

Terrence Michael Patrick DUGGAN*

The Lycian port of Patara and its environs during the 13th and 14th centuries – An interpretation –

Abstract. The Rum Seljuk surface remains at Patara, in the bathhouse and on the upper section of the adjacent wall around Yarımada attest to their presence at Patara, together with their probable reuse of the Roman Pharos, certainly still standing to a considerable height at this time and providing a marker for mariners along this coast until after 1524 as Piri Reis's maps of this coastline clearly record; although the port no longer functioned to any significant extent after the Lusignan Crusader sack of Patara in May 1362 and so it is not noted or marked as such by Piri Reis. The 1211 Rum Seljuk-East Roman border agreement, the 1216 letter to King Hugh of Cyprus addressing the problem of piracy and the use of Seljuk naval forces from Lycian ports, including vessels probably based at Patara for the 1216 re-conquest of Antalya, together with the 1220 Rum Seljuk-Venetian trade treaty indicate firm Rum Seljuk state control over Lycia and its Turkmen and Rum populations, as over the ports of Lycia, including the port of Patara, was established within the first 2 decades of the 13th c. Rum Seljuk control which continued into the 7th decade and arguably, with the rise of the Seljuk sponsored Menteşe Beylik into the first decade of the 14th c. The use and significance of the port in the period from the 13th c. to the sack of 1362 is noted, including serving as a Seljuk naval base in the control of piracy, for local cabotage trade and for Latin and Rum pilgrimage to the birth-place of St. Nicholas and, from the 1270's onwards, as a base for jihad-raiding of Latin and Rum territory and shipping. The reasons for the port's failure to recover following the sack of 1362, in addition to the known gradual silting up of the port, are given, the closeness of Rhodes in the hands of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem from 1310-1522 with the permanent threat of a raid on Patara in the absence of a strongly fortified entrance to the harbor, combined with a significant degree of Hospitaller control through galley patrols over the adjacent sea lanes and only Latin-Rum not Muslim merchant vessels passing along this route led, it is suggested, to the rise in prominence of more secure bases in Caria and northwards to prosecute the jihad as the 14th c. progressed, Miletus-Balat, Milas-Peçin and Ephesus-Ayasoğluk and Izmir-Smyrna (until 1344), in addition to depopulation caused by the 1347 plague pandemic and the distance overland from the port to major urban centers. With the Knights surrender of Rhodes in 1522 the sea-lane from Istanbul to Egypt past Patara was opened to Ottoman merchant vessels leading to the decline in trade through the port of Antalya, but the port of Patara was by then silted up and Patara was abandoned.

Keywords: Patara, Lycia, Rum Seljuk, Hospitaller, Ottoman, buildings.

In 1191 Patara was still in East Roman (Byzantine) hands¹. Some scholars suggest Patara was taken

* T. M. P. Duggan, member of the T.C. Culture and Tourism Ministry-Akdeniz University, Myra-Andriake excavation team (tmpduggan@yahoo.com).

Without the invaluable assistance of Prof. Dr. F. Işık, Prof. Dr. H. Işık, Prof. Dr. G. Işın, Prof. Dr. N. Çevik, Dr. Ş. Özüdoğru, E. DüNDAR and Uz. Ark. Ş. Aktaş, this article could not have been possible.

¹ Armstrong 2001, 278; Foss, *Asia Minor I* 26, fn. 80. Byzantine territory in 1191 extended only as far from Patara as Mt. Kragus-“Caput Turkiae”-Ak Dağ, 3,024 m., visible from the city.

from the East Romans by Turkmen forces during the 1190's², others, less probably, that it fell later, in 1203-4 to Turkmen forces following their capture of Isparta-Saporda during the reign of the Rum Seljuk Sultan Rukned-Din Süleyman II³. It may well have exchanged hands a number of times, although it seems to have been understood by the East Romans as being finally lost to East Roman control together with the rest of Lycia before 1199, when the East Roman Cibyrhaeot theme⁴, that included the port of Patara, no longer existed and only Attaleia-Antalya and some surrounding territory, all that was left under East Roman control of the former Cibyrhaeot theme, formed the new East Roman Province of Attaleia⁵. Patara was therefore the first Mediterranean port, together with Meğri-Makri-Fethiye, to come under nominal Seljuk control and both were firmly within Rum Seljuk state territory by 1211, given the agreement between the Seljuks and the East Romans in that year that recognized the Gulf of Fethiye and the Indus R.-Battal nehri-Dalaman çayı as the border⁶. These first Mediterranean ports were then followed by the conquest of the port-city of Antalya-Adalya-Sattaliya-Cathalya⁷ in 1207, (lost in the Rum-Latin uprising against Seljuk rule from 1212 to early 1216⁸), of the port-city of 'Ala'iyya-Alanya in 1221 and of the port of Anamur in 1225, ports that opened the Mediterranean Sea to Seljuk controlled trade and to the lucrative state tax revenue that was raised by the Seljuk state on the international trade that passed through its territory⁹.

