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Research Article / Araştırma Makalesi

About the Double-Axe (Labrys) / Butterfly Symbols in an Offering Pit in Tisna

Tisna'da Bir Sunu Çukuru İçerisinde Bulunan Çift Ağızlı Balta (Labrys)/Kelebek Sembolleri Hakkında

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ABSTRACT

In this study, double-axe/butterfly depictions in an offering pit discovered during the 2018 archaeological survey at Kocakale Tepe (Tisna) are introduced. The doubleaxe/ butterfly motifs with a total of 10 scraping lines in different sizes were identified in the pit formed on the bedrock made up of white colored tuff. While double-axes have been observed in the Aegean World since the Bronze Age, it is understood to be an important religious symbol. Since the Minoan culture in Crete, it has been used both as a votive object and a sacrifice axe, and is depicted on different religious objects in iconography. Later, it continued its same feature in the Mycenaean culture during the Late Bronze Age. After this intense use in the Aegean World during the Bronze Age, double axes began to appear in iconography again in the Classical period. Double-axes, which are the symbols of Zeus Labraundos, are depicted on the coins of the Hekatomnid dynasty in the Caria Region. According to Plutarch, the double-axe cult came to Caria from the lands of Lydia. It is not possible to make a sharp comment about the Kocakale Tepe offering pit without any excavation in the area and its vicinity. However, it is noteworthy that the stepped monument in Kocakale Tepe, a possible Acropolis Sanctuary in Sarıkale Tepe, and the open-air sanctuary in Karahayıt may be related to the Mother Goddess cult in Tisna. Especially the existence of similar butterfly motifs in Gordion suggests the effect of Phrygian culture. On the other hand, the existence of the Zeus Labraundos cult on the West Anatolian coasts in the Archaic-Classical Periods should not be ignored.

Keywords: Double-Axe, Tisna, Offering Pit, Symbol

ÖΖ

Bu çalışmada Kocakale Tepe (Tisna)'da 2018 yılı arkeolojik yüzey araştırması sırasında keşfedilen bir sunu çanağı içerisinde yer alan çift ağızlı balta betimlemeleri tanıtılmıştır. Beyaz renkli tüften oluşan ana kaya üzerine oluşturulan sunu çukurunda birbirinden farklı boyutlarda toplam 10 adet kazıma çizgilerle oluşturulmuş çift ağızlı balta/kelebek motifleri tespit edilmiştir. Çift ağızlı baltalar Ege Dünyası'nda Tunç Çağı'ndan beri ele geçerken, önemli bir dinsel sembol olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Girit'teki Minos kültüründen itibaren hem bir adak objesi hem de kurban baltası olarak kullanılırken, ikonografide de farklı dinsel objeler üzerinde betimlenmektedir. Sonrasında Geç Tunç Çağı'nda Miken kültüründe de aynı özelliğini sürdürmüştür. Tunç Çağı'nda Ege Dünyası'ndaki bu yoğun kullanımın ardından çift ağızlı baltalar tekrar Klasik dönemde ikonografide görülmeye başlamıştır. Zeus Labraundos'un simgesi olarak karşımıza çıkan çift ağızlı baltalar Karia Bölgesi'nde Hekatomnid hanedanı sikkeleri üzerinde betimlenmiştir. Plutarkhos'un aktardığına göre çift ağızlı balta kültünün Karia'ya Lydia topraklarından gelmiştir. Alan ve yakın çevresinde herhangi bir kazı çalışması yapılmadan Kocakale Tepe sunu çukuru ile ilgili keskin bir yorumda bulunmak mümkün değildir. Yine de Kocakale Tepe'deki basamaklı anıtın, Sarıkale Tepe'deki kutsal alan / tapınağın ve Karahayıt'taki açık hava kutsal alanının Tisna'daki ana tanrıça kültüvle ilişkili olabilecek yönü dikkat çekicidir. Özellikle benzer kelebek motiflerinin Gordion'daki varlığı Frig kültürünün etkisini de düşündürmektedir. Diğer taraftan Zeus Labraundos kültünün Arkaik-Klasik Dönemlerde Batı Anadolu kıyılarındaki varlığı da göz ardı edilmemelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çift Ağızlı Balta, Tisna, Sunu Çukuru, Sembol

