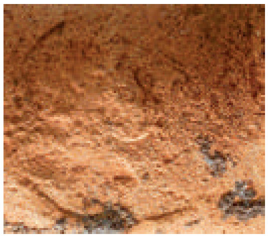
FIG. 26a


FIG. 26b

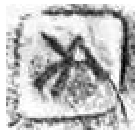
FIG. 26c

The inscription on the circular main stamp of the handle is illegible. Only a rose device is seen. A secondary stamp is impressed below the handle. So the stamp may belong either to an eponym or a fabricant. An identical secondary stamp has been recorded on a handle bearing the stamp of Hippokrates,[108] one of the most productive fabricants whose production (or the activity of his workshop) is dated to c. 186-c. - 124-c. 122 BC. This secondary stamp is also recorded on the handle bearing the name of the eponym Anaxandros (c. 143 / 142 BC) on the main stamp[109]. Regarding the general dating of the excavation area, it can be dated to c. second half of the second century BC.

26. Inv. No. KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.6. Circular, R: 2.4 cm, the inscription is illegible, rose in the center. Date: Periods VI-VII. Fig. 27.

[………….]
rose

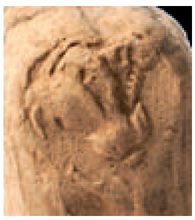
FIG. 27a

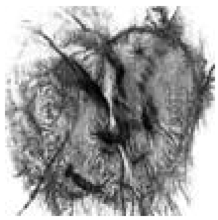
FIG. 27b

The inscription on the stamp is not visible. It may belong either to an eponym or a fabricant. A large rose device is placed in the center. The profile of the handle suggests a date in the first century BC (Periods VI-VII).

27. Inv. No. KDR.290922.SA.GS.S3.I.10. Circular, R: 2.4 cm, the inscription is illegible, rose in the center. Date: Periods VI-VII. Fig. 28.

[……………]
rose


FIG. 28

The inscription on the stamp is not visible. It may belong either to an eponym or a fabricant. A large rose device is placed in the center. The profile of the handle suggests a date in the first century BC (Periods VI-VII).

108 ALEX ABC 0368.13, RF-ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-005 (see in www.amphoralex.org).

109 ALEX ABC 460.02, RE-ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΔΑΛΙΟΣ-010 (see in www.amphoralex.org).

Final Remarks

The 27 stamped amphora handles presented in this study were unearthed during the excavations in the Northern Wall, Southern Wall, Western Wall, and the Sanctuary of Apollo (table 1, fig. 29). Among the amphora stamps, the earliest ones are from the Sanctuary of Apollo. The first of two stamped handles unearthed in this area belongs to an amphora produced in the Rhodian Peraea. It is a button-typed stamp and bears the name of the eponym Aristarchos (no. 3). He is known to have served for one year between c. 262 and c. 247 BC. The other stamp found in the area bears the name of the eponym Timarchos whose magistracy was between the same dates mentioned above. It belongs to an amphora produced in the Peraea (no. 11). However, the rectangular shape of this stamp indicates a different fabricant operating in the Peraea, whose name is not yet known. These finds also reveal the use of the Sanctuary of Apollo in the third century BC. Stamps originated from different production centers even from the island have not recorded yet in the site.

Those following chronologically the aforementioned early amphora stamps from the Sanctuary of Apollo (fig. 29) were unearthed during the excavations in the Northern Wall. No. 18 bears the name of the Rhodian fabricant Zenon I, whose activity is dated between c. 245 BC and c. 219-c. 210 BC. The button-typed stamp belonging to the fabricant Phaiskos (no. 23) is dated to the late phase of production period in the Peraea. After the activity of the well-known Peraean fabricant Hieroteles, that of the fabricant Phaiskos, who imitated Hieroteles' button-typed stamp form, is dated between c. 209 and c. 199 BC with regard to the eponyms associated with him. The finds from this area are earlier than those from the excavations in the Southern and Western Walls.

The Southern Wall was the area that yielded the most numerous amphora stamp finds during the excavations (fig. 29). A total of 15 stamps were unearthed at various levels in the excavations carried out in this area. The earliest of the stamps names the fabricant Phanias II (no. 24), and his activity is dated between before c. 160 and c. 151 BC. A stamp belonging to the fabricant Eukleitos (no. 17) can be considered as another early stamp attested in these excavations. Because of his long-term period of activity, he is known to have started amphora production around c. 161 BC and continued until c. 125 BC, because of his association with the eponyms. However, since an identical die of the fabricant (to the die found in Kedreai) is on the same amphora with the stamp naming the eponym Nikasagoras II, it is possible to date the fabricant's die in question to around c. 131 BC depending on the eponym's magistracy year. The other amphora stamps found in the Southern Wall excavations were dated between approximately the end of the third quarter of the second century BC and the first quarter of the first century BC, corresponding to Periods Vb (c. 132-c. 121 BC) and VI (c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC) in Rhodian stamp chronology. Thus, the chronological compatibility of the stamp finds obtained at different excavation sites and levels during the research in the Southern Wall draws attention. Considering that the eponym stamps reveal more certain results in terms of dating, regarding the magistracy years of the eponym Andronikos (no. 1), Nikasagoras II (no. 10), Aristogenes (no. 4), and Aristopolis (no. 5), it is possible to date the finds from the site between c. 132 BC and c. 116 BC. The single stamp (no. 8) belonging to the eponym Zenodotos, dated to Period VI or VII, is among the latest four examples found in this site. Two of the other three stamps (nos. 26-27) cannot be restored. The last seal may belong to the fabricant Epikrates III (no. 16), whose activity is dated to the first half of the first century BC (Period VIIa – c. 85-c. 40 BC). Apart from the fabricant Phanias II (no. 24), the other fabricant stamps (nos. 12-13, 17, 20-21 and possibly 25) found in this area are generally dated between the second half of the second century BC to the beginning of the first century BC.

What draws attention among the fabricant stamps found in the Southern Wall excavations (fig. 29) is the discovery of more than one handle belonging to the fabricants Alinos (nos. 12-13) and Kallon (nos. 21-22). These had been brought from Rhodes to Peraea. It may be evidence, although not very conclusive, that certain fabricants might send their products regularly to Kedreai.

The amphora stamps found during the excavations in the Western Wall (fig. 29) are also chronologically compatible with the Southern Wall finds. Corresponding to Periods V-VI in the Rhodian stamp chronology (c. 145-c. 108 BC – c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC), the eponym stamps attested in this area belong to Aratophanes II (no. 2), Astymedes II (no. 6), Echeboulos (no. 7), and Kallikrates III (no. 9). The earliest of these is the eponym Astymedes II, dated to c. 144 BC, while the latest is Echeboulos dated to c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC. The fabricant stamps found in this area bear the names of Damokrates II (no. 15), Timoxenos (no. 22), Bakchios (no. 14), and Hephaistion (no. 19).

It is not possible to determine the eponym-fabricant associations regarding the amphora stamps from Kedreai. However, new dies of the eponyms and fabricants have been identified, and they have been added to the matrix database of Rhodian amphora stamps.[110] These new dies belong to the eponyms Astymedes II (no. 6), Zenodotos (no. 8), Timarchos (no. 11), and the fabricant Phaiskos (no. 23).

The finds from Kedreai provide preliminary information and observations about the amphora stamps attested in the site. The scarcity of stamps belonging to amphorae produced in the Peraea is most probably based on the chronological characteristics of the excavated areas. The stamps discovered during the excavations carried out around the Southern and Western Walls, as mentioned above, date back to the period when amphora production ended in the Rhodian Peraea. Further excavations will permit to reach the earlier levels of the sites and probably make it possible to find stamps of Peraean amphorae. On the other hand, the fact that all of the few stamped handles found in the Sanctuary of Apollo belong to Peraean amphorae prove the existence and consumption of Peraean products in the city in the third century BC, which is not a surprising result. By the way, the finds from the Northern Wall seem to be earlier than the material from the Southern and Western Walls. They indicate the arrival of products from the island of Rhodes to Kedreai around the second half of the third century BC. As these are the preliminary findings, future excavations will surely reveal more precise commercial activities of the city during the Hellenistic period.

It is known from other consumption centers such as Alexandria, the most important destination for Rhodian wine,[111] or sites in the Levant,[112] the majority of Rhodian amphora stamps are dated to the second half of the second century BC and correspond to Period V of the Rhodian stamp chronology. This is also an indication for the increase of wine production in Rhodes to fulfill the demand of Mediterranean markets. The amphora stamps from Kedreai, mostly datable to Period V, are parallel to the density of Rhodian products in the Eastern Mediterranean markets in this period.

The scarcity of stamped handles from Kedreai – found in just one season of excavation and from certain parts of the city – do not permit us to say more about the city's ancient trade and

110 For amphora stamp database, see Cankardeş-Şenol 2017c, 215-23; Samaniego 2023, 211-21.

111 Cankardeş-Şenol 2007, 49, diagram 1.

112 Finkielsztejn 1998, 39.

economy and its impact on the regional economy. Besides their contribution to amphora stamp studies by the identification of new dies and adding extra information about the distribution of Rhodian products in the Peraea, the finds help us understand the chronological characteristics of the excavated areas. Moreover, although the material is few, the stamps help us figure out the distribution of Rhodian products at certain periods and the specific years for the eponym stamps in question. This will finally contribute to determining the ancient economy of Rhodes, including its Peraea, with its production, distribution, and trade capacity in specific periods. It will also provide preliminary results about the preference and demand of the inhabitants of Kedreai in the consumption of wine in the Hellenistic period.

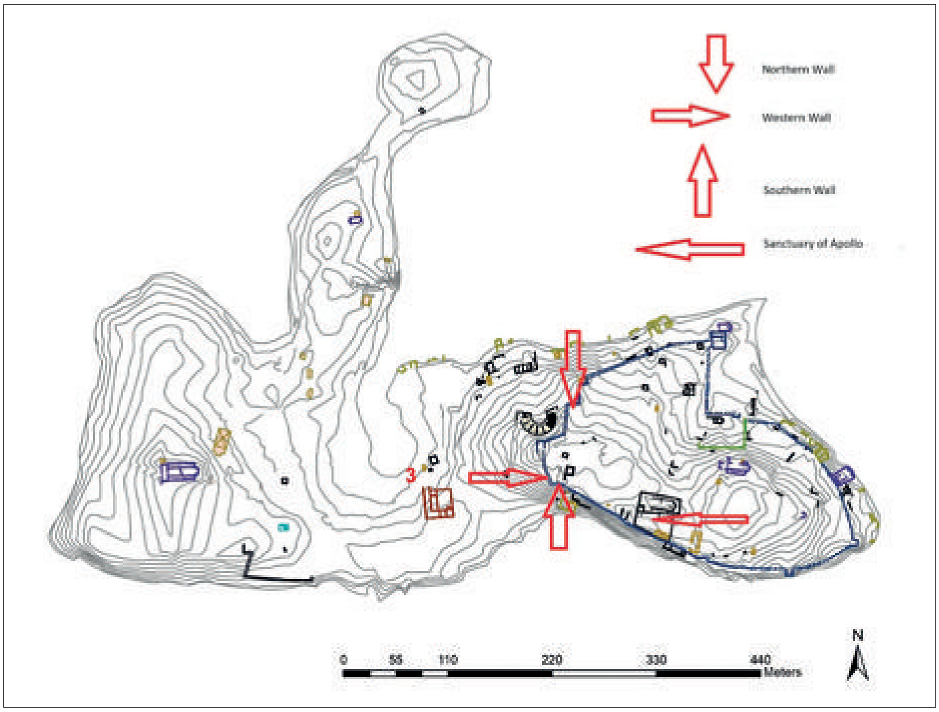

FIG. 29 Map showing the find areas of the amphora stamps (Kedreai Excavation Archive).

TABLE 1 List of amphora stamps found in Kedreai.

Cat. No.	Center	Inv. No.	Eponym + month	Fabricant	Date
1.	Rhodes	KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.2.	Andronikos + Panamos		c. 132 BC
2.	Rhodes	KDR.041022.SA.BS.S3.II.27	Aratophanes II + Sminthios		c. 109 BC
3.	Rhodian Peraea	KDR.161122.SA.AKA.ALT. GM2.Y.8.	Aristarchos		c. 262-c. 247 BC
4.	Rhodes	KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.1	Aristogenes + Agrianios		c. 129 BC
5.	Rhodes	KDR.300922.SA.GS.S3.II.18	Aristopolis +Theudaisios		c. 118 BC
6.	Rhodes	KDR.051022.SA.BS.S3.III.23	Astymedes II		c. 144 BC
7.	Rhodes	KDR.041022.SA.BS.S3.II.20	Echeboulos+ Thesmophorios		c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC
8.	Rhodes	KDR.300922.SA.GS.S3.II.17	Zenodotos + Panamos		Period VI or VIIa (c. 107-c. 88/86 BC – c. 85-c. 40 BC)
9.	Rhodes	KDR.061022.SA.BS.S3.IV-B.28	Kallikrates III + Agrianios		c. 130 BC
10.	Rhodes	KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.3	Nikasagoras II + Panamos.		c. 131 BC
11.	Rhodian Peraea	KDR.161122.SA.AKA.ALT. GM2.Y.7	Timarchos		c. 262-c. 247 BC
12.	Rhodes	KDR.300922.SA.BS.S3.II.29		Alinos	c. 116-c. 107 BC-c. 88 / 86 BC
13.	Rhodes	KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.4		Alinos	c. 116 BC – c. 107-c. 88 / 86 BC
14.	Rhodes	KDR.051022.SA.BS.S3.III.22		Bakchios + Hyakinthios	c. 145-c. 108 BC
15.	Rhodes	KDR.280922.SA.BS.S3.I.24		Damokrates II	c. 145-c. 108 BC
16.	Rhodes	KDR.290922.SA.GS.S3.I.9		Epikrates III ?	Period VIIa (c. 85-c. 40 BC)
17.	Rhodes	KDR.010822.SA.GS.SI.S3.12		Eukleitos	Around c. 131 BC
18.	Rhodes	KDR.220722.KSI.T3.13		Zenon I	c. 245 - c. 219-c. 211 BC
19.	Rhodes	KDR.061022.SA.BS.S3.IV-A.16		Hephaistion	c. 152 – c. 142 / 141 BC
20.	Rhodes	KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.5		Kallon	c. 142 / 141 BC- c. 124-c. 122 BC
21.	Rhodes	KDR.290922.SA.GS.S3.I.11		Kallon	c. 142 / 141 BC- c. 124-c. 122 BC
22.	Rhodes	KDR.051022.SA.BS.S3.III.25		Timoxenos	c. 146-c. 118 BC
23.	Rhodian Peraea	KDR.280722.KSI.T3.15		Phaiskos	c. 209-c. 199 BC
24.	Rhodes	KDR.280722.SA.GS.S1.S2.26		Phanias II	Before c. 160 - c. 151 BC
25.	Rhodes	KDR.010822.SA.GS.SI.S3.30. with a secondary stamp (retrograde alpha and kappa)	?	?	Second half of the second century BC
26.	Rhodes	KDR.290722.SA.GS.S1.S2.6. Illegible.	?	?	Periods VI-VII
27.	Rhodes	KDR.290922.SA.GS.S3.I.10. Illegible.	?	?	Periods VI-VII

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(Abbs.: Rh.: Rhodes; Rh.Per.: Rhodian Peraea; Ep. Eponym; Fab.: Fabricant; RTS: Rhodian Secondary Stamp) Numbers refer to catalogue numbers.

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Fabricant Matrices

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New Funerary Monuments from Aizanoi

PINAR ÖZLEM AYTAÇLAR*

Abstract

This article analyses 33 grave inscriptions found during the 2021 and 2022 excavation seasons in the ancient city of Aizanoi. Most of the monuments presented here are doorstones and separate gables, along with a few bomoi, stelae, and a marble block, all dating back to the Roman Imperial period.These inscriptions are particularly noteworthy for the personal names they contain. When it comes to the second century AD, the citizens of Aizanoi were Hellenized to a large extent. The onomastic data that we get from the funerary inscriptions of the city confirm this too. Most of the inscriptions presented here include Greek names scarcely found in upland inner Anatolia. Masculine names like Thelymithres, Melankomas, Philostratos, or Aischines took the place of indigenous names. The indigenous names of daughters and wives like Tatiane, Aphia, Apphias, Appes, Ammia, or Babeis show that most of these men with Greek names were not Greek ethnically but Hellenized locals. Similarly, as a part of the fashion of the period, Homeric names like Menelaos and Troilos, and the names of the heroic, glorious Greek past like Solon and Alexandros are frequently attested in the inscriptions.

Keywords: Aizanoi, Phrygia, funerary inscriptions, personal names, Roman imperial period

Öz

Makalede, Aizanoi antik kentinde 2021 ve 2022 kazı sezonlarında bulunmuş olan 33 adet mezar yazıtı ele alınmaktadır. Bu yazıtlar, özellikle içerdikleri kişi isimleri ile dikkat çekmektedirler. Aizanoi'un Makedon isimleri içeren en eski yazıtları MÖ ikinci yy.'a tarihlenir. Greko-Makedonların varlığı, kentin MÖ birinci yy.'da tüm kurumlarıyla Yunan tarzı bir polis şeklini alması için yeterli olmuş olmalıdır. Aizanoi'da Hellenizasyon'un, Phrygia kentlerinin çoğundan daha erken başladığını ve daha sağlam kökleri olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. "Yunan olmanın" her zamankinden daha önemli olduğu ikinci yy.'da kent Hadrianus'un Panhellenion'unda yer almıştır. MS ikinci yy.'a gelindiğinde Aizanoi vatandaşlarının büyük ölçüde Hellenize olduğu söylenebilir. Kentin mezar yazıtlarından elde ettiğimiz onomastik veriler de bunu doğrulamaktadır. Burada sunulan yazıtların çoğu, Anadolu'nun iç kesimlerinde çok az rastlanan Yunanca isimler içermektedir. Thelymithres, Melankomas, Philostratos ya da Aiskhines gibi eril isimler yerli isimlerin yerini almıştır. Kızların ve eşlerin Tatiane, Aphia, Apphias, Appes, Ammia ya da Babeis gibi yerli isimleri, bu Yunan isimli erkeklerin çoğunun etnik olarak Yunan olmayıp Hellenleşmiş yerli halktan olduklarını göstermektedir. Benzer şekilde, dönemin modasının bir parçası olarak, Menelaos, Troilos gibi Homeros isimleri ve Solon ve Aleksandros gibi kahraman, görkemli Yunan geçmişinin isimleri de bu yazıtlarda görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aizanoi, Phrygia, mezar yazıtları, özel isimler, Roma İmparatorluk dönemi

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In this article, some new grave inscriptions from Aizanoi are presented. All of the inscriptions were found in Çavdarhisar during the excavation seasons of 2021 and 2022. A significant part of the stones were found in the ruins of the village houses. Others mainly came from the excavations in the Penkalas River. Almost all of the monuments are being preserved in the backyard of the excavation house.

Doorstones were a common type of funerary monument in Roman Phrygia, and most probably the earliest examples were from the city of Aizanoi.[1] As a complete group, they first appear in Aizanoi in the first century AD and, overall constitute three-quarters of the funerary monuments of the city. This high proportion is also preserved in our study with its 26 examples. Most of the monuments presented in this article are doorstones and separate gables, along with a few bomoi, stelae, and a marble block, all dating back to the Roman Imperial period. The doorstones in Aizanoi seem to have been replaced by sarcophagi, frequently seen in the necropolises beginning in the late second century AD. Most of these richly decorated doorstones, many of which are monumental, date to the second century AD, the prosperous period of Aizanoi. The decorations also reflect the Aizanoi tradition. On the tombs of the men, the eagle (4-7, 10, 15-17, 19, 20, 22) and, in a few cases, a lion (24, 26) are most frequently depicted in the pediment. However, on the tombstones of women, the relief of a basket is usually placed in the center (3, 23, 27, 32). The typology and dating of these doorstones, thought to have originated from a single workshop, have been studied in detail.[2] In this study, we have taken the typological classification established by Waelkens in *MAMA* IX as a reference. However, since the analysis of the monuments in terms of sculpture is not our area of expertise, we cautiously place their dating over a wide range.

A general overview of the 33 funerary inscriptions discussed in this article shows that this group is consistent with the onomastic data of the funerary epigraphy of Aizanoi. The scarcity of a Latin-speaking population can be inferred from the rarity of Latin names. In the context of Romanization, the practice of giving Latin names to children is also rare in Aizanoi. In this study, the two examples of Latin names, Aemilius (16) and Sextus (23), are misspelled, whereas other members of the family have Greek or Phrygian names. A woman named Severine, whose father was a Roman citizen, occurs in number 1. Severine’s father had a rare Greek name Thelymithres, while her mother’s, Tatiane, was a common Phrygian name. It is possible that the use of Greek names in Aizanoi, even the names of heroes and famous Greeks of old times, conferred prestige on individuals. We can see this especially in the names of male citizens belonging to elite families. But, of course, this was not a rule. At least in the first century, local Phrygian names were also used, as in the case of Nannas, a member of one of the most important families of the city. We know from the inscriptions that he occupied a very important position in the polis during the reign of Claudius.[3]

In the first centuries of the Christian era, Aizanoi became a highly Hellenized city. The earliest inscriptions contain Macedonian names and are dated to the second century BC, thus showing that the city had Macedonian settlers at that time.[4] The presence of Greco-Macedonians must have been adequate as it took the form of a Greek-style polis with

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1 See Kelp 2013, 73-74.

2 See Waelkens 1986, 46-88; *MAMA* IX, xliv-liii; for the development and social contexts of Phrygian doorstones, see also Kelp 2013, 70-94.

3 See n. 8 with notes 13 and 14.

4 See Wörrle 1995, 75-76; Thonemann 2013, 23-24.

accompanying institutions in the first century BC.[5] In Aizanoi, the Hellenization process was more robust and started earlier than in most of the cities of Phrygia, excluding the Hellenistic foundations such as Laodikeia or Hierapolis. From Augustus' reign, in its aim to establish good relations with the imperial house, Aizanoi organized the imperial cult and the games attached to it.[6] In the second century, when "being Greek" was more important than ever, the city had a part in the Hadrianic Panhellenion. When it comes to the second century AD, the citizens of Aizanoi were Hellenized to a large extent. The onomastic data that we get from the funerary inscriptions confirm that too.[7] Most of the inscriptions presented here include Greek names that are scarcely found in upland inner Anatolia. Masculine names like Thelymithres (1), Melankomas (2), Philostratos (19), or Aischines (20) took the place of indigenous names. The indigenous names of daughters and wives like Tatiane (1), Aphia (18, 26), Apphias (7), Appes (16), Ammia (23), or Babeis (17, 24) show that most men with Greek names were not Greek ethnically but Hellenized locals. Similarly, as a part of the fashion of the period, Homeric names like Menelaos (3) and Troilos (21), and the names of the heroic, glorious Greek past like Solon (12) and Alexandros (22) are attested in our inscriptions.

1. Epitaph of Severine

Marble bomos. Found on the upper terrace of Propylon.
Date: Second or third century AD. (fig. 1).
H.: 81, w.: up. 38,5 mid. 34, th.: 21,5, l.h.: 2,5-5 cm.

Γναῖο[ς]
Φλάβιος̣
Θηλυμί-
θρης καὶ̣
Τατιανὴ
Σεβηρεί-
ν̣η θυγα-
τρὶ μνήμ-
ης χάριν.

"*Gnaeus Flavius Thelymithres and Tatiane (erected this monument) for their daughter Severine as a memorial*."

The male name Thelymithres is new in Aizanoi. However, it is attested elsewhere.[8]

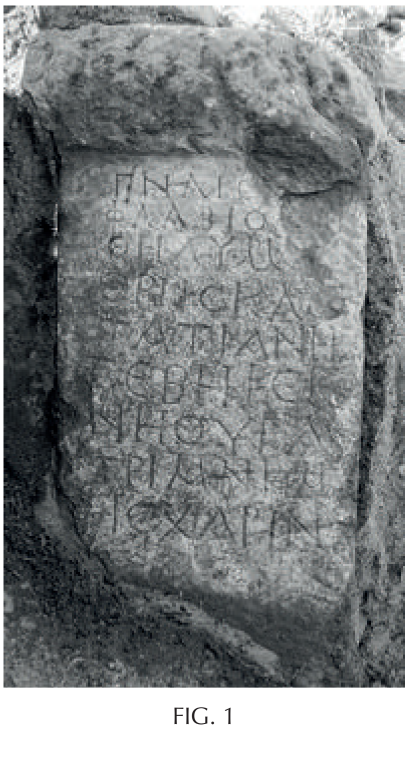

FIG. 1

[5] The decree for Menogenes (First century BC) is the earliest civic document of northern Phrygia. On this inscription and the development of Aizanoi as a Greek *polis*, see Thonemann 2013, 25-26: "The inscription projects the identity of a Greek-style *polis* with a full and flourishing civic organization, including a *boule*, civic magistrates (*archai*) and traditional Hellenistic age-classes (*neoi* and *epheboi*)." For the editio princeps of the Menogenes decree, see Günther 1975.

[6] For the imperial cult in Aizanoi, see Wörrle 2014.

[7] For a study on the demographic characteristics of Aizanoi, see Türkan 2019.

[8] For a Lydian example, see *TAM* V, 1 125 (Saittai). For the unique form Τηλυμίθρης in Pisidia (Apollonia), see Iversen 2015, 59, n. 53 with note 84 referring to the form Θηλυμίτρης in Ionian examples. For the variants of the name, see also Robert 1960, 477, n. 4.

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

2. Epitaph of [---]me

Rectangular marble block, probably a bomos originally. Reused in the north wall of the Penkalas River. Date: Second or third century AD. (fig. 2).
H.: 126, w.: 51, l.h.: 3,5 cm.

[Με]λ̣ανκόμας
[ ]μη τῇ ἀδελ-
[φῇ μ]νήμης χάριν.

"*Melankomas (set up this) for his sister [....]me, as a memorial.*"

The masculine name Melankomas (or Μελαγκόμας), the "one with black hair," is rare in Asia Minor.[9]

3. Epitaph

Bomos of grey marble with moulded top and base. Capital is damaged. On the shaft, reliefs of a mirror and a basket with fruits above the inscription. Found in the Penkalas. Date: Second or third century AD. (fig. 3).
H.: 161, w.: 90-68-92, th.: 70-74-90, l.h.: 3-4,5 cm.

9 For the examples from Ephesos, see *LGPN* VA, s.v. Μελαγκόμας.

D(is) M(anibus)
Μενέλαος καὶ Ζεῦξις μη-
τρὶ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ τέκνοις *vac*
4 μνήμης χάριν.

"*To the gods of the underworld… Menelaos and Zeuxis (set up this) for their mother and father and children, as a memorial.*"

The Latin formula *Dis Manibus* seen in Latin funerary inscriptions, is very rare in Greek inscriptions.[10] The formula occurs in Aizanoi in a Latin inscription with Greek translation (θεοῖς καταχθονίοις).[11]

4. Epitaph of Philetos, Onesimos and Dionysiodoros

Grey marble stele divided into three panels, separated by two bands. A simple decoration on the left band and ivy leaves on the right. Traces of reliefs on each panel: Left is an eagle(?), middle is a garland(?). Found at the upper terrace of Propylon (fig. 4).
H.: 89, w.: 175, th.: 33, l.h.: 2-3 cm.

Φίλητος ἑαυτῷ
ζῶν

Ὀνήσιμος ἑαυτῷ
4 ζῶν καὶ

Διονυσιοδώρῳ
πατρὶ γλυκυτάτῳ
μνήμης χάριν.

"*Philetos (set up this) for himself while alive.*
Onesimos (set up this) for himself while alive, and
for his sweetest father Dionysiodoros, as a memorial."

l.5: The form Διονυσιόδωρος with the addition of an iota is very rare and represented with only five examples (none from Phrygia) compared to the very common form Διονυσόδωρος.

FIG. 4

[10] For an example from Galatia, see Doğan and Avcu 2018, 420-21, n. 4.
[11] See Lehmler and Wörrle 2002, 573-75, n. 2.

FIG. 5

FIG. 6

5. Epitaph

Marble stele. Broken at top and bottom. Pilasters are damaged. Reliefs of a garland and an eagle looking left. Found in the ruins of a house. Inv. n.: YK 8-1 (fig. 5).

H.: 92, w.: 59, th.: 17, l.h.: 2-2,5 cm.

[- - - - - - -]
μνήμης
χάριν.

"*... as a memorial.*"

6. Epitaph of Akte

Fragment of a marble doorstone(?) of type IA(?). Broken on right and below. In pediment, traces of an eagle. On top of pediment, a palmette from which springs voluted stem tendril ending in half palmettes and a four-petalled rosette. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 6).

H.: 64, w.: 70, th.: 24, l.h.: 2-2,5 cm.

Κλύμενος Ἀκτῇ [

"*Klymenos (set up this) for Akte ...*"

The masculine Κλύμενος is attested in Pontus (Amaseia) while the feminine Κλυμένη in eastern Phrygia (Ouetissos).[12]

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[12] For these examples, see *LGPN* VC, s.v. For a Phrygian example of the female Ἀκτή, see *LGPN* VC, s.v. (Akmoneia).

FIG. 7

FIG. 8

7. Epitaph of Onesimos

Small doorstone of type IB. On top of pediment, a palmette from which spring voluted stems. In the pediment an eagle facing left. On the upper door panels, a four-petalled rosette and a circular keyplate. On the lower panels, schematized door rings within a lozenge. Date: First or second century AD. (fig. 7).

H.: 83, w.: 38, th.: 14, l.h.: 1 (l.1), 2,2-2,5 (l.2) cm.

μνήμης χάριν
Ἀφιας Ὀνησίμῳ ἀνδρί

"*Aphias (set up this) for her husband Onesimos, as a memorial.*"

8. Epitaph

Marble doorstone of type IIB. From the Penkalas. Pediment with acroteria. In the pediment, a four-petalled rosette. In the upper door panels, left is a four-petalled rosette, right is a circular key-plate. In the lower panels, schematized door rings within lozenge. Broken at bottom. Now in the backyard of the excavation house. Inv. n.: P1-17. Date: First half of the second century AD. (fig. 8).

H.: 63, w.: 51, th.: 19, l.h.: 2 cm.

Νаννας πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

"*Nannas (erected this monument) for his father, as a memorial.*"

The masculine name Nannas is very popular in Aizanoi.[13] Its common usage may be due to

[13] For the examples, see *MAMA* IX, n. 306 with the commentary. For Nannas and the genitive Nanna, see also Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1932, with note 76, including the correction of *MAMA* IX.

a certain Nannas, a member of one of the leading families, who is known from the Claudian coins and inscriptions of Aizanoi.[14]

9. Epitaph of [Ni]kephoros

Marble separate gable of type IVA. Broken at left. In the pediment is a four-petalled rosette. On top of pediment is a palmette. On the preserved right corner are a half palmette and voluted tendrils. Inv. n.: YK 2-2. Date: First half of the second century AD. (fig. 9).

H.: 36,5, w.: 51, th.: 26,5, l.h.: 2-3,2 cm.

[ὁ δεῖνα Νι]ḳηφόρῳ υἱῷ μνήμῃς χάριν.

"*(X set up this) for his son [Ni]kephoros, as a memorial.*"

10. Epitaph

Marble separate gable of type IVA. Broken at right. On top of the pediment is a palmette from which springs on each side a stem ending in a large double leaf. On the remaining left corner is a half palmette. In the pediment, an eagle looks right. Date: First half of the second century AD. Inv. n.: YK-27 (fig. 10).

H.: 29, w.: 50, th.: 30, l.h.: 2-3 cm.

μνήμης [χάριν]
Θεόδωρος καὶ Τάτιον [

"*As a memorial... Theodoros and Tation ...*"

FIG. 9

FIG. 10

11. Epitaph of Hermes

Fragment of a marble separate gable of type IVA. Broken at left, right, and top. On top of the pediment are traces of tendrils. Inv. n.: YK-38-2. Date: First half of the second century AD. (fig. 11).

H.: 37, w.: 41, th.: 21, l.h.: 3 cm.

Ἄ]νθιμọς Ἑρμῇ τῷ [

"*Anthimos (set up this) for Hermes, his ...*"

The name Anthimos is attested in two examples from Amorion.[15]

[14] See Wörrle 1995, 70-72; 2014, 465, 499-503.

[15] See *MAMA* VII, 260; *LGPN* VC, s.v. Ἄνθιμος.

FIG. 11

FIG. 12

12. Epitaph

Fragment of a separate gable of type IVA. Broken at left and right. A half palmette on the right corner. Inv. n.: YK-31. Date: First half of the second century AD. (fig. 12).

H.: 32, w.: 37, th.: 16, l.h.: 1,5-2 cm.

]ου τοῦ Σόλωνος

"*... of Solon*"

The name Σώλων is attested in Aizanoi.[16] Choosing such names was part of the second century AD fashion to idealize its glorious Greek history.

13. Epitaph

The lower part of a marble separate gable of type IVA(?). Found in the ruins of a house. Inv. n.: YK 5-3 (fig. 13).

H.: 14, w.: 94, th.: 52, l.h.: 2,5 cm.

[- - - - - - - - - - - -]
μνήμης ἕνεκεν *vac*

"*... as a memorial.*"

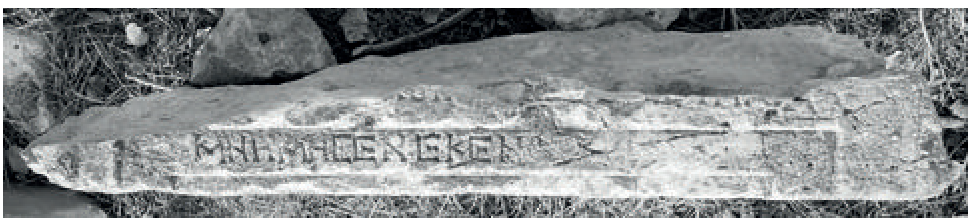

FIG. 13

14. Epitaph of Apollonios

Marble separate gable of type IVB, cut flat beneath. In the pediment an omphalos plate. On top of the pediment is a palmette; left and right of it are half palmettes. Between palmettes are two four-petalled rosettes. Found in the ruins of a house. Now in the backyard of the excavation house. Inv. n.: YK 8-3. Date: 72 / 73 AD (Sullan era)[17] (fig. 14).

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[16] See *MAMA* IX, n. 237 with the commentary.

[17] For the usage of the Sullan era in Aizanoi, see Wörrle 1995, 72-75.

H.: 39, w.: 90, th.: 48,5, l.h.: 1,5-2,3 cm.

Ἔτους ζνρ´ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μενάνδρου
μνήμης χάριν

"*In the year 157. (For) Apollonios, son of Menandros, as a memorial.*"

FIG. 14

15. Epitaph of Metrodoros

Marble separate gable of type IVB, cut flat beneath. In the pediment an eagle faces right. On top of the pediment is a palmette from which springs the voluted stem tendril. Found at the excavations at Penkalas. Now in the backyard of the excavation house. Inv. n. P1-16. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 15).

H.: 73,5, w.: 87, th.: 51, l.h.: 2-3,5 cm.

[Ἀ]νδρήας Μητροδώρῳ υἱῷ μνήμης
χάριν

"*[A]ndreas (set up this monument) for his son Metrodoros, as a memorial.*"

For the name Andreas, the form with an eta instead of an epsilon is very rare. For Ἀνδρήας, there are only five examples from Asia Minor. Four are from Nikaia, Ephesos and Priene.[18] Interestingly, the only example from inland Asia Minor is from Aizanoi.[19] For the similar rare usage of eta instead of epsilon, see n. 23 (Ἀριστήας).

The theophoric, Metrodoros, was popular owing to the Meter Theon of the city.

FIG. 15

[18] See, *LGPN* VA, s.v. Ἀνδρέας.

[19] See *MAMA* IX, n. 200 and *LGPN* VC, s.v. Ἀνδρέας.

16. Epitaph of Aemilius

Marble separate gable of type IVE. Broken at right, above, and below. In the pediment an eagle faces left. Along the pediment are leafed tendrils with flowers. Date: First half of the second century AD. (fig. 16).
H.: 45, w.: 59, th.: 55, l.h.: 2 cm.

Ἄππης Αἰμιλλίῳ (sic.) ανδρ[ὶ ...

"*Appes (set up this) for her husband Aemilius...*"

FIG. 16

17. Epitaph of Babeis

Separate gable of type VA cut square below. Slightly broken on top and bottom. On top of the pediment are traces of a palmette from which springs a voluted stem tendril ending in half palmettes springing from lotus flowers on each side. In the pediment an eagle looks right. Rosettes with voluted tendrils on the lower corners of the pediment. Under the pediment are leafed tendrils with flowers and poppies. Date: 81 / 82 AD. (fig. 17).
H.: 73, w.: 154, th.: 65, l.h.: 2-2,5 cm.

Ἔτους - ρξς´ Ἀρτεμ[ί]δωρος Β̣αβει τῇ γυναικὶ μνήμης ἕνεκεν.

"*In the year 166, Artemidoros (set up this) for his wife Babeis, as a memorial.*"

The feminine Βαβεις is a Phrygian "lallname."[20] In a funerary inscription from Aizanoi,[21] Babeis and her husband Magnus set up a grave monument for their son Teimotheos. It is interesting to find Roman, indigenous, and Greek names together in a nuclear family.[22]

[20] See Zgusta 1964, 115.
[21] *MAMA* IX, n. 302.
[22] See *MAMA* IX, lix.

FIG. 17

18. Epitaph of Aphia and Al[y]pos

Fragments of a marble doorstone of type VIA. On top, a palmette and two half palmettes on the left and right with leafed tendrils with flowers between them. Gable and bottom of the stone are broken. Found at the excavation in the Penkalas. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 18).

H.: 50 w.: 81 th.: 16 cm, l.h.: 2 cm.

Παπίας Ἀφίᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ Ἀλ[ύ]πῳ υἱῷ μνήμης χάριν.

"*Papias (set this up) for his wife Aphia and for his son Al[y]pos, as a memorial.*"

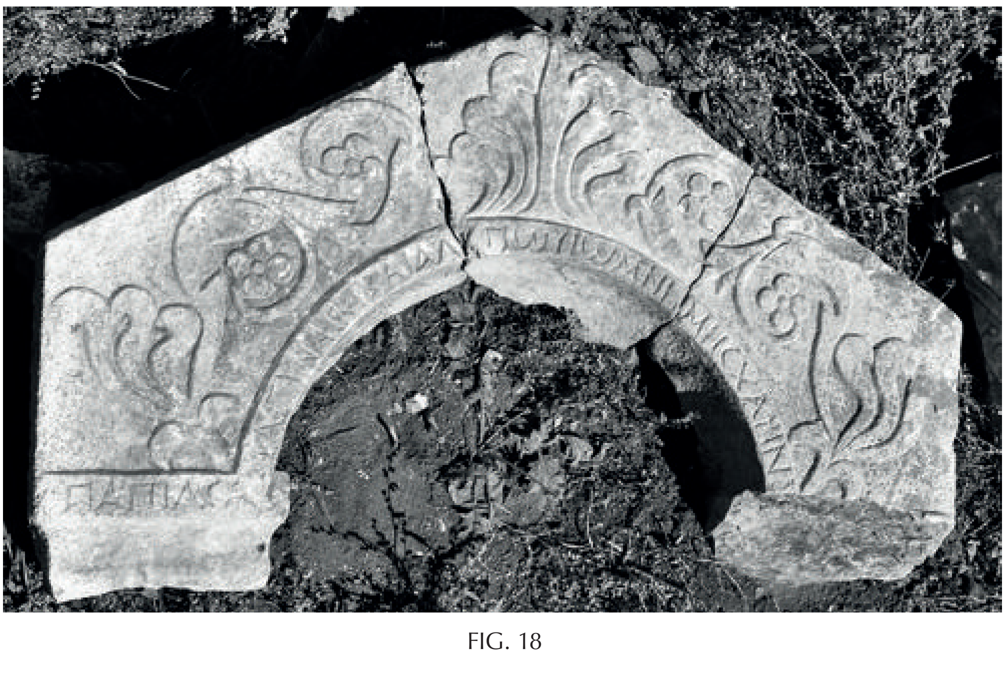

FIG. 18

19. Epitaph of Alexandros

Blue marble doorstone of type VIA, a bit broken above. On top of the gable are traces of a palmette. In the arch is an eagle. On partly damaged pilasters, tendrils with ivy leaves. In the upper left panel, traces of a rosette(?); in the right panel, circular keyplate. In the lower panels, schematized door rings within lozenge. Inv. n.: YK-15. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 19).
H.: 99, w.: 67, th.: 28, l.h.: 1-2,5 cm.

Φιλόστρ[α]τος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀδελφῷ μνήμης χάριν.

“*Philostratos (set up this) for his brother Alexandros, as a memorial.*”

The last letter nu was added on top of the line.

There is no other attestation of the name Philostratos in Phrygia.

FIG. 19

20. Epitaph of Aischines

Upper part of a marble doorstone of type VIA. In the arch an eagle looks left. On top of the pediment is a palmette from which springs curled stem tendril. On the preserved lower corner is a half palmette. Bottom part of the stone is broken. Inv. n.: YL-25. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 20).
H.: 54, w.: 73, th.: 26, l.h.: 1,5-2 cm.

ὁ δεῖνα με]τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Αἰσχίνῃ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

κ]αὶ Θαῒς γυνή

“*(X) with his brothers, (set up this) for their father Aischines, as a memorial. And Thais, (his) wife...*”

This is the first attestation of the name Aischines in Aizanoi. In Phrygia, the only example of this name is from Prymnessos(?).[23]

[23] See *LGPN* VC s.v. Αἰσχίνης.

FIG. 20

21. Epitaph of Alexandros

Blue marble doorstone of type VIA. In the pediment is a rosette. On the pilasters are leafed tendrils with poppies. On the upper left and lower panels are schematized door rings. On the upper right panel is a circular keyplate. Hole in the gable indicates reusage. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 21).

H.: 144, w.: 88, th.: 34, l.h.: 2-3 cm.

Τροΐλος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ υἱῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μνήμης χάριν. *ivy leaf*

"*Troilos (set up this monument) for his son Alexandros, as a memorial.*"

FIG. 21

Names with Homeric associations were popular in Asia Minor in the second and third centuries AD. Emphasizing the "glorious past" also occurs in the son's name of Troilos.[24]

22. Epitaph of Menothemis

Marble doorstone of type VIA. On top of the gable is a palmette from which spring ivy tendrils. In the arch an eagle looks left. On the pilasters are leafed tendrils. On the upper left panelis is a four-petalled rosette; upper right panel is a circular keyplate, and on the lower panels are schematized door rings within lozenge. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 22).

H.: 130, w.: 92, th.: 31, l.h.: 2,5-3 cm.

Τρόφιμος Μηνοθεμίδι πατρ (sic.) μνήμης χάριν.

"*Trophimos (set up this) for his father Menothemis, as a memorial.*"

The first omicron of Τρόφιμος is inscribed very small on the bottom of the line. The iota of πατρὶ is omitted on the stone. The name Menothemis occurs frequently (nine examples including our inscription) and significantly in upper-class families in Aizanoi.[25]

FIG. 22

23. Epitaph of Ammia

Marble doorstone of type VIA. On top of the gable is a palmette from which springs ivy tendrils. In the arch is a basket. In the pilasters are tendrils with ivy leaves grow out of a bush. In the upper left door panel is a four-petalled rosette; in the upper right panel, a circular keyplate and in the lower panels, schematized door-ring within lozenge. Date: Second century AD. (fig. 23).

H.: 120, w.: 63, th.: 26, l.h.: 1-2 cm.

Μένανδρος Ἀμμίᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ Διογένης καὶ Σέκτος καὶ Ἀρισ-
τήας μητρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

"*Menandros (set up this) for his wife Ammia and Diogenes and Sextus(?) and Aristeas for their mother, as a memorial.*"

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[24] See *MAMA* IX, lx.

[25] See *MAMA* IX, lx and *LGPN* VC, s.v. Μηνόθεμις (1-8).

FIG. 23

We have an Ἀριστέας in Aizanoi on a funerary bomos.[26] However, the form of the name in our inscription, Ἀριστήας, with the letter eta instead of epsilon, is very rare. The only example known to me is in an Hellenistic inscription from Telos.[27] For the similar rare usage of eta instead of epsilon, see above n. 15 (Ἀνδρήας).

24. Epitaph of Aelia Babeis

Marble doorstone of type VIA. On top of the gable is an omphalos plate. In the arch a lion faces right. Decoration of tendrils with ivy leaves can be seen on highly damaged pilasters. On the upper door panel, garland, and mirror; on the right, garland and circular keyplate; on the lower panels are schematized door-rings within lozenge upon lattice. Date: Second or third century AD. (fig. 24).

FIG. 24

[26] *MAMA* IX, n. 122

[27] *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀριστήας.

H.: 205, w.: 117, th.: 33, l.h.: 1,7-2,5 cm.

Αἴλιοι Μητρόδωρος καὶ Ἀνδρόνεικος Αἰλία Βαβει μητρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

"*Aelii Metrodoros and Androneikos (set up this) for their mother Aelia Babeis, as a memorial.*"

The last two letters, iota and nu, were inscribed on the bottom of the line.

25. Epitaph of Elpis

Doorstone of type VIA(?). Broken at top and bottom. On top of the gable are tendrils. Arch is decorated with a shell.[28] Inv. n.: YK 38-1 (fig. 25).

H.: 43, w.: 66, th.: 18, l.h.: 1,8-2,5 cm.

Διαδουμενὸς Ἐλπίδι γυναικὶ μνή-
μης χάριν.

"*Diadoumenos (set up this) for his wife Elpis, as a memorial.*"

FIG. 25

26. Epitaph of Aphia and Neikephoros

Marble double doorstone of type VIB. The upper left part is slightly broken. In both arches of Syrian gables are lions. Rosettes in the pediments. Simas are decorated with alternating open and closed palmettes. Between the pediments is a woman's bust. Reliefs of dolphins in left and right. In the pilasters are leafed tendrils with alternating ivy leaves, poppies, and flowers. On the door panels are a four-petalled rosette (left), circular keyplate (right), and door rings (below). Date: Second century AD. (fig. 26).

H.: 176, w.: 181, th.: 58, l.h.: 2-3 cm.

[28] Cf. *MAMA* IX, n. 337; Lehmler and Wörrle 2002, nos. 63 and 64, figs. 61 and 62.

FIG. 26

Διογένης καὶ Παπύλος Ἀφίᾳ μητρὶ ζώσῃ καὶ Νεικηφόρῳ πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

"*Diogenes and Papylos (set up this monument) for their mother Aphia, while she is alive, and for their father Neikephoros, as a memorial.*"

27. Epitaph

The right part of a marble doorstone of type VIB. In the arch is a basket and distaff. A dolphin is on the right corner of the pediment. Under the arch is a bucranium with garlands. The pilaster is highly damaged. On the upper door panel is a rosette(?); on the lower panel, schematized door ring within lozenge, above transenna type lattice. Found in the Penkalas. Date: Second or third century AD. (fig. 27).

H.: 156, w.: 50, th.: 41, l.h.: 2,5 cm.

σεμν]οτάτῃ μνήμης χάριν.

"*...(for the most reverend), as a memorial...*"

FIG. 28

FIG. 27

FIG. 29

28. Epitaph

Fragment of a blue marble separate gable. Broken at the top, left, and right. Ionic cymatium under the inscription (fig. 28).

H.: 24, w.: 56, th.: 38, l.h.: 3 cm.

]Συντύχης καὶ Ανδ[

"*... Syntyches and And[...*"

29. Epitaph of Phoibos

Fragment of a doorstone(?). Found in the ruins of a village house. Inv. n.: YK 5-2 (fig. 29).

H.: 21, w.: 25,5, th.: 10, l.h.: 1-2 cm.

]Ω Φοίβῳ[

"*... for Phoibos...*"

FIG. 30

FIG. 31

30. Epitaph of Amia

Fragment of a doorstone(?). Found in the Penkalas (fig. 30).
H.: 16,5, w.: 25,5, th.: 7,5, l.h.: 2 cm.

]Ἀμιᾳ μητ[ρὶ

"*For (his / her / their) mother Amia...*"

31. Epitaph

Upper left part of a doorstone. Ivy tendrils on the pediment. Found in the Penkalas southwest of the fourth bridge (fig. 31).
H.: 26,5, w.: 51, th.: 9, l.h.: 2,3 cm.

Ἀπολλωνιο[

"*Apollonio(s) ...*"

32. Epitaph of Asklepiake

Small cylindrical marble bomos. A basket of fruit is in the middle of the inscription. Inv. n.: YK-16 (fig. 32).
H.: 57, diam: 22, l.h.: 2,5-3,5 cm.

Ἐλπιδηφ<ό>ρος
Ἀσκληπιακῇ
μνήμης
4 χάριν.

"*Elpidephoros (set up this) for Asklepiake, as a memorial.*"

While the masculine Asklepiakos is more common, the feminine Asklepiake is quite rare, and examples of it are mainly from Asia Minor. We find an Asklepiake in Smyrna, two in Lydia, and three others in Mysia.[29] Aizanoi is very rich in theophoric names associated with the god Asklepios. For example, the name Asklepiades is one of the most frequent names in Aizanoi and is represented by nearly 40 examples in and around the city.[30] We know that the

[29] See *LGPN* VC, s.v. Ἀσκληπιακή (1-6).
[30] See *LGPN* VC, s.v. Ἀσκληπιάδης (38-74).

FIG. 32

god Asklepios was worshipped in Aizanoi. An octagonal altar found in the Doric columned courtyard has a monumental effect with its concavely curved sides and richly structured upper and lower profiles. Upon it an inscription is engraved: "Helios, the priest, dedicated (this altar) to the Lord Asklepios."[31] Besides, a bomos dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia in Işıklar, 27 km southeast of Çavdarhisar, indicates the god was worshipped in the vicinity of the city as well.[32]

33. Epitaph

Fragment of a marble block. Broken at left and bottom. Found in the ruins of a village house. Inv. n.: YK 2-4 (fig. 33).
H.: 58, w.: 51, th.: 48, l.h.: 3-4,6 cm.

ὁ δεῖνα ἑαυτ]ῷ ζῶν
 τῇ δεῖνα̣ γ]υναικὶ γλυκυ-
τάτῃ μνήμης] χάριν.

"*X (set up this) for himself while alive and for his sweetest wife Y, as a memorial.*"

31 See Naumann and Naumann 1984, 492-93 and Lehmler and Wörrle 2006, 83, n. 139.

32 *MAMA* IX, n. 61: Κυρίωι Ἀσκλη|πιῶι σωτῆρι | καὶ Ὑγείᾳ θεοῖς || ἐπηκόοις Ἀκύ|λας β´ λατύπος | ἀνέθηκε τὸν | βωμὸν σὺν τῷ || ἐπικειμένῳ | κρίνωι.

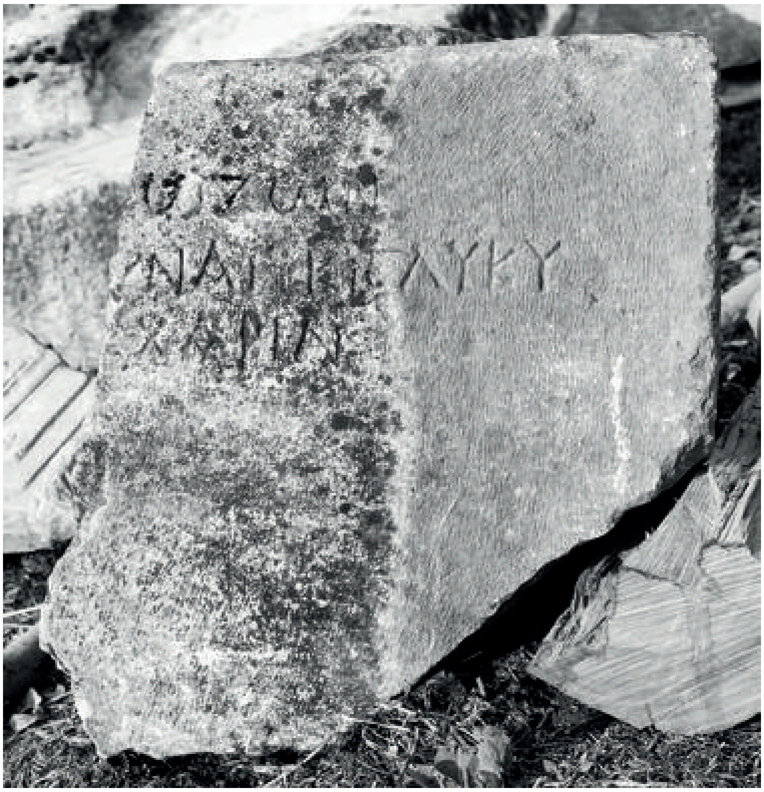

FIG. 33

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New Inscriptions from Rough Cilicia

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Abstract

In this article 12 new inscriptions derived from both archaeological excavations at Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç) and field surveys conducted in Rough Cilicia are introduced. Only one of the inscriptions is Hellenistic and concerns the honoring of the mother and sister of the priest Teukros, a member of the famous Teukros dynasty of the Olba temple state. Three of the remaining inscriptions are from Late Antiquity and carved on sarcophagi lids in arcosolium graves in the North necropolis of Diocaesarea. These inscriptions prove the existence of one monastery dedicated to St. Sergios and Konon, as well as one church dedicated to St. Rafael. The vast majority of the inscriptions belong to the Roman Imperial Period. One of them is, in fact, an addendum to an already known building inscription of the theater following the discovery of a new fragment which forms the first epigraphic evidence that the city took the title of Hadriane known from the coins. Two inscriptions are of religious content: one concerns the erection of statues of the gods by a priest called Mithradates, while the other provides information that a certain Chariton and some others, whose names cannot be read due to the break in the stone, erected an altar after having been warned by an oracle. The

Öz

Bu makalede hem Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç) antik kenti kazılarından hem de Dağlık Kilikya'da yürütülen yüzey araştırmaları neticesinde bulunan toplam 12 yeni yazıt tanıtılmaktadır. Yazıtların sadece bir tanesi Hellenistik Dönem'e aittir ve Olba Tapınak Devleti kral hanedanının bir üyesi olan rahip Teukros ve kardeşinin anneleri ve kız kardeşlerini onurlandırmaları ile ilgilidir. Geri kalan yazıtlardan üç tanesi Geç Antik Dönem'e ait olup Diocaesarea'nın kuzey nekropolündeki arkasol tipli mezarların içinde yer alan lahit kapakları üzerine kazınmıştır. Bu yazıtlar kentte aziz Sergios ve Konon'a adanmış bir manastır ile aziz Rafael'e adanmış bir kilisenin varlığını ispat etmektedir. Yazıtların büyük bölümü ise Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne tarihlenmektedir. Bunlardan birisi, daha önceden bilinen tiyatro inşa yazıtının yeni bir parçasını oluşturmakta olup kentin sikkelerden bilinen Hadriane unvanı aldığına dair ilk epigrafik kanıt olması bakımından önemlidir. İki yazıt dini içerikli olup birinde Mithradates isimli bir rahibin tanrıların heykellerini diktirmesinden, bir mağarada ele geçen diğerinde ise Khariton ve ismi taşın kırık kısmına denk gelmesinden dolayı okunamayan bazı başka şahısların aldıkları kehanet uyarınca bir sunak diktirmelerinden bahsedilmektedir.

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We owe a debt of gratitude to Prof. Dr. Ümit Aydınoğlu who gave permission to publish the materials from the archaeological field survey (entitled "Dağlık Kilikia'da Antik Dönem'de Kentleşme ve Kırsal Yerleşimler Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması") conducted in Rough Cilicia under his leadership as well as from the ongoing excavations in the ancient city of Diocaesarea. We are also grateful to Dr. Okan Özdemir (Mersin) for his help in recording the inscriptions. We further thank T. Michael P. Duggan (Antalya) for improving the English of this paper.

inscription attests further evidence concerning the worship of Athena Oreia Krisoua in Cilicia and ends with an acclamation.

Keywords: Rough Cilicia, Diocaesarea, inscriptions, Athena Oreia Krisoua, Teukros, Hadriane

Bir *acclamatio* ile sonlanan yazıt tanrıça Athena Oreia Krisoua'nın Kilikya'daki kültü için bir başka belge teşkil etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dağlık Kilikya, Diocaesarea, yazıtlar, Athena Oreia Krisoua, Teukros, Hadriane

The ancient city of Diocaesarea is located in Rough Cilicia, lying in the neighborhood of Uzuncaburç approximately 25 km north of the Silifke district of Mersin province. Possessing the famous temple of Zeus Olbios, Uzuncaburç was the religious and administrative center of the temple state of Olba in the Hellenistic period.[1] After having obtained its own polis status in the Roman Imperial period,[2] the city was called Diocaesarea and flourished. It apparently surpassed Olba in terms of its archaeological remains. Diocaesarea stands out not only with its well-preserved buildings from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Late Antique periods but also with its rich epigraphic documentation. Following the invitation of Prof. Dr. Ümit Aydınoğlu from the department of archaeology at Mersin University, from 2019 onwards we have been working in the ongoing excavations of Diocaesarea. The epigraphic finds have been limited in the first seasons of the excavation, yet Prof. Aydınoğlu generously entrusted us with the inscriptions discovered in the surveys conducted from 2006 onwards in Rough Cilicia, mainly in the territories of Seleucia ad Calycadnum and Diocaesarea. Accordingly, this contribution presents 12 new inscriptions derived both from the excavation and the field surveys. One inscription dates to the Hellenistic period, three are from late antiquity, and the rest belong to the Roman Imperial period. Of the twelve inscriptions treated here, one consists of an addendum to the building inscriptions, two are inscriptions of religious content, one is a fragment of an honorary inscription, and the rest are funerary in genre. Because we have not autopsied and copied the inscriptions discovered in the field surveys in person, we have read them from the images provided by the survey team and dimensions might be lacking for some of them.

No. 1 The Priest Teukros and Zenophanes Honor Their Mother and Sister (fig. 1)

Marble block. Findspot: Reused as spolia on the wall of a modern graveyard behind the Hellenistic fortress at Uzuncaburç. H.: 63 cm; W.: 102 cm; D.: not measurable; Lh.: 4 cm.

ἱερεὺς Τεῦκρος Ταρκυάριος *vac.* I
2 καὶ Ζηνοφάνης οἱ ἀδελφοὶ *vac.* ZH
τὴν ἑαυτῶν μητέρα καὶ ἀδελ- *vac.* N
4 φὴν –ca.3–THTA ----- E

Translation: *The priest Teukros, son of Tarkyaris, and Zenophanes, the brothers, (honor) their mother and sister -----.*

L. 1: Τεῦκρος Ταρκυάριος. Although the name Teukros is widespread in the dynasty reigning in Olba, the fact that the father's name of the priest Teukros is Tarkyaris suggests that he is very likely identical with the priest who built not only the tower at Uzuncaburç but also the one in Kanytellis.[3] However, it must be admitted that the lettering style (the sigma and omega, in particular) is different from that of these inscriptions, which could indicate that the new inscription dates from a later period. But it no later than the middle of the

1 Trampedach 2001; Sayar 2016, 110-12.

2 Gotter 2001, 294-305.

3 Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, no. OlD1, Kan8 = Sayar 2015, no. A2.

FIG. 1 The priest Teukros and Zenophanes honor their mother and sister.

second century BC, given that the official title of the priests is ἀρχιερεύς instead of ἱερεύς from this time onwards. In this case, however, we must assume that there was another priest in the dynasty called Teukros, the son of Tarkyaris. Both Teukros and Tarkyaris are theophoric names (they are actually the same; Teukros is the Hellenized form) derived from Tarku / Tarhunt.[4]

The inscription is evidently connected to the funerary monument of the mother and sister of the reigning priest in Olba. The location of the inscription is noteworthy, since the recent excavations in the fortress have uncovered a burial chamber that may have been used by members of the dynasty. The fortress, aside from its various functions, was also a place of residence for them.[5] It can therefore be posited that the new inscription may be associated with the aforementioned burial chamber. However, it is prudent to avoid any definitive conclusions until further evidence becomes available.

The letters (I, ZH, N, E) visible at the end of each line may belong to another inscription which continues on the next block. The I could be the initial letter of ἱερεὺς and most probably ZH is of Ζηνοφάνης.

Date: Late third-early second century BC.

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[4] Maier 1959, 253-54; cf. also Trampedach 1999, 94-95.

[5] An edited book concerning the results of this excavation is now in preparation by Prof. Dr. Ümit Aydınoğlu and his team.

No. 2. Dedication to Athena Krisoua Oreia (fig. 2)

Marble altar. Findspot: Ovacık / Silifke H.: 80 cm; W.: 39 cm (top); 49 cm (bottom); D.: missing; Lh: missing.

Briefly mentioned in *AST* 34.2 menitoned by H. Şahin and A. Özdizbay in AST 34.2:512.

[-------------------]
Χαρίτων [ca.1-2]
δότου τεχν[ί]-
της σωθέν[τες]
[ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ΑΝΔ[ca.1-2]
[-ca. 1-2]ARETH v.
[-ca. 1-2-]MEN‿NEA . MEP
[ὑπ]ὸ Διὸς ΤΟΥ̣[ca.1-2]
[-ca.3-4]ΟΥΤΕ[-ca. 4-5-]

[-ca. 2-3] Ὀρίας Ἀθ[η]-
[ν]ᾶ{ι}<ς> Κρισούα<ς>
[κ]αὶ Ἑρμέως ΟΔ
.ΟΡΟΥ *vac.* χρημ[α-]
τισθέντες ἀν-
ιδρύσαμεν
εὐτύχι κτίσ-
τα.

FIG. 2 Dedication to Athena Krisoua Oreia.

Translation: *-N.N.--, Chariton, the son of [- - -] dotos, the craftsman---- having been rescued ---- having been warned by oracle by Zeus, Oreia Athena Krisoua and Hermes (?), erected (this altar). Good luck, founder!*

L. 1: The personal name Χαρίτων is attested twice in Cilicia thus far.[6] The upper part of the stone is broken, yet the reading in ll. 12-14 (χρημ[α]|τισθέντες ἀν|ιδρύσαμεν) leaves no doubt that there must have been at least one other personal name carved in the upper missing part of the inscription.

L. 2: δότου: It must be the patronymic of Chariton. Given that there is a space only for a few letters at the end of the line (unless the name continues at the beginning of line 3), we have a limited number of options for this gap such as Diodotos, Menodotos, Zenodotos, etc.

LL. 2-3: τεχ[νί-?]της. It appears that the occupation of Chariton is given in these lines. For the other technitai in Cilicia, see Şahin 2003, nos. 198-208.

LL. 9-10: Ὀρίας Ἀθ[η]|ν]ᾶ<ς> Κρισούα<ς>. The epithet of Oreia (living / residing in mountains), widely associated with the mother-goddess Meter, is also shared by the goddess Athena accompanied by another epithet Krisoua, which is very likely derived from a toponym.[7] It has been attested several times in Rough Cilicia, in particular in an area between the Kalykadnos and Lamos Rivers in the territories of Seleucia and Elaiussa Sebaste.[8] Both the epithet of Krisoua and the

6 *LGPN* 5B, 438 s.v. "Χαρίτων."

7 On this see Durugönül 1987, 116; 1999, 121.

8 For the cult of Athena Oreia Krisoua, see Borgia 2003; Sayar 2004a; 2009, 311-13; see also Şahin 2009, 223-24. The documents attesting to her cult in the whole Asia Minor have been brought together; see Akın 2016, 180-86. For a new inscription after this compilation, see Şahin 2016, 143.

FIG. 3 Entrance of the cave.

personal name Krisamoas[9] recorded in the settlement of Dalisandros in Cilicia are considered to be derived from Kiršu, a site situated in the town of Gülnar of Mersin province and mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian Chronicles.[10] The cult of Athena Oreia Krisoua is known also in Plain Cilicia from two more inscriptions recorded in Mopsuhestia, but no documents are available concerning this cult except those from the Cilician region.

One would unwaveringly claim that the cave (fig. 3) where the inscription is found is dedicated to the goddess, considering that both Meter and Athena Oreia were worshiped in the mountains and particularly in the caves in Cilicia. This is clearly manifested in several examples. In one of the Athena Oreia Krisoua dedications recorded in the Kızılin Cave northeast of Seleucia, a certain Rhondas made the cave for the goddess.[11] In yet another inscription carved on the wall at the entrance of the cave situated on the western slopes of Dede Dağı in the neighborhood of Mopsuhestia, the members of the cultic association Seliadneis constructed a circular place (τὸν κύκλον) for the goddess.[12] The cult of Athena has been attested many times in Rough Cilicia.[13]

L. 11: Ἑρμέως. Both the content of the inscription and the reading of Zeus and Athena Kriousa Oreia in the preceding lines point to the existence of another deity here. Based on the reading at the beginning of the line, it doubtless was Hermes. However, the genitive declension of the god is Ἑρμοῦ. Ἑρμέω is possible, but only in the Ionic dialect, which does not seem plausible due to the location of the inscription. Therefore, unless Ἑρμέως is a hitherto unknown genitive

9 *LGPN* 5B, 247 s.v. "Κρισαμόας."

10 Borgia 2003, 75; Şahin 2016, 145 with further references.

11 *MAMA* 3, 33 = Durugönül 1987, 116; *SEG* 37, 1327 = Akın 2016, 182-83, no. A1: [Ἀθηνᾷ] | Κρισούᾳ | Ὀρείᾳ | Ῥωνδας | [τὸ] ἄτρον | ἐπόησα. The view of Pilhofer 2006, 81, that Rhondas is the epithet of Athena has rightly been rejected by Şahin 2016, 144, n. 6.

12 Sayar 2004a, 457 = 2004b, 238, no. 34; Akın 2016, 186, no. A7.

13 For a general evaluation of the documents, see Şahin and Sağlam-Şahin 2008, 248-53; Şahin 2009, 223-27.

declension of the god, it is likely this could have resulted from a stonemason's mistake. The following ΟΔ.| .ΟΡΟΥ is probably one of the epithets of the god which could be related with the roads.[14]

LL. 12-13: χρημ[α]|τισθέντες. For the meanings of χρηματίζω see in general Jones 2002, 108-11. It means in a religious context "to give an oracular response." See also Robert 1963, 381-82, who suggests that this does not necessarily mean the formal consultation of a cultic oracle, but can also be understood as a divine response revealed through dreams.[15] The word χρηματίζω seems to have been attested in Asia Minor in this sense several times.[16] Among these stands out a dedication to Meter Oreia recorded at Tymbriada in Pisidia, in which a slave made this dedication in accordance with the epiphany of the goddess.[17]

LL. 15-16: εὐτύχι κτίστα. This is clearly an acclamation. It could have several functions in different contexts, but this sort of acclamations appears in honorific texts particularly from the third century AD in a formula in which the name of the honoree in the vocative case follows the verb εὐτύχει.[18] In our case the verb is followed by a title instead of a personal name. The closest parallel is to be found in two building epigrams dated to the third century AD from Side, in which a benefactor called Bryonianus Lollianus was honored and hailed as *Ktistios* for renovating the aqueduct damaged in the Gothic attacks. His statue was erected near the nymphaeum.[19] The identity of the *ktistes* in our inscription is unclear, but it is highly probable he was the person who constructed this sacred cave.

Date: Approximately third century AD (based on the letter forms).

No. 3. The Erection of Statues by Mithradates the Priest (fig. 4)

Marble block. The block, which appears to have been reused as a paving stone, has fractures on the right and left sides to fit the area. Findspot: Yeniyurt Kalesi / Mersin. Dimensions: missing.

τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν [Θ-]
2 [ε]ῶν Μιθραδάτης ΕΡ [ca.1-2]
Υ ἱερασάμενος ἐκ [τῶν]
4 [ἰδ]ίω[ν]

Translation: *Mithradates, son of Hermes, who was a priest, (erected) the statues of the gods? from his own funds.*

L.1-2: τῶν [Θ|ε]ῶν: There is not enough space for a latter after ny, so it is highly possible that ε was carved at the beginning of line 2, which means that the stonemason neglected the syllable division.

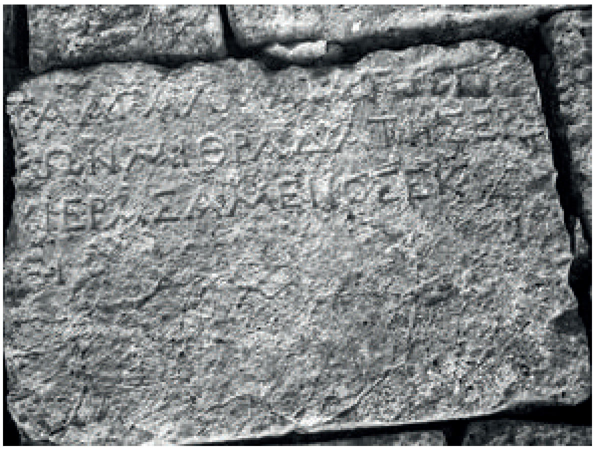

FIG. 4 Erection of statues by Mithradates the priest.

[14] For the cult of Hermes in Cilicia, see Sayar 2009, 323-25.

[15] On this see also Robert 1940, 72; 1946, 148; cf. Büyükkolancı and Engelmann 1991, 143-44, no. 10 = *SEG* 41, 966.

[16] E.g. Tomaschitz 1998, 16-17, no. 7 = Milner 1998, 44, no. 110 = *SEG* 48, 1789 (Ares; Cilicia); *SEG* 48, 1594 (Men, Kibyra).

[17] Labarre et al. 2015, 99, no. 6 = *SEG* 65, 1400: Πρεῖμος Ἀντιόχου Βωξου | δοῦλος κατὰ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ | χρηματισθεὶς Μητρὶ Ὀρείᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δ]ίων | ἀνέθηκεν.

[18] Wilhelm 1902; Roueché 1984, 185. On acclamations particularly in the religious sphere see Chaniotis 2009.

[19] *I.Side* 2, no. 105-6 = Merkelbach and Stauber 2002, no. 18/15/01-18/15/02 = Uzunoğlu 2018, 359-60, no. T. 218-219. A. Wilhelm, 1902, 598, is of the opinion that the reason for his appellation as Κτίστι / Κτίστιε instead of κτίστα stems from *metri causa.*

FIG. 5 Funerary inscription of C. Iulius Rufinus.

L. 2-3: Maybe Ἑρ[μ|ο]ῦ is the father's name.

This inscription was previously reported by M. H. Sayar in the epigraphic and historical geography surveys conducted in Cilicia in 1995.[20] It is thought that the sanctuary where Mithradates fulfilled his priestly duties may be located in Yeniyurt Kalesi.[21] For the erection of the statues of θεοί, see *I.Ephesos* 3, 690, ll. 17-18.

Date: Roman Imperial period.

No. 4. Funerary Inscription of C. Iulius Rufinus (fig. 5)

Marble funerary altar. Findspot: Karakabaklı / Silifke / Mersin. Dimensions: missing.

[Γά]ϊον Ἰούλιον Ῥουφῖνο[ν]
2 [Με]νάνδρα Ὀππίου
[τὸν] ἑαυτῆς δεσπότην
4 [μνή]μης χάριν.

Translation*: Menandra, the daughter of Oppios (honored) her own master C. Iulius Rufinus, for the sake of remembrance.*

L. 2: Oppios has hitherto been attested once in Cilicia (again in Diocaesarea).[22]

L. 3: δεσπότην. Apart from being an imperial title as well as being a divine epithet, this word predominantly denotes an estate owner in epigraphic texts.[23] A similar inscription from Etenna in Pisidia reveals that Trokondas, alias Papasus, made a tomb for the estate owner Aetos, yet again mentioned as a *despotes*. The first editor of the inscription J. Nollé asserts that Trokondas, *alias* Papasous, must have been a free-born estate manager.[24] Accordingly, the woman whose

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20 Sayar 1996, 118-19.

21 For the remains on Yeniyurt Kale, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:462, s.v. "Yeniyurt Kale"; Evgen 2020.

22 *LGPN* 5B, 329 s.v. "Ὄππιος."

23 Nollé 1992, 127, n. 417, with further bibliography; cf. also Mitchell 1993, 1:184.

24 Nollé 1992, 126-28, no. 3.13 = *SEG* 42,1217.

exact name cannot be restored due to the condition of the stone was probably the *oikonomissa* of the estate whose owner was apparently C. Iulius Rufinus.[25] What led Nollé to suggest that Trokondas was a freeborn *oikonomos* is that there is no indication of a freedman status in his name. Yet we do not have any decisive evidence for drawing a similar conclusion concerning the status of the woman in our case.[26]

Date: Roman Imperial period.

No. 5. A Funerary Inscription (fig. 6)

Marble funerary altar decorated with base and crown moldings. Findspot. Sömek village / Silifke / Mersin. Dimensions: missing.

Εἰούλις
2 INBIOY
Κυρία
4 ἡ [γ]υνὴ αὐτοῦ
μ̣νή^v^μης
6 χάριν.

Translation: *Iulius INBIOY (and) his wife Kyria (set this up), for the sake of remembrance.*

L.1: Εἰούλις = Ἰούλιος.

L. 2: INBIOY must be the patronymic of Iulius. It is perhaps Ἰ<α>νβίου, if we suppose that the stonemason forgot to carve alpha. This suggestion is also supported by the fact that the name Iambias is attested seven times in *LPGN* volumes, and all of them is from Cilicia.[27] A [καὶ] is expected after INBIOY. The person for whom this altar was set up by the couple is not given in the text.

Date: Roman Imperial period.

FIG. 6 A funerary inscription.

No. 6. Funerary Inscription of Sabinus (fig. 7)

Marble, column-shaped grave altar. Molded at the bottom. Broken off at the top. On the surviving part is preserved five lines of an ancient Greek inscription. Findspot: Canbazlı village / Silifke / Mersin. Dimensions: missing.

[-----------------]
[ca.3]Ι̣Ι̣Ι̣ΛΕΙ̣Ι̣ΟΙ̣
2 Μ̣ΟΙ κ(αὶ) Δας κ(αὶ) Αβ̣αι̣[ς]
Σαβῖνον Λα τὸν ἑ-
4 αυτῶν θε<ῖ>ον μνή-
μης χάριν.

Translation: ….. *Das and Abais (honored) their own uncle Sabinus, the son of La, for the sake of remembrance.*

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[25] *Oikonomissai* are infrequently attested in Asia Minor; see *I.Prusa ad Olympum* 1, 68; *I.Nikaia* 2,2, 1466; Çokbankir 2010, 336-37, no. 12 = *SEG* 60, 1349; Öztürk and Sönmez 2011, 160-62, no. 5 (Herakleia Pontike) = *SEG* 61, 1071; *MAMA* 8, 399 (Pisidia). For female estate managers see Roth 2004.

[26] For discussions on the legal status of the estate managers, see Beare 1978; Scheidel 1990; Teitler 1993.

[27] *LGPN* 5B, 204 s.v. "Ιαμβίας."

FIG. 7 Funerary inscription of Sabinus.

LL.1-2: Probably the names of the other family members taking part in the erection of this tomb were in the defaced lines.

L.2: Δας: This epichoric name occurs only once once in Cilicia (Dösene [today Demircili] Village, Imbrioga Kome in the territory of Seleucia).[28]

Αβαι[ς]: Similar to Δας, this name is also epichoric and is attested once in Canbazlı village, ca. 9 km east of Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç) where this inscription is also found.[29] In that case, it is recorded that a certain Sabinus honors Abais. But any relation between these people cannot be established due to the lack of any further evidence. For the name of Abais see also Laminger-Pascher 1974, no. 12.

L.3: Λα. For the name of La which is not infrequently attested in Lycia and Cilicia, see *LGPN* 5B, 255 s.v. "Λα."

Date: Roman Imperial period.

No. 7. An Inscribed Funerary Altar (fig. 8)

Marble cylindrical funerary altar. It is kept at the old municipality building in the excavation area. The altar has a double-molded profile at the bottom and a single slime profile at the top. On the front of the altar, there are reliefs of a woman and man with their arms folded on their chests. A large part of the altar has been damaged. In particular the face of the male figure is completely destroyed. The *torus* is decorated with a ribbon of laurel leaves. The inscription of 14 lines is irregularly carved on the moldings and shaft between the male and female reliefs depicted on the altar. H.: 133 cm; Diameter: 63 cm; Lh.: 2,5-4 cm.

…….ΤΛ - - - - Η - -ΑΝΟΥΣ καὶ Αὐρ(ηλία?)
……..ΞΙΝ τὴν [θυγατέρα? καὶ] τὴ͜ν σώ̣[φρονα] καὶ [φίλα]νδρον
4 τὴν [γ]υναῖκα
τοῦ
Αὐρ(ηλίου)
Δω-
8 [ρί]ωνος
τ[ο]ὺς γλυ-
κυτά-
τους
12 συν-
γενεῖς
μνήμη̣ς [χάριν.]

28 *LGPN* 5B, 97 s.v. "Δας"; Şahin and Tuncay 2022, 49.

29 *LGPN* 5B, 1 s.v. "Αβαις"; Şahin and Tuncay 2022, 44.

FIG. 8 Inscribed funerary altar.

Translation: *N.N. and Aurelia N.N. (honored their) daughter ....xis, the reasonable and husband-loving wife of Aurelius Dorion and the sweetest relatives, for the sake of remembrance.*

L.1: Because the top of the *bomos* is partly broken and weathered, it is difficult to determine where the line begins. A reconstruction can be suggested for this line: [Αὐρ(ήλιος) Λέν]τλ[ος Μ]η[νοφ]άνους or perhaps [Ζ]η[νοφ]άνους καὶ Αὐρ(ηλία?).

L.2: This line should start with the name of Aurelia and continue with the name of the person (ending with ΞΙΝ) to whom this altar was erected. But the approximate lacuna is not enough for both names, so we can tentatively say that the inscription may have extended around the whole upper profile. The remaining ΞΙΝ should be the accusative end of the name of the grave owner. If this is the case, we have several options to restore the name such as Ἐπίτευξις, Μαξις, etc.

L.4: τὴν. The repetition of the article seems odd here, so it is probably a stonemason's mistake.

Date: Roman Imperial period.

No. 8. Funerary Inscription of Theodoros (fig. 9)

Lid of a sarcophagus in an arcosolium grave. Findspot. North Necropolis, grave no. KNM 125. H.: 36 cm; W.: 172 cm; D.: 30 cm; Lh.: 4-6 cm

☩ θήκη διαφέρουσα Θεωδώρου
διακόνου μονῖς τοῦ ἁγίου
Σεργίου καὶ Κόνονος.

Translation: *Tomb belonging to Theodoros, the deacon of St. Sergios and Konon monastery.*

L.1: θήκη διαφέρουσα. This phrase is commonly employed in Christian inscriptions.[30]

L.2: διακόνου. The duties of the deacons mainly consisted of caring for the sick and poor, supervising the construction and reparation of churches, assisting the bishop at church services and

[30] Hübner 2005, 89, n. 56.

FIG. 9 Funerary inscription of Theodoros.

baptisms, as well as representing him in the councils.[31] There are many attestations of deacons in the inscriptions of Asia Minor; in Cilicia they seem to be prevalent in Korykos. There is only one female deacon attested in Diocaesarea to date.[32] Yet J. C. Linnemann mentions two more unpublished deacons from the North necropolis,[33] which are most probably identical with the deacons in this inscription and in no. 9 below.

μονῖς = μονῆς (Cf. *I.Nikaia* 1, 498). One or two more monasteries located at Diocaesarea are recorded in two grave inscriptions found in the necropolis area.[34] In both inscriptions the monastery is termed μοναστήριον, not μονή as in our case.

31 Hübner 2005, 50-54. For a further epigraphic study on the deacons, see Felle 2010.

32 Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, no. OlD32 = Linnemann 2013, 132.

33 Linnemann 2013, 141, n. 1852.

34 Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 338, no. OlD77 = Linnemann 2013, 132: Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 338, no. OlD78 = Linnemann 2013, 133: θήκη τοῦ μο|ναστηρίου τῆς | [ἁ]γίας ἐκλησίας; σωματοθήκη διαφέρουσα | τοῦ μοναστηρί(ου) καὶ τῆς [ἁ]γε[ί]ας | Θέκλας. For the suggestion that there were two separate monasteries, one specified and the other dedicated to St. Thecla with the tomb shared by both of them, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1:239; Linnemann 2013, 132-33; Nowakowski 2018, 550, no. ISA/06/03; cf. also Cortese 2022, 113, n. 47. For the monasteries of Asia Minor see Mitchell 1993, 2:115-16 who contends that the majority were founded in the fifth-sixth centuries AD.

L.2: τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου καὶ Κόνονος. There is another religious institution named after St. Sergios in Diocaesarea.[35] However, it seems not possible to say that they were identical, on the grounds that the monastery here is dedicated not only to St. Sergios but also to Konon.

Date: Late antiquity (probably from fifth-sixth centuries AD).

No. 9. Funerary Inscription of Papas (fig. 10)

Lid of a sarcophagus in an arcosolium grave. Findspot: North Necropolis, grave no. KNM 207. H.: not measurable; W.: 166 cm; D.: not measurable; L.: 52 cm; Lh.: 5,5-7 cm.

	☩θήκι δια-	Translation: *The tomb belonging to Papas, the deacon of (the church of) St. Raphael.*
2	φέρουσα	
	Παπᾶ διακ-	
4	όνου τοῦ	
	ἁγί<ο>υ Ῥαφαήλ.	

FIG. 10 Funerary inscription of Papas.

L. 1: θήκι = θήκη.

L. 3-4: διακόνου. For deacons see above no. 8.

L.5: ἁγί<ο>υ Ῥαφαήλ. This is the third church in Diocaesarea (excluding the St. Thekla monastery mentioned above in n. 33) whose names are specified in the inscriptions, i.e., the church of St. John[36] and St. Sergios (see above). Apart from these, there is yet another saint in the city called Loukios whose identity remains unknown.[37] The editors of *MAMA* 3, J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, based on an oral consultation with the hagiographist H. Delehaye, say that he might be a local martyr and his grave was in the Friedhofskirche lying in the north necropolis area. P. Nowakowski, on the other hand, claims that there might be a spelling mistake in this name, which means that he might be identified with the already known saints Λουκᾶς or Λουκιανός.[38]

St. Rafael has already been attested on a round terracotta mold recorded at Anemurium.[39]

Date: Late antiquity (probably from the fifth-sixth centuries AD).

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35 Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 337, no. OlD75 = Linnemann 2013, 136 = Nowakowski 2018, 549-50, no. ISA/06/02: Αδ[---- ἀρχι]|τέκτονος | [το]ῦ ἁγίου Σερ|γ[ίο]υ. For this inscription see also Cortese 2022, 112, who notes that the St. Sergios in this inscription might either be a local saint or one of two other famous saints martyred in AD 303 and 304.

36 Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, no. OlD66 = Linnemann 2013, 132 = Nowakowski 2018, 548-49, no. ISA/06/01.

37 *MAMA* 3, 75 = Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 342, no. OlD 97.