² Foss, *Asia Minor I* 30. While, idem *IV* 12 records, "In 1191, when the French King Philip Augustus returned from the Third Crusade, Attaleia, described as a castellum optimum, was still in imperial hands, even though Lycia, to the west, had fallen to the Turks". If this observation refers to all of Lycia and is accurate then perhaps Patara fell during the course of 1191, however the port of Finike was then still in the hands of Pisan corsairs, four of whose craft were sunk by the King's forces, Foss, *Asia Minor II* 41, so not all of the coastline of Lycia had fallen to the Turks by 1191. The Pisans had long been familiar with this coastline and had fought the East Roman navy armed with Greek fire between Patara and Rhodes in 1104, Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, London 1960, 11, 360-62.

³ This 1203-4 date for the conquest of Patara seems to be an error. It is cited by Savvides, *Byzantium*, 66, citing Pitcher, *Ottoman Empire Map VI*. In the Turkish translation of this work, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Tarihsel Coğrafyası", çev. B. Tırnakçı, 2001, 52 map 6 records "Patara (1204?)" and this date is implied in Flemming, *Landschaftgeschichte 2*, citing Ibn Bibi. However, in the latest translation of Ibn Bibi's work (*El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye Fil Umuri'l-Ala'iye/ Selçuk Nâme*), Ankara 1996), there is no reference to Patara in the chapters dealing with this period, indicating an error or misreading, see also on this matter, Turan, *Türkiye* 265, fn. 59; "P. Wittek ... Müellif W. Tomaschek'e dayanarak bugün mevcut olmayan bir Patara şehri adının metatezle Sparta olacağını ve buranın da Ulu-su (Eşen çayı) ile Dalaman çayı arasında ve birincinin ağzına yakın bulunduğunu, Borgulu (Ulu-borlu) vilayeti yakınındaki Barida (Türkler elinde bulunmakla burasının) bahis mevzu olmayacağını ileri sürer."

⁴ Founded in 698 the Cibyrhaeot theme included Milas-Antalya-Alanya and Cibyra was its original capital indicating Cibyra was of considerable importance in the late 7th c. and was not abandoned, or was resettled after the 417 earthquake.

⁵ Foss, *Asia Minor IV*, 12.

⁶ The agreement to abide by the current borders followed the battle of Antioch on the Meander of 1211 in which Sultan Ghiyathsed-Din Kayhusrev I had been killed. Cahen, *Turkey* 49-50; Koca, *Keykavas* 1997, 63; Vryonis, *Asia Minor* 132; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* 121; Savvides, *Byzantium* 89, "Lycia had passed firmly into Turkish hands by 1207-11.", hence the Seljuk-East Roman border of 1211 extending from the Black Sea by Amasra to the Gulf of Meğri-Fethiye, idem. 111.

⁷ In western texts into the 19th c. Antalya was called Satalye-Satalya-Sattaliya, Sir John Mandeville's *Cathaly, Adalia, Adalya*.

⁸ Redford – Leiser, *Fetihname* 93-5.

⁹ For rare valuable or exotic goods heavy taxes would be levied, see, Ibn Bibi, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iye Fil*

The Mediterranean region of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate, a valuable area with its ports, its importance for the long months of winter hunting, not just for the game killed and feasting but as training for warfare, and as a place for relaxation in winter, a places of palaces and pavilions and the location at times of the Sultan's treasury¹⁰, was a region that extended from Makri and Patara eastwards beyond Anamur by 1225, and this region, that extended inland to Isparta and almost to Borlu (Uluborlu) was administered as a single unit¹¹. From 1206¹² as this region grew rapidly in size and importance to the Sultanate, it was administered for nearly 20 years on behalf of successive Seljuk Sultans by the freed slave¹³, *emir-i sawahil* (Emir of the coastlines)¹⁴ and later Atabek, Mübarized-Din Ertokuş. It was then taken into Sultan Alaed-Din Keykubat I's personal control, and it was later governed by important Seljuk Emirs having the title, *Malik al-sawahil* (Lord of the Coastlines)¹⁵.