Introduction

In this study, double-axe/butterfly depictions in an offering pit discovered during the 2018 archaeological survey at Kocakale Tepe (Tisna) are introduced. As it is known, doubleaxes have a long history in the Aegean as a religous symbol. Besides the bronze doubleaxes physically recovered in Greece and the Aegean Islands, the examples encountered in iconography shows that they were important religious symbol. During the Classical Period, it appears as the symbol of Zeus Labraundos cult in Western Anatolia. In addition to being a well-known description of the Carian coins of the classical period, the name (labrys) and origin of the double-axes are based on the territory of Lydia, as Plutarch reported. Thus, the function and meaning of the offering pit, which includes depictions of the double-axes in Kocakale Tepe (Tisna), will be evaluated on the rooted symbol in the Aegean and Western Anatolia.

Offering Pit of Kocakale Tepe

Ancient Tisna is located on ancient Aiolis and the borders of Uzunhasanlar Village of İzmir Aliağa district today (Fig. 1). It is built on Kocakale Tepe and especially Sarıkale Tepe which are oriented towards Çandarlı Bay with the East-West extension (Fig. 2-3). Archaeological findings of the city, which is thought to take its name from the river god Tisnaios, so far indicated that Tisna has been inhabited since the Middle Bronze Age. In addition, Tisna is expected to answer some of the problematic questions of the region, especially in terms of Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age findings.

The offering pit, which was discovered for the first time in 2018 and visited again during the 2019 surveys, the engraved motifs in it are remarkable. Offering pit was found on the south-facing slope of Kocakale Tepe, at an altitude of approximately 360-370 m, at a height of 220 m. White tuff bedrocks are observed at some points of the hill, which consists mostly of andesite rocks, as in Sarıkale Tepe, which is the other component of Tisna. It is understood that this geological formation, which is rarely encountered on both hills, was given religious importance by the ancient residents. As a matter of fact, as comprehensively covered in a previous study, a similar area appears in Sarıkale Tepe around a natural spring, and the sacrifice canals we identified here indicate that the area was evaluated within the scope of some rituals performed for religious purposes.

The surveys we made and the measurements taken in the offering pit formed on the bedrock made of white colored tuff at Kocakale Tepe revealed that the pit was 66 x 38 cm in size and 28 cm deep (Fig. 4-5). However, the bedrock with the offering pit covers a wider area. The area, which was determined as 12.11 m in the east-west and 7.77 m in the north-south, was identified as covered with soil during our first researches. After clearing the soil, as far as we can observe in different sizes in the plate of pit, a double-axe / butterfly motifs

formed with a total of 10 engrave were identified (Fig. 6-7). The largest of these are measured as 6,9 cm x 4,1 cm and the smallest is 2 x 1 cm (Table 1).

No	Height	Width
1.	4,2 cm	2,5 cm
2.	3,4 cm	3,1 cm
3.	2 cm	1 cm
4.	4,3 cm	3,3 cm
5.	4,6 cm	2,5 cm
6.	4,8 cm	3,4 cm
7.	5,2 cm	3,6 cm
8.	3,8 cm	3,3 cm
9.	6,9 cm	4,1 cm
10.	4,1 cm	2,6 cm

Tablo 1. Kocakale Tepe Double Axe / Butterfly Motif Dimensions.

Overview of the Double-Axe Symbol in the Aegean

The double-axe (*labrys*) is a description given to two cutting axes symmetrically opposite each other. Physical evidence of double-axes can be seen in Crete at the earliest in the Aegean. A large number of double-axes found in the Arkhalokhori Cave were used as votive. Axes, most of which were broken, were found together with Early Minoan or Middle Minoan I pottery (Nillson, 1971 pp. 197; Alexiou 1991, pp. 109) (Fig. 8a).