38 Nowakowski 2018, 551-52, no. ISA/06/04. Although Cortese 2022, 112-13, cites Nowakowski's work, she does not touch upon this discussion.

39 Russell 1982; *SEG* 39, 1425: εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥαφαήλ.

No. 10. Funerary Inscription of Doulike (fig. 11)

Lid of a sarcophagus in an arcosolium grave. Findspot: North Necropolis, grave no. KNM 28. H.: 24 cm; W.: 184 cm; D. ; Lh: 4,5-10 cm.

θήκη Δουλικῆ[ς]
2 Ῥωμύλλου τριβ(ούνου).

Translation: *The tomb of Doulike, the daughter of Romulus, the tribune.*

FIG. 11 Funerary inscription of Doulike.

L.1: Δουλική: an unattested female name probably derived from δοῦλος. A freedman Δουλικός is known from Isinda in Pisidia.[40]

τριβ(ούνου). Whether the tribunate of Romulus is civil or military is not clear, nor is it evident if Romulus held the title *tribunus et notarius* who serves as a chief clerk in the imperial secretary. But it is possible.[41]

Date: Fifth-sixth century AD.

No. 11 A Fragmentary Inscribed Base (fig. 12)

Marble statue base consisting of two fragments. Findspot: *Scaenae frons*. H: 50 cm (fr. A); 52 cm (fr. B); W: 53 cm (fr. A); 21 cm (fr. B); D: 45 cm (fr. A); 43 cm (fr. B); Lh: 4,5 cm.

ἡ πατρὶς̣
2 Λ̣[ού]κιον̣ ΠΙ---ΚΟΝ
[----- φιλόπα]τριν.

Translation: *The fatherland (honors) Lucius ---- patriotic.*

Date: Roman Imperial period.

FIG. 12 Fragmentary inscribed base.

[40] *LGPN* 5C, 130 s.v. "Δουλικός".

[41] For another tribune (and presumably *notarius*) called Romulus see *SEG* 37, 475. For the attested *tribuni* in Cilicia, see Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 19, Adr. 10, 139, Kas 5a; Dagron and Feissel 1987, nos. 91 (*tribunus et notarius*) and 92.

No. 12. Addendum to the Building Inscription of the Theater (figs. 13-14)

Three fragments of the architrave frieze belong to the left side of the already known architrave of the theater building. Findspot: At the central entrance to the *scaenae frons*.

Fragment A: H: 61-62 cm; W: 96-97 cm; D: 29 cm; Lh.: 6,5-8 cm

Fragment B: H: 21 cm; W: 22 cm; D: 15 cm; Lh.: 7 cm

Fragment C: H: 33 cm; W: 55 cm; D: 30 cm; Lh.: 6,5-7 cm

Fragment D: H: 21 cm; W: 160 cm; D: 27-29 cm; Lh.: 7 cm

Edition. Hicks 1891, 264, no. 52; *IGRR* 3, 847; Spanu 2011, 7-8; *SEG* 61, 1311; *AE* 2011, 1447.

Reading in *IGRR* 3, 847 = Spanu 2011, 7-8 (The reading for ll. 1-2 is the same as in *IGRR* 3 and Spanu 2011, yet no reading for l. 3 is provided there).

[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντω]νείνῳ Σεβ(αστῷ) Ἀρμενιακῷ,
2 [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λ. Αὐρ. Βήρῳ Σε]β(αστῷ) Ἀρμενιακῷ
-----------------ς κα[θ]ιε[ρώσαν]τος - ----------

Reading in *SEG* 61, 1311; *AE* 2011, 1447.

[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντ]ῳνείνῳ Σεβ(αστῷ) Ἀρμενιακῷ
2 [καὶ Λ. Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐήρῳ Σε]β(αστῷ) Ἀρμενιακῷ
[· · ? · ·]ς καθιε[ρώσαν]τος.

Our reading based on the discovery of the new fragment:

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσ[αρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρη]λίῳ Ἀντωνείνῳ Σεβ(αστῷ) Ἀρμενιακῷ
2 [καὶ Αὐτο]κ̣ράτορι Καίσα[ρι Λ(ουκίῳ) Αὐρηλίῳ] Οὐήρῳ Σ̣ε̣β̣αστῷ Ἀρμενιακῷ
Ἀδριανῶν Διο[καισαρέων] ἡ π[ό]λ[ις] καθιέ[ρωσεν] τὸ θ̣[έατρον?].

Translation: The city of Hadriane Diocaesarea dedicated (the theater?) to the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus and the emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus.

L. 3: Ἀδριανῶν Διο[καισαρέων]. Civic coinage explicitly shows that Hadriane was added to Diocaesarea's official name,[42] which is here attested in the epigraphic evidence for the first time. Being a significant element for the self-representation of the cities, the title Hadriane was employed in the inscriptions of many cities in Asia Minor,[43] among whom are the Cilician cities of Germanicopolis, Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuhestia, and Diocaesarea.[44]

As is well known, Uzuncaburç is the home of the temple of Zeus Olbios and belonged to the temple state of Olba in the Hellenistic period. It gained its own polis status late in the Roman Imperial period. When exactly it was reorganized as an independent city has been the subject of scientific discussion. In an inscription dated to the regnal years of Tiberius,[45] the emperor is referred to as founder (*ktistes*), which prompted E. Kirsten to comment that this transformation took place in his reign.[46] His opinion has not been adopted for justifiable reasons by subsequent scholars who believe it was associated with the rearrangement made in the province of Cilicia under Vespasian.[47] Even though the name of Diocaesarea is seen on coins from the reign of

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42 *BMC Lycaonia*, 71-75, nos. 1-19; Staffieri 1978, nos. 48, 53, 57, 59, 61; 1985, nos. 7, 7a, 7b, 8, 10, 12-27b.

43 Boatwright 2000, 104-5.

44 For the list of cities bearing the title of "Hadriane" with detailed references, see Le Glay 1976, 358-59.

45 Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 332, no. OlD45.

46 Kirsten 1973, 354-59.

47 Gotter 2001, 304; 319-32. Compare also Pilhofer 2006, 129, who also finds the proposal of Kirsten "wenig plausible."

Domitian onwards,[48] it has been attested only once in the building inscription on the city gate dating from Arcadius and Honorius (AD 396-408).[49] Owing to this inscription, the attestation of the city's name in the epigraphic record can now be taken back as early as the joint emperorship of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

κα[θ]ιέ[ρωσεν]: The restoration of the last part of l.3 has been proposed as καθιε[ρώσαν]τος in previous publications, for which O. Salomies noted in *AE* 2011 that "La lecture de la ligne 3 nous semble très incertaine." Following the discovery of the new fragments, the reading particularly of ἡ π[ό]λ[ις] indicates that a finite verb might well have been stood here instead of a participle. If this assumption is true, we can then propose that the final letter might in fact be a *theta*, not a *sigma*, given that part of the stone is broken, and the reading of *sigma* is quite dubious. Considering that this is the building inscription of the theater, one can tentatively suggest that τὸ θ[έατρον] was carved on this part of the stone.

Date: AD 164 (due to both emperors' bearing the title of Armeniacus).

FIG. 13 Fragments of building inscription of the theater.

FIG. 14 Building inscription of the theater.

48 Staffieri 1985, no. 2; Gotter 2001, 290.

49 For the inscription see *MAMA* 3, 73; Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 339, no. OlD84.

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In Search of Ancient Antalya (Attaleia): A First Approach

In memory of Stephen Mitchell

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Abstract

Antalya is one of the youngest major port cities of the Mediterranean, but its origins are among the most poorly understood. A pair of misconceptions hinders study and perhaps even documentation of Hellenistic and early Roman Attaleia. First, contrary to scholarly pessimism, there is much to learn about the early city's history and archaeology, both in the Old Town (Kaleiçi) and in the hinterland. We consider here afresh most of the old evidence: Strabo on the foundation of the city by Attalos II Philadelphos and the migration of Trojan Cilicians into western Pamphylia, early bronze coinage featuring Poseidon (it is argued) holding a dolphin, and pre-Roman remains at Ören Tepe and the upper site of Döşeme Boğazı. We gather together the fragments of the earliest public architecture found in Kaleiçi – aspects of the city's presentation to the sea, namely, von Lanckoroński's location *i* and the façade of the Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane. These are highlighted and preliminarily described in an effort to join old evidence to new, including the results of the many salvage excavations undertaken in Kaleiçi since the turn of the millennium. Second, the scholarly cliché that extols the virtues of the city's location is not only misleading, but it also mischaracterizes the nature of Attalid and Roman imperial intervention here. Large-scale urbanism in this ecology

Öz

Antalya, Akdeniz'in en genç büyük liman kentlerinden biri olmasına rağmen kökenleri en az anlaşılanlardan biridir. Bir çift yanlış anlama, Hellenistik ve erken Roma Attaleia'sının incelenmesini ve hatta belgelenmesini engellemektedir. Bunların birincisi, bilimsel kötümserliğin aksine, hem Eski Kent'te (Kaleiçi) hem de iç kesimlerde erken dönem kentinin tarihi ve arkeolojisi hakkında öğrenilecek çok şey vardır. Burada eski kanıtların çoğunu yeniden ele almaktayız: Strabon 14.4.1, şehrin II. Attalos Philadelphos tarafından kurulması ve Troyalı Kilikyalıların Batı Pamfilya'ya göçü; iddiaya göre Poseidon'un bir yunus tutarken tasvir edildiği erken bronz sikke ve Ören Tepe ve Döşeme Boğazı'nın üst yerleşmedeki Roma Dönemi öncesi kalıntıları. Kaleiçi'nde bulunan en eski kamu mimarisine ait parçaları, şehrin denize sunumuna ait parçaları, yani von Lanckoroński'nin konum *i*'sini ve Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane'nin cephesini bir araya getiriyoruz. Bunlar, milenyumun başlangıcından bu yana Kaleiçi'nde gerçekleştirilen birçok kurtarma kazısının sonuçları da dahil olmak üzere, eski kanıtları yenileriyle birleştirmek amacıyla vurgulanmış ve öncül olarak açıklanmıştır. İkincisi, şehrin konumunun erdemlerini öven akademik klişe sadece yanıltıcı olmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda Attalid ve Roma emperyalizm müdahalesinin doğasını da yanlış

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required an injection of resources and a reconfiguration of settlement and mobility, both of which, it is argued, have left their mark.

Keywords: Kaleiçi, Antalya, Attaleia, hellenistic urbanization, Mediterranean port cities, Roman Pamphylia

tanımlamaktadır. Bu ekolojide büyük ölçekli şehircilik, kaynakların dahil edilmesini ve hem yerleşimin hem de hareketliliğin yeniden yapılandırılmasını gerektirmekteydi; her ikisinin de iz bıraktığı, kolaylıkla görülebilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kaleiçi, Antalya, Attaleia, Hellenistik Dönem şehirleşmesi, Akdeniz liman kentleri, Roma Dönemi Pamphylia'sı

Introduction

In 48 BC one of the most powerful men in the world was on the run. Defeated by Caesar's forces at the Battle of Pharsalus, Pompey fled East. The Roman general, who had so recently remade the map and even the calendars of Anatolia and Syria, sought the support of his many friends and allies in the eastern Mediterranean. Having crossed the Aegean, Pompey docked at faithful Mytilene on the island of Lesbos. Plutarch writes, "After taking on board his wife and his friends [at Mytilene], Pompey went on his way, putting in at harbors only when he was compelled to get food or water there. The first city that he entered was Attaleia in Pamphylia; there some triremes from Cilicia met him, soldiers were assembled for him, and he was surrounded by senators, sixty of them."[1] It was in Attaleia (Antalya), we see, that the partisans of Pompey held a high-level summit on how to proceed with global war.[2] It was in Attaleia, evidently, that Pompey felt safe. Why?

In just a century, the young city had become a magnet and a base of operations for powerful people. How? Part of the answer is clearly to be found in the long reach of empire, the original Attalid investment, and then the activities of the early Romano-Italian migrants. Yet were local actors any less important to the story? And to what extent did Attalos II set the city on the path of Mediterranean megacity? Two recent books on Pergamon and Asia Minor / Anatolia scarcely treat the subject.[3] However, this is not just a problem of evidence. In 2004, ahead of the publication of the relevant volume of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Hansgerd Hellenkemper produced a synthesis of a few pages on the subject.[4] At that time, little had changed in our knowledge beyond what Karol von Lanckoroński had described in his *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (1890-1892), save for the confirmation that the Roman – and likely Hellenistic – agora lay under the Kesik Minare / Korkut Cami / Cumanın Cami, with the Roman city's cardo passing hard by along the route of Hesapçı Sokağı in a northeast-southwest direction from Hadrian's Gate to Hıdırlık Kulesi. Yet in the past two decades, beginning already with Gamze Kaymak's 2009 publication of the Cumanın Cami (hereafter "Kesik"), and continuing to the present moment, many new clues have appeared.[5] This article collects those clues and argues that the Attalids did indeed play a significant role in charting the city's path. We may now at least begin to write a sorely missing chapter in the urban history of Turkey's southern coast.[6]

1 Plut., *Pomp.* 76.1; Perrin 1917, 313.

2 Vell. Pat. 53.1.

3 Thonemann 2013, 73, 187; Kaye 2022, 123, 190, 233.

4 Hellenkemper 2004; *TIB* 8.1:317-25; von Lanckoroński 1890-1892, 1:7-32.

5 Kaymak 2009.

6 *RE* Suppl. 12 s.v. "Attaleia," contains just a few conjectures about Hellenistic cults or institutions. See also, Grainger 2009, 131, n. 47, apologizing, "This is not a definitive description [of Attaleia], but in the absence of a serious investigation which can get below the modern city and its medieval remains, this will have to do." For Bean 1979, 21, "[N]othing remains of the original city…"

In fact, the logic of Antalya's continual reincarnation as a Mediterranean megacity after intervening centuries of slumber makes this story one of urgent concern.

Strabo

Difficulties with the text of Strabo 14.4.1 on Attaleia can threaten to derail or at least misdirect any investigation of the city's origins. The geographer writes as follows:

> εἶτα πόλις Ἀττάλεια, ἐπώνυμος τοῦ κτίσαντος Φιλαδέλφου καὶ οἰκίσαντος εἰς Κώρυκον, πολίχνιον ὅμορον, ἄλλην κατοικίαν καὶ μείζω περίβολον περιθέντος.

It is possible that the text of Strabo is corrupt, in light of the manuscript tradition.[7] Consider, for example, the adjective ὅμορον, "bordering:" It appears in Strabo 11 times, and in all but one (an emendation of Meineke, in fact), the word collocates with a dative (i.e., "bordering *on* such-and-such a place"). Here, we lack the dative. A further textual problem is how to deal with the apposition. Meineke's punctuation leads most translators to put πολίχνιον ὅμορον in apposition with Κώρυκον – "Korykos, a neighboring settlement." This makes ἄλλην κατοικίαν the object of the verb, "another colony which Philadelphos settled in Koyrkos, placing a greater wall around (them both)." Why "another?" The text does seem corrupt, and we are clearly missing something, though perhaps the first *katoikia* is the community of / at Korykos, since the word may account for both the injection of population and the local one. Translators have often elided the problem. Indeed, ἄλλην is not truly accounted for in the translation that accompanied Duane Roller's recent commentary:

> Then there is the city of Attaleia, named after its founder [Attalos II] Philadelphos, who also settled Korykos, a small neighboring town, surrounding the settlement with a larger circuit wall.[8]

It is telling that ancient sources were *also* confused about the location of Pamphylian Korykos.[9] In the case of nearby Lycian Korykos, the debate rages on. This all seems to be the result of the ambiguity of the term κώρυκος ("leather bag"). As a toponym, it refers to a mountainous or craggy coast with steep reefs and many caves, but as Κώρυκος, it is the name of a settlement / political community in such a location. As Hüseyin Sami Öztürk and Ögül Emre Öncü have shown for the Çıralı coast of Lycia, it is the toponym that shines through strongest.[10] What dominates the sources is an outsider's view of a dangerous maritime landscape, a pirate's nest – or a place of "informers," that is, those who would call in pirates. The ethnonym from the place is exiguously rare. Only Κώρυκος in Cilicia manages to emerge as a durable locus of communal identity by the Roman and late Roman period, probably because of rare features such as its natural harbor that, tucked between perilous blocks, was worth boasting about on coins, and its famous sacred cave, both of which attracted state power from the Seleukids onward.[11] It may then be futile to hope for evidence of a settlement / political

7 Radt 2005, 96. As Radt notes in the apparatus, "ὅμορον post κατοικίαν praebent codd.; transposuit Kramer duce Groskurd." Perhaps this is not surprising, since mistakes are typically reproduced in all medieval manuscripts of Strabo, but the modern emendation must be noted. Further, there is another textual problem in this sentence, μείζω; again Radt: "BF: μείζω μικρὸν C, μικρὸν D."

8 Roller 2014, 629; cf. Radt 2005, 97: "eine weitere Siedlung."

9 Arslan and Önen 2011, 198.

10 Öztürk and Öncü 2020, 265.

11 Rubinstein 2004, 1080; Aşkın 2010; Öztürk and Öncü 2020, 264, n. 67.

community named Κώρυκος to emerge on the Bay of Antalya. On the other hand, Attaleia was clearly founded on a craggy κώρυκος. Thus, the statement of the *Suda* that the city was positioned on a promontory (*akrôtêrion*) is no longer embarrassing.[12] The Mermerli district and the adjoining southern bay, which contain the earliest remains in Antalya, may indeed fit the bill. On the other hand, we should imagine that at least one nearby settlement / political community – Strabo's bordering *polichnion*? – was in fact folded into the polis of Attaleia through a process of synoikism.[13] In recent years, firm archaeological evidence of the existence of the earlier community has emerged in the form of burials of the third and earlier second centuries in the Doğu Garajı necropolis.[14] Its name is likely to remain a source of scholarly controversy.[15] But we can now say that Attaleia was not a *de novo* foundation. It was another royal refoundation, which evidently did not involve the kind of massive, forced migration that Seleukos I had implemented to populate Seleuceia-on-the-Calycadnus.[16]

Landscape and Seascape

Students of Antalya's long-term and recent history know well the ecological limits of large-scale urbanism here, but ancient historians tend to overestimate the salubriousness of the place. Esther Hansen once wrote, hyperbolically, "Attaleia could rival even the capital of the kingdom in beauty and favorableness of location," while more recent scholarship still tends to praise this landscape and the port.[17] In the case of the harbor, such praise rings false given what we already know from archival research and simple observation (fig. 1) – in the absence of a much-needed systematic archaeological investigation. In *Turkey's Southern Shore*, George Bean claims, "Here, for the last two thousand years has been the principal south-coast port."[18] Yet even in the Roman period, the superior natural harbor of Magydos, artificially improved, was available and in use just 12 km to the southeast at Karpuzkaldıran in Lara. This pre-Hellenistic settlement, seemingly indigenous according to its Anatolian name, was not subsumed by Attaleia, but flourished symbiotically alongside it. Roman elites such as Julia Sancta, who restored a tower of Hadrian's Gate, were active in both places, and die links between issues of Magydos and the earliest Hellenistic coinage of Attaleia show us that a cooperative arrangement had always existed.[19] This must have been because of the inadequacy of Attaleia's own harbor, both in terms of its size and its depth. Preliminary underwater explorations show a

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12 Cohen 1995, 338: "This is embarrassing because while Cilician Korykos – according to Strabo (14.5.5) – was built on a promontory, Attaleia in Pamphylia was not."

13 The term *katoikia* in Strabo, *if* it refers to the settlement added by Philadelphos, does not give us meaningful information about its institutions or political status within the kingdom. See further Kaye 2022, 193-203.

14 Yener 2016; Akman and Tosun 2011; Akman and Tosun 2012; Toprak 2016.

15 Adak 2006, 7-12, locates Olbia 50 km from Attaleia on the Çalışdağı Tepesi above Kemer, the key site on the border between Lycia and Pamphylia in earlier periods. Yet the appearance of *SEG* 56, no. 1710, a fourth-century proxeny decree of Olbia, at Mermerli Banyo Sk. no. 5 in Kaleiçi is suspicious, and the remains at Arapsuyu, just about 4 km west of Attaleia have resurfaced as a candidate. On the location of Olbia, see now Onur 2023, 30-37, with n. 36 on Arapsuyu.

16 Strabo 14.5.4. For Ma 2013, 73, the Attalids, unusually, founded Attaleia as a "new city;" Willet 2020, 54, also singles Attaleia out as the rare *de novo* foundation in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor.

17 Hansen 1971, 178; Levick and Jameson 1964: "The site is a pleasant one, here is a good harbor…;" Cohen 1995, 337: "Attaleia, which possessed the best harbor on the coast…"; Meadows 2013, 187: "…an attractive harbor site…"

18 Bean 1979, 21. The first edition of the book was published in 1968, five years before the opening of the modern cargo port in Konyaaltı in 1973. During his travels then, Bean would have seen low-intensity commercial traffic in the harbor of Kaleiçi (today Yat Limanı) that disappeared half a century ago.

19 Adak and Atvur 1999, esp. 59-64 and 56, for plan of significant Roman settlement at the site, since destroyed.

significant expansion of the harbor of Magydos through the construction of breakwaters in ashlar, presumably those of the very harbor that Paul used to enter Pamphylia in the first century CE.[20] It is possible that in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period, Attaleia relied on the capacity of the harbor of Magydos, its own harbor being quite shallow.[21] Today, it is approximately 6-7 m in depth. In antiquity, it could very well have received artificial breakwaters such as those seen by Evliya Çelebi in 1671-1672.[22] To accommodate Attalid and Roman warships and to support the trade on which the city subsisted, major intervention was necessary, on the scale of what Ptolemaic architects pursued at Amathus on Cyprus – or similar to the famous Attalid harbor works at Ephesos.[23] Historically, as Evren Dayar has shown, without improvement and expansion of its port, Antalya has tended to retreat from Mediterranean exchange networks, even before its ultimate obsolescence in the age of railroads and modern ports.[24]

As for the city's rural territory, Attaleia is situated on the Antalya Tufa Plateau (often called, less accurately, a travertine plateau), which is watered by groundwater, rivers, and karstic springs.[25] Waterfalls, fluvial channels and local pools characterize its hydrology. Tectonics and discharge of fresh groundwater into the sea have produced many caves and rocks shelters throughout the microregion. At the edge of the Taurus in the Döşemealtı Plain, the Karain Cave was occupied from Palaeothic times, as were many caves in the highlands of the Katran Mountain. Agriculturally, however, the choicest alluvial land sits on the periphery of the modest territory of approximately 150 km^2 usually assigned to Attaleia. When we fold the red tufa of the Döşemealtı Plain into the "Pamphylian Plain," as classicists tend to do, we obscure the ecological challenge of urbanism in the western corner of this region.[26] On its east, the tufa plateau is bordered by the thick alluvium of the Aksu (Kestros), which nurtured Perge. Continuing east, the alluvium of the Köprüçay (Eurymedon) appears, the chora of Aspendos. Both of these wealthy Pamphylian cities were located upriver from the Mediterranean within the broad plain. Only on the west did Attaleia have direct access to alluvium, a thinner strip between the tufa and the point where the mountains come crashing down to the sea near the modern port of Antalya at the southern end of the Konyaaltı district. This was land that the Romans confiscated in 76 BC and perhaps then forfeited to Termessos.[27] The economic power of the Romano-Italians of Attaleia must always have been based elsewhere – in the highlands of southern Anatolia – and, of course, in trade.

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20 Wilson 2016, 236-38.

21 Shallowness of the harbor: *RE* Suppl. 12 s.v. "Attaleia," 110.

22 Current depth: https://antalya.com.tr/tr/kesfet/aktiviteler/mutlaka-gorun/kaleici-yat-limani The coastline here is generally understood to have been .50 m higher in antiquity (Beşaltı 2018, 87). For Çelebi on the artificial harbor, see Crane 1993, 160. On medieval sources for harbor works, see *TIB* 8.1:318.

23 Attalid Ephesos: Strabo 14.1.24. Amathus is a fascinating case study in both harborside quarrying and ambitious, pre-cement engineering, which involved rapid quarrying and precise placement of blocks in the water by means of cranes. See, Empereur et al. 2017, esp. 91-110. Future research on the harbor of Attaleia will require study of quarry cuttings on Mermerli Plajı, as well an investigation of the "cranes (*machanai*)" mentioned in a Hellenistic inscription found at Kesik (Knibbe *apud* Kaymak 2009, 109). Knibbe, Gökalp 2008, 178, and I have all read τᾶς μαχανᾶς from the stone, a reading accepted by Onur 2023, 30, n. 41.

24 Dayar 2022, esp. 278, on how shallow waters prevented large ships from entering the port in the early modern period; Dayar 2023, esp. 365, attributing the demotion of Antalya to second-order status in the 19th century to the fact that the longstanding goal of modernizing the port was not achieved.

25 Koşun et al. 2019.

26 For example, Bean 1979, 21, writes, misleadingly, "[T]he motorist…emerges into the plain of Pamphylia near the old Seljuk caravanserai known as Kırkgöz Hanı."

27 Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1.5; *TIB* 8.1:318; Onur 2023, 36-37. Current excavations of a Roman village in the Domuzağılı Mevkii, Konyaaltı, may shed light on the history of the *ager Attalensium*.

Much of the ancient and medieval city wall was torn down in 1914 by request of the population for reasons of public health. The question of the negative effects of a malarial ecology on agricultural production and population is vexed. Dayar has suggested that it was a product of the 16th century Little Ice Age and modern deforestation, while others have seen the malarial landscape of Antalya as less severe, a modernizing construction of the early Turkish Republic.[28]

Whether malarial by ancient standards or not, large-scale urbanism here is not possible without what geographers call a “discontinuous hinterland.” In fact, at least two leading Romano-Italian families of Attaleia, the Calpurnii and Creperii, were active in the province of Galatia.[29] Urbanism here also depended on the city’s inclusion in a supra-regional maritime trade network. Even under the Attalids, it was probably a commercial harbor, not just a royal naval station. The appearance of anchor and Helios countermarks on the early bronze coinage points in this direction, since it means that Attaleia was privileged to be included in Pamphylia’s trade with the Seleukid Levant.[30]

Hinterland

At its foundation, Attaleia was an exclave (fig. 2). The city did not border other Pergamene territories. This fact once loomed large over study of the city’s hinterland. In an earlier age, European and American scholars were quick to identify Attalid forts at strategic points, especially passes, along the approaches to Pamphylia.[31] In our post-colonial age, the local context of most fortifications is emphasized, and many have been reassigned to Pisidian cities or moved out of the Hellenistic period altogether.[32] As we shall see, on archaeological grounds, the redating of two key sites is especially problematic. Indeed, if there was a flurry of fort building in the passes to the northwest during the later Hellenistic period, a sign that any number of actors desired control of movement between the Maeander Corridor and the Pamphylian Plain, it was because the foundation of Attaleia had fundamentally changed patterns of mobility.

In 1999 the preliminary report of the survey of Döşeme Boğazı, led by Stephen Mitchell, described Hellenistic occupation, specifically, evidence of surveillance of the narrowest point of the defile by means of the fortress atop Aşar Tepe. However, the final report of 2021 revised that view.[33] It should be noted that the focus of that study is the spectacularly well-preserved late Roman settlements at Upper and Lower Döşeme, along with the transhumant economy that helps us make sense of them in the authors’ theory of the site. Neither the early Roman period, which saw the construction by Augustus of the Via Sebaste and Vespasian’s renovations – evidenced by Vespasian’s monument from the northern limit of the site, at the bridge to the Ortaova plain – nor even a hypothetical pre-Roman phase are much discussed in a book that is also devoted to documenting a regional chain of late Roman and Ottoman cisterns.[34] Yet the upper site exhibits several indications of earlier, that is, Hellenistic occupation.

28 Dayar 2018; cf. Evered and Evered 2011.

29 Levick and Jameson 1964, 103; *RE* Suppl. 12 s.v. “Attaleia,” 118. As Pichler 2024, 563, writes, “Attaleia may never have had a significant territory…”

30 Baydur 1975, nos. 37, 43 (anchor); nos. 47, 52 (Helios); Bresson 2018.

31 E.g., Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 273. For synthesis, see McNicoll and Milner 1997, 118-56.

32 Talloen 2013, 31, n. 129; Laufer 2021, 55-57.

33 Mitchell et al. 2021, 49.

34 Adak and Wilson 2012.

The impressive Late Roman House 6 bears a large block placed upside down on its south-western corner that derives from a possible late Hellenistic context (fig. 3).[35] It is over 2 m long, close to .75 m high, and around .25 m thick. A boss on the west end of the block remains. In shallow relief, arms are presented: what appears to be a large, rimless shield in front of a pommeled sword and a smaller, rimless shield next to a spear. It has been suggested that it is a lintel from a funerary heroon with a triangular pediment. If so, it may have belonged to the same necropolis as a sarcophagus on the west side of the road that bears a hoplite shield with offset rim.[36] We could begin to see here a rather impressive necropolis, in which leading Pisidian civic leaders were buried. Was this a portion of the elite of nearby Ariassos, charged with guarding or governing the pass? Perhaps, we should also consider the possibility that the weaponry relief belongs to an (unfinished) public monument – of the sort that Veli Köse has argued was a signal feature of civic architecture in late Hellenistic Pisidia.[37] Weaponry friezes adorned gates at Hellenistic Side, Perge, and Sagalassos.[38] We find many shields on the tombs of the early Roman necropolis of Ariassos, but the practice goes back to the Hellenistic period.[39]

Finally, we now learn about a feature named the "northern boundary wall," one of two walls at the northern pinch point of the defile, the other being the thicker "barrier wall," approximately 18-20 m to the south. The "barrier wall" is a Late Roman construction, built of spoliated ashlars from the early Roman heroa. What then of the "northern boundary wall" (figs. 4-6)? Mitchell rightly cautions against using masonry style as a foolproof dating criterion. Yet the meager description of the wall as "polygonal" and "virtually continuous" do not suffice. The wall is interpreted as "not so much for defence as to prevent animals from straying, or simply to establish a clear division between the built-up village, and the open hill side which was still dotted with earlier sarcophagi and tombs."[40]

Several problems arise. It is difficult to understand why the Late Roman inhabitants of the village should need both a "barrier wall" and this second curtain about 18-20 m away to mark the limits of their settlement. If animals were penned in here, what was to stop them from skirting off to the west? In fact, the "northern boundary wall" is *not* "virtually continuous," and therefore, hardly a boundary. It seems to stop at the Via Sebaste. On the west side of the road, it has either been robbed out to build the large terrace that supports an early Roman heroon – or it reflects a different route for an earlier road at this narrowest part of the pass. Further, it was constructed with care. It has two faces, separated by an approximately 0.75 m-wide rubble core – a rather sturdy wall for an animal pen! Many blocks are at least 1 m wide and close to 1 m high. Importantly, the exterior face presents a more finely finished surface to outsiders; the interior surface is rough by comparison. The "polygonal masonry" of the exterior might be considered trapezoidal with occasional headers. It appears to have been hammer-finished, even tool-faced. We can look to, for example, sites in Caria (Tekekale) or Lycia (Ision) for comparable masonry in Hellenistic fortifications.[41]

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35 Mitchell 1999, 173.

36 Mitchell et al. 2021, 48.

37 Köse 2017, 65-66, lists Pisidian public buildings with friezes featuring weapons, including a temple at Ariassos, an assemblage of buildings dated to the second half of the second century the first century BC; see further, Giese 2021.

38 Side: Mansel 1978, 60-65; Sagalassos: Jacobs 2007, 459; Perge: reused shield monument in the Late Roman gate.

39 Ariassos: Cormack 1996; Hellenistic date: Köse 2017, 102. Köse points out (pers. comm.) that the frieze is unfinished. My conclusion follows Mitchell et al. 2021, 52.

40 Mitchell et al. 2021, 47.

41 Gençer and Hamamcıoğlu-Turan 2022, especially fig. 8; Iseion: McNicoll and Milner 1997, 171-73.

The date and function of the "northern boundary wall" are linked to those of the fortifications above. First, a simple lookout tower is perched about 5 m in elevation above the uppermost insula of late Roman houses uphill from the two walls (figs. 7-8). It commands a view of the line of the Via Sebaste (and presumably, its Hellenistic predecessor) northward out of the pass. It is a thick platform around 1.5 m high and 10 m wide, built from unworked stones, and juts out precipitously from the slope. While its masonry is primitive, the evenness of its southern face shows that this lookout was constructed with care. It appeared already on the site plan in 1999 but has never been discussed. What has been discussed as the key indicator of Hellenistic activity at Döşeme Boğazı is the fortress much higher up atop Aşar Tepe. Its masonry has been likened to that of the "northern boundary wall." Topographically, the fortress seems entirely disconnected from the late Roman village below. Its large cistern implies a permanent garrison force. Yet despite the similarity of the Aşar Tepe site to Pisidian forts linked to the Attalids, Mitchell preferred to leave it undated because of its similarity to the nearby fort at Ören Tepe which, in the argument, has now traded a Hellenistic date for a Late Roman one.[42]

Archaeologically, however, a conjectural pre-Roman first phase for the fort at Ören Tepe, opposite the unwalled Panemoteichos II, should not be easily dismissed either. First, there was clearly an earlier monumental building on that site, which was spoliated to build the church. The disturbed context is acknowledged in the report of the Pisidia Survey and in Thurstan Robinson's thesis.[43] The earlier building is also indicated in Sabri Aydal's plan (fig. 9), but this point fell out of the analysis in Stephen Mitchell's most recent discussion. In fact, Mitchell suggested that the church and the fortifications were built together, in Justinianic fashion, as a single-period site of perhaps the sixth century CE.[44] Yet at the northeast corner of the church, the impressive foundations of this earlier building remain to be explicated. Still visible are the foundation course, as well as a neatly rectangular corner stone and part of the returning, Northeast-Southwest Wall, preserved several courses high (figs. 10-11). Presumably, the earlier monumental building was not a church. There is no trace of an apse to match, for example, and no obvious reason why sixth-century builders would need to rebuild their church with a different orientation. It is this building that is the more likely to date to the time of the initial construction of the fortress, without which it makes little sense all alone on this high point. From the apse of the church, one has a commanding view of the narrowest part of the pass to the southeast, a sightline that helps explicate the earlier building.

Second, the original report described the building technique of the fortifications as roughly-shaped blocks (up to 70 cm. long) that are "uniform throughout, implying that the wall was built at one period, and the absence of mortar points clearly to a pre-Roman date."[45] Robinson

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[42] On Pisidian forts linked by some scholars to the Attalids, see Waelkens 2004, 446-47 (Insuyu and Yarıköy, in the territory of Sagalassos); Laufer 2021, 55-57, for Ekşili, which overlooks the eastern entrance to the Döşeme Boğazı, and Kızıllı between the territories of Pednelissos, Kremna, and Adada.

[43] Aydal et al. 1997, 165; cf. Robinson 2002, 134: "As far as dating is concerned, the Ören Tepe church was clearly constructed on top of another building, so is almost certainly later than the original fortifications."

[44] Mitchell et al. 2021, 17, n. 71. There, the Late Roman dating is attributed to Robinson. However, Robinson 2002, 129, assigns *a date in the late third century AD* to the fortifications of Ören Tepe, as well as those of Ovacık in the Plain of Elmalı as well as those on the southwest hill at Oinoanda at the time of the revolt of Lydius. Robinson's view is that Ovacık is "a late antique construction comparable in every way with the late antique fort" of Ören Tepe. He attributes them both to an initiative of the Roman state to combat banditry in the wake of the revolt (90, n. 485). First, this requires a downdating of the inscriptions from Ovacık on the suppression of banditry. Second, this requires us to disregard the view of R. M. Harrison 1980, 112, following von Luschan, that the Ovacık structure was unimposing enough to have been identified (even mistakenly) as a monastery. Third, the Ovacık site lacks the towers found at Ören Tepe. For Ovacık, see the description of Harrison 2001, 56-60, with fig. 98.

[45] Aydal et al. 1997, 165.

has since pointed out that friable plaster or cement appears on patches of the fort's walls and emphasized that the absence of mortar is not a dating criterion in this region.[46] Most if not all of the pottery from surface collection, reported as Hellenistic, may in fact be late Roman.[47]

We are left with the perilous criterion of building technique.[48] What we can say, however, is that the fortifications are not "uniform throughout" or, as Eric Laufer puts it, all made with "große Schichttechnik."[49] On the western side, the side illustrated in the report, and elsewhere along the circuit, "roughly shaped blocks," is a fair description (fig. 12). However, the wall of one of the "garrison chambers" leading to the south tower is altogether different (figs. 13-14). It exhibits pseudo-isodomic masonry preserved up to five courses. Evidently, skilled masons built this section with care. It is a hint of pre-Roman presence that has yet not been considered. It is worth nothing that the adjacent south tower is the largest of the fort's three, non-uniform towers. Like the building under the church, this tower looks southeast to the pass. Indeed, much late Roman / early Byzantine building, including the construction of a church, has greatly obscured earlier periods of occupation. An apt comparison is the nearby site of Trebenna that, with its Anatolian name, can be presumed to have had pre-Roman occupation. Yet on the acropolis of Trebenna, where excavators have searched in vain, early Byzantine houses and a church have completely obliterated the earlier settlement.[50]

Supporting evidence for a late Hellenistic trend of stopping up the passes into Pamphylia from the northwest can be found nearby in the Yenice Boğazı, site of Kapıkaya Gediği (fig. 15). Termessos, just 6 km away, was obviously the key actor in the construction of the Kapıkaya wall in the second century. In fact, most scholars have now turned away from an earlier historiography of grand strategy that assumed an Attalid role.[51] An Attalid partnership, however, is not out of the question. An architectural signature for "Pergamene" fortifications was probably always lacking. However, we do find royal sponsorship, a collaborative fort building arrangement, at Kardakon Kome, a village likely on the very road that connected Attaleia to its sister exclave, Telmessos, via the Yenice Boğazı.[52] In the end, what matters is just the existence of this impressive barrier and its agreed-upon function as a *Sperrmauer*. From a poliorcetic standpoint, the Kapıkaya wall has puzzlingly little value.[53] It is a break on movement, perhaps a customs barrier that protected revenues, maybe even those that appear to be threatened in the treaty between Termessos and Adada.[54] These local communities – Termessos, Ariassos, and Panemoteichos – may have been the main movers in this regard, but the fortification of the adjacent passes can certainly be related to the Attalid intervention in Pamphylia, which had intensified traffic with the Maeander Corridor and ultimately with the Aegean.

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46 Robinson 2002, 129.

47 Aydal et al. 1997, pl. 20 (b).

48 We cannot use "typology" as the dating criterion for the Ören Tepe fort if the earlier phase of the site is ignored.

49 Laufer 2021, 55.

50 Çevik et al. 2005.

51 Adak 2010, 174; Laufer 2021, 55-57; cf. Kaye 2022, 121. Royal participation in the building of the wall would not imply that the Yenice Boğazı belonged to the territory of Attaleia.

52 Kardakon Kome: *SEG* 19, no. 867, ll. 17-20; cf. the mason sent by Eumenes II to Apollonioucharax, *SEG* 57, no. 1150, Face A, line 25. On the associations of builders ("bauhütten") in the kingdom, see Laufer 2021, 267-69.

53 Winter 1966, 1971; McNicoll and Milner 1997, 119-20; Waelkens 2004, 445; Grainger 2009, 130.

54 *TAM* 3(1), no. 2, ll. 13-15; Talloen 2013, 31, n. 129, understands the wall as a customs barrier.

Aiolianism in Western Pamphylia

The narrow strip of habitable coast between Phaselis and Attaleia has generally been seen as possessing few if any identifiable pre-Hellenistic settlements (fig. 16).[55] In several studies, Adak has challenged that view and sought to locate, in a single territorial bloc between Kemer and Antalya, an archaic Tenedos, Lyrnessos, Thebe, and possibly also a Kyme-in-Pamphylia.[56] This raft of Aiolian toponyms, all of which only appear in later sources, would reflect a now-forgotten mass migration of the eighth century BC. Each of these small settlements is then to be understood as the *apoikia* of an Aiolian polis. This argument that Hellenistic literature reflects archaic reality leans heavily on the presence of Aiolian dialectical features in the broader corpus of Pamphylian Greek, drawing support from two inscriptions naming Tenedos, one dated to the second or first century BC and another to the Roman period.[57] None of the other toponyms has turned up in an inscription. Consequently, the topographical exercise has become one of matching ruins to Aiolian place names: Beldibi, specifically Hayıtlıgöl, and the adjacent Sıçan Adası (Lyrnessos-Lyrnas-Lyrnateia-Lirnuteia); Rezburnu Tepesi (Thebe); Arapsuyu or Hayıtlıgöl (Tenedos). And while the explanatory model of an archaic migration still requires further testing, the Hellenistic political and cultural context for Aiolianism in western Pamphylia has yet to be explored.

If we zoom out, the late appearance of Aiolian toponyms in Pamphylia does not look like an accident of preservation. Rather, as C. Brian Rose has shown, Aiolian migration traditions first appear in Classical sources in the specific political context of the Aegean after the Persian Wars.[58] Yet we find few mentions of the Aiolian toponyms in Classical sources.[59] Hellenistic politics and literary culture seem to have either conjured them up or greatly amplified an earlier migration narrative. Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 F 32 = Strabo 14.4.1) apparently would be our earliest source for a Thebe and a Lyrnessos in southern Anatolia, doublets for places that loom large in the literary record because of their Homeric associations.[60] Tellingly, Strabo, who jumps directly from the royal foundation of Attaleia to this topic, does not quite confirm the existence of these settlements:

> φασὶ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Φασήλιδος καὶ Ἀτταλείας δείκνυσθαι Θήβην τε καὶ Λυρνησσόν, ἐκπεσόντων ἐκ τοῦ Θήβης πεδίου τῶν Τρωικῶν Κιλίκων εἰς τὴν Παμφυλίαν ἐκ μέρους, ὡς εἴρηκε Καλλισθένης.
>
> "They say that both Thebe and Lyrnessos can be seen between Phaselis and Attaleia, a part of the Trojan Cilicians who had been driven out of the Plain of Thebe, as Callisthenes states."

55 Keen and Fisher-Hansen 2004, 1212.

56 Adak and Güzelyürek 2005, 42-57; Adak 2006; 2007; 2010, 170.

57 For the *editio princeps* of the treaty between Tenedos and Phaselis (ca. second-first century BC), see Onur 2023, esp. 34, on the Doric dialect of the inscription. See also the Roman epitaph of the "Phaselitan from the polis of Tenedos," Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 32 no. 48, with Onur 2023, 28, n. 29. Onur locates Tenedos at Hayıtlıgöl. See also *TIB* 8.2:877.

58 Rose 2008, 420-22.

59 For sources, see Onur 2023, 17, table 1. Ps.-Skylax 100 knows of a νῆσος Λύρνατεια but does not know of a Lyrnessos. His knowledge of this small island, of Olbia, and of Magydos (conjecture of MSS Μάσηδος) makes his ostensible ignorance of the Aiolian bloc in western Pamphylia suspicious. It is not entirely clear how to relate to this tradition a certain place Lirnuteia, from the notice of Hecataeus of Miletus (Steph. Byz. 418.11-12), Λιρνύτεια, πόλις Παμφυλίας. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λιρνυτειεύς. See *TIB* 2:698.

60 See Rubinstein 2004, 1037, 1050. The location of Lyrnessos was disputed in antiquity. Thebe, for its part, is *only* mentioned in archaic and Classical sources connected to the Homeric tradition.

Strabo's notice is an echo of a debate, which seems to have been especially fierce around 150 BC. As Mary Bachvarova points out, it is very possible that Strabo is not transmitting Callisthenes here, but rather the second-century work of Demetrios of Skepsis, the *Trojan Catalogue*, written within the intellectual context of the Library of Pergamon.[61] In any case, we find here a complex of key issues in Demetrios' thought, namely, post-Trojan-War migration from places like "Cilician Thebe" and the problem of homonymy in place-naming. As we see in the new fragment *P. Oxy.* 5094, homonymy, a potential result of migration, was indeed an organizing issue for the entirety of the *Catalogue*.[62] These elusive Trojan Cilicians, a people from the core of Priam's kingdom – perhaps inhabitants of Teuthrania, cradle of the Attalid dynasty – were felt in Demetrios' day to have been oddly left out of Homer's original list of allies.[63] This second-century debate, which, as Strabo implies, included varying views on the authenticity of the Pamphylian homonyms, left its mark on local toponymical tradition, in part one suspects, on account of the international notoriety of the Homeric problems involved. As genuine topography, however, the same tradition has rightly been viewed with skepticism.[64] However, it is possible that we are also hearing echoes, or at least fodder for this debate, in the late Hellenistic attestation of a real Tenedos, the inscription from Hayıtlıgöl in which a political community represents itself as a Troadic-Aiolian *apoikia*. This could not have escaped the notice of courtier intellectuals in the entourage of Attalos II. After all, just then Pergamene art historians and philologists were both busy with the task of authenticating archaic Aeolian statues and poems.[65] The Attalids may not have been responsible for the tradition of an Aeolis in western Pamphylia, but they could very well have lent it weight and welcomed local self-fashioning.[66]

The City

Hellenkemper's sketch of Attaleia's original city plan in the upper / new city (Barbaros + Kılınçarslan Mah.) seems to have been confirmed by two decades of published and unpublished excavations (fig. 17).[67] He conjectured an extant grid plan of insulae approximately 35 x 70 m, astride an axial street (Hesapçı Sokağı) running northeast-southwest. This street ran from the Hellenistic predecessor to Hadrian's Gate all the way to the seafront wall at the later Roman mausoleum known as the Hıdırlık Kulesi, passing hard by the Roman agora at Kesik Minare. Since then, Kaymak has been able to further define the Roman agora, particularly to

61 Bachvarova 2023, 142-43. Note that Strabo (8.5.3) also expounds upon and transmits Hellenistic commentary on the *non*-existence of places mentioned in Homer's *Catalogue of Ships*, specifically, a Messê said to be in Laconia: "They say that the of the places catalogued by Homer [*Iliad* 2.581-85], Messe is nowhere to be seen (δείκνυσθαι)…" (trans. Roller 2014). On Demetrios of Skepsis and the cultural politics of the Attalids, see Kaye 2022, 292-97. On Strabo and Homeric geography, see Lightfoot 2019.

62 Trachsel 2014.

63 Strabo 13.3.1-2, with mention of Trojan Cilicians under Eurypolus (son of Telephos) in the Kaikos Valley. See further on Cilicians in Teuthrania, 13.1.69-70.

64 For doubts about the existence of Lyrnessos, see Zgusta 1984, nos. 732-34.

65 Polański 2019, esp. 431.

66 The Attalids were skilled practitioners of kinship diplomacy (*syngeneia*), as we see, for example, in 167-166 BC, when Eumenes II reminded the Milesians of his descent from a Cyzicene; see Welles 1934, no. 52, l. 65.

67 A volume covering various salvage excavations in Kaleiçi is planned, organized by Aynur Tosun and the Antalya Museum. It is interesting to note that, in at least two cases, the grid of the modern street plan actually connects from the "new city" to the "old" (*contra* Grainger 2009, 132). From Barbaros Mah. to Tuzcular Mah., Hadi Efendi Sk. connects to Attalus Sk., and Kocatepe Sk. seems to connect to Karanlık Sk.; see Kaymak 2009, fig. 273.

the north of the mosque, and the grid of the Roman city may also have been confirmed by digging along Hesapçı Sokağı in 2013, the uncovering of some impressive Roman houses in the excavation of the so-called "AKMED Hotel," now RuinAdalia.[68] Kaymak has also strengthened the case for a Hellenistic agora at Kesik by publishing many spoliated blocks and by sinking a sondage of approximately 300-350 cm to bedrock. There she found Hellenistic pottery and a coin on or near the bedrock itself, as well as the remains of a Hellenistic road surface at 308 cm.[69] As a further indication of the start date for occupation in this district, we can note the recent salvage excavation of parcel 109 / 19 (Zeytin Çıkmazı), the northwest quadrant of an insula bounded by Hesapçı Sokağı itself on its southeast, said to have produced Hellenistic unguentaria recovered from the northern end of the lot.[70]

Until now, one has been able to say little about the rest of the early city, that is, all its various harbor quarters that stretch north-northwest from the steep drop along Hıdırlık Sokağı, which tracks the line of the southern of the two interior fortification walls of the Selçuk period (Tuzcular + Selçuk Mah.). The northern medieval barrier tracks an important axis along Uzun Çarşı from near a gate (von Lanckoroński III) close to Saat Kulesi (the northern boundary of modern Tuzcular Mah.). The modern Selçuk Mahallesi includes both a patch of neighborhood below the cliff and the rim of the tufa plateau itself at the settlement's northern edge – the area of Tophane, the premodern kale, and the important medieval Selçuk monuments of the Yivli Minare, Alaeddin Camisi, and Imaret Medresesi.[71] The general idea has been that the "old town," or Korykos (?), was near the harbor; and that Attalos built a circuit wall along a line that has essentially remained fixed, enclosing about 30.5 ha.[72] No further definition of space has been possible, though we still await a systematic study of the city walls.[73]

Notably, Antalya lacks a natural acropolis.[74] This may make it hazardous to assume continuity. Or it could lead us to look for ways that builders economized on labor and materials by continually renovating the same seat of power. Interestingly, a salvage excavation of a site close to the kale and the ancient Tophane gate – inside this great complex of medieval and early modern officialdom that included the Paşa Sarayı noted by Evliya Çelebi in 1671-1672 – has now turned up signs of an elite Roman residence in the form of marble architectural

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68 Kaymak 2009, 13-14; Çınar and Toprak 2014.

69 Kaymak 2009, 197, n. 342.

70 Pers. comm. Onur Kara. In print, Kara 2014, 73, has signaled the detection of Hellenistic levels in "recent (son yıllarda)" excavations in Kaleiçi.

71 Okatan 2004, 7.

72 For the erroneous doubling of the city's surface area in previous scholarship, see Adak 2010, 171.

73 Varkıvanç and Atila 2021, 250. Aytaç Dönmez is currently carrying out a study of the city walls. Pessimism about the possibility of knowledge of the wall of Attalos may be misplaced, (for which, see Hellenkemper 2004, 334; *TIB* 8.1:319). First, Varkıvanç and Atila 2021, 251 with fig. 4, illustrate a gate (Pace 1921), no longer extant, on the city's south side, which they argue is Hellenistic. Further, an architectural survey of the largely inaccessible interior Selçuk fortifications is urgently needed and could turn up more information. Grainger, 2009, 131, for example, assumes, on the basis of the extant Selçuk walls, that the ancient city was divided into three parts! Much of the southern interior wall is encased within modern buildings or lying unprotected in open lots in Insula 56, stretching northeast from the tower at Balık Pazarı between Paşa Cami Sk. and Mescit Sk. (Barbaros Mah.). Monumental blocks of Roman date are ubiquitous here and Hellenistic spolia may also be lurking. Finally, it is worth noting that in both the Pergamene naval harbor at Elaia and the one at Aigina (Kolonna), the existence of an interior fortification wall (*diateichisma*) is confirmed; see Laufer 2021, 277-79, 285. In a manner reminiscent of Pergamene Elaia, the harbor of Antalya was still essentially bifurcated in 1890 between the northern Gümrük Limanı (customs harbor) and the southern Merdivenli / Karantina İskelesi (staircase and quarantine dock); see Dayar 2022, 282, fig. 1.

74 Grainger 2009, 131.

decoration.[75] If there had been a Hellenistic royal palace or a Roman governor's house here, it would be very difficult to detect now in the Tophane district, given the focus of building here over the ages. For this northern curtain wall contained the city's main entry and exit point(s) after antiquity, and so much was demolished during the first decades of the Turkish Republic.[76] Yet, perhaps it is worth considering the challenges of building an artificial acropolis on such terrain (fig. 18). What kind of investment of resources and technical prowess would have been required? The travertine cover here is porous and full of voids, prone to breaks along the cliff face, an effect exacerbated by wastewater runoff. It is a risky place for rulers to build, but, fascinatingly, geophysical study has shown anthropogenic terraces as well as natural ones.[77] For someone, the view was worth the risk.

We can now more confidently recognize monumental building in the harbor's "old town." Kaymak tentatively linked two blocks from a Doric frieze decorating the Selçuk tower at the Kırkmerdiven steps (fig. 19; parcel 156 / 7) to an early (second half of the second century BC) building in the agora, 500 m away.[78] Yet the frieze is modestly sized, probably too small to go with the 12 + Doric columns, about 75 cm in diameter, found at Kesik, along with *that* building's long, thick ashlar wall blocks (ca. 89 cm thick and 53-63 x 120-140 cm).[79] Further, the frieze blocks by Kırkmerdiven each contain three triglyphs and three metopes, representing a longer frieze that need not have been removed wholesale from the agora. Rather, the frieze blocks, and likewise the ornate door built into the same tower, may not have wandered very far. This is one implication of the discovery nearby in 2011 of a Roman auditorium, probably a theater, in insula 148 in Uzun Çarşı.[80] We know the basic shape of the building: at its bottom, 11 m below the surface, a very well-preserved, narrow vaulted passage was excavated, possibly a *hyposkênion*. At just 3 m below in the adjacent lot to the east, rows of seats terminate in the west where, despite the fill, one can see the gradient of the *koilon*. At the building's other end, the pier of an entranceway was found in Lot 15. Further study and excavation could establish whether the theater has a Hellenistic phase, which its steep, natural *koilon* implies. One can imagine theatergoers enjoying a view not only of the sea, but perhaps visual communication with a palace across the harbor at Tophane.

Indeed, the notion of a Hellenistic palace set atop the cliff at Tophane, or perhaps on a series of still extant terraces encompassing an entire royal district (*basileia*) in the north, is perhaps not so fanciful. What is clear is that the entire urban plan emphasized the visual drama of the maritime façade. The pre-Attalid settlement was also probably perched on the tufa plateau and made use of staircases to access the harbor below – such as the disused one, sealed off but still visible today in the southeast corner of the harbor directly below Mermerli Sk. It also buried its dead in the necropolis of Doğu Garajı. This earlier settlement may also have possessed a civic center somewhere along the sloping terrain between Balık Pazarı and the

75 Büyükyörük 2016, 323; Crane 1993, 157.

76 For the ancient Tophane gate, see Varkıvanç and Atila 2021, 251 with fig. 3; on demolition, n. 11. For more on the complicated issue of northern gate(s), see Okatan 2004, 51-93. For Çelebi's elaborate description of the "Varoş Kapısı," see Crane 1993, 158.

77 Ercan et al. 1985.

78 Kaymak 2009, 77, 198-200; Laufer 2021, 189, n. 1834, prefers a later Hellenistic / early Roman date for Kaymak's "I. Bina: Hellenistik Yapı," likening its Doric capitals to those of a fountain house in Sagalassos (https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/6051).

79 On these ashlars, see Kaymak 2009, 74.

80 Ulutaş et al. 2012.

Mermerli Plajı – perhaps the discovery of a fourth-century decree of Olbia at Mermerli Banyo Sk. no. 5 is a clue.[81] With the discovery of the Roman auditorium, we now know that this slope remained a second civic center, the old town, as it were, after the birth of the new city with its gridded insulae and agora, on the flat terrain above and to the south. This is evidenced by the profusion of Hellenistic and early Roman architectural elements still visible today. The hypothesis of a different or earlier theater built lower down along the moon-shaped slope of Mermerli Sk. remains to be explored.[82] Hints of Hellenistic activity in precisely this area can be glimpsed in two pieces of a Doric half column. First, a half column of porous limestone is preserved (32 cm l.) in a later wall adjacent to the steps descending north from Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane (fig. 20). It is faceted, with its nearly 10 preserved facets implying the Doric order's 20. The half column's widest diameter is a modest 34.5 cm (x 14.5 cm). Approximately 70 m away and lower down at the east entrance of Mermerli Parkı at the northwest corner of the intersection of Mermerli Sk. and Mermerli Banyo Sk., a very weathered Doric half-column capital sits on a pillar (fig. 21). The technique of faceting was widespread in Pisidia and Pamphylia and has been considered a plausible mark of Pergamene influence in this very region. Double half-column pillars appear on many buildings associated with the Attalids such as gift stoas at Athens and at nearby Termessos.[83]

What does seem to have changed after around 150 BC was the visual profile of the city as perceived from the sea. Intensive terracing is visible for blocks between Uzun Çarşı and Mermerli Sk. For example, a line of cut bedrock – close to a meter deep in places – is visible in an empty lot on the south side of Mermerli Banyo Sk., within parcel 117 / 4. Moreover, parts of the monumental architecture that shaped the city's presentation to the sea are lying in plain sight. To the south of Mermerli Plajı, there is a rocky cove known as Kipronoz Yüzme Yeri.[84] From here, one can climb up the slope to within a few meters of the 30 m-high cliff face. Anywhere else in Kaleiçi's Yat Limanı district, in the absence of a staircase (or now, an elevator), this is impossible. On this slope, ancient blocks abound, and it appears that rows of ashlars have pinned a vast amount of earth up against the travertine. Many blocks are in secondary context, such as a marble impost lying upside down. However, at the very top, just a few meters beneath the railing of Keçili Park's "viewpoint," where today one takes Antalya's most iconic scenic photo – that of the seascape and the mountains of western Pamphylia – here parts of three courses of handsome ashlars remain in situ (figs. 22-24). The uniformity of these blocks – hammer-finished, reddish porous limestone blocks with drafted margins – is striking. The ashlars are approximately 1.4 x .5 m (their width could not be safely measured). The placement of a veritable second skin for the cliff face, close to 30 m asl, one set in place so precisely, must have required the rarest architectural competence. It also represents a curious investment in modeling the city's seaside profile, since the highwire act of building them does not seem to serve any harbor function. Certainly it remains to be seen whether the ashlar facing here can be compared to, for example, the Lower Terrace of the Great Gymnasium of Pergamon with its double half-column architecture.[85] Yet we can now say that an architectural

81 See Hellenkemper 2004, 333, who locates classical Korykos on the outcrop between Kırkmerdiven and İskele Caddesi. Adak 2006, 2, 7, argues adamantly that the stone has wandered into Attaleia from Olbia, which he again locates above Kemer on Çalışdağı Tepesi. Onur 2023, 31, notes that "still the inscription could actually be from a closer vicinity or even perhaps from the area of today's Kaleiçi."

82 *TIB* 8.1:320; cf. Ulutaş et al. 2012, 221.

83 Laufer 2021, 186, 223-27.

84 Argın 2012, 149; https://www.kaleicioldtown.com/tr/tarihi-yerler/kipronoz-yuzme-yeri/4

85 For that terrace and its associated architecture, see Laufer 2021, 71-72; Rumscheid 1994, cat. 217.

intervention of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period helped place the grand platforms of the Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane and the Mermerli Parkı at the center of the cognitive map of residents and visitors alike. In fact, oral histories show the centrality of Yanık Hastane as a meeting place, especially in the hot season. This set of platforms formed the point at which many people – men, women, and children – remember interacting with the sea and with the coastline, seeing and being seen, both by those on the beaches below and those out on the water in boats.[86]

Early on, the city's southern maritime façade was also sculpted into spectacular form. But how early on? This showcasing effect is intrinsic to the design of the early Roman mausoleum of Hıdırlık Kulesi at the southeastern corner of the city and always visible from the sea.[87] Yet it may be an even older feature of urbanism at Attaleia. In this regard, we must consider a still unstudied early public building, which was encased within the late Roman fortification wall along the western half of the city's southern curtain.

A Selçuk tower was later tacked on to the interior of this bastion. Precisely here, at a location marked on his plan as *i*, von Lanckoroński noted, "Vielen Säulentrommeln sind in der Mauer gelegt…"[88] Today, to the west of the wooden pedestrian bridge of the current Rum Sk., in other words, west of the cadastral space between parcels 105 / 64 and 105 / 2, the columns noted by von Lanckoroński are still visible (figs. 25-27). At least seven faceted Doric columns have been laid down perpendicular to a foundation that may represent an *in situ* stylobate continuing east underneath the bridge. A mason's mark is legible on the bottom of one column. A diameter of .68 m was recorded for another.[89] Several meters north, one can see several courses of *in situ (?)* wall blocks, seemingly also belonging to this building. About 20 m to the south, on a patch of grass at the corner of Rum Sk. and Park Sk. just opposite Karaalioğlu Parkı, one finds a Doric capital very similar in type to those from Kesik (fig. 28).[90] Above the facets, a band of shallow fluting on the neck creates small moon shapes beneath the echinus. The moons separate the vertical lines of the flutes from the echinus, making this capital, like those from Kesik, a case of one of several variants of Rumscheid Group 5. This Hellenistic Doric type is found in Pergamon and indeed all across Asia Minor.[91] Interestingly, the closest parallels for the full moons of this Group 5 variant are from nearby Pisidia and Lykia – a pattern that just may point to influence from Hellenistic Pergamon.[92]

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86 Argın 2012, 120-21, 146-49.

87 This is the plausible contention of Sönmez 2008, 32 (plan of walls of Attaleia in various periods). The area of Hıdırlık Kulesi has seen intensive excavation and restoration work in recent years, which should clarify the context of the mausoleum.

88 von Lanckoroński 1890-1892, 1:11.

89 See Kaynak 2009, 198, for faceting on at least some of the 17 Doric column drums (.63-75 m in dia.) recovered at Kesik.

90 Kaynak 2009, 198; figs. 135-36, 306.

91 For Group 5, in which the vertical lines of the flutes on either side of the halfmoons *do* meet the echinus, see, for example, the Stoa of Attalos II in Athens; cf. Rumscheid 1994, cat. 363.2. For Rumscheid 1994, 303, Group 5 and its variants Groups 6-10 are all manifestly under the influence of Pergamene architects who had invented this entire species of Doric capital as early as the gift of the stoa of Attalos I at Delphi in the third century. Laufer 2021, 188-90, on the other hand, is more cautious about direct influence and disputes Rumscheid's claim of Pergamene origins, but still places a capital at Kesik [2108952] in Rumscheid Groups 6-10.

92 See Laufer 2021, 189, n. 1834, for the plausibility of Pergamene influence. Laufer argues that while the moons lend these capitals a metropolitan flair, their style is best understood as regional, if not actually *sui generis*. Again, he has suggested a late Hellenistic or early Roman date for them in place of Kaymak's date of around 150-100 BC.

Further research is needed to place the columns at von Lanckoroński's location *i* in an architectural context. Yet we can be confident that this capital (widest dia. .80 m) belongs to the same building as the nearby columns. Using the Vitruvian ratios to guess, we might expect a building here supported by columns of 5-6 m in height. If the late Roman fortification contracted the circuit, then the original position of the building was just inside the south curtain. But if the city wall was pushed out to accommodate a refugee population in late antiquity, the original building was extramural. Perhaps in Hellenistic times, the building was entered directly by those passing through the arched South Gate, long since destroyed but photographed by Biagio Pace in the early 20th century.[93]

Coinage

One final way that we can try and recover more information about the early city is through revisiting its coins. Traditionally, the numismatic approach has been to search for the Attalids on the earliest coins of Attaleia. These small bronze coins were classified by Nezahat Baydur in her 1975 catalogue and die study as Group I.[94] More or less according to style, she dated her Group I around 150-100 BC.[95] The presence of one or the other of two Seleukid countermarks, the anchor or Helios, on four specimens in the study (nos. 37, 43, 47, and 52; Groups ID + IE) tells us that at least some issues in this group should be dated at the upper end of that range, to the very beginning of the city's history under the Attalids. The precise date of the foundation has never been determined.[96] Alain Bresson, who has recently analyzed the hoard evidence for the Seleukid countermarks on second-century silver Pamphylian silver, calls for further study to clarify whether the phenomenon indeed terminates as late as about 150.[97] The appearance of the countermarks here seems to support his suggestion. However, the countermarking on the earliest coins of Attaleia could also be used to date the city's foundation closer to about 160.[98]

Baydur argues forcefully that the head of Poseidon on the obverse recalls the head of Asklepios on Pergamene coinage, an idea put forward already in 1910 by Hans von Fritze in *Die Münzen von Pergamon*. Yet it is not easy to distinguish the bearded Poseidon with his laurel wreath at Attaleia from any other such image of the god. A bearded Poseidon can be found on many an obverse type, and on several mid- to late-Hellenistic series, such as those of Corinth and Corcyra, the god also wears the laurel wreath.[99] A fresh approach is needed

93 For the South Gate (= K37 in Sönmez 2008) and its environs, see Varkıvanç and Atila 2021, 251 with fig. 4 (Pace 1921) and n. 17 on a Hellenistic date. Varkıvanç and Atila offer their analysis as a correction of Pace and of *TIB* 8.1:320, a notice of a double-arched public building between Yeni Kapı and Hıdırlık Kulesi. On the contrary, at point *i* on the plan of von Lanckoroński, probably just to the west, we *should* see an early public building. Note though that Pace reported a second arch not visible in his photograph. A hypothetical Doric stoa with an arched gate might be considered here, on the model of the Hellenistic stoa at Sillyon; see von Lanckoroński 1890-1892, 1:82-83, building O; Laufer 2021, 186, 189, 207. Note, also the Doric columns in the Gate of Eumenes at Pergamon (https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/10189).

94 Baydur 1975. The typology has been incorporated into IRIS, according to the standards of nomisma.org. See https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_ia; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_ib; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_ic; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_id

95 See further the 1968 Burdur hoard (*IGCH* 1420, with online notes): http://coinhoards.org/id/igch1420 It is dated 100-1 BC.

96 Hopp 1977, 104-6; Meadows 2013, 187.

97 Bresson 2018, 122.

98 Compare Meadows 2013, 186-87.

99 See *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. "Poseidon," 454. Corinth and its colonies seem to have produced the bulk of coin images of Poseidon. For the two series referred to here, see, for example, https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/corinth.price_1968.class_g; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/corcyra.bmc_thessaly.549-556

that tries as much as possible to analyze the iconography without any presumption of influence from the metropole. This may be possible if we turn to the reverse of Baydur Group IC (fig. 29), which shows a standing Poseidon, facing right, clad in a himation ("Mantel"), and gripping a trident with his left hand. The catalogue description, reproduced by Erika Simon in *LIMC* (s.v. "Poseidon," no. 76) pictures an outstretched left hand poised above a dolphin. The dolphin, so it seems, is suspended in the left field of the image, vertically inverted – floating in space.[100] The dolphin though is not a control mark, but an attribute of the god and must be analyzed accordingly.[101] Unlike the dolphin + trident on Group IA, this dolphin is not standing in for Poseidon, but is part of the same scene to which he himself belongs.

That scene, in fact, already had a well-established iconography in Greek art. The trident, it is important to remember, is an implement of fishing. We find Poseidon using his trident to get his hand on a fish – or a dolphin – in classical vase painting.[102] Archaic representations from Corinth and Lakonia also exist.[103] Crucially, there is a statue type of the image of Poseidon with dolphin in hand that is contemporary with these coins. It is represented in a large bronze statuette usually dated to the second half of the second century BC, the Poseidon Loeb in Munich.[104] Remarkably, despite the popularity of the Lysippan, so-called Lateran type, this Poseidon-with-dolphin type, albeit naked, managed to disseminate broadly across the late Hellenistic and early Roman imagescape.[105] Specifically Hellenistic prototypes seem to have strongly influenced Roman depictions of Poseidon / Neptune in the round.[106]

Is it possible that early Attaleia contained a temple of Poseidon that housed a cult statue, a statue depicted on this coin type – or to speculate even further – a work of Pergamene art? There is good reason to speculate, since Albrecht Matthaei has shown that in full-figure depictions of gods on Hellenistic *civic* coinage, an attribute in hand can point to the realia of cult.[107] Further, the image of Poseidon here does not allude to naval victory, a trope of earlier royal coinage, or ethnic identity, as in contemporary pseudo-autonomous issues of the Macedonians.[108] Rather, the image is, as it were, a reflection in bronze of what Andrew Meadows has called, for Attic-weight silver, the Great Transformation in coin design, a shift around 175-140 BC that saw cities place vivid portraits of their own cult statues on coins, replete with local meaning, including echoes of epiphany.[109] The cult statue may not have been a Pergamene masterwork, but it and the temple were central components of the new city's identity.[110] Was the cult altogether new? It appears so. There is no axiom that a coastal city

100 Baydur 1975, 47: "links im Felde abwärts gerichteter Delphin."

101 Compare Grainger 2009, 132, for the description of Poseidon "backed" by a dolphin.

102 *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. "Poseidon," 460-61, with nos. 140-46. Simon's typology of "Poseidon allein" is therefore a bit of a misnomer. Oftentimes, this is "Poseidon with fish / dolphin."

103 *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. "Poseidon," nos. 107 and 119.

104 Walter-Karydi 1991, esp. 245-46, specifically, on the iconography of the dolphin *in* Poseidon's hand; *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. "Poseidon," no. 25* with p. 477 for the same type in *naiskos*.

105 *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. "Neptunus," 483-86, nos. 1-26; see also Poseidon with dolphin in hand on the reverse of bronze coinage of Laodicea ad Mare (168-164 BC): http://numismatics.org/sco/id/sc.1.1430

106 *LIMC* 7.1. s.v. "Poseidon," 451.

107 Matthaei 2013, 114-20.

108 *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. "Poseidon," 479 with no. 55, a pseudo-autonomous bronze of the Macedonians (*BMC* Macedonia 16, 67-68; *SNG* Cop. 1294).

109 Meadows 2018.

110 There is a precedent for Poseidon with dolphin in hand from the Attalid orbit: an electrum coin of Cyzicus, *BMC* Mysia 26, 62, pl. 6.8.

worships Poseidon. Greeks were much more likely to propitiate this god about earthquakes than sea travel, especially in seismic Asia Minor.[111] Hellenistic or even Roman cults of Poseidon are otherwise absent from coastal Pamphylia and Lycia.[112]

Conclusion

The broader of the two basic arguments advanced here is that there is more to learn about early Attaleia. This is no parting pleasantry. The pessimism of past investigators was misplaced. The goal was to gather the evidence, while also surveying for new clues around the modern city, its environs, and in the bibliography on its longer-term history. This collection and probing of evidence old and new, the presentation of many questions and a few hypotheses, it is hoped, will spur future research. Among historians of antiquity, one detects a certain presumption of Pergamene colonial likeness at Attaleia. The *Attaleis*, writes Joachim Hopp who was perhaps the last one to grant the topic even a few pages, "were recruited for the most part as colonists from the capital…. This is confirmed by striking parallels in pantheon and cults."[113] However, a fresh consideration of just one early coin type – bronzes bearing an image of a cult statue of Poseidon holding a dolphin – highlights instead the complexities of interaction with the metropole. Similarly, a reconsideration of Strabo's (corrupt?) text emphasizes the participation of the local population and local actors – even the harbormasters of Magydos – in the launch of one of the last major ports to emerge anywhere around the Mediterranean littoral. Recent studies on the Attalids have assumed that little could be known about the dynasty's efforts to urbanize this least urbanized part of Pamphylia. Therefore, an inclusive approach was chosen: whatever might recall the impact of the Attalids was considered. This may appear to unfairly weigh the evidence in favor of imperial intervention. Perhaps the Attalids are ghosts in Antalya for good reason. Was their investment and influence in the end just minimal? No. The more narrowly focused claim of this study was a contradiction of that argument from silence, which reconstructed an intellectual context for local Aiolian toponyms and retraced probable Hellenistic phases of the fortifications at Döşeme Boğazı and Ören Tepe. The scholarly cliché that idealizes the landscape and the seascape of the city blinds us to the intervention that must have been necessary to sustain large-scale urbanism in this ecology. It can be expected that with the publication of recent salvage excavations in Kaleiçi and the full publication of the Doğu Garajı necropolis, the early urban history of Antalya will come into focus. Meanwhile, some of those very monuments that welcomed Pompey in 48 BC – the architectural façade of Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane above Kipronoz Yüzme Yeri as well as von Lanckoroński's location *i* – require attention now.

111 Fenet 2004, 412; Güney 2015; cf. the claim of Grainger 2009, 132, that the city's coins "powerfully emphasized the sea-connection."

112 From the Roman provinces that encompassed Pamphylia and Lycia, only Prostanna, historically part of Pisidia, evidences a cult of Poseidon; see Güney 2015, 306.

113 Hopp 1977, 103 with n. 244: "Ihre Bewohner nannten sich Ἀτταλεῖς und rekrutierten sich zum größten Teil aus Kolonisten aus der Hauptstadt Pergamon… Das bestätigen die auffälligen Parallelen zur Hauptstadt hinsichtlich des Pantheons und des Kults."

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FIG. 1 Harbor of Attaleia (Yat Limanı in foreground; Mermerli Plajı in background). View from north.

FIG. 2 Attaleia and its hinterland (N. Kaye).

FIG. 3
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
Shield monument
built into Late
Roman House 6.

FIG. 4
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
"Northern boundary wall."
View from west.

FIG. 5
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site. “Northern boundary wall.”
Exterior face.
View from north.

FIG. 6
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
“Northern boundary wall.”
Interior face.
View from south.

FIG. 7
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
Lookout tower.
View from northwest.

FIG. 8
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
View northwest
from lookout tower.
Toward line of the
Via Sebaste traversing
the Ortaova plain.

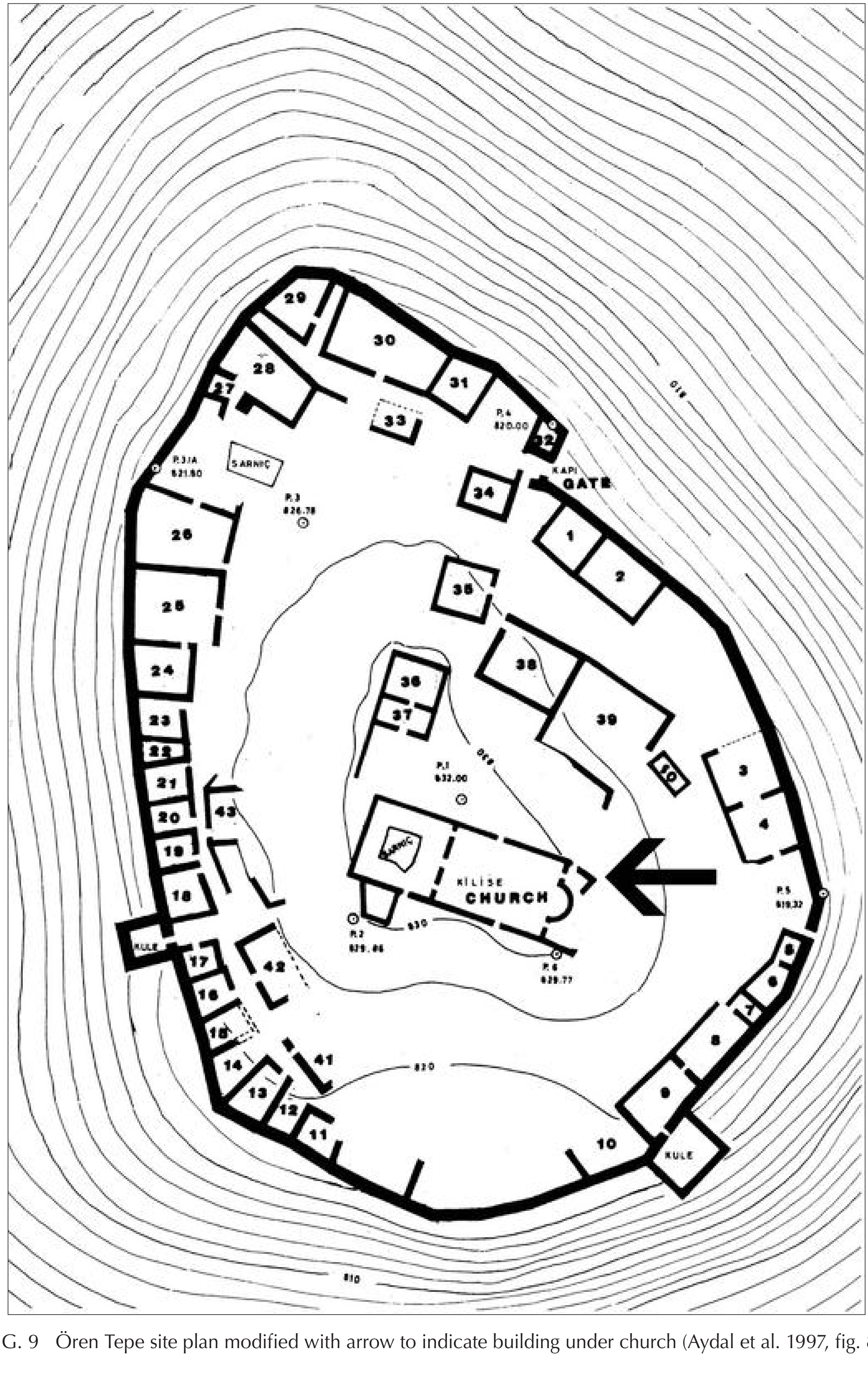

FIG. 9 Ören Tepe site plan modified with arrow to indicate building under church (Aydal et al. 1997, fig. 8).

FIG. 10
Ören Tepe.
Northeast corner of
building under church.

FIG. 11
Ören Tepe.
Northeast-southwest wall of
building under church.

FIG. 12
Ören Tepe.
Irregular, large-stone
masonry on west of circuit.

FIG. 13
Ören Tepe.
Pseudo-isodomic masonry on approach to south tower.
View from north.

FIG. 14
Ören Tepe.
Pseudo-isodomic masonry on approach to south tower.
View from west.

FIG. 15
Yenice Boğazı.
Kapıkaya Gediği.
Restored fortifications.
View from west.

FIG. 16 Western Pamphylia (N. Kaye).

FIG. 17 Attaleia (Kaleiçi) and environs (N. Kaye).

FIG. 18 Attaleia. Tophane district. Selçuk remains. Now served by elevator. View from south.

FIG. 19
Attaleia.
Doric frieze in Selçuk Tower at Kırkmerdiven steps. Southwest corner of tower.

FIG. 20 Attaleia. Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane.
Doric half-column.

FIG. 21 Attaleia. Mermerli Parkı.
Doric half-column capital.

FIG. 22
Attaleia. Ashlar masonry of sea-cliff face of Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane.

FIG. 23
Attaleia. Detail of ashlar masonry of sea cliff face of Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane; "scenic viewpoint."

FIG. 24
Attaleia. Interior detail of ashlar masonry of sea cliff face of Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane.

FIG. 25
Attaleia.
von Lanckoroński's
"location i."
View from south.
Doric columns in
late Roman fortification
wall. View from south.

FIG. 26
Attaleia.
von Lanckoroński's
"location i."
Detail of Doric
columns in late Roman
fortification wall.
View from east.

FIG. 27
Attaleia. von Lanckoroński's "location i." *in situ* foundations. View from west.

FIG. 28 Attaleia. von Lanckoroński's "location i." Doric column capital.

FIG. 29 Bronze coin of Attaleia. Baydur Group IC, reverse, depicting Poseidon. Dolphin indicated in red. Paris. Fonds général 166. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Localizing and Reconstructing the *Gymnasion* of Patara An Interdisciplinary Approach

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Abstract

Although a universal feature of the Greek polis and, despite ample epigraphic evidence, the *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic and Roman East, especially in Lycia, are understudied. In this paper we present our initial findings relating to the *gymnasion* of Patara. Through an interdisciplinary approach we can identify the site of the *gymnasion* and reconstruct how it was integrated into the city center in terms of urban planning. By analysing the relationship of the *gymnasion* to other buildings in the vicinity, we can even trace developments in the building history of the *gymnasion*. This paper presents numerous archaeological findings from the city center of Patara. It also presents three hitherto unpublished inscriptions, one of which was set up in honor of the Patarean benefactor Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos.

Keywords: Lycia, Patara, Roman architecture, *gymnasion*, bath

Öz

Antik Hellen polis'inin evrensel bir özelliği olmasına ve çok sayıda epigrafik kanıta rağmen, Hellenistik ve Roma Doğu'sunun ve özellikle Likya'nın *gymnasion*'ları yeterince araştırılmamıştır. Bu makalede, Patara *gymnasion*'u ile ilgili ilk bulgularımızı sunuyoruz. Disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımla *gymnasion*'un bulunabileceği alanını tanımlıyor ve urbanistik planlama açısından kent merkezine nasıl entegre edildiğini sorguluyoruz. Çevredeki diğer yapılarla ilişkisini analiz ederek, *gymnasion*'un yapı tarihindeki gelişmelerinin izini sürmeye çalışıyoruz. Bu makale, son yıllarda Patara kent merkezinden elde edilen çok sayıda arkeolojik bulguyu bir araya getirmektedir. Ayrıca, biri Pataralı hayırsever Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos onuruna dikilmiş olan, şimdiye kadar yayınlanmamış üç yazıt da yine burada bilim dünyasına sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Likya, Patara, Roma mimarisi, *gymnasion*, hamam

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1. Introduction

There can be no denying the importance of the *gymnasion* for cities in the eastern part of the Mediterranean world.[1] As a place of education and training for the next generation of citizens, the *gymnasion* was a keystone of the citizenry and in areas of cultural interchange a stronghold of "Greekness."[2] As a place of exercise and debate, it was an important public space of the city, where civic identity was negotiated and mediated. Accordingly, our literary sources are full of gymnasial themes, language, and rituals. Numerous inscriptions cast light not only on the local variants of organization and the maintenance of gymnasia but also illuminate the multiform attempts of citizens, athletes, and - in the Imperial period - women to present themselves inside or in relation to a *gymnasion*.

In recent years historical research on gymnasia has intensified.[3] But in comparison to other public structures such as theaters, archaeologically the Hellenistic and Imperial *gymnasion* remains understudied. On the one hand, this is a consequence of the architectural remnants of *gymnasia* that, without intensive archaeological analysis, are seldom clearly identifiable. So research into these buildings has been less active than in the case of more eye-catching structures. On the other hand, especially in Asia Minor, the connection between gymnasia and Roman-style bath buildings obscured the distinctive architectural features of the Hellenistic *gymnasion*. The complexes termed "Thermengymnasien" not only reshaped the face of the cities, but also, at least in some instances, magnificent bath buildings left little room for traditional gymnasial activities.[4]

The situation at Patara in Lycia seems to reflect these methodological issues. Despite more than thirty years of intensive archaeological research, focusing amongst other things on two of the city's four known baths, it has not yet been possible to locate a *gymnasion*. However, rich epigraphic evidence for gymnasial institutions and organization and an exemplarily detailed account of repairs and construction works being conducted at and near the *gymnasion* in the second century AD survives. Furthermore, recent excavations have significantly increased our understanding of the city's grid, especially of the city center with its agora, baths, and harbor street. By combining the various pieces of evidence, in this paper we will propose a site and architectural context of the *gymnasion* of Patara within the city and identify architectural remains and details of its building history. Bringing together case studies on the inscriptions (Andrew Lepke), architectural decoration (Feyzullah Şahin), and archaeological / architectural context of the *gymnasion* (Şevket Aktaş and Mustafa Koçak) not only furthers our understanding of this organization and history of Patara but also provides the fullest analysis of a *gymnasion* in Lycia to date - a topic of demonstrable importance for the urbanistic study of the Imperial period in this region and beyond.