In regard to Lycia, comprising the westernmost part of this region, and the nomadic Turkmen, it is important to note that from 1211, with the agreement establishing the Seljuk-East Roman border, until after 1260 there is no evidence to indicate any substantial Turkmen unrest within the Lycian region or of Turkmen raiding of East Roman Caria as the had occurred prior to this date¹⁶. The implication I draw from this is that Lycia was firmly administered by the Seljuk state¹⁷, in part, be-

Umuri'l-Ala'iyе (Selçuk Nâme), Ankara 1996, vol. I, 373, "Of massive gold and silver many ingots were brought - *on beautiful things heavy taxes*," in reference to the merchandise arriving at the port of Antalya.

¹⁰ Located in Antalya, Ibn Bibi, El Evamirü'l-Ala'iyе Fil Umuri'l-Ala'iyе (Selçuk Nâme), Ankara 1996, vol. II 149. Sultan Giyathsed-Din Keyhüsrev II, 1237-46, kept his treasury at Alanya.

¹¹ It also seems probable that references to Adalya-Antalya in Ibn Bibi and other texts, on occasion refer to this entire region under this name, rather than just to the port-city, eg. the reference to "Adalya koyunda" by Rhodes, in the Saltukname.

¹² Cahen, Turkey 153, that is he was appointed prior to the conquest of Antalya in 1207.

¹³ Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey 244.

¹⁴ *Emir-i sevahil*, Emir of the coastline, Durukan 2001, 97. There was also a Hoja Yunus who was appointed *Emir-i sevahil*, Köprülü, Byzantine Institutions 62.

¹⁵ In the early 1270's Emir Bahaed-Din Muhammed was appointed *Malik al-sawahil* by his father-in-law the Pervane Mu'in ad-Din Suleyman (d. 1277), Cahen, Turkey 229; Ibn Bibi, El Evamirü'l-Ala'iyе Fil Umuri'l-Ala'iyе (Selçuk Nâme), Ankara 1996, vol. II 203. Jelalad-Din Rumi wrote a letter to this Bahaed-Din, Gölpinarlı, Mektuplar 168-70; and he died in Konya during the Jimri-Karamanid uprising of 1277. Bahaed-Din seems to have been the father of Menteşe Bey, the founder of the Menteşe Emirate. This title was further elevated, first from Emir to Malik in the 13th century, then into *Sultan-ü's-sevahil* and was employed in the 14th c. by the Menteşe Bey, Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devleti 76, and by the Tekke Bey of Antalya, Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devleti 76. As the power of the title increased, from Emir to Lord to Sultan, so in an inverse relationship, the effective power of the title holder dwindled.

¹⁶ Chonae-Honaz by Denizli was destroyed c. 1192, 5,000 of the East Roman population of Caria had been removed in raids in the winter of 1196-7 and re-settled by Akşehir, Savvides, Byzantium 71-74, citing Choniates, and in about 1201 Milas revolted against the Emperor and received Turkmen forces from the Rum Seljuk Sultan Rukned-Din Süleyman II, Savvides, Byzantium 83, 85

¹⁷ In some respects therefore this view is quite contrary to those expressed regarding this region by İ. Erdem, Erdem 2006, 246-7, and as described by C. Foss, who writes, "The Seljuks, who established a powerful state in central Anatolia, never took an interest in Lycia, but confined their attention to the great port of Antalya... The Lycian coast appears to have remained in anarchy, with the Italians attempting to maintain some control over strategic landing points in the face of opposition from indigenous Greek and Turkish pirates.", Foss, Asia Minor I 31. Yet, Seljuk interest in Lycia is proved, both by the importance given to hunting by the Seljuk state and the hunting lodges that were erected in Lycia and by agreements entered into by the Seljuks with other states, see below re 1216

cause of the usefulness of this border agreement to successive Sultans allowing them to concentrate their attention elsewhere, knowing that the Emperors at Nicaea were concerned with retaking Constantinople from Latin rule rather than attacking Seljuk territory and therefore the Turkmen were dissuaded by the Seljuk state from crossing this border thereby maintaining the border agreement of 1211 against the interests of the Turkmen in raiding and looting the riches of East Roman Caria until 1261, indicating some considerable control was exercised over the Turkmen by the Sultanate¹⁸. Secondly there was the importance of exercising control over the small ports along this coast to prevent piracy, a responsibility recognized in treaties entered into by the Seljuk Sultanate by 1216¹⁹. Thirdly, because it appears this whole area was employed as a state hunting ground, winter hunting trips taken by Seljuk Sultans²⁰ that extended as far as the coastline facing Rhodes²¹; together with the construction of structures in and around Korkuteli, including a tiled pavilion²², built c. 1220-36 from the ceramic evidence, and also the construction of a hunting lodge by Kemer, proba-