The earliest example in iconography can be seen in Mochlos with double-axes depicted as butterfly on the Early Minoan II pottery (Evans 1921, pp. 74; Nillson 1971, pp. 213) (Fig. 8b). Following these initial descriptions, it is possible to monitor the continuity of the double-axe depictions in Crete until the Minoan culture. These motifs on pottery, which were handled abstractly, was defined by Arthur Evans as a butterfly or double-axe while they continue until the Minoan period (Evans 1921, pp. 75).

Double-axe molds were dated to the Early Minoan II period at the earliest in Vasiliki, while it was unearthed in the Middle Minoan II period in Mallia and Phaistos (Nikolaidou 2016, pp. 103, 56). These finds reveal the earliest physical evidence.

From the earliest period when double-axes were found in the Aegean, it is seen that the use of religious approaches was the main purpose. The presence of broken votive axes in Arkhalokhori reveals one process of the religious ritual, while there are Linear A inscriptions on two axes. A god named *Itar* is associated with the inscription on it that can be read as *I-DA-MA-TE* or *I-DA-PHA-TE* (MacGillivray 2010, pp. 120).

Finds uncovered at the residence of Mu in Mallia have shown that here is a religious administrative center. When the religious objects are examined here, an offering table with engraving double-axe were found, as well as bukranium and double-axes, as well as the Middle Minoan II period (Nikolaidou 1999, pp. 557, CXXIg). Similarly, there was a double-axe symbol with a bull head on a vase in Palaikastro, which is dated to the Middle Minoan III period (MacGillivray 2010, pp. 121, Fig. 3).

Double-axe figures engraved on the walls can be seen both in palaces and in villas in Minoan culture (Fig. 8c). In Knossos Palace, it is seen that these descriptions were used on the walls of the lightwell in "the Hall of Double-Axe" (Graham 1972, pp. 86), in the pillar cryptos and even in the magazines (Marinatos 1993, pp. 49, Fig. 39), it is possible to see the same signs in Knossos in the South House, in the northwest corner of the building, on the pillar cryptos of the Southeast House (Graham 1972, pp. 55-57). In addition to the engraved depictions, the bases with double-axes were found close to the foot of the pillar in the dark cult room called the pillar crypt in Knossos (Nilsson 1971, pp. 238).

However, in pillar cryptos, there are pits in the area around the column, and in one example there are small pits and groove in front of the column (Alexiou 1991, pp. 98). It is possible to talk about the existence of a common cultural element on the island by engraving the double-axes on the walls in Crete. Especially in Knossos Palace, a total of 180 double-axe motifs, 4 of which are bows and 20 of which are butterflies, are engraved on the walls and this number is 17 in Mallia and 25 in Phaistos Palaces (Hood 1987, pp. 207, Fig. 5).

The encounter with double-axes in pillar crypts, which is one of the main religious places in Minoan culture, emphasizes the religious aspect of the symbol, however, it is also seen that it is physically recovered with different religous equipment such as rhyton and horn as a cult object (Graham 1972, pp. 107). As it turns out, large-sized double-axes should have been used as a cult object for sacrificial purposes in rituals, and small ones should have been used as votive objects with their symbolic meanings (Alexiou 1991, pp. 109). In the depiction of the goddess on a mold dated to the Late Minoan III period in Palaikastro, the fact that the goddess holds the double-axe reveals this cultic aim (Nilsson 1972, pp. 225, Fig. 112; Marinatos 1993, pp. 5) (Fig. 8d).

Double-axes are represented by many examples especially in funeral iconography during the Late Minoan period. There are also examples on the Late Minoan III period paintings depicted with a single or horns of consecration. In the most well-known examples, descriptions on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus contain a scene of the sacrifice, while buckets filled with sacrificial animal blood are transferred to the vat with a large double-axe on either side (Evans 1921, pp. 439-440, Fig. 317; Marinatos 2009, pp. 41, Fig. 3.6) (Fig. 8e). In addition to archaeological findings, these details in iconography reveal the role of double-axes in religious rituals. In another scene on the same sarcophagus, the depiction of the double-axe together with the blessing of the olive tree and horns of consecration reveals the

power of the symbol for religious purposes (Evans 1935, pp. 43, Fig. 27; Haysom 2010, pp. 41, Fig. 2).