2. The epigraphic evidence for the *gymnasion* at the *agora*

When the urban area of Patara was reduced in Late Antiquity and enclosed by an impressive city wall, the stonemasons reused almost every stone available in the vicinity. Funerary

1 An overview of the state of research up to 2014 is provided by Scholz 2004, 2015.

2 For the Hellenistic world see Paganini 2022 and Stavrou 2016.

3 See, for example, the "GymnAsia"-Project: https://gymnasia.huma-num.fr

4 See Quatember 2018 and Trümper 2015. As the so-called "explosion agonistique" attests, however, gymnasial culture was thriving at the end of the second / beginning of the third century AD; see Robert 1984 and van Nijf 2001; Nollé 2012.

monuments, colonnades, and nearby buildings and spaces were scavenged for building blocks of any kind, with many bearing inscriptions. While the process of accumulating building material and constructing the wall is a topic that still requires a detailed analysis, it seems reasonable to assume that most of the reused stones came from the immediate vicinity.[5] For the construction of the southern parts of this wall, we would assume to find stones[6] from at least the Harbor Street, the bouleuterion, the agora, the Neronian Bath, and from their respective adjacent stoai and forecourts, and various other areas whose archaeological identification is still pending. And while we find clear indications of the places from where a few of our inscriptions derive,[7] disentangling this complex puzzle by assigning certain (fragments of) inscriptions to their presumed place of origin seems impossible. We will have to fall back on internal criteria of our texts to assess the inscriptional and statuary decor of the *gymnasion*.[8] Certain themes like the *gymnasiarchia*, agonistic contests and victories, and gymnasial groups - in our case the *neoi* - should be more prevalent at a *gymnasion* than anywhere else. This therefore allows for an at least rough localization of the *gymnasion* to the vicinity of the southern part of the late antique city wall. Of course, this does not mean that all the aforementioned themes are indicative of an origin of these blocks as being from the *gymnasion* itself. Inscriptions did add meaning to structures and spaces. However, on the one hand there was no need for a text to match the function of the public space in which it was located. On the other hand, by conveying certain themes and messages, inscriptions were not confined to a specific place, but were able to overcome narrow architectural boundaries.[9] So it remains unclear whether or not an inscription set up inside the *gymnasion* and an inscription on the agora differed at all. What we can identify is one area where gymnasial themes played a prominent role in the public representation of members of the elite and the city's institutions. At other areas of the city, for example, the hitherto unexplored stadium east of the ancient harbor basin, a very similar emphasis might have been placed, at least temporarily. At the theater gymnasial themes are represented in our evidence only for a rather short period of time between the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century AD when the Xanthian athlete T. Flavius Hermogenes, one of the best runners of his time and who also held citizenship of Patara, was honored with a statue probably at the stage building.[10] Two inscriptions were set up for Iulia Verania, the

5 For some examples, see below.

6 A large part of the reused construction materials most likely came from the buildings that stood in the vicinity of the relevant construction sites of the late antique wall and Harbor Street e.g., many of the stylobate and architrave blocks of the stoai of the agora were recovered from the southern section of the late antique wall. Comparable building elements could not be observed at the other parts of this wall. The buildings enclosed by the late antique wall were now intramural. As the archaeological studies of recent years on the Harbor Street, the Neronian Bath, the newly discovered exedra, and the stoa in front of the exedra showed (see below), no building elements were taken from these structures for the late antique wall. On the contrary, they were still in use when this wall was built, a topic to be addressed in another essay to be published. It seems that they only reused elements such as stone statue bases, which now had become useless.

7 Some inscriptions give an explicit notion of their place of erection (cf. Lepke et al. 2015, 357-76, no. 9 I l.1; *SEG* 65, 1486, see below). Other fragments could be assigned to blocks whose place of installation was known at tower 9 two blocks were found that directly match a pilaster block from the temple terrace above the theater (see below no. 3; for the temple see Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 185-93).

8 For a similar attempt see Engelmann 1993 with Thür 2007 on the Hellenistic *gymnasion* from the upper agora of Ephesos; see also Sturgeon 2022, 4-11, on the *gymnasion* of Corinth.

9 On the differentiation of function and semantics of public spaces see Hölscher 1999, 104-7 and Zimmermann 2009. A striking example for an inscription overcoming the space of the *gymnasion* is the giant base (close to 2.00 m high) set up by M. Aurelius Alexion alias Boethius II, *gymnasiarchos* of the *neoi*. This monument (*TAM* II 415) is set up, still *in situ*, directly at the late antique city gate on the main street.

10 For the two agonistic fragments from the substructures of the stage building (*SEG* 64, 1402-403), see Lepke 2023a.

sitting gymnasiarch for all age groups, who donated her income to the city, and for her brother whose inscription refers to the *gymnasiarchia* of all age groups and the constitution of the age group of the *gerontes* by their father, C. Iulius Demosthenes.[11]

2.1 A quantitative approach

At Patara, as in many other cities of Asia Minor,[12] the *gymnasiarchia* seems to have been one of the most prestigious civic offices. Being responsible for the training and especially the supply of oil[13] of one of the two and later three age groups of the *neoi* and *epheboi* (and *gerontes*), the *gymnasiarchos* commanded in the second century AD a budget of 12,500 *denarii p.a.* (if they presided over all three age groups at once).[14] To date 22 texts have been identified mentioning this office. In 17 of these, the *gymnasiarchia* figures prominently and is not just one of many offices held by a benefactor.[15] 16 of these 17 inscriptions, approximately 94 %, stem from the southern section of the city wall and the south end of Harbor Street.

While these numbers are in themselves inconclusive - archaeological research at Patara has devoted significantly more emphasis on the theater, bouleuterion, Neronian Bath, and the city walls between than to other public spaces and buildings - these finds are by no means accidental, as we can adduce from the monuments set up for Q. Vilius Titianus at the beginning of the second century AD. To date we have identified eight inscriptions for this benefactor. Two were found in the main nave of the church in the northern necropolis, one was reused for the construction of the northern late antique city wall near the inner harbor, one was from the theater, and the remaining four texts were found in the section of the southern wall between the bouleuterion and the Neronian Bath. Out of these eight inscriptions, only two texts place particular emphasis on the *gymnasiarchia*.[16] A third inscription praises the benefactor's initiative in educating the city's children from his own money ([ἀ]νατρέφων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | [τοὺ]ς τῆς πόλεως παῖδας).[17] These three texts were found at the southern city wall. The remaining fourth inscription from this area might have been connected to the *gymnasiarchia* as well, but is too fragmentary to determine.[18] The only other text for Q. Vilius Titianus even mentioning this office derives from the church, but there the *gymnasiarchia* is one office amongst the many that this benefactor held. The inscription from the harbor and another text from the church omit the office entirely. This shows clearly that the information the various texts provide was very much tuned to their place of publication. To the south of the city area constant support for

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11 Engelmann 2016 (*SEG* 66, 1764) and Engelmann 2012a, 227, no. 11 (*SEG* 63, 1338). On female holders of the *gymnasiarchia* see Wörrle 2020, esp. 412-16.

12 Cf. Scholz 2015.

13 They were supported in this regard by the ἐλεωνήσας - an official buyer of oil (Bönisch and Lepke 2013, 487-96 [*SEG* 63, 1346]). Claudia Anassa, the wife of the later discussed Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, set up a foundation to secure the annual oil supply (*SEG* 46, 1715 and *SEG* 63, 1342). On the significance of such provisions of oil, see Fröhlich 2009.

14 Engelmann 2016, ll.5-7 (*SEG* 66, 1764): χαρι[σα]μένη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ τῆς | [γυμνασ]ιαρ[χ]ίας δηνάρια μύρια δισχεί[λ]ια πεντα|[κόσ]ια - "who donated to the *polis* the 12,500 *denarii* of the *gymnasiarchia*."

15 For example, having a gymnasiarch dedicating or the *gymnasiarchia* as a central theme of an honorary inscription (e.g., if the *gymnasiarchia* is the only office mentioned). In comparison to other Lycian cities, the *gymnasiarchia* is particularly well attested at Patara due to the city's state of archaeological research.

16 *SEG* 63, 1339 (theater), 1360 and 1361.65, 1484 (church); see Şahin 2008, 603, n. 39a and b. Special emphasis on the *gymnasiarchia* is found in *SEG* 63, 1360-61.

17 Şahin 2008, 603, n. 39b.

18 Şahin 2008, 603, n. 39a.

the children and the age classes of the *gymnasion* were especially laudable, while to the north other offices and liturgies seem to have possessed a greater significance.[19]

Our data for agonistic inscriptions seems to mirror this basic distribution: 20 out of 23 agonistic inscriptions (almost 87 %) were reused for the wall or buildings (shops?) on the main street. The ties to the *gymnasion* of at least some of our agonistic texts become apparent, when regarding the monuments commemorating the victors of a local prize-event (*themis*).[20] As far as we can tell, the city of Patara celebrated these events by setting up group monuments consisting of statue bases for the victors of three disciplines only: the *enkomion*, wrestling (*pale*) in the boy category, and wrestling in the man category. Not only did these monuments serve the general regard for wrestling in Lycia, by combining athletic and artistic victors they created an illustrious image of the unity of body and mind. This put the next generation of athletes - that is, citizens - literally at the center of those focal points of civic ideology. This is nowhere more apparent than with Alexandros Karpos, son of L. Valerius Iason, who is not only shown as a victor of the *enkomion*, but also chosen by the Romans governor. Our inscription emphasizes that this man during the previous *themis* had been the victor of the wrestling in the youth category - a "record" clearly relevant to the city and to the promotion of its talents that develops its effect specifically within a gymnasial context (fig. 1).[21]

Even more directly connected to the *gymnasion* is a third group of inscriptions: bases set up for or by the *neoi*.[22] Especially for three inscriptions found at Tower 9 of the late antique wall, an erection inside the *gymnasion* seems most likely. Two statues, one of Herakles Kallinikos and one of Hermes Agonios, were set up by the demos of Patara. A third statue, of Herakles, was set up by the *hypogymnasiarch* of the *neoi*, a certain Daliades III.[23] In other instances we see the *neoi* as a group, not as a recipient, but in action, for example, when they honor and crown their benefactor, an *hypogymnasiarch*, in an inscription from Harbor Street.[24] During the excavations at the Neronian Bath a round base and a fragment of a round base have been found that attest a very similar practice. They are briefly presented here:

No. 1 Base for Artapates III

A round limestone base (H. 0.62 [preserved] x DM. 0.48 [measurable]) was found in 2019 built into the late antique southeastern city wall directly north of the latrines. The top and bottom profile were mostly chipped off; the surface of the stone is carefully smoothed. The base with mortar remains; the stone faces northeast towards the wall filling. For the reading of l.5, modeling clay was used. Letters carefully drawn with fine apices. Height 2.4 cm, line spacing

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19 Interestingly, one of the inscriptions found at the church (*SEG* 65, 1484) was commissioned by a club of elite citizens and seems to put more emphasis on the offices Titianus held in the Lycian League (ll.6-7) and in the context of the cult of Apollon Patroos (ll.2-5). It is tempting to suggest that this base was originally put up in the sanctuary outside the city's gates; see Lepke et al. 2015, 347-49, 369-72 and Schuler and Zimmermann 2012, 600-601.

20 Lepke 2015, 135-40, 146-47.

21 Lepke 2015, 136-38, no. 2 (*SEG* 65, 1490).

22 How to conceptualize this group (association or institution) is disputed; see Eckhardt 2021, 149-58 and van Bremen 2013. In Lycia *neoi* are attested from the early second century BC onwards; see Wörrle 2011, 407-10 and Gauthier 1996, 7-16.

23 Zimmermann 2016.

24 Lepke and Schuler (forthcoming), no. 4, an honorary inscription for an *hypogymnasiarch* by his family. Until now, no inscriptions set up by or for the *neoi* have been found that were not rebuilt in the southern section of the late antique city wall.

1.8 cm. According to its letterforms, the inscription dates from late Hellenistic times (Ny with right leg floating, the height of the right leg of Pi shortened).

1 οἱ νέοι Ἀρτα[πάτην]
Ἀρταπάτο[υ τοῦ]
vv. Ἀρτα[πάτου]
4 γυμνασ̣ια̣[ρχήσαντα]
καὶ ἀγωνο[θετήσαντα].

"The *neoi* (honor) Artapates, son of Artapates, grandson of Artapates, who was *gymnasiarchos* and *agonothetes*" (figs. 2-3).

Since the upper side of the base is chipped off, we are unable to confirm whether or not a statue of Artapates III was placed on top of this round base. This was most likely. While Artapates is a Persian name already attested in Patara,[25] we cannot identify the *gymnasiarchos* in the city's prosopography.

No. 2 Fragment of a round base

This fragment of a round base of dark grey marble (H. 0.12 [preserved] x W. 0.105 [preserved] x D. 0.035 [preserved]) was found in 2018 in the west section of Tower 9 (inv. no: EP 549). A profile remnant at the top was carefully worked with a tooth iron, but slightly rough. The inscribed surface is slightly recessed. Deeply cut letters are carefully drawn with clear apices. Height 2.5 cm, line distance 1.7 cm. The inscription probably dates from early Imperial times.

[οἱ ν]έοι - - -
- - - Π - - - -
- - - - - - - - -

The restoration is based on number 1. Alternatively [Παταρέων οἱ ν]έοι might have been employed in l.1 (fig. 4).[26]

From this preliminary survey the southern part of the ancient city of Patara appears closely connected to gymnasial institutions and activity - and deliberately so, as an analysis of the inscriptions for Q. Vilius Titianus has shown. About the actual extent of the *gymnasion*-complex in the south of the city center, very little can be said (see below). However, it is probably no coincidence that no further inscriptions matching our criteria were found in the late antique city wall to the north of the Neronian Bath.[27] This makes an honorary inscription for an *hypogymnasiarch*, said to be honored by the *neoi* from the late first century BC, and four agonistic inscriptions from the third century AD even more interesting.[28] Three of the agonistic inscriptions were found slightly offset to the north opposite the Neronian Bath, and the honorary base

[25] *SEG* 43,1825 and *SEG* 63, 1336 B col. II 16; C 21.

[26] Compare, for example, *TAM* 2. 498 and *SEG* 46, 1721 for the Xanthian *neoi* at the Letoon in the second century BC and *SEG* 46, 1723 for a decree by the *neoi* and a *gymnasiarchos* possibly of Kandyba at the Letoon in the first century AD. [Κ]ανδυβέων οἱ νέοι also at Kandyba (*TAM* 2, 751) in the early first century AD. Compare also *TAM* 2, 556 (early first century AD from Tlos).

[27] To date this section of the walls has not fully been uncovered.

[28] Lepke 2015, 144, no. 9 (reused as a curb stone of the main street; *SEG* 65, 1497), 141, no. 5 (*SEG* 65, 1493), 146, no. 13 and Lepke and Schuler (forthcoming) no. 4. Compare *SEG* 63, 1337 from the west *stoa*.

and the fourth agonistic inscription come from the main street opposite the so-called Central Bath. While we cannot exclude the possibility that these blocks have been moved there from the agora or elsewhere, the use of four different monuments argues in favour of a site between the Central Bath and the Neronian Bath (see below).

2.2 A qualitative approach

An inscription originally inscribed at the theater provides a detailed report of the architectural integration of the *gymnasion* into the broader representational framework of Patara. We will now present and discuss this text in detail. The inscription dates to the second century AD, a period when the city engaged in extensive building activities. The theater, *gymnasion*-complex, sanctuary of Apollo, city gate, and agora with its immediate surroundings were rebuilt, reshaped, or repaired after various earthquakes. We possess detailed information about the measures taken as they were at least partially financed by a foundation of 250,000 *denarii* that the benefactor Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos had set up to pay for construction and repairs from the interests accrued.[29] In return, the city set up inscriptions and honorary statues at various building sites, detailing the work done from the accumulated money. The base of an honorary statue with an inscription listing the work conducted at the theater was found at the diazoma of the theater.[30] A second base listing various works in the city and honoring Claudius Flavianus Eudemos as well as his wife Claudia Anassa was found in Tower 9 of the city wall. It was, according to its text, originally set up at a stoa.[31] Three blocks preserve the major part of a third inscription:

No. 3 Honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos

In 2012 Helmut Engelmann published a block (B) found in 2001 at the bottom of the *koilon* of the theater (T.01.340: W. 0.69 x H. 0.60) (fig. 5).[32] The attached corner shaft segment and the pilaster point to a place of origin at the west corner of the front of the temple above the theater. In 2012 and 2018 two blocks of limestone (A: W. 0.68 x H. 0.60 x D. 0.30 and C:[33] W. 0.83 x H. 0.695 x D. 0.30) were found in the southern section of the late antique city wall in the rubble of Tower 9. These directly connect to the line endings contained in Engelmann's fragment. Block B is now in the stone field of the theater; block A is in the stone field of the Neronian Bath; block C is in the stone depot of the excavation house (figs. 6-7). Block A is broken at the back, all four sides with *anathyrosis*; upper corners bumped, spalling on the front and abrasion of the writing in places. Block C is well preserved with a 6 cm high, slightly raised decorative line at the bottom. The left, right and bottom sides are with *anathyrosis*; the top side is roughly smoothed with a claw chisel and the back roughly chipped. The letters are very regular: H. 2.3-3 cm, line spacing 1-2 cm. Above l.1 a space of 6 cm is left blank.

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29 For a general overview compare Lepke et al. 2015, 373-76; Zimmermann 2015, 585-89, 592, fig. 2.

30 Engelmann 2012a, 219-21, no. 1 (*SEG* 54, 1436).

31 Lepke et al. 2015, 357-76, no. 9 (*SEG* 65, 1486). Our new inscription specifies: [ἡ στο]|ὰ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου - the stoa in front of the *aleipterion* (see below).

32 Engelmann 2012a, 221, no. 2. A description of the stone is found in Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 191-92 with fig. 203.

33 A preliminary report of this block is published in Koçak and Şahin 2020, 199-203.

A+B [Τιβέριον] Κλαύδιον Εὐδήμου υἱὸ̣ν | Φλα-
[ουιανὸν] Κυρείνα̣ Εὔδημον Παταρέ|α, ἄν-
[δρα μεγαλ]όφρονα καὶ φιλόπατριν, πολλ|ὰ καὶ
[μεγάλα πα]ρασχόμενον τῇ πατρίδι ἔν τε | ἀρχαῖς,
[λειτουργί]αις καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν, καταλελοι|πότα
[μὲν τοῖς πολ]είταις <ἐπίδοσιν> καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ἔτος καὶ διδ|ό̣ντα
[μετὰ τῆς γυ]ναικὸς αὐτοῦ Κλαυδίας Ἀνάσ|σ̣ης
[τῷ πολείτ]η̣ ἀνὰ̣ 𐆖 ἕξ ἥμισυ, καταλελοιπό|τα δὲ
[ἀργυρίου] δηναρίου μυριάδας κε´ εἰς τὸ | ἀ̣πὸ
[τῶν τόκων] παντὶ τῷ αἰῶνι προσκτίζεσθ|[αι α]ὐ-
[τοῦ τὴν πα]τρίδα· ἐξ οὗ δὴ πλήθους τοῦ κ|[εφα]-
[λαίου ἕως] ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν Λι|[κιν]-
C [ν]ίου Φ[ι]λ̣ε̣ί̣νου γεγ̣ό̣νασιν [ἐ]κ τῆς πρ̣ο̣[σόδου τῶν τό]-
κων δηναρίου μυριάδες εἴκοσι [δηνάρια . . α]-
κισχείλια πεντακόσια τριακόντα τ[έσσαρα? vac.]
ἀ̣φ’ οὗ πλήθους τῶν τόκων κατεσκευά[σθη μὲν καὶ]
τὰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἔργα αἵ τε ἀντηρείδ[ες καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ]
κύκλῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνοικοδομημένα ἔρ[γα καὶ τὰ και]-
νὰ βάθρα καὶ ἡ στοὰ καὶ ὁ ναός, ἐπεσκε[υάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ]
τῶν χρημάτων τούτων καὶ τὸ γυμνάσι[ον καὶ ἡ στο]-
ὰ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου, κατεσκευάσθ[η δὲ καὶ ἡ]
πρὸς τῷ ἀλιπτηρίῳ ἐξέδρα, ἐπεσκευάσ[θη δὲ καὶ τὰ]
καισάρεια δύο ἔν τε τῇ διπλῇ στοᾷ καὶ ἐν τ[ῷ τεμέ]-
νει τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὁ προφητικ[ὸς οἶκος καὶ]
οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει ὄντες ὀχετοί, κατασκευάζεται [δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς]
τῇ πύλῃ ἔργα ἐκ τῶν τόκων τῆς δωρεᾶς τῶν [χρημάτων]
τούτων Hedera Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἐπαφρόδε[ιτος Πατα]-
ρεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐργεπιστάτης γεγονὼς τ[ῶν τοῦ ναοῦ ?]
καὶ τῶν τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτη[ν Hedera]

Engelmann already identified block B as being part of an honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos and suggested an epsilon above l.1. On closer inspection this E turns out to be a scratch on the stone surface. **1-12** About 8 characters per line must have been written on the adjacent block to the left. **6** On the syntax see below. **8** Engelmann: . ΛΑΣ. **13-29** About 10 characters per line must have been written on the adjacent block to the right. For **13-14** the space available renders ἑξάκις (6,000) or ἐνάκις (9,000) likely. **15** τ[ρία vacat] is also possible. **28** The space available suggests that no *figura etymologica* (ἐργεπιστάτης τῶν ἔργων) was used. The genitive article τῶν shows that ἔργα are implied. The place of origin of our inscription does lend itself towards our restoration. **29** For the *hedera* see below.

"Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, son of Eudemos, of the *tribus* Quirina, citizen of Patara, a high-minded and patriotic man, who performed many great services for his hometown, both in offices and liturgies and donations. He left an annual <distribution> for the citizens and, together with his wife Claudia Anassa, gave 6 ½ *denarii* to each citizen, and left on the other hand 250,000 *denarii* so that from the interest his home city would continue to be developed for all time. From this sum of the capital stock an income from interest accrued to the amount of 20x,534 *denarii* until the imperial high priesthood of Licinnius Phileinos. From this sum of interest, the work inside the theater: the supporting towers as well as the work of walling up inside the theater round, and the new seats and the stoa and the temple were constructed, furthermore the *gymnasion* and the stoa in front of the *aleipterion* was repaired from this money and the exedra at the *aleipterion* was constructed. Two *kaisareia* were repaired, one inside the double stoa, the other in the sacred precinct of the god Apollo, and the house of the prophet and the drains inside the sacred grove. Furthermore, the work at the gate is conducted from the interest of the gift of this money. Tiberius Claudius Epaphroditos from Patara, who was himself superintendent of the work at the temple and at the theater (has set up this monument to honor) his personal benefactor."

More than fifteen extensive inscriptions were set up in the city in honor of Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos and his wife Claudia Anassa - most of them on bases originally adorned with honorary bronze statues. This, however, seems to be the only inscription of the series so far that was inscribed on the outer wall of a building itself. The corresponding statue bases implied by the formula of our texts might have been set up to the side of the temple's front. Ti. Claudius Epaphroditos, the client and heir of the deceased couple, probably used his office of *ergepistates* to have an inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos carved into the wall of the temple. Epaphroditos was already known to be *ergepistates* in AD 150.[34] In our text we see him as a former *ergepistates* of two building projects financed from the interest of Eudemos' foundation.[35]

An analogous "private" monument following a very similar formula - set up for ἡ ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτις - was found in 2005 near the city gate of the late antique wall.[36] In this text Ti. Claudius Epaphroditos commemorates the life and deeds of Claudia Anassa. While its lettering compared to our text is somewhat careless, the letter forms are very similar. The epigraphic surface is enclosed by slightly elevated 5-6 cm high strips similar to our decorative line. The name of the person responsible for the honor is separated from the rest of the text by two *hederae*, as probably is the case with our text as well. Most striking is the similar width of both inscriptions. The base for Claudia Anassa is 119 cm wide, while the preserved width of block C is 83 cm, with an average letter width of 2.5-2.9 cm. Considering the approximately ten letters missing that were inscribed on a second block, we can reconstruct an original width for our inscription that is very similar to the inscription for Claudia Anassa (fig. 8).

So it seems likely that Claudia Anassa was honored by Claudius Epaphroditos next to her husband at the wall of the theater temple as well. In fact, the block for Claudia Anassa and block A and B are both 60 cm high, probably at a level on either side of the temple door.[37]

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34 *SEG* 65, 1486 I ll.25-27 and II ll.17-18.

35 An *ergepistates*, unlike the ἐπιμελετὴς δημοσίων ἔργων (attested at Patara in Bönisch and Lepke 2013, 487-96, no. 1 ll.14-15 [*SEG* 63, 13]; commentary on 492-93), seems to have been responsible for the supervision of specific construction projects limited in time. Compare Wörrle 1988, 117-18.

36 Engelmann 2012b, 185-86, no. 4 (*SEG* 63, 1342). The text differs from the known formula of the other uniform inscriptions set up in Claudia Anassa's honor by the city. This conveys the impression of a personal connection between the benefactor and her heir.

37 See the reconstruction in Piesker and Ganzert 2012, suppl. 18.

Interestingly, here - compared to the double base - with Claudia Anassa on the left and Eudemos on the right, the order of husband and wife is reversed, and Anassa is named first, so to speak.

While the text in honor of Claudia Anassa differs significantly from the almost uniform versions known from various honorary bases, the inscription for her husband resembles more closely other honorary inscriptions for the benefactor. After a brief summary of Eudemos' political career, the text jumps right into the considerable amount of money the benefactor bequeathed to the city. As is reiterated in ll.5-11, we need to distinguish two separate transactions: an annual donation of 6.5 *denarii* for each citizen and the endowment of 250,000 *denarii* for the construction and repair of the city's buildings. The passage on the former donation in our text is clearly corrupt - καταλείπειν without object in conjunction with καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος seems rather nonsensical. Most probably the object ἐπίδοσιν was erroneously omitted by the stone mason who may have got confused by the sequence ἐπιδόσεσιν - ἐπίδοσιν in two successive lines. An almost identical depiction of this first donation is to be found in the earliest honorary text for Ti. Claudius Eudemos known to us.[38] The latter donation proved to be an unexpected stroke of luck for the city of Patara, as second-century Lycia suffered through various devastating earthquakes. Dutifully, as prescribed by the benefactor, the city placed a statue base at each "construction site" giving an account of the various projects financed from the foundation.[39]

The preserved text indicates that our inscription follows the same formula as the double base and the inscription from the theater temple. After establishing a key date - the already attested, but hitherto undated, federal priesthood of Licinius Philinos - the sum of interest accrued up to this time is given before identifying the various measures funded from this money. Our text lists construction works that has been or being conducted, as well as repairs at the theater, *gymnasion*, agora, sacred precinct of Apollo Patroos, and city gate. They clearly fit the picture established by the inscriptions already known, but add details and use alternative terminology allowing for a better understanding of the building activity at Patara in the middle of the second century. Especially productive, as we shall see, is the comparison between our text and the double base from the stoa (*SEG* 65, 1486). The latter text was written in the same year or shortly after Mettius Androbios was federal priest of the Lycian League in AD 150. Until then 340,534 *denarii* had been accumulated, which is significantly more than in our text where we find probably 206,534 or 209,534 *denarii*. In 2015, Klaus Zimmermann, Christof Schuler, and

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38 Engelmann 2012b, 179-80, no. 1 ll.13-6: ποιησάμενος ἐ|πιδόσεις ἀργυρικὰς καὶ ἐν ἐ|λαίῳ καὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρικὴν | ἐπίδοσιν χαρισάμενος ("He made distributions of money and in oil and donated an annual distribution of money"). There are significant differences in the way this *epidosis* is depicted in the other inscriptions in honor of Eudemos and Claudia Anassa: The donation is at times characterized as a onetime event (*SEG* 65, 1486 I ll.9-11): διδοὺς με||τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Κλ(αυδίας) Ἀνάσσης τῷ πολείτῃ ἀ|νὰ δηνάρια ἕξ ἥμισυ ("Together with his wife, Claudia Anassa, he gave 6.5 *denarii* to every citizen"). Another text even characterizes the donation as a onetime gift by Claudia Anassa (*SEG* 65, 1486 II ll.7-11: πολλὰ καὶ | μεγάλα παρασχομένη τῇ πατρίδι ἐν αἷς | ἐποιήσατο εὐεργεσίαις καὶ ἀναθήμασιν καὶ || αἷς κατέλιπεν ἐπιδόσεσιν τοῖς πολείταις | καὶ γυμνασιαρχίᾳ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα ["She granted many great things to her hometown while making benefactions and dedications and while bequeathing distributions to the citizens and the *gymnasiarchia* for all time"]). The text, *SEG* 63, 1342 ll.7-11 for Claudia Anassa and associated with the theater temple above, places the emphasis on the widow, but depicts the donation as a joint gift by her and her husband: καταλελοιπυῖα δὲ | καὶ ἀναθήματα καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν | κατ' ἔτος εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα καθὼς διετάξατο, διδοῦσα || διὰ παντὸς καὶ τῷ πολείτῃ κατ' ἔτος ἑκάστῳ ἀνὰ * ἕξ ἥμισυ με|τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ("She left votive offerings of gold and silver and the (cost for the) annual *gymnasiarchia* for all times, just as she ordered by will, and she also gave continually to every citizen 6.5 *denarii* annually together with her husband"). These are contradictory claims that undoubtedly owe themselves to a certain distance from the death of the two protagonists.

39 Lepke et al. 2015, 373-75. The regulation is explicitly stated in *SEG* 65, 1486 ll.24-27.

Andrew Lepke experimentally speculated about the foundation's rate of interest as between 6% and 8%.[40] Abiding by the same limitations, that is, under the condition of continuous investment development - clearly not a given with a foundation of this amount - and in negligence of the existent running costs and of a possible allowance for compound interest, it would have taken about four years for interest income to grow from 20x,534 to 340,534 *denarii*. It is exactly four years prior to Mettius Androbios that a certain Licinnius, whose cognomen is not preserved, is attested as federal priest of the Lycian League for the year AD 146 in the Opramoas dossier of Rhodiapolis.[41] Even if our experimental calculation is not an exact indication, it seems likely that this Licinnius should be identified with Licinnius Philinos, which dates our text to AD 146,[42] a hypothesis already suggested by Denise Reitzenstein. This is especially so, since our inscription clearly belongs in the first half of the second century which leaves very few alternatives for Licinnus Philinos' federal priesthood. (Otherwise the list of federal priests from AD 131-150 has only two blanks: 143 and 145.)[43]

To assess the works conducted according to our new inscription and to evaluate the general building activity in AD 146 and 150, it is necessary to analyze the surviving information comparatively. The following table puts the various measures together: those reported from the statue base from the theater, our new inscription, and the honorary double base from the stoa.

	SEG 54, 1436 (found in the diazoma)	New inscription (theater temple, AD 146?)	*SEG* 65, 1486 (double base, AD 150)
Theater	**κατεσκευά[σ]||θη** καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἔργα, αἵ τε ἀντηρείδες | καὶ ὁ ἔξωθεν ̣τοῦ θεάτρου κύκλος, καὶ ἡ ἐ|πικειμέ[νη] ̣αὐτῷ στοὰ σὺν ταῖς ἀνόδοις | καὶ τ̣ὰ καινὰ βάθρα καὶ ὁ ναός· "the works inside the theater: the supporting towers as well as the outer ring of the theater, and the stoa lying on it with its ways up, and the new seats and the temple were constructed"	**κατεσκευά[σθη** μὲν καὶ]| τὰ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἔργα αἵ τε ἀντηρείδ[ες καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ]| κύκλῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνοικοδομημένα ἔρ[γα καὶ τὰ και]|νὰ βάθρα καὶ ἡ στοὰ καὶ ὁ ναός "the works inside the theater: the supporting towers and the reconstruction works (of the walls) inside the theater round, and the new seats and the stoa and the temple were constructed"	**κατεσκευάσθη** (…) καὶ τὰ ἐν θεάτρῳ ἔργα "the works inside the theater were constructed"

[40] Lepke et al. 2015, 366-67.

[41] *TAM* 2. 905 11 H 5-6 (Kokkinia 2000, 49) and 18 A 1 (Kokkinia 2000, 68); cf. Kokkinia 2000, 170. It is likely that both passages refer to the same Licinnius, being federal priest, when Voconius Saxa was governor of Lycia.

[42] Another priest, Aelius Aristolochianus Capito, was probably from Kadyanda and a relative of Aelius Tertullianus Aristolochos (see the following note and Reitzenstein 2011, 218, no. 78). According to Lepke et al. 2015, 376-83, no. 10, he was federal priest twenty-four years after Licinnius Philinos, which would therefore belong to the year AD 170 (or 167 / 169). The inscription for Aristonoe, daughter of Serapion, dates to the same year (or slightly later). The dating of this text is relevant for our analysis, since Serapion took over the task of ἐργεπιστασία (building supervision) multiple times; see below.

[43] Reitzenstein 2011, 239, no. 122. Reitzenstein's further considerations on the dating of Licinnius Philinus therefore seem to be unfounded. Her argument is based on the *nomen gentile* of Aelius Tertullianus Aristolochos, who was *agonothetes* when Licinnius Philinos was federal priest (*TAM* 2. 678). Reitzenstein argues for Tertullianus' Roman citizenship being awarded to his father under Hadrian. Since Tertullianus was still *agonothetes* when a M. Aurelius was federal priest (*TAM* 2. 677), which could have been 161 at the earliest, she opts for dating Philinos to the second half of the second century. Thus, we are looking at a remarkably long tenure of an *agonothetes*.

While the double base only briefly summarizes the works at the theater, the base from the theater itself is more explicit. Various construction works is addressed and almost verbatim reproduced in our new text. Two differences are to report: the ways up, according to *SEG* 54, 1436 belonging to the stoa have been omitted in our new inscription - either because they were not completed around 146 or, more likely, because they were conceptualized as being part of the stoa.[44] The other difference concerns what is described in *SEG* 54, 1436 as "the outer ring of the theater" [τὰ ἐν τῷ] κύκλῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἀνοικοδομήμενα ἔρ[γα], which clearly points to reconstruction work being conducted inside the theater, a few years prior to approximately 146. The most likely reason for this activity was the great earthquake of 141 / 142.[45]

Gymnasion		**ἐπεσκε[υάσθη**… καὶ τὸ γυμνάσι[ον καὶ ἡ στο]|ὰ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου, **κατεσκευάσθ[η** δὲ καὶ ἡ]| πρὸς τῷ ἀλιπτηρίῳ ἐξέδρα "the *gymnasion* and the stoa in front of the *aleipterion* was repaired. and the *exedra* at the *aleipterio*n was constructed"	**ἐπεσκευά|σθη** τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἡ στο<ὰ> αὕτη, **κατεσκευάσθη** δὲ καὶ | ἡ παρακειμένη ἐξέδρα "the *gymnasio*n and this stoa was repaired, the exedra lying beside was constructed"

Most interesting for our purposes are the details given on the construction and repair work conducted at and near the *gymnasion*. The substance of the report of both inscriptions is identical: the *gymnasion* and a stoa had been repaired, an exedra constructed. Yet both texts seem to struggle with the need to distinguish the stoa and the exedra in question from other stoai and exedrai in the area. While the double base itself serves as a geographic marker to denote the stoa in SEG 65, 1486, our new text introduces the *aleipterion* as a point of reference: the stoa stood in front of this structure, the exedra next to it. An *aleipterion* traditionally denotes a building or room where the visitors of a *gymnasion* could change and anoint themselves. However, as Anne-Valérie Pont has shown, in Imperial times the *aleipteria* turned into important ceremonial rooms - oftentimes at the junction of *gymnasion* and bath.[46] Our epigraphic evidence seems to match this assertion: the *aleipterion* in Patara clearly was a distinctive and prominent enough structure to serve as a reference point in what is essentially an account of the city's management of Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos' foundation, and an anchor point in the mental maps of contemporaries.[47]

Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos		**ἐπεσκευάσ[θη** δὲ καὶ τὰ] | καισάρεια δύο ἔν τε τῇ διπλῇ στοᾷ **καὶ ἐν τ[ῶι τεμέ]|νει τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος** καὶ ὁ προφητικ[ὸς οἶκος καὶ]| οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει ὄντες ὀχετοί "two *kaisarei*a were repaired, one inside the double stoa the other in the sacred precinct of the god Apollo, and the house of the prophet and the drains in the sacred grove were constructed"	**ἐπεσκευ|άσθη** δὲ καὶ καισάρεια δύο καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς οἶκος καὶ οἱ| ἐν τῷ ἄλσει ὀχετοί "two *kaisarei*a and the house of the prophet and the drains in the sacred grove were repaired"

44 Compare Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 63-64, who identify the eastern access tunnel and the (postulated) staircase leading up to this access tunnel with the stoa and their ways up.

45 See Lepke (forthcoming). On the chronology of the seismic activity in 141 / 142, see Ambraseys 2009, 128-31.

46 Pont 2008.

47 See below for the archaeological evidence.

Regarding the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos, our new text informs us that one of the two *kaisareia* mentioned in *SEG* 65, 1486, was situated inside the temenos of the sanctuary (on the second one, see below). The completed repairs for the house of the prophet and the drains in the sacred grove can now be dated around 146, placing them closer to the great earthquake of 142 and the "long silence" of the oracle of Apollo Patroos mentioned in the Opramoas dossier.[48]

After the destruction of 142, many Lycian communities turned to the benefactor from Rhodiapolis for financial aid. If two decrees by the Lycian League are to be believed,[49] the Patareans proved particularly inventive in asking for help: after having received substantial gifts already, they arranged that one of the first oracular responses of Apollo Patroos after a "long time in which no oracular responses had been issued" was issued to Opramoas, convincing him to support the restoration of the oracle and the festival of Apollo Patroos. While no date is given for Opramoas' benefactions, one of the two decrees mentions the Roman governor of 143-146, Q. Voconius Saxa.[50] So either Opramoas was one of the first visitors at the sanctuary after the Patareans had finished their repairs, or the Patareans got the assurance of Opramoas' financial support first and then started their own repairs at the sanctuary. A strategy similar to the latter variant was employed when constructing the stoa at the harbor. This project too had been planned as a joint venture of Opramoas and the city of Patara, and again the Patareans were able to persuade the benefactor to pay all the costs.[51]

Having the repairs at the sanctuary - and the oracle speaking again - that close to 142, seems to favor a reconstruction of events that assumes a rather short period of silence of the oracle. After the earthquake hit the sanctuary, the Patareans either started the reconstruction right away and finished in 143-146, or they focused on other works - probably due to structural necessities urging civic officials to put all their money, building material, and workforce to the theater[52] - and started the repairs only in 143-146. They finished their work around 146 when they brokered a deal with the benefactor from Rhodiapolis for the repairs of the oracle and reintroduction of the great Apollonian games.[53]

Double stoa		**ἐπεσκευάσ[θη** δὲ καὶ τὰ] | καισάρεια δύο **ἕν τε τῇ διπλῇ στοᾷ** καὶ ἐν τ[ῶι τεμέ]|νει τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος "two *kaisarei*a were repaired, one inside the double stoa the other in the sacred precinct of the god Apollo"	**ἐπεσκευ|άσθη** δὲ καὶ καισάρεια δύο "two *kaisarei*a were repaired"

48 *TAM* 2. 905 17 E 11-12.

49 *TAM* 2. 905 14 E ll.3-10, no. 55 (Kokkinia 2000, 60, no. 56) and 17 E ll.10-13, no. 59 (Kokkinia 2000, 67, no. 59).

50 See Kokkinia 2000, 258.

51 *TAM* 2. 905 17 E ll.14 - F ll.1; 18 G ll.3-4 and FdX 7 67 ll.12-14. Initially, as *TAM* 2. 905 18 G ll.1-6 (Kokkinia 2000, 70) demonstrates, Opramoas had given 18,000 *denarii* (i.e. 45 %) towards this building project, the costs of which amounted to 40,000 *denarii*; cf. Zimmermann 2019, 136-37.

52 See Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 76, on the provisional character of the works conducted after the earthquake and the state of incompletion the theater remained in. The repairs at the Neronian Baths were postponed until after about 146 as well.

53 On the history of these games see Lepke et al. 2015, 345-47. On the *agonothesia(i)* of Opramoas, see Zimmermann 2019, 137-38.

Since there seems to be no distinctive type of *kaisareion*, the appearance of this structure remains obscure.[54] As the double base attests, a stoa at Patara could be furnished with large statue bases bearing wordy inscriptions. And indeed, numerous statue bases with honorary inscriptions for various emperors have been found rebuilt into the southern section of the late antique city wall, possibly forming the *kaisareion* in question. There are, on the other hand, hundreds of fragments of marble slabs found at the double stoa have survived the limekilns. While an in-depth analysis of the marble tiles with inscription is still pending, the material and the marble decoration without inscription that was also utilized in this stoa shows a demonstrable level of expense and presentation.[55]

Baths			**ἐπεσκευάσθη** δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἀγο|ρᾷ βαλανεῖον “the baths at the agora were repaired”

Interestingly, these repairs are somewhat detached from the repairs and construction works near the *gymnasion*. However, this might be for chronological reasons, since work at the Neronian Bath seems not yet to have been finished by around 146.[56]

City Gate		**κατασκευάζεται** [δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς]|| τῇ πύλῃ ἔργα “the work at the gate is being conducted”	**κατασκευάζεται** δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ | ἔργα “the work at the gate is being conducted”

With regards to the construction work at the gate - probably the so-called Mettius Modestus gate in the north of the city - our new text and the double base are fully identical.

Statue	καὶ ἡ εἰς τοὺς [ἀν]δριάντας ἑαυτοῦ ἔξοδος ἐγένετο ἐκ [τ]ῶν τόκων “and the expenditure for his statues got paid from the interest”		καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔξοδος ἐγέ|νετο ἐκ τῶν τόκων τούτων “and the expenditure for his statue got paid from the interest”

Both inscriptions set up by the city of Patara elaborate on the prize of the statues being paid from the proceeds of the foundation. In contrast, our new text is clearly a private gift by the grateful Ti. Claudius Epaphroditos who must have paid for the monument himself.

In concert with our other inscriptions referring to the building activities financed by Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, our new text allows for a new evaluation of the scope and severity of the destruction of 142. Prominent parts of the city - the Neronian Bath at the agora and the house of the prophet at the suburban sanctuary of Apollo - remained in need of repair for a couple or even several years, probably indicating an overload of financial resources, insufficient workforce, and lack of building materials due to abundant demand. Rebuilding Patara after this catastrophe turned out to be an enormous task, distributed on many shoulders and

54 Lepke et al. 2015, 367 with n. 230. On the double stoa see Aktaş 2016a, 2019.

55 On the other marble decoration see Möllers 2015, who dates part of the marble tiles into Severan times.

56 On the interrelationship of the construction of the stoa and the frigidarium of the Neronian Baths, see Koçak and Şahin 2020, 203-6. It is not entirely clear what kind of activities are precisely depicted with ἐπισκευάζειν in our inscription. Koçak and Şahin 2020 proposed a wide meaning of the word, also encompassing the extension of the building stock of a structure. A more rigorous differentiation between κατασκευάζειν and ἐπισκευάζειν might favor a slightly earlier construction of building phase II of the Neronian Baths and the stoa north of the agora, which in turn were damaged in 142 and had to be repaired between AD 142 and 150.

certainly overstressing the civic budgets. Regional benefactors like Opramoas of Rhodiapolis stepped in and paid for various costs so that the Patareans could focus all their effort on rebuilding the city.[57]

The thorough account of the city's effort in combating this destruction preserved in our texts allows for an unusually detailed picture of the city center in the middle of the second century AD. We find the *gymnasion* connected to a stoa, which was placed directly in front of an *aleipterion*. Adjacent to this stoa an exedra was situated. We cannot say whether the *aleipterion* was part of the *gymnasion* or the baths at the agora, which were repaired just after 146. Even the stoa is not explicitly identified as, for example, "the stoa of the *gymnasion*." The reason for this is probably that it was not possible to conceptually distinguish between the baths and the *gymnasion* in second-century Patara.

Both inquiries into our epigraphic record have produced two fragmentary but complementary pictures of the *gymnasion* at Patara. Our inscriptions clearly point to the existence of a *gymnasion* in the vicinity of the agora since at least the first century BC. Whether this *gymnasion* had grown into a *gymnasion*-bath complex before the second century AD remains unclear.[58] So also is the question whether the *gymnasion* lost its importance during the Imperial era in favor of the thermal baths. Our epigraphic evidence for the *neoi* or any activity taking place in the palaestra[59] seems to be restricted towards the first century AD and at the beginning of the second century we find *gerontes* more prominently represented instead. But the education and training of the *neoi* clearly was a centerpiece of the city's public image as various agonistic inscriptions attest up until the third century AD.

Over this time the *gymnasion* seems to have grown into a prominent location of representation. While there are very few inscriptions that we can safely place in the *gymnasion* and there is no distinctive "persona" that we might ascribe to the inscriptions from the *gymnasion*, it clearly had an impact on the way civic and federal elites presented themselves and were represented in the south of Patara.

3. Architectural evidence for the city's *gymnasion*[60]

Analysis of the epigraphic material given above suggests the localization of the *gymnasion* north of the agora and east of Harbor Street. In this section of the city, an area stands out that seems to have been ideally suited for a *gymnasion*, or more precisely, for the palaestra of a

57 Compare *TAM* 2. 905.

58 On changes of the Hellenistic *gymnasion* in Imperial times, see Trümper 2015. On the changing balance between the importance of the bath or the *gymnasion* aspect in *gymnasion*-bath complexes, see Steskal 2015.

59 *TAM* 2. 470 (Merkelbach and Stauber, Steinepigramme 4, 2002, 39, no. 17 / 09 / 02) is an epigram for Ammonius, guardian of the palaestra (*palaistrophylax*).

60 The importance of sports and related activities for fostering community and urban identity is also attested by the seventeen completely preserved strigils found in subterranean chamber tombs at Patara, in addition to numerous fragments. Analyses have shown that they date between the second half of the second century BC and the first century AD (Şahin 2018a, 27-35). It is generally assumed that the strigils enclosed in graves indicate that the deceased was an athlete during his lifetime. This is a plausible explanation in many cases, especially when supported by other finds such as inscriptions or various prizes won. It should not be assumed, however, that grave goods always point to primary meanings or are connected to the general function of the object; see Kotera-Feyer 1993, 1-2. On the various uses of the strigils, see Şahin and Doğan 2016, 772-73. However, the presence of a considerable number of strigils in many tombs may indicate otherwise. H.L. Reid suggests that strigils as grave goods rather reflect the image of a polis citizen who was a regular, perhaps lifelong, visitor to the *gymnasion*; see Reid 2022, 191-93. Thus, the strigiles from the tombs belonged primarily to the *gymnasion* world and had a significance that represented the social and political status of the male citizens in the city (Reid 2022, 198-210).

gymnasion.[61] Roughly speaking, it is the area between the Neronian Bath and the so-called Central Bath further to the north. Apart from the proximity of the relevant inscriptions, there are several other reasons for identifying this area as a palaestra and thus a *gymnasion* (figs. 9, 10).

These reasons include the surrounding buildings related to a *gymnasion* already identified (to be discussed below). In addition, the topographical situation in the immediate vicinity of the agora must also be considered. However, two special features should be mentioned initially that make the site a suitable candidate for a palaestra and thus for a *gymnasion*. Firstly, there are no visible building remains that could be Roman or earlier on this large, flat area between the two baths that measures approximately 50 x 100 m. Secondly, the entire area lies considerably lower than its surroundings (fig. 10).[62] In antiquity, this difference in level was certainly somewhat greater (the floor of this area, the presumed palaestra, has not yet been excavated), while the other elevations are from the exposed floors of the ancient buildings. In most cases palaestrae were unpaved and lower than the floors of the surrounding stoas.

According to the related epigraphic finds and the features briefly described above, the area between the two baths could be taken for the palaestra of the *gymnasion* of Patara. But more evidence is needed. Perhaps we can go a step further by observing the neighboring buildings that belong together and their topographical relationship with each other: agora, two baths mentioned above, exedra, stoa, propylon, *latrina*, and two wall remains (Wall A-B). In addition to these buildings, we will have to discuss another building known only from inscriptions, the *aleipterion*.

Some of the aforementioned buildings were also mentioned in the inscriptions listing the building activities of the Eudemos Foundation (see above). These inscriptions provide a good dating basis for some buildings or phases of their construction. At the same time, they are a valuable source of information for the identification and localization of individual buildings, since they contain simple topographical details. It is therefore advisable to include these inscriptions when analyzing the architectural landscape north / northeast of the agora.

In both the Eudemos inscriptions, the terms *gymnasion*, stoa, *aleipterion*, and exedra stand together as one group. A *balaneion* is only mentioned in the inscription *SEG* 65, 1486 and somewhat later, not as a part of the aforementioned group. The fact that the *gymnasion* is mentioned together with a stoa, an exedra and an *aleipterion* is not surprising, because such structures or parts of buildings were the components of a *gymnasion* or a so-called bath-*gymnasion*. Moreover, since all these structures / buildings are mentioned one after the other, one might assume that they are close to each other and communicate with each other in some way. We believe we have located at least three of these buildings with certainty: These are "the *balaneion* at the agora" along with the stoa and exedra. In the following we will briefly describe these buildings and their topographical situation. However, we must first ask where the agora mentioned in the inscriptions is supposed to be.

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61 More than two decades ago, Fahri Işık 2000, 107 had expressed the opinion that this area could be the palaestra of the Neronian Bath. Şevket Aktaş also shares the same opinion; see Aktaş 2016b.

62 There is a natural gradient at this point anyway, which slopes down from the agora towards the north (inner harbor). For example, the difference in height is approximately 1 m at Harbor Street with a length of approximately 100 m; see also Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 40-44.

3.1 Agora

A large square complex is situated in the southwest of the urban area of Patara, in the neighborhood of the well-preserved theater and a bouleuterion (fig. 11). A stoa approximately 120 m long and 15 m deep with a double row of columns was excavated several years ago. It borders this open square to the west.[63] During the 2018 excavation campaign, part of a 7.5 m deep stoa was also uncovered to the east of this square. It runs parallel to the western one and possesss only one row of columns (fig. 12). The distance between the two stoas is 77 m. In the northern part of the eastern stoa, there is also a *latrina*, which was partially covered by one of the towers (Tower 7) of the late antique city wall. There is still no architectural evidence for a southern stoa. Such a closed complex, that is, a stoa as the southern end, is not mandatory but can be expected.[64]

According to these brief descriptions, it can be assumed that this square is the agora of Patara. In the Eudemos inscriptions, the agora has no other adjective such as “lower,” “small,” or “large.” It therefore is probable that Patara had only one agora.[65]

The agora and the surrounding buildings such as the theater, bouleuterion, and Neronian Bath are part of their own street grid system, while the rest of the city has a different grid system. These grids, which “touch” each other at the southern end of Harbor Street, lie at an angle of about 30 degrees to each other. One can only assume that this rectangular street system was laid out, at the latest, with the construction of the Late Classical / Early Hellenistic city wall.[66] It is certain that the core of the theater is pre-Roman.[67] The same applies to the bouleuterion.[68] Accordingly, the agora can only be assumed to have been initially designed, at the latest, in the Hellenistic period. However, it was redesigned several times during the Imperial period - at least once in the Flavian period, then again in the Antonine, and finally in the Severan period.[69] In Late Antiquity, almost all the building elements of the agora, that is, all the stoas, other buildings, and stone furniture, were incorporated into the late antique wall as construction material.

3.2 *Balaneion* at the *agora*

The statement in the newly discovered Eudemos inscription is clear: the *balaneion* at the agora is being renovated.[70] We have only one bath complex at the agora of Patara: the

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63 Aktaş 2016a.

64 See Sielhorst 2015, 21-24. Compare the agorai of Asia Minor in Hellenistic times such as Priene, Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamon (lower agora), or Magnesia ad Maeandrum; see Sielhorst 2015, 108-32, 144-45, 165-68.

65 Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 43, figs. 37, 43, speculate that there was a “northern *agora*” at the inner harbor and a “southern” one at the theater and bouleuterion. However, there is no evidence to corroborate this theory.

66 For the Late Classical / Early Hellenistic wall see Dündar and Rauh 2017; for the pottery finds in the area from the eighth century BC, see Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 156. On the rectangular street system at Patara, see Ganzert 2015, 274-75, figs. 8-9, 11; Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 163.

67 Piesker and Ganzert 2012, 233.

68 The first construction phase of the bouleuterion dates to the late Hellenistic period; see İşkan 2019, 275-76.

69 Elements of architectural sculpture associated with the first building phase of the west stoa of the agora are rare. One of the ex-situ architectural fragments found here belongs to an Ionic corner capital dated to the Julio-Claudian period; see Şahin 2018b, 91-93, cat. no. 39. A pilaster capital belongs to the early Roman Imperial period; see Aktaş 2013, 105; Şahin 2018b, 147-48, cat. no. 83. The Ionic and Corinthian capital fragments, clearly identified as belonging to the building, are characteristic of the Antonine period; see Aktaş 2013, 105. The Corinthian pilaster capitals under the wall coverings are dated to the late second to early third century AD and represent the final construction phase of the building; see Aktaş 2013, 101-2; Şahin 2018b, 148-49, cat. nos. 84-90.

70 Unfortunately, the extent of the works referred with the term ἐπισκευάζειν is not clear. It is equally difficult to determine what κατασκευάζειν exactly means; see Fournier and Prêtre 2006, 487-97, esp. 491-92.

so-called Neronian Bath (figs. 13-16).[71] The construction activities mentioned in the inscription, therefore, must be connected to this bath, which has been almost completely uncovered in recent years.

As its name suggests, the Neronian Bath was built during the reign of the Roman Emperor Nero, known from the *in situ* building inscription.[72] Afterwards, this building continued to function as a bath for several centuries, while undergoing several structural changes, some of them considerable.[73] As far as we know, the bath's first phase initially consisted of only two rooms (fig. 14, spaces I and II), although it has not yet been possible to determine with certainty what functions the individual rooms had.[74] Around the middle of the second century AD at the latest, the building was enlarged by adding an additional room to the west (fig. 15, space III).[75] From this phase onwards, the functions of the individual rooms can be clearly defined from west to east: frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium (III-I). In an even later period, further rooms were added such as the apodyterion in the west and the two small rooms in the south (fig. 16, spaces IV-VI).[76]

The bath building was located at the northeastern corner of the agora. Space I of Phase I lies on the axis of the eastern stoa of the agora's last construction phase. If the size of the agora did not change, one could say that the early bath building was in the immediate vicinity of the agora. Remarkably, the entrance to this early complex is not to the south, that is, not on the agora side, but to the west towards Harbor Street. This must have meant that the bath at least could not be directly entered from the agora. Apparently, the west side was more important or more suitable structurally / topographically than the others. Probably the latter point played the most important role in the placement of the entrance. For, as it seems, there was no direct connection between the northeastern area of the agora and the new bath building. About 7 m south of the bath ran a double-shelled wall (wall A-B) lying on the east-west axis, of which non-continuous remains have survived (see below). In the section along the bath building, this wall had no entrance, so there was no connection between the bath and the agora.

3.3 The so-called Central Bath[77]

We have assumed that the so-called Central Bath is at the northwest corner of the palaestra (fig. 17). Only the upper parts of the walls of the building can be seen; the rest lies under debris. However, this is sufficient to determine the functions of the rooms. The original core of this complex consists of three rooms from east to west: frigidarium, tepidarium, and caldarium. The entrance is in the east where the frigidarium is located. Later another room was added to the east.

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71 The statement "balaneion at the agora" implies the existence of other baths in the city. The so-called Harbor Bath was built in Flavian times, that is, before the inscription; see Erkoç 2018. We do not know whether the Central Bath also existed before this inscription was carved.

72 *TAM* 2, 396; compare Eck 2008; Farrington 1995, 73-74, 156-57, no. 38. See also Koçak and Erkoç 2016; Koçak and Şahin 2020. So far, the Neronian Bath is the earliest archaeologically known bath complex not only in Patara, but also in all of Lycia. It is also one of the earliest well-preserved baths in Asia Minor.

73 The publication of this building complex is currently in preparation.

74 However, since the entrance is in the west, room II should have been intended for cold bathing (?). There are baths with only two rooms in Athens and Olympia; see Nielsen 1990, 101 nos. C.254 and C.271.

75 For a detailed discussion of this construction activity, see Koçak and Şahin 2020, 195-200.

76 The analysis of these finds is ongoing.

77 The site was so named because of its location in the middle of the city. For a plan and brief description, see Farrington 1995, 157-58, no. 40, figs. 23, 107, 134.

Since the Central Bath has not yet been excavated, and moreover no building inscription is known, hardly anything can be said about its dating. On the other hand, this bath is smaller than the Neronian Bath, and had three rooms from the beginning. Perhaps this could be seen as evidence of the later creation of this bath. Another striking thing is that its orientation corresponds to the street grid system of the northern part of the city: the western outer wall of the caldarium lies parallel to Harbor Street. The construction, therefore, had to respect already existing buildings. It can thus be assumed that the Central Bath was built into a pre-existing architectural framework so that the available construction site dictated the orientation of the building.

3.4 Stoa, exedra, *aleipterion*

In two Eudemos inscriptions we read that an exedra was newly built "next to" an *aleipterion* (new text) and "along" (*SEG* 65, 1486) a stoa. The stoa is additionally localized by being placed "opposite" this *aleipterion* (new text) as well as this exedra (*SEG* 65, 1486). It is thus clear from the inscriptions that these three buildings stand very close to each other and are neighboring buildings, so to speak. The *aleipterion* and exedra stand next to each other, and the stoa stretches out in front of them (see above). Considering this topographical information, we will try below to identify some building remains that have been partially uncovered in recent years.

Immediately to the north of the late antique wall (as well as Tower 9 with the inscription *SEG* 65, 1486), some fallen column shafts and architraves were uncovered (fig. 18). As the positions of these building elements show, they remained lying about the way they toppled in an earthquake.[78] The structure extended from west to east and originally adjoined the southwest corner of the frigidarium wall of the Neronian Bath.[79] The last architrave of the stoa sat on a console protruding from the wall compound. The height of the marble column shafts is approximately 4 m. The distance between the stylobate and the support of the console is approximately 4.45 m. This leaves about 45 cm for the base and the capital. It follows that this stoa must have been of Ionic order, like the stoas of Harbor Street and the stoas of the agora. The front side of the building was oriented southwards. To the north of this stoa an exedra adjoins, which will be discussed further below. The depth of the stoa is about 7.5 m, like the east stoa of the agora. We cannot date this stoa absolutely, but it must have been built before the two Eudemos inscriptions, i.e., before the middle of the second century AD.

But how can one be sure that this stoa is the one mentioned in the two inscriptions? Firstly, the following must be taken into account: in the inscription *SEG* 65, 1486, the stoa that underwent repair is specified as "this stoa," that is, the location of the base of the statues for Eudemos and his wife Anassa. As already addressed above, the spolia of the late antique wall usually came from the immediate vicinity. The base probably stood originally either in the western stoa of the agora or in another stoa to the north of the agora.[80] The western stoa of the agora, also mentioned above, has a double row of columns. Thus, it is probably the one that is described in the same inscriptions as a "double stoa" in which a *kaisareion* was erected. However, apparently this double stoa was not repaired by the funds of the Eudemos Foundation, since we have no such information. The repaired stoa where the Eudemos couple was honored should therefore be a different one.

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78 The bases and capitals are missing and almost certainly reused in post-antique buildings.

79 Koçak and Şahin 2020, 202-3.

80 Koçak and Şahin 2020, 202.

The newly built exedra[81] mentioned in both inscriptions plays a key role in the localization of both the stoa and the *aleipterion*, which is only known through inscriptions. As already mentioned, an exedra is located directly north of the above-mentioned stoa (fig. 19). It is about 22 m wide and 14 m deep, and opens onto the stoa in front of it. Its inner walls are divided into deep niches between wide half-pillars. Last year's excavation revealed numerous fragments of marble wall cladding panels. The floor is also laid with marble. The opening in the direction of the agora and the use of marble as a cladding material show that the exedra was a splendid building. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the inscriptions what function it served, and the excavations to date have not brought any clear results to light in this respect.

Two coffered ceiling panels, a Corinthian capital, some remains of column shafts and five architrave-frieze blocks are known from the exedra (fig. 20a-c).[82] The architrave-frieze blocks bear ornamentation on two sides. Ionic *kymatia*, *astragal*, *anthemion*, and tendrils can be found on the front side. Examples of similar Ionic *kymatia* are known from the early Antonine period.[83] In the *anthemion*, each of the leaves form open and closed palmettes rising independently from the base. The side leaves of the open leaves have the shape of scimitars.[84] Similarly constructed *anthemia* are common from the Antonine period onwards.[85] At the back we have *astragal*, lesbian *kymatia*, and as an upper finish, flutes on the frieze. The first examples of lesbian *kymatia* of similar form are known from Hadrianic buildings.[86] The main difference between the lesbian *kymatia* of the Patara example and the Hadrianic examples is that the individual elements of the *kymatia* at Patara are not connected by small bridges. The design also appears much heavier, and the midrib is more independent than in earlier periods. We also encounter this in examples from the second half of the second century AD.[87] The flutes on the architrave-frieze blocks rise straight up from the lower moulding and end convexly at the upper end. This type of flute design is found on frieze blocks dating from the first half of the second century AD.[88] Many parts of the Corinthian capital are broken and missing. The acanthus leaves of the capital have elliptical narrow eyes, a feature common on second century AD Corinthian capitals, although in different forms. The earliest examples of the caules that shaped triangular knobs on the capital are known from the Corinthian capitals of the Hadrianic to Early Antonine periods.[89]

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81 Koçak and Erkoç 2016, 494-95, fig. 28; Koçak and Şahin 2020, 200-3. The uncovering of the exedra began in the summer of 2022.

82 The exedra's architectural decoration is currently being studied by Feyzullah Şahin for an in-depth publication.

83 For the temple of Antoninus Pius in Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1997, 66, 69, 72, pl. 29.1; the Nymphaion at the upper agora of Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1997, 101, pl. 44, 1-2; the theater of Myra, see Dinstl 1987, 164, fig. 14; the Baths of Faustina in Miletos, see Karaosmanoğlu 1996, 50-51, pl. 37a.

84 Leaves of this form appear at the end of the Hadrianic period and become widespread during the Antonine period; see Vandeput 1997, 160.

85 For the *gymnasion* of Vedius in Ephesus, see Keil 1929, fig. 18; the theater of Side, see Vandeput 1997, 93, 101-3, pl. 115.3; the Nymphaion at the upper agora of Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1997, 102, pl. 44.3. However, earlier examples of this type, albeit in small numbers, are known from the Hadrianic period; see Başaran 1995, 80-81.

86 Vandeput 1997, 67, pl. 86.1.

87 For Xanthus, see Cavalier 2005, 82; the temple of Antoninus Pius in Kremna, see Mitchell 1995, 92, fig. 33; the agora of Perge, see Mansel 1978, 171, fig. 16; Vandeput 1997, 67, 90, 96, pl. 108.3; Rhodiapolis see Kökmen-Seyirci 2016, 167-68, 222-31, cat. nos. 132, 244, pl. 55, 86; the theater of Sagalassos, see Vandeput 1992, 110-12, pl. 26c, 27c.

88 The flute motifs provide few clues for dating, but the S-profile of the leaf motifs suggests a date later than the mid-second century AD; see Kökmen-Seyirci 2016, 194; Karagöz et al. 1986, 137, fig. 15a-g.

89 For the temple of Zeus Lepsynos in Euromos, see Doğan 2020, 456-57, cat. nos. 384-85, 388, figs. 603-4, 607; the north agora of Laodikeia see Yener 2019, 163-66, cat. no. KA-KB-5, pl. 56.

Thus, the dates of the inscriptions mentioning an exedra and the architectural sculpture of the building under discussion coincide. Therefore, the assumption that the exedra mentioned in the Eudemos inscriptions must be the exedra north of the agora is extremely probable.[90] If the exedra mentioned in the inscriptions and the stoa located next to it are the buildings discussed above (fig. 1), it remains to be asked where the *aleipterion* could be. According to the new inscription, the exedra was built next to the *aleipterion*, and the stoa is opposite the *aleipterion* and exedra. First of all, this *aleipterion* must have already existed and thus would have been known to the readers of the newly discovered inscription. So the *aleipterion* could be taken as an orientation marker, with the *aleipterion* older than the exedra. However, we are not yet aware of any building or space around the exedra that could pass for an *aleipterion*, although it should be noted that the west and north sides of the exedra have not yet been excavated.

The preposition "next to" suggests that the *aleipterion* must be on the left or right side of the exedra when one stands in front of it. This means in the west or in the east, since the *aleipterion* is opposite the stoa, which is also in front of the exedra. Therefore, only the two sides of the exedra are possible locations for the *aleipterion*. It cannot have been the east side because that area is occupied by the freshly excavated apodyterion of the Neronian Bath (fig. 21). This "changing room" was definitely added after the construction of the exedra and frigidarium, since the stone benches of this room lean against the east wall of the exedra and the west wall of the frigidarium. Moreover, it was not until the new construction of the exedra and the addition of the frigidarium that an empty space was created here, which was later converted into an apodyterion. Approximately in the middle of this freshly exposed apodyterion, where floor paving was missing, a sondage was made in the summer of 2022 to clarify the former architectural situation (fig. 22). The sondage revealed only part of a sewage system, but no traces of any other predecessor buildings or paving were present. The architectural design of this area before the construction of the frigidarium and the exedra (and later the apodyterion) is currently unknown.

According to observations to date, the exedra has no passage to its backside in the north. However, if the *aleipterion* we are looking for was on the exedra's rear side, we would very likely have a completely different wording in the inscription besides "next to." Thus, it seems plausible to look for the *aleipterion* on the west side. This area has not yet been excavated for logistical reasons. To the southwest is a gateway (so-called propylon), which is discussed below.

3.5 Remains of a wall (wall A-B)

About 10 m south of the Neronian Bath at the level of the tepidarium and frigidarium runs the 20 m long remnant of an *emplecton* wall, already mentioned above (wall A). It is built of yellowish-light limestone blocks, the inner sides of which are only irregularly and roughly hewn. On the north side, two late bathing rooms adjoin the wall (spaces V-VI). On the south side, the wall has a façade structure with pilasters and bases of varying widths. In front of the wall, the floor is paved with very well-cut thick greyish limestone slabs (fig. 23a-b). One cannot see a beginning, end, or any change in the wall line.

90 These architectural decorations used in the first phase of the exedra with its fixed date will also serve as a reference for future works.

About 50 m farther to the west on the same axis, there is another wall remnant about 10 m long (fig. 24a-b, wall B). It is similar to the above-mentioned wall in terms of construction, dimensions, material, and shape. This wall runs, in the west, under the gateway of the west stoa of the agora. The west stoa abuts this wall. To the east, the wall is broken off. A floor adjoins the north side that, like the south side of the section of wall to the east, is paved with well-cut greyish limestone slabs.

Presumably, these two wall remains belong together. On the one hand, they have the same alignment while on the other, the small rooms of the late antique wall end exactly on this alignment. However, we have not yet succeeded in determining in what way they belong together, although a suggestion is made below. This wall is definitely earlier than the west stoa of the agora. The steps of this stoa are joined to Wall A, whose ashlar blocks were recessed for this purpose. It is probably one of the earliest architectural features of this area, as the surrounding buildings respect it. This wall (or its rising parts) existed until Late Antiquity, as its limestone ashlars were used in the late antique wall that runs only a few metres to the south (cf. above).

3.6 The so-called propylon

A propylon measuring approximately 7.5 x 10 m opened from Harbor Street into a kind of corridor that extended to the east (fig. 25). The south side of this corridor is formed by the early wall A-B, already mentioned above. On the north side, not yet been excavated, there was apparently a room, the entrance to which was added in late antiquity (fig. 26). About 20 m after the gateway, the row of columns of the stoa, discussed above, begins. It is not yet known how wall B behaves exactly at this level. A small sondage showed that wall B must have run even further (fig. 24a-b). The last stone in the east has prepared abutting surfaces for the next stone block that, however, is missing. The floor of the propylon consists of yellowish limestone slabs. The sondage on wall B revealed a different floor situation. About 10 cm below the current floor lies an older one made of greyish limestone slabs.

3.7 The *latrina*

In the northern part of the eastern stoa of the agora, there is a large public *latrina*, of which only the northern section has been uncovered (fig. 27). The rest has not yet been excavated, so we do not know its exact dimensions, especially its length. The original entrances have not been preserved either, since one of the towers of the late antique wall was built on this site.[91] In the process, it seems, the entrance of the *latrina* was changed. Therefore, the connection between the *latrina* and the Neronian Bath is not as yet clear.

4. Evaluation and conclusion

In a short essay from 1993, Henner von Hesberg stated that from the early Hellenistic period onwards *gymnasia* tended to be located in the political center of the respective city, where the control of the urban institutions was naturally strongest.[92] We can confirm Hesberg's assertion in respect to Patara. Several inscriptions not only prove the existence of a *gymnasion* in Patara from the late Hellenistic period until the third century AD, but they also give an indication of

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91 The *latrina* was only partially destroyed by the construction of the tower, so we believe that it remained in use in late antiquity.

92 Hesberg 1993, 14-16; see also Raeck 2004, 365-66.

its central location in this Lycian city, as we have seen above. On the basis of the findspots of gymnasial inscriptions, almost all of which were reused as spolia, we have been able to identify one area as the location of the *gymnasion* or of the palaestra of this *gymnasion*, namely, the area to the north of the agora between two baths.

In our opinion, the two baths, namely, the Neronian and Central Bath, also speak in favor of this localization. It is not by chance that they were built there: the first "Roman" baths found their way into everyday life in the cities of Asia Minor through the institution of the *gymnasion*, as several examples suggest.[93] For the Central Bath, clear evidence of dating is not as yet available. The Neronian Bath is the earliest known bathing facility in Patara as well as in Lycia. In light of other examples, it is to be expected that this bath complex, which was initially much smaller, was built in or near the *gymnasion* of Patara.

The (main) entrance to the early (and also later) Neronian Bath was to the west, not to the south.[94] There was therefore no direct access from the agora to this bath. In all probability, the *emplecton* wall (A-B), described above, separated the areas of the agora and *gymnasion* (fig. 28). The façade structure of wall A-B with pilasters of different widths indicates a monumental architecture. The Hellenistic columns that came to light in the northwest corner of the agora may also have belonged to this structure (fig. 29).[95] Perhaps they were part of a monumental gateway that connected the agora with the *gymnasion* (?). Unfortunately, the late antique wall, its towers, and the dense and successive building development in this area make it difficult to carry out exploratory excavations or search trenches that could provide answers to these questions. However, for the moment it seems most plausible to us that the *emplecton* wall A-B and the aforementioned columns formed the agora-side façade or the entrance to the *gymnasion* (or firstly to the *aleipterion* located in this area?).

Before the middle of the second century AD, the stoa and the *aleipterion*, attested only in inscriptions and certainly located to the west of the *exedra*, still existed.[96] As the term implies, the *aleipterion* was a space associated with oil, either as its storage place or as an anointing room or both.[97] According to Anne-Valérie Pont, the aleipteria of the Imperial period were sumptuously furnished rooms for representation.[98] They could also function as a splendid passage room, as is the case in Pergamon.[99] Considering its place behind the stoa, one could assume that the *aleipterion* of Patara could also have been a passage room to the palaestra behind it. Unfortunately, the architectural design between the *aleipterion* and the Neronian Bath before the exedra, frigidarium and apodyterium construction remains obscure. It is only probable that the stoa extended as far as the Neronian Bath of the first phase, which can be observed in the continuous stylobate under the west wall of the frigidarium (fig. 30).

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93 Delorme 1960, 243-50; Nielsen 1990, 101-3; Yegül 1992, 21-24; Trümper 2015; Quatember 2018.

94 All other baths in Patara have their main entrance to the east.

95 Thus, the *emplecton* wall A-B would also be Hellenistic. But we still have no clear evidence for this chronology. In the summer of 2018 northwest of the *agora*, six *in situ* pedestals were uncovered, lying on a north-south axis (Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 162). Column bases with shafts have been preserved on two of these pedestals. An Ionic capital was also found on one of the bases that dates to the second century BC. Each pedestal sits on its own small foundation. No traces of paving or a possible stylobate were found between the plinths. Both the capital and the bases date to the Hellenistic period; see Şahin and Aktaş 2019, 163.

96 It is safe to assume that the term *aleipterion* found in the Eudemos inscription does not indicate the bath or the *gymnasion*, but an independent room, as the other two facilities are explicitly mentioned.

97 Nielsen 1990, 160; Pont 2008.

98 Pont 2008.

99 On the other hand see Trümper 2015, 177-78, n. 32.

To investigate the question of the connection between the Neronian Bath and the *gymnasion* as well as the architectural design of the area between the *aleipterion* and the bath, we made two sondages north of the apodyterion and another in the middle of the later apodyterion in the summer of 2022 (fig. 22).[100] Unfortunately, these sondages did not yield any results. We could not find any traces of any architectural structure that could provide answers in this regard.

From the middle of the second century AD onwards with the construction of the exedra and the frigidarium, the area between the Neronian Bath and the *aleipterion* was architecturally filled. It seems much more likely that the exedra, which opens to the south, was located opposite the monumental gateway we have suggested. This would mean that a richly decorated space was inserted between the gymnasion area and the agora. Thus, the main passage or entrance to the palaestra, at least from the south, must have been guaranteed via the *aleipterion* since the exedra, as already mentioned above, has no opening in its northern wall. There was a narrow passage in the north wall of the later apodyterion of the Neronian Bath (fig. 21).[101] It is possible that the service area of the baths was reached through this narrow door.

Another entrance, no less monumental but built only in the Severan period, existed to the west at the southern end of the Harbor Street: the so-called propylon. The construction of the propylon also suggests that the *emplecton* wall A-B continued to exist during this period.[102] The propylon "bisected" the gate of the western stoa of the agora. Its eastern entrance was no longer accessible from Harbor Street (fig. 31). We do not know whether this entrance was walled up at this time. However, if we observe the limestone threshold blocks of the two entrances to the gate, we notice that the threshold of the eastern entrance is much less worn.[103] Thus, a corridor behind the propylon led eastwards so that the *aleipterion* (and thus the *gymnasion*), the exedra, and finally the Neronian Bath were also accessible from Harbor Street.

From the middle of the second century AD, we have a conglomeration of buildings and rooms to the north of the agora: a wall (A-B) with a possible gateway, the stoa, the Neronian and Central Bath, the exedra, the *aleipterion*, and the Severan propylon. The *latrina* at the northeast corner of the agora belongs to this complex. Behind this conglomerate was the palaestra, which was almost certainly surrounded by additional stoas. If we look at the whole, we have a Bath-*Gymnasion* (or *Gymnasion*-Bath?) complex before us, which was not laid out all at once in a planned manner, but grew organically over several centuries.[104] Apparently, it was not possible to build a bath in the style of an imperial thermal bath, as in Aphrodisias

100 In this area, the floor pavement was missing, so that it was possible to lay a sondage. Here we only uncovered a small section of a sewer system, which is about 1.8 m below the floor of the apodyterion.

101 As mentioned above, the apodyterion is later than the exedra and the frigidarium, possibly dating from Severan Times. This opening was added in an even later period. The exploratory excavations north of this opening did not yield any results (see above).

102 For further evidence of the reuse of their ashlar blocks in the late antique wall, see above.

103 Aktaş 2013, 109; 2016b, 5.

104 It is not within the scope of this article to elaborate on this point, and not to compare directly. But the different spaces of some *gymnasia* in Greece (e.g., in Corinth) are spread over a large area and do not show a uniform plan, like the rectangularly closed examples, especially from Asia Minor; see Sturgeon 2022, 7-9, with other examples.

or Ephesus.[105] But the desire to obtain a similar architectural and functional experience is evident.[106]

In a certain way, even the agora was included in this conglomerate. The exedra, although it does not seem to have been directly a part of the *gymnasion* itself but somehow connected with the Neronian Bath, was nevertheless a link between the agora and the *gymnasion* as was the *aleipterion*. Through these building activities Patara, like many other contemporary cities, experienced a strong architectural monumentalization of public space.[107]

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[105] Maybe because of the topographical situation. But perhaps regional architectural developments and / or the city's financial possibilities played a key role (we thank Matthias Pichler for the comment).

[106] Something similar can be observed with the so-called Harbor Bath of Patara: a *basilica thermarum*, which had become a fashionable feature of Asia Minor baths, was added, probably in the third century AD; see Erkoç 2018.

[107] Evangelidis 2014.

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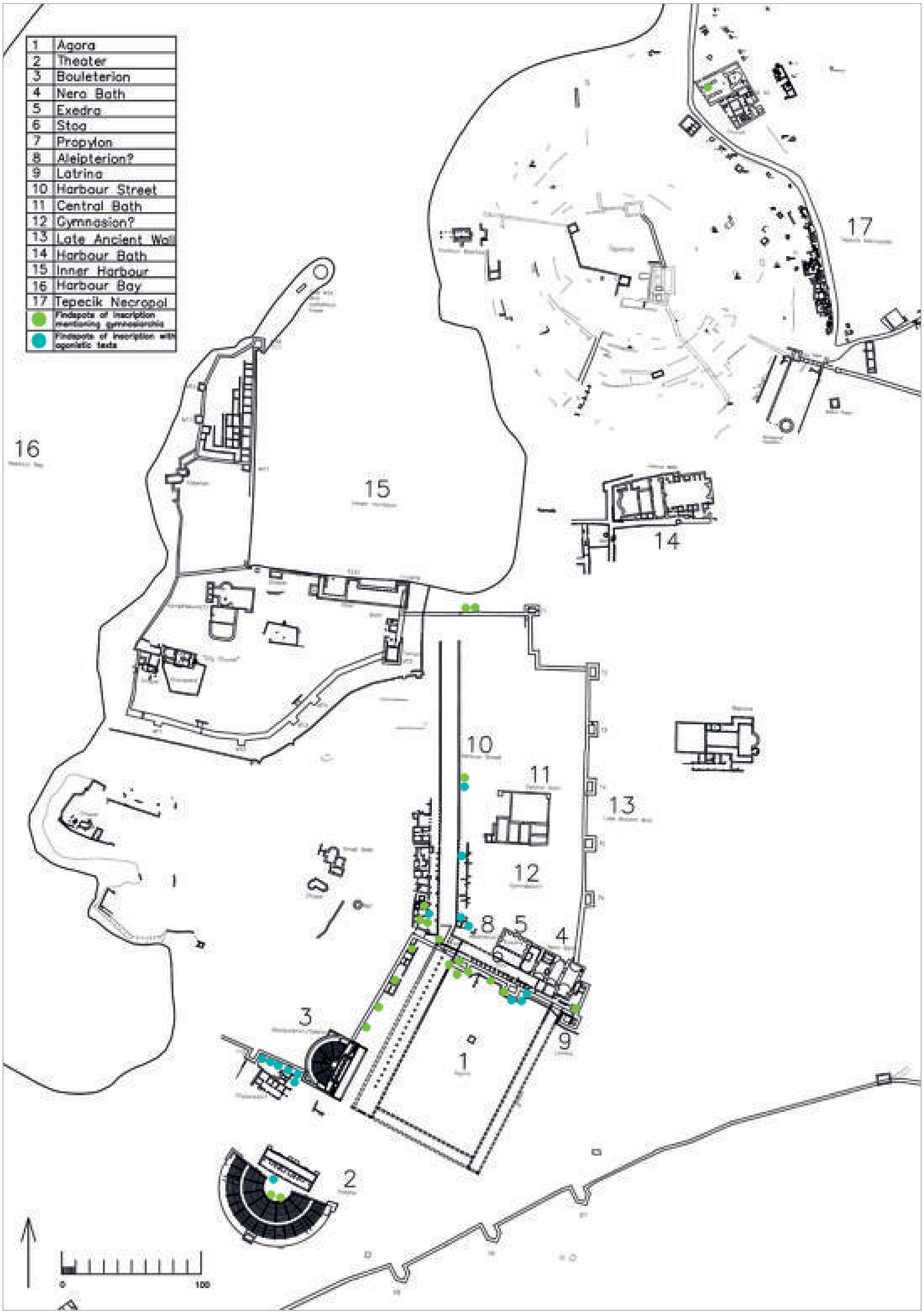

FIG. 1 Plan of Patara with the approximate findspots of the gymnasial inscriptions (© Patara Excavations).

FIGS. 2-3 Inscription no. 1 - *Neoi* honor Artapates III (Photo: Ch. Schuler / A. Lepke).

FIG. 4 Inscription no. 2 - Fragment of a round base (Photo: A. Lepke).

FIG. 5
Inscription no. 3 - Honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos B
(© Patara Excavations).

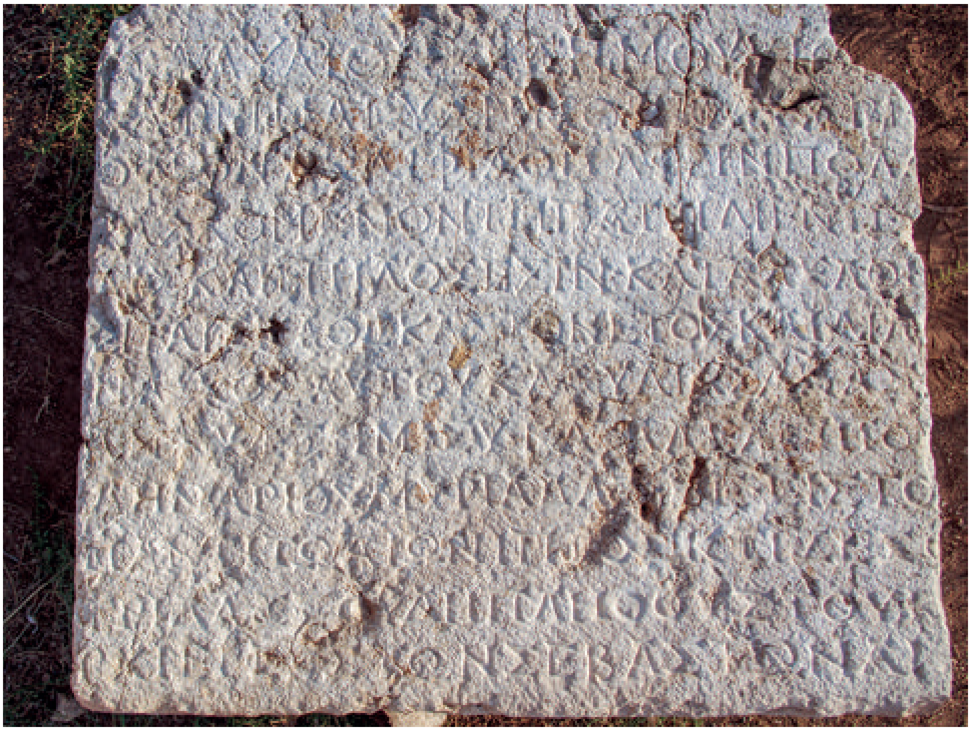

FIG. 6 Inscription no. 3 - Honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos A (Photo: K. Zimmermann).