and 1220; while the evidence for the latter contention concerning the Lycian coastline comes not from the 13th, but from the 12th and, substituting for the Italians the Lusignan Cypriots, from the 14th century. C. Cahen wrote Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I was “undisputed master of the whole of Asia Minor *from the coast opposite Rhodes to the headwaters of the Tigris*”, Cahen, Turkey 64, my emphasis. One would not of course expect to find the erection of the full range of Seljuk urban structures in any sparsely populated state hunting ground, but that does not mean these areas were not controlled and administered by the Seljuk state, with Seljuk mints established at both Finike and Meğri.

¹⁸ Supporting C. Cahen’s interpretation of this Seljuk-Turkmen relationship: “At the time of Seljuk domination (to 1237), there was not a single province within the real territory of the state in which, even if Turkmen groups existed which were autonomous and enjoyed freedom of movement and action, there was not some authority acting for the Sultan at the head (of them) and above them.”, Cahen, Pre Ottoman 247-8, which seems to have been the case in Lycia rather than the 13th c. “anarchy” of C. Foss’s interpretation op. cit. fn. 17.

¹⁹ An obligation by the Seljuk Sultanate to combat piracy was recorded in the exchange of letters concerning a treaty between Sultan Izzeddin Kaykavus I (1211-20) and Hugh I of Cyprus (1205-18). A letter dated Sept. 1216, from Sultan Izzeddin to King Hugh of Cyprus contains the following passage: “If by chance it happens that corsair vessels or ships of any kind inflict damage on any of the lands of his royal highness either by land or sea, and they happen to be passing by my territories loaded with the booty they have acquired, *my people shall at once seize and confiscate all of them and they shall arrange for them (ship and booty) as well as for their captured owners to be returned to his eminence the King of Cyprus; the aforementioned King is expected to act likewise in similar cases.*”, Savvides, Byzantium 144. The passage reading, “passing by my territories... my people shall at once seize and confiscate all of them”, clearly implies, firstly, that all the ports along the Mediterranean coastline of the Sultanate in 1216, that is the ports of Lycia, Patara, Meğri, Myra-Stamira, Finike, Olympos etc, an area recognized as Seljuk territory in the Seljuk-East Roman treaty of 1211, as well as the main port of Antalya re-conquered in 1216, were under Seljuk not Turkish control, and, secondly, that the Seljuk forces stationed in these ports were sufficient to seize corsair craft passing along the coastline, meaning that there were numbers of Seljuk troops and war-craft stationed in some of these Lycian ports by the second decade of the 13th c., not just in the port of Antalya. There were of course insufficient Seljuk forces stationed at Finike to deter the entire crusading fleet of Frederick II Hohenstaufen arriving from Sicily via Rhodes from spending the 16th and 17th of July, 1228, resting and re-watering in Finike bay, before sailing on to Cyprus and Palestine, van Cleve, Frederick II 207, even if Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I had wanted to attack these Crusaders.

²⁰ Turan, Resmî Vesikalar 27-30; also in respect to hunting, Duggan 2006, 155-165.

²¹ Baykara 2006, 13.

²² Later, during the 14th c. this tiled köşkü was converted into the Alaeddin Mosque. My thanks to archaeologist Azize Yener and Antalya Museum for this information from the rescue excavation of 2005-6 conducted by the Antalya museum.

bly in the period 1237-40²³; and fourthly, because of the importance of the route from Antalya via Korkuteli (Istanoz) to Denizli (Ladik) and East Roman territory, a route that was often used by Sultans²⁴. It seems probable to this author that both Söğüt and Gölhisar, as well as Elmali, where the remains of a Seljuk mosque survived into the middle of the last century, were also centers on the plateau for the Seljuks like Korkuteli (İstanos – İstanus - İstanoz), although conclusive evidence for this is today lacking. There was little reason for the Seljuk's to construct any major mosque complexes in Lycia, given its terrain, the absence of major cities and its small settled population, with the exception of some Seljuk construction and the conversion of pre-existing structures at the harbors, for hunting purposes and in the centers noted above. A similar situation also applied to the eastern end of this region that was also governed by the Sultan or by the *emir al-sawahil*, in the area lying beyond Alanya towards Silifke, where hunting lodges-köşkü²⁵, but no major Seljuk building complexes were constructed for most of the 13th c., excluding the fortifications at the port of Anamur, as there was also only a small settled population inhabiting this region. Both of these regions formed, given their topography, both state hunting grounds and buffer areas containing numbers of nomadic Turkmen of the "Uç", of the frontier, lying between the territory of the Sultanate and the adjacent Christian states²⁶ and this was the intentional policy of successive Seljuk Sultans. The main difference between these two areas under the control of the *emir al-sawahil* being that the eastern buffer area moved eastwards during the first half of the 13th c. while the border of the western buffer area remained static until after 1260.