In the Late Minoan period, it is seen that the double-axe was depicted along with the female figures in the seal and ring stones found in Crete. In the seals in Hagia Triada, Knossos and Zakros, women with robe are carrying large size double-axes in their hands, presenting the traces of a ceremonial ritual (Haysom 2010, pp. 43-44, Fig. 4-7) (Fig. 8f).

While double-axes are depicted with women in Crete, they are described by researchers such as Evans and Marinatos as the symbol of the great and goddess of Minoan (Marinatos 2013, pp. 249). Along with that, *a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja*, which is also mentioned in Linear B tablets, Castleden sees it related to the goddess Potnia (Castleden 1993, pp. 124).

When looking at the Mainland Greece, there is a double-axe between a goddess sitting under the holy tree and priestess on the scene on the golden ring stone found in Mycenae (Evans 1901, pp. 108, Fig. 4; Alexiou 1991, pp. 106, Res. 37). A similar continuity can be observed in the Mycenaean culture in the Aegean region during the Late Bronze Age after the intense religious meanings attributed to the double-axe symbol in the Minoan religion. Double bronze axes made of this type of bronze were unearthed in many centers both in Greece and in the Aegean Islands, such as Mycenae (Mylonas 1962, 121, Fig. 5) and Kos-Seraglio (Morricone 1975, pp. 277, Fig. 235). These axes, which are understood to be attached to a wooden handle, should be the source of these descriptions as they exist, that is, the fact that they resemble a butterfly shape when a handle is not attached to the double-axe.

While continuity is observed in the use of double-axes in different styles on Late Minoan pottery, it includes two different types of implements, Crete and Mainland Gteece, in descriptions on Mycenaean pottery (Popham 2004, pp. 254, Fig. 19.1). There are abstracted items in Mainland type, butterfly and hourglass variations. The late type axe depictions of the Mycenaean pottery include consecration and bull-related figures (Evans 1901, pp. 106-107, Fig. 3; Furumark 1972, pp. 327, Fig. 35.21-22). Another aspect of the value given to the double-axe in both cultures can be understood through writing.

While the double-axe symbol corresponds to a letter in the Linear A script of the Minoans and the Linear B script of the Mycenaeans, this corresponds to the sound of the first letter of the alphabet, "A", in both languages (Hooker 1994, pp. 38; MacGillivray 2009, pp. 120). With the classical period, double-axes are reused as an important religious symbol. After this intense use in the Aegean during the Bronze Age, double-axes began to appear in iconography again in the Classical period.

The double-axes that appear as the symbol of Zeus Labraundos are depicted in the hands of the god on the coins of the Hekatomnid dynasty in the Caria Region (Kouremenos 2016,

pp. 46). The satrapial coins minted by both Mausolos and Pixodarus include Apollo on one side and Zeus Labraundos, which holds a double-axe on the other (Meadows 2005, pp. 204, Cat. 346-347; Kouremenos 2016, pp. 45-46, Fig. 5.3). Plutarch quotes information about the arrival of the double-axe cult in Caria. After Heracles killed Hippolytê, he took his double-axe with his weapons and gave it to Omphalê. Lydian kings after Omphale adopted the axe as a sacred royal symbol, and it continued until Kandaules. Arselis, who came from Mylasa during the fight against the throne of Gyges with Kandaules, killed Kandaules and placed the double-axe in Caria and placed it in the hands of the statue of Zeus. Stating that they call this god God *Labrandeus*, Plutarch adds that the Lydians also called the ax the *labry* (Plut. Quaes. Gr. 301-302. 45). However, in ancient times, the double-axe until the Phrygia lands was introduced as a symbol of Apollon Lairbenos (Usman 1995, pp. 226).