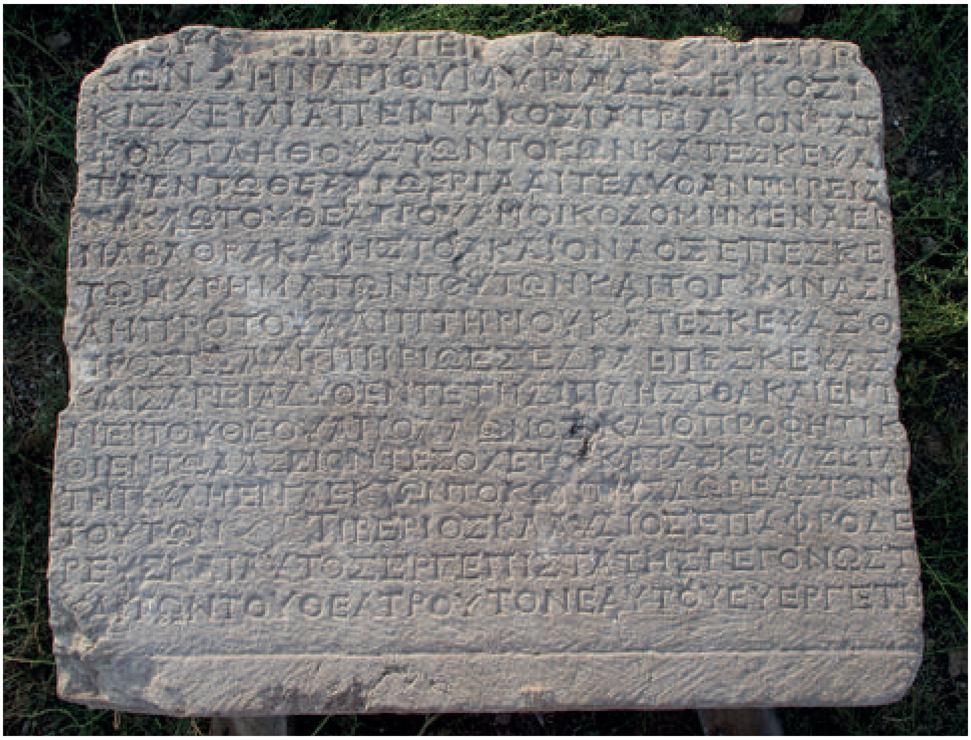

FIG. 7 Inscription no. 3 - Honorary inscription for Ti. Claudius Flavianus Eudemos C (Photo: K. Zimmermann).

FIG. 8 Honorary inscription for Claudia Anassa - *SEG* 63, 1342 (Photo: A. Lepke).

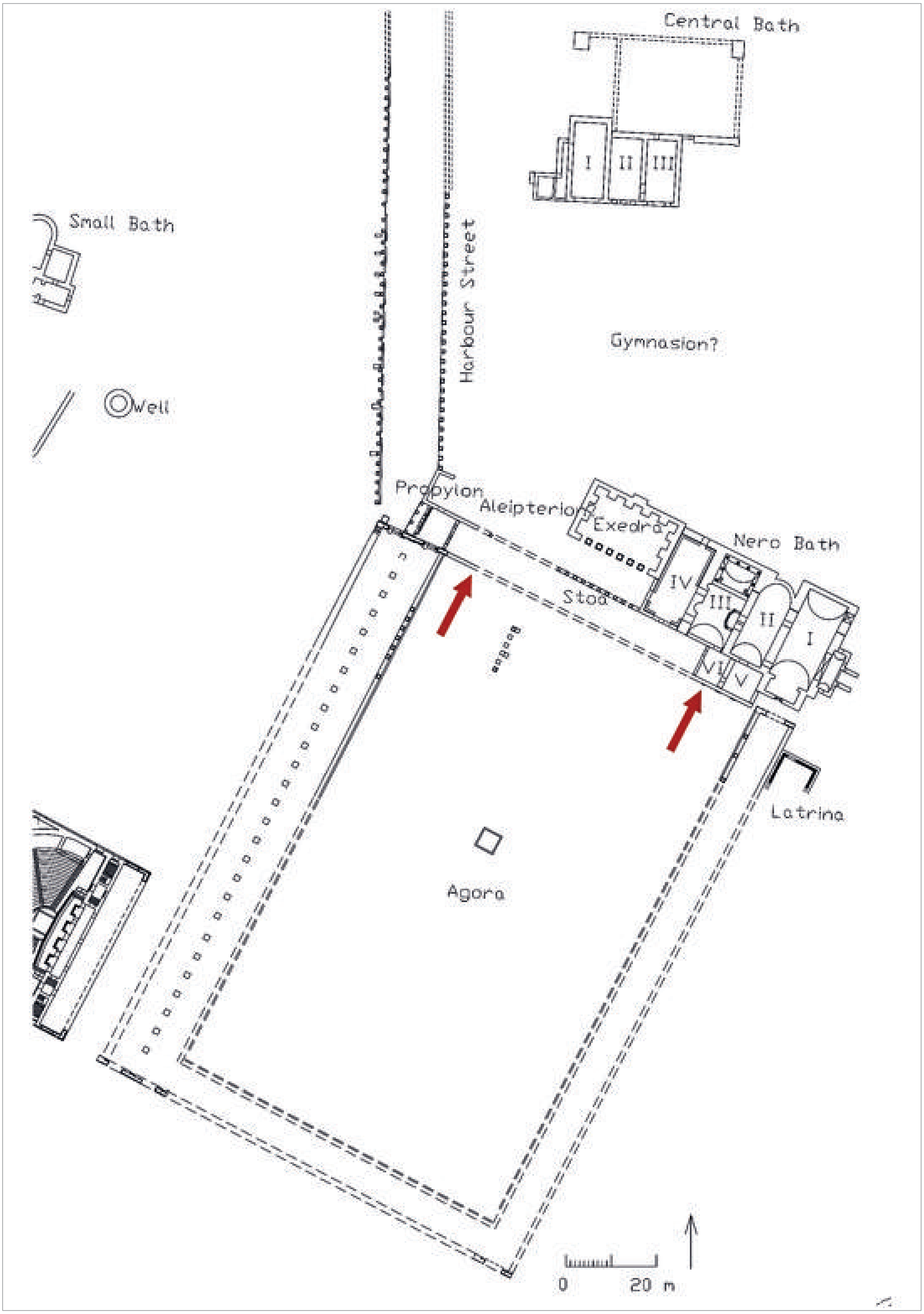

FIG. 9 Plan of area of proposed location of the *gymnasion* in the second and third centuries. Red arrow shows the walls A and B (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 10 Orthomosaic of the area; red arrow shows walls A and B (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 11 Agora seen from northeast, in foreground the Neronian Bath (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 12 Western stoa of agora, view from the northeast (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 13 Aerial view of the Neronian Bath, from the southwest (© Patara Excavations).

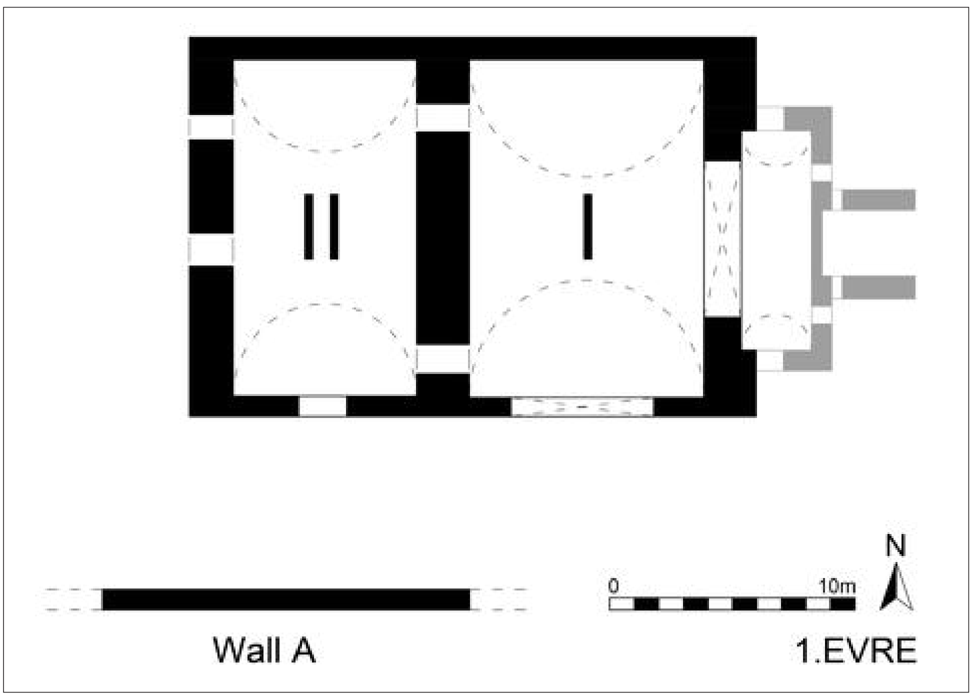

FIG. 14 Plan of Neronian Bath, first phase, room I and II (© Patara Excavations).

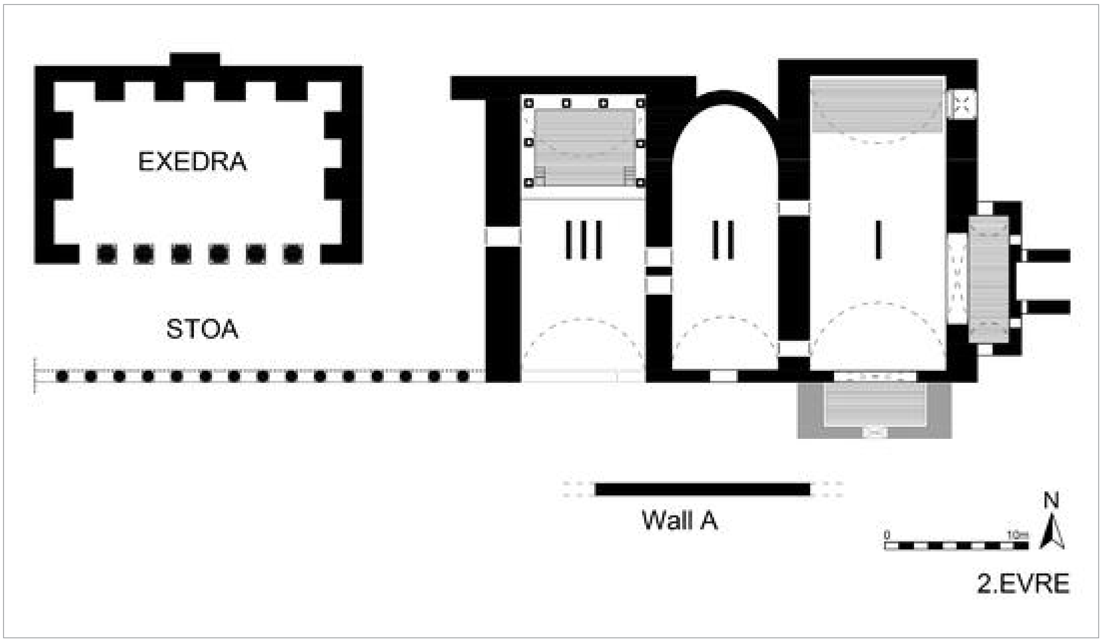

FIG. 15 Plan bath exedra and stoa, second phase (© Patara Excavations).

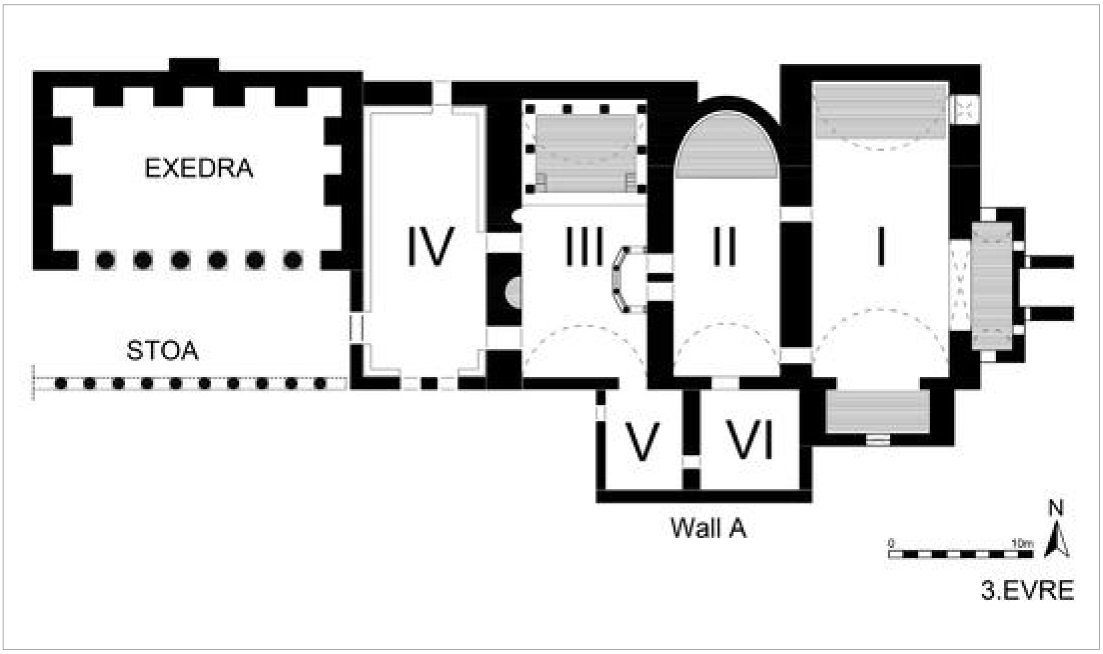

FIG. 16 Neronian Bath, exedra and stoa: last stage (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 17 Aerial view of Central Bath, from the southwest (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 18 Aerial view of the stoa remains (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 19 Aerial photo of exedra with excavated parts at the northeast corner (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 20 a-c Corinthian capital and one architrave (front and rear) from the exedra (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 21
Apodyterion, view from the southeast (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 22
Sondage in the apodyterion (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 23 a-b Wall A with pavement and pilaster, view from south and west (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 24 a-b Wall B with pavement, Sondage Wall B with pavement view from east (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 25 Propylon, view from the west (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 26 Added door in the propylon blocked in Late Antiquity (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 27 Aerial view of *latrina* (© Patara Excavations).

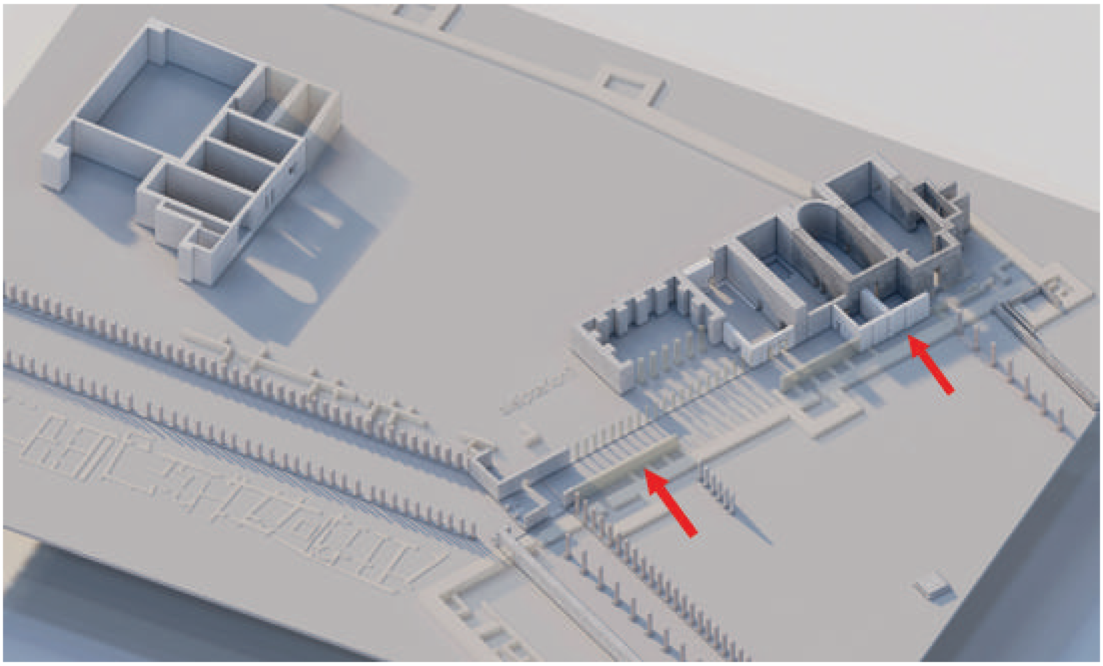

FIG. 28 Model of area; red arrow shows walls A and B (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 29 Hellenistic columns from the agora (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 30
Stylobate under west wall of the frigidarium (© Patara Excavations).

FIG. 31
Eastern entrance of the western stoa of agora, walled-up during the construction of the propylon (© Patara Excavations).

ADALYA 27, 2024

Kelbessos: A Military Settlement as Termessos' Peripolion

NEVZAT ÇEVİK*

I dedicate this article to my friend, the late Prof. Dr. Burhan Varkıvanç, whom we lost too soon. His scientific contributions to the Bey Mountains were significant, and I cherished our friendship dearly.

Abstract

Kelbessos is located in the area of Ağırtaş / Ağıltaş, 23 km west of Antalya. It is at the border of Pisidia, Lycia, and Pamphylia. The fortified citadel (phrourion) was established as a military settlement within the chora of Termessos, so was a garrison with the status of peripolion of Termessos. The settlement of Kelbessos has the structure of a mountain fortress in the nature of a "demos" rather than a fortified settlement. There are ruins in the settlement from the Hellenistic Period to the Byzantine Period. It experienced its brightest time during the Roman Period. Military buildings, religious buildings, a small number of residences, graves, cisterns, and workshops were identified in the settlement. The most important building in Kelbessos is a Principia, unseen in other settlements of the region. This military administration building reflects the military, political and urban status of Kelbessos. Ruins that could be an agora and a temple have been identified by us. Epigraphic and archaeological finds show that Artemis Kelbessis was the primary god of the city. Phallos reliefs and cult niches are other data obtained about its religious beliefs. The settlement's necropoleis evidence various grave typologies including sarcophagi, monumental tombs, chamosoria, and rock-cut osteotheks. Kelbessos was an ancient settlement that underwent gradual

Öz

Kelbessos, Antalya'nın 23 km batısında, Ağırtaş / Ağıltaş mevkisindedir. Pisidia - Likya - Pamphylia kavşağındadır. Askeri bir yerleşim olarak kurulan kalenin Termessos egemenlik alanında peripolion statüsüne sahip bir garnizon (phrourion) olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Kelbessos yerleşimi, tahkimatlı bir yerleşimden çok 'demos' niteliğinde bir dağ kalesi yapısallığındadır. Yerleşimde Hellenistik Dönem'den başlayıp Bizans Dönemi'ne kadar kalıntılar bulunmaktadır. En parlak zamanını Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde yaşamıştır. Yerleşimde askeri yapılar, dinsel yapılar, az sayıda konut, mezarlar, sarnıçlar ve işlikler tespit edilmiştir. Kelbessos'taki en önemli yapı, bölge yerleşimlerinde benzerini bilmediğimiz bir Principia'dır. Bu askeri yönetim yapısı, Kelbessos'un siyasal ve kentsel statüsünü yansıtan en önemli mimari belgedir. Agora ve tapınak olabilecek kalıntılar da tarafımızdan gözlemlenmiştir. Epigrafik ve arkeolojik bulgular Artemis Kelbessis'in kentin asal tanrısı olduğunu göstermektedir. Phallos kabartmaları ve nişler dinsel inançlarla ilgili ele geçen diğer verilerdir. Yerleşimin *nekropolis*lerinde lahitler, anıt-örme mezarlar, *khamosorion*lar ve yuvarlak kaya *ostothek*leri bulunmaktadır. Yavaş bir değişim gösteren Kelbessos Antik Kenti'nin gerçek anlamda bir şehirleşme sürecine girmediğini, tüm tarihi boyunca daha çok ikinci derece askeri bir taşra yerleşimi

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change but did not undergo true urbanization. Rather it remained a secondary military provincial settlement throughout its history. Considering the construction techniques of the fortification walls surrounding the settlement, they were built during the Hellenistic Period, especially in the third-second centuries. The peripolion of Kelbessos was a permanent garrison in the territory of Termessos from the Hellenistic Period onwards. It served both as a part of the city's defense system and as a safe, fortified citadel where the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside could take refuge in times of need.

Keywords: Kelbessos, Termessos, Pisidia, Peripolion, military settlement, garrison

karakteri taşıdığını söyleyebiliriz. Yerleşimi çevreleyen surlar yapım teknikleri bakımından ele alındığında Hellenistik Dönem'de (özellikle üçüncü-ikinci yy.'larda) inşa edildiği ifade edilebilir. Kelbessos *peripolion*unun, Hellenistik Dönem'den itibaren Termessos egemenlik alanında sürekli bir garnizon olduğu ve hem şehir savunmasının bir kolu hem de gerektiğinde çevredeki kırsal birimlerde yaşayan halkın sığınabileceği güvenli bir kale (phrourion) olarak hizmet verdiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kelbessos, Termessos, Pisidia, Peripolion, askeri yerleşim, garnizon

Kelbessos is located 23 km west of Antalya in Alımpınarı on the Saklıkent road at the location of Ağırtaş / Ağıltaş (figs. 1-2). The settlement is situated on the ridge at an altitude of 1100 m, referred to as "Örentepe" (fig. 3). Nearby important neighboring settlements include Trebenna to the southeast and Neapolis to the northeast. All of these settlements are situated at the intersection of Pisidia, Lycia, and Pamphylia (fig. 1). Discovered for the first time in 1913 by R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli,[1] the Italian team interpreted the settlement as the fortress of Termessos based on thirteen inscriptions they found. They made this interpretation by considering the mention of paying a penalty to Zeus Solymeus found on a tomb inscription.[2] Subsequently, R. Heberdey reexamined these inscriptions and provided comments on the sovereignty of Termessos.[3] Between 1996 and 1999, B. İplikçioğlu, V. Çelgin, and G. Çelgin conducted surface surveys in the context of the "Termessos Ancient City and Sovereignty Area Epigraphy-Historical Geography Surface Research Project."[4] They discovered numerous new important inscriptions and reevaluated the ones previously found.[5] Through five inscriptions that they found, they conclusively determined that the settlement's name was Kelbessos. The studies of Çelgin and İplikçioğlu have been crucial in increasing information about the ancient historical region, particularly Kelbessos. This has contributed significantly to identifying cities with their names.[6] The first comprehensive archaeological investigations were carried out in 2003 and 2004 as part of the Bey Dağları Surface Surveys by N. Çevik and his team.[7] In the Kelbessos survey, the plan of the settlement was first created by the Turkish and French

1 Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 188-202.

2 Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 198-99.

3 Heberdey 1929, 6.

4 İplikçioğlu et al. 1999.

5 İplikçioğlu et al. 1999, 382-83; Çelgin 2003; İplikçioğlu 2007, 234-55.

6 For the most comprehensive epigraphic study on Kelbessos, especially on the Artemis cults, see Çelgin 2003.

7 During the Bey Mountains Surface Surveys, the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, Akdeniz University, IFEA, and Nantes University provided significant support. I would like to thank both these institutions and all my team members, especially Süleyman Bulut, İsa Kızgut, Burhan Varkıvanç, Engin Akyürek, Isabella P. Pédarros and T. Michael Patrick Duggan. I also thank especially Banu Özdilek, Olivier Henry, and Pascal Laboutteiller for the drawings in this article and Gül Işın for the photographs. I likewise extend my gratitude to the Antalya Museum (Mustafa Demirel) for its support of the Kelbessos surface surveys during which ceramics were collected that surfaced because of destruction by treasure hunters and were later evaluated at the Museum.

members under the responsibility of Çevik. Detailed surveys, drawings of important structures, and a settlement map were conducted, and their findings were presented to the scientific community through various publications.[8] The defense system of the settlement, reflecting the characteristics of a fortified mountain fortress and the rural units surrounding it, were also archaeologically examined for the first time in these studies.

The settlement was established as a military outpost within the sovereign area of Termessos and played a significant role as a frontier fortress from the Hellenistic Period. It retained its military character during the Roman Period and was transformed into a larger settlement. The natural topography centered around the Bey Mountains influenced the formation of the administrative boundaries. They also played a crucial role in shaping the southern part of Termessos' sovereign area. This mountainous region acted as a natural cultural boundary between Lycia, Pisidia and Pamphylia and was inhabited during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods with numerous villages and smaller settlements, thanks to its secure peaks and fertile valleys.[9] The main sources of livelihood for these small rural settlements, as evidenced by remnants of production units and other archaeological finds, were olive cultivation, grapevine, livestock, and timber.[10] Some of the settlements discovered in the Bey Mountains Surface Surveys have been identified by the help of inscriptions found *in situ*, one of these fortunate ones is Kelbessos. In four of the inscriptions examined in these epigraphic surface surveys, the phrase "Kelbesseon to Peripolion" (Peripolion of the Kelbessians) is inscribed.[11] In light of both inscriptions and archaeological evidence, this archaeological site can be identified as Kelbessos, which served as a frontier fortress (phrourion) with peripolion status within the sovereign area of Pisidian Termessos.[12] It is located at the far end of the territory of the polis. Kelbessos is characterized more as a mountain fortress than a fortified city.[13] The term *peripoleō*, mentioned in the five inscriptions found in the settlement, translates to "surrounded." This indicates its role as a fortified outpost controlling the boundaries. One of the two settlements certain to be a Peripolion connected to Termessos is Kelbessos, while the other is Neapolis in Doyran.[14] Its duty was to control and oversee the chora, regulate rural / agricultural production, and protect the sovereign borders of Termessos. Çelgin states that Kelbessos was a "demos" with the authority to make local decisions.[15] It was a medium-sized military settlement responsible for protecting the rights of Termessos, the largest city state (polis) of Pisidia in the Hellenistic Period. Kelbessos played a crucial role on safeguarding the territory. The political, economic, and religious dominance of the region was in the hands of the main city Termessos, while Kelbessos, beyond its military concerns, was crucial for providing its sustenance.

The settlement spans approximately 150 meters on a north-south axis and 170 meters on an east-west axis and contains remains dating from the Hellenistic period to the Late Roman

8 For general information about the settlement, see Çevik 2022, 534-39; see also Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 2005, 2006; Çevik et. al. 1999, 410-22; 2004; Çevik 2008b, 208-9; Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2013; Özdilek 2008.

9 For the settlements and other archaeological remains we discovered during the Bey Mountains surveys, see Çevik 2008b, 2022.

10 Regarding the settlement, see Çevik 2022, 534-39; see also Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 2005, 2006; Çevik et al. 1999, 410-22; 2004; Çevik 2008b, 208-9; Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2013; Özdilek 2008.

11 Çelgin 2003, 126; Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 290-91.

12 Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004.

13 Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 289.

14 Çevik 2018.

15 Çelgin 2003, 124.

period (figs. 3-4).[16] Due to the sloping terrain, numerous terraces have been constructed within the settlement. The city walls were easily built by filling the gaps between the natural rocks, thanks to the opportunities provided by the rocky terrain (fig. 5). The main entrance of the fortress is on the northern ramped road, while another entrance is observed in the west. The irregular structure of the walls - with buildings inside, outside, adjacent to, or near the walls - complicates the explanation using conventional concepts (fig. 4). The construction of the defensive wall, which evidences distinct military characteristics for defensive purposes, was for strategic rather than tactical purposes. First built during the Hellenistic Period, the walls underwent modifications and repairs during the Roman Period, therefore maintaining the fortified citadel character through expansion and strengthening.[17] In comparison to the expansion of structures during the Roman Period, the settlement initially covered a much smaller area with its buildings. As evident from its rich necropolis and other structures, the settlement experienced its peak during the Roman period.

The history of the settlement can be traced back to the end of the fourth century BCE based on the craftsmanship and materials used in the city walls (figs. 5-6).[18] Unfortunately, the site has been extensively damaged, almost to the point where not one stone is left unturned. Regrettably, over the past 25 years since our initial survey,[19] this destruction has continued to escalate. Numerous architectural remnants have been identified including military structures, public buildings, some residences, cisterns (fig. 7), and workshops.[20] Beyond the settlement walls, other single and groups of structures, such as graves and workshops, are scattered on the northern slope of the hill. The settlement can be described as a garrison-fortress (phrourion) that controlled the passages to the Pamphylia Plain rather than a city with a defense system.[21] Only the ruin of a small chapel is visible from the Byzantine period, which indicates the presence of a tiny Christian population. The settlement was largely abandoned after the Roman period and shares some similarities with Termessos in its partial abandonment after this era.

The gods worshiped in the city are apparently Artemis and Zeus.[22] The mention of the name Artemis in six inscriptions suggests the possible existence of a cult area dedicated to Artemis that was carved into the main rock (fig. 9). The depiction of thunderbolts on the altars (fig. 10), the altar of Artemis, and the remains of the temple indicate the alignment of the gods worshipped in the city with those in the region. However, epigraphic, and archaeological finds indicate that the major deity of the city was Artemis Kelbessis.[23] According to the honorary inscriptions, the god named *Megalou Theou* should be identified as Artemis Kelbessis, according to Çelgin.[24] The inscription on a dedication offered to Kelbessos Artemis, as read by Paribeni and Romanelli,[25] is crucial in archaeological terms since it asserts that "the goddess Artemis

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16 Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 285.

17 Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 289-90.

18 Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 289.

19 Çevik et al. 1999.

20 For an overview of the olive oil and wine workshops in the region that we discovered within the scope of the Bey Mountains surface survey, see Bulut 2018; Çevik 2008b.

21 Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 290.

22 For detailed information about the Artemis cult in the settlement, see Çelgin 2003.

23 Çelgin 2003, 122-23.

24 Çelgin 2003, 130.

25 Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 196.

definitely had a cult and temple here."[26] This inscription also states that Trokondas dedicated an altar to Artemis.

In addition to these, phallus reliefs and niches are among the other objects related to religious beliefs that have been found. The abundance of phallus and shield reliefs corresponds to its military settlement character. The presence of phalluses on the facade of a military structure, along with reliefs of soldiers, is meaningful since the phallus symbolizes power and fertility.[27] Two of the phallus reliefs we discovered are on the northeast wall of the Principia and above the main entrance lintel. The presence of phalluses here symbolizes both military administrative power and a protective purpose. Other depictions of phalluses are engraved on the door jambs of the facade of another structure with a military purpose near the eastern entrance of the city (figs. 12-13). There is also a niche above the phallus on the left. On the lintel of this gate, there is a relief of a shield with soldiers on either side. We also found a winged phallus in Kithanaura, which was again located on the facade of a military structure.[28]

The most significant and unique structure in Kelbessos is an administrative building for which we have no similar example in the region's settlements (figs. 14-15).[29] Described as a Roman Principia in every aspect, this most prestigious building of the city was constructed with large blocks exemplifying meticulous craftsmanship.[30] The structure features an elaborate entrance and includes a large courtyard, meeting room, court hall, additional rooms, and finally a cult room. This architectural type of military administrative structure evolved from the commander's tent in a military camp and easily fits within a peripolion framework. Like other outposts, Kelbessos initially had a small military headquarters, which later transformed into a larger garrison settlement. However, the form of governance and its settlement character remained unchanged. The Kelbessos Peripolion, which held a special status connected to Termessos, was always ruled by soldiers. The Principia is the main civic structure reflecting the political and urban status of Kelbessos. Therefore, it represents the city's administrative significance. On the southeast side of the extended ridge upon which the Principia sits, there is a small square resembling an agora. An inscribed pedestal in the square indicates the erection of a statue of Emperor Caracalla.[31] On the eastern summit of the settlement and the eastern slope of the road leading to the city, remnants suggestive of a temple have been observed. Believed to be planned as in-antis, these structures still exhibit strong, high terrace / podium walls. The openings to the bedrock revealing the hybrid structure are still visible. While it is naturally expected that one belongs to Artemis, there is yet no clear evidence to which deity they were dedicated. Despite not knowing their exact locations, Heberdey suggests the presence of at least two temples. In addition to temples, cult niches are carved into the walls of structures. In one of the niches carved into the bedrock, a socket for a stele has been observed. The small holes on the facade of this niche are likely for hanging an appliqué. Niches carved into the bedrock walls of residences are presumed to be for household cults.[32] Two altars, one independent and the

26 Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 197; Çelgin 2003, 128, fig. 5.

27 For general information about the cult of Phallos, see Dökü 2002.

28 Çevik 2008a.

29 Çevik et al. 2005b, 149.

30 Ginouvès (1998, 32, 33) defines Principia as "a monumental entrance, a courtyard, meeting halls, a court and, above all, a sacred place where military insignias are kept."

31 Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 197-98.

32 Özdilek 2008, 334.

other carved into the bedrock, are found in the settlement in relief form. The relief on an altar depicts Zeus' thunderbolt (fig. 10). Considering the worship of Zeus Solymeus in this region, this find is not surprising. The other altar, carved into the workshop's rock-cut wall and in poor condition, likely pertains to olive oil production based on its location (fig. 11).[33]

Two necropolis areas, one in the northeast and the other in the southwest, are predominantly filled with sarcophagi (figs. 1, 4, 16-18). Unfortunately, most of these have been damaged. The main necropolis is organized along the road leading to the city and reflects the typical Roman Period city-cemetery relationship in its layout. The majority of the sarcophagi are of the Pisidian type, featuring shields and spears with a central tabula ansata. Many, including some of high quality, are decorated with elaborate reliefs. In addition to images of the tomb owners, there are rich examples featuring reliefs of Eros, Psyche, and Helios with garlands framing them.[34] The frame friezes also depict scenes from daily life related to agriculture, hunting, and craftsmanship (figs. 17-19). Ichnographically, the north necropolis contains the most elaborate sarcophagi. One - with a lion battling a deer on one side and a lion on the other - is almost uniquely filled with a narrative of the richness of rural life. On the front side, there is a tabula ansata over the garland carried by two Eros figures, with depictions of the couple who own the tomb standing on both sides.[35] The upper and side borders of the facade panel are decorated with grapevines, while the lower band displays a hunting scene, a dog, possibly a mule, a wild animal hunting, and a blacksmith working at an anvil (fig. 17). While this cemetery is exclusively filled with sarcophagi, the southwest necropolis also includes monumental tombs and chamosoria (fig. 20). On the pediment of the Monumental Tomb, discovered and first published by Paribeni and Romanelli in 1914 along with the inscriptions, there is a Medusa in the center flanked by Nike figures on either side. This conforms to the relief iconography commonly used in the cult of the dead. On the left side of the pediment, there is a relief of Helios with rays on his head; on the right side is a relief of Selene with a crescent moon around her neck (fig. 19). In addition to these, a round, rock-cut osteothek was found (fig. 21).[36] The sarcophagi in the Kelbessos necropolis, both in architecture and reliefs, vary in a way not encountered in the nearby peripolion of Neapolis but share a richness similar to the tombs in Trebenna. They are often closely related to the sarcophagi of Termessos. The nature of the necropolis points to the high quality and importance of the military presence dominating the settlement and, consequently, on the settlement itself.

Upon examining the remains of Kelbessos, it appears that the settlement developed slowly and did not undergo significant changes over the centuries. When the density and spread of architectural remnants are assessed, it is evident that the Roman-Period structures outside the defensive circle are quite developed. The remnants indicate that the structures were mostly constructed using a hybrid technique (fig. 8). The rocky terrain on which the settlement sits has been utilized efficiently. However, the Kelbessos settlement did not truly undergo a civilian urbanization process but rather remained primarily a military and secondarily a frontier rural settlement throughout its history. The walls surrounding the settlement on the steep rocky hill to the east were likely constructed in the Hellenistic Period, probably in the third and second centuries. The dimensions, shapes, and internal arrangements of the towers suggest the use of catapult-based mechanisms, making it possible to date them from the late fourth century

33 Çevik 2000, 40.

34 Özdilek and Çevik 2009.

35 Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 196-97.

36 This type of tomb, not seen in the region, was discovered by me for the first time in Trebenna; see Çevik 1998.

BCE onwards. Trimmed wall corners and toothed block connections also point to the same period. The absence of large-scale public buildings within the walls indicates that it was a fortified defensive settlement lacking urban features. Instead of structures such as meeting halls or theatres, there is the Principia as a public building. This alone clearly reflects the military administrative nature of the settlement. The abundance of cisterns, the density of tombs, and the predominance of military motifs, coupled with historical and epigraphic evidence confirm its status as an outpost and garrison under Termessos. A considerable number of soldiers settled here during the Hellenistic Period, thus shaping the military character of the settlement. The military presence here can easily be traced back to the Hellenistic Period, possibly starting with the construction of a significant portion of the defense wall that encircles early side of the settlement.

The strategic value of the settlement stems from its geographical location at the intersection of the north-south and east-west main communication / transportation axes and at the border of three cultural regions - Lycia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia (fig. 1). The prevalence of shields, commonly seen on sarcophagi, indicates that Pisidian culture dominates in terms of art and culture. The natural sheltered topographic features, as shown on the settlement plan (fig. 4), also contribute to this value. Located along a steep rocky slope on the edge of a deep gorge, this place is strategically favorable for observation and defense. Its situation provides views both inland and towards the sea, besides being situated next to the Pamphylia plain (figs. 1-2). The Kelbessos peripolion was chosen as a permanent garrison in the Termessos sphere of influence since the Hellenistic Period and served both as a branch of the city's defense and as a secure fortress where the surrounding rural population could take shelter, if necessary.[37] Initially functioning as one of the pawns in Termessos' sphere of influence, it played a role in the initial steps of seizing and controlling new territories. This military and rural formation evolved into a secondary settlement during the Roman Period, alongside the diversification of social and demographic structures. Yet it continued its function as an outpost of Termessos.[38] Kelbessos provides significant archaeological data that allows the examination of many important aspects related to the rural landscape, settlement patterns, cultivation of land, and, of course, defense arrangements.

Heberdey notes that determining the number of administrative regions within the jurisdiction of Termessos is challenging.[39] Termessos had established its dominance over a vast region during the Hellenistic Period. Trebenna, whose settlement size during the Hellenistic period is not known precisely when it was not part of the Lycian League, should have been within its sphere of influence.[40] In the Roman Period, Termessos continued to maintain extensive dominance and agricultural production, along with Kelbessos, İn Önü, and other small garrisons and fortified farms along the Lycia-Pisidia border. The most formidable peripolion on this defensive chain is Kelbessos, which serves as a security point at the beginning of a deep valley (fig. 2). This garrison settlement should be one of the "upper villages" mentioned in the regions of Termessos. Kelbessos operated independently in some internal affairs but was semi-autonomous under the authority of Termessos in external matters.[41] Kelbessos appears to have

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37 Çevik 2022, 534-39.

38 For the defense system, see Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2004, 2005, 2006.

39 Heberdey 1929, 11.

40 For discussions on the existence of Trebenna before the Roman period, see Çevik et al. 2005a, 197-204.

41 İplikçioğlu et al. 1999. And it is known that the city was governed by an εἰρήναρχος appointed by Termessos; see Çelgin 1997, 27.

maintained its limited autonomy from the Hellenistic Period into the Roman Imperial Period. As confirmed by Roman inscriptions,[42] the use of the Hellenistic fortification walls on the southeastern peak of Kelbessos during the Roman period corroborates this situation.[43]

The intensity and character of life during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods has been confirmed through the ceramic and glass finds discovered on the surface (fig. 22). The ceramics, collected from the waste soil piles from the excavations of illegal treasure hunters and transported to the Antalya Museum, are predominantly pieces of daily use ceramic pots. While some finds are Hellenistic, most date to the Roman period.

Within the territory of Kelbessos, numerous fortified / unfortified farms, towers, and olive oil and wine workshops have been identified, bearing witness to human life of the period, especially agricultural activities. These finds are highly valuable as environmental evidence that demonstrates the real power and wealth of Kelbessos. One of these fortified farms is located on the Yelliarmut ridge on the southeast slope of Kelbessos.[44] From here, the Pamphylia plain and the Gulf of Pamphylia can be panoramically observed. The remains consist of a tower, farmhouses on the northeast side, workshops, and a large storage building on the north side. The path leading to the farm from the northern slope connects to the courtyard through an entrance in the north wall of the structure. It extends to the east side of the complex and from there, it connects to other units. The entrance to the storage building is provided by a path turning west before entering the complex. In other words, the entrance of this unit is separated from the main entrance of the complex. This situation indicates a spatial design parallel to the function of the storage building. At the southern border of the farm is a tower whose size is 7.30 x 6.60 meters. The system of the walls, whose thickness is 0.90 meters, is isodomic. The blocks used in the wall's construction are mostly framed and bossed. The entrance to the tower is on the east wall. The lock slots on the jamb show that it is a very secure door. The square hole in the middle of the lintel indicates that this hole continues inside the wall. Similar to the mechanism at the Belen tower gate,[45] the door is locked from behind with a thick beam. A single-space structure (12.00 x 7.40 m), 22 meters north of the tower and isolated from other buildings, was built with two entrances. Its 1.40-meter-wide door suggests that the structure was built for storing products. There is also a farmhouse in the rocky terrain between the courtyard and the tower. It consists of a courtyard and three rooms. The nature of the remains around the tower and their location indicate that these structures were built not only to accommodate the farm community but also to safely store other products related to olive oil and livestock. It also protected the city and its surrounding lands and olive groves from roads leading to the city.

The article has discussed Kelbessos, one of the many settlement sites which continues to be gradually and rapidly destroyed. Our main purpose has been not only to evaluate, present and share the scientific data from the results of our extensive survey, but also to document and preserve information regarding this record-breaking destruction.

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42 İplikçioğlu et al. 1999, 385.

43 Çevik and Pimouguet-Pédarros 2006, 266, 269.

44 For the first introduction of this fortified farm and detailed information, see Çevik 1996, 84, fig. 8; Çevik and Bulut 2007.

45 Çevik and Bulut 2007.

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FIG. 1
Kelbessos and its surroundings (Çevik 2022, 17. Map: by S. Aydal).

FIG. 2 Aerial photograph of Kelbessos and its general surroundings (Beydağları Survey Archive).

FIG. 3 Aerial photograph of the settlement summit of Kelbessos (Beydağları Survey Archive).

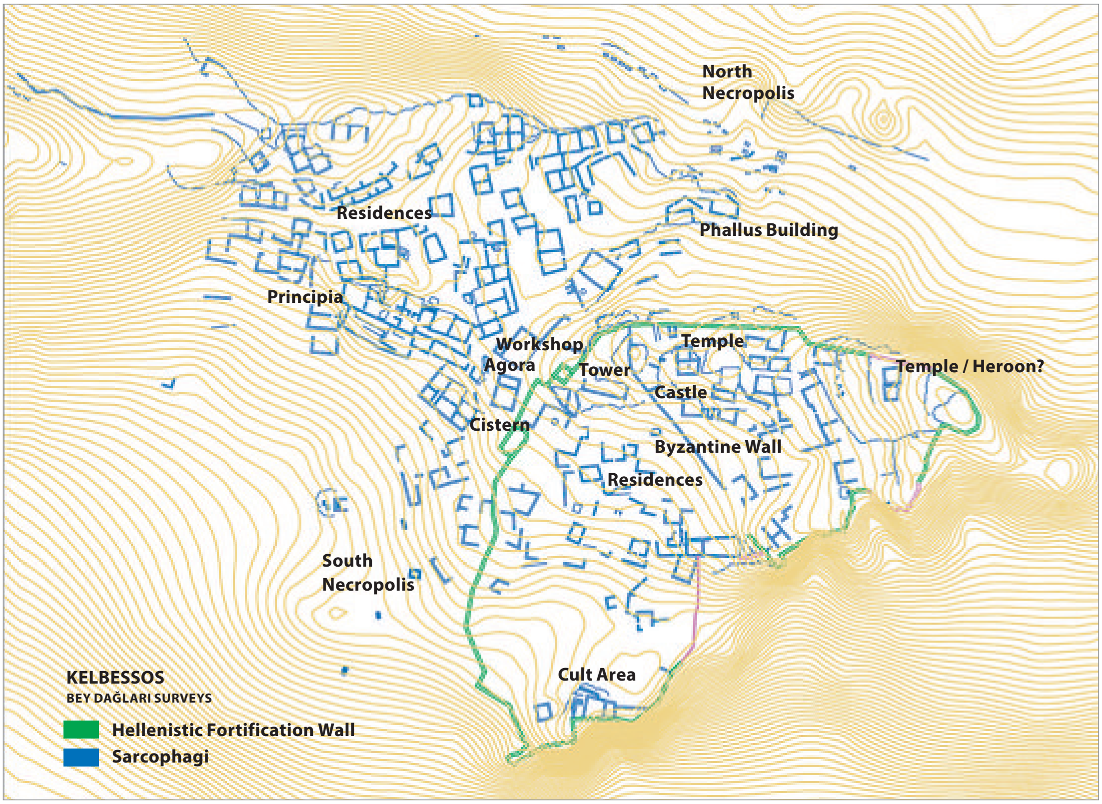

FIG. 4 Kelbessos Settlement Plan (Beydağları Survey Archive, N. Çevik and I. Pimouguet-Pédarros).

FIG. 5 Fortification walls of Kelbessos (Photo: G. Işın).

FIG. 6 Hellenistic Tower (Photo: G. Işın).

FIG. 7
Main Cistern
of Kelbessos
(Foto: G. Işın).

FIG. 8
Kelbessos Hybrid
Structures
(Photo: Beydağları
Survey Archive).

FIG. 9 Cult Area / Sanctuary (Beydağları Survey Archive).

FIG. 10 Zeus' altar with Thunderbolt Relief.

FIG. 11 Workshop and Altar (Photo: G. Işın).

FIG. 12
Building with Phallus
(Photo: G. Işın).

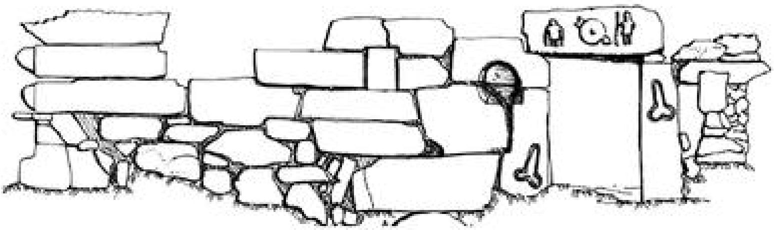

FIG. 13
Building with Phallus
(Drawing: Beydağları
Survey Archive,
B. Özdilek).

FIG. 14 Principia (Photo: Beydağları Survey Archive).

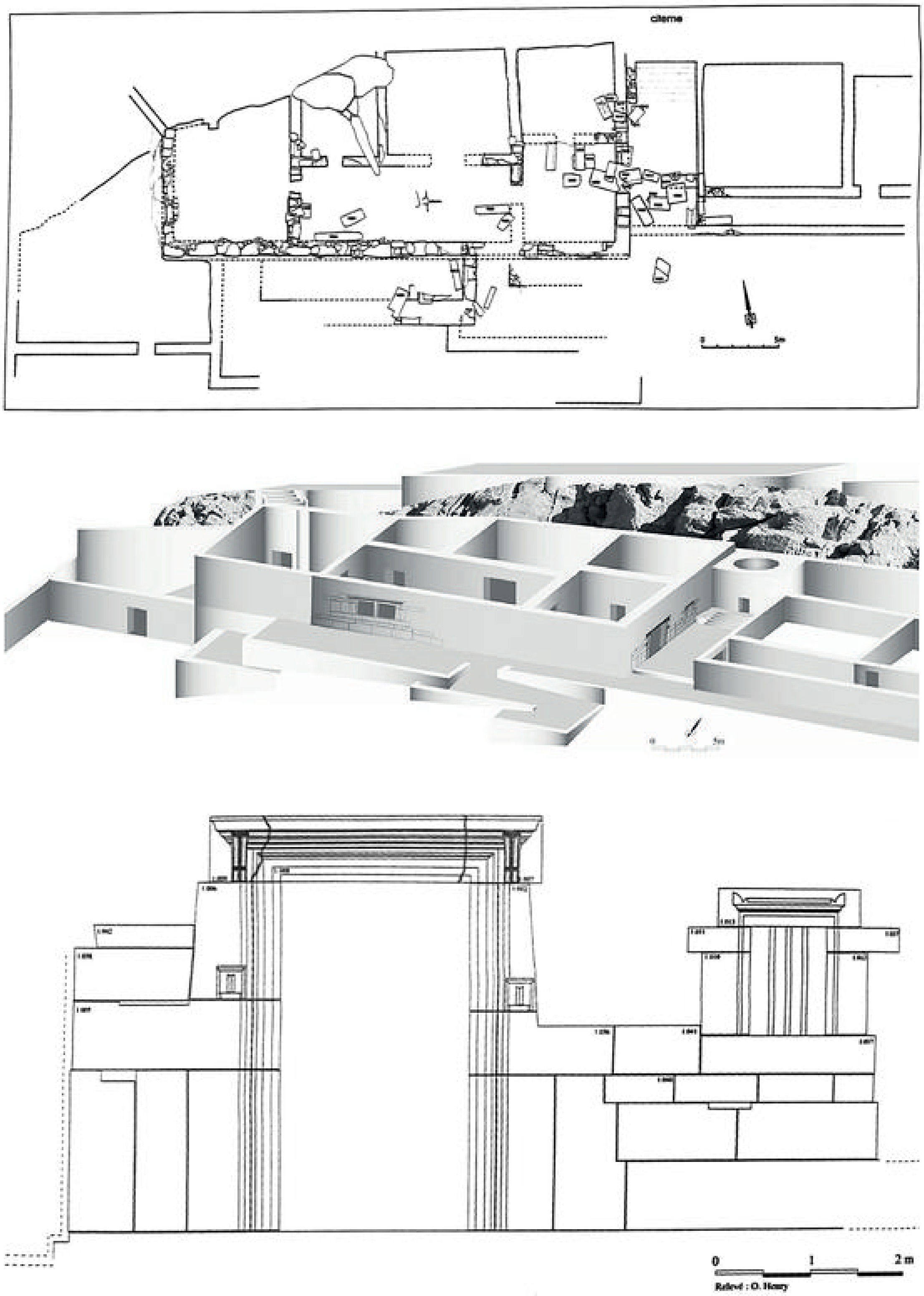

FIG. 15 Plan, 3D Rendering and Facade of Principia (Drawing: Beydağları Survey Archive, O. Henry).

FIG. 16 Northeast Necropolis (Photo: Beydağları Survey Archive).

FIG. 17 Northeast Necropolis. Sarcophagus (Drawing: Beydağları Survey Archive, B. Özdilek).

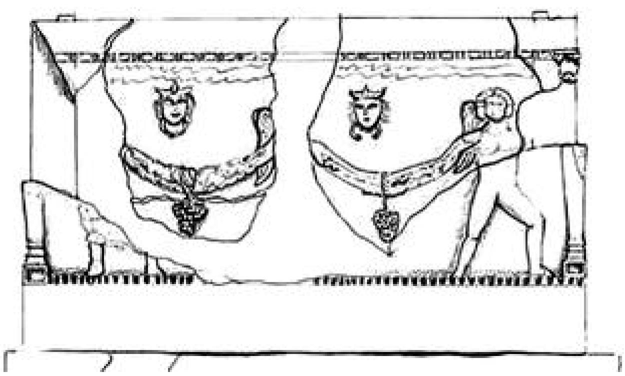

FIG. 18
Northeast Necropolis.
Sarcophagus
(Drawing: Beydağları Survey Archive, B. Özdilek).

FIG. 19 Northeast Necropolis. Monumental Tomb Facade (Paribeni and Romanelli 1914).

FIG. 20 Khamosorion (Photo: G. Işın).

FIG. 21 Conical Lid of a Round Rock-cut Ostothek.

FIG. 22 Surface Finds Recovered from Illegal Excavations in Beydağları Surface Surveys (Antalya Museum).

Coin Finds from the Surveys of Northern Pisidia and the Excavations at Timbriada and Zindan Monastery

HÜSEYİN KÖKER – ESRA TÜTÜNCÜ*

Abstract

The subject of this study is the coin finds from the surveys and excavations in the region of Northern Pisidia carried out between 2014 and 2023. The settlements included in the surveys are Kapıkaya, Yalakasar, Sandalion, Mallos, Parlais, Prostanna, Yuvalı / Dreskene village, Timbriada and Tynada, whereas the archaeological excavations were limited to Timbriada and Zindan Monastery. During the research and excavations, a total of 111 bronze coins and one silver coin were discovered. The coins were catalogued and stored for further examination. The coin finds span a broad time, encompassing Hellenistic, Roman provincial, Roman imperial, Byzantine, and Turkish. Thus, the earliest coin dates back to the second century BC, while the most recent coin dates to the 17th century AD.

Keywords: Mallos, Parlais, Prostanna, Timbriada, Tynada, coins

Öz

Bu makalenin konusunu, Kuzey Pisidia Bölgesi'nde, 2014-2023 yılları arasında yapılan çalışmalar esnasında ele geçen sikkeler oluşturmaktadır. Yüzey araştırması alanlarını Kapıkaya, Yalakasar, Sandalion, Mallos, Parlais, Prostanna, Yuvalı / Dreskene köyü, Timbriada ve Tynada oluştururken arkeolojik kazılar da Timbriada ve Zindan Manastırı'nda yürütülmektedir. Araştırmalar sırasında toplam 111 adet bronz ve bir adet de gümüş sikke ele geçmiştir. Söz konusu buluntular Hellenistik, Roma Şehir, Roma İmparatorluk, Bizans ve Türk dönemi sikkeleri olmak üzere geniş bir zaman dilimini kapsamaktadır. Bu bağlamda en erken sikke MÖ ikinci yy.'a, en geç sikke ise MS 17. yy.'a tarihlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mallos, Parlais, Prostanna, Timbriada, Tynada, sikke

Introduction

The present study investigates coin finds discovered in the surveys of the northern Pisidian region. This covers the areas of Kapıkaya (near Güneyce village, Isparta province), Yalakasar (near Gökbel, Ağlasun), Sandalion (Harmancık village, Eğirdir), Mallos (Sarıidris, in Isparta

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province), Parlais (Barla), Prostanna (near Akpınar village, Eğirdir), Yuvalı / Dreskene village (Aksu), Timbriada (Asartepe, Aksu) and Tynada (Asartepe - Sivri Tepe, near Terziler, Aksu) carried out between 2014 and 2023. It also covers the coins unearthed during excavations at Timbriada between 2016 and 2023 and Zindan Monastery in 2020 (fig. 1).[1] The settlement histories of these locations all date back to the Hellenistic Period. The process of urbanization began during this period and continued to develop throughout the Roman Period. However, the settlements were gradually abandoned after late antiquity.[2]

These surveys and excavations yielded a total of 111 bronze coins and 1 silver coin. The distribution of the coins according to find places is: 19 from Kapıkaya, 5 from Yalakasar, 2 from Sandalion, 8 from Mallos, 1 from Parlais, 5 from Prostanna, 2 from Yuvalı / Dreskene, 59 from Timbriada, 7 from Zindan Sanctuary, and 3 from Tynada. All finds range in date between the second century BC and the 17th century AD. Analysis of the coins from all settlements together shows that Roman Imperial coins are the most common (48%), followed by Hellenistic coins (22%), Roman Provincial coins (16%), Byzantine coins (10%), and Turkish coins (4%). However, the picture changes when the findspots are analyzed individually, as will be detailed in the following pages.

Coin Finds from Kapıkaya and Yalakasar

During the 2016-2021 surveys carried out at Kapıkaya, 19 bronze coins were found. These are dated between the second century BC and 17th century AD (table 1). The coins date as follows: Hellenistic (11), Roman Provincial (3), Roman Imperial (6), and Ottoman (1) (tables 1-2). All of the Hellenistic coins, excluding an unidentified one, belong to the Pisidian cities of Adada (2), Keraeitai (1), Sagalassos (4), and Selge (3). Among these, the coins of Selge are the earliest specimens and date to the second-first centuries BC (nos. 7-9).[3] While the coins of Adada date to the first century BC, the coins of Keraeitai and Sagalassos date to the reign of Amyntas (39-25 BC) (nos. 1-6).[4] Two of the three Roman Provincial coins could be identified; however, one coin could not be identified due to its poor condition. The type of the first one features the type “bust of emperor r. / Athena standing in front, head l., with spear and shield”; however, neither the name of the emperor nor the ethnic can be read (no. 10). A coin series of Attaleia in the name of Volusianus has a close resemblance with both obverse and reverse types. This leads to the possible attribution of the coin to this city.[5] Although the second one is quite worn and the type is hardly visible, it bears the type “turreted head of Tykhe r. / ram r.,” which clearly belongs to the Pisidian city of Klaudio Seleukeia (no. 11).[6] If this attribution is correct, the

Byzantine and Islamic coins. Additionally, we extend our thanks to Research Assistant Salih O. Akgönül for capturing the photographs and Burçak Aydın for the Photoshop work.

1 With the text, city names are written either in Greek or Latin, depending on the period when the coins were minted.

2 For all the research at Northern Pisidia, see Özcan 2015a, 2015b, 2016, 2017; Özcan et al. 2017a, 2017b; Özcan 2018; Özcan et al. 2019a, 2019b, 2022. The excavation of Zindan Monastery was conducted by the Isparta Archaeological Museum under the scientific supervision of Prof. Dr Fikret Özcan. The results of the excavation have not been published.

3 For the coins of Selge, see *SNG Turkey* 6.2, nos. 2133-153; 2182-220; 2903-918.

4 For the coins of Adada, see Aulock 1977, nos. 28-36; *SNG France* 3, nos. 1020-23; *SNG Turkey* 6.1, nos. 12-15. For the coin of Keraeitai, see Aulock 1979, nos. 755-59; *SNG PfPs. Pisidien*, no. 241; *SNG Turkey* 6.1, nos. 1351-385; Sekunda 2021, nos. 356-57 (serie 6). For the coins of Sagalassos see Stroobants 2017, 1: 135-143 and 2: 10-17 (Type 7A, B and D).

5 Baydur 1976, nos. 334-35; *RPC* IX, no. 1094; *SNG France* 3, no. 284.

6 Aulock 1979, no. 1874.

coin is the second known example of this series. The third specimen features the type "bust of emperor r. / goddess standing in front, head r., holding uncertain object in extended l. hand." It is also worn and difficult to identify without any visible attributes of the goddess and legends (no. 12). The surveys also revealed four Roman Imperial coins, which are represented only in the Late Roman period and dated to the fourth-fifth centuries. While three of the four coins belong to the emperors Constantinus, Constantius II, and Theodosius I, the last one could not be identified (nos. 13-15). Only two mints, Heraclea and Constantinopolis, could be identified for the first two coins. Additionally, only one Ottoman coin was found called a *mangır*, which belongs to Süleyman II (1687-1691) and minted at Kostantiniyye (no. 16).[7]

The remains of the settlement of Kapıkaya are prominently represented by the Hellenistic Period. From the beginning of the Roman Imperial Period building activities decreased; nevertheless, the city was inhabited until Late Antiquity.[8] The coins of the Hellenistic, Roman Provincial, Roman Imperial, and Ottoman Periods coincide with these results and constituted 52%, 14%, 29%, and 5% respectively. The surveys also revealed that the settlement was the scene of significant reconstruction activities during the Early Byzantine Period and housed a substantial population. Yet no coins were found from this period.[9] No post-Byzantine building has been identified; however, the find of an Ottoman coin (17th century) suggests that the settlement was weakened and perhaps abandoned in this period.

During the 2019 survey conducted in Yalakasar, located southwest of Kapıkaya,[10] 5 Roman Imperial coins were found. These date to the fourth-fifth centuries AD. The first one is dated to the time of Constantius II and minted at Constantinopolis (no. 17).[11] The second one is dated to the late fifth century AD, and probably its reverse type is a cross within a wreath, although it is barely visible. The remaining three could not be identified due to their poor condition but are roughly dateable to the fourth-fifth centuries AD. The material remains in Yalakasar are predominantly from the Late Roman period, which also coincides with the coin finds.[12]

The coin finds from these two settlements provide limited insight into the coin circulation. However, it is possible to ascertain that coins from Pisidian cities were sizably represented in the Hellenistic Period, with coins from Sagalassos and Selge dominating the circulation pool along. A similar pattern may be expected throughout the Roman Imperial Period. However, with only two coins from Pisidia and Pamphylia, no further conclusions can be drawn.

Coin Finds from Sandalion

During the 2018 survey at Sandalion 1 bronze coin and 1 silver coin were found. These dated to the first century BC and 19th century AD.[13] The first is a coin of Sagalassos dated to the

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7 Pere 1968, 177, no. 471; Kabaklarlı 1998, 490, no. 20-Qos-01.

8 The name of the ancient city of Kapıkaya in not known. For the research at Kapıkaya, see Özcan 2015a, 8-12; 2016, 252-54; 2017, 173; Özcan et al. 2017a, 365-67.

9 Özcan 2015a, 11.

10 The settlement of Yalakasar could potentially be considered part of the territory of Kapıkaya; see Özcan et al. 2022, 443.

11 For the similar coin, see *RIC* VIII, no. 78; *LRBC* II, no. 2022 (Fel Temp Reparatio, *LRBC* type 4).

12 Özcan et al. 2022, 443-45.

13 Sandalion is located northwest of Kapıkaya and was established as a strategically significant defensive settlement to control access to the north-south road between Pamphylia and Pisidia. The settlement is also linked to the neighboring cities of Sagalassos and Keraeitai. The remains and ceramic finds in the acropolis and fortress settlement reveal that Sandalion was inhabited from the Hellenistic Period until the 11th-12th century AD. For the research, see Özcan 2018, 217-20; Özcan et al. 2019b, 103.

reign of Amyntas (39-25 BC) - Early Imperial period (no. 18). The second is a silver 1 kurus of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) minted in Kostantiniyye and dated to the year of 1293 (1876 / 1877) (no. 19).[14]

Coin Finds from Mallos

During the 2017-2022 surveys at Mallos, 8 coins were found, which date between the second century BC and 11th century AD.[15] These coin finds consist of Hellenistic (1), Roman Provincial (3), Roman Imperial (3), and Byzantine (1). The only Hellenistic coin belongs to Pergamon which dates to the early to the mid-second century BC (no. 20).[16] Two of the three Roman Provincial coins belong to the Pisidian city of Timbriada and date to the second century AD. The first one is minted in the name of Emperor Hadrianus and features the type of enthroned Kybele on the reverse (no. 21).[17] The second one features the type "bust of Men / two pileus," a series roughly dated to the second century AD (no. 22).[18] The last specimen is halved and probably dates to the first-second centuries AD (no. 23). None of the Roman Imperial coins could be identified, but all were roughly dated to the fourth-fifth centuries AD. Only one belongs to the mint of Constantinopolis (no. 24). The last example is a Byzantine coin that belongs to Emperor Constantinus X. Despite being double-struck and in worn condition with an uncertain type, the bust of Christ on the obverse and full-length figures of Eudoxia and Constantinus X on the reverse are still barely visible (no. 25).[19] Although their number are quite low, the coin finds are relatively consistent with the dates of the remains in the settlement. The date range of the finds are: Hellenistic 11%, Roman Provincial 33%, Roman Imperial 45%, and Byzantine also 11%.

Coin Finds from Parlais

During the 2021 survey at Parlais, an Augustan colony located midway on the western shore of Lake Limnae, only 1 bronze coin was found.[20] This unidentified Late Roman coin, probably a Feltemp Reparatio type of Constantius II, is roughly dated to the fourth century AD.

Coin Finds from Prostanna

During the surveys at Prostanna between 2014-2021 5 coins were found which dated between the second century BC and the fourth century AD. These finds consist of Hellenistic (3), Roman Provincial (1), and Roman Imperial (1) coins. The earliest Hellenistic coin belongs to Pergamon

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14 For the coin of Sagalassos, see Stroobants 2017, 2: 15 (Type 7D); *SNG Turkey* 6.2, nos. 1444-459. For the coin of Abdülhamid II, see Pere 1968, no. 987.

15 Mallos lies north of Timbriada and east of Lake Limnae. The first settlement dates back to the Hellenistic Period and was continuously inhabited intensively until Late Antiquity. For the researches, see Özcan 2015a, 6-7; 2015b, 196; 2016, 247-48; 2017, 178; Özcan et al. 2017a, 360; Özcan et al. 2019a, 157; 2019b, 111-13.

16 Chameroy 2012, serie 4, no. 37. Chameroy suggest a later dates, ca. 80-ca.10 BC for serie 4, no. 37 which bears the type "Head of Athena / Owl." But this suggested date is not accepted by *SNG Oxford* IX, nos. 814-35, *SNG Turkey* 4, nos. 221-31, and *SNG Turkey* 9.3, nos. 945-59.

17 Aulock 1979, nos. 2108-120; *RPC* III, no. 2816. There are 15 specimens known, and all are from same pair of dies.

18 Aulock 1979, nos. 2106-107.

19 *DOC* III.2, 8.

20 Özcan et al. 2022, 440.

and dates to the early to mid-second century BC (no. 26).[21] Other Hellenistic coins are from the Pisidian cities of Prostanna and Sagalassos and date to the first century BC and the reign of Amyntas (39-25 BC) - Early Imperial period, respectively (nos. 27-28).[22] The only Roman Provincial coin belongs to the city itself and was minted in the name of emperor Antoninus Pius. It features the type "bust of emperor / Demeter and enthroned Zeus" (no. 29).[23] An incus Π-shaped countermark was applied on the obverse of the coin.[24] The same countermark was also applied to the obverse of coins minted in the names of Geta (as Augustus) and Elagabalus from the same city.[25] Furthermore, the same countermark was applied once again to the obverse of the Kremna coin minted in the name of Geta (Caesar).[26] The letter Π represents the initial letter of the city's ethnic. Hence, it is confidently attributed to Prostanna.[27] The last coin is a Roman Imperial coin minted in the name of Arcadius at the mint of Nicomedia, which bears the Gloria Romanorum type 18 (no. 30).[28]

The surveys reveal that the remains of Prostanna date to the Hellenistic period, and it is well represented in Late Antiquity, as in Mallos.[29] However, the coin finds of Prostanna are in stark contrast to those from Mallos, where the Hellenistic period is represented by 60% and the Roman Imperial period by 20%.

Coin Finds from Yuvalı / Dreskene

During the 2017-2019 surveys at Yuvalı village[30] only 2 bronze coins were found. The first is a coin of Sagalassos dated to the reign of Amyntas (36-25 BC) - Early Imperial period, while the second is a coin of Selge dated to the second-first centuries BC (nos. 31-32).[31]

Coin Finds from Timbriada and Zindan Monastery

During the surveys and excavations between 2016-2023 at Timbriada and Zindan Monastery a total of 66 bronze coins were found. 59 were from Timbriada while 7 were from Zindan Monastery. All date between the second century BC and the 13th centuries AD. While the coin

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21 Chameroy suggest a later date, ca. 130 (until first century? BC) for serie 4, no. 33 which bears the type of "Head of Athena / Tropaion" (Chameroy 2012, serie 4, no. 33). But this suggested date is not accepted by *SNG Oxford* IX, nos. 837-55, *SNG Turkey* 4, nos. 215-20, *SNG Turkey* 9.3, nos. 926-41.

22 For the coins of Prostanna, see Aulock 1979, nos. 1750-751. For the coins of Sagalassos, see *SNG Turkey* 6.2, nos. 1594-596 (in ex., ΣΑΓΑ) and nos. 1957-598 (in ex., CΑΓΑ).

23 Aulock 1979, nos. 1788-789; *RPC* IV.3, no. 8057 (temporary).

24 Howgego 1985, 241, no. 682

25 For the coins of Geta, see Aulock 1979, 148, nos. 1799-1800; *SNG France* 3, 1711 = Babelon 1898, no. 3801. For the coin of Elagabalus, see Aulock 1979, 149, no. 1808 = *SNG France* 3, 1714. Aulock mentions only the countermark "T in crescent" and suggests it belongs probably to Timbriada. However, he does not mention the Π (incuse) that was applied both below the busts of Geta and Elagabalus. The identification of the "T in crescent" countermark by Aulock is not certain; see Aulock 1979, 148-49, nos. 1790, 1798, 1805, 1808; Howgego 1985, 182, no. 405. For comparison with the countermark Є, see Aulock 1979, 126, no. 1312 (Geta Caesar, Kremna).

26 Aulock 1979, 126, no. 1312. Aulock mentioned only the countermark of Є but did not mention the Π (incuse).

27 Howgego 1985, 241-42, no. 682.

28 *RIC* IX, 46b; *LRBC* II, 2423 (Gloria Romanorum, LRBC Type 18).

29 Özcan 2015a, 2-4; 2015b, 193-96; 2016, 249-50.

30 According to F. Özcan who conducted the surveys, the village of Yuvalı / Dreskene is located within the territory of Prostanna (personal communication).

31 For the coin of Selge, see *SNG Turkey* 6.2, nos. 2182-220. For the coin of Sagalassos, see Stroobants 2017, 2:15-16, Type 7E; *SNG Turkey* 6.2, nos. 1601-607.

finds from Timbriada consist of Hellenistic (4), Roman Provincial (8), Roman Imperial (36), Byzantine (10), and Islamic (1) coins, those from Zindan Monastery consist of Hellenistic (1), Roman Provincial (3), Roman Imperial (2), and Seljuk (1) (tables 3-5).

Coin Finds from Timbriada

The Hellenistic coins are represented by 3 coins of Selge (3) and 1 unidentified coin (table 3). The coins of Selge date to the second-first century BC (nos. 33-35).[32] The Roman Provincial coins are represented by 8 specimens (table 3). While 6 belong to the cities of Perge (1), Antiochia ad Pisidiam (2), Sagalassos (1), Timbriada (1), and Antiochia am Orontes (1), the remaining 2 could not be identified due to their poor condition. The coin of Perge features the type "bust of emperor r. / baitylos of Artemis Pergaia within distyl temple." Although it is not certain, the bust on the obverse may be attributed to Septimius Severus (no. 36).[33] The first coin of Antiochia ad Pisidiam belongs to the Emperor Gallienus and features the type "aquilia between two standards" on the reverse (no. 37).[34] The second's obverse cannot be identified due to their poor condition, but the type "Genius, holding branch and cornucopia" on the reverse and partially legible legend ([…]COL[…]) suggest that it belongs to the same city and probably dated to the second century AD (no. 38).[35] The fourth coin minted in the name of Volusianus and features the type "warrior holding sword and patera" on the reverse, which is a rare type of Sagalassos (no. 39).[36] While the reverse type described as a warrior by Stroobants, *RPC* IX described the figure as hero Lakedaimon.[37] The fifth coin, which is fragment, features the type "bust of emperor / Dionysos" and belongs to city of Timbriada minted in the name of Septimius Severus (no. 40).[38] The last identified coin, which is halved, belongs to Antiochia am Orontes and was minted in the name of emperor Tiberius and dated to AD 20-21 (no. 41). The attribution of the mint of this series is controversial. While some scholars attribute it to the mint of Antiochia, others attribute it to the mint of Commagene.[39] The remaining two unidentified provincial coins are also halved and date roughly to the first century AD.

Roman Imperial coins are represented by 36 coins, all of which are dated to the Late Roman period. This roughly covers the period of the fourth-fifth centuries. Among all the coins, only eight emperors and five mints could be identified. Accordingly, Constantinus (no. 42), Constantius II (nos. 43-45), Constans (no. 46), Honorius (no. 48), Theodosius II (no. 49), and

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32 For the coins of Selge, see *SNG Turkey* 6.2, nos. 2026-67, nos. 2932-3105 and 2854-865.

33 For the similar coin of Perge, see *SNG France* 3, 430. This is a small-denomination coin with an average weight of 1.5g. This series was minted mainly at the end of the first century AD.

34 *SNG France* 3, no. 1333.

35 For the similar coins, see *SNG France* 3, nos. 1108-115 (Septimius Severus), nos. 1126-132 (Iulia Domna), nos. 1176-183 (Elagabalus).

36 Stroobants 2017, 2:104, Type 170; *RPC* IX, no. 959 (Rev. Lakedaimon); *SNG Cop.* Pisidia, 213; *SNG Leypold* II, 2104. All examples have been struck from one pair of dies.

37 Stroobants 2017, 1:250 and 2:104, Type 170.1-4. The warrior type also appears on the coins of Diodumenianus: Type 97 and Macrinus: Type 94; *RPC* IX.1, 215, no. 959. For the type "hero Lakedaimon," see Stroobants 2017, 2: 27, Type 28; 2: 31, Type 32; 2: 38, Type 40; 2: 45, Type 54; 2: 52, Type 69; 2: 65, Type 90; 2: 71, Type 102; 2: 76, Type 111; 2: 81, Type 127; 2: 87, Type 139; 2: 91, Type 147; 2: 98, Type 159; 2: 110, Type 178; 2: 120, Type 194; 2: 132, Type 202.

38 Aulock 1979, 2134; *SNG France* 3, 220.

39 For the attribution of Antiochia am Orontes, see Butcher 2004, 332; Howgego 1985, 23, n. 41. For the attribution of Commagene, see *RPC* I, 574, which mentions that the attribution is uncertain, and *RIC* I, 110, no. 43; Cohen 1880, 190, no. 8, which mentions that the attribution is uncertain.

Valentinianus II (no. 50) are certainly identified.[40] In addition to them, the emperors of the two other coins have not been certainly identified. However, the reverse types suggest that the first probably belonged to Arcadius or Honorius (no. 47)[41] while the second to Theodosius II or Valentinianus II (no. 51)[42] (table 4). Apart from these, there are four coins with the first two dating back to the fourth century. They are identified by their reverse types that bear Gloria Romanorum (no. 52) and Gloria Exercitus(?). The other two coins are dated to the fifth century and identified by the type "cross within wreath" on the reverse. The remaining 15 coins could not be identified due to their poor condition, but all could date roughly to the fourth-fifth centuries. A closer look at the mints of the identifiable coins indicates that all are eastern mints, of which Constantinopolis is the most represented with 3 examples, followed by Nicomedia and Cyzicus with 1 each (table 4).

The Byzantine coins are represented by 10 specimens and date between the ninth and 11th centuries. They are represented by the emperors Heraclius (1), Basil I (1), Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (1), and Constantinus X Ducas (2). Also found were 3 Anonymous folles and 2 unidentified coins (table 5). The first coin belongs to Emperor Heraclius, but it does not reveal the regnal year due to wear on the reverse (no. 53). The second example is 2 coins stuck together, which we preferred not to separate in order not to damage the coins. The earlier coin on one side depicts the obverse of a folles issued of Basil I, while the other side (later coin) depicts the obverse of an anonymous follis of class A2 (no. 54).[43] The fourth coin belongs to Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, a Class 5 folles dated to AD 945-c. 950 (no. 55). There are three coins identified as Anonymous Folles. While the first one is a Class A1 or A2 folles overstruck on a folles of Romanus I (no. 56)[44], the second is a Class A2 (no. 57)[45] and the last is a Class B (no. 58).[46] The identified last 2 coins belong to Constantinus X Ducas (nos. 59-60).[47] All coins belong to the mint of Constantinopolis except the first and the last ones.

Besides all these finds, 1 Islamic coin was also found. Although traces of Arabic script are visible, it could not be identified due to its poor condition (no. 61).

As seen above, the surveys and excavations carried out at Timbriada revealed more coin finds than the other sites. The most represented group is the Roman Imperial period that constitutes 61% of all finds followed by the Byzantine, Roman Provincial, Hellenistic, and Islamic coins which constitute 17%, 13%, 7% and 2% respectively. This picture is also relatively consistent with the fact that the city was inhabited from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, as revealed by research.[48]

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40 For the coin of Constantinus I, see *RIC* VIII, 37. For the coins of Constantius II see *RIC* VIII, 60 and *RIC* VIII, 16. For the coins of Honorius, see *RIC* VIII, 61. For the coins of Theodosius II, see *RIC* IX, 419. For the coins of Valentinianus II, see *RIC* IX, 63b.

41 For similar coin, see *RIC* X, 60-61.

42 For similar coin, see *RIC* X, 433-35.

43 For the coins, see *DOC* III.2, 9a (Basil I, Constantinopolis), and A2 (Anonymous Folles Class A2).

44 For the coins of Romanus I and Anonymous Class A1 and A2, see *DOC* III.2, 25a (Romanus I) and A1-A2.

45 For a similar coin, see *DOC* III.2, A2.

46 For the coin, see *DOC* III.2, B.

47 For the coins of Constantinus X Ducas, see *DOC* III.2, 8 and *DOC* III.2, 9.

48 Özcan 2017, 176; 2018, 220.

Coin Finds from Zindan Monastery and Sanctuary

The Zindan Cave and Sanctuary is located two kilometers east of Aksu on the right bank of the Zindan river, a tributary of the Eurymedon (Köprüçay). Archaeological remains in front of the cave indicate that there was a building complex built in the early second century AD as a shrine of Timbriada where Zeus, Kybele, Meter Theon Veginos, and the river-god Eurymedon along with some other gods were worshipped.[49] The remains of the settlement discovered at the sanctuary indicate four distinct periods of occupation, namely, Early Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Seljuk.[50] A monastery located on the hill facing the sanctuary was also discovered during the excavations. This shows that the religious nature and activities of the site were maintained over the centuries.[51]

The excavations at both places reveals a number of coin finds. Here we will first examine those from the 2002-2003 excavations at the sanctuary followed by the coin find from the 2020 excavation at the monastery.

The excavations conducted at sanctuary, in 2002 and 2003, revealed a total number of 175 bronze coins and 2 more stray coins found by a local person. These dated from the end of the fourth century BC to 13th centuries AD.[52] The coin finds consisted of Hellenistic (135; 77%), Roman Republican (1; 1%), Roman Provincial (10; 6%), Roman Imperial (9; 5%), Byzantine (3; 2%) and Seljuk (1; 1%) periods, and unidentified (16; 8%).[53] Among the Hellenistic autonomous coin finds, coins of Timbriada unsurprisingly are the most represented (60%) followed by Pergamon (23%), Selge (6%), five other cities (total 5%), and uncertain coins (4%). Roman Provincial coins are mostly represented by Pisidian cities (40%) followed by a Pamphylian city (10%). These are dated to second-third centuries AD, while the rest are uncertain (50%).[54] Roman Imperial coins are represented mostly by Late Roman coins of the fourth-fifth centuries AD along with a coin dated to the second century AD. While the Byzantine coins date to sixth-10th centuries AD, the Seljuk coin probably dates to the 13th century AD.

The excavation conducted at monastery in 2020 revealed a total of 7 bronze coins. The coin finds consist of Hellenistic (1; 14%), Roman Provincial (3; 43%), Roman Imperial (2; 29%), and Seljuk (1; 14%) (tables 3-5). The Hellenistic period is represented by only a coin of Pergamon dated to the early to mid-second century BC, which is the same type found at Prostanna (no. 62).[55] Incidentally, with the bronze coins of Pergamon found in Mallos and Prostanna, apart from Zindan Sanctuary, and with the examples in the Isparta Archaeological Museum, there appears to be considerable circulation in the region for the second century BC. While one of the Roman Provincial coins could be identified, the other two could not. The identified coin of Timbriada was minted in the name of Hadrianus and features the type "bust of emperor r. /

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49 For the Zindan Sanctuary, see Kaya and Mitchell 1985; Dedeoğlu 2005; Takmer and Gökalp 2005, 95-113.

50 For 2002 excavation see Dedeoğlu 2005.

51 Dedeoğlu 2005, 99.

52 The coin finds from 2002-2003 excavations at the Zindan Sanctuary will be the subject of another study by H. Köker.

53 The Hellenistic finds consist of coins of King Lysimachos (1), Pergamon (32), Apameia (1), Aspendos (2), Perge (1), Antiochia ad Pisidiam (1), Keraeitai (1), Pednelissos (2), Selge (8), Timbriada (81), and unidentified coins (5).

54 The Roman Provincial finds consist of coins of Perge (1), Antiochia ad Pisidiam (1), Klaudio Seleukeia (1), Timbriada (2), and uncertain coins (5).

55 See note 21.

enthroned Kybele l." This is the same series as the coin found at Mallos (no. 63).[56] One of the identified Roman Imperial coins belongs to Hannibalianus, Rex Regum of eastern Asia Minor (Armenia, Cappadocia and Pontus), brother of Delmetius, and nephew of Constantine the Great (no. 64).[57] This coin belongs to the mint of Constantinopolis. The second imperial coin is too worn to identify but dates roughly to the fourth-fifth centuries of the Late Roman period. The last coin found in Zindan Sanctuary is a Seljuk coin belonging to Izzeddin Keykâvus (1246-1250) (no. 65).[58]

Notes on Coin Circulation at Sanctuary and Monastery

Based on the rather limited number of coins found at the Monastery which examined above, it is not possible to make a definitive interpretation about their circulation. However, when combined with the coin finds from the Sanctuary and the Monastery, a more accurate picture of coin circulation can be obtained for both. As previously stated, the coin finds from the sanctuary and monastery date between the end of the fourth century BC and the 13th century AD and consist of 75% Hellenistic, 1% Roman Republican, 7% Roman Provincial, 6% Roman Imperial, 2% Byzantine, 1% Seljuk, and 8% unidentified.

The Arpalık Tepe Cave Sanctuary in Pisidia is another example of a sanctuary that shares similar patterns of coin finds with the Zindan Sanctuary in terms of periods represented.[59] These finds from Arpalık Tepe date between fourth century BC and fourth century AD, and consist of 70% Hellenistic, 16% Roman Provincial, 4% Late Roman, and 10% unidentified. Accordingly, in both sanctuaries the Hellenistic coins are sizably represented with more than 70% of the finds. Most Hellenistic coins belong to the cities where the sanctuaries were located within their territory: Timbriada for Zindan and Selge for Arpalık Tepe.[60] On the other hand, the Hellenistic coin finds revealed that the coins from Zindan Sanctuary came from more diverse regions and cities than those from the Arpalık Tepe sanctuary. This implies that the popularity of the former was spread over a much wider geographical area. Furthermore, the existence of Pergamene control in the region is evidenced by the representation of coins of Pergamon at a rate of 1/4 in Zindan, as well as in the cities of Mallos, Prostanna, and Timbriada, as previously mentioned.[61] In the subsequent Roman Imperial period, especially the second century AD, Zindan Sanctuary has a more local character in contrast to the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by the provincial coin finds. Contrarily, Arpalık Tepe increased its popularity in the same period with the more diverse coin finds compared to the Hellenistic period.[62]

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56 See note 17.