Rum Seljuk Patara

Following its capture around the start of the 13th c., a mosque would have been built at Patara and this mosque would have been amongst the earliest to have been constructed within the borders of today's Antalya province, almost certainly of the rectangular in plan, "forest of columns" type. Its remains, together with the remains of other Seljuk state buildings serving the officials and garrison troops, are probably to be found near to the medieval baths within the largely unexcavated and overgrown area within the walled enclosure on Yarım Ada, lying adjacent to the medieval harbor (Fig. 1). Two Seljuk structures visible today suggest the localization of the Seljuk settlement at Patara to this area, in addition to the fact that this was the location of the East Roman settlement before its capture. They are the Medieval (Seljuk) baths by the Corinthian Temple (Figs. 2 and 3), which, in addition to elements of its construction suggesting its reuse by the Seljuks, carries on its interior walls traces of black Seljuk paintwork in room 1 of Fig. 2²⁷(Fig. 4), paintwork at the foot of the

²³ Yavuz 2000, 279-302. Dated from the form of the flat style of the carving employed on the lintel, which resembles that on Kırkgöz Han, on parts of Susuz Han and this same style of carving on other buildings erected during the reign of Sultan Ghiyathsed-Din Keyhusrev II.

²⁴ At times employed as a secret secure route, eg. Ibn Bibi, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'iyeh Fil Umuri'l-Ala'iyeh* (Selçuk Nâme), Ankara 1996, vol. II, 149.

²⁵ Pavilions including those at Gazipaşa, Karamut 2003, 53-4; Karamut 2004, 119-120; Türkmen – Demir 2006, 153-156; Türkmen – Demir 2008, 168-171. See also, Rosenbaum et al., *Western Cilicia* 30-31, 35; at Demirtaş (Syedre), Yavuz 1970, 353-371; and at Anamur, Yetkin, *Çini Sanatı* 123.

²⁶ As was also the case for the Seljuk's northern border with the Grand Comneni of Trebizond.

²⁷ As remain *in situ* on some of the interior walls of the lower baths located at the foot of Alara Castle, Antalya, personal communication from Doç. Dr. O. Eravşar of Seljuk Univ. Konya. The same paintwork is on the mortar of staircase wall of the Kemer Köşkü, Duggan 2008, 333, Fig. 26 in color. There is no evidence to suggest the later use of this pavilion and therefore it, like that at Alara, and in the bath house at Patara, is Seljuk paintwork.

corner of the wall as elsewhere on these walls). Secondly, the nearby southeast facing section of fortification wall that extended to join the side of the Corinthian Temple (Fig. 5) that formed a bastion in these walls, the part that still retains four merlons on its parapet. The core of this fortification wall is East Roman, but the exterior facing applied to this wall, the parapet walkway and the parapet and merlons are Seljuk work (Figs. 6, 7), these merlons having the same form as the *in situ* Seljuk merlons of Alara Han (Fig. 8, 1990 before its recent restoration), with the northern side of this parapet still retaining some *in situ* traces of yellow Seljuk paintwork²⁸. Future possible excavation of the areas around the entrances to this enclosure and in the heaps of fallen stonework lying below this town enclosure wall may well expose remains of the Seljuk *kitabe*, cut on *spolia* recording and dating the Seljuk work to the settlement's fortification wall.