Double-axes on coins were depicted in different periods in Western Anatolia. There are depictions of a double-axe on the coins of Alexander III and Philip III, possibly minted in Miletus (Ashton 2004, pp. 33) On the coins with the depiction of amazon minted in Smyrna, the Smyrnaean Amazons carry double-axes in their hands. On Neokoros coins of Smyrna, Amazon carries a small temple as well as a double-axe and armor (Burrell 2004, pp. 51). In different examples, Salonina bust on one side (260-268) can be seen on the Roman coin with a lion and a patera and a double-axe on the other side (Ünal 2009, pp. 415).

Assessment

A total of ten double-axe / butterfly symbols can be observed on the pit as of today. It can be seen that the symbols in question are depicted as butterflies. As a feature known since Minoan culture, a double-axe that does not use the handle part naturally resembles a butterfly motif. With this aspect, it is possible to say that both figures have been compared to each other in the Aegean cultures since the Bronze Age. The fact that double-axes are used in the rituals of sacrifice in Minoan culture emphasizes the religious aspect of the symbol in Aegean cultures.

The fact that there is an offering area under the columns with double-axe engraves in the pillar cryptos rooms reflects the traces of an offering approach in the Aegean cultures where double-axes are in the foreground.

While defining the symbol of the *horns of consecration*, Marinatos describes the sunset and sunrise in the Near East as the gate of the cosmic mountain and associates the doubleaxe between the two mountains with the sun god (Marinatos 2010, pp. 114-115). The *akhet*, known as a vanishing sign in Egyptian hieroglyphs, should have probably been moved from Egypt to the Aegean (Marinatos 2017, pp. 231-232, Fig. 12.8a-b).

As is known, there are depictions of a double-axes rising between the two horns. Considering the position of the offering pit in Kocakale Tepe, it is possible to suggest that some cosmological connections can be found. Because the wide area opposite the offering pit is at a point where the sky can be watched very well day and night. The possibility that this place could be chosen deliberately should be to observe the sky and perhaps the purpose of the offerings made here related to the sun, moon and the sky.

In almost all ages of history, white color has a special place in belief systems with its purity and representing the natural. There are some reflections of this semantic union dating from the prehistoric ages to the Roman Period in ancient texts. In the narratives of the Caria, Herodotos reports (Hdt. 5.118) that the communities living here held their meetings in an area called *Leukai Steleai* ($\lambda \epsilon \nu \kappa a i \sigma \tau \eta \lambda a i$), and this area is thought to be Gerga, one of the important early sanctuaries of the Caria Region.

Diogenes Laertius reports that appropriate costumes are $\sigma\tau\sigma\lambda\dot{\eta}$ $\lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa\dot{\eta}$ and $\sigma\tau\rho\dot{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa\dot{\alpha}$ to provide Pythagoras' prescription for ritual purity, believed to show the proper ritual status of white clothing, in which mortals must approach a god (Buxton 2010, pp. 3). However, there are also extensive narratives that white animals are sacrificed to the gods of Olympos, including Aphrodite, Apollo, Hera, Poseidon and Zeus (See Buxton 2010).

At this point, interesting information comes from Titanus, the name of the city quoted by Pliny, and *Titané*, another name. As it is known, Titanus is a river in Aetolia; it is the name of a mountain, a river and also a city in Morea (Peloponnesos?) (Pye 1803, "Titanus"). Titané is the name of a region (khorion) in Sikyonia and a city in Thessalia. The narrations of Pausanias about the Titané in Sikyonia explain that Titané, the name of this place, is associated with the sun and fertility season, the city is defined as "white hills", and Titané is washed with whiteness and brightness. In Titané, practices related to whiteness and sun cults are found on the hillside of the city, where Pausanias mentions that mysterious rituals are held in four different pits one day and night.

It may be thought that the similar implement mentioned in this settlement area where name of the Tisna appears to have common name in its origin, may have taken place in the offering pit of Kocakale Tepe. As a matter of fact, the "pit" in here is also located on the slopes of the hill, as mentioned for Titané, and it is located in an area suitable for the mysterious cults and ceremonies of the ancient times.