57 The title Rex of eastern Asia Minor was given Hannibalianus in 335 by Constantine the Great; see Carson 1990, 169-70. For the coin, see *RIC* VII, 148.

58 For the coin, see Hennequin 1985, 776, no. 1836; İzmirlier 2009, 220, no. 549; Broome 2011, 187, no. 327.

59 The Arpalık Tepe Cave Sanctuary is located in the village of Yumaklar village within the town of Gebiz in the Serik district of Antalya province. It is within the territory of Selge; see Lenger 2011, 145. The excavation at Arpalık Tepe revealed a total of 714 coins (1 silver, 713 bronze).

60 Lenger 2011, 145-46. The Hellenistic coin finds represented a total number of 498 coins. These consist of coins from Aspendos (3), Attaleia (1), Perge (3), Seleukeia (2), Side (4), Sillyon (9), Etenna (2), Pednelissos (1), and Selge (475).

61 The coins of Pergamon housed in the Burdur and Isparta Archaeological museums witness the control of Pergamon upon Pisidia.

62 Lenger 2011, 146. The Roman Provincial coin finds represented a total number of 114 coins. These consist of coins from Aspendos (1), Perge (30), Seleukeia (2), Sillyon (9), Side (8), and Selge (24).

Although the Late Roman (fourth-fifth century AD) coin finds in both sanctuaries overlap, there is a significant decrease in the number of finds, which must be related to the rise of Christianity in the region.[63] For the Byzantine and later periods, a few coins from the sixth-seventh centuries and a Seljuk coin from the 13th century were found in Zindan Sanctuary, while no finds from these periods were recovered from Arpalık Tepe. In conclusion, the coin finds from different and distant geographical areas show that the sanctuary of Zindan, the cult center of different gods, had both local and regional importance, especially in the Hellenistic period, as Dedeoğlu rightly points out.[64] On the contrary, the coin finds at the sanctuary of Arpalık Tepe are not from varied distant regions, but mainly from the cities of Pamphylia. This means that the sanctuary has a more local character, which Lenger associates with the presence of many sanctuaries of similar character in Pisidia.[65] It is also possible to add that the sanctuary of Arpalık Tepe was more accessible to the cities of Pamphylia than to the cities of Pisidia.

Coin Finds from Tynada

During the 2019-2022 surveys at Tynada 3 bronze coins were found, which are dated to the second-first centuries BC and the fourth-fifth centuries AD.[66] The first two were minted by Pisidian city Selge and date to second-first centuries BC (nos. 66-67), while the other is a Late Roman coin which could not be identified but dates roughly to fourth-fifth centuries AD.

Notes on the Halved Coins

During our research, four halved coins were found - one from Mallos and three from Timbriada (nos. 25, 41). The phenomenon of halving coins was previously discussed in Buttrey's article half a century ago whereby he concluded that the practice of halving coins was probably to provide small change for Roman soldiers. The practice was widespread in the western half of the empire in the 20s BC and during the Augustan and Tiberian periods.[67] In the first phase, the Republican *assarion* was divided in order to adjust it to the new smaller Augustan copper *assarion*. During the second phrase under Tiberius, the Augustan and Tiberian *assarii* were divided from Rome and the Gallic mints in the Rhine valley.[68] He identified 19 specimens from the Sardis excavations and commented on the eastern instances of the halving phenomenon.[69] We can now add more specimens from the various findspots which are mostly located in southwestern Asia Minor such as

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63 Zindan Sanctuary is represented by 9 Roman Imperial coins, 1 of which is dated to the second century and the rest to the fourth century. The Arpalık Tepe finds are represented by 28 coins dated to the fourth century; see Lenger 2011, 146.

64 Dedeoğlu 2005, 96.

65 Lenger 2011, 147.

66 Özcan et al. 2022, 440-43. An inscription found in Tynada reveals the name of the settlement and also shows that Tynada was a *come* of Timbriada; see Özsait et al. 2009; 2022, 440-41.

67 Buttrey 1972. For the brief discussion also, see Crawford 1985, 261.

68 Buttrey et al. 1981, 92.

69 23 specimens: Buttrey et al. 1981, 129, no. 3 (total number of 19 pieces and weight range of 2.-6 g and avg. weight of 3.89) ("Head of Augustus r., CAESAR / AVGVSTVS within laurel-wreath"; Asia, 19-15 BC: *RIC* I, 64, no. 53); DeRose Evans 2018, 134, nos. 98.6-9 ("Head of Augustus r., CAESAR / AVGVSTVS within laurel-wreath"; Asia, ca. 25 BC: *RPC* I, no. 2235).

Arykanda,[70] Perge,[71] Antiochia ad Pisidiam,[72] Kremna,[73] Sagalassos,[74] Klaudio Seleukeia (Sidera),[75] Şarkikaraağaç,[76] and on the southeastern border at Zeugma.[77] Seemingly all the new specimens date back to the Augustan or Tiberian periods, except some coins from Antiochia, and most are from the eastern mints, of which Asia is most represented among them. Examining the weight of these specimens, it is obvious that most are equivalent to the *assarion*. However, a few are smaller than the *assarion* and probably equivalent to *semis*, of which their average weight is about 2-3 grams. Two specimens are from Perge, one from Sagalassos, and two from Timbriada. In summary, the examples listed here undoubtedly show that the practice of halving, widespread in the western part of the Empire, was relatively common in its eastern part as well.

Conclusion

The surveys and excavations yielded a total of 112 coins. The dates of these coins range from the second century BC to the 17th century AD. An analysis of them found in all the settlements shows that Roman Imperial coins are the most common, accounting for 48% of all coins found. This is followed by Hellenistic coins with 22%, Roman Provincial coins with 16%, Byzantine coins with 10%, and Turkish coins with 4%.

When examining the coin circulation of Hellenistic and Roman Provincial coins in the aforementioned centers, Pisidian coins are well-represented, as anticipated. However, it is worth mentioning that among the Hellenistic coins, the coins of Pergamon stand out as well as those of Attaleia and Perge, each represented by one example among the Roman Provincial coins. The most abundant group of finds consists of Roman Imperial coins, all of which date to the fourth and fifth centuries. Most of these were minted in Constantinopolis, the eastern mint of the empire, while Nicomedia, Cyzicus, and Heraclea are also represented. The Byzantine coins date from the seventh to the 11th centuries. Except for one from Mallos, these were unearthed at Timbriada. Additionally, a small number of Turkish coins were found during the surveys, which date to the 17th and 19th centuries. These finds are consistent with the traces

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70 1 specimen: Tek 2002, 330, no. 993 ("Head of Augustus r. / SC; around, [MMAECLIVSTVLL]VSIIIV[IRAAAFF]"; 25 mm, 4.3 g; Lugdunum: *RIC* I, 76, no. 435).

71 14 specimens: Tekin 1987, 39, no. 1 ("Head of Augustus r. / AVGV within wreath"; 26 mm, 7.37 g); Şen 2004, 61, cat. no. R1 ("Head of Augustus r. / Illegible legend within laureate wreath"; 21 mm, 4.84 g); Köker 2007, 55, cat. no. 1 ("Head of Augustus r / Wreath; 13 / 22 mm, 3.7 g); no. 2 ("Head r.; CAESAR.AVGVST.[PONT.MAX.TRIBVNIC. POT] / [S]C; around, [M.MAE]CILVS.TVLLVS.I[II.VIR.A.A.A.F.F]"; 14 / 26 mm, 4.0 g; M. Maecillus Tullus; 7 BC; Rome: *RIC* I, 79, no. 194); 55-56, nos. 3-5 ("Head r. / Worn"; 3.2-4.9 g), nos. 6-12 (Unidentified; 3.0-5.0 g).

72 The excavations at Antiochia ad Pisidiam (Yalvaç) yielded more than 10 pieces of halved coins, but none were identifiable. According to Hacer Sancaktar, these coins could be dated to the first-second centuries AD. We would like to thank to Assoc. Prof. Sancaktar for sharing this information about the coin finds.

73 1 Specimen: Augustus or Tiberius (Head r. / [A]V[GVSTVS] within wreath; 15 / 27 mm, 5.61 g).

74 3 specimens: Scheers 2000, 511, no. 31 (Head of Augustus r. / [AVGVSTVS] within laurel-wreath; 4.58 g; Augustus, ca. 25 BC or 27-23 BC; Ephesos or Pergamon: *RIC* I, 485); Scheers 1993, 254, nos. 70-71 (Unidentified. first-third centuries AD(?); 21 mm, 3 g).

75 1 specimen: (Head of Augustus r. / [AVGVSTVS] within laurel-wreath; 5.30 g).

76 1 specimen: "Head r. (seen only back) / [AVGV]STVS within wreath"; 14 / 25 mm, 5.54 g). Along with this coin, 7 coins in total dating to the Hellenistic, Roman Provincial, Roman Imperial, and Byzantine period were discovered by M. Özsait in 1999 during research carried out in Şarkikaraağaç. These were delivered to the Isparta Archaeology Museum.

77 2 specimens: Franscone 2013, 23, inv. no. 43 and 175, inv. no. 777. Both are unidentified but probably date to the second-third centuries AD.

of settlement in the sites mentioned above. The concentration of Late Roman archaeological remains and coins is particularly noteworthy. However, the coins found during the excavations at Zindan Sanctuary and Monastery suggest that the site was widely popular during the Hellenistic period. However, this popularity declined during the Late Roman period and became more locally oriented. Finally, it is worth noting that halved coins are less common among the coin finds. This suggest that the system, intensively used in the western part of the empire, was also widespread in the eastern part as well, a conclusion supported by coin finds from other parts of Anatolia.

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SNG Cop. Pisidia. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals Danish National Museum*. *Pisidia* by Breitenstein, N., and O. Mørkholm. 1956. Copenhagen.

SNG France 3. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum France* 3*, Cabinet des Médailles. Pamphylie, Pisidie, Lycaonie, Galatie* by Levante, E. 1994. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de la France Numismatica Ars Classica.

SNG Leypold II. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Österreich: Sammlung Leypold Österreichische Nationalbank, Wien, Kleinasiatische Münzen der Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 2, *Phrygien-Kommagene* by Wolfgang, S. and C. Daburon. 2004. Vienna: Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft für Numismatik.

SNG Oxford IX. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. Vol. 5*, Ashmolean Museum Oxford*. Part 9*, Bosporus-Aeolis* by Ashton, R., and S. Ireland. 2007. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SNG PfPs. *Pisidien.* Nollé, J. 1999. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. *Deutschland. Pfälzer Privatsammlung*. Vol. 5, *Pisidien und Lykaonien, Nr. 1-586.* Munich: Hirmer Verlag.

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SNG Turkey 6.1. *SNG Turkey 6, Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*. *Turkey*. Vol. 6, *Burdur Museum*. *Pisidia*. Vol. 1.1, *Adada-Prostanna* by Köker, H. 2011. Istanbul: TEBE.

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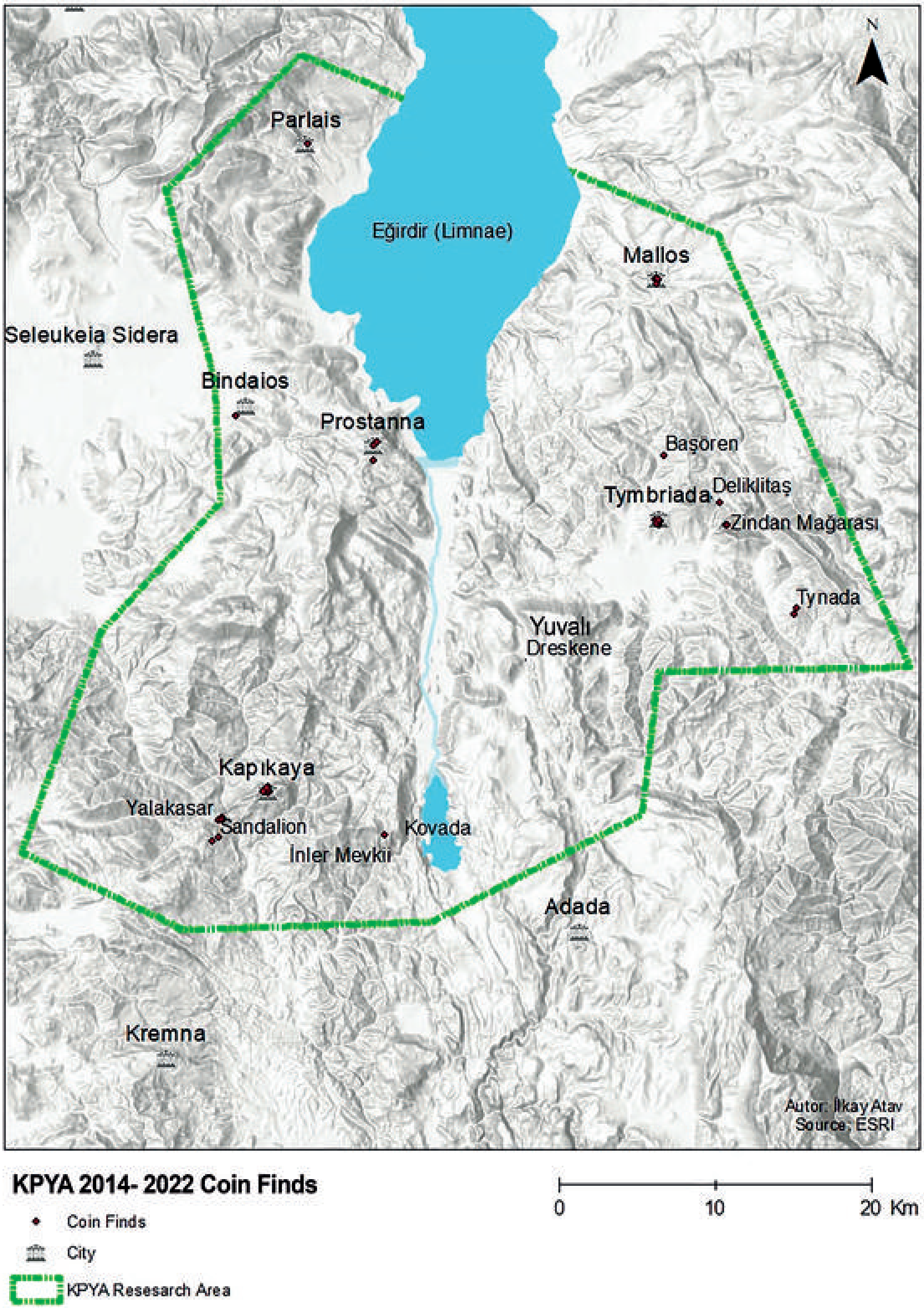


FIG. 1 Areas covered by the survey of Northern Pisidia (by İlkay Atav).

TABLE 1 Conspectus of the Hellenistic and Roman provincial coins found at Kapıkaya

	Region/Mint	Date	Number of coins
Hellenistic Coins	Pisidia / Adada	first cent. BC	2
	Pisidia / Keraeitai	35-35 BC	1
	Pisidia / Sagalassos	39-25 BC	4
	Pisidia / Selge	second-first cent. BC	3
	Unidentified	?	1
	TOTAL		**11**
Roman Provincial Coins	Pamphylia / Attaleia	Volusianus	1
	Pisidia / Klaudio Seleukeia	second cent. AD	1
	Unidentified	?	1
	TOTAL		**3**

TABLE 2 Conspectus of the Roman imperial and Ottoman coins found at Kapıkaya

	Emperor	Mint	Number of coins
Roman Imperial Coins	Constantinus	Heraclea	1
	Constantius II	Constantinopolis	1
	Theodosius I	Uncertain	1
	Uncertain (fourth-fifth AD)	Uncertain	3
	TOTAL		**6**
Ottoman Empire	Suleyman II	Konstantiniyye	1
	TOTAL		**1**

TABLE 3 Conspectus of the Hellenistic and Roman Provincial coins found at Timbriada and Zindan Monastery

	Region / Mint	Date	Find Place	Number of Coins
Hellenistic Coins	Mysia / Pergamon	Early to mid second cent. BC	Zindan Monastery	1
	Pisidia / Selge	second-first cent. BC	Timbriada	3
	Unidentified	?	Timbriada	1
	TOTAL			**5**
Roman Provincial Coins	Pamphylia / Perge	S. Severus? (AD 193-211)	Timbriada	1
	Pisidia / Antiochia	Gallienus (AD 253-268)	Timbriada	1
	Pisidia / Antiochia	Uncertain	Timbriada	1
	Pisidia / Sagalassos	Volusianus (AD 251-253)	Timbriada	1
	Pisidia / Timbriada	S. Severus (AD 193-211)	Timbriada	1
	Pisidia / Timbriada	Hadrianus (AD 98-117)	Zindan Monastery	1
	Syria / Antiochia	Tiberius (AD 14-37)	Timbriada	1
	Uncertain	first cent. AD	Timbriada	2
	Unidentified	?	Zindan Monastery	2
	TOTAL			**11**

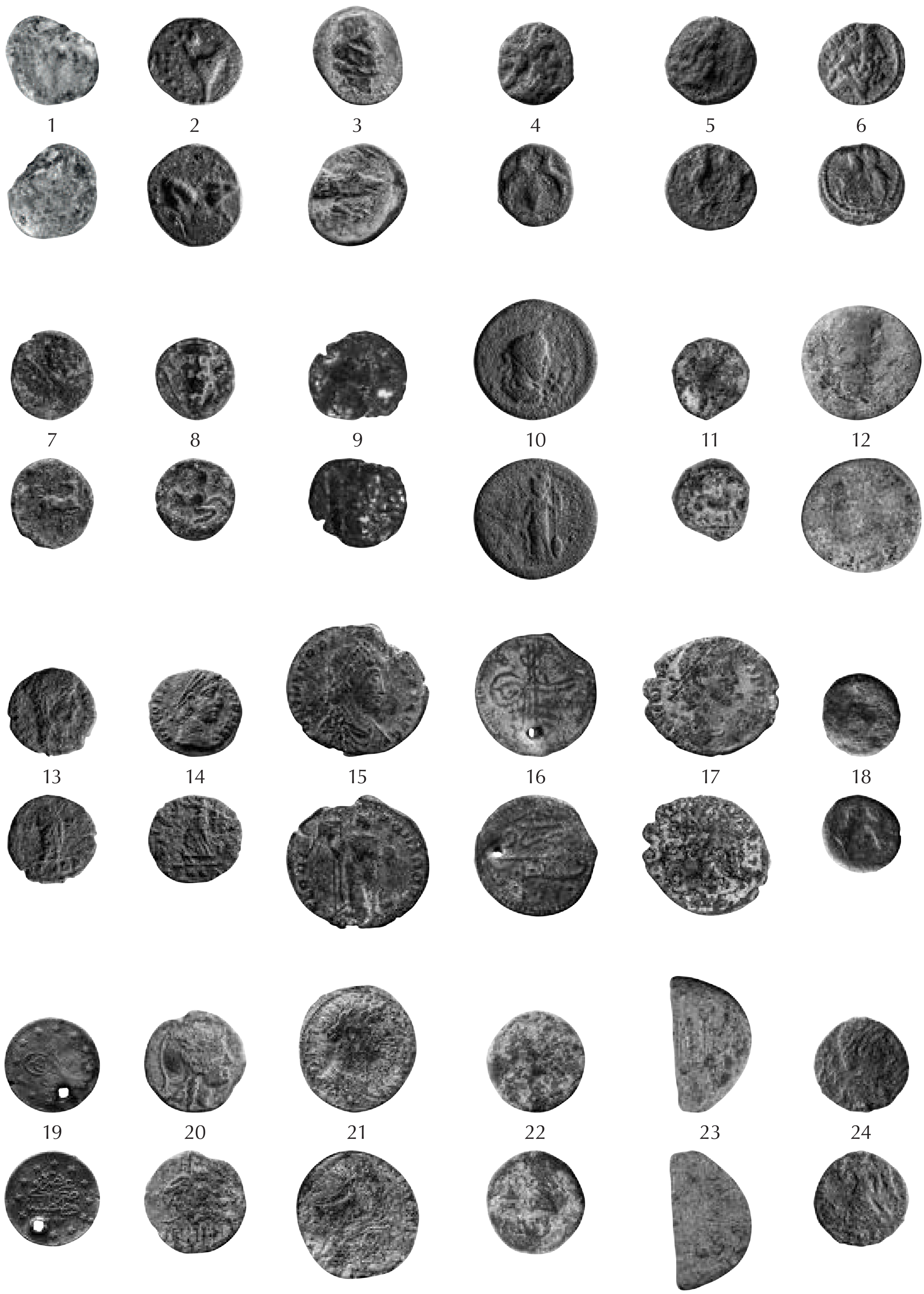
TABLE 4 Conspectus of the Roman imperial coins found at Timbriada and Zindan Monastery

Emperor	Mint	Find Place	Number of Coins
Constantinus (AD 306-312)	Constantinopolis	Timbriada	1
Hannibalianus (AD 336-337)	Constantinopolis	Zindan Monastery	1
Constantius II (AD 337-361)	Constantinopolis, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Uncertain	Timbriada	4
Constans (AD 337-350)	Uncertain	Timbriada	1
Arcadius or Honorius (AD 383-408 or AD 393-423)	Cosntantinopolis	Timbriada	1
Honorius (AD 393-423)	Constantinopolis	Timbriada	1
Theodosius II (AD 402-450)	Constantinopolis	Timbriada	1
Valentinianus II (AD 375-392)	Antiochia	Timbriada	1
Theodisius II or Valentinianus III (AD 402-450)	Uncertain	Timbriada	1
Uncertain fourth-fifth cent. AD	Uncertain	Zindan Monastery	1
Uncertain fourth-fifth cent. AD	Heraclea, Nicomedia and Uncertain	Timbriada	25
TOTAL			**38**

TABLE 5 Conspectus of the Byzantine and Turkish coins found at Timbriada and Zindan Monastery

	Emperor	Mint	Find Place	Number of coins
Byzantine Coins	Heraclius (AD 610-641)	Uncertain	Timbriada	1
	Basil I (AD 867-886) - Anonymous Folles Class A2 (976?-ca. 1030 / 1035)	Constantinopolis	Timbriada	1
	Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (AD 913-959)	Constantinopolis	Timbriada	1
	Anonymous Folles Class A1 or A2 (AD 970-1030 / 1035)	Constantinopolis	Timbriada	3
	Constantinus X Ducas (AD 1059-1067)	Constantinopolis	Timbriada	2
	Unidentified	Uncertain	Timbriada	2
	TOTAL			**10**
Turkish Coins	Izzeddin Keykâvus II (first reign: 1246-1250)		Zindan Monastery	1
	Unidentified		Timbriada	1
	TOTAL			**2**

I



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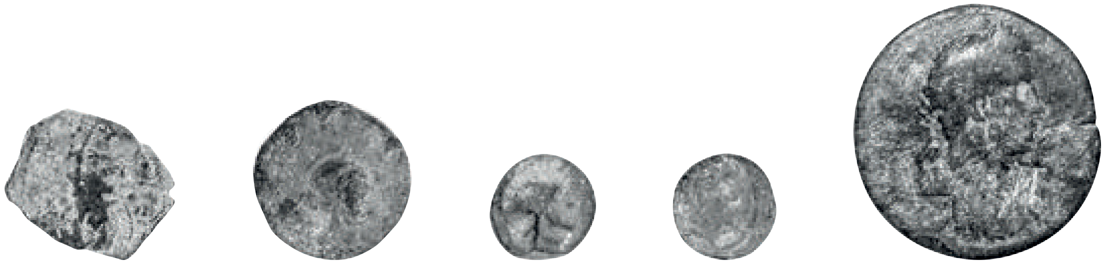

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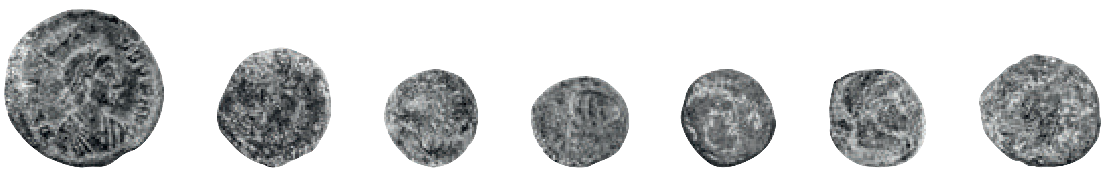

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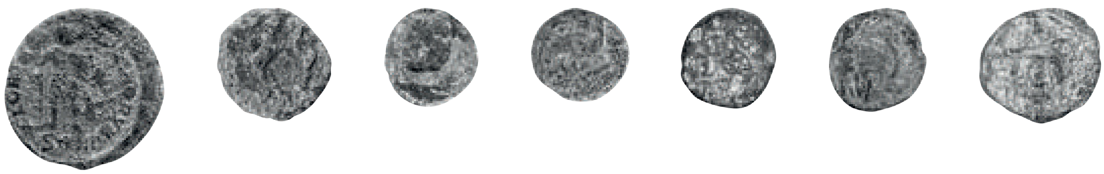

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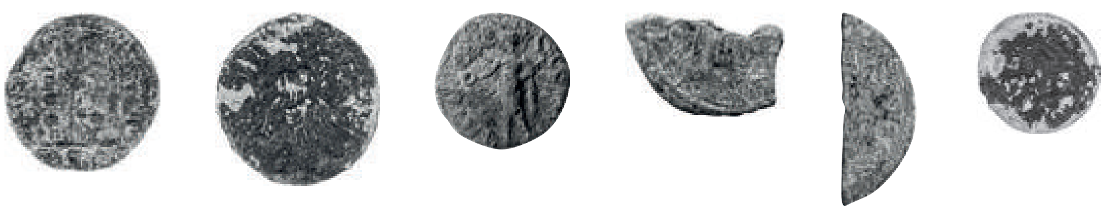

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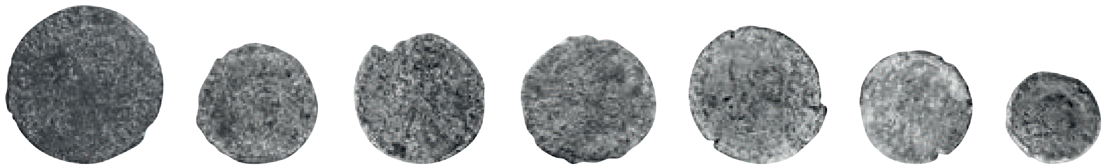

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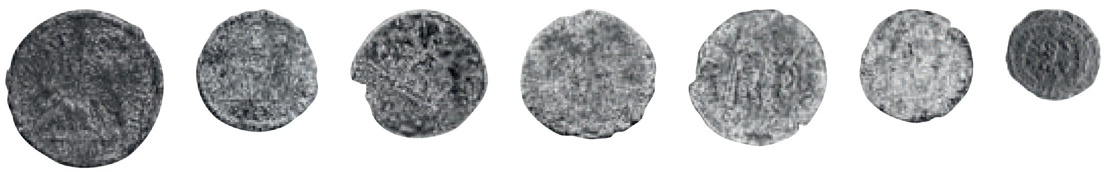

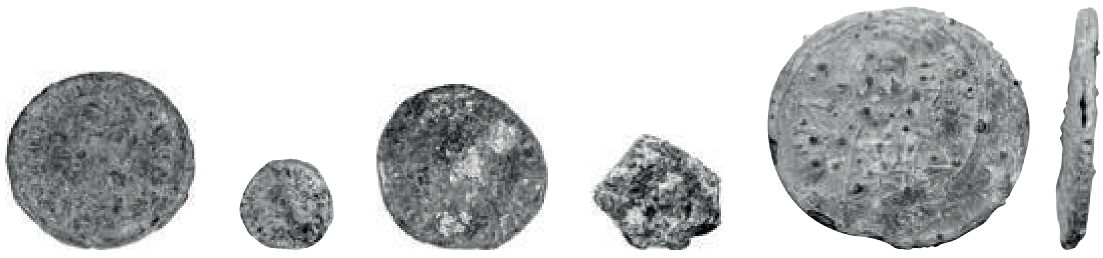

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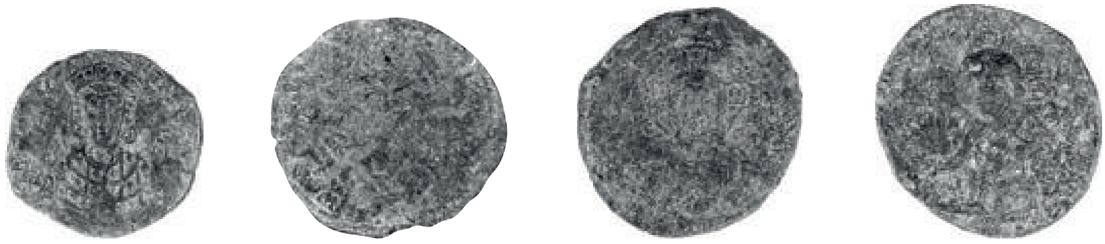

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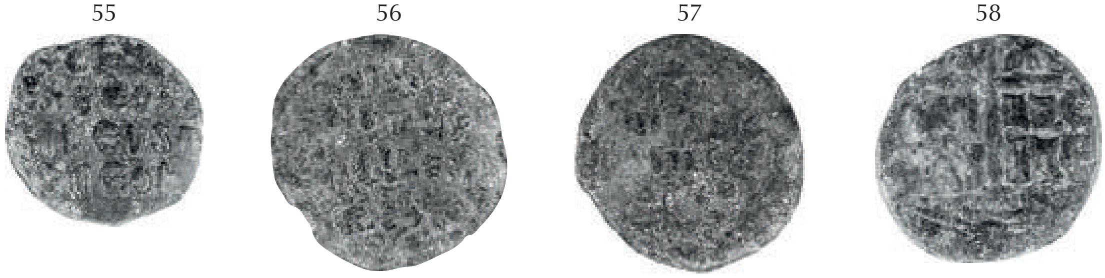

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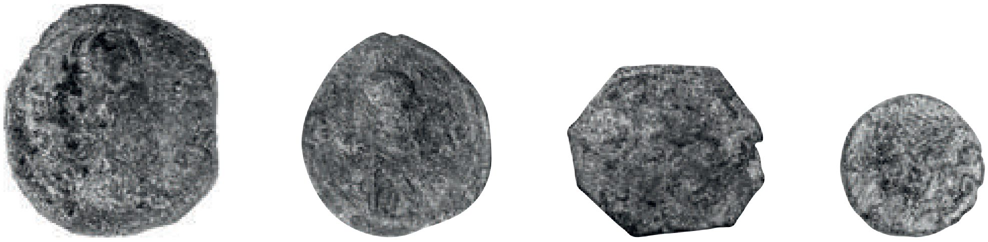

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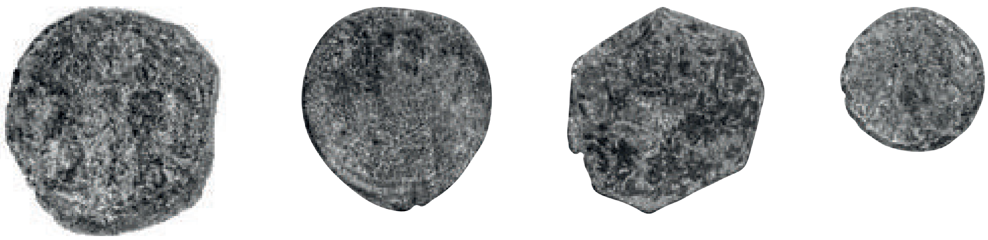

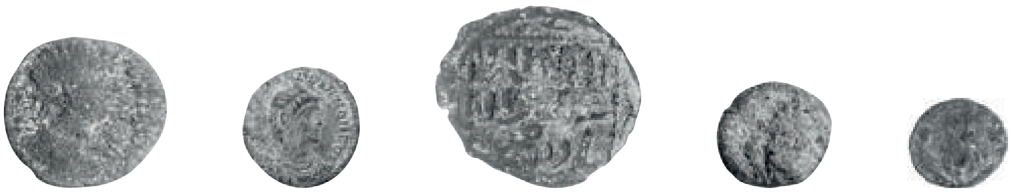

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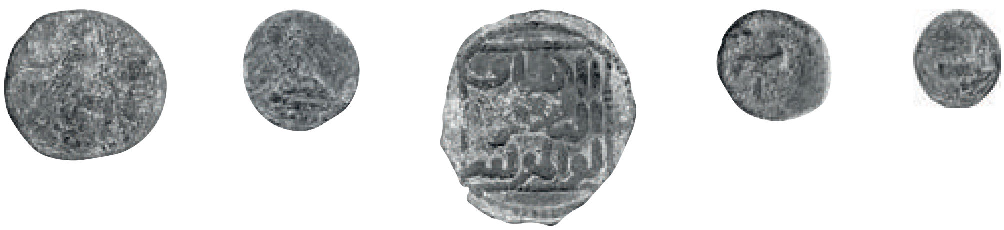

A New *Thiasos* from Mylasa: *Thiasitai Heroistai* of Ouliades, Son of Euthydemos

GÜRAY ÜNVER*

Abstract

This article presents a new funerary inscription on a stele from Mylasa. The stele was found in the area to the southeast of Esentepe during the sondage excavation held under the supervision of the Milas Museum in 2021. The text is the funerary inscription of 11 members of a *thiasos* who claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die. According to the inscription, Ouliades son of Euthydemos was heroized with divine honors after his death, and the *thiasos* was established in his honor. The members of the *thiasos* (θιασεῖται Ἡρωϊσταί) dedicated a *bomos* to the *heros* Ouliades on the street called "the street of Skorpon." The *heros* Ouliades, who became the object of a cult, was the son of Euthydemos, the well-known leader of the city in the first half of the first century BC. Therefore the inscription is dated to the late first century BC - first century AD due to letter forms and prosopography.

Keywords: Mylasa, *thiasos*, *heros* cult, Ouliades son of Euthydemos, funerary inscription

Öz

Bu makalede Mylasa'dan bir stel üzerinde yer alan yeni bir mezar yazıtı sunulmaktadır. Stel 2021 yılında Esentepe'nin güneydoğusundaki bölgede, Milas Müze Müdürlüğü denetiminde yürütülen sondaj kazıları sırasında ele geçmiştir. Yazıt metni, bir *thiasos*un öldüklerinde birlikte aynı yere gömülme talebinde bulunmuş 11 üyesinin mezar yazıtıdır. Yazıta göre Euthydemos oğlu Ouliades, ölümünden sonra tanrısal onurlar ile onurlandırılmış ve *heros* Ouliades onuruna bir *thiasos* kurulmuştur. *Thiasos*un üyeleri (θιασεῖται Ἡρωϊσταί) "Skorpon'un caddesi" adı verilen caddede, *heros* Ouliades için bir *bomos* kutsayıp adamışlardır. Onuruna bir *heros* kültü kurulmuş olan Ouliades, MÖ birinci yy.'ın ilk yarısında kentin lideri konumunda bulunan ünlü Euthydemos'un oğluydu. Bu nedenle yazıt, harf karakterleri ve prosopografya ışığında MÖ birinci yy. sonları - MS birinci yy.'a tarihlenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mylasa, *thiasos*, *heros* kültü, Euthydemos oğlu Ouliades, mezar yazıtı

The stele was found in the Hacıapti district of modern Milas during the sondage excavation held on an estate under the supervision of the Milas Museum in 2021.[1] The

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1 The epigraphical study on the stele was performed with the permission of the Directorate of Milas Museum, dated 16.02.2021 and numbered E-51034835-155.01-1136099. I would like to thank Ali Yalçın, the director of Milas Museum, and Mehmet Çelebi, the former director of Milas Museum, for the permission to study the inscription. Additionally, I am indebted to archaeologists Cemre Öztan Çetinkaya and Selçuk Karabağ, for their assistance during my studies at the Museum.

excavation area is approximately 100 meters southeast of Esentepe[2] near the southern slope.[3] Now the stele and its base are at the Milas Museum, Milas Uzunyuva Mausoleum and Museum Complex (Milas Müzesi, Milas Uzunyuva Anıt Mezarı ve Müze Kompleksi). Inv. No. 2021 / 10(A).

Description: White marble rectangular stele with three acroteria, two on the edges and one in the middle, on top and a tenon at bottom. The stele is well preserved and complete (fig. 1). There is *anathyrosis* on the left surface, while the back and the the right surfaces are rough (figs. 2-3).

The stele was found fallen on its side, with the original base as the tenon attached into the rectangular socket (0,16 m x 0,44 m; depth 0,17 m) on the white marble base (fig. 4).

Dimensions: (stele) H: 0,73 m; (with tenon) 0,88 m; W: 0,55 m; T: 0,145 m; LH: (lines 1-3) 0,018 m; (lines 4-19) 0,015-0,018 m; Omega 0,02 m; Phi 0,025 m.

(Tenon) H: 0,15 m; W: 0,39 m; T: 0,13 m.

(Base) H: (front) 0,34 m; (back) 0,27 m; W: 0,73 m; T: 0,69 m.

Date: late first century BC - first century AD (prosopography and letter forms).

vac. ἡρώων ἀγαθῶν· *vac.*
v. οἱ θιασεῖται Ἡρωϊσταὶ *vac.*
v. Οὐλιάδου *v.* τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου *v.*
ἥρωος καὶ τοῦ καθιερωθέντος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν
βωμοῦ ἐν τῇ πλατήᾳ τῇ Σκόρπωνος
πρὸς τῷ κυθρίνῳ, κοινὸν κατεσκεύ-
ασαν μ *v.* νῆμα γραμματεύοντος
Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Θευδᾶ *v.* ἐπὶ στεφανηφό-
ρου Ἀριστέου τοῦ Μυωνίδου· εἰσὶν δὲ
οἱ ὑπογεγραμ<μ>ένοι – Ἑκαταῖος – Ἀνδρο-
νίκου, – Πάμφιλος – Ἀριστέου, *vac.*
Νικόστρατος Φανίου, Θεόδοτος Μαρίω- *v.*
νος, Δωρόθεος Ἑκάτωνος, Συμμάχος
Μενίππου, Μενίππος Παμφίλου, – *vac.*
Δίφιλος Διοκλέους, – Διονύσιος Γρύλ-
λου, – Ἀριστείδης Ἱεροκλήους, – Μᾶρκος
Ἀντώνιος Οἰνοπίον – οἱ κατὰ προαίρεσιν *v.*
κοινῶς ζήσαντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες ἐν *v.*
ἑνὶ τόπῳ ὅμοῦ κεῖσθαι θέλοντες.

[2] The higher plain area called Esentepe was possibly a privileged part of the necropolis of Mylasa. A late Classic-early Hellenistic monumental chamber tomb with a dromos was found on Esentepe approximately 120 meters northwest of the findspot of the inscription during a salvage excavation held by the management of the Milas Museum in 2018. The chamber tomb was made of high-quality marble with fine craftsmanship; however, it is quite damaged. Also during another salvage excavation held in the vicinity of the monumental chamber tomb that same year, three rock tombs were documented. I would like to thank Cemre Öztan Çetinkaya for the information about the salvage excavations as well as Prof. Dr. Aytekin Büyüközer for the architectural evaluation and for the date of the monumental chamber tomb.

[3] During the excavation, a tile tomb made of stacked convex tiles (1.20 m as preserved x 0.45 m), seven soil (terracotta) pipes entwined together in upright position, and a marble block (1.23 m x 0.77 m x 0.20 m) possibly used as the cover of a sarcophagus-type tomb were also unearthed in the same sondage area. I would like to thank Cemre Öztan Çetinkaya for the information about these archaeological finds.

Translation: (The monument of) *heroes agathoi*. *Thiasitai Heroistai* (the members of the heroists society in honor) of *heros* Ouliades son of Euthydemos and of the *bomos* that consecrated by them, which was on the street of Skorpon near the hollow, have built a common monument, while Antiochos son of Theudas was *grammateus* (secretary) and Aristeas son of Myonides was *stephanephoros*; the persons whose names are written below are (in the tomb), Hekataios son of Andronikos, Pamphilos son of Aristeas, Nikostratos son of Phanios, Theodotos son of Marion, Dorotheos son of Hekaton, Symmachos son of Menippos, Menippos son of Pamphilos, Diphilos son of Diokles, Dionysios son of Gryllos, Aristeides son of Hierokles, Marcus Antonius Oinopion, the persons who lived in togetherness in accordance with devotion and claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die.

L. 1: The genitive expression δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν is widely attested in funerary inscriptions from Mylasa[4] and Iasos,[5] thus the expression ἡρώων ἀγαθῶν should be an adapted form of δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν in relation with a *heros* cult. Therefore the use of word ἥρως instead of word δαίμων is possibly related with the religion of the persons who were buried in the tomb.

L. 2-4: θιασεῖται Ἡρωϊσταὶ Οὐλιάδου τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου ἥρωος. The members of the *thiasos*[6] (heroists society) established in the honor and memory of the *heros* Ouliades son of Euthydemos.

Ouliades (Οὐλιάδης) is a frequently attested personal name in Karia. The name was possibly derived from Oulios (Οὔλιος),[7] the epithet of Apollon, the god of health and healing at Miletos and Delos.[8]

L. 4: The letter O of ἥρωος was omitted and written afterwards on the letter Σ.

L. 5: ἐν τῇ πλατήᾳ τῇ Σκόρπωνος = ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῇ Σκόρπωνος "on the street of Skorpon".

The street of Skorpon (πλατεῖα ἡ Σκόρπωνος) was not attested hitherto. The person Skorpon, after whom the street was named, is unknown. The personal name Skorpon (Σκόρπων) is a rare Greek name attested for the first time at Mylasa. The name is known from Rhodos[9] and also from Stratonikeia.[10]

An inscription from Mylasa, dated to first c. AD, mentions another street possibly from Mylasa:[11] καθιέρω|σαν τὸν βωμὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πλατεῑ|ας τῆς Λ[- -]Α[- -]ΔΙΚΗΣ πρὸς τῷ | Ε[- -]ΒΩΜ[-]ΣΟ πλατεῖται τει|[μῆ]ς χάριν Διονυσίδου τοῦ Δη|μητρίου ὀλυνπιονίκου, κτλ. The inhabitants of a πλατεῖα have dedicated an altar to an emperor and Zeus Olympios in honor of Dionysides, who won wrestling at Olympia.

L. 6: πρὸς τῷ κυθρίνῳ = πρὸς τῷ χυτρίνῳ, "near the hollow." Possibly near the street, the location where the *bomos* was built, there was a hollow with a spring in it. In the lexicon of Hesychios,[12] it is stated that χυτρῖνοι· τὰ κοῖλα τῆς γῆς, δι' ὧν αἱ πηγαὶ ἀνίενται.

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4 *I.Mylasa*, 428.(1-3); 429.(1) = (Blümel *et al*. 2014, 49, no. 38); 433.(1); 436.(1-2); 437.(1-2); 439.(1); 442.(1-2); 444.(1); 446.(1); 449.(1-2); 450.(1-2); 452.(1-2); 453.(1); 454.(1); 455.(1); 456.(1); 458.(1-2); 463.(1); 464.(1); 470.(1-2) = (Blümel *et al*. 2014, 48, no. 37); 471.(1); 473.(1); 474.(1); 477.(1-2); 487.(1); 479.(1); 480.(1); 483.(1); 484.(1); 487.(1); 488.(1); 489; 494.(1) = (*I.Mylasa* II, p. 5); 495.(1-2) = (*I.Mylasa* II, p. 5; Blümel *et al*. 2014, 48, no. 36); for the worship of *daimones agathoi*, see: *I.Mylasa*, 806.(3); 808.(4); 810.(2); 811.(3); 812.(3); 813.(2); 814.(3-4); 815.(3); 819.(2); 869.(9; 15); 870.(4-5); Blümel 1989, 7-8, no. 895.(3); see also: Blümel *et al*. 2014, 41-42.

5 *I.Iasos,* 397.(1); 405.(1); 408.(1).

6 For *thiasos* and *thiasitai*, see Foucart 1873, 55-84; Poland 1967, 16-28; Arnaoutoglou 2003, 61-70.

7 Zgusta 1964, 398 § 1163-3; *I.Mylasa* I, p. 25 (no. 101, app. cr. 26).

8 Strab. 14.1.16 (C 635). According to Strabon, the verb οὔλειν means "to be healthy."

9 *SEG* 30, 1004 (second-first c. BC); see also *AD* 20 / B3 1965, 598.

10 Pytheas Skorpon, the adoptive father of Tiberius Claudius Theophanes (first c. AD), see *I.Stratonikeia*, 1021.(3); *LGPN* VB, 385 *s.v.* Σκόρπων, for the family see Laumonier 1937, 249, no. 47.

11 *I.Mylasa,* 403.(2-7); *I.Mylasa* II, p. 4, cf. *I.Smyrna,* 714.(1-2).

12 Hsch., χ, 852. In Periplus Maris Rubri (mid. first c. AD), concerning the river Namnadios (Narmada) at India, χυτρῖνος is used to define the deeper parts of the river: οἱ δὲ κύθρινοι τόποι εἰσὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθύτεροι μέχρι Βαρυγάζων, see Peripl. M. Rubr. 44, cf. Geop. 14.6.2: κατασκευάζειν δὲ χρὴ ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις καὶ νεοττίας πυκνάς, ἀπὸ ἐδάφους μέχρι τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἅς τινες καλοῦσι σηκούς, ἡμεῖς δὲ κυθρίνους ὀνομάζομεν, ἐν οἷς χρὴ διάγειν καὶ τίκτειν τὰς ἐζευγμένας περιστεράς. In Geoponica, the word is used to define the holes in which the pigeons in pairs are to settle and to breed.

L. 6-7: θιασεῖται .... κοινὸν κατεσκεύασαν μνῆμα, "have built a common monument." A letter (possibly H) was erroneously written between the letters M and N of the word μνῆμα, and the letter was deleted causing a *vacat* for one letter space.

In accordance with their devotion and the membership in the *thiasos*, the eleven members "claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die" as explained in detail in the following lines (17-19). The common monuments of the members of associations or various groups are widely attested at Kilikia in the Roman Imperial period.[13]

The original location of the κοινὸν μνῆμα (common monument) built by the θιασεῖται Ἡρωϊσταί for the eleven members is unknown. Since the stele was found with its original base, the monument was possibly erected in the vicinity of the findspot.

L. 7-8: The *grammateus* Antiochos son of Theudas is unknown. A person named Theudas son of Menes is known from Mylasa. This Theudas, son of Menes, was one of the persons who consecrated an altar to *heros* Gaius Iulius Hybreas, the high priest.[14] The identification of the Theudas, son of Menes, with Theudas, the father of Antiochos mentioned in our inscription, is possible.

L. 8-9: The *stephanephoros* Aristeas, son of Myonides, is unknown. A person named Aristeas, son of Myonides, is known from a honorary decree[15] (second - first c. BC) by the *koinon* of the people of Lagnokeis (τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λαγνωκέων) from Kys. There is no evidence for a familial relationship or an identification with the person mentioned in our inscription.

L. 9: The letter Σ of Ἀριστέου was omitted and written afterwards on the letter T.

According to the inscription, Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, was heroized with divine honors after his death, and a *thiasos* - a voluntary religious association - was established in his honor. The members of the *heroists* society "*thiasos of worshippers of the heros*" (θιασεῖται Ἡρωϊσταί) dedicated a *bomos* to the *heros* Ouliades on "the street of Skorpon" near the hollow. The members of the *thiasos* also built a common monument for the eleven members who claimed to be buried together at the same place when they die.

Euthydemos, the father of the *heros* Ouliades, was a contemporary of Strabon. He mentions two notable men from Mylasa in his time, Euthydemos and Hybreas,[16] who were both orators[17] and leaders of the city. According to Strabon, Euthydemos had great wealth and high repute inherited from his ancestors who also added his own cleverness to these. He was regarded not only as a great man in his native land, but was also worthy of the foremost honor in Asia.[18] As long as Euthydemos lived, he strongly prevailed; he was powerful but at the same time useful to the city. Even if there was something tyrannical about him, it was atoned for by the fact that it was attended by what was good for the city.[19] In this connection, people applauded the statement of the orator Hybreas who stated towards the end of a public speech: "Euthydemos! You are an evil necessary to the city, for we can live neither with you nor without you." One of the issues involving what was good for the city was perhaps the debts of the people to

13 The inscriptions were compiled and reexamined with English translations recently, see Arnaoutoglou 2021, 83-116.

14 *I.Mylasa,* 535.(6).

15 Cousin and Deschamps 1887, 308-9, no. 2; *I.Nordkarien*, 41.(4-5; 13).

16 Strab. 14.2.24 (C 659).

17 According to Strabon, Hybreas was the greatest orator of his time; see Strab. 13.4.15 (C 660).

18 This statement of Strabon - οὐκ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μόνον μέγας ἦν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῆς πρώτης ἠξιοῦτο τιμῆς - was identified with *asiarchia*; see Campanile 1997, 243; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 54.

19 According to Delrieux and Ferriès, his mode of government seems to be that of a benefactor "tyrant" who tolerates dispute; see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 58; Fraser 2015, 55.

Cluvius of Puteoli in 52 - 51 BC.[20] Cicero, then the governor of Cilicia, wrote in a letter to Q. Minucius Thermus,[21] the governor of Provincia Asia, that when he was at Ephesos, he met Euthydemos.[22] There Euthydemos told Cicero that he would see that *ecdici* (ἔκδικοι) were sent from Mylasa to Rome, but that had not been done.[23] Cicero heard that legates had been sent, but in his letter he nominately stated that he prefered *ecdici* so that some settlement might be made. Therefore, by means of his relationship with Cicero, Euthydemos could have played a significant role in solving this important financial dispute.

According to Strabon,[24] Hybreas was an ambitious young man who had a mule-driver and a wood-carrying mule inherited from his father. After he became a pupil of Diotrephes of Antiocheia[25] for a short time, Hybreas came back to the city and began to apply himself to the affairs of state and to follow closely the speakers of the forum. Hybreas quickly grew in power and was already an object of amazement in the lifetime of Euthydemus. In particular, after his death, he became master of the city. When Q. Labienus invaded Asia Minor in 40 BC, Mylasa was under the rule of Hybreas who refused to yield and caused the city to revolt.[26]

Unlike Euthydemos, Hybreas was not a member of the civic elite.[27] However, he had enough power and support to dare to criticize Euthydemos - while he was alive - with ironic statements during a public speech. Despite the strong social opposition between the two orators, the transition of leadership over Mylasa, which only took place after the death of Euthydemos, was possibly smooth.[28] It must therefore fall in the years between 51 / 50 and 42 / 41 BC.[29] Inscriptions and ancient sources are silent about the reasons of this transition. In the period of financial crisis of the Greek cities of Asia[30] and the civil war between Pompeius and Caesar, the death of Euthydemos possbily constituted an opportunity and a backdrop.[31] Euthydemos had to work in concert with Pompeius for the profit of Mylasa during his leadership and was considered a leader linked with the Pompeian elite. On the other hand, young Hybreas was a newcomer to the political scene and therefore not associated with the Pompeian elite, thus he took the leadership following Caesar's victory.[32]

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20 M. Cluvius was a banker of Puteoli who made Cicero heir to a part of his property; see Cic. *Att*. 13.46. Besides the people of Mylasa, those of Alabanda, Herakleia, Bargylia and Kaunos also owed him money; see Cic. *Fam*. 13.56.

21 Cic. *Fam*. 13.56. The letter was written in 51 or 50 BC, possibly in December 51; see Habicht 1984, 70.

22 This meeting possibly took place in July 51 BC; see Habicht 1984, 70, n. 6; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 59, n. 43.

23 The Mylasians had difficulty in repaying their debt so they relied on the results of a new discussion. Furthermore, Euthydemos and the Mylasians had much to gain by delaying negotiations for reimbursement in the period of civil war between Pompeius and Caesar. So Euthydemos used every means to delay the negotiations. If Pompeius won the spoils of war, it would make him more generous; if he lost, the debt of Mylasa could be removed, see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 62; Fraser 2015, 56. For details of the financial status of Mylasa during this period, see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 59-62.

24 Strab. 14.2.24 (C 660).

25 Strabon mentions him as a famous sophist; see Strab. 13.4.15 (C 639).

26 The other ruler who refused to yield and caused his city to revolt was Zenon of Laodikeia; see Strab. 14.2.24 (C 660). The people of Mylasa and Alabanda had accepted garrisons from Labienus. However, they murdered the soldiers on the occasion of a festival, and they revolted. Thus Labienus, after he captured the city, punished the people of Alabanda and razed Mylasa after it had been abandoned. Labienus also besieged Stratonikeia for a long time, but was unable to capture the city; see Dio Cass. 48.26.3-5.

27 Habicht 1984, 69; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 55-56; Fraser 2015, 54-55.

28 Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 58-59; Fraser 2015, 55.

29 Habicht 1984, 71 (50-42 BC); Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 54 (50-41 BC); Fraser 2015, 55 (51 / 50-42 BC).

30 Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 60-63.

31 Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 61-62; Fraser 2015, 55-56.

32 Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 62; Fraser 2015, 56. Hybreas' age was possibly in the 40s when he took the leadership;

After his death, Euthydemos was honored with divine honors as an *heros* before his son Ouliades. L. Robert reported an unpublished inscription from Sinuri that mentions a priest of Sinuri,[33] and also the names of *heros* Euthydemos and *heros* Hybreas. Robert also suggested that a priest was assigned to the *heros* cult established in honor of Hybreas,[34] and the priest was common for the *heros* cult established in honor of Euthydemos.[35] The reason why Euthydemos recieved such an honor was possibly his actions providing benefits to his citizens,[36] including his efforts in solving the financial dispute with Cluvius.

In addition to the inscription reported by Robert, several inscriptions indicate that Gaius Iulius Hybreas was honored with divine honors as an *heros*.[37] There are possible reasons for the establisment of the *heros* cult for Hybreas. It could be related to his active participation in the reconstruction and recovery of the economy of Mylasa or to obtaining freedom for his city.[38] According to F. Delrieux and M.-C. Ferriès, the glory of Hybreas was, above all, patriotic. By his eloquence that crossed all borders, he represented the independence of the Greeks of Asia by telling his truths to M. Antonius[39] and Q. Labienus, the oppressors of the city.[40]

Ouliades was the son of Euthydemos, the leader of the city who was heroized after his death. The names of the father and the wife of Euthydemos - in other words, names of the grandfather and the mother of Ouliades - are unknown.[41] Ouliades was the only famous son or possibly the only son of Euthydemos, since it is unknown if he had a brother or a sister. Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, was honored with divine honors, and a cult was established in his honor. The reason for the establishment of this cult is unknown. As the son of the former leader of the city, he should have taken responsibility during the period of financial crisis[42]

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see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 509, n. 157. In several inscriptions, Hybreas, son of Leon, is mentioned with the *trianomina* Gaius Iulius Hybreas; see *I.Mylasa*, 534.(1-2); 535.(1-2); 536.(1-3). Hybreas could have recieved citizenship from Caesar or, more probably, from Octavianus; see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 63; Fraser 2015, 56-57, cf. Holtheide 1983, 28; Sartre 1995, 163; Bertrand 1997, 840.

33 Robert 1935, 335; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 53; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 514, n. 12.

34 Robert 1966, 419-20 (= Robert 1989b, 43-44), see also Robert 1974, 103.

35 Robert 1989a, 53; Fraser 2015, 55, n. 164; 59; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 38.

36 Fraser 2015, 60.

37 *Heros* Gaius Iulius Hybreas, son of *heros* Leon; see *I.Mylasa*, 534.(1-2) = (Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 509); 535.(1-2) = (Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 510); 536.(1-3) = (Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 510; Blümel *et al*. 2014, 33, no. 19); see also Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 509-10 (French translation). For the title "high priest by descent" (ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ γένους) mentioned in the inscriptions, see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 513, n. 170. The *heros* title of Leon, the father of Hybreas, was related with the glory and the honors of his son; see Delrieux and Ferriès 2004a, 55, n. 19. For the honomymous son of Gaius Iulius Hybreas, see Sen. *Suas*. 4.5; 7.14; also Habicht 1984, 71.

38 Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 504, n. 129; Fraser 2015, 59.

39 Plut. *Ant*. 24.5-6.

40 Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 514; Fraser 2015, 59.

41 In the honorary decree (ca. 76 BC) by the phyle of Otorkondeis for Hiatrokles of Tarkondara, son of Demetrios, a person who held the office of *stephanephoria* named Ouliades, son of Sibilos and adopted son of Euthydemos son of Theoxenos, is mentioned; see *I.Mylasa*, 109.(1); *I.Mylasa* II, p. 1. For Euthydemos, son of Theoxenos, and the other possible members of this family, see *I.Mylasa*, 207.(5); 207.B.(8-9); 801.(4-7); 803.(4-5); 804.(4-6); 814.(5); 816B.(1-2). There is no evidence for a familial relationship between the members of this family with Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, mentioned in our inscription.

42 The letter of a Roman official to Mylasa (?) contains the reasons and the extent of the public dept of Mylasa after the ravages of Q. Labienus (after 39 BC); see Sherk 1969, 308-9, no. 59; *I.Mylasa,* 601. The text was reexamined and restored by F. Canali De Rossi; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 178-81 (Italian translation); Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 500-1 (French translation). According to Canali De Rossi, the letter could be identified as a letter from M. Antonius, the triumvir who held control of the eastern provinces, to a praefectus or to the governor of Asia; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 180-81; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 501-2.

and reconstruction of the city after the ravage of Labienus. The letter of Octavianus[43] to the Mylasians, which was a response to a Mylasian embassy, describes the situation of the city (lines 12-19): Many citizens were put to death, and some burned with the city. The cruelty of the enemies caused them neither to refrain from plundering temples nor the most sacred sanctuaries. The countryside was also pillaged, and the farms were burned. The names of the members of the embassy are not preserved in the inscription, except the one written in the first place (line 10): Ouliad[es], however, the patronymic is not preserved. This Ouliades, the leader of the embassy, is possibly Ouliades son of Euthydemos.[44] The end of the letter (lines 20-24) of Octavianus probably contains a promise to grant some favors to the city. Thus Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, was possibly the main author of the favors of Octavianus as the leader of the embassy.

In an inscription from Mylasa a person named Ouliades,[45] one of the persons who sailed out to Gaius (line 2), was praised and crowned according to the *nomos aristeios*, because of his love of honor and goodwill towards his country (lines 56-59). One can suggest that the identification of the Ouliades honored in the inscription with Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, is possible.[46] Therefore, if this identification is correct, the Gaius to whom he sailed out, should be Gaius Iulius Octavianus.

Ouliades had great wealth and a high reputation inherited from his father Euthydemos and his ancestors. The traces of possible evidence indicate that he was an *euergetes* of the city; as the most eminent member of the wealthy elite, Ouliades, son of Euthydemos, played an active role in the city's recovery process and also in the relations with Rome.

The date of the death of Ouliades is unknown. He was possibly young when his father died in a year between 51 / 50 - 42 / 41 BC. However, in 39 or 31 BC, during his leadership of embassy to Octavianus, he was possibly at least in his 30s. Thus, one can suggest that Ouliades should have been died towards the end of the first century BC or in the beginning of the first century AD.

Ouliades had a son named Menandros who was honored as "benefactor of his country and descendant of benefactors"[47] by the *demos* with a honorary column - possibly supported the honorific statue of Menandros - at the eastern side of the podium on the axis of the entrance of the *Hekatomneion* at Uzunyuva.[48] Thus, after Euthydemos and his son Ouliades, Menandros son of Ouliades was an *euergetes* of the city, worthy of the reputation of his ancestors.

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43 *I.Mylasa,* 602; see also Sherk 1969, 310-12, no. 60. The inscription was restored by Canali De Rossi; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 172-78 (with Italian translation); Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 501-2 (with French translation); Demir 2019, 184-85. The letter of Octaivanus was traditionally dated to 31 BC due to the mention of his consulate designatus for the third time: ὕπατός τε τὸ τρίτον καθεσταμένος (line 2-3). F. Canali De Rossi suggests that the letter could be dated back to 39 BC; see Canali De Rossi 2000, 177; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 501-2.

44 Habicht 1984, 72; Canali De Rossi 2000, 177; Delrieux and Ferriès 2004b, 502.

45 *I.Mylasa,* 101.

46 Canali De Rossi 2000, 177.

47 *I.Mylasa,* 402 (after 40 BC, possibly the reign of Augustus); see also Rumscheid 2010, 69-83. For the date, see Rumscheid 2010, 70; Kızıl 2020, 128-32; 153-154.

48 According to F. Rumscheid, "this monument signified an almost unprecedented honour, while simultaneously demonstrating to what extent the citizens expected future benefits from Menandros, the offspring of one of Mylasa's wealthiest families"; see Rumscheid 2010, 100. In accordance with the privileged position of the column at *Hekatomneion*, A. Kızıl suggests that Euthydemos was possibly a descendant of the Hekatomnid family; see Kızıl 2020, 154.

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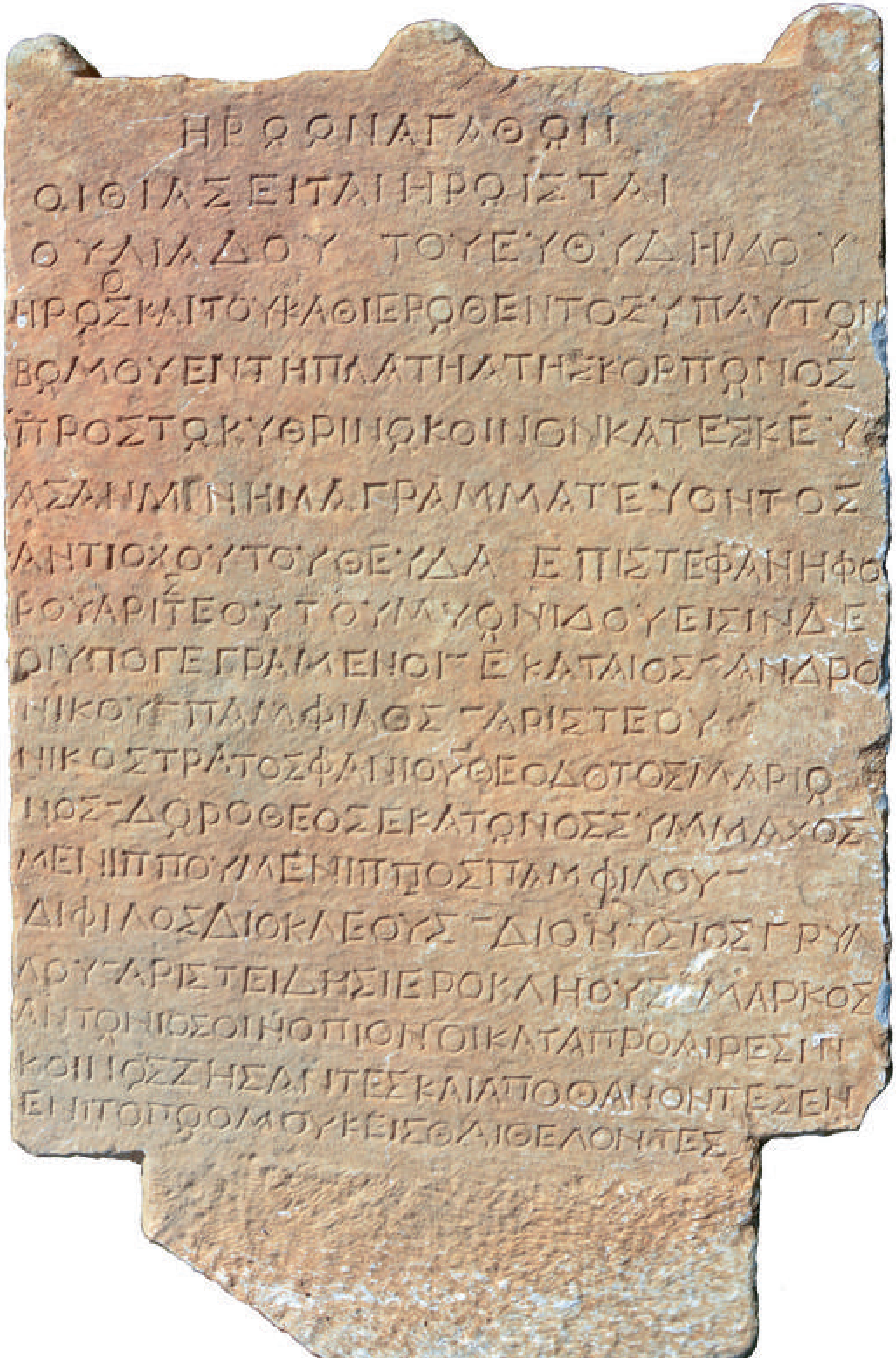

FIG. 1 The stele and the inscription.

FIG. 2 The stele with the original base (front).

FIG. 3 The stele with the original base (back).

FIG. 4 The stele and the base as found (Milas Museum archive).

Some Thoughts on the Julio-Claudian Period of Nysa ad Maeandrum in the Light of a Private Portrait from the City

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Abstract

The Carian city of Nysa ad Maeandrum was established during the Early Hellenistic period. Strabo mentioned the city where he was educated in his youth, defining Nysa as a *dipolis* - a double city. Excavations carried out in the city have unearthed a network of streets, numerous buildings, and sculptural fragments. The subject of this study is a marble head recovered as spolia in a Late Antique building located at the intersection of Street 1-plateia (western part) and Street 6W. Despite some discrepancies, the head is coherent with the male portrait types of the Julio-Claudian family. In this context, it represents a private portrait reflecting the public honoring practice of Nysa. The evidence for that period in the city is limited, and the existence of monumental buildings is known by indirect sources, mainly from Strabo's accounts. Besides the public honorings of civic officers, imperial honoring is attested by an inscribed statue base. Numismatic data indicate the Nysaeans' gratitude for Tiberius and provides insight into the city's social context during the Julio-Claudian period. The typological classification of the marble head makes it the first Julio-Claudian sculpture of the city and sheds light on Nysa's history during that period.

Öz

Karia Bölgesi yerleşimlerinden biri olan Nysa ad Maeandrum, Erken Hellenistik Dönem'de kurulmuştur. Strabon gençliğinde eğitim gördüğü kent olarak andığı Nysa'yı bir *dipolis* - çift yakalı kent olarak tanımlamaktadır. Kent kazıları, caddeler ve onlarla ilişkili yapıların yanı sıra çeşitli heykeltıraşlık eserleri de sunarlar. Bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan mermer bir portre, Cadde 1-plateia'nın batı yakası kısmı ile Cadde 6B kesişim noktasında bulunan Geç Antikçağ yapısında devşirme kullanımında ele geçmiştir. Kaliteli bir işçiliğe sahip eser, Iulius Claudiuslar sülalesi erkek portrelerinin saç düzenlemesini izlemekle birlikte bazı farklılıklar barındırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda bir özel portre olduğu ve muhtemelen bir onurlandırma ile ilişkilendirilebileceği anlaşılmaktadır. Kentin Erken İmparatorluk Dönemi oldukça az bilinmekte, mimari yapıların varlığı, Strabon'un da aktarımlarından dolaylı olarak elde edilebilmektedir. Bu dönemdeki imparator onurlandırmaları yazıtlı bir heykel kaidesi ile belgelenirken, memuriyet onurlandırmaların da varlığı anlaşılmaktadır. Numismatik veriler özellikle Tiberius'a duyulan minneti vurgulaması açısından kentin Iulius Claudius'lar dönemi kontekstine dair fikirler sunmaktadır. Çalışma konusu özel portre tipolojik olarak sınıflandırılarak

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stilistik olarak irdelenmekte ve tarihlendirilmektedir. Eser, Nysa'nın Iulius Claudius'lar dönemine tarihlenebilen ilk heykeltıraşlık bulgusu olup kentin bu dönemine ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nysa ad Maeandrum, Karia, Roma, portre, Iulius-Claudius'lar dönemi, sosyal kontekst

Introduction

Established in the north of the region of Caria during the Hellenistic period, Nysa is located on the southern foothills of the Mesogis / Aydın Mountains, north of the Meander / Büyük Menderes River, within the borders of the modern district of Sultanhisar in Aydın, Turkey. The city, known in ancient times as Nysa ad Maeandrum (Nysa on the Meander), was built on a challenging topography defined by steep slopes and deep valleys, in close proximity to the fertile plains of the Meander River basin. According to the accounts of Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium, the city was founded on an existing settlement named Athymbra through synoecism by three Lacedaemonians: Athymbros, Athymbrados, and Hydrelos.[1] Stephanus of Byzantium indicates that the city was established in the Hellenistic period by Antiochus, son of Seleucus, and named after his wife, Nysa.[2] Yet, there is no scientific evidence to support this claim. The city's earliest epigraphic sources suggest that Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I granted the Temple of Pluto and Kore in Acharaca some privileges in the form of *hikesia, asylia*, and *ateleia*.[3] These privileges developed the city economically, and the issue of coinage bearing the legend Nysa started in the late third and early second centuries BC.[4] Nysa developed into a wealthy city with fertile land and its location on an important trade route connecting the cities along the Meander Valley, the Aegean coastline, and its hinterland. According to Strabo, who was educated in his youth in Nysa, the city spread on both sides of a gorge formed by a stream so was a *dipolis* (double city).[5] Strabo also mentions that the city had a bridge connecting these two sides, an amphitheater (stadion), a theater, a gymnasion, an agora, and a *gerontikon* (council of elders) during the Late Republican / Early Imperial Period.[6] Recent excavations have revealed that the city's Hellenistic orthogonal plan was composed of rectangular insulae measuring 58.8 x 116.8 m (approximately 200 x 400 Roman feet). The monumental buildings were completed mainly in the second and third centuries AD through the system of *euergesia* during the Imperial Period.[7] The city's urban character remained intact during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages up until the thirteenth century AD.[8]

The main street, Street 1-Plateia, connects the two sides of the city with a central bridge to the north of the stadion. Significant results have been obtained during the excavations

1 Strab. *Geog*. 14.1.46; Steph. Byz. "Athymbra."

2 Steph. Byz. "Antiocheia."

3 Akdoğu Arca 2017; Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp Özdil 2022a, 53.

4 Özbil 2022, 357.

5 Strab. *Geog*. 14.1.43.

6 Strab. *Geog*. 14.1.43. Recent excavations have revealed that Strabo wrongly identified the stadion as an amphitheater.

7 Kadıoğlu 2011, 108; 2014, 12-13; Kadıoğlu and Öztaner 2022.

8 For the history of the city in late antiquity, see Peker 2022, 76-83.

conducted on the western side and on the eastern side, known as the Colonnaded Street.[9] The limestone / marble stone paved Street 1 / Colonnaded Street is the widest street of the city, measuring 9.5 m. With a row of units behind the colonnades and honorific inscriptions between the columns, this main street constitutes the heart of the city, boasting a monumental and ceremonial character. The conglomerate paved western end of the street measures 6.40 to 6.70 m wide. The street intersects the north-south oriented Street 6W, which is 4.60 to 5 m wide.[10] Located approximately 41 meters northwest of the intersection, the second-century AD library is one of the landmark buildings of Nysa. In 2015, a Late Antique building was partly unearthed during excavations northwest of the intersection of Street 1 and Street 6W. The long side of the building borders Street 1 and the short side Street 6W. The general plan of the building was outlined but not precisely determined. The inside of the building was full of rubble stone, probably due to collapsed walls. A marble statue of a half-naked god (Zeus?) and a marble head of a young male were unearthed in this layer of rubble (fig. 1). These sculptures are different in proportion and do not belong to each other. The statue's height was calculated to be 1.20 m and considered a representation of Zeus that is identical in iconography to gods such as Poseidon and Hades.[11] Evaluated for the first time in this article, the marble head possibly belongs to a statue slightly larger than average human size. The head reflects the Julio-Claudian male portrait typology and is examined in terms of style and date. It is considered to be from the Early Imperial period, which is represented with very few finds in Nysa.

A Julio-Claudian period private portrait from Nysa

Currently kept at the Aydın Archaeological Museum, the head is made of medium-grain white marble and measures 28.2 cm high, 23.2 wide, and 25.8 deep.[12] The quality of workmanship is visible, despite the thin layer of calcification on the surface. The patina has survived in places such as on the cheeks and neck. The head is broken below the neck and is missing the tip of the nose, the lips, and the chin. Erosion and minor chipping can be observed on the forehead, around the eyebrows, and the eyes. Surface chips are also observed on the cheeks, temples, and ears. The nature of the damage on the head gives the impression that the statue fell forward and received a frontal impact.

The head is slightly larger than average human size and depicts the portrait of a beardless, short-haired young male (fig. 2). He has a broad face, a narrow chin, a fleshy and protruding forehead, and pronounced orbitals. The area of the eyebrows is damaged and survives only on the sides. However, it is evident that the eyebrows were not carved, neither incised nor in relief. The small, almond-shaped eyes are surrounded by thin eyelids and given in depth. Neither the pupils nor the tear ducts are drilled. The shape of the nose cannot be determined because nearly all of it is broken off. The soft nasolabial lines extend from nose to mouth, and the lips in the damaged mouth look firmly closed. There are vertical soft dimples on each side of the mouth. The relatively proportional auricles are close to the head. The hair is shaped in short and slightly curled plastic locks. The short hair is parted in the middle of the forehead

9 Öztaner 2022, 110.

10 Kadıoğlu and Öztaner 2022, 96.

11 For the suggestion of the half-naked male god statue represents the god Zeus, in common iconography with gods such as Poseidon and Hades, see Keskin and Öztaner 2022, 157-79.

12 Inv. no. 2015 / 141.

and arranged in rows of locks each formed by two thin strands with curved tips. There are six locks on the right and eight on the left, delimited on the sides with opposite curled locks that create narrow "pincers." Four large locks - each formed by two thin strands - make up the second row of locks above the first row (figs. 3-4). Two locks are positioned in front of the ears and curl toward the cheeks (figs. 5-6). Other than two layers of locks to mark the contour, the hair is not carved from the top to the back of the head (fig. 7). The tips of the long, nape hair are broken and missing.

Typology, identity, and date

The marble male head is of fine quality and clearly a portrait based on the hair arrangement and individual physiognomy. The smooth complexion around the man's eyes and the general outlook of the face point to a young person. The general appearance of the face initially reminds one of Augustus. Still, there are no examples similar to the hairstyle of the marble head among the emperor's well-known portraits.[13] On the other hand, an analogy can be observed with Julio-Claudian dynastic members, and the likeness starts with the portraits of Germanicus. In this context, to enlighten its identity, the portrait from Nysa needs to be classified typologically, starting with Germanicus, and examined with reference to portraiture of the period.

Germanicus was born in 15 BC as the son of Drusus Major and Antonia Minor and a member of the Julius family. Augustus did not have a son; and influenced by his wife, Livia, he conditionally adopted his son-in-law Tiberius in AD 4 after the deaths of his grandchildren, Gaius and Lucius. In return, Augustus demanded that Tiberius adopt Germanicus from the Julius family instead of his own son, Drusus Minor. Due to this requirement, Germanicus was adopted by Tiberius in AD 4, yet he died in AD 19. From his marriage with Agrippina Major in AD 5, Germanicus had three sons, Drusus Germanicus, Nero Germanicus and Caligula, and three daughters, Julia Agrippina, Drusilla and Julia Livilla. Germanicus visited Asia Minor and was honored with portrait statues as a well-known imperial family member.[14] The production of his portraits started with his adoption by Tiberius in AD 4 and continued after his death.[15] His posthumous portraits are dated between AD 37 and 54, a continuity that can be explained by the fact that Germanicus is Caligula's father and Claudius's brother. Besides official representations, some private portraits of Germanicus, similar to his portrait types, have also been documented.[16]

In his typological classification of the portraits of Julio-Claudian dynasty members, D. Boschung evaluates Germanicus in three portrait types: adoption, Bezier, and Gabii.[17] While the emergence of the adoption type is dated immediately after AD 4, V. Poulsen is inclined to classify the Gabii type as a posthumous portrait.[18] Among these, the Nysa example resembles the arrangement of the locks of the hair around the forehead in the

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13 Cf. Boschung 1993, 41-43, figs. 1-7.

14 See Özgan 2013, 242, fig. 161b-c.

15 Boschung 1993, 59.

16 For the three portraits attributed to Germanicus or a Julio-Claudian prince, see Fittshcen and Zanker 1985, nos. 23-26. His representations are often evaluated in the context of Julio-Claudian portraiture. See Bernoulli 1886, 230-41; Kiss 1975, 111-30; Fittschen 1987; Boschung 1993, 59-61; Özgan 2013, 239-46.

17 Boschung 1993, 59-61.

18 Poulsen 1960, 30.

Gabii portrait type. According to Boschung's study, supported with comprehensive drawings in the Gabii type, Germanicus' hair is parted above the right eye nearer the nose. The row of the locks rises slightly at the sides of the forehead and creates "pincers" as they meet the corresponding curled locks.[19] The Nysa portrait has a similar arrangement to this type, yet the hairs are parted in the middle, and the locks meet the "pincers" at the sides in almost a straight line. With its locks parted in the middle, the Nysa example resembles a now-lost portrait, suggested to be from Nysa's neighbor, Tralleis.[20] According to R. Özgan, the portrait is a replica of the adoption type of Germanicus, and the simple fork motif in the middle of the forehead is a determining feature.[21] More so, he claims another portrait from Assos to be similar in terms of physiognomy and hair arrangement.[22] However, R. Özgan identifies the hairstyle of the Gabii-type portraits as "roughly curved large, hook-shaped, dry and solid curls that form a fork motif almost in the centre of the forehead before extending in opposite directions."[23] The distinctive feature of the type is the hair parted almost in the middle of the forehead, forming two pincers on the sides.[24] Nonetheless, in her comprehensive study on Julio-Claudian portraits, S. Erkoç defines the Tralleis(?) portrait as a Bezier type and argues that the only difference is the position of the fork motif, which is closer to the center of the forehead.[25] The author also identifies the Assos portrait as Nero Germanicus, the son of Germanicus.[26] The suggestions of S. Erkoç are significant in the context of the Nysa portrait because there are differences in hair arrangement from the Bezier type of Germanicus portraits.[27] Nevertheless, it bears some resemblance to the Assos portrait suggested to represent Nero Germanicus, as will be explained below.

The portraits of Germanicus resemble those of Tiberius and Caligula in their hair arrangement.[28] In the Chiaramonti type of Tiberius portraits, the emperor's hair is arranged in a very short row of locks parted in two from the middle, forming a straight line in slightly curled locks above the broad forehead.[29] The locks form a narrow pincer at the temples, merging with opposite curled locks. A comparison of the Nysa head reveals that they are similar in hair arrangement but differ in length (figs. 1, 4). The locks of Tiberius are very short but are longer in the Nysa example, covering nearly half of the forehead

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19 Boschung 1993, 59-61, fig. 39 Nc. For another Julio-Claudian portrait suggested to belong to that portrait type Germanicus, see Fittschen 1977, 55-57.

20 Özgan 2013, figs. 120, 238, 242.

21 Özgan 2013, 238.

22 Özgan 2013, 239-42, figs. 160-61.

23 Özgan 2013, 239-45.

24 For further discussion see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 30.

25 Erkoç 2012, G2, 68-69. She determines that this movement is familiar in Anatolian portraits, in contradiction to the city of Rome examples; see n. 429. Accordingly, Fittschen's "Bezier type" is the most safely attributed type in Germanius' representattions; see Fittschen 1987, 209-10.

26 Erkoç 2012, 84-85, NG 2.

27 Balty and Cazes 1995, no. 6, 80-85. For a drawing of the locks' arrangement, see fig. 73.

28 This hair arrangement is a common feature; see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 14. Compare no. 13 (Tiberius) and no. 23 (Germanicus?). Although the hair is separated in two sides and restricted by pincers, Tiberius' locks are quite short; see Tiberius suppl. 12-16.

29 Boschung 1993, 58, fig. 34. Tiberius' portrait found in Caere is one of the best examples representing this type; see Rose 1997, cat. no. 5, pls. 71-72.

in the Germanicus portraits.[30] In this context, the Germanicus-style arrangement is the most similar.

The identification becomes more precise in analogy with the images of Germanicus' successors. The Adolphseck-type portraits of Drusus Germanicus initially resemble the Nysa example in terms of the hair arrangement. Still, it differs primarily in the separation of the swollen locks above the beginning of the inner part of the right eye.[31] Nevertheless, in two portrait types attributed to Nero Germanicus, which resemble most his father's portraits, the symmetrical combed locks of the hair around the forehead form pincers that merge with the opposite arranged locks.[32] The hair of the Nysa portrait resembles that arrangement. However, the number of the locks of the hair around the forehead and the position of the "fork" that parts the locks differ from the portraits of Nero Germanicus. More precisely, the parting of the hair in the La Spezia type is above the beginning of the right eyebrow. However, it is above the left in the Corinth-Stuttgart type. The number of locks in the Nysa portrait is also greater. The closest analogy can be observed in another Nero Germanicus portrait displayed at the Dresden Museum.[33] The portrait has a broad face that narrows slightly toward the chin. The locks are long enough to cover half the forehead and are parted right in the middle. Each part is restricted at the end by opposite curled locks. The right pincer is narrow, while the left is relatively superficial. With these features, the Dresden example displays the hair arrangement of the Gabii-type of Germanicus, which is also similar to the portrait from Nysa.[34] Nevertheless, all are different in physiognomy.

In his study, Boschung classifies the portraits of Germanicus' other son, Caligula, into two types. The Nysa portrait resembles his primary type in the arrangement of the hair forelocks but differs in length since Caligula's hair is very short. Furthermore, as in the Nysa example, the emperor's hair arrangement has a second layer on the top, consisting of loose and large locks.[35] Caligula's portraits in the examples of Heraklion, Genua Pegli, and Fasanarie are his primary type and differ from each other only in minor details.[36] The standard features are the symmetric locks parted from the middle of the forehead and above a second row of four large locks with tips pointing down. These features are analogous with the Nysa portrait. This arrangement of locks for Caligula's hair can be observed in the portraits of Claudius and Nero but in a different style.[37] Despite these similarities, Caligula's portrait in question and the Nysa example differ in certain hairstyle features. The locks of the Nysa portrait are longer and flatter than Caligula's and look quite symmetrical,

30 Boschung, 1993, 59, figs. 37-39. For the Bezier type, see Balty and Cazes 1995, 80-85, no. 6; Smith and Lenaghan 2009, 232, no. 2.

31 Boschung 1993, 66-67, fig. 50.

32 Boschung 1993, 64-65. The pincers in the second type are narrower.

33 See D. Boschung's interpretation of a portrait of Nero Gemanicus Caesar in Knoll and Vorster 2013, no. 25, 142-45.

34 Cf. Boschung 1993, fig. 39 Nc, 61.

35 Boschung 1989, nos. 1-30. Particularly in examples nos. 1-6, the second layer of the hair tufts could be seen clearly; see Boschung, 1993, 67-68, Ta, fig. 51; Rose 1997, pl. 194, no. 85.