The substantial Seljuk additions to this fortification wall clearly indicate the importance that was attached by the Seljuk state to retaining its control over the port of Patara. This was in part for reasons of state prestige at the border, presenting a strong face to any foreign maritime vessels arriving in the port and to possible diplomatic traffic, as was the case for all the ports under Seljuk control. In part, following the conquest of Antalya, to prevent Patara's capture and possible use as a base by Latin forces; as also to prevent it from being occupied by Turkmen pirates who would have presented a threat to the lucrative international trade, as also to the Latin Christian pilgrims, passing along this coastline. An obligation for the Seljuk state to return Christian pilgrims captured by the Turkmen was recognized in the articles of the Seljuk-Venetian treaty of 1220²⁹ and it seems probable that Latin Christian pilgrims sailing along this coast to visit Patara and/or Myra, places of Christian pilgrimage, who had been captured by some Turkmen during the second decade of the 13th c. gave rise to the insertion of this particular clause in this treaty, a treaty which therefore clearly implied that Seljuk state authority extended to these ports, Patara and Stamira, and also over the Turkmen of western Lycia in 1220³⁰.

It seems most probable that the Roman Pharos-lighthouse constructed in AD 64-5³¹ that still stood in the 13th c., marking the harbor entrance (Figs. 9, 10), and was another structure that was almost certainly reused by the Seljuks³². It would have served as both a watchtower and also as a signal tower, with its form marking for sailors the harbor entrance as it had done for centuries. Its use would have enabled Seljuk state control to be more effectively exercised over the passing shipping, although if it formed part of a wider integrated network of Seljuk coastal control and communication linking Patara to Antalya and possibly also to Makri is not entirely certain, but it seems to this author, this was most probably the case³³.

²⁸ Duggan 2008, 321, 333, for examples in color, Figs 1, 2, 23, 25.

²⁹ Martin 1980, 328. There is no record of overland Christian pilgrimage through Anatolia after the passage of the First Crusade and the only pilgrimage sites that were frequently visited by Latin pilgrims that were under Rum Seljuk control by 1220 were Patara and Myra, and this was where there were also bands of nomadic Turkmen.

³⁰ Which also supports C. Cahen's interpretation of the Seljuk-Turkmen relationship rather than the 13th c. "anarchy" of C. Foss's interpretation *op. cit.* fn.17 and fn. 18.

³¹ For the dating of the construction to the reign of Nero, see, S. Şahin, *Der neronische Leuchtturm und die vespasianischen Thermen von Patara*, *Gephyra* 5, 2008.

³² My thanks to Uz. Ark. S. Aktaş for drawing my attention to the later mortar infilling in the slots for the Roman bronze letters, presumably in-filled prior to plastering and repainting. It stood to a considerable height, probably more than 20 m. in the 13th c. and was still standing into the 16th c. as it is clearly marked as a noteworthy guide for mariners on Piri Reis's 16th c. maps.

³³ See T. M. P. Duggan – Ç. A. Aygün, *Myra'nın Ortaçağ ve sonrasındaki limanı 'Taşdibi-Stamira'*, 161-9,

It seems certain that at least one, and probably more than one Orthodox church functioned at Patara during the 13th c., serving the local Rum population, as also the needs of the pilgrims visiting St. Nicholas's birthplace, as was the case at conquered cities such as Myra and at Antalya, with Orthodox churches including the main Orthodox basilica, the Church of Eisodia tes Panagias-Hagia Eirene³⁴ in Kaleiçi, Antalya, serving the majority Rum population living in the city under Seljuk rule. It seems however doubtful that any Orthodox monastery still functioned as such in Patara in the 13th c. with a relatively small East Roman population following the depredations of the Turkmen in the region during the late 12th c.

The port at Patara was involved in coastal trade, exporting grain and other agricultural products from the area, perhaps locally manufactured pottery and woven Turkmen products; it was visited by Christian pilgrims and supplied water and victuals to the shipping visiting the port. Early in 1216 during the re-conquest of Antalya the Seljuks employed both land and sea forces³⁵ and it seems evident that these naval forces would have come from the Mediterranean coastal ports then in Rum Seljuk hands, that is from Meğri-Fethiye, Patara, Stamira, Finike, Adrasan and Olympus and some of these ports including Patara would have retained Seljuk naval elements that were employed both in the suppression of piracy and probably also in the conquest of Calanorus-Alanya of 1221 and in the 1225 campaign further to the east, as both were combined sea and land campaigns. However, during the 13th c. Patara's absence from records of international trade indicates Patara was a coastal port with a small naval base, not a major international trade port like Antalya or Alanya, in part, because it was situated at the southwestern extremity of Rum Seljuk territory, and because, like the ports of Fethiye, Finike and Stamira, Patara was by land somewhat isolated, due to the nature of the intervening terrain, from the main urban centers of the Sultanate and was not attached to the Seljuk caravanserai system³⁶, constructed largely in the first half of the 13th c. to protect the passage along internal trade routes of the large quantities of state insured goods³⁷ that passed through any major Seljuk port.

Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat I (1220-37), departing from Antalya on a hunting expedition is said to have visited a village on the coastline facing Rhodes, briefly recorded in the "Saltukname"³⁸; and it

Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra-Demre ve Çevresi, Ed. N. Çevik, Antalya 2010,163.

³⁴ Converted into a mosque in the late 15th c. hence the name Korkud cami after Prince Korkud, and, after the fire of 1896 abandoned, called today the Kesik Minare Cami, the broken minaret mosque.

³⁵ Redford – Leiser, Fetihname 96. It should be noted that the Antalya citadel wall that is referred to in this passage, was not in fact the citadel wall as the location of the East-Roman castrum and then the Rum Seljuk citadel, was at the western end of today's Tophane tea gardens facing the Ordu Evi, and stood until the 1743 earthquake, a wash drawing recording the citadel from before 1743 is on display at AKMED, Antalya.

³⁶ Duggan 2007, 289-295.

³⁷ For these treaties recording Rum Seljuk state insurance on trade goods, see, Turan, Türkiye Selçukluları 126-9, 139-46, re the Rum Seljuk-Venetian treaty of March 1220, "Eğer suçlu yabancı bir ülkeye çekilir ve kendisini yakalamak mümkün olmazsa suçunun araştırılması gerekmez; fakat eğer suçlunun mala ve malın büyük bir kısmına sahip olduğu açıkça bilirse o zaman haksız olarak alınan *mal tazmin edilmek icabeder*". "Gıyaseddin'in ticareti himaye ve teşvik maksadıyla tüccarlara ödediği *bu tazminat selçuklu devletinin ticari siyasetinin icabı ve bir nevi devlet sigortası idi*." Turan, Türkiye 285. It was the insurance offered by the Seljuk state that led in part to the rapid increase in both international trade passing through the Sultanate and in the numbers of caravanserai constructed by the Seljuk state during the first half of the 13th century and therefore, the absence of caravanserai in this region would indicate that state insured trade did not pass through the port of Patara, nor through any port west of Antalya in the 13th century.

³⁸ Baykara 2006, 13, "Bir aralık Sultan Alaeddin "Rados (sic) kenarında İtaliya (Atalya=Adalya) koyunda deniz

may well be, in consequence of his interest in this area, in part no doubt due to the activities of Leon Gavalas, the independent ruler of Rhodes allied with the Venetians³⁹, in part because of the hunting opportunities provided by the wildfowl and game, that it was probably during his reign that additions to the fortification wall at Patara were made, as during his reign many fortification walls in Seljuk territory were rebuilt-restored, and embellished with sculptures and paintwork, including in the 1220's those of Konya, Sivas⁴⁰, Alanya and Anamur and, from dated inscriptions, 7 towers in Antalya's main city wall in 1225⁴¹.

Possibly the earthquake of 1200⁴² and more probably the earthquake and associated tsunami of 1204⁴³, that severely damaged buildings in Crusader Palestine, Tripoli and Damascus, the fortresses of Hama, Barin and Baalbek and Antakya, as also buildings in Cairo, with one third of the port-city of Tyre and the ports of Arka (Phoenicia) and Safitha engulfed by the tsunami wave, and which also damaged structures on Cyprus and Sicily, may have effected Patara, primarily through the tsunami wave's impact on shipping at sea or moored in the harbor; while the severe outbreaks of plague recorded in Cairo and Alexandria 1200-1, Akko in 1203 and Damietta in 1219⁴⁴ may have reached Patara through maritime traffic and returning pilgrims and crusaders, although there is presently no record of this.

The port-city of Patara seems to have remained in Seljuk hands until sometime after 1269, although the sources fail to mention Patara, or for that matter Makri-Meğri, when, with the increasing weakness of Seljuk state control in outlying areas, due both to the actions of the Mongol overlords in dividing and weakening Seljuk ruler-ship and power in Anatolia, their policy since 1243, and the activities of the Turkmen, this area was passed into the possession of the Menteşe Turkmen who, during the period from 1261-1280 repeatedly took the ports of adjacent coastal Caria from the East Romans⁴⁵ prior to the founding of their own Emirate⁴⁶, based initially at the port of Fethiye (Macri-Meğri) from 1284, with the death of Menteşe Bey in the period between 1282-6⁴⁷. The bases employed for these raids on Caria were ports in Lycia and Pamphylia under Rum Seljuk control

yanında "ava çıkmışlardı...". This village may well have been the "Satalya Koy" by the later "Satalya" bridge over the Zanthos R.-Kestep-Eşen çayı, related to the "Satalya yayla", or some former coastal relation of it.