As we have mentioned in detail in our study, it is known that the mentioned symbol has been evaluated as double-axe (*labrys*) in many studies carried out to date. However, another suggestion we would like to emphasize is that these may be directly related to the butterfly, especially the symbols in the stemless image, rather than an analogy. As a matter of fact, the butterfly should be associated with metamorphosis, i.e. seasonal transition, transformation, agriculture and fertility, especially in the faith myths of the Mother Goddess. Possible evidences regarding the cult of the Mother Goddess can be observed in Tisna and its surroundings. There is a stepped monument in Kocakale Tepe and an arrangement that could be defined as Acropolis Sanctuary in Sarıkale Tepe. In Karahayıt, it is possible to mention the presence of an open-air sanctuary with its niche carved into the rock. Similar descriptions of the double-axes in the offering pit in Tisna appear to be engraved on the wall of Megaron 2 in Gordion (Roller 2009, Fig. 38) (Fig. 9). Although it is defined as X in square by Roller, it is possible to clearly define it as a butterfly motif. In addition to its similarity with the possible butterfly depiction in Gordion Megaron, figurine, fibula and plates are encountered regarding the effect of Phryg culture in Tisna and its surroundings. Also there is an engraved double-axe / butterfly motif on a Late Archaic-Early Classical pottery sherd found in the Sarıkale Tepe Acropolis Sanctuary (Fig. 10).

When questioning the origin of cult activities through the offering pit in Tisna, it is important to examine the nearby region. It is seen that the closest sanctuary devoted to the mother goddess in the northeast of Tisna is in Mamurtkale on Aspordene Mountain. According to ancient sources, it was worshiped as Meter Aspordene in the area carved into the rock in Mamurtkale (Ateş 2014, pp. 422).

In the southwest of Tisna, there are sacred areas associated with the Mother goddess cult in Phokaia. One of these is the Cybele cult area on the northern slope of the Temple of Athena in Phokaia, dated to the Archaic period (Özyiğit 2003, pp. 118). There is also a sanctuary belonging to Cybele in Değirmenli Tepe, which has an ancient theater on its slope (Özyiğit 1998, pp. 769; 2003, pp. 118). On the İncir Island near Phokaia, the open air sanctuary with the mother goddess reliefs in a niche is dated to the Archaic period through finds (Erdoğan 2008, pp. 112-113). Another open air sanctuary is in Orak Island, where there is a relief associated with Cybele (Özyiğit 1998, pp. 768).

Considering the cult areas around Tisna, it is possible to state that the region extending to Pergamon in the north and the south coast of Aiolis in the west form the closest borders that can be connected with Tisna. Although there are not many chronologically comparable examples with Tisna, the dating of the Cybele cult area on the northern slope of the Athena Temple in Phokaia to the Archaic period reveals a chronological consistency with Tisna Kocakale Tepe.

Findings obtained from the surveys carried out in the ancient city of Tisna reveal a cultural continuity from the Second Millennium BC to the 14th century AD (Erdan 2019, *passim*). This should indicate that the settlement may have a long history in the axis of cult activities and beliefs.

When attempting to establish a chronological connection with the butterfly motifs engraved on the wall of the Megaron 2 in Gordion in Phrygia, the Subprotogeometric pottery fragment found during the surveys in Tisna reveals a close dating (Erdan 2019, Cat.61, No.9). On the other hand, it is not yet possible to make a complete chronological comparison through the offering pit in Tisna. It is aimed that the studies to be carried out in the coming years will produce new results on this subject.