36 Boschung 1989, 32-35, figs. 1, 3, and particularly fig. 5.

37 See Boschung 1993 for Claudius: Vc, fig. 58; for Nero: Za, fig. 66 and Zb, fig. 67. Due to the Boschung's classification for his Parma and Cagliari types, the tufts of Nero's forelock are arranged with solid and dry tufts, and his forelocks follow a single contour. Furthermore, Fittschen's evaluation of the hair style of Germanicus indicates that he was 25 years old in his image on Gemma Augustea. Nevertheless, similar young male portaits sometimes could be interpreted as images of young Nero; see Fittschen 1987, 211. For a comparison with the portrait of Nero from Aphrodisias, see Smith 2009, fig. 9.

although there are six on the right and eight on the left. Despite specific differences, the hairstyle gives the impression that the portrait's subject preferred the official hairstyle of the period. In the context of the aforementioned examples, the Nysa portrait is closely analogous with portraits of Nero Germanicus. Nonetheless, they differ in the number of locks and the position of the "fork."

Physiognomy is the other aspect that needs to be discussed to determine the identity of the Nysa portrait. According to K. Fittschen, hair arrangement is a more defining detail than physiognomy, but his typology is partly accepted.[38] Fittschen suggests two types for Germanicus: Adolphseck-Malibu and Corinth-Stuttgart. The Corinth-Stuttgart type has a symmetrical hair arrangement. The locks at the forehead are parted slightly on the left and delimited by a pincer at each end that creates two almost equal parts. In this type, Germanicus is bearded. His hair arrangement is also known from late portraits of Tiberius and later in those of Claudius and Caligula.[39] That said, D. Boschung claims that these portraits represent Nero Germanicus, not his father Germanicus.[40]

The close analogy in the portraits of the father and son gives rise to some portraits being identified as Germanicus or Nero Germanicus, such as in the portrait from Assos.[41] As mentioned earlier, S. Erkoç suggests that some differences exist in the motifs of the hair arrangement in provincial reproductions of imperial portraits, especially in Anatolia.[42] In this context, physiognomy is also identical because local changes would be implemented in the hair arrangement. In his verified portraits, Germanicus has a broad face with slightly curved eyebrows extending down to a relatively drooping nose, a slightly receding mouth, and a pronounced, protruding chin.[43] These features are identical to Tiberius and his relatives.[44] The portrait of Germanicus from Egypt at the British Museum and another from Aphrodisias are good examples of his physiognomy.[45] Both have a prominent, protruding chin, receding mouth, and protruding upper lip (figs. 8 and 9). The protruded upper lip creates vertical dimples on either side of the mouth.

The young man in the Nysa example has a broad face and vertical dimples (figs. 2, 4, 5). That would result from the protruding upper lip.[46] Yet it looks impossible to expect a receding mouth and protruding chin. Although the hair arrangement of the Nysa portrait resembles the Nero Germanicus portrait from Assos, their physiognomy is different. Remarkably, while the Assos portrait has a small mouth and pursed lips, the lips in the Nysa portrait are flat. A similar comparison can be made with the well-preserved Nero Germanicus from Dresden.[47] In this context, the Nysa example should be identified as a private portrait based on the hair arrangement and physiognomy, despite the missing parts of the face.

38 Fittschen 1987, 209-17.

39 Fittschen 1987, 217, figs. 44-47.

40 Boschung 1993, 65-66, Rb.

41 S. Erkoç identifies the portrait from Assos, called Germanicus by R. Özgan, as a depiction of Nero Germanicus; see Erkoç 2012, NG2, 84-85; Özgan 2013, 242, fig. 161.

42 Erkoç 2012, 69, no. 429.

43 Fittschen 1987, 217; Boschung 1993, 60.

44 Fittschen 1987, 208.

45 Smith and Lenaghan 2009, 232, no. 2.

46 Because the upper lip is plumper and protruding more than the lower lip, dimples at each end of the mouth slightly curve upwards; see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 1-30.

47 Knoll and Vorster 2013, no. 25.

As pointed out, the typological parallels of the Nysa portrait can be traced from Germanicus to Caligula. Besides the aforementioned hair arrangement, the length of the nape hair supports this claim as it is a typical feature of Claudian dynastic members.[48] The eyes of the Nysa portrait are not drilled, and possibly the pupils were depicted with dye.[49] The hair arrangement and ears are carved in the same way. Consequently, from a technical perspective, the Nysa portrait belongs to the Julio-Claudian Period. In this context, it was likely produced between the adoption of Tiberius and Germanicus in AD 4 and the reign of Claudius when the posthumous portraits of Germanicus were made. The Gabii-type of Germanicus is the closest in analogy. If we accept Poulsen's suggestion that the Gabii-type is a posthumous portrait, the year of his death, AD 19, should be a *terminus post quem* for the Nysa portrait. The close analogy with Caligula in the hair arrangement also suggests a date during his reign. However, no coins from this period have been found in Nysa. As pointed out below, coins with the portraits of Tiberius honoring the emperor with the legend *philokaisar* are known from the city. These coins are associated with his generous contributions to the city. Therefore, it would be best to date the Nysa portrait to the Julio-Claudian Period.

The dimensions, particularly the superficially crafted back of the Nysa portrait, indicate that it once belonged to a statue. It is known that statues displayed above eye level as architectural features were often left unfinished at the back. On the other hand, busts were finished down to the minor details because they were displayed at eye level. The carved hair at the sides suggests that the statue was displayed in a niche or connected with an architectural structure, a building, or in front of a wall. The portrait was found in the rubble of a Late Antique building on the west side of the city. Its original place of display could be investigated nearby; however, it is hard to pinpoint the location because this lightweight item could have been easily brought from another part of Nysa. The Early Imperial Period of Nysa should be further investigated to understand the context of the period to which this portrait belongs.

Nysa ad Maeandrum during the Julius-Claudian Period

An inscription on a statue base at the theater indicates that Nysaeans enthusiastically welcomed the rule of Augustus.[50] Nonetheless, knowledge of the city's history during that period is limited and can be evaluated only by indirect data. Besides Strabo's accounts of a theater in the city during this period, epigraphic finds such as the inscription honoring Gnaius Domitius Calvinus associated with the theater from 48 / 47 BC, as well as statue bases, two corniches, and a Doric frieze from the theater, indicate that the building existed in the Late Hellenistic - Early Imperial Periods.[51] The aforementioned statue base celebrating Augustus' rule is interpreted as a part of the theater's decoration and is dated to AD 9. Considering Strabo's account, the main public buildings of the city - *gerontikon,* gymnasion, stadion,[52] tunnel diverting flood waters, and bridge over the tunnel connecting the *dipolis* - most likely have earlier phases built in the Late Hellenistic-Early Imperial Periods. During his research on the *gerontikon*, M. Kadıoğlu found that the existing building was constructed in the second century AD. Although the building

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48 For example, see Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 29-31, no. 23, and 17 that belongs to Nero's second type.

49 For the crafting of eyes compared with the portrait of Drusus Major from the Claudian Period, see Landwehr 2008, no. 296, pl. 28.

50 For the inscription see Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp Özdil 2022b, 62; Blümel 2019, 77-78, no. 418. The inscription belongs to a bronze statue base, whose statue was likely a depiction of Augustus.

51 Kadıoğlu 2022a, 199-202.

52 Strab. *Geog*. 14.1.43; see note 6.

cannot be identified with Strabo's *gerontikon*, the spolia frieze fragments built in the front wall of the building and the double half columns at the rear are dated to the Late Hellenistic Period.[53]

The excavations of the gymnasion of Nysa, conducted only in a couple of trenches by M. Beckmann, did not provide any results about the building's earlier phases.[54] However, Strabo mentions the city's gymnasion in his account of the Sanctuary of Acharaca[55]: "An annual festival to which there is a general resort is celebrated at Acharaca, and at that time particularly are to be seen and heard those who frequent it, conversing about cures performed there. During the feast, the young men of the gymnasium and the ephebi, naked and anointed with oil, carry off a bull by stealth at midnight and hurry it away into the cave. It is then let loose, and after proceeding a short distance, falls down and expires."[56] An inscription on an architrave block indicates that an anonymous person donated oil.[57] The inscription is dated to the first century AD based on the letter character and style, and it is believed that it was initially located in the gymnasion or the agora of Nysa.

Another evidence for this period is that in the Late Roman Republican Period, Julius Caesar reaffirmed the privileges granted to the Temple of Pluto-Kore in Acharaca in the Hellenistic Period. Augustus also granted some privileges to the temple.[58] In this context, the existence of the Temple of Pluto-Kore in the Julio-Claudian Period and its importance for Nysa is quite clear. Another prominent building in the city was the library built around AD 130. However, Late Hellenistic - Early Imperial Period pottery, wall ruins, and a cistern were found during the excavations of the building.[59] Besides the pottery and glass finds that indicate Early Imperial dating, coins also provide essential information.[60] In her study on Nysa's numismatic finds, C. Özbil points out that the minting of a group of coins without portraits started in the Julio-Claudian Period.[61] Among these, coins depicting the God Mēn were issued during the reign of Nero. These coins also indicate the existence of a Cult of Mēn in the city.[62] In this context, the Julio-Claudian Period of Nysa coincided with the foundation or spread of the Cult of Mēn.

In terms of social class, the city had elites such as the Pythodoros family, known as the descendants of Chairemon, who was an ally of Rome during the Republican Period. The family moved to the neighboring city of Tralleis but continued to support Nysa with several *euergesia* in the second century AD.[63] There is no evidence about that family's activities during the first century AD. However, they likely continued their existence. Two honorific inscriptions concerning *panegyriarchai* (festival organizers) have been recorded among the epigraphic finds from this period.[64] The first inscription bears posthumous honors dedicated to T. Cl. Caecilius

53 Kadıoğlu 2022b, 267.

54 Beckman 2022, 304-5.

55 Strab. *Geog*. 14.1.43-44. For the translation, see Gökalp Özdil and Akdoğu Arca 2022a, 42.

56 This is documented also with numismatic evidence; see Özbil 2022, 369-70, fig. 10.

57 Gökalp Özdil and Akdoğu Arca 2022b, 130.

58 Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp Özdil 2022a, 57-58.

59 Strocka 2022, 323.

60 For the pottery, see Sönmez 2022, 147. For the glass finds, see Gençler Güray 2022, 413.

61 Özbil 2022, 365.

62 Özbil 2022, 374-78, fig. 21.

63 Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp Özdil 2022a, 58. For the *gerontikon* and the *euergesia* of the Pythodoros family see Kadıoğlu 2014, 98; 2022b, 252, 265-68.

64 Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp Özdil 2022b, 72.

Herakleides. An educated man and respected character, he displayed great generosity towards his hometown and received honors and a statue in return. The second inscription commemorates the honors dedicated to Tiberius Claudius Menippos by the demos and the boule. He was also a *panegyriarches* and honored with a statue commissioned by the two assemblies. Both inscriptions document that statues were used for public honors in Nysa during the first century AD.

Described by Pliny as the biggest earthquake in human history, the Western Anatolian earthquake of AD 17 is one of the most important events of the period.[65] Geological research suggests a magnitude of 7.5 with the epicenter in the cities of Magnesia ad Sipylos and Sardis.[66] This earthquake destroyed Magnesia ad Maeandrum and caused damage in Hierapolis, Laodicea, Tripolis, Aphrodisias, Temnos, Philadelphia, Aigai, Apollonis, Mostene, Hierocaesara, Myrina, Kyme and Bozdağ (Tmolos). Nysa was also affected by this earthquake. Tiberius helped the devastated cities in the form of aid and tax exemptions. According to C. Özbil, Nysa did not receive any help; however, a group among the city's coins issued in the local style could be associated with this event.[67] Moreover, the fact that these coins bear the legend *philokaisar* (emperor-loving) could indicate how loyal and grateful Nysaeans were to Tiberius.

Conclusion

Epigraphic evidence reveals that Nysa was an "emperor-loving city" and that the city's close relations with Rome went back to the Republican period, based on Chairemon's account. The continuity of that bond can be traced to Augustus reinstating the city's privileges and the greeting of his imperium with an inscription for *Pax Aeterna Augusta* by the residents of Nysa.[68] The inscription is dated to AD 9 and belongs to a statue base. Although the statue is not preserved, it was likely an image of Augustus himself. In this context, we suggest that the emperor was honored in Nysa with a statue around AD 9. There is no evidence that Nysa confronted Rome during the imperial period. On the contrary, Sextus Julius Major Antoninus Pythodorus, a descendant of Chairemon and friend of Rome in the first century BC, financed the construction of the *gerontikon / odeion* during the reign of Antoninus Pius in the second century AD.[69] The building was adorned with statues of his family members alongside members of the imperial family.

Finds in Nysa dated to these centuries, especially the first century AD, are very limited, making the subject of this study an important artefact that sheds light on the period. The portrait belongs to a statue which honored a prominent person. The depiction follows the imperial male portrait types of the Julio-Claudian family. However, it should be identified as a private portrait, considering the disparities among the official types. Inscriptions from this period reflect the practice of publicly honoring individuals such as members of the city's elite families, victorious athletes, or civic officers. Two inscriptions from the first and second centuries AD mention two festival organizers (*panegyriarchai*) who were honored by the city. Interestingly,

65 Plin. *HN.* 2. 86.

66 Aydın 2022, 430.

67 Özbil 2017, 474-75.

68 Kadıoğlu 2006, no. 585; Blümel 2019, no. 418; Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp Özdil 2022b, 62, fig. 1.

69 Kadıoğlu 2022b, 267; Akdoğu Arca and Gökalp Özdil 2022b, 63.

one bears the name Tiberius Claudius and could be related to the Julio-Claudian period.[70] Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Nysa portrait cannot be associated with this inscription in any way. The inscription serves to reveal that honoring was practiced during that period. According to the material culture finds, Nysa had very close ties with the Roman Empire during the Julio-Claudian period. Presumably, Nysa was affected by the earthquake in AD 17 and received help from Tiberius. In terms of religion, the Cult of Pluto and Kore maintained a following in the city during this period. However, a Cult of Mēn was also established or gaining importance.

70 For the origin of the name of the Roman citizens from Asia Minor who bear names Tiberius Claudius, see Dönmez Öztürk 2010, 56: "Gerek Küçük Asya'da gerekse Lykia'da Tib. Claudius isimlerini taşıyan Roma vatandaşlarıyla, c.R.'ye sahip Küçükasyalılar'ın sayısında bariz bir artış yaşanmıştır. Tib. Claudius isimleri bu kişilerin vatandaşlık hakkının kaynağı ile ilgili birden fazla ihtimali akla getirmektedir: Bunlardan biri, yukarıda söylediğimiz gibi, İmparator Tiberius'un Augustus tarafından evlat edinilmeden önce, bazı Asia'lıların vatandaşlık hakkı almalarına aracılık etmiş olması, ikincisi İmparator Claudius'un, üçüncüsü ise Nero'nun Tib. Claudius'ların isim babası olmasıdır. Bir diğer olasılık Gaius-Iulius'lara mensup olmasına rağmen, Doğu'da bir Claudius olarak görülen Germanicus'un c.R. için aracılık etmiş olabileceğidir."

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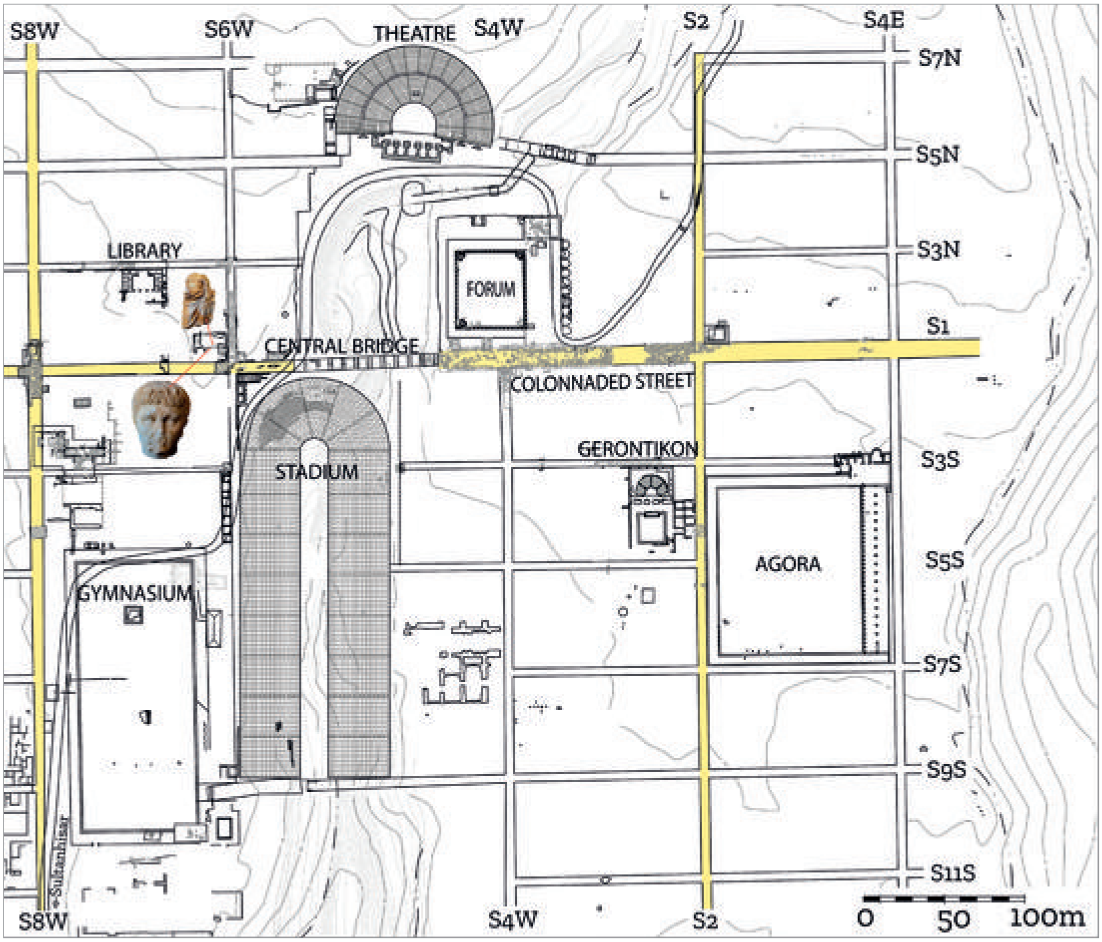

FIG. 1 Findspots of the sculptures on Nysa city map (©Nysa ad Maeandrum excavation archive).

FIG. 3 Marble portrait, hair detail
(© Nysa ad Maeandrum excavation archive).

FIG. 2
Marble portrait, front view
(© Nysa ad Maeandrum excavation archive).

FIG. 4 Marble portrait, drawing of the portrait details (© Nysa ad Maeandrum excavation archive).

FIG. 5 Marble portrait, right view (© Nysa ad Maeandrum excavation archive).

FIG. 6 Marble portrait, left view (© Nysa ad Maeandrum excavation archive).

FIG. 7 Marble portrait, back view (© Nysa ad Maeandrum excavation archive).

FIG. 8 Germanicus, front view
(© The Trustees of British Museum).

FIG. 9 Germanicus, right view
(© The Trustees of British Museum).

A House Type Tomb in Sinope: A Neglected Burial from Paphlagonia

ZEKİ METE AKSAN*

Abstract

A tomb structure west of Sinop was uncovered during a construction work back in 1979. A salvage excavation was conducted by the local museum, and a tomb with a courtyard was revealed. Dated to the Roman period, the distinctive character of its architecture, not known in the region of Paphlagonia, compensates for the scarcity in the finds. The aim of this article is to present and describe the tomb structure based on architectural features from the museum reports and to try to set a date in order to establish its position and importance in the burial traditions of ancient Sinope. Since the tomb could not be preserved following its excavation, the whole work is based on museum reports. Although some information which could be important in understanding the tomb is missing from the museum report, it is still possible to make an interpretation of the tomb thanks to the photographs taken at the time and the careful drawings.

Keywords: House-type tomb, tomb architecture, Sinope, Paphlagonia, Black Sea

Öz

Sinop'un batısında 1979 yılında bir inşaat çalışması sırasında bir mezar yapısına rastlanmıştır. Alanda, yerel müze tarafından gerçekleştirilen kurtarma kazısı, avlulu bir mezar yapısı ortaya çıkarmıştır. Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'ne tarihlendirilen mezar yapısı, Paphlagonia Bölgesi'nde pek bilinmeyen mimarisinin kendine özgü karakterleriyle, buluntulardaki azlığı telafi eder niteliktedir. Bu makalenin amacı, müze raporlarındaki mimari özelliklere dayanarak mezar yapısını tanıtmak, tanımlamak ve antik Sinope'nin ölü gömme gelenekleri içindeki yerini ve önemini belirlemek için bir tarih belirlemeye çalışmaktır. Mezar kazıldıktan sonra korunamadığı için tüm çalışma müze raporlarına dayanmaktadır. Her ne kadar mezarın anlaşılmasında önemli olabilecek bazı bilgiler müze raporlarında eksik olsa da o dönemde çekilen fotoğraflar ve özenli çizimler sayesinde mezar hakkında bir yorum yapmak mümkün olabilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ev tipi mezar, mezar mimarisi, Sinope, Paphlagonia, Karadeniz

Introduction

Tombs provide us with a great deal of information about the burial customs, funeral rites, and beliefs of ancient people. The types, qualities, and dimensions of tombs depend on factors such as social status and economic power of the deceased as well as workmanship, expertise, and general conditions in any given society. One can argue that tombs have a dual meaning, both as a place where the dead rest for eternity and bear traces of the afterlife, and as a place

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that allows the living to commemorate the deceased. Consequently, the structures built for the dead are in fact extremely valuable not only for the deceased, but also for the family, relatives, and the community to which they belonged, thus providing information about the world of the living. And sometimes a particular tomb type can be an important piece of evidence to understand the individuals as well as identify certain "trends" that emerge in certain periods, and moreover to point out possible similarities between regions within a larger geography.

The discovery of a tomb structure in Sinop back in 1979 is one such example. It was encountered during construction work of residential buildings in Gelincik Quarters and excavated by the Directorate of the Sinop Archaeology Museum under the supervision of Director Servet Yerli in 11-22 October 1979.[1] The tomb structure was located on the southern slope of a ridge extending in an east-west direction, west of the ancient city of Sinope, immediately north of today's Sinop-Boyabat Road and approximately 60 m above sea level (fig. 1-3).[2] The tomb probably overlooked the main road that reached the ancient city from the west and was probably part of the western necropolis (see Discussion). According to the museum report, the terrain on which the tomb stood was of sandy formation. In addition, a tile grave and grave stones were revealed around and in close proximity to the tomb structure during the salvage excavation of the museum (see below).[3]

The location of the tomb structure and its surroundings are quite noteworthy since it is an area where important finds were uncovered during the excavations and research carried out on Sinope.[4] Therefore, it will be useful to briefly mention here the finds revealed in and around the area where the tomb structure was found.

The first systematic excavations carried out in Sinop in the 1950s yielded important information about the necropolis west of the ancient city.[5] Various graves dating from the Archaic period to the Roman period were unearthed during the excavations conducted in the area where the Old Match Factory was once located. This is a few hundred meters west of the western rampart of the ancient city and approximately 900 m east of the tomb structure at Gelincik (fig. 1).[6] Approximately 500 m east of the Gelincik tomb at Bahçeler, a fourth-century BC sculptural fragment of a lion biting a deer was found during the same campaigns and interpreted as a part of a monumental tomb structure.[7] Approximately 700 m east of the Gelincik tomb, a salvage excavation was conducted by the Directorate of the Sinop Archaeology Museum in 2017 and part of the western necropolis was revealed as a result.[8]

The aim of this article is to present and describe the tomb structure based on architectural features from the museum reports and to try to set a date in order to establish its position and importance in the burial traditions of ancient Sinope. According to the museum reports, the tomb structure could not be preserved after its excavation. Its architectural components were looted over time and probably used as construction material. Consequently, information about

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1 The name of the parcel where the tomb was located is 33 Evler mevkisi, Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 1.

2 Thanks to the cadastral map provided by the museum, it is possible to determine the exact location of the tomb structure; see Museum Report of 10 December 1979, Ill. II.

3 Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 1.

4 For an overview of the researches in general on Sinope, see Kaba and Vural 2018.

5 Akurgal 1956, 50.

6 Budde 1956a, 6-7; 1956b, 33-34.

7 Budde 1956a, 7.

8 Kaba and Vural 2018, 454-55.

its architectural properties is entirely based on the museum report, the photographs taken during and after the museum's excavation, and the illustrations made after the tomb structure was completely revealed. The museum report is unfortunately quite inadequate, a disadvantage in understanding the tomb structure, and contrary to the very detailed illustrations of the tomb, which provide satisfactory information.

First, an architectural description of the tomb will be made, which will be followed by the analogy and dating of the tomb based on parallels from various regions in Asia Minor and beyond. General plan, roofing system, material, and construction techniques will be the main criteria for determining the analogy. After that burials and finds found within the tomb structure will be presented, followed by a discussion where all the finds will be evaluated.

Architecture

Built of local limestone and oriented in a northwest-southeast direction, the structure consisted of a courtyard and a main chamber (figs. 4-5). The total dimensions of the tomb, including both the main chamber and the courtyard, were 6 m in length and 3.75 m in width.

The courtyard, approached from the southeast, is shaped like a rectangle and measures approximately 3.75 m on its east-west axis and 2.5 m on its north-south axis (fig. 6). The entrance to the courtyard was emphasized by large stone blocks in the appearance of door jambs, which may indicate a door (fig. 5). However, there is no architectural find and the excavation report does not specify any holes present in the stone blocks that might have functioned as jambs. The walls were built of irregular rubblestones with crude workmanship and preserved to the height of the jambs. Whether this was the original height of the courtyard is unclear.[9] Its entrance from the southeast was not in the center of the wall, but slightly to the west. In addition, the southwestern wall was not exactly perpendicular to the northwestern and southeastern walls; therefore the northeastern and the southwestern walls were not perfectly parallel to each other.

A doorway on the same level as the courtyard was located approximately in the middle of the northwestern wall, which is framed by the limestone jambs and a lintel without any decoration (figs. 7-8). On the threshold of regularly cut stones stood a limestone slab that functioned as a door. The face of the door slab was left unfinished. At the upper left part of the slab was placed a circular hole, below which a metal ring was attached with a metal nail (figs. 9-10). The metal ring was found broken due to over-oxidation. Below the circular ring was a metal bolt attached with two metal knots on the interior face of the door. Metal door hinges were also observed. There is a metal square foot at the lower part of the door slab, which is connected to a metal pivot rectangular in section on the narrow side of the door. The metal pivot is placed within a canal cut on the narrow side of the door slab. Lead was poured inside the canal to fix the pivot. According to the museum report, lead was used to fix the metal provisions of the door; in addition, traces of the metal hinge was still observable at the upper section of the door jamb on the interior side of the main chamber.[10] The functioning of the door indicates that the main chamber was visited more than once, either for additional burials (see below) and / or funerary activities.

9 No observations were made on any evidence pointing to a superstructure of the courtyard in the museum report.

10 Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 2.

Unlike the courtyard, the main chamber had a rectangular plan measuring 2.6 m on its east-west axis and 3.4 m on its north-south axis (figs. 4-6). The walls were built of small stone blocks and rubble similar to the courtyard, but with slightly better workmanship.[11] According to the museum report, mud was used as binding material between the rubble.[12] On the western side of the door, the surface of the exterior wall of the main chamber was plastered with mud and coated with pieces of bricks.[13] The façade was especially emphasized with larger stone blocks concentrated around the entrance. In addition, the façade of the main chamber rose to a height of 2.7 m including the pediment overlooking the courtyard. The main chamber at the interior measured approximately 2.3 m in length and 1.5 m in width. The main chamber was covered with a vault on the interior (figs. 12-13), while its exterior was covered with a gabled roof upon which terracotta tiles were placed (figs. 7-8). The walls and vault were observed to be plastered on the inside. Metal nails were observed at regular intervals on the ceiling, which was probably used to prevent the plaster from falling off.[14] The museum report does not specifically state the dimensions or number of the tiles. According to the photographs taken by the excavators, each tile is rectangular. There are three rows of tiles on each side of the roof, each consisting of seven tiles. Thus, approximately 42 tiles were used to cover the gable roof (fig. 11). Four rows of stone blocks in different sizes and shapes were added at the upper part of the façade, above the level of the roof. The width of this extension is not given in the museum report. Tiles were also placed above the pediment (figs. 7-8).

Analogy and Dating of the Tomb

The Gelincik tomb stands out with its rectangular main chamber covered with a vault from the inside and a gable roof from the outside, an axially designed entrance, a distinctive façade that comprises an entrance emphasized with two doorjambs, a lintel, and a threshold, all of which is crowned by a pediment. As described above, the two short sides of the courtyard are not parallel to each other. Neither the entrance of the courtyard nor the entrance of the main chamber are on the same axis, and the workmanship of the walls forming the courtyard is cruder than that of the main chamber. This suggests that it may have been built later than the main chamber. Therefore, an analogy of the main chamber without the courtyard will be made first.

The closest parallels to the tomb structure at Gelincik are known from Cilicia in Asia Minor. The structures in the northern part of the northeastern cemetery of Elaiussa in Cilicia are classified as house tombs.[15] Their similarities with the Gelincik tomb can be observed in terms of plan, roof covering, and material. All of these tombs have a quadrangular plan, vaulted on the inside and, in some cases, with a slightly sloping gable roof on the outside. In addition, small irregular stones were used as building material. A very similar tomb in terms of rectangular

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11 The museum report states that spolia material was used in the construction of the walls. However, there is no further description or any dating of the spolia.

12 Unfortunately, there is no other evidence about the binding material of the stone blocks and rubble. The mud mentioned in the museum report may in fact have been mortar. For the use of mortar as binding material in house-type tombs, see Townsend and Hoff 2004, 260.

13 It is not clear whether the brick coating was applied to the entire exterior of the main chamber or whether it was limited to the area around the door; see Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 3.

14 Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 2.

15 Schneider 2003, 269, fig. 15.

plan, roofing system, axially placed doorway, and pediment was found; however, it differs from the Gelincik tomb with its secondary main chamber at the back and its ashlar masonry.[16]

A house tomb at Cambazlı[17] measuring approximately 7 x 5 m has a plan of templum in antis and was covered with a vault and a gable roof. A comparison based only on the main chamber of Gelincik tomb, excluding the courtyard, suggests that the tomb at Cambazlı resembles the Gelincik tomb in terms of roof covering. However, it is not possible to say the same thing in terms of plan and dimensions.

Similar tombs were recorded at Anemurium in Cilicia, where single burial chambers were observed to be covered by a barrel-vault, on which slightly curved roofs and, in some cases, a saddle roof was built.[18]

Outside Cilicia, more parallels for the Gelincik tomb can be found in southern Asia Minor. A structure (Tomb E7) at Ariassos measuring 7.8 x 6.2 m resembles the Gelincik tomb in terms of its roofing system and is dated to late second or third century AD.[19] Another parallel roofing system is at Oinoanda in Lycia, where a tomb belonging to Licinnia Flavilla and Flavianus Diogenes was dated to the second century AD.[20]

The use of a vault inside and a gable roof outside the burial chamber can also be observed in temple tombs, a common tomb type throughout Asia Minor during the second-third centuries AD and especially widespread in Cilicia.[21] Although similarities do exist such as the roofing system consisting of a vault and a gable, there are certain differences between the two types, especially in terms of construction techniques and material.[22] Temple tombs usually have two to four columns at the entrance and have a plan similar to a *prostylos* temple. Consequently, there are two pediments. Their façade is decorated elaborately, and the tombs are built generally in ashlar masonry. Most of them stand on a podium, and the entrance is usually made by stairs.[23]

The evidence provided by the analogy indicate that the Gelincik tomb belonged to this tradition of house tombs.[24] Architectural features displayed on the Gelincik tomb are reminiscent of tomb houses common in Italy, especially in Rome and its surroundings. This is generally accepted to be the place of origination for this type.[25]

A tomb at Pompeii, belonging to Gaius Munatius Faustus according to its inscription, is another example resembling the Gelincik tomb. This structure was defined as a house enclosure

16 Machatschek 82-83, pl. 35, fig. 51.

17 Keil and Wilhelm, 1931, 35-36, pl. 18, fig. 55.

18 Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971, 90-91, fig. 1, nos. A. VII 8, VIII 5, VIII 19, A. IV 24.

19 Cormack 1996, 14-17, figs. 10-11; Cormack 2004, 180-82, figs. 36-39.

20 Hall et al. 1996, 112-16, figs. 1-2.

21 Durukan 2005, 109-10.

22 Townsend and Hoff 2004, 251.

23 For general information on temple tombs, see Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971; for similar examples from Asia Minor, see Işık 1995; Hallet and Coulton 1993; Schneider 2003; Köse 2005; Durukan 2009; Townsend and Hoff 2004, 275. For temple tombs with roofing systems similar to the Gelincik tomb: at Iotape (third century AD), see Townsend and Hoff 2004, 274-75, figs. 25-26; at Hierapolis (end of the Roman Republic - beginning of the Roman Imperial Period), see Waelkens 1982, 432, 438, fig. 13.

24 "House tomb" and "grave house" are the most common terms used to designate this type. For "grave house," see Durukan 2005; for "house tomb," see Schneider 2003.

25 For the origin of the tomb type, see Hesberg and Zanker 1987; Rönnberg 2018, 173-85. For a detailed description and analysis on the house type tomb, see Machatschek 1967, 80-84.

because its façade was similar to that of a house.[26] Its entrance was positioned centrally on the façade wall, while an inscription was placed in the middle of the triangular tympanum.

There are also several examples at Rome that resemble the Gelincik tomb. One includes a façade that is finished with a pediment and whose height exceeds the roof covering of the burial chamber, again quite similar to the Gelincik tomb.[27] They differ from each other in terms of material and workmanship. In addition, there is not a gable roof above the vault. Adjacent to this tomb is another house tomb that includes a large courtyard in front resembling the courtyard of the Gelincik tomb. Further similarities with the Gelincik tomb demonstrate itself at the design of the entrance, which was emphasized by stone doorjambs, lintel, and threshold of monolithic blocks.[28]

The analogy of the tomb points to a date in the second and third century AD.[29] Meanwhile, as pointed out above, the workmanship of the courtyard of the Gelincik tomb is poorer compared to the main chamber, and the southwestern wall was not placed parallel to the opposite wall of the courtyard. Moreover, the entrance to the courtyard and the entrance to the main chamber were not exactly on the same axis. All these features may point either to a lack of expertise or possibly that the courtyard was built later than the main chamber.[30] There is one parallel at Rome that resembled the tomb structure together with its main chamber and courtyard (see above).

Burials

A single burial in the courtyard and several in the main chamber of the tomb were recorded during the salvage excavation. At the northeastern part of the courtyard, a rectangular grave oriented in a northwest-southeast direction was formed by two thin walls. The northeastern one was attached to the northeastern wall of the courtyard (figs. 14-15). According to the plan and photographs of the museum report, the width of each wall is not more than 0.25 m, and the width of the grave is approximately 0.8 m. The report does not specify anything about the material, but a stone row on top of each wall can be observed in the photograph (fig. 14). According to the report, the grave was observed to be covered by flat tiles; in addition, two extra stone lids were placed on the northwestern part. An inhumation burial was encountered inside the grave; however, not a single grave find is mentioned in the report.[31] Nevertheless, a rectangular grave stele of limestone with inscription (fig. 25) was found during the excavation, fallen towards the northern part of the grave (see below).

The main chamber was observed to be filled with soil up to a height of approximately 1 m. A brick wall was revealed after excavation, which extended in a northwest-southeast direction that divided the main chamber into two parts (fig. 15). It measured approximately 2.3 m

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26 Hagen 2016, 40-41.

27 Calza 1940, 45, fig. 9.

28 Calza 1940, 58, fig. 16.

29 For the dating of the house tombs at Anemurium in Cilicia generally to the second and third century AD, see Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971, 30; Durukan 2005, 118. For those dating from the mid-second century onwards in the Olba region, see Machatschek 1967, 105; Durukan 2005, 116. For different interpretations of the dates see Berns 2003. For different tomb types where vault and saddle roof are observed in the same roofing system, see Masino and Sobrà 2016, 442-43, fig. 14.

30 The museum report also states that the ante chamber was annexed at a later stage to the main chamber. However, there is no further explanation and evidence for this assumption; see Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 1.

31 There is no information about the details of the skeleton found inside the grave.

in length and 0.15 m in width (fig. 15), while its height was measured as 0.5 m. The upper surface of the brick wall was observed to be approximately at the same level of the threshold (fig. 16).[32] Six stone slabs of different dimensions covered the western part of the main chamber (fig. 6). According to the museum report, a total of ten skulls and skeletal fragments were found, five in the western part of the main chamber and five in the eastern part.[33]

Finds

Contrary to the satisfactory architectural findings, the salvage excavation carried out by the museum inside the tomb structure did not reveal the same level of grave finds. Therefore, it is highly probable that the tomb was robbed in antiquity. However, the information on some of the finds in the museum report raises serious doubts about the exact location, time and manner of their discovery. Therefore, although these finds will be briefly discussed in this article, I believe that it would be misleading to make further interpretations about the date and significance of the tomb structure, as well as the identities of the burials, on the basis of these finds, and that it would be problematic to associate them with the tomb structure with certainty. An inscribed grave stele of limestone associated with the grave located in the northeastern part of the courtyard and a bronze coin found in the main chamber are the finds that can be directly associated with the tomb structure. The finds that cannot be directly associated with the Gelincik tomb for the reasons mentioned above are two gravestones, a grave marker, two tile fragments, and a marble head.

The inscribed grave stele was found at the foot of the grave at the northeastern part of the courtyard (fig. 25). Made of limestone, it measures 1.2 m in length, 0.27 m in width, and 0.1 m in thickness. It was published by French in 2004 and dated to the first and second century AD.[34] The inscription is in Latin and some of the lines, also observed by French, are worn off, which may point to a secondary usage of the stele. The name C. Fanius may indicate the name of the person buried in the grave or the person who had the stele erected.[35]

A bronze coin was found on the eastern part of the main chamber (figs. 17-18).[36] Its diameter is 18 mm, and its thickness is 3 mm. On the obverse is a head of Geta facing right with head bare, with the legend, [P] SEPT GETAC C. On the reverse, a captive(?) with a frontal view standing left with a legend, CIF SINOPES. The coin dates to AD 198-209 when Geta was Caesar.

As for the finds that cannot be definitively associated with the tomb structure, two of them are gravestones (figs. 19-20) and one a grave marker (fig. 21), which were all found in front of the tomb structure.[37] They are all made of limestone. The two gravestones are uninscribed and bulbous on top, while the grave marker is in the shape of a phallus on both ends. Measurements of gravestone no. 1 are 61.5 cm in length and 18.5 cm in width, while

32 Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 3.

33 On the gradual decline of the practice of cremation from the second century AD onwards and its gradual replacement by inhumation burial that spread to the provinces by the mid-third century, see Toynbee 1971, 40.

34 According to the report, the stele must have stood at the foot of the grave; see Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 2. For the publication, see French 2004, 94-95, no. 129.

35 I am most grateful to Prof. Dr. Mustafa Hamdi Sayar for his support with the publication search and his own observations on the inscription.

36 Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 3. This coin was previously published in Casey 2010, no. 363.

37 Gravestone no. 1, inv. no. 6-3-79; gravestone no. 2, inv. no. 6-4-79; grave marker, inv. no. 6-7-79.

gravestone no. 2 is 49 cm in length and 20.5 cm in width. The diameter of the grave marker is 38 cm. According to the museum report, there is also a tile grave that was found in front of the tomb structure, approximately 0.6 m below the level of the tomb. The museum report does not specify the exact distance between the tile grave and the Gelincik tomb, though it is clear that the tile grave was located at a different elevation level, lower than the tomb structure. There are two tile fragments[38] (figs. 22 and 23) preserved in the museum storage room that might have belonged to this tile grave, however, they could also belong to the tiles that covered up the roof of the tomb structure.

A marble head of a helmeted soldier (fig. 24) was found 4.5 m away from the southwestern part of the courtyard. The head depicts a man with a beard and a helmet. The helmet covers the hair, part of the cheeks and forehead. A slight elevation is observed on top of the helmet for perhaps a crest with a different material. A cheek-piece is well preserved on the right side of the helmet, leaving the right ear open. Above the ear and cheek-piece a volute decoration can be observed. The head is worn off on the left side.[39]

There were no other finds in relation to the marble head in the vicinity of the tomb structure such as a base or an inscription, nor there were any finds such as weapons and military gear in the grave inventory of the Gelincik tomb that could be linked to the marble head. For all these reasons, the suggestion that the marble head may be evaluated separately from the Gelincik tomb is more favorable for the time being, and it would not be incorrect to consider the possibility that it might have belonged to another grave in the vicinity of the Gelincik tomb. Nonetheless, all these finds together with the marble head further strengthen the fact that the Gelincik tomb was in the immediate vicinity of the western necropolis.

Discussion and Conclusion

The Gelincik tomb provides interesting results in terms of location, date, and the burial tradition to which it belongs. It has been mentioned above that other graves, thought to belong to the necropolis west of ancient Sinope, were found during the excavations carried out in the immediate vicinity and in the area between the Gelincik tomb and the western city walls. The fact that a tile grave and finds indicating other possible graves were also encountered around the structure supports the view that the Gelincik tomb was not alone in this location. It is also important in terms of proving that the city's western necropolis extended westward along the main road. Therefore, in terms of its location, it can be suggested that the tomb structure is located within the western necropolis of the city. In this respect, because the Gelincik tomb was built on the southern slope of a hill with a northwest-southeast orientation and entrance facing southeast, this indicates its location could be seen from the road approaching Sinope from the west. From a topographical point of view, the tomb must have overlooked the western route approaching the ancient city.

As stated above, the plan, roofing system, general appearance of the façade and axially aligned entrance to the main chamber are the key elements that help determine the type of

38 Inv. no. 6-6-79 (Length: 42 cm, width: 35 cm, thickness: 5.5 cm) and inv. no. 6-5-79 (Length: 36.5 cm, width: 36 cm, thickness: 4 cm).

39 Museum Report of 10 December 1979, 5-6. Inv. no. 6-7-79. Height of the head is 36 cm, while the width is 18 cm. A similar marble statue of a helmeted soldier in the Louvre Museum dates to the first and second century AD (https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010277257), while a fragmentary marble head of a helmeted soldier in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is dated to the first century AD (Fragmentary marble head of a helmeted soldier | Roman | Early Imperial, Flavian | The Metropolitan Museum of Art (metmuseum.org).

the tomb. Close analogies regarding architectural features point to a date in the second-third century AD. The presence of a bronze coin dating to the early third century also supports this assumption. The number of burials inside the main chamber and function of the door indicate a long-term usage of the tomb structure. The metal nails observed during the museum's excavation inside the main chamber may indicate an attempt to prevent the plaster from falling off, which can also support this view. One may suppose that the structure was perhaps built as a family tomb for a certain period of time during which necessary alterations might have been made. Meanwhile, the condition of the graves and single find of a bronze coin within the main chamber also raise some questions, so it is difficult to ascertain whether the tomb was robbed in antiquity or at a later period.

The fact that Gelincik tomb structure belongs to the house tomb tradition is another important point to be emphasized. The house tomb tradition became quite widespread in the coastal cities of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and Ionia during the Roman Imperial period.[40] Except for the Gelincik tomb, a house tomb has not been found so far in Sinope or Paphlagonia. From this point of view, a definitive interpretation of this singular example from Sinope is not possible for the time being. However, even though it is a unique example, it is worthwhile to make a comparison with other regions in Asia Minor. In this regard, as stated in the analogy and dating section above, the closest examples of the house-type tomb tradition to which the Gelincik tomb belongs are found in Cilicia in Asia Minor.[41] Last but not least, it would be useful to remind some historical information about Sinope and the region Paphlagonia.

Sinope, an ancient city on the southern shore of the Black Sea was a major center throughout antiquity. It had strong ties with other major centers not only around the Black Sea but also in the Aegean and the Mediterranean worlds due to its commercial activities. It played a significant role as the capital city of the Pontic Kingdom during the late Hellenistic Age. After the historical events following the defeat of Mithradates VI in 63 BC, Sinope became part of the Roman Republic in the province Bithynia et Pontus and received Roman colonists in 45 BC.[42]

Our knowledge on Sinope during the Roman Imperial Period is extremely limited. When we look at the research history of the city of Sinope, it is notable that scientific excavations have mostly focused on the early settlement of Sinope.[43] Strabo mentions stoas, gymnasium and an agora in his time (12.546). During the reign of Traian, an aqueduct was built to provide clean water to the city.[44] Recent excavations at Balatlar Church revealed that the building was originally constructed as a bath complex that dated to the Roman Period.[45] Salvage excavation of the Sinop Archaeology Museum revealed architectural fragments of a nymphaion dating back to the second century AD.[46] Therefore, the discovery of a tomb structure in the western necropolis of the ancient city, which displays Roman cultural influences especially in terms of architecture, is extremely important for the city of Sinope in the Roman Imperial Period.

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40 Rönnberg 2018.

41 For Roman influence in Cilicia, see Spanu 2003. For the Roman involvement in Cilicia and the process of the region becoming a Roman province see Mitford 1980 and Oktan 2011. It would be indeed interesting to note that there might have been some similarities in the process of provincialization of Cilicia and Paphlagonia during the first century BC in Asia Minor.

42 Magie 1950, 365, 407-14; Barat 2022, 90-91.

43 Kaba and Vural 2018, 440-44.

44 Robinson 1906, 257.

45 Köroğlu et al. 2014, 512-13.

46 Kaba and Vural 2018, 453-54.

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Makale Geliş / Received : 30.11.2023

Makale Kabul / Accepted : 01.03.2024

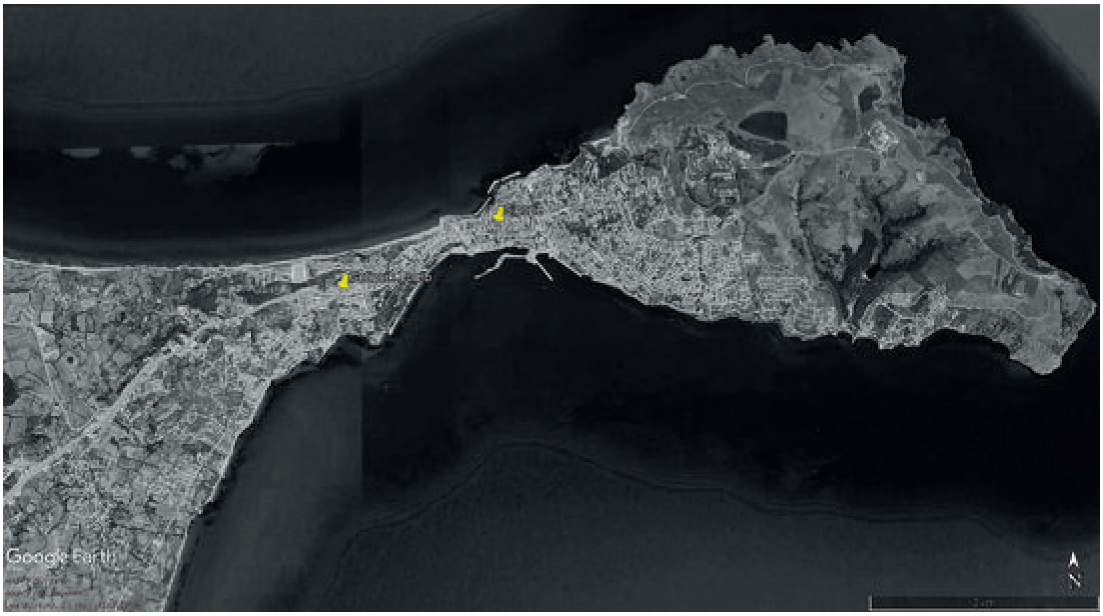

FIG. 1 Location of Gelincik tomb.

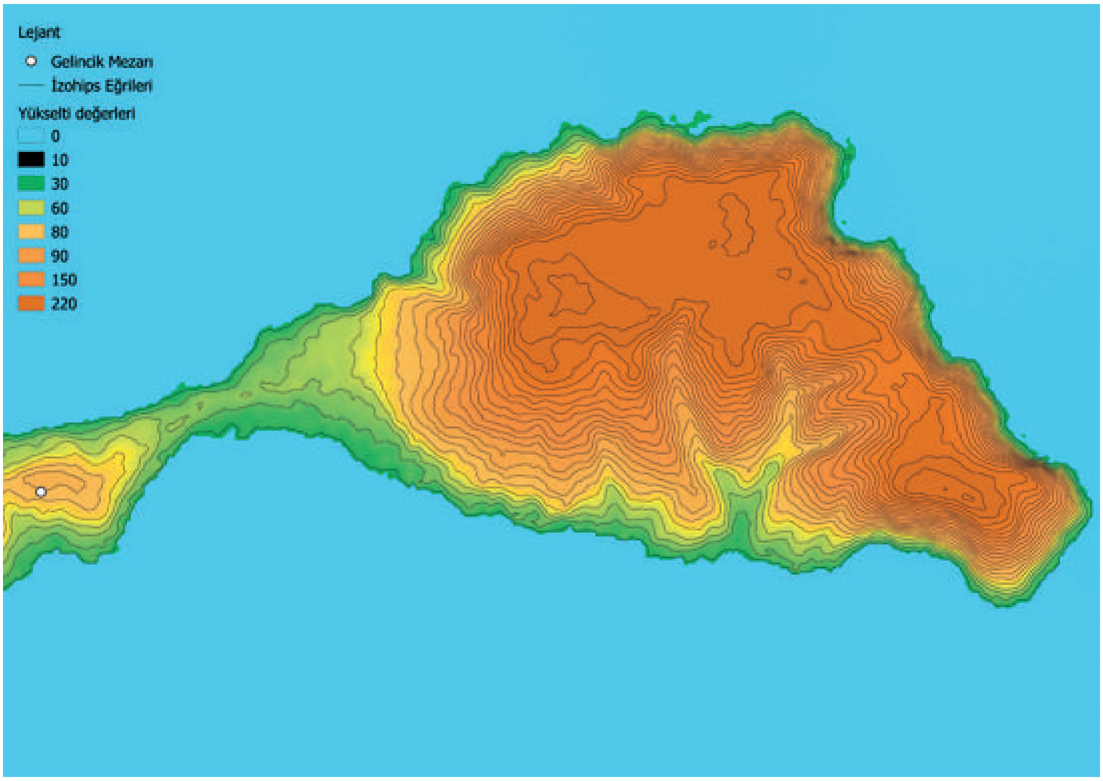

FIG. 2 Location of Gelincik tomb from the west and the promontory of Sinop.

FIG. 3
Before the excavation. Sloping hill where the tomb was located. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

FIG. 4
After excavation. Tomb from the southeast. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

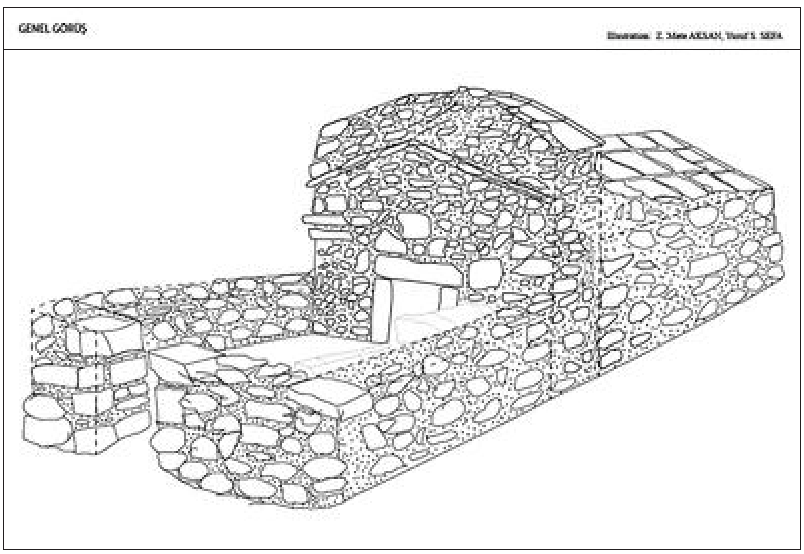

FIG. 5
Illustration of the tomb from the southeast. After Mehmet Armağan. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

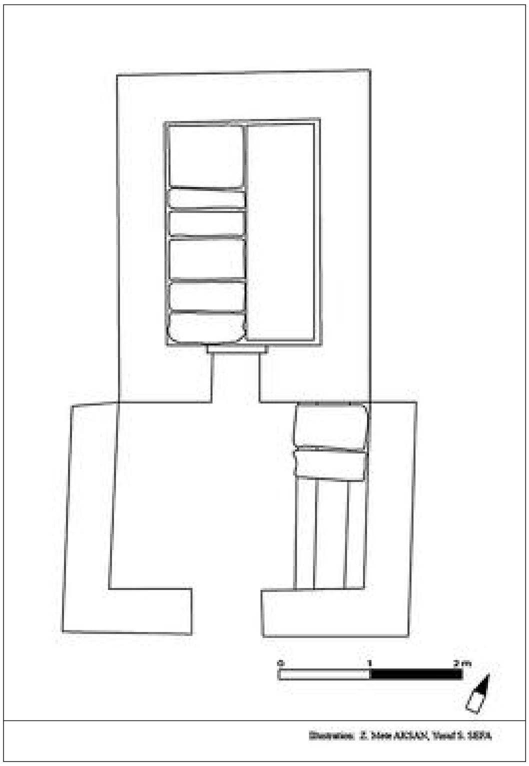

FIG. 6 Plan of the tomb. After Mehmet Armağan. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

FIG. 7 Facade of the main chamber. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

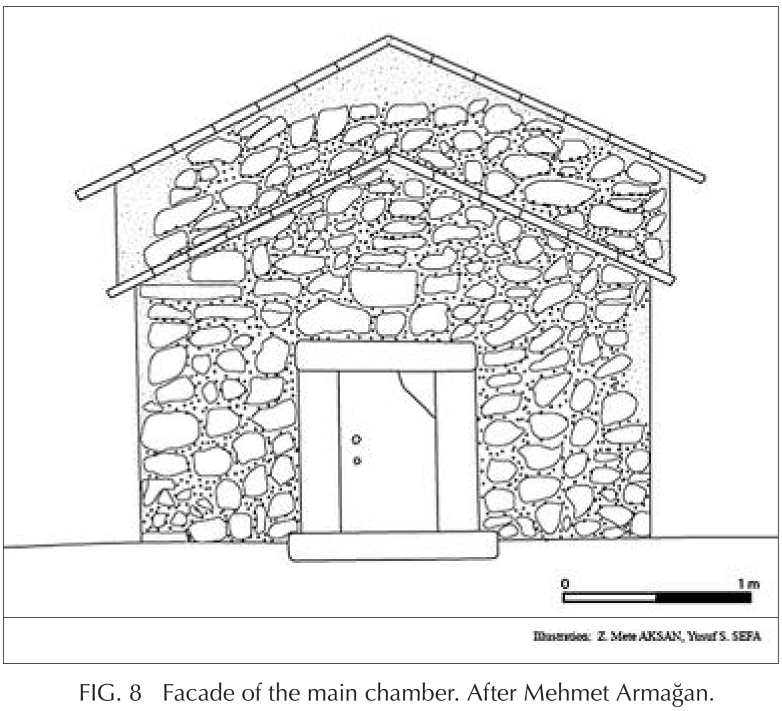

FIG. 8 Facade of the main chamber. After Mehmet Armağan. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

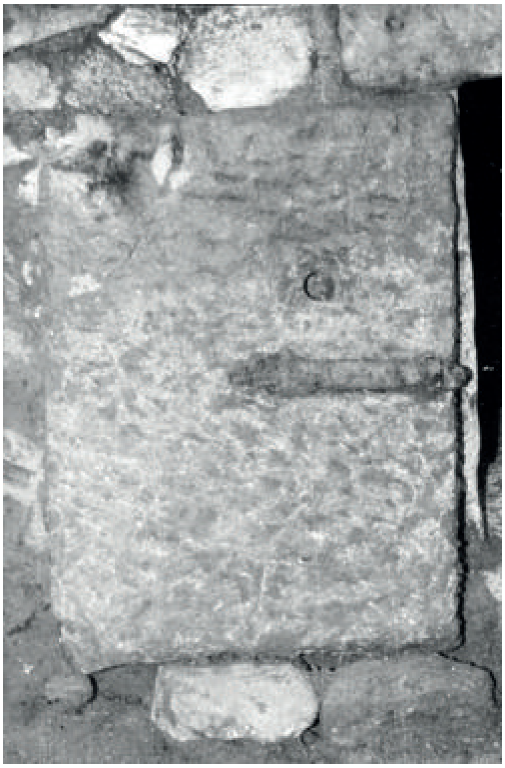

FIG. 9 Door at the entrance to the main chamber. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

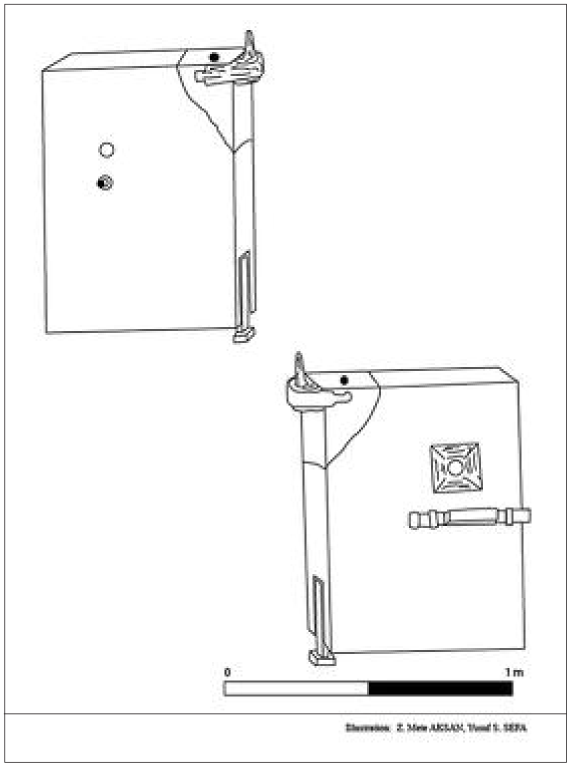

FIG. 10 Illustration of the door. After Mehmet Armağan. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

FIG. 11
Tiles covering the gable roof of the main chamber. From the north. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

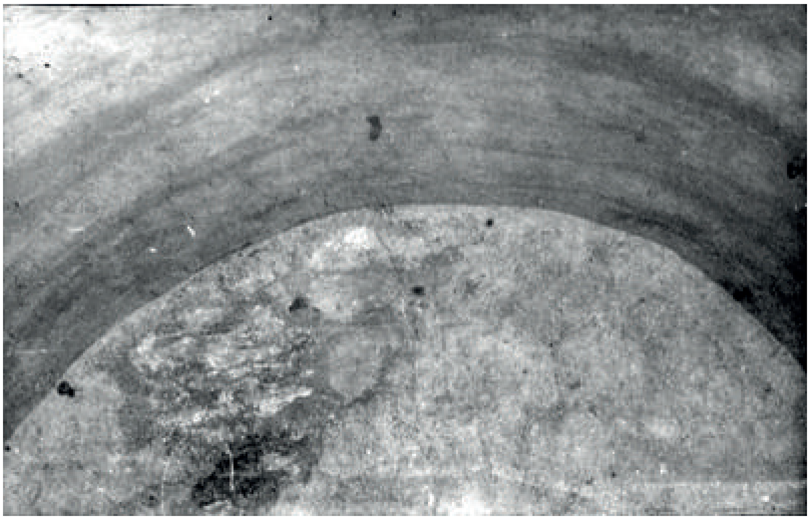

FIG. 12
Vault inside the main chamber. The vault and the rear wall are plastered. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

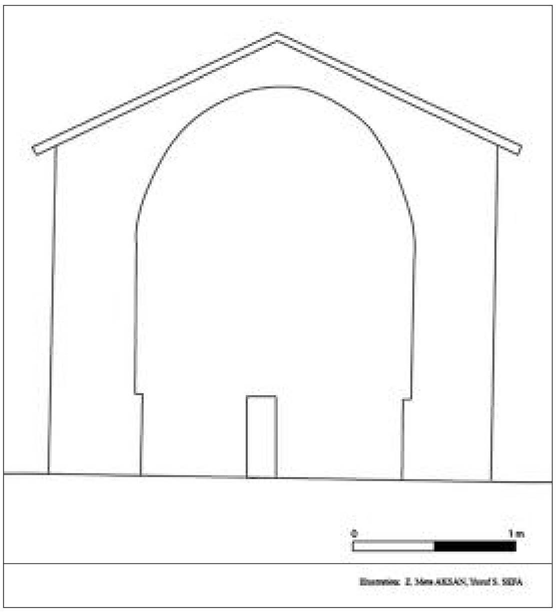

FIG. 13 Section of the main chamber demonstrating both the vault and the gable roof. After Mehmet Armağan. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

FIG. 14 Inhumation burial at the eastern part of the courtyard. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

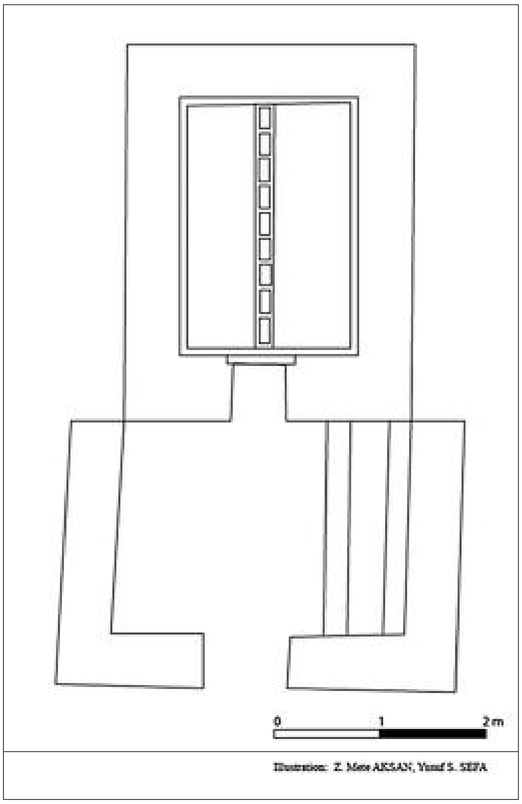

FIG. 15 Plan of the tomb structure and the burials. After Mehmet Armağan. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

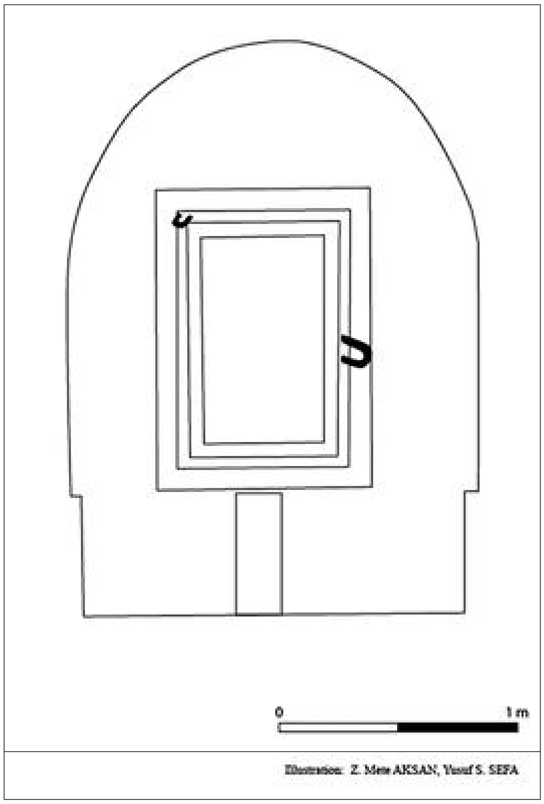

FIG. 16 Section of the main chamber with the entrance and the section of the brick wall inside the main chamber. After Mehmet Armağan. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

FIG. 17 Bronze coin, obverse. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

FIG. 18 Bronze coin, reverse. Courtesy of the Directorate of Sinop Archaeology Museum.

FIG. 19
Limestone grave stone.

FIG. 20
Limestone grave stone.

FIG. 21
Limestone grave marker.

FIG. 22
Tile piece.

FIG. 23 Tile piece.

FIG. 24 Marble head.

FIG. 25 Inscribed stele.

ADALYA 27, 2024

Quarry Industry in Rough Cilicia: The Cases of Dana Island and Kesiktaş

GÜNDER VARİNLİOĞLU*

Abstract

The fame of the construction workers originating from Isauria (Rough Cilicia) is a well-known phenomenon in Late Antique architectural history. In the late fifth and sixth centuries, textual evidence reported Isaurian architects, masons, quarrymen, and ordinary laborers in construction projects in North Syria, Palestine, and Constantinople. Their emergence coincided with the construction upswing across the Eastern Mediterranean. In Isauria, builders had easy access to ordinary building materials, as variations of limestone bedrock are ubiquitous. In this context, two coastal quarries are unique cases illustrating the development of the quarrying industry and trade in ordinary stones. The first example is Dana Island where settlement and quarries co-existed. Quarrying may have started in the early Roman period, while its transformation into an industrial and commercial endeavor is a Late Antique phenomenon. As large-scale quarrying subsided or ended at the end of antiquity, the infrastructure such as coastal ramps, warehouses, and stockpile areas fell out of use. Decrepit buildings were pillaged, their sites were excavated, and quarries were cut through the coastline that had long served the quarry industry. The second case is Kesiktaş, which functioned exclusively as a quarry of industrial proportions but did not have a permanent settlement. Unlike Dana, the chronology of quarrying at Kesiktaş cannot yet be dated. Nevertheless, the stone industry and trade in ordinary building materials were essential in the economy and

Öz

İsaurialı inşaat işçilerinin ünü, Geç Antik Dönem mimari tarihinde iyi bilinen bir olgudur. Geç beşinci ve altıncı yy.'larda yazılı kaynaklar, İsaurialı mimarların, taş ustalarının, taş ocakçılarının ve vasıfsız işçilerin, Kuzey Suriye, Filistin ve Konstantinopolis'teki inşaat projelerinde yer aldığından söz etmiştir. Onların ortaya çıkışı, Doğu Akdeniz'de yapı faaliyetinin arttığı dönemle eş zamanlıdır. İsauria'da yapı ustaları sıradan yapı malzemesine kolayca erişim sağlamışlardır, çünkü farklı türlerdeki kireçtaşı çok yaygındır. Bu bağlamda, kıyılardaki iki taş ocağı alanı, taş ocakçılığı endüstrisinin ve sıradan taş ticaretinin gelişimini gösteren benzersiz örneklerdir. Bunların ilki, yerleşimle taş ocaklarının bir arada bulunduğu Dana Adası'dır. Taş ocakçılığı erken Roma Dönemi'nde başlamış olabilir; bunun endüstriyel ve ticari bir faaliyete dönüşümü ise Geç Antik Çağ'da gerçekleşmiştir. Antik Çağ'ın sonunda büyük ölçekli taş ocakçılığı azaldığında veya bittiğinde, kıyı rampaları, depolar ve stok alanları gibi altyapı unsurları kullanımdan kalkmıştır. Eski yapılar yağmalanmış, kazılmış ve uzun zamandır taş ocakçılığı endüstrisine hizmet veren kıyı şeridine yeni ocaklar açılmıştır. İkinci örnek Kesiktaş, endüstriyel ölçekte taş ocağı olarak kullanılmıştır; kalıcı yerleşimi yoktur. Dana Adası'nın tersine, Kesiktaş'taki taş ocakçılığının kronolojisini henüz bilmiyoruz. Gelgelelim, taş endüstrisinin ve ticaretinin İsauria'nın ekonomisinde ve zanaatlerinde önemli bir yeri vardı. Kıyı hattında konumlanan ve endüstriyel ölçekteki bu iki taş ocağı, yerel

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crafts of Isauria. These two coastal quarries of industrial proportions are unique case studies to explore the use of local geology for stone extraction, the various techniques of quarrying, the size and types of stone blocks that circulated in the sea lanes, and the logistics of the quarrying industry and stone transport. They provide us snapshots of complex taskspaces where the protagonists were the quarrymen, quarry owners, stonecutters, metal workers, and other supporting laborers.

Keywords: quarrying, stone trade, construction industry, Isaurians, coastline

jeolojinin işlenmesini, taş ocakçılığı teknikleri-ni, deniz yollarında taşınan blokların boyutlarını ve türlerini, taş ocakçılığı endüstrisinin ve taş nakliyesinin lojistiğini araştırmak için benzersiz alanlardır. Bu iki örnek, taş ocakçılarının, taş ocağı sahiplerinin, taşçıların, metal işçilerinin ve bu endüstriye yardımcı başka çalışanların başrolde olduğu karmaşık iş peyzajlarına (taskspaces) ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: taş ocakçılığı, taş ticareti, yapı endüstrisi, İsaurialılar, kıyılar

The urban and rural landscapes of Rough Cilicia (Isauria) are fertile grounds to study the long-lasting traditions of stone quarrying, stone working, and stone building. Mortar-free masonry using local limestone became the prevailing construction technique as early as the Hellenistic period when the region was divided between the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and their client-kings.[1] The introduction of brick and mortar occurred only after Rome annexed Cilicia in 74 CE and established building yards for new architectural programs, where Roman building masters employed and trained local workers.[2] Thus, since at least the third century BCE, the regional building skills were based on cutting, shaping, transporting, and joining local stone varieties.

The fame of the construction workers originating from Isauria is a well-known phenomenon in Late Antique architectural history. From the end of the fifth century through the 560s, several texts repeatedly reported the involvement of Isaurian architects, masons, quarrymen, and ordinary laborers in construction projects in North Syria, Palestine, and Constantinople, as well as in the army where they were entrusted with architectural problems. *The Life of Saint Sabas* by Cyril of Scythopolis talks about two Isaurian *architektones* who were responsible for the construction of the saint's lavra between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea (494-50). The *Life of St. Martha* and the *Life of St. Symeon Stylite the Younger* (541-558) describe at length the work of Isaurian quarrymen, masons, architects, workshops, and unskilled workers, employed or volunteering in building projects in and around Antioch. The "complete Malalas" mentions the Isaurians working in the reconstruction of the dome of St. Sophia after it collapsed in 558.[3] The architect responsible for the new dome was Isidore of Miletus the Younger, who was also involved in imperial projects in Dara, Chalcis, and Zenobia in North Syria,[4] where he may have worked with Isaurian crews. The shortage of skilled builders expressed in fourth-century texts and legislation was no longer a problem as construction crews traveled transregionally. By the mid-fifth century, legal codes were replete with references to the improper behavior of construction professionals who "ganged up" to charge very high fees for their labor.[5] Although

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1 Rauh et al. 2013; Durugönül 1998, 119-32.

2 Spanu 2003.

3 Mango 1966.

4 Russell 2013a, 359-60; Zanini 2003, 218-19; 2007, 389-90.

5 Zanini 2006, 379-80.

Isaurian builders did not have a bad name in the sources, the services of these highly demanded professionals must have been costly. In any case, the building profession was a lucrative business by the mid-fifth century.[6]

In Mango's footsteps, scholars sought material evidence for Isaurian builders in architectural projects across the Byzantine Empire. Resafah-Sergiopolis in Syria, Tomarza in Cappadocia, and Ravenna in Italy are among the places where certain architectural details were interpreted as evidence of the involvement of itinerant Isaurian builders.[7] Across Rough Cilicia, houses and churches with their standing arches, vaults, and domes were construed as the work of these skilled builders in their homeland.[8] This technical know-how (albeit not unique) has been evaluated as the reason why Isaurian builders were indispensable in construction projects as ambitious as St. Sophia in Constantinople.[9] The funerary inscriptions from Corycus strengthened the idea that the region had an exceptionally lively building industry in late antiquity. Not only architects, builders, engineers, and contractors, but also carpenters, marble workers, masons, and suppliers of materials had prospered and were buried in costly stone sarcophagi on valuable land outside the city.[10] For this paper, I leave aside the discussion about what the term Isaurian signified and assume that the Isaurian builders mentioned in the written sources were professionals who were born, raised, or trained in the province of Isauria.[11] Thus, the architectural landscapes of Isauria or Rough Cilicia were their primary base of operations.

The Isaurian ateliers comprised highly skilled artisans who knew how to shape perfectly polygonal or isodomic ashlar blocks and how to use them for erecting walls, apses, arches, vaults, and domes. Likewise, in a quarry site, understanding the natural cracks of the stone, cutting separation trenches, inserting wedges, shaping stone blocks, and hauling and lifting heavy objects required special training and experience. This included knowledge of the material properties of the stones and the methods of moving stones with simple devices or complex machinery.[12] The construction business, however, needed also many unskilled or low-skilled men, employed in tasks that were physically demanding but easy to learn. Digging trenches, mixing mortar, carrying quarry waste, or mixing mortar did not require any special skills. For example, the *Life of St. Symeon Stylite the Younger* describes the Isaurians who worked in quarrying, cut stones, and acquired wooden handles for masons' tools.[13] These individuals were not highly paid artisans, but jacks-of-all-trades who had developed basic skills and gained experience through their work at multiple construction sites.

6 The reputation of Isaurian builders may have persisted beyond the sixth century CE. The early ninth-century chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor, possibly copying the sixth-century chronicle of Malalas, referred to Isaurians as the most skilled master builders in the market.

7 Castelfranchi 2007; Deichmann 1969, 213-39; Hill 1975.

8 I only mention one of the earliest publications which deliberately looked for Isaurian building skills in the region; see Dagron and Callot 1998.

9 The tradition of stone masonry is not unique to Rough Cilicia, nor has this region developed the most sophisticated or the most refined methods of stone construction.

10 Trombley 1987.

11 Elton 2000; Russell 1991.

12 For example, at the Roman imperial quarries of Mons Claudianus, ostraca recorded specialists handling the stones at the loading ramp; see Russell 2013a, 11.

13 Van den Ven 1962, chapters 96, 172, 188, 228.

Quarrying in Rough Cilicia

In Rough Cilicia, builders had easy access to ordinary building materials, as variations of limestone bedrock are ubiquitous across the region. In Cilician settlements, it was customary for the workmen to quarry the stone blocks right at or in the vicinity of the construction site. Once enough material was extracted, the structure was erected directly on the quarry pit: faces were repurposed as walls, pits became interior spaces, and evidence for quarrying phases was largely erased. This mode of exploitation is so common that quarries incorporated into structures are rarely discussed in publications. Cilician quarries and their operations have never been at the forefront of scholarly research. Our knowledge of quarrying in Rough Cilicia is limited to a few publications that discuss either small-scale extraction zones (Olba) or larger quarries that supplied material for the nearby settlement (Zengibar). In Olba, a landlocked site in the lower Taurus Mountains, three small quarries on the hillside right outside the urban center display the methods of stone extraction and transport. Stone-cutting traditions in Olba can be traced back to Seleucid control in the late Hellenistic period and followed through the Early Byzantine period. In this context, the tombs of two different stone masons, bearing reliefs of stone-working tools have been interpreted as further evidence for the prevalence of stone-related crafts.[14] Olba's small-scale quarries are representative of the practice of exploiting the stone resources near the construction site. In Cilicia, the only large-scale quarry landscape that has been the subject of archaeological-albeit limited-and geological analysis is located at Zengibar Castle (ancient Isaura Nova) in the Taurus mountains. Four quarries inside and outside the fortifications supplied stone blocks for civic, religious, military, and residential structures of the Roman and Byzantine settlement.[15] Both Olba and Zengibar are landlocked sites. Their quarries were opened to provide building material for specific construction projects at the nearby site. As such, these were neither industrial establishments, nor involved in the stone trade.

In this context, two coastal quarries in Rough Cilicia are unique cases that illustrate the development of the quarrying industry and trade in ordinary stones (fig. 1). The first example is located on Dana Island (ancient Pityoussa) where settlement and quarries co-existed. The chronology of inhabitation and quarrying is very complex because the island continued to be exploited as a source of building material as well as serving a way station after the coastal settlement was abandoned. The second and smaller case is Kesiktaş located around 35 nautical miles (65 km) west of Dana Island. Kesiktaş served exclusively as a quarry of industrial proportions but did not have a permanent settlement directly attached to the quarries.[16]

14 Akçay 2008.

15 Gökçe et al. 2020.

16 This paper is based on two survey projects under my directorship: Boğsak Archaeological Survey (BOGA) on Dana Island (2011, 2015-2021) and Building Archaeology in Stony Cilicia (TAKA) at Kesiktaş (2022-2023). We thank the General Directorate of Cultural Assets and Museums for the research permits and the Silifke Museum staff for their continuous assistance. Over the years, the fieldwork presented in this paper has been financed by Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Purdue University, British Academy, Mary Jaharis Center for Byzantine Art and Culture, GABAM (Koç University Sevgi Gönül Center for Byzantine Studies), AKMED (Koç University Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations), and Mersin Metropolitan Municipality. We are also grateful to METAB (Mersin ve Çevresi Turizm Alanı Altyapı Hizmet Birliği), Mersin and Silifke Rotary Clubs, and Feti-Duran Çetin for their support in renovating our local headquarters in Boğsak. For a general overview of the painstaking work of our dedicated and hardworking team members, see bogsakarkeoloji.com/en

Dana Island

Dana is the largest island of Cilicia. Covering an area of approximately 276 ha and rising about 250 m above sea level, it runs parallel to the mainland a distance of 2.5 km away. It was known as Pitusu and Pityoussa in ancient sources, Provensale in the Middle Ages, and Dana at least since the early twentieth century.[17] The extensive limestone resources of the island, supported by its connectivity, enabled the formation of a major quarrying industry, which is the largest known example along the southern coast of Asia Minor. The earliest occupation dates possibly from the sixth century BCE when two ring forts were built on the southern crest. The masonry technique consisted of a large rubble core of small, chipped stones faced with irregularly shaped, medium-sized (less than 40 cm) blocks.[18] The acquisition of this simple building material would hardly require complex quarrying procedures. The occupation of the military outpost does not seem to have been long-lasting since the ceramic assemblage in and around the forts is predominantly Late Antique. The next phase of occupation took place along the western flank of the island in the Early Roman Imperial period. The pottery finds from our pedestrian survey date almost entirely from late antiquity, with Early Roman sherds forming 17 percent of the total assemblage.[19] The only structure that we may tentatively associate with Roman construction is the coastal bathhouse and another unidentified building in its vicinity. Both buildings use a combination of mortared brick and ashlar masonry, while the latter had vaults and small domes built entirely of brick. Otherwise, the remaining buildings rise on rock-cut foundations and employ several masonry styles using locally quarried limestone varieties, which cannot be firmly dated on the masonry styles alone.[20] It is therefore unclear whether this Early Roman assemblage marks the beginnings of the maritime settlement or the use of the island as a waystation and a quarry.

The settlement known as Pityoussa developed from the fourth through at least the eighth centuries along the western flank of the island. The inhabitation as it survives today includes large houses and housing complexes on the hillside. Commercial, utilitarian, and religious buildings such as baths, churches, warehouses, shops, and hostels, and infrastructure such as cisterns and loading ramps spread out along and near the 1.5 km long coastline. The growth of this maritime settlement and its quarries, spread over an area of approximately 30 ha, may be reconstructed in reference to the expansion of quarrying operations into new areas and the repurposing of abandoned quarries. Across the western flank, structures were built on the plot that was initially used to extract the stone blocks. Behind inhabited areas, quarries were

17 The toponym of Pitusu appears in Neriglissar's Chronicle (ABC 6). The name Pityoussa takes over as early as the fifth century CE, such as in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* and the *Acts of Barnabas*. Provensale and its variations are used from 1300 onwards, including Piri Reis' *Book of Navigation*. For a list of medieval and post-medieval toponyms and their sources, see Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 31. In early twentieth century maps, the island was referred as Dana, while its historic toponyms of Pityusa and Provençal were added in parenthesis. For example, see H. Kiepert's map of Ermenek published in 1902-1906.

18 Kaye et al. 2020, 24-25; Kaye and Rauh 2020, 146-51. Our team has visited but not studied the highly inaccessible quarries along the deep ravine further down the South Fort (Dana Kale 1). These quarries may continue until the small bay on the east coast. They may be contemporaneous with the construction activity on the south summit in late antiquity.

19 We discussed the preliminary results of the pedestrian survey in Varinlioğlu et al. 2017. For the full catalogue of the pottery from Dana Island, see Varinlioğlu et al. 2022.

20 Most of the surviving masonry on the island is made of medium- or large-sized ashlar blocks bound with little mortar. Mortar-bound *petit appareil* masonry, which is the dominant style on Boğsak Island and Mylai on the mainland, is much less common on Dana Island. This contrast does not necessarily suggest a chronological difference. For a discussion of masonry styles on Dana Island in the context of Rough Cilician building practices, see Varinlioğlu and Esmer 2019, 255-57.

probably used as cemeteries in a phase not too distant from the abandonment of the quarry pit. On the hillside, former quarry pits, work areas, causeways, and spoil dumps were gradually occupied by new buildings (fig. 2).

The ceramic assemblage shows that the fifth and sixth centuries CE were the busiest periods of the island's history. The construction of six (or maybe seven) churches in the lower settlement must also date from this period.[21] The South Fort, which lay in ruins since the sixth century BCE, was renovated possibly to function as a monastery with its church and subsidiary chapel built inside the fortified enclosure. Thus, at its climax, Pityoussa was possibly endowed with seven or eight churches. The exploitation of the deep ravine down the South Fort on the eastern flank as a quarry may be contemporaneous with the development of the south ridge in late antiquity. This complex maritime settlement and its quarrying industry contracted and was abandoned during or soon after the eighth century. By the end of late antiquity, the western coastline of the island was already transformed into an easily accessible and long "quay" that was equipped with the infrastructure that mariners could use, even if the island was no longer inhabited. The island, now known as Provensale, repeatedly resurfaces in late medieval portulans as a waystation.[22] Among them, Piri Reis described it with the same toponym, without failing to mention the cisterns as sources of drinking water.[23] Our intensive survey revealed only a handful of medieval and modern sherds on the northern edges of the coastline, which cannot be interpreted as evidence of permanent settlement. However, as pastoralists, fishermen, tourists, and archaeologists still do, inclined loading ramps and flat floors could still be used for temporary anchorage, while damaged buildings provided ready-made building material. As I discuss below, opportunistic quarrying of the abandoned coastline was part of the island's long history of exploitation. During the visit of Heberdey and Wilhelm in 1891-1892, people were still using the island as a source of grindstones.[24] As such, the island remained in use but never again as a permanent settlement.[25]

Coastal Settlement and its districts

As it survives today, this large maritime settlement has three districts that are loosely separated by unbuilt open areas. The core and the densest part of the settlement, or the Center District (ca. 5 ha) expands from the coastline into the hills up to 40 m asl (fig. 3).[26] The houses

21 Pityoussa was mentioned in two texts from the fifth century CE: *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* 483 and *Acts of Barnabas* 1:292-302.

22 This toponym may refer to the Hospitaller Order or to the merchants from Provence who were involved in the trade between Konya and Cyprus; see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 95, 127, 380.