Conclusion

It is not possible to make a sharp comment about the Kocakale Tepe offering pit without any excavation in the area and its vicinity. Nevertheless, considering the place of the motif depicted in the pit in question in the Lydian or Persian culture, it is thought that the cultures in question were formed during the activity periods in Tisna. However, it is noteworthy that the step monument in Kocakale Tepe, the Acropolis Sanctuary in Sarıkale Tepe, and the open-air sanctuary in Karahayıt may be related to the Mother Goddess cult in Tisna. Especially the existence of similar butterfly motifs in Gordion suggests the effect of Phrygian culture. On the other hand, due to the existence of the sanctuary in Sarıkale Tepe, the existence of the Zeus Labraundos cult on the West Anatolian coasts in the Archaic-Classical Periods should not be ignored, as it reminds the Mother goddess about the origin of the symbols in the offering pit at Tisna Kocakale Tepe.

Kocakale Tepe provides many suitable data for the 2nd millennium BC settlement area as stated in previous studies (Erdan 2019, 22). The entrance gate and walls that can still be observed here attract attention with their monumental structures known from the 2nd millennium BC settlements of Western Anatolia and Greece. The archaeological finds presented by the site contain findings that point to the intense resettlement of Tisna in those periods. However, although the examples of the same motifs engraved on pottery on a Late Archaic-Early Classical pottery sherd we found in the Acropolis Sanctuary on Sarıkale Tepe, which is the main component of the city, are also interesting with the idea that it may be an implement for a common culture at this point. It is not possible to make a definitive comment.

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Figure 1. Map of Tisna and Close Surrounding in Antiquity.



Figure 2. View of Kocakale Tepe from West.



Figure 3. Google Earth image of location of the Offering Pit.



Figure 4. General view of the Offering Pit.





Figure 5. General view of the Offering Pit.



Figure 6. Detail view of the Offering Pit. The engravings are made clear by pouring coal dust.

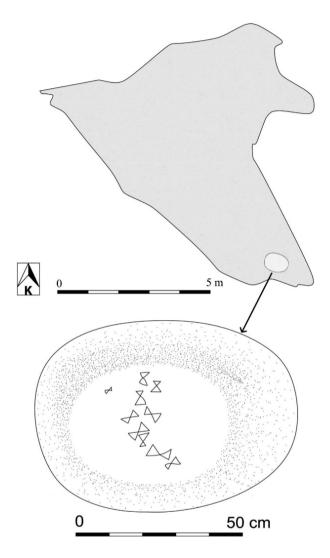
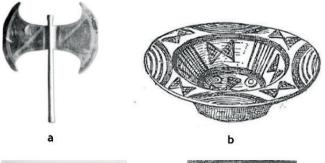


Figure 7. Drawing of the Bedrock and Offering Pit.





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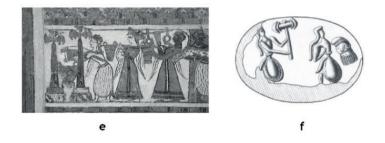


Figure 8. a) Double-axe from Arkhalokhori (MacGillivray 2010, 120, Fig. 2),
b) Early Minoan II pottery from Mochlos (Evans 1921, 74, Fig. 41), c) pillar crypt from Knossos (Evans 1921, Lev. X), d) a mold from Palaikastro (Nilsson 1972, 225, fig. 112),
e) sacrificial scene on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus f: seal from Zakros (Haysom 2010, 43, Fig. 5).

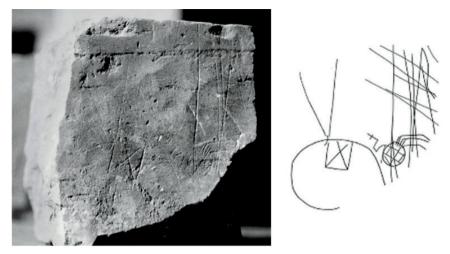


Figure 9. "Doodles" from Gordion. (Roller 2009, Fig. 38).

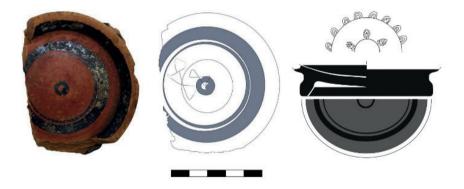


Figure 10. Sherd from Tisna-Sarıkale Tepe.