23 Piri Reis, Kitab'ı Bahriyye, 377 / b, see Sarıcaoğlu 2014. Today, in addition to two large, vaulted cisterns inside the South Fort, about 250 cisterns of various sizes and forms (mostly bell-shaped) are spread out across the lower settlement. About our team's use of UAV-based remote sensing methods to identify cisterns and similar underground structures, see Shin et al. 2023.

24 Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, 99.

25 We strongly disagree with the alternative explanation of the island as a shipyard and a naval base (see Öniz 2021). In this paper, as in our previous publications on Dana Island, we maintain that the coastal features are best interpreted as the remains of quarries, loading platforms, building foundations, and a handful of slipways (see Varinlioğlu 2012; Varinlioğlu et al. 2017; Jones 2019). The ceramic evidence we documented via intensive pedestrian survey and the architectural evidence (e.g., baths, churches, houses) decidedly indicates a Roman to Byzantine date for the formation of the coastal settlement and the redevelopment of the South Fort. Our complex field methodology also included extensive pedestrian survey and mapping, terrestrial and airborne photogrammetry and LiDAR, geological and archaeometric analysis, and a detailed quarry inventory.

26 The values across this paper refer to the current sea level. The area calculation for the districts excludes the quarries behind the inhabitation but includes the coastline.

organized on terraces are often larger and better built than their counterparts in other parts of the settlement. The structures along its coastline are severely damaged, pillaged, and quarried in later phases. The remains of foundations, walls, stairs, and interior spaces give the impression of a vibrant maritime area before the demise of the settlement.[27] Among the jumble of walls and pillaged rooms, two buildings built of brick and ashlar masonry stand out. The northern brick building functioned as a bath as its surviving hypocaust indicates. The other brick building, 50 m south, is a smaller construction formerly surmounted by brick vaults and domes.[28] The Center District had three (or four) churches.[29] Churches III and IV, approximately 120 m apart, are built 30-40 m from the shoreline, while Church V is constructed on a steep hill (ca. 30 masl) that has a complete visual command of the sea lanes from Boğsak in the north to Aphrodisias in the south.[30] Quarries-some repurposed as cemeteries-follow the contour lines and occupy the elevations between 40 and 70 masl behind the inhabitation. The only quarry that may be associated with industrial operations (Q036) is located at the northeastern boundary, somewhat separate from the inhabited zone. This extensive quarry connects to the shoreline via large open areas (causeways?) on either side.

The North District (ca. 3 ha), separated from the Center District by a 25-30 m wide unbuilt area, is not as densely built-up as its southern neighbor (fig. 4). The district had two churches. Church I, built about 90 m from the shore (ca. 25 masl), must have served the local inhabitants. Church II was built on the shoreline and had a sort of atrium before its narthex and possibly a quay for marine passengers along its north wall. North of the church, a long series of rock-cut building foundations and walls continue uninterrupted along the coastline. The northern section of the district's shores was substantially quarried (e.g., Q049 and Q050) in later phases. This has almost destroyed the evidence for earlier phases of construction. The quarries of the North District are spread out between 10 and 60 masl, getting denser at higher elevations. Only some of these quarries were repurposed as cemeteries. Two quarry zones at the south and north boundaries of the district are connected to large open areas along the hillside. These may have been used as yards to load the stone blocks on wagons or sledges, and as causeways to move them down to the shore.

The South District (ca. 7.5 ha) in the southern half of the settlement is the main center for the quarrying industry and the living quarters of the quarry workers (fig. 5). In its northern section, residential buildings occupy the hillside between coastal features and the lowest level of the quarries. Most houses are small and built of irregularly shaped small- and medium-sized stones, which may be discarded blocks from the quarrying operations. One exception is the so-called Ashlar Complex (DI.ST001-ST002), which was a spacious residential

27 This reminds the northeastern coastline of Boğsak Island, which is likewise heavily destroyed and pillaged, but not substantially quarried.

28 We had tentatively referred to this building as a "kiln." I will discuss this structure and my interpretation of it in another publication.

29 The large open area about 30 m northwest of Church IV has numerous architectural pieces, including column shafts, mullion columns, pieces of capitals, fragmentary mosaics, stone drains, and cornices. Although these can be dated roughly to late antiquity, they do not include any Christian symbols or liturgical stone elements (e.g., templon pieces). Unlike other churches on the island, we could not discern clear remains of an apse, exterior walls, or associated tombs. Another caveat is its location: while the churches of the Center and North Districts were built around 100-150 m apart, this "church" does not fit this spatial distribution. As such, I propose two alternative hypotheses: it is another kind of sumptuous building in the vicinity of Church IV and the bath complex, or it is a loading yard for architectural pieces before they were removed from the island.

30 Erdemci 2023.

complex.[31] Built on top of abandoned quarries and using several large ashlar blocks, it must have housed quarry managers and their families. The sharp contrast between numerous small, poorly built structures[32] and a handful of large, carefully constructed houses suggests that a mixed community of quarry workers inhabited this district. If the wealthy quarry owners[33] and their families lived on the island, they must have resided further north, probably in the Center District far away from the noisy, dusty, and crowded industrial zone. One should also note that the northern section of the South District is the only part of the settlement without a church or any other religious building. The presence of a Christian community is evidenced by a single example of a doorpost with a cross relief. Otherwise, our pedestrian survey indicates some activity in this sub-district already during the Early Roman period. Its development as a center of the quarry industry is, however, a Late Antique phenomenon.

The southernmost end of the South District is the most sparsely built-up section of Pityoussa. Quarries occupy the hillside between 40-80 masl, while the lower hillside has several large buildings, none of which can be securely identified as houses. An exception to this is the large church (Church VI) and the adjacent rock-cut and ashlar masonry structure built just below the quarry zone. These unusually large and carefully built structures may together form the largest church complex on the island.[34]

In the South District, extensive quarries cutting through the slope occupy two separate zones in the upper elevations, separated by an open area that continues down to the shore. In the north, quarries start at 30 masl and continuously cut through the contour lines up to 100 masl. The artificial "valleys" that are created by deep cutting between these stepped quarry faces possibly functioned as loading yards and causeways for moving stone blocks to the shore. As one continues further south, quarries become gradually shorter, lower (between 40-70 masl), and more fragmented.

The coastline of the South District stands out with the succession of rectangular indentations that cut through the coastline.[35] These rectangular "floors" (w: 7-10 m, preserved l: 9-18 m) separated by higher, wide jogs (2-7 m) are often found in groups of three or four. They are surrounded by large open spaces on the landside. Although these rectangular features may look similar at first sight, they are neither identical in function nor do they represent a single phase in the history of the island. The surviving evidence does not allow us to securely date them or identify the exact function(s) of each of them. Their roughly rectangular and elongated shape, size, and location on the coastline make them suitable for multiple uses. Some of these floors, especially those with a slight gradient (4.7-6.5 degrees) must have been used

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31 Varinlioğlu and Esmer 2019.

32 Likewise, the workers' village at Mons Porphyrites was poorly preserved due to low-quality building materials, erosion, and earthquakes; see Maxfield and Peacock 2001, 25-26.

33 In this paper, I do not deal with the question of ownership in Roman and Late Antique quarries. Recent studies on Roman marble quarries suggest that the state, municipalities, sanctuaries, and landed aristocrats were involved in quarrying since these operations took place on their properties; see Long 2017.

34 We securely identified the remains as a church on the last day of our final campaign in 2021. Therefore, my conclusions are based on our very cursory exploration of the remains under thick vegetation.

35 After our 2011 reconnaissance survey on Dana Island, I had raised the question whether some of these features may be interpreted as slipways used for boat repairs. Our team's intensive studies in 2015-2021 identified building foundations, quarries, loading ramps, and possible slipways. The interpretation of this unusual coastline has been published in detail by our team member M. Jones (2019), which I do not repeat in this paper. Instead, I focus on their uses during the heyday of the quarrying industry at Pityoussa, and the exploitation of the coastline for opportunistic quarrying in different phases of the island's history.

as ramps to load stone blocks onto the boats.[36] The unbuilt areas around them would then be suitable for stockpiling the blocks near loading ramps. Operating large-scale quarries on a resource-poor island required the constant acquisition of supplies. The quarry operators would be expected to provide the necessary materials to repair stone-cutting tools, construct and repair lifting equipment, fix transport boats or rafts, bring in and feed draft animals, and sustain the workforce. This required ramps and surfaces to unload the material brought onto the island from the land. Warehouses that were easily accessible from the coastline were also a dire necessity.[37] As simple inclined surfaces with one short side opening onto the sea, they could also be used for pulling the boats ashore for repairs. It would not be farfetched to argue that the owners of boats involved in quarrying operations lived and kept their boats on the island. As such, the unusually regular, almost repetitive structuring of the coastline of the South District reflects the well-organized, complex, and logistically cumbersome nature of the quarrying industry and stone trade. The circular structure (dia: 4.8 m) built over the cape at the southern frontier of the settlement is another building that must be associated with this business. This unusual building may be interpreted as a watchtower having the visual command of the coastline of the South District, as well as the marine traffic between the mainland and Dana Island. As such, it was in an excellent position to control the exchange of material (stone blocks, supplies, draft animals, etc.) and the movement of people between the hillside and the sea.[38]

After the quarrying industry lost its vitality and / or the settlement was abandoned, the coastal features, no longer used as ramps, became small-scale quarries (see quarry typology below). Stepped quarry faces, deep pits, extraction channels, wedge holes, and partially removed stone blocks can be observed all along the western coastline. Such opportunistic quarrying is, however, much more widespread on the shoreline of the South District, which was already the main center for quarrying and stone trade in late antiquity.

Another unique feature of the South District is the stepped and paved road leading to the South Fort. The ascent is marked by one or two arched transitional elements starting between the two quarry zones in the upper elevations. As I have discussed previously, in late antiquity the South Fort was renovated, and a church was added inside the enclosure. In the vicinity of the fort, our team came across a building that may be interpreted as a storage facility, several agricultural terraces, and a big quarry further down on the eastern hillside.[39] I interpret the development of the south ridge around the South Fort as a monastic foundation, which eventually attracted visitors and pilgrims. If the South Fort was indeed repurposed as a monastery, the construction of Church VI at the southern border of the industrial district and a paved road connecting the South Fort to the shore may represent a new phase in the history of this highly

36 The processes of carrying, hauling, lifting, and loading stone blocks onto boats is reconstructed and richly illustrated for the early Byzantine marble quarries at Aliki on Thasos Island; see Sodini et al. 1980, 119-22. For an overview of the methods of stone transport, see Rockwell 1993, 166-77.

37 The supply chain supporting the Roman imperial quarries at Mons Claudianus in Egypt is very useful for understanding the complex logistical challenges of an industrial quarry beyond the extraction and transport of stones; see Adams 2001.

38 The marble quarries at Aliki on Thasos Island have a large variety of guard towers. The authors report other examples on Paros, Naxos, Skyros, and Siphnos; see Kozelj and Wurch-Kozelj 1992, 43, 46, 52, 54. Likewise at Mons Claudianus quarries, *skopeloi* were square, round, or irregularly shaped lookout posts that were used for internal communication within the quarries. Three towers, two on hilltops, were intended for long-distance communication and warning; see Peacock and Maxfield 1997, 254-55.

39 Kaye et al. 2020.

complex maritime settlement. In this case, can we go one step further and raise the question of whether the monastic community had ownership or control over the management of the quarries in the South District of Pityoussa?[40]

A quarry typology?

The western flank of the island, where both the main quarries and the settlement are situated, is a highly modified landscape with multiple phases of exploitation.[41] The natural terrain was quarried so extensively that it is a challenge to reconstruct the original topography of the island and determine the phases of quarrying. All the quarries, whether inland or on the coast, consist of clastic limestone, also known as limestone alluvium. This type of limestone has significant porosity and is lighter in weight than true limestone, which makes it easier to move and export.[42] Therefore, what makes the island a suitable place for a quarrying industry is not the decorative or even structural quality of the stone but rather the convenient location of the quarries on the sea lanes. The blocks quarried along the slopes could be loaded almost immediately from the quarry to the ships, like similar examples on the islands of Thasos and Proconnessus.[43] We do not yet know the destination of the stones. However, unlike marble and decorative stones, ordinary materials such as lime and sandstone often traveled regionally, unless they were suitable for fine decoration.[44]

On the western flank of Dana Island, the natural terrain between the 1.5 km-long coastline and the hillside up to 100 masl was transformed by quarrying across the ages. This area (ca. 30 ha) comprises the quarry pits, areas for working extracted blocks, spoil dumps (some filling earlier pits), causeways, areas for stockpiling, loading ramps, as well as the structures that were subsequently constructed on top of the fully exploited and abandoned quarries. Excluding all the subsidiary spaces and former quarries occupied by buildings, abandoned quarry zones cover at least 5 ha, and the quarry faces reach up to 3.3 m above the current ground level.[45] These quarries can be studied in four categories, based on the use of the terrain, their location, and scale, which are intricately connected to the properties and extent of the bedrock.[46] One can also see multiple quarry types in a single quarry zone. This suggests that quarries operated by different crews may have eventually joined and formed a large, continuous pit. This may also be evidence for multiple phases of quarrying.

The first type (Qtype 1) designates the quarries that follow the contour lines at higher elevations and occasionally join the quarries running down the hillside (Qtype 2). These are

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40 I discuss the question of monastic foundations on Cilician islands in a forthcoming monograph.

41 In my discussion, I exclude the possible involvement of the quarries on the eastern flank in the stone trade since we did not have the opportunity to study them. Access to this part of the island is very difficult and treacherous.

42 A. Moore, who joined our fieldwork in 2019, identified two formations on Dana Island. Higher elevations have older limestone bedrock, while alluvial fans, formed by erosion, are younger and consist of secondary calcium carbonate (caliche). His final report will appear in the project's forthcoming monograph.

43 Asgari 1978; Sodini et al. 1980.

44 Russell 2013a, 355-57.

45 As this was a survey project, our permit was limited to basic clearance for photogrammetric documentation and LiDAR. The accumulation of soil and pine needles is considerable. Still, the quarry faces on Dana Island are significantly shallower than those at Kesiktaş. Another major difference is the complete lack of quarry waste and vegetation inside the pits at Kesiktaş.

46 For the City Quarries of Aphrodisias in Caria, Rockwell (1996, 96-103) proposed a quarry typology and a relative chronology based on a progression from smaller and simpler quarries to larger and complex examples. In a more recent work, Russell (2016, 266-67) convincingly argued that quarries of different scales coexisted.

found in the Center and North Districts (e.g., Q034, Q039), where they were frequently repurposed as cemeteries with chamosorion tombs on the upper surfaces and a few arcosolium tomb chambers carved into quarry faces (fig. 6).[47] These may belong to the earliest phases of quarrying on the island before the dense settlement developed below on the hillside in a slightly later phase.

The second type (Qtype 2) designates the quarries that follow the slope and run perpendicular to contour lines. Between 30-100 masl, these quarries cut through the hillside and ascend the steep slope in such a way as to create causeways connecting the quarries to the shore (e.g., Q018, Q036). Moreover, the inclined top surfaces of the quarries may have also facilitated the transfer of stone blocks down the hill (fig. 7). In several instances, longitudinal stepped pits run almost parallel and join each other in a U-shape at higher elevations. In such cases, two "parallel" stretches were probably opened simultaneously by different crews and eventually joined at the top. This type of quarry is most common in the South District where the inhabitation is less crowded.[48] As such, these must belong to the pinnacle of Pityoussa's quarrying industry in late antiquity when the island provided building materials for construction projects along the sea lanes.

The third type of quarry (Qtype 3) represents quarrying operations that took place exclusively along the shoreline (fig. 8). Roman and Late Antique builders had already deeply carved the shoreline to create rock-cut spaces and extract stone blocks for construction on the spot. Church II in the North District is such an example. Here the lower levels of the walls and the apse were carved out of bedrock. Qtype 3, however, represents a later phase. Their exploitation must have started with the removal of fallen blocks or dismantling the damaged masonry and continued with the further quarrying of rock-cut floors and walls. For example, in the coastal zone between Q049 and Q050 in the North District, one can still see rock-cut and masonry walls of earlier structures, as well as wedge holes and extraction channels of the later quarry. This small coastal area gives us a snapshot of the juxtaposition of the multiple phases of occupation, spoliation, and quarrying along Dana Island's coastline. Another common feature of these quarries is short and long straight (occasionally curved) channels (w: 20-30 cm; l: up to 32 m) that can be seen in several sections of the coastline. While longer channels that continue inland up the slope may be for drainage, others may correspond to the early stages of quarrying when the work areas of distinct crews were physically marked on the bedrock. The jogs separating roughly rectangular quarry pits, also seen in Kesiktaş, may indicate such an organizational principle. The partitioning of the stone resources suggests a quarrying operation that was carefully planned and organized.

At the lowest level of the quarrying are small rocky outcrops. These were probably exploited for a particular building project on the island (Qtype 4) rather than as part of an industrial operation. In the North District, such quarries (Q048) near the northern border of the settlement must have supplied material for nearby structures. Likewise, at the southern border of the

[47] The majority consists of simple, uninscribed, and undecorated rock-cut (chamosorion) tombs with simple flat lids. A smaller number of examples were covered with plain roof-typed lids, sometimes with simple acroteria on four corners. Arcosolium niches carved on vertical faces are much fewer (e.g., along the south wall of Church VI). Finally, there is a handful of rock-cut sarcophagi (e.g., Church II and V) and vaulted masonry tombs (e.g., in the vicinity of Church VI).

[48] Quarry Q036, which fits the typology of Qtype 2, is located at the northern border of the central settlement. It is next to the wide and empty area between the central and northern district, and with easy access to the shoreline. This further supports the association of Qtype 2 quarries with industrial exploitation and stone trade.

South District, a few small quarry zones are either outside the built-up zones (Q038) or in the vicinity of large building complexes (Q032). Qtype 4 quarries are often repurposed as cemeteries for simple chamosorion tombs or, less frequently, shaped as rock-cut sarcophagi.

Dana as a quarry island

Quarrying and trading of utilitarian building materials was the main source of wealth for Pityoussa and its unusual growth from the fourth century through the eighth century. As the quarrying industry moved to new zones, abandoned quarries were gradually turned into structures. The settlement's zenith in the fifth and sixth centuries, detectable in its architecture and ceramic assemblage, coincides with the heyday of construction across Cilicia and the operations of Isaurian builders, stone-cutters, and construction workshops in a much larger geography. The so-called Isaurian builders practiced their trades widely. On Dana Island, Isaurian quarry workers carried out a systematic, industrial operation that created a significant economic surplus for a resource-poor island. After centuries of quarrying and modification to make the coastline suitable for transporting stone blocks and supplies, the western shore was transformed into an unusually long and accessible quay. In later phases, this facilitated the pillaging of building materials and quarrying along a coastline, which was unusually befitting this purpose.

Kesiktaş

Kesiktaş, locally known as Taşkesiği,[49] is another major coastal quarry, located 35 nautical miles (65 km) west of Dana Island. Four ancient cities in the vicinity may have been the primary customers of these quarries: Arsinoe (4 km), Nagidus (8 km), Celenderis (23 km), and Anemurium (25 km).[50] Unlike Pityoussa, Kesiktaş was exploited exclusively as a quarry and never built over. The quarries follow the coastline along a 480 m-long stretch and continue inland approximately 80 m and up to 16 m asl (fig. 9). The total surface of this quarry zone, including work areas and coastal banks for stone transfer, is spread over a surface of around 3 ha, which is significantly smaller than Dana Island. The border of the quarries on the land side is marked by stepped quarry faces (ca. 1-2.5 m high) that run continuously all along, except behind the West Quarry. Beyond this border, small quarry zones, stone blocks, and waste indicate that small-scale quarrying took place in the immediate hinterland.[51] In our first field campaign in 2022, we have tentatively identified two types of limestone.[52] The main quarries consist of reef limestone, which is heavily fossilized, porous, and very light. This low-quality limestone was nevertheless preferred as a building material, certainly not for its appearance but possibly for its low weight. This made it easy to transport and a material suitable for vaulting. The second type forming the quarry faces on the land side is micritic limestone, which is denser and heavier.

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49 Taşkesiği is also the name of the hill with the largest concentration of quarry pits in the City Quarries of Aphrodisias in Caria; see Long 2012, 170.

50 The research of Russell (2013a, 65) showed the close correspondence between major quarry sites and urban centers in the Roman period.

51 Although we did not come across spoil dumps in or near the quarries, it may still be too early to reach conclusions. However, as mortar entered Cilician construction with Roman control of the region in the late first century CE, gravel and stone chips, spoils of quarrying, were also needed and possibly traded; see Dworakowska 1983, 153-54.

52 I am grateful to Yusuf Kaan Kadıoğlu for his identification of the geological characteristics.

The 3 ha-large quarry area consists of three separate zones, separated by inclined and severely weathered surfaces which may have served as work and stockpiling areas. The West Quarry, which is about 0. 40 masl, covers a roughly rectangular area (ca. 78 x 40 m) separated from the sea by rock-cut barriers (ca. 1.7 masl) against waves (fig. 10). The continuous bank (ca. 5 m wide) running along the seaside of the barriers at the current sea level must have been used as a quay to load the stone blocks onto boats. Another suitable location for mooring is the rectangular U-shaped, possibly artificial bay at the south end of the West Quarry. The circular holes around it may be manmade so as to hold the posts of a capstan or pulley. Across the West Quarry, several phases of extraction can be detected: first, the quarry "plots" were delineated by thin lines, then these lines were enlarged into separation trenches forming an orthogonal grid, and finally stones blocks were extracted using wedges and crowbars.[53]

The Center Quarry, approximately 60 m to the southeast and covering an area of 0.1 ha, is the smallest exploitation zone at Kesiktaş (fig. 11). Starting near the coastline, the deep pit (max. 5 m high) continues inland longitudinally forming an irregular shape (ca. 25 x 34 m). Within this quarry, a small (ca. 6 x 6 m), L-shaped, and deeper pit near the coastline is today filled with seawater. This pool may have subsequently been used as a fish tank, while the circular features around the pool may be interpreted as small-scale salt pans. The flat bank, which I interpreted above as a quay, continues along the coastline. Further east, separation trenches, small rectangular pits, and other heavily weathered features that look like stepped quarries, suggest either the existence of former quarries or a test area which was deemed unsuitable and left unexploited.

The East Quarry is the largest (0.8 ha) and most complex example in Kesiktaş. It runs about 210 m along the coastline and extends further inland 30-55 m as the crow flies (fig. 12). Deep quarry pits consist of descending platforms combining shallow steps and larger platforms suitable for multiple block extraction. This large area is loosely divided into two sections by a U-shaped, semi-natural bay in the center. West of the bay (East Quarry 1), quarries start on the coastline and reach up to 13 masl at 50-55 m from the shore. After clearing the surface for debris, quarrymen must have started near the coastline to create the infrastructure (e.g., coastal banks) needed to move the blocks. The first 25-30 m beyond the shoreline may thus represent the first phase of the quarry operation. Like the Center Quarry, this zone has three deeper quarry pits close to the shore. Two of them (9.5 x 5 m; 15 x 11 m) are small pools close to the shoreline and hence filled with seawater today. The third one (6.5 x 6 m), which is on a higher elevation, has a floor covered with sea salt which partially masks the orthogonal grid of stone extraction. These pools, like the pool in the West Quarry, may have initially been used as quenching basins for cooling and repairing metal tools and subsequently repurposed as fish tanks and / or salt pans.[54]

Varying floor levels, higher jogs between rectangular pits (like on Dana Island), the orientation(s) of the descending steps, and quarry "islands" suggest that multiple crews were simultaneously at work. Alternatively, quarrying might have proceeded in phases as crews moved from one zone to the other, perhaps in different time periods (fig. 13). For example,

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53 Multiple-block extraction following orthogonal grids (or chess-board pattern) is a systematized and efficient quarrying practice known as early as 1500 BCE. For examples in Egypt dating from the New Kingdom, see Harrell and Storemyr 2013, 33-37.

54 The interpretation of these features requires further exploration in the field.

a hypothetical line separates East Quarry 1 into two sections. This boundary runs between the unfinished quarry “island” and the artificial jog separating two rectangular quarry pits on the land side. I would argue that different crews worked west and east of this preset boundary, which has become increasingly more visible as quarry pits became deeper on either side. As work proceeded, the physical boundary between the quarry areas was gradually removed while the “island” remained untouched.

East Quarry 2 covers the area north and east of the natural bay. This was enlarged (25 x 30 m) to serve as an artificial harbor, like the much smaller example in the West Quarry. The hillside north of the bay has two adjacent, roughly rectangular quarry pits, separated by a 6 m-wide jog. The east side of the bay was exploited in multiple steps. First, the bay was further modified by quarrying the southeast side down to the sea level. The resulting deep pit (ca. 12 m) had a large floor (ca. 15 x 12 m) which could function as a quay for loading stone blocks produced in this quarry. At a later stage, a track was opened to connect the quay with the quarries further east.

The easternmost section of Kesiktaş quarries (East Quarry 3) exploited the hill rising above a shallow and protected natural bay. Two rectangular pits (ca. 4 m), separated by a jog (w: ca. 7 m), started on the cliff and extended around 7 m inland up to 16 m asl. The lowest level (ca. 2 m asl) of the west pit, where separation trenches can still be seen, probably served as the floor for working and stockpiling stone blocks. The eastern pit above the bay is severely damaged. After the lower section below 11 masl collapsed into the sea, only the quarry steps at higher elevations stayed in place.

Where did the quarry crews of Kesiktaş live? Our limited reconnaissance survey in the immediate hinterland of the quarries did not reveal any significant amount of archaeological material. The terrace walls further uphill and the dry masonry wall in the southeast bay are not necessarily ancient or medieval. The closest “settlement” is on the cape 1 km to the northwest, today known as Deniz Tepesi. The remains of walls on the summit possibly belong to a fortified enclosure that had visual command of the sea lanes. The two-story building of mortared masonry must be of the Late Antique or Medieval era. Arsinoe, 2.3 nautical miles (4 km) to the west, is the closest city to the Kesiktaş quarries, but this site has never been archaeologically explored. This foundation of the late third century BCE, described as an anchorage by Strabo, became a bishopric in the early sixth century CE.[55] Due to its size, status, and proximity, Arsinoe is a likely market for the stones quarried at Kesiktaş. Future investigations should also consider other harbor cities in the vicinity such as Nagidus (8 km) and Anemurium (25 km) to the west, and Celenderis (23 km) to the east. The last two are particularly important since they had significant early Roman and Late Antique phases, contemporaneous with the quarries on Dana Island.

Conclusion

The limestone varieties of Rough Cilicia, whether micritic, calcitic, or fossilized, were ordinary building materials used in different capacities in various construction projects such as walls, vaulting, and decoration. Visually unattractive building materials often did not travel far, and water transport was preferable due to its low cost. The weight and volume of stone cargoes

55 Jones and Habicht 1989, 336-37; Strab. 14.5.3. The location of Melania that Strabo mentions as a place between Arsinoe and Celenderis is unknown. About Late Antique Arsinoe, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 198.

and the difficulty of transferring them between the marine vessel and land made the stone trade based on cabotage rather inefficient and impractical.[56] For ordinary construction projects, including the main walls of the churches, a range of block sizes was satisfactory. Therefore, the quarries could easily produce stones suitable for multiple uses, which could be shipped directly to the customer as needed. Several shipwrecks with cargoes of ordinary stones were found in the Mediterranean. For example, the Carry-le-Rouet wreck off the southern coast of France carried limestone blocks to Marseilles for the construction of the city walls in the late second or early first century BCE.[57] An example from late antiquity is the Dor 2001 / 1 wreck (late fifth - early sixth century CE) discovered off the coast of Byzantine Dora in Israel. This was a coaster with an almost flat bottom, carrying coarse calcareous sandstone blocks and voussoirs to a nearby, unknown construction project.[58]

For Rough Cilicia, our evidence is limited to marble architectural elements that traveled along the sea lanes of the Mediterranean and Aegean, while the sources of ordinary stones for building or sculpture have not been explored. After the foundation of Constantinople as the new capital in 330 CE, Rough Cilician building activity exponentially increased. The construction upswing of the fifth and sixth centuries coincided with the emergence of Isaurian builders and crews as experienced construction specialists. The appearance of new settlements, the expansion of existing ones, and the construction of churches, pilgrimage sites, and monasteries as rural and urban landscapes were Christianized, undoubtedly created an unprecedented demand for building materials. This required extensive quarrying across the province. Could local sources supply the increasing demand, or did the builders of coastal settlements acquire stone blocks from distant quarries on the seaways, such as Dana Island and Kesiktaş?

For Dana Island, pottery and architecture suggest that quarrying may have already started in the early Roman period, while its transformation into an industrial and commercial endeavor is a Late Antique phenomenon. As large-scale quarrying subsided or ended, the infrastructure such as coastal ramps, warehouses, and stockpile areas also fell out of use. Decrepit buildings were pillaged, their sites were excavated, and small quarries were cut through the coastline that had long served the quarry industry. The island, formerly a permanent settlement, has gradually become a harbor for refuge, a source of building material, a stopover for fishermen, and a goat island for pastoralists. The archaeological evidence for Kesiktaş is so far much more limited. The hinterland of the quarries is so heavily modified that any surface material, whether pottery, glass, or metal, has been long removed. This prevents us from proposing a chronology for the use of these quarries. Unlike Dana, there is no evidence (yet) to associate the quarrying activity at Kesiktaş with late antiquity, or any specific period for that matter.

Regardless of chronology, the stone industry and trade in ordinary building materials seem to have been essential for the economy and crafts of Rough Cilicia. Despite their differences, the stones extracted from Dana and Kesiktaş are lower quality stones that are lighter than their denser "true limestone" counterparts. This may have made them easier to quarry, move, lift, transport, and use in construction. These coastal quarries of industrial proportions provide unique case studies to explore the use of local geology for stone extraction, the various methods of quarrying, the size and types of stone blocks circulating in the sea lanes, and the logistics of the quarrying industry and stone transport. They provide us snapshots of complex

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56 Russell 2013a, 132-35.

57 Russell 2011, 140-41; Russell 2013b.

58 Mor and Kahanov 2006.

taskspaces where the protagonists were the quarrymen, quarry owners, stonecutters, metal workers, and other supporting laborers.

Mango had argued that Isaurians “had never been farmers; the only skills they possessed were fighting and stone-cutting.”[59] After decades of archaeological surveys in the region, we know now that this is an incorrect statement. Isaurians / Cilicians cultivated the coastal plains, the valley floors, and every small plot of land in the mountains. Nevertheless, this territory was poor in natural resources, which required a multitude of strategies to make this landscape economically viable and sustainable. The transformation of an otherwise common building industry into a widely exported commodity may have been such a creative strategy that the inhabitants of Rough Cilicia developed through time and perfected in late antiquity.

In the heyday of construction activity, we should perhaps interpret the involvement of the Isaurians not only as builders with extraordinary skills but also as inhabitants of a region that managed to create a functioning and flexible construction business, capable of supplying a workforce whenever and wherever they were needed. Even if most or some of the builders may have come from the mountainous hinterland, the “marketing” of this industry would take place in coastal towns tightly connected to the maritime networks. The involvement-or lack thereof-of the quarry industry at Kesiktaş in the formation or propagation of the Isaurian building operations remains unanswered for now. However, Dana Island became one of the largest settlements of Late Antique Rough Cilicia as well as a fertile ground for Isaurian stonecutters and building crews.

59 Mango 1966, 363.

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FIG. 1 Map of Dana Island, Kesiktaş, and major sites
(Google Earth Image, 2024).

FIG. 2 Distribution of settlement and quarries on Dana Island
(Google Earth Image, modified by H. Küntüz).

FIG. 3 Center District at Pityoussa on Dana Island (plan drawing: N. Arslan, 2021).

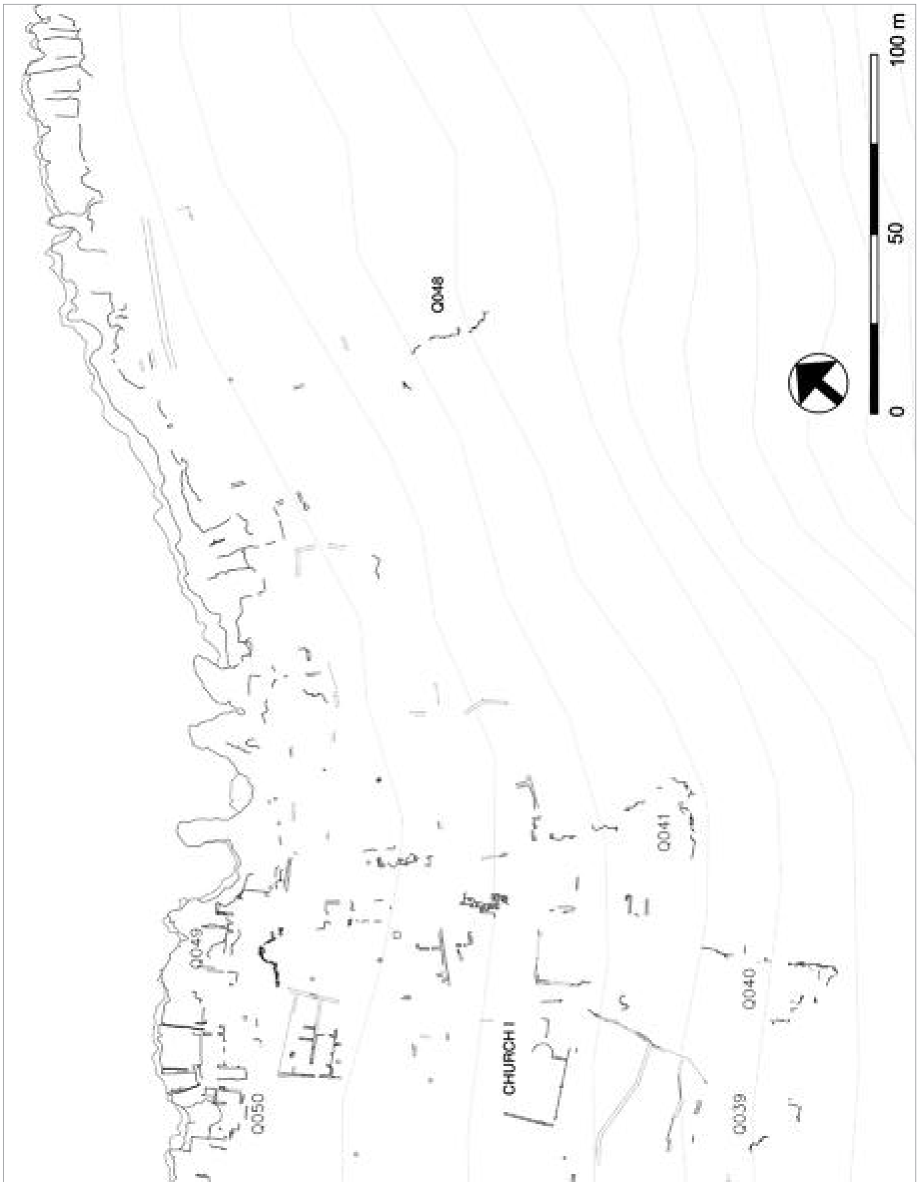

FIG. 4 North District at Pityoussa on Dana Island (plan drawing: N. Arslan, 2021).

FIG. 5 South District at Pityoussa on Dana Island (plan drawing: N. Arslan, 2021).

FIG. 6
Q034 belonging to Qtype 1 (aerial orthophoto: K. Başak, 2019).

FIG. 7
Higher elevations of Q003 belonging to Qtype 2 (photo: R. Ceylan, 2021).

FIG. 8
Examples of coastal quarries (Qtype 3) in the southern section of the coastline (air photo: K. Başak, 2019).

FIG. 9 Kesiktaş quarries
(aerial orthophoto: T. Turan, GeoGrafik Harita ve Coğrafi Bilgi Teknolojileri, 2023).

FIG. 10 West quarry at Kesiktaş
(aerial orthophoto: T. Turan, GeoGrafik Harita ve Coğrafi Bilgi Teknolojileri, 2023).

FIG. 11
Center quarry at Kesiktaş (aerial orthophoto: T. Turan, GeoGrafik Harita ve Coğrafi Bilgi Teknolojileri, 2023).

FIG. 12
East quarry at Kesiktaş (aerial orthophoto: T. Turan, GeoGrafik Harita ve Coğrafi Bilgi Teknolojileri, 2023).

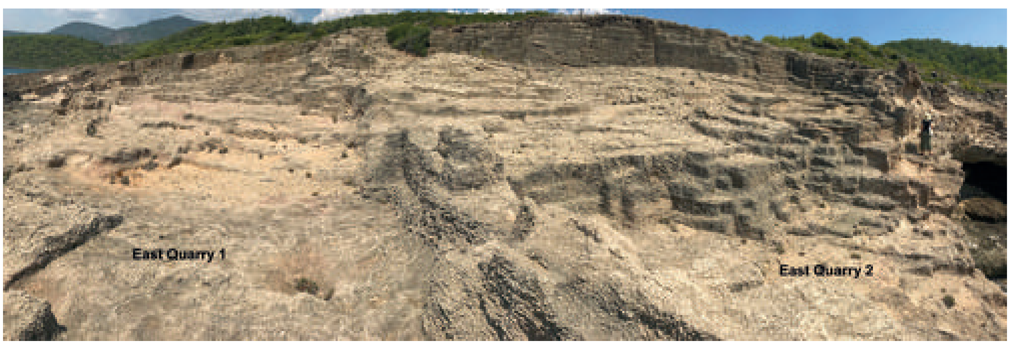

FIG. 13 East Quarry 1 and 2 at Kesiktaş (panoramic photo: G. Varinlioğlu, 2022).

Bricks and Roof Tiles of Alanya Castle: Evaluation of Animal Footprints from an Ichnoarchaeological Perspective

MUSTAFA YILDIZLI*

Abstract

The use of bricks and roof tiles was prevalent during the ancient era. Brick production could be established wherever suitable clay was available. However, the production methods and demand for bricks varied regionally. In settlements abundant in stone, brick usage was minimal, while in regions with few stone resources, brick usage was widespread. The architecture of Alanya Castle prominently features the use of bricks, especially in the construction of the corner baths and large cisterns in the Inner Castle. Shops within the Middle Wall, such as the Seljuk Bath, Old Bazar (Arasta) and Old Bazaar (Bedesten), were also partially constructed with bricks. Due to its geographical location, Alanya Castle served as a bustling port city during the Hellenic, Roman, Byzantine (Eastern Roman), Seljuk, and Ottoman periods. There are no written records indicating whether the brick trade took place during these periods. This study aims to determine the formation process of imprints found on the bricks and roof tiles discovered in the excavations of Alanya Castle. It also seeks to interpret which animals these imprints belonged to and to analyze data regarding the local production of bricks. The study will therefore, contribute to ongoing ichnoarchaeological research. Imprints of both human and animal footprints, as well as those created by plants, can be found on bricks and roof tiles. In Alanya Castle, 22 bricks and one

Öz

Antik Çağ'da tuğla ve kiremit kullanımı oldukça yaygındır. Tuğla üretimi, uygun kilin olduğu her yerde yapılabilmektedir. Ancak üretimde bölgesel farklılıklar ve ihtiyaçlarda değişiklik göstermektedir. Taşın çok olduğu yerleşimlerde ve coğrafyada tuğla az kullanılırken taşın az olduğu coğrafyada ise tuğla kullanımı çoktur. Alanya Kalesi mimarisinde de tuğla önemli bir yere sahiptir. Özellikle İçkale'de yer alan köşklü hamam ve büyük sarnıçların yapımında tuğla kullanılmıştır. Orta surlarda yer alan arasta ve bedesten gibi yapıların dükkanları da kısmen tuğla ile inşa edilmiştir. Alanya Kalesi konumu itibariyle Hellenistik, Roma, Bizans, Selçuklu ve Osmanlı dönemlerinde ticari faaliyetlerin yoğun olduğu bir liman kentidir. Bu dönemlerde tuğla ticaretinin yapılıp yapılmadığına dair yazılı kaynaklarda herhangi bir veri yoktur. Bu çalışmada Alanya Kalesi kazısında bulunan kiremit ve tuğla üzerindeki izlerin oluşum sürecini belirlemek, izlerin hangi hayvanlara ait olduğunu yorumlamak ve üretimin yerelde yapılıp yapılmadığına dair verilerin incelenmesi yapılarak, ikhnoarkeolojik çalışmalara katkı sağlamak amaçlanmıştır. Tuğla ve kiremitler üzerinde insan ve hayvan ayak izlerinin yanı sıra bitkilerin oluşturduğu izlere de rastlamak mümkündür. Alanya Kalesi'nde 22 tuğla ve bir kiremit üzerinde hayvan ayak izi tespit edilmiş ve incelenmiştir. Bu eserler üzerindeki izlerin köpek, yaban keçisi, evcil keçi ve çakala ait olduğu saptanmıştır.

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roof tile with animal footprints were identified and examined. The imprints belong to dogs, wild and domestic goats, and jackals. The most common group of imprints is from canids, particularly dogs. Imprints of wild goats and domestic goats represent another significant group on the castle's bricks. Wild goats still reside in Alanya Castle today. Its steep rocky terrain, along with the presence of shrubs, has provided a suitable environment for these animals. This study aims to shed light on the formation of imprints on bricks and roof tiles found in Alanya Castle. It offers valuable insights into ichnoarchaeological research, while also providing information on the potential local production of bricks during different historical periods.

Keywords: Alanya Castle, tile, brick, Ichnoarchaeology, animal footprint

En yoğun grubu köpekgillerin ayak izleri oluşturmaktadır. Yaban keçisi ve evcil keçilerin ayak izleri Alanya Kalesi'ndeki tuğlalar üzerindeki diğer yoğun gruptur. Günümüzde Alanya Kalesi'nde yaban keçisi yaşamaktadır. Kalenin sarp kayalık bir alanda yer alması ve çalılıkların bulunması, bu hayvanın yaşamasına olanak sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alanya Kalesi, kiremit, tuğla, İkhnoarkeoloji, hayvan ayak izi

Introduction

Alanya Castle is located within the borders of the district of Alanya in the province of Antalya. The area has been used as a settlement since antiquity, thus its name has constantly changed. In ancient sources, the name of the city was Korakesion (Coracesium)[1]; in the Middle Ages, it was known as Kalonoros, Candelor and Scandelore.[2] After the Seljuk Sultan Alâeddin Keykubad conquered the city in 1221, the city was named Alāiyye and, dedicated to the sultan.[3] Since the city was on the border of Pamphylia and Cilicia in ancient times, it was sometimes located within Pamphylia and sometimes within Cilicia.[4]

Archaeology continues to work in collaboration with many branches of science such as history, philology, geology, philosophy, art history, palaeontology, zoology, and botany.[5] Ichnology has become associated with archaeology and practiced since the 1900s. Although the science of ichnology is gradually developing, its connection with archaeology has not been fully established. Efforts have been made to fill this gap to some extent with studies carried out in recent years.

Ichnology, derived from the Greek words "ἴχνος *(ichnos)* = "trace" and "λόγος *(logos)* = science". It generally examines fossil traces and remains. However, researchers have not reached an accepted consensus regarding the "trace" that this science tries to define.[6] Like archaeology, ichnology is a field that requires a multidisciplinary study. Ichnology is related to palaeontology, and studies conducted in this area further support this science.

1 Strab., XIV.V.3; Arslan 2012, 251.

2 Lloyd and Rice 1989, 2; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 587-90.

3 Lloyd and Rice 1989, 4.

4 Smith 1854, 667-68; Lloyd and Rice 1989, 1; Eravşar 2022, 857.

5 Başaran 1998, 1-3.

6 Bertling et al. 2006, 265-86; Baucon et al. 2008, 43-72; Baucon 2010, 361-67; Rodriguez-Tovar et al. 2010; Buatois and Mángano 2011; Mángano and Buatois 2012, 121-24; Oğuş 2019, 22-29; Öz 2022, 159.

Human and animal footprints on bricks and tiles were quite common in ancient times. Although these traces are found on bricks and tiles unearthed during excavations, there is almost no published analysis of these materials.[7] This study aims to contribute to this growing field. Stamps and monograms are also found on bricks and tiles.[8] Such stamps and monograms can be interpreted as findings that will show the production of bricks and tiles and who made or ordered them[9]. However, traces of humans and animals are randomly formed so their assessment and interpretation can also vary.

Brick production can take place wherever there is suitable clay. Vitruvius, who lived in the first century BC, states that the most suitable time for brick production is in the spring or autumn.[10] Brick and tile production varies according to regional differences and needs. It is known that brick is used less in settlements and landscapes where stone is abundant, while brick is used more in areas where stone is scarce.[11] However, this is not valid for every period. Alternately, the use of brick may also be used where stone is used, and public demand may increase. Brick production consists of five stages: preparation of the clay, shaping, drying, baking, and packaging-shipping.[12] Bricks are made by hand with the help of wooden moulds.[13] After the moulding process is completed, it is spread on a flat area to dry. During this drying process, animals such as cats, dogs, lynxes, deer, birds, foxes, goats, and sheep enter the area. They animals walked on bricks and tiles and left their footprints. People did not aim to eliminate these traces, and the traces have survived to this day. Since bricks and tiles are thick, the drying process before firing may take a long time. Weather conditions also determine the duration of the drying process. Under normal weather conditions, bricks dry in approximately two weeks and become suitable for firing. Dobosi thinks that the area where the bricks and tiles were dried may have been covered with a roof[14]. She supports this idea by citing the drying time of the bricks and weather conditions. This view may be the correct approach. Cracks occur in tiles and bricks that are directly exposed to the sun, and the production phase of the work may be interrupted. In addition, a job done manually in the Antiquity was already a long effort and workload. Therefore, it makes sense to do the drying process in a roofed area.

Brick holds a key place in the architecture of Alanya Castle. It was used especially in the construction of the pavilion bath and large cisterns in the Citadel. The shops of structures such as Old Bazaar (Arasta) and Old Bazaar (Bedesten), located in the middle walls, were also partially built with bricks. Although it is difficult to determine the exact period of these bricks, it is thought that the bricks belong to the Byzantine (Eastern Roman), Seljuk, and Ottoman Periods. The bricks from these periods have square and rectangular forms. In this study, animal footprints on bricks found in Alanya Castle are examined.

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7 For the emergence of technology as a science and knowledge through technological studies, see Oğuş 2019, 22-44.

8 For publications in ichnoarchaeology, see Onurkan 1999; Bar-Oz and Tepper 2010, 244-47; Bennet 2012, 7-36; Bes and Vanhecke 2014, 387-88; 2015, 107-66; Dobosi 2016, 117-33; Oğuş 2021, 229-48.

9 Impressions found on bricks and tiles can provide information about the place of production, the production process, and the individuals or families involved in production; see Filippi 2007, 2:197-219. Bricks were used in structures such as the Pantheon, Trajan's Forum, and the Colosseum during the Roman period; see Kamm and Graham 2014, 99. For studies related to brick stamps, see Onurkan 1999.

10 Vitr., *De arch.* II.3.2.

11 Bakırer 1981, 3; Ekizler-Sönmez 2013, 216-17; Eroğlu and Akyol 2017, 143; Oğuş 2019, 47-48.

12 Eroğlu and Akyol 2017, 142.

13 Dobosi 2016, 117.

14 Dobosi 2016, 117.

Material and Method

In the examinations conducted in the excavation areas and the excavation artifact warehouse at Alanya Castle, 22 bricks with animal footprints, as well as one piece of tile, were found. The majority of these bricks were identified and brought together in the excavation repository. Two bricks were specifically identified among those belonging to the pavilion bath. Initially, a general cleaning of the discovered bricks was performed, and they were left to dry. After they had dried, they were numbered, hand-drawn, measured and photographed. They were then transferred to digital format and drawn using the CorelDRAW program. Further preparations for publication were conducted using the Photoshop program. After the publications were scanned, the dimensions of the footprints seen on the bricks were considered. It was then determined to which animals these prints might belong. The size of the animal footprints is displayed in the table, and the identified animals graphically evaluated (table 1, fig. 1). Initially, research was conducted to identify the area where the bricks and tiles were found, and opinions were expressed regarding the buildings in which these artifacts might have been used.

In this study, the works will be dated, and suggestions made regarding their places of production. The formation processes of the traces on bricks and tiles will be examined from an ichnoarchaeological perspective. This approach will also provide information about the condition of the production area and its environment. However, this information is interpretive and not definitive. To support this information, the animal bones found in the excavation should have been evaluated, and the results reexamined in this context.

Once the formation process of the traces on the bricks and tiles is determined, to which animals the traces belong will be interpreted. This contributes to ichnoarchaeological studies by examining the data to determine whether or not the production was done locally.

Table 1 Preserved dimensions of bricks and tiles as well as the dimensions of animal tracks.

Cat. no.	Artifact Length	Artifact Width	Thickness	Foot Length	Foot Width
1	15 cm	14.1 cm	1.7 cm	7.2 cm	7 cm
2	13 cm	23.4 cm	4.9 cm	**a:** 7.7 cm **b:** 6.6 cm	**a:** 6.6 cm **b:** 5 cm
3	20 cm	27 cm	7.2 cm	**a:** 7.5 cm **b:** 3.1 cm	**a:** 5.5 cm **b:** 6.5 cm
4	14 cm	18 cm	7.4 cm	8.2 cm	7 cm
5	11 cm	22 cm	4.8 cm	5.4 cm	4 cm
6	17.9 cm	16.1 cm	4.5 cm	3.1 cm	3.4 cm
7	16.8	28.3 cm	7.7 cm	**a:** 5.1 cm **b:** 4.9 cm	**a:** 4.3 cm **b:** 4.5 cm
8	23.8 cm	23 cm	4.6 cm	**a:** 5.9 cm **b:** 6.3 cm	**a:** 4.4 cm **b:** 4.6 cm
9	12 cm	15.7 cm	4.6 cm	5.4 cm	5.6 cm
10	12.2 cm	18 cm	5.1 cm	6.7 cm	4.9 cm
11	13 cm	21.2 cm	4.3 cm	5.6 cm	3.7 cm
12	26 cm	19 cm	7.1 cm	**a:** 6 cm **b:** 6.4 cm	**a:** 4.1 cm **b:** 4.5 cm

Cat. no.	Artifact Length	Artifact Width	Thickness	Foot Length	Foot Width
13	10.8 cm	22 cm	4.4 cm	**a:** 4.6 cm **b:** 3.2 cm **c:** 2.6 cm **d:** 3.7 cm	**a:** 3 cm **b:** 2.9 cm **c:** - **d:** 2.7 cm
14	19 cm	21 cm	4.5 cm	**a:** 4.1 cm **b:** 4.8 cm	**a:** 4.4 cm **b:** 4 cm
15	10.5 cm	15.5 cm	5 cm	5.4 cm	4.3 cm
16	11.5 cm	13.1 cm	5.1 cm	3.2 cm	4.1 cm
17	31 cm	31.5 cm	7.2 cm	**a:** 5.7 cm **b:** 6.1 cm **c:** 6.4 cm	**a:** 4 cm **b:** 5.4 cm **c:** 4.9 cm
18	31 cm	31.3 cm	7.2 cm	**a:** 5.7 cm **b:** 6.4 cm **c:** 6 cm	**a:** 3.7 cm **b:** 4.6 cm **c:** 5.9 cm
19	31 cm	31.5 cm	7.2 cm	7.5 cm	4 cm
20	31 cm	31 cm	7.2 cm	**a:** 5 cm **b:** 4.6 cm	**a:** 3.8 cm **b:** 3.5 cm
21	31.2 cm	31 cm	7.2 cm	**a:** 5.8 cm **b:** 5.5 cm	**a:** 3.7 cm **b:** 4.3 cm
22	31.5 cm	31 cm	7.2 cm	**a:** 6.5 cm **b:** 6 cm **c:** 5.5 cm	**a:** 4.5 cm **b:** 3.9 cm **c:** 4.1 cm
23	31 cm	31 cm	7.2 cm	**a:** 5.1 cm **b:** 3.7 cm	**a:** 4.4 cm **b:** 2.8 cm

Animal Footprints (figs. 2-7)

In this study, animal footprints visible in 23 examples were examined, and an attempt was made to determine the species of these animals. The clay colors of tiles and bricks from Alanya Castle are light red and reddish yellow tones; the contain stone, chamotte, lime, quartz, mica, and sand. It is difficult to determine which period the tiles and bricks of the castle belong to. Exact dating is challenging since there are no traces of production on the tiles and bricks, and, except for a few, it is not known exactly where the bricks came from, however, dating can be made by comparing the size and structure of the bricks seen in the buildings. However, since brick is a durable material, it can be used in different structures for many years. The fact that most of the bricks were not recovered intact prevents us from knowing their dimensions. It is thought that the production of Alanya Castle tiles and bricks was done by local workshops because tiles and bricks with animal footprints are defective products. Since these products do not have a workshop print or stamp, it is unlikely that they were imported from elsewhere. Therefore, these were produced and used locally. Animal footprints are marks that occur randomly on tiles and bricks. These traces occurred at the stage when they were left to dry. From these materials that have survived, the workshops and masters producing them did not interfere with the randomly formed traces so then fired. The saying, “A Lively Departed Trace Remains,”[15] expresses very well the traces left randomly by humans and animals on tiles and

[15] Okan et al. 2005.

bricks. These traces are important remains that allow us to comment about people and animals that have witnessed history.

Traces of a dog (Canis familiaris), a jackal (Canis aureus), a wild goat (Capra aegagrus), and a domestic goat (Capra hircus) were detected on the tiles and bricks evaluated here.

The canid group walks in a way that leaves traces either following each other or moving in a diagonal manner. Wild carnivores follow each other in a walking style.[16] As the speed increases in this walk, the contact of the feet with the ground becomes less and the tracks remain shallow. However, the traces are deep and obvious in the crosswalk.[17] Footprints following each other indicate the animal is walking. Therefore, the succession of animal footprints seen on bricks and tiles shows that they were active.

Cat. no. 1 is a tile fragment and the only tile example among the 23 examples. The wall thickness of this tile is 1.7 cm. The mark seen on the tile belongs to a dog. Since the tile is broken, not all of the paws are visible. However, from the number of nails observed, the dog stepped its left front and hind feet in the same place. The fact that three nails are remarkably close in the same place supports this view. In addition, this trace is important data showing that the dog is in motion.

Cat. nos. 2 and 3 are brick samples, and their wall thicknesses are 4.9 and 7.2 cm, respectively. From their wall thicknesses the production patterns of the two bricks are different. The animal footprints on these bricks belong to dogs, as in cat. no. 1. When the trace seen in cat. no. 2 was examined; it was determined that the dog was in motion. These marks are the marks of the dog's right front and hind legs. Even the animal's nails can be clearly traced on the brick. There are two claw marks in cat. no. 3, the boundaries of one trace are clearly visible, while the other trace can be partially followed due to the broken brick. The fact that the traces in cat. nos. 1, 2, and 3 are deep on the tiles and bricks leads us to two different thoughts. According to the first view, these animals were large in size, which is why the tracks became deep. The second opinion is that these traces may be deep or superficial, depending on the stage at which the tiles and bricks are left to dry. In addition, the paw depths of dogs are equal. The front feet are longer than their width and have an oval appearance, while; the rear footprints are narrower than the front.[18] The claw marks of animals can be seen far from the fingers, and claw marks also help us determine direction. The footprint seen in cat. no. 2 is similar to the dog footprint on the brick found in the Roman Bath in Vindolanda.[19] It has the same structure as the footprints of dogs on the tiles in Aizanoi and Perge,[20] so we can think the dog breed is similar. The paw dimensions of cat. no. 3 match almost exactly the dimensions of the dog's paw on the tile found in Andriake.[21] As seen from these similar examples, the dog breed in the Mediterranean basin has similar characteristics. While these findings alone are not enough data to determine the dog type, such data need to be supported by anthropological findings.

Cat. no. 5 has a wall fold of 4.8 cm, a width of 22 cm, and a length of 11 cm. There is a single trace on this brick that consists of five claws. The claw is 5.4 cm long and 4 cm wide and is

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16 Öz 2022, 162.

17 Bennet 2012, 25-26; Öz 2022, 162.

18 Bennet 2012, 21; Öz 2022, 162.

19 Bennet 2012, 14, 22, pl. 4.

20 Oğuş 2021, 232, fragment nos. 1-3.

21 Öz 2022, 162, figs. 2.1, 3.1.

interpreted as a paw belonging to a small dog or puppy. Additionally, during the drying phase, the raindrops formed on the brick suggest that it rained on cat. no. 5. These raindrops also suggest that drying was not always done under a roof. An example with similar rain droplets was found in Aizanoi.[22] In cat. no. 7, two claw marks are seen that are side by side but pressed on each other. This suggests that the animal may be a puppy. This puppy appears to be bringing its front legs together while stationary. Their claw lengths and widths are close, suggesting they are from the animal's front feet. Cat. no. 8 has a similar structure to cat. no. 7. This dog is also stationary with its front legs close to each other; their directions is almost at the same angle. The length and width of the feet are also close in size. The animal footprint seen in cat. no. 10 belongs to an adult dog and is its front foot. However, it is not known whether it is the right or left foot. The last two pieces on which a dog footprint is seen are the bricks used in the flooring in room no. 8 in the citadel (cat. nos. 18, 23). The foot in cat. no. 18 has a length of 6 cm and a width of 5.9 cm. The footprints here are superficial, and the traces reflect two footprints. The footprint in cat. no. 23 is also superficial, and seven claws were identified. The direction of this footprint could not be determined because the pad of the hind foot cannot be understood from the marks. For this reason, it is exceedingly difficult to follow the trace on the surface of the brick. This is another factor that prevents us from making a clear comment. Footprints similar to those of cat. nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are seen at Perge and Aizanoi,[23] Vindolanda,[24] Cibalae,[25] Brigetio,[26] and Kefar 'Othnay.[27]

The tracks seen in cat. nos. 4, 6, and 9 belong to a jackal. The wall thickness of these bricks is 7.4, 4.5, and 4.6 cm respectively. The claws of the middle fingers are generally pointed towards each other. The claw mark is narrow, the tip is sharp, and the claw marks are close to the nail. The claws are longer and narrower than those of a wolf or dog.[28] The footprint seen in cat. no. 4 is quite large, and its claw tips are slightly tapered. This jackal's foot was 8.2 cm long 7 cm wide. In cat. no. 6, the animal footprint is right near the middle edge of the brick. This animal has stepped on the tip of the brick; therefore, it is not possible to identify the animal with this trace. However, the tapering of the claw tips and the nail structure suggest that this print belongs to a jackal. The animal print in cat. no. 9 is located on the broken part of the brick. This makes it difficult to interpret to which animal the tracks belong. Despite this, we can say that the tracks belong to a jackal from the Canidae group. The trace seen on this brick looks complex and careless. The visible mark is deep, and the rear of the claw is the widest part. The reason why this trace looks so complicated is that the animal applied pressure while the brick was very wet. A single animal paw can be seen on these three bricks. Therefore, it is not known whether this animal was moving or not, and it cannot be interpreted to which foot the print might belong. Similar jackal tracks are seen in Perge.[29]

Footprints of a wild goat (Capra aegagrus) can be seen in cat. nos. 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22. A total of 18 footprints were identified on these bricks. This animal belongs to

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22 Oğuş 2021, 235, 237, fig. 4, fragment no. 14.

23 Oğuş 2021, 232-33, fragment nos. 1-4.

24 Bennet 2012, 7-36.

25 Hrvoje et al. 2014, 65, fig. 4.

26 Dobosi 2016, 121-23, figs. 1-2, cat. nos. 1-3 and 10.

27 Bar-Oz and Tepper 2010, 245, fig. 3a.

28 Murie 1954, 94-97; Elbroch 2003, 129-33.

29 Oğuş 2021, 233, fragment nos. 5, 6 and 7.

the Bovidae family and has two hooves. Such animals are frequently seen in regions dominated by steep rocks and bushes. Wild goats continue to live in Alanya Castle today. Kütükçü stated that wild goats have an average foot length of 7 cm and a width of 5 cm.[30] Cat. nos. 11 and 12 were found among the bricks belonging to the Pavilion Bath in the Citadel, a Seljuk period structure. The wall thicknesses of these bricks differ from each other. This shows that the two bricks have different uses in the bath as wall and floor bricks. According to our field examinations, cat. no. 11 is the wall brick, while cat. no. 12 is the brick used for heating purposes in the flooring. The wild goat footprint in cat. no. 11 is 5.6 cm long and 3.7 cm wide. A single hoof can be seen. Since it coincides with the broken side of the brick, the other trace of the goat is partially visible right next to the trace. This mark may belong to a kid, not an adult. There are two footprints in cat. no. 12, which are interpreted as prints of the front hoof. The wild goat is thought to be stationary. Cat. no. 13 shows four hooves that are small in size. Therefore, these are traces of a young goat. The fact that the tracks do not face the same direction and the size of the intact hoof on the broken brick differs from each other indicates that there was more than one wild kid.

Cat. nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22 were used in the flooring of space number 8 in the Citadel. These bricks had average dimensions of 31 x 31.3 cm. Their thickness is 7.2 cm. These bricks, made in standard sizes, were produced by a single workshop. However, information about the production center is insufficient. It is believed that the bricks with animal marks are a defective production and therefore cannot be traded. Thus, these bricks were produced and used locally. Cat. nos. 17 and 18 show three footprints each. Two of the traces in cat. no. 17 is back-to-back and almost overlap each other. Although the footprints are close to each other in size, the directions of the steps are not at the same angle. The other footprint is located near the left corner of the brick. In cat. no. 18, the tracks are in the middle of the brick, and two of the three footprints are side by side. The footprint on the right is larger than the footprint on the left. In addition, the traces on these bricks remain superficial. Two interpretations can be made regarding the formation of these traces. The average weight of female wild goats varies between 25-55 kg, while males vary between 45-90 kg.[31] The first view is that the marks left on these bricks may belong to a goat lighter in weight than a male goat. Another opinion is that the brick has reached the end of its drying phase, and this is the reason why the traces may have remained shallow. There are two traces in cat. no. 19. However, these are not clearly understood because they overlap each other. It is thought that the brick is in the first week of the drying phase, as the goat's hooves on the brick appear deeply impressed and are tangled. Therefore, three hoof prints are evident in the tracks and the fourth of these marks coincides with each other. The length of the footprints on the brick is also suitable for wild goats. In cat. nos. 20 and 21, two footprints are seen which, are shallow. The dimensions of these on cat. no. 20 is close to each other, therefore are traces of the same animal. These traces also overlap each other. In cat. no. 21, two footprints can be seen that overlap each other. Their measurements are close to each other. The dimensions of the front and back foot are almost the same. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether the footprints belong to the front or hind feet. Again, it is understood from these tracks that the animals were on the move. Three footprints were identified in cat. no. 22. The two prints face the same direction consecutively and belong to the animal's left front and hind legs. These tracks show that the wild goat was moving. The

[30] Kütükçü 2016, 35.

[31] Kütükçü 2016, 35.

other print also faces the same direction and is thought to belong to the animal's right hind leg. The footprints are not perfectly shaped in the superficial traces on the bricks, therefore create the impression that they may belong to another animal. Since the hoof structure of goats is different from other animals, we can say that the tracks in cat. nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22 belong to a wild goat.

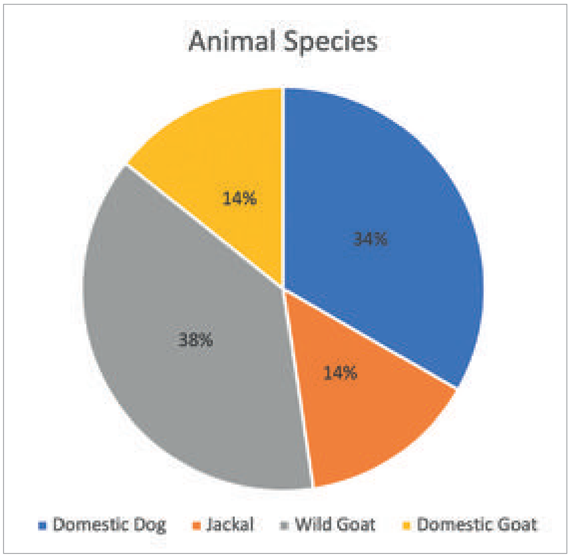

FIG. 1 Distribution of species according to animal tracks seen on tiles and bricks.

The footprints seen in cat. nos. 14, 15, and 16 may belong to domestic goats (Capra hircus). A total of four domestic goat footprints were identified on three bricks in Alanya Castle. Two footprints can be seen on cat. no. 14, which are deep and overlap each other. Two more small marks can be seen to the left of this footprint. It is not certain whether the trace belongs to this animal. Such tracks are seen in wild boar and wild sheep. However, when compared to the examples in this subject, the size of the trace is far from the dimensions of these two animals and not suitable for their offspring. Naturally, the drying phase of the brick also affects the depth of the marks. We can also understand from these tracks that the animal was in motion because the traces follow each other, and the weight appears to be on the tips of the feet. A single trace can be seen in cat. no. 15, and this trace is obvious. The footprint is 5.4 cm long and 4.3 cm wide. Considering these measurements, the print in cat. no. 15 reflects the measurements of a goat's foot. Since the single trace seen in cat. no. 16 coincides with the broken area of the brick, very little of it has been preserved. Therefore, it does not provide information about the animal's walk. However, this footprint may belong to a goat. Similar goat footprints to those in cat. nos. 14, 15, and 16 were found in Perge.[32]

Conclusion and Suggestions

Animal footprints were found on 22 bricks and one tile in Alanya Castle. The identities of these animals were determined by the traces on the bricks. The marks on the tiles and bricks belonged to a dog, jackal, wild goat, and domestic goat. The densest group consists of wild goat and dog footprints. After these traces come the jackal. It is not known whether these animals live in Alanya Castle. However, the evaluation of animal bones unearthed during excavations by zoologists and the publication of their data will enable us to obtain information about these animals. In addition, conducting comprehensive research that will shed light on whether the bricks were produced in the castle will eliminate any questions.

Tracks can reflect not only the animals' physical characteristics and gait, but also their behavior. Footprints of animals seen on terracotta are reported and discussed less frequently than other finds in excavations. However, these traces on bricks, tiles, and ceramics need to

[32] Oğuş 2021, 236-37, fragment nos. 18-19.

be examined and interpreted in more detail. In this study, the principles of ichnoarchaeology were applied, and the objects were evaluated and interpreted according to its basic principles. As a result of the ichnological evaluation of 23 works, it was determined that all of them had traces of "biodegradation." The traces were formed on the tiles and bricks by animals that were in motion or entered the area and spent time while they were drying. All of these traces are movement traces.

The distance, depth, and width of the footprints can provide information about the shoulder or hip height of the animals that left the tracks. The depth of the tracks reflecting the deepest parts of the paw print is shaped according to the distance from the animal's front and hind legs. As can be understood, it is necessary to focus on the pressure applied by the animal while these traces are formed. However, this perspective may not always yield viable results because the status of the drying stage of the bricks is not known when these traces were formed. It is possible to understand this problem with a future experimental application. In addition, considering that the artifacts shrink during the firing phase, it is possible to say that the margin of error in the interpretation of the traces will increase.

In the Canidae group, twelve artifacts were examined, and seventeen animal footprints were identified on these artifacts. The tracks belonged to jackals and domestic dogs. Some of these animals are adults, while other are puppies. While some bricks can be interpreted as the dog's walking style, on others, there are traces of a single foot. This makes it difficult to determine which foot of the animal the print belongs to. The distinctness of the marks on the examined bricks shows that the canids exhibited a diagonal gait. Nine bricks had wild goat footprints, and three had domestic goat footprints. It is important that we see the footprints of wild goats and domestic goats on the bricks of Alanya Castle. While a single footprint was seen on the bricks in cat. nos. 4, 6, 9, and 15, multiple footprints were found on the other bricks. Thus, the tracks of the animals were generally in motion. Considering the frequent occurrence of pet dog footprints on tiles and bricks, two opinions can be put forward. First, the atelier owner may have bred dogs to protect the production area and its inhabitants from wild animals. The other view is that, if it is assumed that the production workshop is close to the settlement, pets often enter this area. Tiles and bricks were taken from the production workshops and exported to other cities. From this perspective, it is not currently thought that bricks with animal footprints are used as export products. However, if examples where stamps and traces occur together on exported bricks are found, this view may change.

The wall thicknesses and dimensions of cat. nos. 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 16 are close to each other. These bricks were produced in the same mould. Mortar and lime residue can be seen in cat. nos. 13, 15, and 16 of these bricks, and these bricks were used in the walls. The wall thicknesses of cat. nos. 3, 4, 7, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 are close to each other, so these bricks came from a standard mould. Considering that animals other than domestic dogs and domestic goats live in wild habitats, bricks could be produced both in forests and in places where clay is abundant. Due to its location, Alanya Castle is at a port city where commercial activities were intense during the Roman, Byzantine (Eastern Roman), Seljuk, and Ottoman Periods. There is no source providing information on whether the brick trade was carried out during these periods. For this reason, the city may have produced its own bricks. Nearly square bricks measuring 31 x 31.3 cm were used in the flooring of the last use phase of the Citadel Palace room number 8, and the footprints of a wild goat were found on the bricks on this floor. People of that period did not see any harm in using the part with animal footprints on the upper surfaces of the floor bricks. We see that people living in this period needed bricks and used them in the space without paying much attention to the marks on them. In Alanya Castle, the bricks used in the Citadel, large cisterns, pavilion bath, vaulted gallery, and palace section were examined on-site. The dimensions of those used in the palace and the pavilion bath overlap with each other. These bricks were produced in the same mould and in the same atelier. Therefore, it is believed that the palace and the pavilion bath were built in the same period. The dimensions of the bricks used in the large cisterns and the vaulted gallery match each other, so it is thought that their production was made in a single atelier. Therefore, these structures were built during the same period. In addition, the bricks of the Seljuk Bath and Old Bazaar (Arasta) located in the Middle Walls of the castle were also examined. These bricks were found to be the same size as those used in the large cisterns and vaulted gallery in the Citadel. Therefore, in the same period or in subsequent periods, managers may have taken a pragmatic approach and used the bricks that were already available.

It should not be forgotten that bricks will be very costly in terms of transport because they are heavy product. For this reason, cities may have focused on local production, and studies on their detection should be increased. The natural traces on the bricks are data that shed light on the environmental conditions of that period. It is anticipated that the increase in such studies will contribute to other fields of study in ichnoarchaeology.

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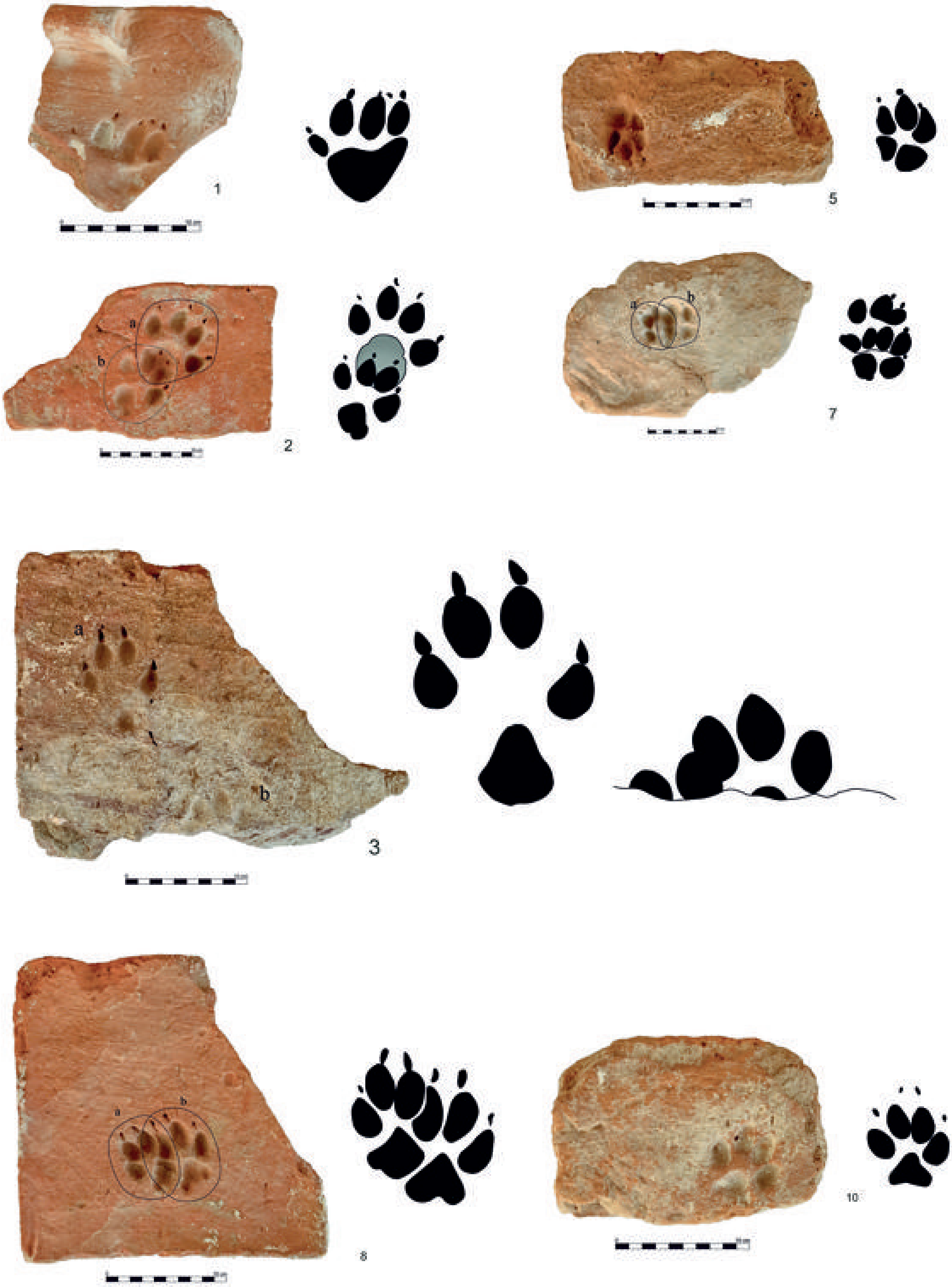

FIG. 2 Cat. nos. 1-3, 5, 7, 8 and 10; Domestic Dog.

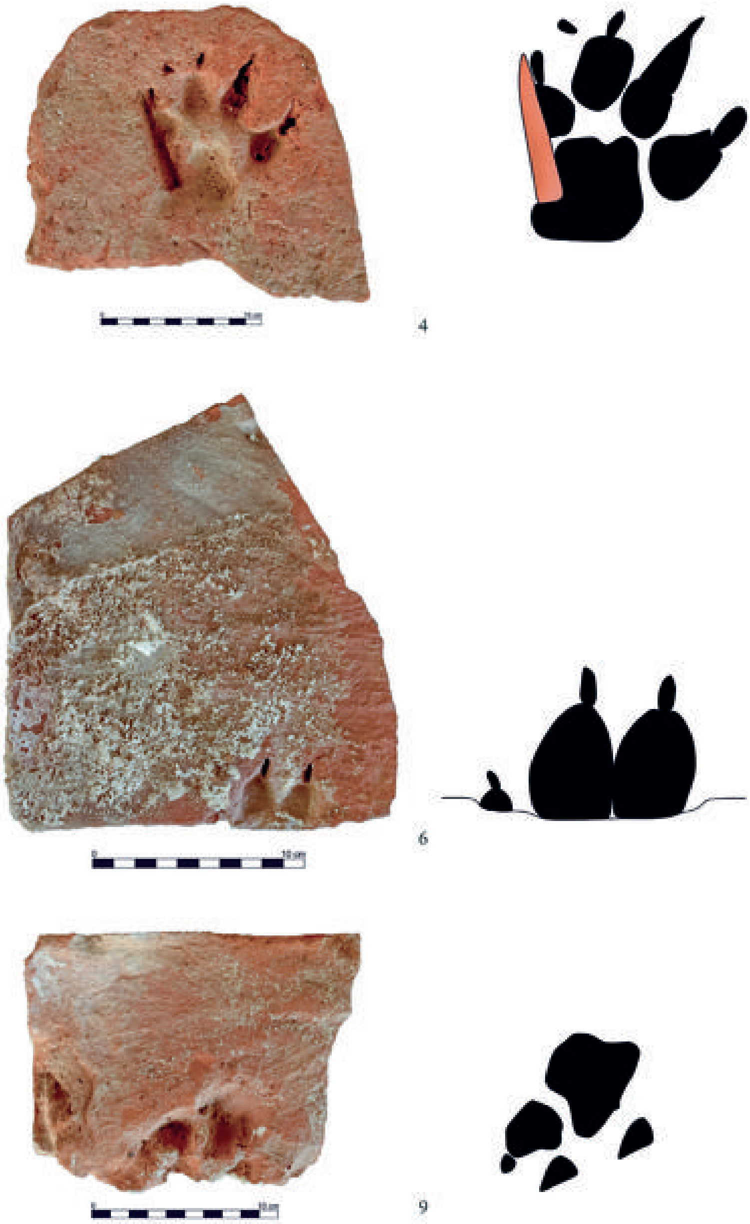

FIG. 3 Cat. nos. 4, 6 and 9, Jackal.

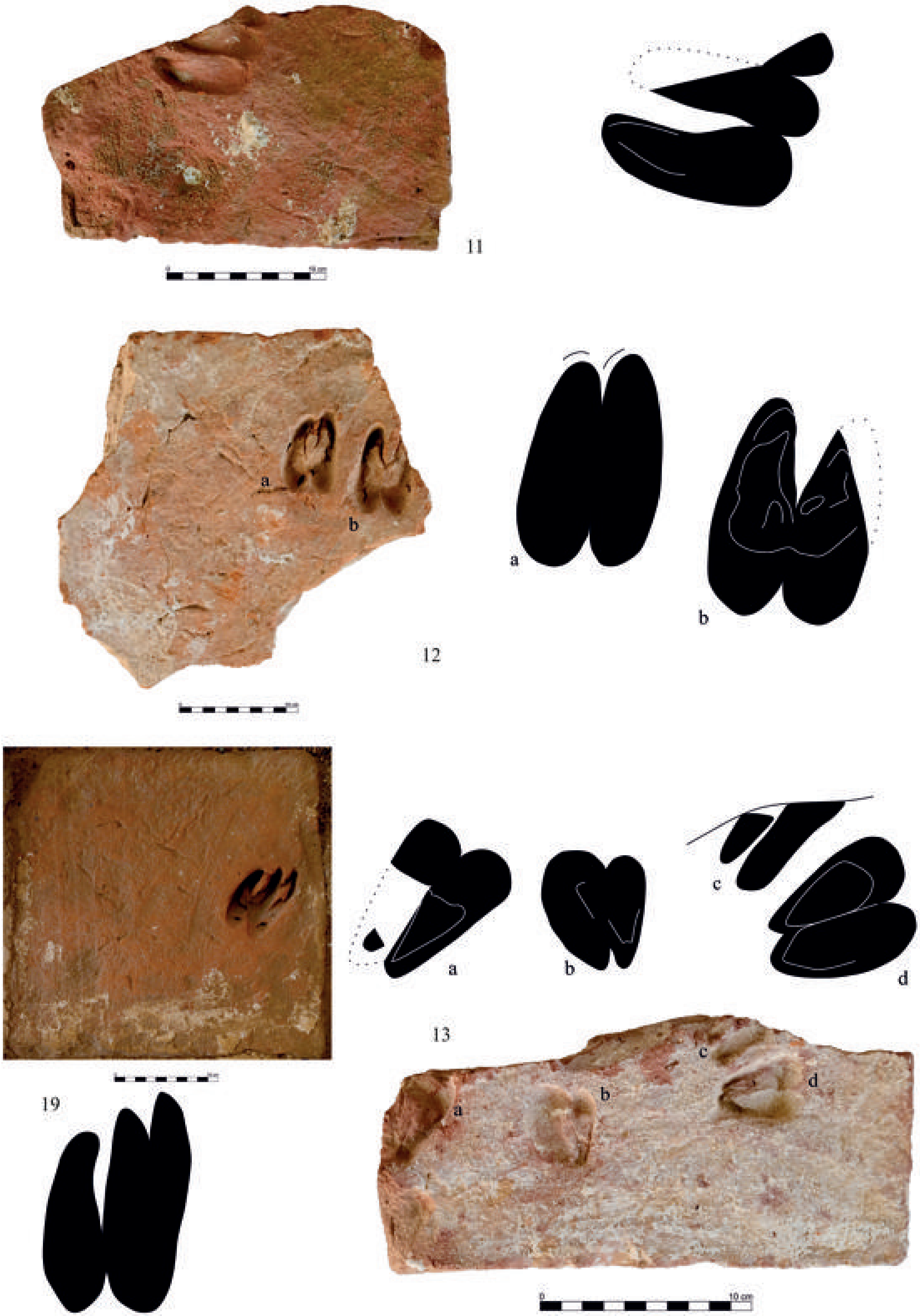

FIG. 4 Cat. nos. 11 and 19, Wild Goat, Cat. nos. 12 and 13, Wild Kidling.

FIG. 5 Cat. nos. 14, 15, 16, Domestic Goat.

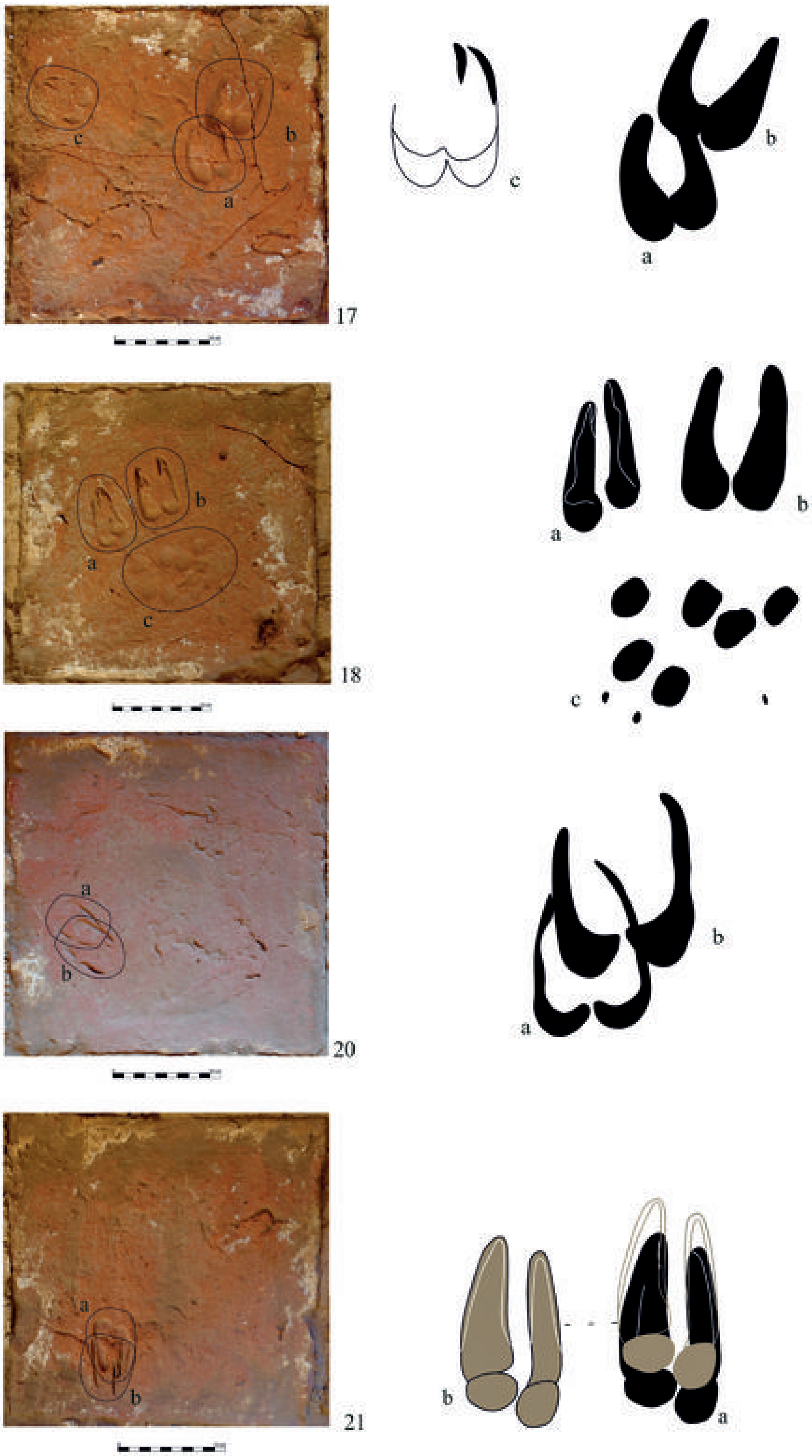

FIG. 6 Cat. nos. 17, 18, 20, 21, Wild Goat.

FIG. 7 Cat. no. 22, Wild Goat, Cat. no. 23, Domestic Dog.

The French Consulate and Trade in Antalya in the 17th Century

FATMA ŞİMŞEK – DAMLA AYOĞLU-DUMAN*

Abstract

Our knowledge of Antalya's foreign trade both in the 17th century and in the periods before and after this century is quite limited. In this century, Ottoman maritime trade was concentrated in ports such as Izmir and Alexandria, which had better equipment and commodity diversity capacities compared to Antalya. However, Antalya was one of the first consulates opened in the Levant by France, which replaced Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean trade. Except for a ten-year period (1644-1655), which remains uncertain despite its commercial weakness, this study focuses on the French efforts and justifications for establishing a foothold in Antalya throughout the 17th century. In the light of consular correspondence, other French sources, and Ottoman archival documents, commercial activities, items of manufactured goods, and raw materials exported from the city's port have been identified. Documents containing especially commercial records of a limited number of ships departing from the port of Antalya allow us to observe the commercial traffic between France and Antalya during this period. In addition, the size and volume of this trade can be determined greatly through the cotime tax imposed on the cargo of French ships. All these efforts of France, which almost monopolized the foreign trade of the city, will be examined in detail and comprehensively in terms of both the institutional

Öz

Antalya'nın gerek 17. yy. gerek ise bu yüzyıl öncesi ve sonrası dönemlere ait dış ticaretine ilişkin bilgilerimiz oldukça sınırlıdır. Zira bu yüzyılda Osmanlı deniz ticaretinin Antalya'ya nazaran donanım ve emtia çeşitliği bakımından kapasiteleri daha yüksek olan İzmir ve İskenderiye gibi limanlarda yoğunlaştığı görülmektedir. Oysa Doğu Akdeniz ticaretinde Venedik'in yerini alan Fransa'nın Levant'ta açtığı ilk konsolosluklardan biri Antalya'dır. Bu çalışma ticari zayıflığına rağmen belirsizliğini koruyan 10 yıllık bir dönem (1644-1655) istisna olmak üzere 17. yy. boyunca Fransızların Antalya'da tutunma çabaları ve gerekçeleri üzerine odaklanmıştır. Başta konsolosluk yazışmaları olmak üzere diğer Fransız kaynaklar ve Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri ışığında ticari faaliyetler ve kentin limanından ihraç edilen mamul ve hammadde kalemleri belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Özellikle Antalya Limanı'ndan hareket eden sınırlı sayıda gemiye ait ticari kayıtları ihtiva eden belgeler, bize bu dönemde gerçekleşen Fransa-Antalya ticari trafiğini gözlememize imkân tanımaktadır. Ayrıca, Fransız gemilerindeki kargolara uygulanan kotime vergisi aracılığıyla da bu ticaretin boyutları ve hacmi büyük ölçüde belirlenebilmektedir. Şehrin dış ticaretinde adeta monopolleşen Fransa'nın tüm bu çabaları gerek kurumsal yapı ve gerek ise giriştiği ticari bağlantılar bakımından ayrıntılı ve kapsamlı

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structure and the commercial connections it undertook. A determination of Antalya's commercial place and importance in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 17th century will be attempted.

Keywords: Antalya French Consulate, Kotime tax, Antalya Port, Ottoman-French trade, Marseille

bir şekilde irdelenerek, Antalya'nın 17. yy.'da Doğu Akdeniz'deki ticari yeri ve önemi belirlenmeye çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Antalya Fransız konsolosluğu, kotime vergisi, Antalya Limanı, Osmanlı-Fransız ticareti, Marsilya

One of the last political achievements of Ibrahim Pasha, achieved just before his execution, was the establishment of permanent relations with France. As a result of the diplomatic and military relations developed against their common enemy, the Habsburgs, the French managed to extend the privileges they enjoyed in Egypt during the Mamluk period to the entire Ottoman Empire.[1] The Capitulations granted by the Ottoman Sultan to France in 1569, confirmed in 1604, enabled the French to supplant the Venetians in the Levant trade, particularly from the time of the Cyprus War that lasted from 1570 to 1573. French consulates were set up in a number of ports in the region to protect and defend the interests of the French merchants who traded in the Levant, attracted primarily by spices and silks. We know that until 1610 the French only had five consulates in the Levant: Syria, Alexandria, Chios, Zante and Satalie (today's Antalya). However, we also know that trade in this *échelle* (or port of trade) was never really significant and that this *échelle* was abandoned by the French at the end of the 17th century; before being reestablished for a time in the second decade of the 18th century.

More than a century after Auguste Boppe's note[2] and almost a century after the work of Jean-Reynaud and Paul-Martin Bondois,[3] we wish to return to this question because we can now provide more information on the history of the French consulate in Antalya and on the importance of French trade in this *échelle*. The result will give a less impressionistic picture than that painted by our predecessors, as well as provide a better understanding of the causes that led to the abandonment of the *échelle* and the concentration of French trade in the ports of the Levant with far greater commercial weight, such as Izmir and Alexandria. Above all, we will be able to better understand why a French consulate was maintained for almost a century, despite the low importance of the trade.

We will therefore begin by indicating which products from Antalya and its region were of interest to French traders. Next, we will look back at the history of the French consulate in Antalya, which demonstrates France's determination to maintain it throughout the 17th century to protect French trade. Finally, we will try to give as accurate an idea as possible of the weakness of French trade in Antalya and the possible reasons for this weakness. These reasons led to the closure of the consulate in this *échelle*, despite the interest of the port as a stopover in the maritime caravan, an interest which could counterbalance the weakness of the trade of the *échelle*.

1 Basque-Grammont 1995, 1:187.

2 Boppe 1902.

3 Bondois 1936, 29-34; Reynaud 1928, 221-32.

French Interest in Products from Antalya and the Surrounding Region

In the 17th century, French merchants trading with Antalya were interested in a number of local products, which can be classified into five types: textiles, products needed in the craft industry, wax, foodstuffs, and, finally, perfumes and medical products. Textile products clearly played the leading role in this group, to which we will return after looking at the other types of products.

The products used for crafts are very limited in number, as we have only recorded tragacanth and sendarac, the latter obviously of negligible importance compared with the former. As early as the 13th century, Cypriots, Florentines, and other merchants obtained gum tragacanth from Antalya.[4] This is made from the sap of a plant in the astragalus family. It was used in medicine but, above all, in a variety of craft activities, notably by leather workers, who used it in the preparation of their leather.[5]

For the period in question, we find mention of French purchases of gum tragacanth in Antalya in a well-known report from 1633 by Henri de Séguiran, Seigneur de Bouc; addressed to Cardinal de Richelieu, the prime minister between 1624-1642,[6] and in a memorandum from 1675 written by François Mazerat, a merchant and owner of the French consulate in Antalya, which he had run by vice-consuls. This report was drawn up at the request of the Intendant of Provence, Jean Rouillé, Comte de Meslay.[7] As for sendaraque, a fragrant grape derived from a species of cypress, it was undoubtedly used as a varnish in woodworking, and is mentioned in the 1675 report under the name sendarasse.[8]

Let us now turn to the next type of product encountered in the purchases of French merchants in Antalya: products used in perfumery and in the pharmacopoeia of the time. Storax seems to be the most important. This resinous substance, extracted from plants of the styrax genus, was used as incense as well as in medicine and cosmetics. In the 18th century, for example, it was used in an ointment to combat scurvy and gangrene.[9] It was of interest to French merchants from at least the very beginning of the 17th century,[10] and features in Mazerat's memoir of 1675.[11] Later, Paul Lucas, referring to Antalya where he arrived on 8 November 1706, described the surrounding region as being abundant in everything and having "the privilege of producing storax in quantity."[12]

Adragante was used by tanners to prepare leather but could also be used in electuaries to treat eye diseases.[13] Finally, the purchase of opium by the French is mentioned in Séguiran's report. It was probably used as a sedative or even as a sleeping drug.[14]

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4 Depping 1830, 111, 141, 300.

5 Masson 1896, xxviii.

6 Sourdis 1839, 3:227.

7 Bondois 1936, 33.

8 Bondois 1936, 33.

9 Savary Des Bruslons 1741, 3:221-22; Masson 1896, xxxiii.

10 Reynaud 1928, 223; Masson 1896, 395. However, this product has been popular for use in various fields since antiquity; see Durak 2022, 181-90.

11 Bondois 1936, 33.

12 Lucas 1712, 312-13.

13 Masson 1896, xxviii.

14 Savary Des Bruslons 1726, 2, col. 901.

The main food product, indeed practically the only one, that could be extracted from Antalya was the currant – a sultana. It appears in the list in the 1675 memoir,[15] as well as in an undated anonymous memoir written around the beginning of the 18th century.[16] It is possible that prior to the 1670s the export of this product was strictly forbidden, like all food products from the Ottoman Empire. Towards the end of the century, the rule was relaxed, but even then the export of this type of product was more tolerated than permitted.[17] We can also imagine that the quantities exported were modest or relatively modest, depending on the case. The three main food products exported from the Ottoman Empire were coffee, oil,[18] and wheat. Although the export of these products was strictly forbidden, from the end of the 17th century it became possible to export them due to dearly paid for indulgences.

French sources give no examples of wheat imported from Antalya by the French. At the end of the century during the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697), which we know weighed heavily on the French government in terms of demand for grain at a time of great scarcity and even famine in France, the minister Pontchartrain expected du Roure, the vice-consul of Antalya, to make efforts to obtain permission to export wheat for France.[19] On the basis of an Ottoman document dated 1693, we find that permission was granted at the request of the French ambassador for the sale of wheat to be extracted from the island of Meis and the surrounding islands.[20] In addition to currants, we can mention purchases of acorns (only one shipment recorded) and honey (also only one mentioned) by the French in the Antalya region.[21]

Wax was one of the products from Antalya that attracted the interest of French merchants. This prompted ambassador Savary de Brèves to install in this port a temporary French consul, René Fuzibée, from the very beginning of 1600, as we shall see later.[22] This product is high on the list of things mentioned in Séguiran's report[23] and at the top of the list of those mentioned by Mazerat. The two authors do not establish any hierarchy between the products mentioned; however, Mazerat specifies that currants and *chevron* wool can only be removed by express order of the Sultan.[24] This implies *a priori* that the sale of these two products was very limited, which was not the case for wax. And in his political testament, Richelieu even limited his list of products imported from Antalya to cottons, maroquins, and wax.[25] This article, which probably consisted mostly of raw wax called yellow wax,[26] was clearly one of the main products exported from Antalya throughout the 17th century and beyond. The short anonymous memoir

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15 Bondois 1936, 33.

16 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 1008, fol. 5.

17 Masson 1896, 504.

18 Coffee produced in Yemen was exported only from Egypt, oil from the Peloponnese, the Aegean islands, and Crete, and wheat from the granaries of the Levant; see Masson 1896, 504. For the coffee trade in Ottoman Levant, see Bostan 2019, 169-218; Hattox 1998.

19 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter from Du Roure, vice-consul in Satalie, to Mayor, Alderman Chevins, and Députés du Commerce à Marseille.

20 *BOA.*, AE. SAMD. II, 1 / 3, 19 Ra 1105 (18 December 1693); Şimşek 2022a, 668.

21 In 1677 and 1679; see *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 377, Command to the Satalie authorities authorizing a cargo of glands to be loaded on a French vessel; Constantinople, 1 Şaban 1088 (29 September 1677). *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 78. 293.

22 Reynaud 1928, 223; Masson 1896, 395.

23 Sourdis 1839, 3:227.

24 Bondois 1936, 33.

25 Richelieu 1688, 141.

26 The product appears under this name in Mazerat's memoir; see Bondois 1936, 33.

mentioned above, which clearly dates from the first or second decade of the 18th century, includes wax among the coveted products of Antalya. This trade had been abandoned by the French for a number of years and who no longer had a French consulate,[27] likewise we will return to this.

Finally, textiles, as mentioned above, appear to have been the most important item exported from Antalya. Leather, cordovan, and *maroquins* attracted the interest of French merchants from at least the very beginning of the 17th century.[28] Henri de Beauveau, who visited Antalya in 1605, noted that the French came to Antalya to load up on leather and carpets from Caramania.[29] At that time, leather seems to have been a leading item in the *échelle* trade. In the same year, Savary de Brèves stated that "the inhabitants [of Antalya] are rich because of the trade in cordovan leather and the manufacture of carpets called of Caramania."[30] Séguiran specified that the cordovans were white *maroquins* cordovans, while Richelieu stated that the French brought back all kinds of *maroquins* from Antalya.[31] In his memoir dated 1675, Mazerat mentions red and yellow maroquins as exportable products from Satalie, as well as leathers, probably meaning raw skins.[32] Finally, the author of the anonymous memoir from the early 18th century mentions only cordovans, without any further details.[33]

Cotton was another important textile product. In his report, Séguiran mentions woollen cotton, but also what he calls "filets" undoubtedly spun cotton.[34] For Richelieu, cotton was, alongside waxes and *maroquins*, the main products purchased by the French in Antalya.[35] Mazerat mentions cotton and spun cotton among the products that could be exported from Antalya,[36] cotton that, around the same epoch, the French could also buy in Alanya.[37] The author of the anonymous memoir mentions spun cotton and woollen cotton, in all likelihood the latter meaning raw cotton.[38]

In his *Nouvelle description de la France* first published in 1718, Piganiol de la Force suggests that much of the spun cotton of Antalya was not appreciated by merchants. He wrote: "It is a little more tortuous, & more difficult to spin & and to use; it is not even as white as that of the other Echelles, because the local people who spin it, only burn wood instead of oil during the winter, & the smoke that comes out blackens the cotton; which means that there is a great difference between Satalia cotton, spun in winter, & that which is spun in summer."[39] Cotton material called *escamites* was also bought by the French, at least towards the end of the 17th century,[40] if not earlier.

27 *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires Etrangères BI 1008, fol. 5.

28 Reynaud 1928, 223; Masson 1896, 395.

29 Beauveau 1615, 86.

30 Breves 1628, 23; our translation as are all the other passages in the French sources quoted.

31 Sourdis 1839, 3:227; Richelieu 1688, 141.

32 Bondois 1936, 33.

33 *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires Etrangères BI 1008, fol. 5.

34 Sourdis 1839, 3:227.

35 Richelieu 1688, 141.

36 Bondois 1936, 33.

37 Karakoyun 2014, 247-48; BOA, MAD. d. 2747, 78.293.

38 *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires Etrangères BI 1008, fol. 5.

39 Piganiol de La Force 1722, 115-16.

40 *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires Etrangères BI 1008, fol. 5; Anonymous 1770, 504.

Alongside leathers and cotton, raw or prepared, was wool. There is no mention of the French trade in raw wool in Antalya until the last decades of the 17th century, when it is mentioned in Mazerat's memoir.[41] Mazerat mentions sheep's wool in particular, but also *chevron* wool, which was used to make hats and required authorization from the sultan to be exported. According to Masson, what was known as *chevron* wool was camel hair. However, the author of the anonymous memoir mentions camel and goat hair among the products sought by the French in Antalya. Were both types of hair used to make hats? It's possible. These hats were undoubtedly what were also known as "camelots" which, if Séguiran is to be believed, could have been made locally in Antalya and then exported, since he mentions camelots in his list of products sought after by the French.[42] At this stage, it seems that these hats were produced in Antalya and exported. However, it seems more likely to us that Séguiran used the term "Camelot" to refer to the type of material used to make these hats.

As for silk, it had been exported from Antalya in small quantities since at least the last third of the 17th century.[43] This was clearly "silk of the country's own growth," as Mazerat notes, and not silk imported from Persia for re-export. However, according to the anonymous author of the early 18th century, "all the caravans that come from Persia on their way to Smyrna" pass through Sataly.[44] However, there was no record of Persian silk being exported from Antalya.

Carpets, on the other hand, were a finished article and of interest to the French since at least the beginning of the 17th century. We saw above that in 1605, Henri de Beauveau and Savary de Brèves made them a very important trade item.[45] Nevertheless, we find no further mention of them after Séguiran's report dated 1633.[46]

To summarize, Antalya offered local and hinterland products to the French trade. These products consisted mainly of raw materials from agriculture and livestock husbandry, or semi-finished products such as fabrics. Carpets were an exception, but they no longer appear in our lists of exported products after 1633. We have listed here the products bought by the French in Antalya for export and seen that some were more important than others in the purchases. Nevertheless, the quantities of products exported from Antalya, as well as their value, cannot be known with precision, except for a few short periods only, to which we'll return later.

Maintaining a Consulate Throughout the Century to Protect French Trade

Thanks to the now dated notes of Boppe, Reynaud, and Bondois, we are well informed about the origins of the French consulate in Antalya. Until 1610, as we mentioned at the beginning of our study, the French had five consuls – Syria, Alexandria, Chios, Zante and Antalya – in the Levant. These consuls were appointed by the King of France. Marseilles exercised a virtual

41 Bondois 1936, 33; *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires Etrangères BI 1008, fol. 5.

42 Bondois 1936, 33; Masson 1896, 503; *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 1008, fol. 5; Sourdis 1839, 3:227. For information on the export of this wool, known as "hüsür" among the nomads, which is mohair obtained from the base of the hair of the black goat and used in the production of hats, especially in Marseille, see Ak 2021, 274; Fontanier 1829, 289-90.

43 Bondois 1936, 33; *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires Etrangères BI 1008, fol. 5. The purchase of silk by the French in Alanya is mentioned in a Sultanian order of şaban 1090 / sept.-oct. 1679. *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 78.293.

44 Bondois 1936, 33; *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires Etrangères BI 1008, fol. 5.

45 Reynaud 1928, 223; Masson 1896, 395.

46 Sourdis 1839, 3:227.

monopoly over trade in the Levant, although the City Council (*Conseil de la Ville*) only intervened to register the letters of provision issued to the consul, who was generally of Marseilles origin.[47]

Before the arrival of an agent in Antalya with consular functions, probably as early as 1600, this *échelle* was dependent on the Syrian consulate, as was the whole of Caramania. The consuls closest to the city were therefore the Syrian consulate, generally based in Aleppo, and the Chios consulate in the Archipelago, both several hundred kilometers away. This made it very difficult to protect French interests in the region.[48]

Savary de Brèves, the ambassador of King Henri IV (1589-1610) to Constantinople who had just obtained the renewal of the Capitulations, had been approached with the question by several of his countrymen. He gave them partial satisfaction, as he himself informed the consuls of Marseille in a letter dated 18 January 1600:

> "Some of your fellow countrymen have made it known to me that they would like to go and trade on the *échelle* of Satalie and do some good business there because of the convenience of the leather, cordovan, wax, carpets, storax and other small goods that can be found on this little-frequented *échelle*. This is why, in order to further demonstrate the care, I take to ensure their profit and satisfaction, I have had powerful orders issued and in fifteen or twenty days will send one of my own with a copy of the Capitulation to reside there as a consul, while waiting for His Majesty to provide for this. You can therefore advise the merchants who wish to make this journey that they will find a protector from here on."[49]

The man sent to Antalya by the ambassador was René Fuzibée,[50] who belonged to a family that supplied France with dragomans, chancellors, and consuls for the Levant until the French Revolution. He held this position until 1607.[51] Henri de Beauveau therefore found him, without naming him, when he visited Antalya in the summer of 1605.[52] In 1610, Fuzibée was butler to the ambassador who succeeded Savary de Brèves in Istanbul, Jean-François de Gontaut Biron, baron de Salignac (1607-1611).[53]

It should be noted that between 1600 and 1607, the Antalya consulate did not officially exist, and Fuzibée was only a temporary representative of the French nation appointed by the Ambassador, pending a royal decision. The temporary period lasted seven years. Does this mean that there was opposition to the opening of a consulate in this *échelle*?[54] We do not know. Be that as it may, it was in a letter patent dated 26 March 1607 that Henri IV appointed the Marseillais Mathieu Grosson, on condition of survivorship of another Marseillais, Thomas Gaillard, to the post of French consul in Antalya, with authorization for Grosson and Gaillard to be represented in Antalya by a simple vice-consul. This was the custom at the time. Until the end of the 17th century, consulate holders, even then referred to as owners who saw their

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47 Reynaud 1928, 222.

48 Reynaud 1928, 223.

49 Reynaud 1928, 223; Masson 1896, 395.

50 The name is also spelled Fouzibée and Fonsibée; see Reynaud 1928, 226; Bordier 1888, 150.

51 Reynaud 1928, 223-26.

52 Beauveau 1615, 86.

53 In his will of 17 September 1610, he wrote that Fuzibée owed him nothing; see Bordier 1888, 149-50.

54 Reynaud 1928, 224.

office solely as a source of income, would only very exceptionally reside in a foreign city. We know nothing about Grosson and Gaillard other than that they were sea captains.[55]

From 18 November 1611, Grosson and Gaillard were succeeded by François Beaulan and Jean Mazerat. They had the option of appointing vice-consuls in their place, to whom they entrusted the exercise of the consulate for only three years. Once this time had expired, they sub-delegated others, as appears from a ruling by the Parliament of Provence on 15 April 1639, given at Mazerat's request against a man named Léonard Gravier, who claimed to continue in office beyond the three years stipulated in his commission.[56] One other vice-consul's name has come down to us from this period, that of Garnier, of whom only one letter survives from this post which he occupied in 1633. In the letter he indicated that he would endeavour to apply the decree prescribing that those who refused to pay the three per cent duty on the goods they loaded should be forced to do so.[57] That same year, 1633, the post was deemed sufficiently important for a Capuchin missionary station to be set up in Antalya, founded by Reverand Father Michel de Rennes.[58]

We also know that Vincent Stochove, during his trip to the Levant in 1630-1631, found a French consul in Antalya, a vice-consul in all likelihood.[59] Gilles Fermanel, who travelled with Stochove, also mentions him.[60] At the same time he gives us a description of the consular house, where he spent a pleasant stay.[61]

We also know that in 1638 the French had a Jewish interpreter by the name of İsak Darin, according to a Sultanic firman instructing the governor and qâdhî of Teke not to hinder the activity of this interpreter who had some enemies.[62] This was not the only problem encountered by the French in Antalya at this time since, let us repeat, the following year the holder of the consulate, who must then have been Jean Mazerat, was confronted with Léonard Gravier's refusal to leave his post as vice-consul.

The years 1639-1655 in the history of the French consulate in Antalya would have remained in total obscurity if some Ottoman documents that we have used had not thrown some light on it. One of the few pieces of information obtained from French sources is that, on 15 June 1643, a certain Nicolas Faure took possession of the consulate.[63]

During these troubles concerning the French consulate and the French nation of Antalya, in the years 1654-1655, other documents, four in Ottoman and one in French, enable us to

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55 Reynaud 1928, 225-28; Bondois 1936, 29.

56 Bondois 1936, 29-30; Masson 1896, 92, n. 2.

57 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541; Boppe 1902, 29.

58 *Capucins missionnaires,* 30.

59 Stochove 1650, 231-32.

60 Fermanel 1670, 233.

61 "Nothing could have been more pleasant than the house where we were staying, which was the Consul's residence; it is all carved out of the rock, with all the necessary conveniences cut into it with the point of a chisel. There were three fountains that came down from the top of the mountain, and with a gentle murmur ran through the whole house. The view from this house is very pleasant, because it overlooks the whole town, the beautiful gardens and the sea: the view from the rock is solitary, but it is steep because of the water that continually gushes down from it. It is lined in many places with pleasant greenery, so that one cannot imagine a more pleasant and solitary hermitage than this one. Such a pleasant place kept us there for four days, during which we walked everywhere"; see Fermanel 1670, 234.

62 Genç 2014, 172-73; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 12.23.

63 Bondois 1936, 30.

understand a little of what happened between 1639 and 1655. In the Ottoman documents, the French names are distorted, but we can sometimes establish concordances. A document dated mid-November 1655 says that Leyomar Arni (Léonard Gravier, obviously) had been appointed consul, in fact, vice-consul, at an unknown date in the 1630s, according to us, but probably after 1632. His job was to protect the activities of French merchants in Antalya and Alanya, and was then dismissed by the King of France, probably the ruling of 15 April 1639. After him, a certain Mare Veledon, for whom we have not been able to find a correspondent in French spelling, was sent to Antalya as consul with the *berat* of the sultan. He was succeeded by Piro de Laroche (Béraud de Laroche?).[64] In the meantime, a certain Anton Varile (also difficult to identify) had claimed to be consul of France, without any *berat* or authorization from the king or the ambassador. Laroche was in charge of arresting him and his supporters and sending them to Istanbul.[65] The Antalya authorities were instructed to recognize only Laroche and to allow him to appoint a replacement if he had to move.[66] In all likelihood, Veledon and Laroche were vice-consuls and not consuls, since the consulate belonged to Jean Mazerat, then Nicolas Faure, from 1643.

This being said, according to François Mazerat's above-mentioned memoir dated 1675, in 1655 it had been more than ten years, that is, since 1644, that the *échelle* had been abandoned by the French nation because of an unpaid debt of 12.000 piastres including interest, a debt contracted by the French on the *echelle*.[67] Did this abandonment concern the whole nation, including the consul, or just the French who came to trade in Antalya? It is difficult to answer. In any case, an Ottoman firman (early June 1654) confirms that, due to problems with the local official authorities (ehl-i örf), French ships no longer frequented the *echelle*.[68] Another document, dated December 1655, tells us that a certain sum (was it the 12.000 piastres?) had been lent to Consul Narnir (was it Gravier?) and that this sum was now being claimed by creditors from Consul La Rosa (was it Laroche?) and the ships going to Antalya. The Sultan forbade this sum to be claimed from the French and announced that the matter would be dealt with by the French ambassador's dragoman, who would act as La Rosa's deputy in Istanbul.[69]

In 1655 the consulate of Antalya changed hands in Marseille. It was bought by François Mazerat, son of Jean.[70] It was undoubtedly he who sent Laroche to Antalya to take charge of the vice-consulate. The author of the anonymous memoir of the early 18th century is probably mistaken by one year in noting that the King of France granted the consulate of Antalya to Favre and Mazarat in 1656.[71] Moreover, the name Favre appears nowhere else in our sources.

An Ottoman document dated May 1662 mentions a certain Reboli, a deputy for French merchants, whose petition complained that the local authorities in Antalya had confiscated sails and rudders from merchants. But we know nothing more about this person. Was he the vice-consul? We don't know. What we do know is that in 1664 the consulate still belonged to François Mazerat. That year, as the minister of King Louis XIV (1661-1715), Colbert (1661-1683)

64 Genç 2014, 383-85; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 150-51, 406.

65 Genç, 2014, 293, *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 86.248.

66 Genç, 2014, 383-85; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 150-51. 406.

67 Bondois 1936, 32.

68 The French obtained this firman, prohibiting the local authorities from obstructing their trade; see Genç 2014, 274; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 73.215.

69 Genç 2014, 291; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 85.243.

70 Bondois 1936, 30-32, and extract from the Chancellery deed of September 1655; see *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647.

71 *A.N.*, Paris, BI 1008, fol. 5.

was reorganizing the consulates, and Mazerat presented him with supporting documents. In 1667 Mazerat still owned the consulate and had it run on his behalf by a certain Verquigny. This was no doubt already the case in 1664, as Mazerat's report of 1675 states that Verquigny had probably been vice-consul of Antalya for more than ten years or, with greater certainty, that he had been living there for more than ten years.[72] In 1669 François wrote to the minister from Marseille to assure him of his devotion. In 1675 he was still in possession of the consulate when he wrote the report he sent to Rouillé.[73] According to the memoir from the early 18th century, he died in 1677.[74]

The report to Rouillé is undoubtedly associated with a Council ruling inspired by Colbert. This ruling first recalled that, despite the rulings of 1664 and 1665, consulate holders had continued to send clerks to the *échelles*. This regulation then

> "cancelled and annulled the commissions given by the so-called owners of the consulates of Smyrna, Nafplio (Napoli di Romania), Aleppo, Cyprus, Satalia, Saida and their dependencies, very expressly inhibited and forbade the said consuls or subdelegates from interfering in the future in the exercise and functions of the said offices, on pain of a fine of 10.000 livres [pounds]...., enjoined His Majesty the Marquis of Nointel to ensure the execution of the present decree, reserving His Majesty the right to provide for the said consulates with capable people."[75]

Despite this ruling, and apart from Aleppo and Smyrna, the clerks continued to be in charge of the consulates in the Levant.[76] Boppe notes that from 1676 the consuls of Antalya were appointed by the king.[77] In reality, they never ceased to be so, and the problem facing Colbert was that of the leasing of the consulate, not the royal attributions.

In 1676 Esprit Bérard succeeded Verquigny as vice-consul of Antalya. A letter written by him from Antalya and dated 20 July 1680 shows that he was still in the post at that time.[78] He undoubtedly remained so until the beginning of 1682 when an Ottoman document and another French document record the death of the [vice]consul in Antalya. In an Ottoman document dated January 1682, the correct reading of the deceased consul's name seems to be Asilrad,[79] very vaguely close to the real name. As for the letter from the French ambassador in Istanbul, Gabriel Joseph La Vergne, Comte de Guilleragues, addressed to the minister Seignelay and dated Péra, 14 January 1682, we only find mention of the death of the [vice]consul (unnamed) and two merchants.[80]

During the years of Esprit Bérard's vice-consulship, the consulate had been held by Rimbaud and Reimondin since 1677, according to a memoir published at the beginning of the

72 Bondois 1936, 30-33.

73 Bondois 1936, 30-32.

74 *A.N.*, Paris, BI 1008, fol. 5. It is difficult to interpret an Ottoman document referring to a statement by the French ambassador in Istanbul, Charles François Olier, Marquis de Nointel, dated in early 1088 (spring 1677). The ambassador states that Sevenkan (?), who was the previous consul in Antalya, was dismissed and replaced by the Beğzade Rafia (Rako?) Fransuva Mazarta; see Karakoyun 2014, 237; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 72.263.

75 Masson 1896, 150.

76 Masson 1896, 150 and 151-52, n. 5.

77 Boppe 1902, 29.

78 Boppe 1902, 29; *A.C.C.M.*, J 541.

79 Karakoyun 2014, 256; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 83.320.

80 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 378, fol. 283.

18th century. These Marseilles merchants "continued, at the King's pleasure, to exercise the aforementioned consulate and trade until 1694, when they withdrew."[81]

After the death of Esprit Bérard, the current vice-consul was Claude Blancon from 1682 to 1691.[82] An edict of 19 March 1683 issued by Sultan Mehmet IV (1648-1687) refers to a consul serving in Antalya, stating that local authorities should not forcibly demand traditional gifts from the consul.[83] Two letters written by Claude Blancon while posted in Antalya have come down to us, one dated 2 April 1687 and the other dated 1 May 1688. Both are addressed to the Aldermen and deputies of the Marseilles Trade.[84] In the first, he states that he has no debt other than that of 192 and a half piastres owed since 13 March 1683, a sum taken from the funds of the boat *Notre Dame du Mont* captained by André Géraud.[85] This is a relatively modest sum, but it shows the fragile balance of Blancon's consular budget, since it has still not been repaid four years after the debt was incurred.

According to Boppe, during the years 1690 and 1691 a certain François Fabre from the Fabre family of Marseille was consul, by which he probably meant vice-consul.[86] But this was not the case, and this person does not appear in our sources. On the contrary, a statement of consular expenses for the period from 10 March 1690 to April 1691 is signed by Blancon. In addition, we read in a document in the same collection, as well as in a document held by the French National Archives, that Du Roure was Blancon's successor.[87] Moreover, Boppe is not quite right when he writes that Du Roure, Blancon's successor, was consul at Antalya from 1691 to 1695.[88] Although he was indeed in office until 1696, the year in which the French consulate closed, Du Roure was unaware (or perhaps pretended to be unaware) that the Antalya consulate had been abolished by the French government in 1691.

To conclude this point, let us look at the years 1691-1696, which were only a long prelude to the effective abandonment of the consulate of Antalya by the French. This abandonment was not definitive, but nevertheless lasted until 1717, that is, more than twenty years. We are certain that François du Roure occupied his post as vice-consul in Antalya as early as 1691, for it was to the vice-consul that the French ambassador in Istanbul, Pierre-Antoine Castagner, Marquis de Châteauneuf, wrote from Pera in letters dated 21 and 25 August 1691. With the second, he sends him his consul's patente and specifies:

> "Sieur Du Roure wrote to me from Satalie that he had been sent there by Mrs of the trade of Marseille to relieve Sir Blancon and asked me for a patente [license] which I sent him with a command from the G. Seigneur [the Sultan] to exercise the consulate of this *échelle* until he has received the King's orders. I am convinced, Sir, that he would not commit me to this if he did not hope to be acknowledged for it."[89]

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81 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 1008, fol. 5.

82 And not 1690 as Boppe notes; see Boppe 1902, 30.

83 Karakoyun 2014, 263-64; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 88.341.

84 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541.

85 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541.

86 Boppe 1902, 30.

87 *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647 ; *A.N.*, Paris, BI 381, letter of Châteauneuf [to Pontchartrain], Péra, 25 August 1691, fol. 56.

88 Boppe 1902, 30.

89 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, Castagner de Châteauneuf à Du Roure, Péra, 21 August 1691; *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires étrangères BI 381, Châteauneuf [à Pontchartrain], Péra, le 25 août 1691, fol. 56.

Du Roure seems to have been appointed on the proposal of Joseph Rimbaud, who was undoubtedly the holder of the consulate and may have been his son-in-law at the time.[90]

Du Roure's correspondence provides us, for the first time in the century, with fairly detailed information on the French consulate in Antalya. We will therefore dwell on it in greater detail because of the insights it sheds on the role of this consulate and the management difficulties it encountered. The documents in our possession are detailed enough to give us a more precise idea of the composition of the consular staff at the time. There was also a French trading company operating in the *échelle*, which was clearly the main justification for maintaining a French consulate there. We will discuss this company in more detail below. For the moment, let us note that the company, no doubt due to insufficient traffic or losses, decided to withdraw from Antalya during the first half of 1694, and ordered the consul to do the same, claiming that this order came from the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille.[91] As we shall see, the trading company was responsible for some of the consulate's expenses. The withdrawal of the company immediately put the consul in debt, making it impossible for him to maintain the consulate and the consular staff with the means at his disposal, and therefore to remain in office. This led him to ask to be replaced and what is behind the closure of the consulate two years later, for a period of more than twenty years.

Two detailed statements of consular expenditure in Antalya, one for the year 1692 and the other for the period from 16 July 1694 to 31 January 1696, give us an idea of the composition of the consular staff in Antalya at that time. Apart from the consul, there was a chaplain, a dragoman, a surgeon, a cook, a janissary to guard the consular house, and a boy (probably a factotum).[92] Several statements of consular expenses are comprised of expenditures for the running of the consulate (including the rent of the consular house, as well as expenses for the upkeep of the chapel) and ordinary presents made to Antalya authorities, to other dignitaries, to servants, and to some employees in the service of these same Antalya authorities, notably on the occasion of religious celebrations or Bayram. These totals are: 1293 piastres for the year 1692, more than 911 piastres from 12 April 1692 to 11 March 1693, more than 1283 piastres from 11 March to September 1693, and 2088 piastres from 16 July 1694 to 31 January 1696.[93] These sums are not excessive and bear witness to the rather low importance of the Antalya consulate and French traffic in the place. However, the consul was unable to cover all these expenses with the money sent to him by the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce as a salary, that is, 1500 livres per year.[94]

Rimbaud asked the consul to withdraw from his post in the spring of 1694. It was made clear to du Roure that he must first obtain a command from the Ambassador.[95] In a letter dated 26 June 1694 addressed to the Marseille Chamber of Commerce, du Roure explained his difficulties:

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[90] Document from October 11, 1696, signed Lebret; see *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647.

[91] *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Du Roure to Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce, Satalie, 26 June 1694.

[92] *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, Du Roure, 21 August 1692. Péra, Duplicata; J 1647, Du Roure, à Alexandrie, 22 March 1696; Masson 1896, 447, n. 2. We find no trace of a chancellor, apart from the mention of Blancon as chancellor of the nation, in a document dated by himself on 2 June 1670; see *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 1008, fol. 3 v°-4. Does this mean that the Chancellor was responsible for his own expenses?

[93] *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, Du Roure, 21 August 1692. Péra, Duplicate; J 1647, Du Roure, Satalie, 19 September 1693; *Idem*, à Alexandrie, 22 March 1696.

[94] *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647, Request from the Chambre de Commerce to the intendant, October 1696; Masson 1896, xi.

[95] *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647, Extract from a letter from Srs Rimbaud to sieur du Roure, document dated Marseille, 14 May 1694.

> "The expenses incurred here are exorbitant, however much care is taken to avoid them; and since Messieurs [of the Chamber of Commerce] and the Company of this *échelle* have absolutely resolved to abandon it, having even given us orders to withdraw, and that this was with your consent, I declare to you that I cannot reside there any longer (...)."

Then he added: "The cessation of trading on this *échelle*, the high costs involved, and finally all that I am telling you, made me decide, gentlemen, to send an express to my lord ambassador to grant me my leave and obtain my freedom by a command from the G.S. so that the ministers here would not oppose my embarkation. It would be very easy for me to leave without such precautions, but I found them extraordinarily necessary for the honor of our nation and without very positive orders I could not undertake my departure without leaving my place occupied by someone (...)."[96]

In a letter to Pontchartrain dated 8 July, the ambassador confirmed that du Roure had asked him for authorization to withdraw:

> "Sr du Roure, Consul of Satalie, wrote to me on the 20th of last month to ask me for a commandment by which he could withdraw to France with the whole nation of Satalie without any impediment being given to them. His request is based on the fact that as the Satalie trade is no longer advantageous, those involved in this trade had resolved to abandon it entirely and that this resolution had been approved by Mrs du Commerce de Marseille. I replied to Sr du Roure that I could not request the command he asked for unless I had received an order from His Majesty [...]."

The ambassador considered that, since the trade in Satalie had brought great benefits in the past (but he is the only one to say so), the King might wish to maintain a French presence there.[97]

The situation did not change that year and in a letter dated 4 March 1695, the ambassador wrote to du Roure that he could borrow to meet his obligations.[98] At the same time, in a letter dated 11 March 1695, the ambassador wrote to Pontchartrain that du Roure should not leave Antalya.[99] It is possible that when the ambassador wrote, du Roure had already been appointed to the post of French vice-consul in Alexandria and that the ambassador had been informed of this.[100] However, the vice-consul absolutely had to settle the nation's debts before leaving his post. This is what appears in a letter from the same to the same dated 26 December 1695. The ambassador reported that du Roure had written to him to say that, since the departure of the French nation (as he put it) from Antalya, he had received no salary from the Chamber of Commerce, nor money to cover the expenses of the *échelle*. He therefore requested an advance from the ambassador who granted him 600 *livres*, a sum which was certainly insufficient

96 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of du Roure to Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce, à Satalie, 26 June 1694.

97 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 381, from Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Andrinople, 8 July 1694, fol. 433. See also *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, from du Roure to Mrs les Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce de Marseille, Satalie, 3 July 1694.

98 Letter from François du Roure, after 31 January 1696, *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647.

99 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 382, letter of Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Andrinople, 11 March 1695, fol. 23.

100 Boppe only states that he was appointed consul in Alexandria in 1695, without specifying the day or month; see Boppe 1902, 4.

but which should have enabled the consul to meet pressing expenses. In the same letter, the ambassador noted that the King had appointed du Roure to the vice-consulate of Alexandria, that the latter was ready to go there but could not do so without freeing himself from his creditors and without leaving a man to replace him in Antalya. The ambassador ordered him not to wait but to go and leave a Frenchman in his place; "until His Majesty has appointed another consul of Satalie in case she still intends to keep this Echelle."[101]

When did du Roure find himself in debt? Until the French merchants withdrew from Antalya, his only debt seems to have been 250 asselanis, which he had to take from the boat belonging to the shipowner Simon Dailhot to settle a dispute with the shipowner Audibert, who was insolvent.[102] It was the withdrawal of the merchants around May 1694, and therefore the disappearance of the income needed to run the consulate, that put du Roure in a position to take on more debt. In a letter obviously dated early in 1696, he wrote that he had had to make the necessary expenditure since 16 July 1694, "as if trade had always continued [...]."[103] The consul must have spent 6264 livres between this date and 1 January 1696, a sum he will claim back when he arrives in Alexandria[104] on 19 March 1696,[105] having left Honoré Mouret in Antalya to replace him.

Mouret was only there to await a royal decision concerning the future of the Consulate of Antalya. Mouret, who might perhaps have believed that the King of France would confirm him in his position, soon found himself in the position of preparing his withdrawal. This can be deduced from a letter from Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain dated Pera, 20 June 1696, in which the ambassador writes that he must obtain a command to allow the vice-consul in Antalya to withdraw.[106] At this point, the ambassador was perhaps already aware that the French government had abolished the consulate in Antalya several years previously. Indeed, in a letter to Pontchartrain dated 19 April 1697, he states: "I only learned in June last year from your letter of 11 April that the King had abolished the consulate of Satalie."[107]

According to several authors, the consulate was abolished as early as 1691, when the consulates were reorganized. Masson asserts that, as the *échelle* was not prospering, the Chamber of Commerce had the consulate of Antalya abolished during the reorganization of 1691 and combined it with that of Aleppo.[108] Boppe states that the consulate was abolished

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101 Then he continued: "As for the other proposal that he made to me to send him money to release him from his debts, I found it more difficult because, although he has the reputation of a man of probity, it could happen that *Mrs du Commerce* would dispute his claim. I therefore decided to have the money advanced to him by the deputies of the French nation in Smyrna, who are the custodians of the funds of *Mrs du Commerce de Marseille*, giving a guarantee by Sr de Roure to return the sum that would be provided to him in the event that *Mrs du Commerce de Marseille* was not obliged to reimburse him. I was all the more willing to accept this expedient because the friends that Sr du Roure has on this scale think that it would suit him"; see *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 382, letter of Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Péra, 26 December 1695, fol. 86.

102 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter from du Roure dated Satalie, 8 May 1692.

103 *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647.

104 Several documents in the Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille J 1647. These expenses included modest sums to pay for the consul's withdrawal formalities.

105 *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647, Request from the Chambre de Commerce to the intendant, October 1696. Du Roure did not leave Satalie in 1695 as Masson and Boppe claim; see Masson 1896, 396. Boppe states that he arrived in Alexandria in March 1696, without specifying the day; see Boppe 1902, 4.

106 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 382, letter of Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Péra, 20 June 1696, fol. 147.

107 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 382, letter of Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Andrinople, 19 April 1697, fol. 268.

108 Masson 1896, 263, 396.

in 1692.[109] As for Bondois, he writes that the consulate was, if not abolished, at least reduced around 1691.[110] We can only be astonished by the fact that neither the ambassador nor the vice-consul in Antalya were aware of this abolition. Châteauneuf notes, again in his letter of 19 April 1697:

> "It had been a long time since I had sent Sr du Roure his Barat for the vice-consulate of Alexandria on the request he had made to me and the need for him to go there promptly. Not knowing then that the Consulate of Satalie had been abolished, I ordered him to leave a vice-consul there because it had appeared to me from your letter of 24 November 1694 that you considered that trade on this *Echelle* could be reestablished."[111]

The explanation for this misunderstanding is still beyond our reach. Did the French government consider that the difficulties arising from the war of the League of Augsburg made it necessary not to apply the government's decisions to the letter and to temporarily maintain the post at Antalya, in case wheat could be bought there for the armies operating in the Mediterranean theater and the populations facing famine?

There was talk of Honoré Mouret's withdrawal as early as June 1696. However, the withdrawal order did not arrive until four months later, as can be seen from two letters dated from Pera on the same day, 31 October 1696, and addressed by Châteauneuf to the Marseille Chamber of Commerce and Pontchartrain respectively. In these letters he announced that he had received the order allowing Sr Mouret to withdraw as soon as the order had been registered with the local cadi, and that he had also had the order sent. "This precaution was necessary to prevent any difficulties that might arise if we wanted to reestablish trade on this *Echelle*," he said. Since Du Roure's departure, Mouret had received no salary and was unable to demand any dues from the ships coming to Antalya. The ambassador therefore had no doubt that he too was in debt. He therefore had 150 ecus sent to him which, by his order, the deputies of the Istanbul *échelle* had advanced, deputies who, apart from this advance, had paid other expenses of the Antalya consulate. Reimbursement of the total amount was to be claimed from the Marseille Chamber of Commerce.[112]

We can consider that Mouret's withdrawal and the effective closure of the Antalya consulate occurred at the end of 1696. However, this did not completely put an end to French activity in Antalya. According to Masson, a few merchants remained there. When quarrels arose between them in 1701, it was decided whether they should be subject to the jurisdiction of the consul of Aleppo or that of Cyprus, a question which, therefore, does not appear to have been definitively settled by the reorganization of 1691. The *échelle* was placed under the dependence of Cyprus, and the consul appointed one of the merchants to collect the duties due to the Chamber of Commerce on his behalf without, however, giving him the name of vice consul because of the minor importance of this establishment.[113] It is in a letter from Charles de Ferriol to Pontchartrain, dated Pera 1 September 1701, that we find mention of these disputes

109 Boppe 1902, 30.

110 Bondois 1936, 33.

111 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 382, letter of Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Andrinople, 19 April 1697, fol. 268.

112 *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647, extract of a letter of Mr de Castagnere, dated Péra, 31 October 1696; *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 382, letter of Châteauneuf [to Pontchartrain], Péra, 31 October 1696, fol. 223.

113 Masson 1896, 396.

between French merchants in Antalya. Ferriol's comments clearly show that this was a consequence of the closure of the consulate: "There have been several quarrels in Satalie between French merchants; since there is no consul, they think they can do whatever they like."[114]

This lengthy discussion on Du Roure's vice consulate and the closure of the Antalya consulate has brought to light at least two important facts. This consulate was created, above all, to protect French trade on the *échelle*, which led to the consulate's closure when the trading company that had been trading there decided to withdraw. This itself did not end the attractiveness of the place for French merchants, but the absence of a consulate made any French commercial activity there highly problematic and clearly doomed to failure.

A French consulate in Antalya was not reestablished until 1717 with the appointment of Curraud.[115] In the meantime, Paul Lucas, who spent nine days in the city in November 1706, found neither a consul nor a resident.[116] This was clearly the case until 1717. At the end of this historical overview of the French consulate in Antalya, more complete than those sketched at the beginning of the last century, we can affirm that the French authorities were keen to maintain a French consulate in Antalya throughout the 17th century, above all, to protect French trade through this *échelle*.

A Sustained Presence Despite Small-Scale Trade

From the time of the Crusades until the 17th century, Europeans in the Levant were mainly interested in precious products from the "Indies," primarily spices. The products sought and acquired by Europeans along the Levantine coasts were therefore primarily re-exported products. The discovery of new sea routes by the Portuguese gradually diverted a large proportion of these products from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and this trade was stimulated by the influx of metals from America. This did not mean the end of trade in high-value products in the Levant. Silk replaced spices in the 17th century, and the Persia-Levant coast route continued to be used extensively for trade, with the Ottoman Empire retaining a central position in the re-export of silk to Europe. However, the Levantine terminals that benefited from this activity were Aleppo and Izmir, not the smaller towns such as Antalya. We demonstrated this in the first part of the article by highlighting the fact that it was local products that were purchased by the French in this *échelle*.

By the end of the 16th century, some French captains realized the resources that Antalya offered smugglers. The trade was considered all the more attractive because there was little to fear from competition. There was therefore no danger of outbidding each other on local products, as was the case in other areas where the French, English, Dutch, and Venetians hindered each other.[117]

It should be remembered that in 1600, Savary de Brèves obviously installed a provisional consul in Antalya in the person of René Fuzibée so French traders could be protected there.

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114 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 383, letter of Ferriol [to Pontchartrain], Péra, 1 September 1701, fol. 283. He added: "I obliged Sr Calaman, a French merchant on his way to Aleppo, to go there. I made him a commissioner to inform me of all disputes, with orders to send me the information as soon as possible. I am convinced that it would be necessary to put a consul back in this *échelle* or to remove all the merchants who indulge in all sorts of excesses, not having anyone to watch over their conduct and who can have them punished."

115 Boppe 1902, 30.

116 Lucas 1712, 312-17.

117 Reynaud 1928, 222-23.

We only know, according to Savary de Brèves, that it was this trade in leather and carpets (without specifying the identity of the buyers, whether local or international) that made the Sataliotes rich. We have also seen that Henri de Beauveau reported in 1605 that the French mainly bought leather and carpets there, but he gives us no information on the extent of this trade.

A period of seven years, between 1600 and 1607, without the consulate being made official by the King of France, suggests either a notable lack of interest in its scale, or resistance to the opening of a new consulate to the detriment of the jurisdiction of Aleppo. In the letter patent of Henri IV, given in Paris on 26 March 1607 and countersigned by Neufville, there is not the slightest trace of any concern about the jurisdiction of the consulate to be created. There is no allusion to the consulate of Aleppo, of which the consulate of Antalya was to become a detriment. Reynaud sees this silence as an indication of the scarcity of trade relations with Caramania, a veritable new country, which the French consuls in Aleppo never seem to have bothered with.[118] It remains certain that, even if in 1607 Antalya officially became the location of one of France's few consulates in the Levant, it was only on a small scale compared to Aleppo, Tripoli, or Alexandria.[119]

That said, we have no information on the importance of French trade in Antalya in the 1610s and 1620s. Our first informant is Séguiran in 1633. He noted that every year, four or five boats (barques) brought back from Antalya a quantity of cordovan, wax, raw or spun cotton, opium, gum tragacanth, camelots, and carpets.[120] This figure of four to five boats a year should be borne in mind, as it was clearly a maximum for the century, with trade being conducted on a smaller number of boats from the middle of the century onwards.

French trade suddenly disappeared from the *échelle* from 1644 to 1655. In his report of 1675, Mazerat explained that French ships no longer dared to go and trade in Antalya because of what he described as the avanias suffered by the nation in 1644 and 1645, which had resulted in a debt of 12.000 piastres including interest. He claims that it was he, François Mazerat, who managed to reduce the debt to around 4000 piastres and open up trade to the French once again, after acquiring the consulate of Antalya in 1655, "which he acquired with his own money."[121]

We have no further details on the origin of this debt of 12.000 piastres. However, the admittedly awkward interpretation of an Ottoman document dated early December 1655[122] (awkward because of the spelling of French names in this type of document, a problem we mentioned earlier), leads us to the following hypothesis: when King Louis XIII terminated Léonard Gravier's vice-consulship in 1639, Gravier was in debt in the place. Another person took over from Gravier as consul, but without possessing a berat from the Sultan.

Was he in the post from 1639? We do not know. Whatever the case, he was probably judged to be severally liable for the debt, and in 1644 things went from bad to worse with regard to the debt, which had in the meantime been swollen by interest payments, as a result of which French trade was interrupted. When François Mazerat acquired the consulate in 1655, he sent Laroche, who was in charge, to arrest the illegitimate consul and his accomplices and

118 Reynaud 1928, 225.

119 Masson 1896, xv, 78; Bondois 1936, 32.

120 Sourdis 1839, 3:227; Masson 1896, 131.

121 Bondois 1936, 32; see also Genç 2014, 274; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 73.215.

122 Genç 2014, 291; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 85. 243.

send them to Istanbul to be heard by the ambassador. Furthermore, the problem of debt was resolved, and activity could resume with the support of the Sultan.

The problem of the debt was only half solved, since it was Mazerat who advanced the sum of 4000 piastres, thereby agreeing to charge the debt to the French nation. He therefore expected to be reimbursed. To this end, in 1656 the King of France authorized the levying of a *cottime (cottimo)* on the *échelle* of Antalya, which was to be used to repay this sum.[123] The complex issue of the *cottimo* fee has given rise to a number of explanations since the eighteenth century,[124] which we will not go into here. Suffice it to say that this duty dates back to at least the sixteenth century. In reality there was not just one *cottimo* duty but several *cottimos* imposed on merchants for various purposes. As a general rule, this duty was used to repay debts contracted by French nations abroad.

In the case we are dealing with here, that of Antalya in the mid of 17th century, the French consul was allowed to levy this duty from 1656 on French merchant ships loading at Antalya, so Mazerat could recover the sum he had paid to clear the debt of the *échelle*. The King of France gave the consular authorities the choice of levying a duty of either three hundred piastres per sail or two per cent on the cargo.[125]

It is the imposition of this duty that explains why we had in our hands a document of exceptional importance, since it has no equivalent, as far as foreign trade in Antalya in the 17th century is concerned. It is a list of the ships that had to pay the *cottimo* duty in Antalya from 7 May 1656 to 2 June 1670.[126] This enables us to assess the importance of this trade over fifteen consecutive years and the approximate value (we would even say, minimum value) of this traffic, as well as other important details: types of vessels used, names of the vessels, and their captains or owner captains (*patrons*). An analysis of the document shows that the method adopted by the French consuls in Antalya for collecting the *cottimo* was to deduct two per cent from the merchandise rather than to levy 300 piastres per sail.

From 7 May 1656 to 2 June 1670, 23 ships owed the right of *cottimo* in Antalya, according to the following annual distribution: in 1656, 2 ships; in 1657, 2; in 1658,[127] 1; in 1659, 1; in 1660, 2; in 1661, 1; in 1662, 3; in 1663, 1; in 1664, 1; in 1665, 1; in 1666, 2; in 1667, 1; in 1668, 2; in 1669, 1; and in 1670, 1. Thus, during this period, one or two ships a year (and exceptionally three in 1662), all French except one presented as Flemish, owed the right of *cottimo* in Antalya. These figures should be compared with those of Séguiran, who stated in 1633 that four or five boats a year came to trade at Antalya. The number of vessels trading on the *échelle* had therefore halved.

The value of the *cottimo* to be collected is more than 5208 piastres,[128] which, at a rate of two per cent of the value of the cargo, gives a total value of 260.400 piastres of goods in fifteen years of traffic, or 17360 piastres per year, on average. This figure should be taken as a minimum, if we are to take into account the possible propensity to conceal the real value of the cargo in order to reduce the amount of duty to be paid.

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123 Bondois 1936, 32.

124 See Teissier 1878, 246, 364-67; Masson 1896, vii-viii, xviii-xix.

125 Bondois 1936, 32.

126 *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires étrangères BI 1008, Chancelier Blancon, Satalie, 2 June 1670, fol. 3 v°-4.

127 One of the buildings is dated 1668, but this is a mistake for 1658; see *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires étrangères BI 1008, fol. 4.

128 *A.N.*, Paris, Affaires étrangères BI 1008, fol. 4.

For the year 1666, we have the figure for all *cottimos* collected in Marseilles, which reveals a traffic of 64 vessels operating in the Levant.[129] This means that only a little more than three per cent of the traffic took place in Antalya that year. The rate must have been very similar during the other fourteen years of our list. These figures are in line with Bondois's observation that things clearly did not improve from 1655 onwards, since in the meantime trade had taken a different route. It was very difficult to reestablish it, and for more than ten years, it was difficult to dispatch more than one boat a year with a fund of ten to twelve thousand piastres, he points out.[130] Bondois relied on documents drawn up by Mazerat, for in 1669 Mazerat wrote to Colbert that the Antalya trade would have been almost wiped out without the good care of the minister.[131] In his report of 1675, he stated that the *échelle* was so small and so lacking in goods that, without the great care he took through his intelligence and industry, it would not be possible to ship more than one boat there every year, since all goods were taken to Smyrna.[132] Mazerat added that, apart from the French, no other nation had settled in Antalya. Bondois deduced from the report that the *échelle* was not very prosperous, with only very mediocre trade in leather, cordovan, wax, carpets, and small goods.[133] Mazerat was therefore far from optimistic, since he wanted to obtain exemptions,[134] so the author's possible exaggeration must be taken into account. In an article on French trade in the Levant in the 17th century, Morineau evokes a customary catastrophic dialectic, summed up in the standard phrase: "our trade will soon be completely destroyed," which it would be unwise to fall for.[135] Having said that, if we focus on Antalya alone, trade appears to have been undeniably weak.

Apart from the list we have analyzed above, we have no documents of this importance for the rest of the century. But there are occasional references here and there, particularly when abuse is contested (in 1677, 1679, etc.), to a trade that continued in the 1670s.[136]

A list of ships leaving Marseille bound for the Levant and Barbary, the Ponant, Italy, and Spain provides information on outbound traffic for the years 1680-1683.[137] Here are the figures for the Levant in descending order of numbers: Izmir, 31; Istanbul, 30; the Archipelago, 26; Candia, 26; Alexandria, 25; Saida, 25; Alexandretta (Iskenderun), 24; Chania, 3; Morea, 1; Cyprus, 1; "Setellier" (Antalya), 1. Thus, from 1680 to 1683, out of 193 departures for the Levant, only the ship (*barque*) *Notre Dame du Mont* from Marseille with a port of 40 tons (*tonneaux*), headed in September 1683 for Antalya.[138] This represents around one-half per cent of the total. This is further proof of the weakness of traffic in Antalya, and even of its probable deterioration since the 1630s.

129 Morineau 1970, 140.

130 Bondois 1936, 32.

131 Bondois 1936, 31.

132 Bondois 1936, 32-33.

133 Bondois 1936, 33.

134 Bondois 1936, 31.

135 Morineau 1970, 163.

136 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 377, fol. 233. For the text in Ottoman see *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 75.279; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 86.280; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 78.293.

137 *A.C.C.M.*, I 1.

138 Thanks to another archival document, the *Notre Dame du Mont*, after leaving the port of Antalya around March 1683 (obviously as part of the caravan trade), is seen returning to Antalya for a commercial operation. Out of necessity, 192 and a half piastres of the funds carried by the vessel, captained by André Géraud, had been borrowed by the vice-consul on the first voyage. This may have had something to do with the ship's rapid return to Antalya. See *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Blancon to Echevins et Députés du Commerce, 2 April 1687.

However, at this time in the early 1680s, we find the first mention of a trading company operating in Antalya. Until then, we can consider that it was the consuls and vice-consuls who conducted commercial operations at a time in the 17th century when this was still authorized or tolerated. Through the death (for reasons that escape us) of the consul and two French merchants in Antalya around the beginning of 1682, we learn that three merchants made up the French trading company operating on the *échelle*.[139]

After this event, there seemed to be no company for a while, as the Dutch painter and traveller Cornelis de Bruijn noted in 1684 that the French consul was the only European resident in Antalya.[140] One company returned later at a date unknown to us. A document dated 11 October 1696 tells us only that a company was active during Blancon's vice-consulship,[141] which, it should be remembered, lasted from 1682 to 1691. We should also remember that the company that was active in the 1690s decided to withdraw in May 1694, due to the mediocrity of the trade. Since then, trade ceased altogether.[142] In June 1694 the vice-consul du Roure wrote that he did not receive any fee of *tonnelage*, that foreign nations had not traded in Antalya for many years, and that, finally, since the withdrawal of the company, trade had ceased altogether.[143] The following letters bear witness to the same cessation of trade until the consulate closed towards the end of 1696.[144] Between 1696 and 1701, there is not the slightest trace of French commercial activity in Antalya either, the disappearance of the consulate having this time weighed heavily on this cessation. The *échelle* therefore appears to have been forgotten during these years. According to the first article of a fifteen-article regulation issued by Pontchartrain on 27 January 1700, only 31 vessels and 20 barques were to be used for the *échelles* trade each year. Antalya is not included in the list of *échelles* that will receive these ships.[145]

The first evidence of the return of the merchants to Antalya comes to light because of the quarrels that arose between them in 1701, mentioned above.[146] A consulate was not reestablished until 1717, as noted previously. As for the merchants, they seem to have been completely absent after the incident of 1701 (at least as residents). Paul Lucas, who spent nine days in Antalya in November 1706, does not mention any French consul or resident there.[147] The author of the oft-mentioned anonymous memoir (beginning of the 18th century) states that "as the King's intention is to increase the Levant trade in his kingdom, this is a favorable opportunity to reestablish that of Satalie de Caramanie, which has been abandoned for a long time."

139 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 378, letter of Guilleragues [to Seignelay], Péra, 14 January 1682, fol. 283; Karakoyun 2014, 256; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 83.320.

140 Le Brun 1714, 391.

141 *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647.

142 *A.C.C.M.*, J 1647.

143 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Du Roure to Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce de Marseille, Satalie, 26 June 1694.

144 Several letters in the bundle J 1647 des *A.C.C.M.*, in the bundle 541 of the same collection, letter of Du Roure to Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce de Marseille, Satalie, 13 July 1694. See also *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 381, letter of Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Andrinople, 8 July 1694, fol. 433; *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 382, letter of Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Péra, 26 December 1695, fol. 86; letter Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Péra, 31 October 1696, fol. 223; letter Châteauneuf to Pontchartrain, Andrinople, 19 April 1697, fol. 268. On the fact that the Antalya trade has been unable to flourish since the turn of the century, see Bondois 1936, 32-33; Masson 1896, 396.

145 Masson 1896, 272-396. The ordinance of 6 June 1703 abolished this regulation.

146 *A.N.*, Paris, AE BI 383, letter of Ferriol [to Pontchatrain], Péra, 1 September 1701; Masson 1896, 396.

147 Lucas 1712, 312-17.

After 1694, the author points out that the merchants of Marseille did not want to introduce a company there because they wanted to attract all the goods to Smyrna, where most of them traded. But according to the author, these merchants did not consider the fact that this would increase the cost of transport and the duties to be paid.[148]

The author makes two proposals for the opening of a consulate in Antalya. The first is the appointment of a new consul with the king's approval, whose salary would be paid by the Marseille Chamber of Commerce. This consul, like the other consuls in the Levant, would provide protection and administration and would easily attract trade, which was very important for French producers. The second proposal was to create a company that would have the privilege of trading alone in this port and which, in return, would be obliged to bear the costs of the consulate. And he adds: "Although most of the merchants of the city of Marseille are opposed to forming companies in the *échelles* of the Levant, there will nevertheless be people intelligent in commerce and [of credit] who would be able to form a Company for the aforementioned *échelle* under the conditions set out above."[149] These proposals and projects were not put into practice, so it will be necessary to wait until 1717 to see the start of a new French consular and commercial period in Antalya. This also ended in a final failure, which we will not deal with in this article. However, we will now discuss the possible causes to explain the weakness of international trade in Antalya and even its final cessation in 1696.

Possible Causes of the Weakness of French International Trade in Antalya

Among the natural causes to explain this failure, geography is a factor because of the rather poor quality of the port of Antalya. Epidemics do not seem to have had a decisive effect, and we only encountered the plague in the form of a threat (although very real) in our sources.[150] Seasonal heat and its malarial corollary do not seem to disrupt trade too much either. Paul Lucas notes that the inhabitants of Antalya retreat to the mountains in the summer season to avoid danger.[151] Nevertheless, of the 23 merchant vessels taxed with *cottimo* and having left Satalie from 1656 to 1670, at least five departed in July or August,[152] which still constitutes a fifth of departures.

In the Cosmography of Alfonse de Saintonge (1545), the port of Antalya is presented as good.[153] Evliya Çelebi, an Ottoman traveler, describes the port of Antalya as an extremely convenient and large port that can accommodate 200 ships.[154] In reality, it was the opposite, as all the opinions from those who visited Antalya in the 17th and 18th centuries say. Based on some of these, Bondois, Reynaud, and Masson had already reported this.[155] In 1605 François Savary de Brèves noted that the coast was dangerous, and, moreover, "the port is very narrow, and good only for small vessels; the entry is very difficult, and perilous for those who are not used to it, there being only a small place through which one can pass, all the rest being filled with

148 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 1008, fol. 5.

149 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 1008, fol. 5 v.

150 Breves 1628, 21-22; Fermanel 1670, 233-36.

151 Lucas 1712, 313.

152 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 1008, fol. 3v°-4.

153 Alfonse de Saintonge 1904, 256.

154 Dankoff 2006, 148. For a detailed spatial assessment of the harbor in the framework of foreign and Ottoman sources, see Şimşek 2022b, 243-46.

155 Bondois 1936, 33; Reynaud 1928, 222; Masson 1896, 395-96.

ruins, almost at the water's edge so that even boats [*barques*] cannot navigate there without touching."[156] Fermanel and Stochove, who were there together in May 1631, both say the same thing, word for word, in their respective works: "The port is small, and only capable of receiving small boats [*barques*]; the beach there is poorly assured, especially since it is full of reefs, which is the reason that galleys and ships can hardly land there, and even less stay at anchor, as the sea is so ordinary rough."[157] In 1684 the painter Cornelis de Bruijn described a port of restricted dimensions with rocks covered in ruins at the entrance.[158] Lucas, who was there in November 1706, notes that the port of Antalya is small and can only accommodate small vessels, boats (barques), tartanes, and small caiques: "The harbor is still beautiful; but we are not safe there."[159] Of the 23 vessels that left Antalya from 1656 to 1670 and that we mentioned above, eight (almost a third) were vessels (but then we have to imagine that they dropped anchor in the harbor or that it were small vessels), there are twelve boats (*barques*) (more than 52% of the total) and three polaccas (around 13%).[160] As for the correspondence coming from Antalya in the 1680s and 1690s, it only mentions boats (*barques*) and tartanes, with the exception of one vessel, Captain Brué, who came from Cyprus.[161] Like the English and the Dutch, whom Colbert always took as his model, for trade only the big Marseilles ships were sent to the big piers. However, the boats (*barques*) of Provence only went in the small *échelles* of the Archipelago, the Morea, or the Maghreb, whose weak trade was sufficient to make up their cargoes. There was undoubtedly from the end of the 17th century a tendency among the French to abandon small *échelles* for larger and safer ones. For them traffic conditions and profits were more advantageous, especially since significant expenses for maintaining French consular or commercial staff in the small *échelles* were eliminated.

Conflicts also surely weighed on commercial relations, such as internal revolts, wars, and corsair activity. We know that the first third of the 17th century was marked by revolts which had a considerable impact in Anatolia, and Antalya was not spared.[162] In June 1605, Savary de Brèves inquired about the situation related to epidemics and security in Antalya before disembarking. He feared that the city "was held by the rebels of Natolia [sic], who several times had surprised and sacked it."[163] In May 1631 Fermanel and his companions did the same because they were aware that a rebel named Helis Bacha was ravaging the entire country.[164] However, we do not have more information about these rebels and their activities and the effects of these revolts on the country.

From 1635 it was less revolts than wars that could perhaps have had an impact on trade. First of all, the war between France and Spain began that year and disrupted French trade in the Levant.[165] The situation worsened when this war was added to that of Candia which opposed Venice to the Ottoman Empire from 1645. The Ottomans learned very quickly that the

156 Breves 1628, 22-23.

157 Fermanel 1670, 233-34; Stochove 1650, 232.

158 Reynaud 1928, 222.

159 Lucas 1712, 315.

160 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 1008, fol. 3v°-4.

161 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Blancon to Echevins et Députés du Commerce, Satalie, 2 April 1687; *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letters of Du Roure, 8 May 1692 and 26 June 1694.

162 It is recorded that at the start of the century Antalya was sacked by pirates; see Brome 1688.

163 Breves 1628, 21.

164 Fermanel 1670, 233.

165 Morineau 1970, 147-48.

French supported Venice unofficially, since they were at peace with the Ottomans.[166] Things became even worse in the 1660s, notably with the French expedition against Jijel in 1664 under the pretext of repression of Algerian corsairs.[167] From 1660 to 1665 there was no French ambassador in Istanbul but a simple resident, Roboly.[168] Colbert, who only considered the interests of commerce and considered a break with the Sultan as disastrous, sought appeasement from 1665. But the aid granted to the Venetians continued.[169] This could not have been beneficial to French trade in Antalya that was maintained, as we have seen, but in a very limited way.

Corsair activity, endemic in the region particularly because of the numerous coves along the coast of Caramania that served as their shelter and points of attack, was also be a serious obstacle to trade. This danger is mentioned by Masson. He specifies that between Cyprus and Antalya the corsairs were watching for ships going to Alexandretta, Tripoli, or Saida.[170] On 8 June 1605, after passing Cape Gelidonya and leaving Finike behind, Savary de Brèves, on the ship which carried him to Antalya, saw two seagoing vessels which mistook his for a privateer. They fled under full sail towards the coast where their crews disembarked with a number of goods.[171] They assuredly feared the Maltese corsairs, who were very active in the region. In September 1628, Maltese corsairs chased for two hours, somewhere between Rhodes and Saida, the vessel on which De Thou was embarked.[172] Stochove notes that near Adresan, they were taken for privateers, and two boats flee with great diligence as the castle fired two cannon shots at them.[173] According to Fermanel, on 29 May 1631, they came across a tartane of corsairs, hidden behind a cape, located after Eski Adalya (in other words Side), starting from Antalya. The tartane fired a cannon and chased the vessel. By dint of oars, they managed to lose sight of the tartane after three hours. The next day, 30 May, they encountered nine sails of the Pâshâ of Rhodes at sea and some beys from Cyprus who were exasperated by the loss of more than a hundred men in a fight nine or ten days earlier against a ship from Malta commanded by the French knight Castelnove. Fermanel and his companions pretended to be Greeks to avoid the anti-French anger of the Turks. The next day, 31 May, they were pursued by corsairs a few dozen miles from Cyprus where they arrived on 2 June at the port of Cerines (Kyrenia?).[174]

In the second half of the 17th century, it was the corsairs of the Maghreb who posed a problem for French trade, for the Maghreb States were often at war with France at that time. The French government suggested that merchant ships should travel in convoy, but the Marseillais refused ship escorts. According to them, a group of ships that suddenly approached an *échelle* could have increased the cost of goods at that port and decreased the value of French goods. In addition, convoys every six months could have given an advantage to competitors.[175] But their attitude eventually changed in 1682 with the war against Algiers and Tripoli, then during

166 Masson 1896, 6-7; Morineau 1970, 164.
167 Masson 1896, 209.
168 Masson 1896, 211.
169 Masson 1896, 210-11.
170 Masson 1896, 15-25; see also Quenot 2009, 395; Avity 1643, 163.
171 Breves 1628, 21.
172 De Thou 1835, 4:392.
173 Stochove 1650, 230.
174 Fermanel 1670, 240-41.
175 Masson 1896, 219-21.

the War of the League of Augsburg.[176] Merchant losses must have been great. Another solution proposed by Colbert and later applied was to encourage anti-corsair squadrons. The cruises of Beaufort, Commander Paul, Marquis Centurion, Vivonne, Marquis de Martel, and Almeras caused many losses to Maghreb corsairs, and the squadron system cost nothing to trade, unlike escorts.[177] At an unknown date but probably at the end of 1684, the French ambassador, Count of Guilleragues, indicated the list of orders from the Sultan, which he obtained during his stay in Adrianople. Among these, three were designated for Antalya, one of which came in opposition to the activity of the North African corsairs who came to its port.[178] Another order from the end of January 1685 was sent to the governors of Chios, Izmir, Cyprus, Morea, Candia, and Antalya confirming the first: it is necessary to protect from Maghrebi pirates (*sic*), French vessels coming in the *échelles*, castles, and Ottoman ports for trade, to return their property to the French in the event of an offense and to punish the guilty.[179]

Another cause regarding limitations to French trade in Antalya comes from the fact that the consuls and vice-consuls were involved in it, which could lead to de facto monopolies. Since these consuls had limited financial means, they could not develop trade. This conflict of interest was not specific to Antalya, but to all the *échelles*. Reynaud notes that Mathieu Grosson and Thomas Gaillard, illiterate sea captains, most often traded on their own account.[180] Jean Mazerat was a merchant from Marseille.[181] His son François was also a Marseille merchant who was familiar with Turkey.[182] The author of the anonymous memoir of the beginning of the 18th century indicates that Mazerat traded in Antalya. Rimbaud and Reimondin succeeded him in this activity.[183] When Colbert passed legislation opposing the exercise of commerce by consuls and their chancellors, Antalya's commerce was already in a situation of deep stagnation and on the eve of its extinction.[184]

Another factor certainly weighing on Antaly's trading weakness was the weight of Colbertian bullionism,[185] a school of thought which, in reality, was already influential in France before Colbert. In the Middle Ages, Europeans managed to sell in Antalya a notable number of cloth from Châlons, Perpignan, Narbonne, or Lombardy.[186] However, in the 17th century, trade was mainly done in return for money. Séguiran already wrote this about Antalya in 1633: "every year four or five boats which each carry thirty thousand pounds, and bring back quantities of cordovan which are white *maroquins*, wax, spun, woolen cotton, opium, tragacanth gum, camelots and carpets."[187] Prime minister Richelieu undoubtedly relied on Séguiran's report by

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176 Masson 1896, 220.

177 Masson 1896, 222.

178 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 378.

179 Karakoyun 2014, 295-96; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 150-51.406.

180 Reynaud 1928, 225, 229, 232.

181 Bondois 1936, 29-30.

182 Bondois 1936, 31. A report dated 1693 places him in the list of bourgeois of Marseille living off their income, being neither noble nor living nobly; see Teissier 1868, 73.

183 *A. N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 1008, fol. 5.

184 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Du Roure to Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce, Satalie, 26 June 1694.

185 According to this economic school that deals with mercantilism in economic history, the wealth of nations depends on the stock of precious metals. It is thought that as gold and silver increase, prosperity will increase; see Magnusson 2003, 46.

186 Depping 1830, 111, 141, 300. For detailed information on the trade of Europeans with Antalya in the Middle Ages, see Duggan 2022, 168.

187 Sourdis 1839, 3:227.

noting about Antalya in his political testament: "The French only bring money there, and bring back cotton, waxes, all kinds of *maroquins*."[188] These are the conditions of exchange that the French were unable to change during the Colbert era, according to Bondois.[189]

Apart from the *cotimo*, French merchants paid ordinary duties,[190] such as an exit duty of five per cent on goods (five per cent before the Capitulations of 1673).[191] These duties weighed on trade but had become the norm. Presents to the Ottoman city authorities and certain employees were also part of the custom. Furthermore, their value was very limited. In 1692, out of 1293 piastres of expenses necessary for the functioning of the French consulate in Antalya, 207 piastres were devoted to gifts,[192] or sixteen per cent. The value of these gifts was 241 piastres in 1695.[193]

It was the abuses and avanias which were particularly felt by traders that had a greater impact on trade. These abuses were not specific to Antalya, but to the *échelles* in general. Masson devotes long passages of his book to it.[194]

François Mazerat presents the indebtedness of the French nation of Antalya in the amount of 12.000 piastres, counting interest, as damages suffered by the nation.[195] And this accumulated debt ended up stopping trade for a decade.[196] Furthermore, the repayment of the debt, reduced to 4000 piastres, required the establishment of a *cottimo* duty, as we indicated above, which was not encouraging for trade. That being said, we have no information on the precise origins of this debt. On the other hand, numerous avanias or accusations of avanias against French commerce and the French nation of the *échelle* can be noted for the century under study.

These avanias consist of extortion, undue taxes, supplies refused to merchant ships, interference in the internal affairs of the French nation, interference in the choice of personnel serving the consulate, and sometimes even physical violence.

An order from July 1656 was issued to the Antalya voivoda to return the sum of 240 riyals unjustly extorted from a French ship captain who came to the port.[197] After the death of the vice-consul and two merchants in Antalya towards the end of 1681, the governor of Antalya apparently took 300 piastres from the only remaining merchant and forcibly borrowed a larger sum with threats.[198] In 1683 new complaints came from the French and the order of Sultan

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188 Richelieu 1688, 141.

189 Bondois 1936, 32.

190 Reynaud 1928, 227; Masson 1896, 50-51, 60, 68, 69, 95-117, 174, 177, 264, 282; Teissier 1878, 160; *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Garnier, 1633; letter of Du Roure to Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce, Satalie, 26 June 1694.

191 Masson 1896**,** 212, 216; Karakoyun 2014, 168-69; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 38.126; Karakoyun 2014, 231; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 70. 251; *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 377, Command to cadis, musellim and emin of Satalie, sha'bân 1088, fol. 325; Karakoyun 2014, 242; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 75.279; Karakoyun 2014, 269-70; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 92.358.

192 *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, Du Roure, Duplicate, to Péra, 21 August 1692.

193 Masson 1896, 449.

194 Masson 1896, 1-23, 77-95.

195 Bondois 1936, 32.

196 Bondois 1936, 32; Genç 2014, 274; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 73.215.

197 *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 85.245.

198 *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 378, letter of Guilleragues [to Seignelay], Péra, 14 January 1682, fol. 283. See also Karakoyun 2014, 259; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 85.328 ; *A.N.*, Paris, A. E. BI 378, letter of Guilleragues [to Seignelay], Péra, 30 June 1682, fol. 334.

Mehmet IV to the Antalya authorities not to demand more presents (pişkeş) than what was regulated by the Capitulations (ahidname).[199]

Complaints against the levy of undue taxes are quite common. Kharaj should not be required of French residents in Antalya recalls an order of June 1673.[200] Imported goods intended to be used for the functioning of the consulate must not be taxed, for example, recalls a Sultan order of November 1655.[201] An order from February 1668 instructed the customs agent, Mehmet, not to inflate the price of goods brought by the French to demand more duties.[202] Another order, dated September 1670, requires the qâdhî of Antalya not to ask for more than 300 akçe of selametlik akçesi, the tax required for the departure of ships.[203] An order from June 1676 recalls that apart from an exit tax of three per cent and the selametlik akçesi of 300 akçe, nothing else could be demanded from French traders.[204] In the years that followed, other complaints were clearly brought to Istanbul about these unfair taxes, since other orders arrived in 1677, 1679, 1682, and 1684.[205]

Some avanias are other forms of barriers to trade, such as the ban on French ships being supplied with biscuits or their equivalent.[206] The sultanian orders also remind us that nobody must interfere in the internal affairs of the French nation. For example, the *beytülmalcı* should not take care of the succession of French merchants who died in Antalya.[207] It was also reminded that the Sataliot authorities must not interfere in the choice of personnel recruited by the French. For example, the Jew Darin Isak was prevented from serving as interpreter for the consul and French merchants, a function he had held for a long time.[208] In October 1679 an order forbade interference in the choice of the *yasakçı*, or janissary serving at the consulate.[209] Finally, physical violence against the French was prohibited. In a document from November 1655, for example, an attack on the consular house was condemned.[210]

Conclusion

All these avanias constituted, we see, serious obstacles to French trade in Antalya. Added to the small importance in itself of the Antalya trade, this could have led to a rapid abandonment of the *échelle*, which did not happen until the very end of the 17th century. For the French judged that there was an interest in staying there. In addition to the trade in local products

199 Karakoyun 2014, 263-64; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 88.341.

200 Karakoyun 2014, 137; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 41.175.

201 Genç 2014, 383-85; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 150-51.406.

202 Karakoyun 2014, 134; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 15.46. See also Karakoyun 2014, 168-69; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 38.126.

203 Karakoyun 2014, 153; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 30.96; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 1 s.v. "Ahidname"; Karakoyun 2014, 152; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 29.94.

204 In this order appear the various beneficiaries of the fees owed by the French; see Karakoyun 2014, 231; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 70.251.

205 Karakoyun 2014, 242; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 75.279; Karakoyun 2014, 242-43; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 86.280; Karakoyun 2014, 247-48; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 78.293; Karakoyun 2014, 257; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 84.322; Karakoyun 2014, 259; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 85.328; Karakoyun 2014, 269-70; *BOA*, MAD. d. 2747, 92.358; *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Beirard, Satalie, l20 July 1680.

206 Genç 2014, 165; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 12.23.

207 Karakoyun 2014, 256; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 83.320; see also Genç 2014, 383-85; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 150-51.406.

208 Genç 2014, 172-73; *BOA.*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 12.23.

209 Karakoyun 2014, 247; *BOA.*, MAD. d. 2747, 78.292.

210 Genç 2014, 383-85; *BOA*, A. DVNSDVE. d. 26, 150-51.406.

from Antalya and its region, the *échelle* was a useful step not only for the partial loading of French ships with goods, but also in the caravan trade.[211] Antalya therefore had an interest in terms of freight for French ships in the internal trade of the Empire, which was a significant aspect of maritime trade. Furthermore, despite the diversion of a large part of the trade in Indian and Indonesian products towards the Cape route, the *échelles* of Syria and Egypt continued to receive products from these regions. These goods continued by land or sea towards Istanbul via the ports of Antalya and Alanya.[212]

In conclusion, the trade in products from Antalya and its region, as well as the interest of the port in the internal trade of the Ottoman Empire, all the more pushed the French to keep commercial activity in Antalya. Although quite weak, they still had a de facto exclusivity among Europeans. The obstacles, quite numerous, contributed to limiting the importance of French trade in the *échelle*, without annihilating it, except during a few years of the century discussed in this study. The conditions of French trade in Antalya still resulted in the cessation of the latter at the end of the 17th century. Instead, there was the concentration of merchant activities in the large *échelles* of the Empire, such as Izmir or Alexandria or in the *échelles* of greater strategic or economic importance, such as scala / ports supplying wheat, oil, or high-value products.

211 Masson 1896, 497-98; *A.C.C.M.*, J 541, letter of Du Roure to Maire, Echevins et Députés du Commerce, Satalie, 26 June 1694.

212 Masson 1896, 287; Mantran 1989, 223; Bondois 1936, 32.

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