³⁹ Rhodes was under the control of Leon Gavalas 1204-40 who had proclaimed himself independent of the Emperor in 1204 following the fall of Constantinople to the Venetian led Latin Crusaders, and styled himself, "dominus Rhode et Cicladum insularum Ksserus Leo Gavalla", "Lord of Rhodes and the Cyclades, Ceasar Leo Gavalalla" and he had signed an offensive-defensive alliance with the Venetians in 1234, Vasiliev, *Byzantine Empire* 1980, 548. Following an expedition launched by Emperor John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222-54) to retain control of the island after this treaty was signed Rhodes returned to the imperial fold and then came under Genovese rather than Venetian control, the Genovese ruling Rhodes on behalf of the Emperor.

⁴⁰ Duggan 2008, 338-9.

⁴¹ Yılmaz, *Antalya* 110-112 Cat. Nos. 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46.

⁴² Arık 1994, 21.

⁴³ Edbury, *Cyprus* 14; Arık 1994, 22; Altan 2002, 46; G. Abu'l Farac, *Abu'l- Farac Tarihi*, trans. Ö. R. Doğrul, Ankara 1999, vol. II, 486; 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi, *The Eastern Key, Kitab al-ifadah wa'l-Itibar*, trans K. Hafuth Zand - J. A. and I. E. Videan, London 1965, who dates this event to 1202 rather than 1204, 265ff.

⁴⁴ Duggan, *Antalya*; idem, 2004, 123-170; idem 2005, 357-398.

⁴⁵ Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği* 26.

⁴⁶ Its early core cities were Meğri-Fethiye, Dalaman, Honaz, Finike was possibly in 1296 in the hands of Karaman, the son of Menteşe Bey, and Denizli. Followed later by Milas-Beyçin-Peçin and Miletus-Milet-Palatia-Balat.

⁴⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti* 70.

under the command of the *Malik al-sawahil*, and these ports may well have included Patara, Finike and Stamira-Myra, as well as Meğri and possibly Dalaman, some were naval bases with experienced Seljuk naval forces, in addition doubtless to volunteers coming from Antalya and inland. It is noteworthy in this context that Bahaed-Din, the father of Menteşe Bey, held the important rank of *Malik al-sawahil* (Lord of the Coastlines) under the Seljuk's⁴⁸ in the 1270's until his death in 1277, which doubtless provided a certain state legitimacy to his son's activities in raiding East Roman Caria, raids which may have in fact have been a considered policy of Bahaed-Din's father-in-law, the Pervane, Mu'in ad-Din Süleyman, effectively the arbiter of policy in Seljuk territory in Anatolia under Mongol overlordship until his execution by the Mongols in 1277, in addition no doubt, to Bahaed-Din providing his son with support for his activities from Seljuk Antalya⁴⁹ and a solid background in coastal politics and naval matters. Further, concerning matters of both legitimacy and the degree of acknowledgement of Seljuk state control at the end of the 13th c. in this region, it is noteworthy that the mint at Finike struck its last known Seljuk silver coin in h. 702 1303-4⁵⁰ acknowledging the ruler-ship of the Rum Seljuk Sultan Giyathsed-Din Mesut II and the mint at Fethiye struck the last known Rum Seljuk coin to have be minted in h.703 1303-4⁵¹, indicating the acknowledgement by the Menteşe Emirate of the legitimacy of the Rum Seljuk Sultanate into the first decade of the 14th c., rather than recognizing the de-facto great power in Anatolia at that time, the Mongol Ilkhans, or minting coin in the name of the Mamlukes or the Abbasid Caliphs, established in Mamluke Cairo since the Mongol sack of Baghdad and the murder of the last Abbasid Caliph to rule there, al-Musta'sim in 1258, or of striking coins independently in the name of the Menteşe Emirate. It is possible that the interdict passed at the Council of Lyons May 7th 1274, under Pope Gregory X, which forbade the Italian maritime states from selling arms or their raw materials to Muslims (*saracens*) and that no Christian merchant ship was to enter a Muslim port for the next 6 years, until 1280, when this measure, a consequence of Latin defeats in Crusader Palestine and the Mamluke attack on Latin ruled Cyprus of 1271, was renewed, might have had some slight impact upon the port of Patara, although it was not a major trading port like Antalya, Alanya, or Alexandria.

14th century Patara

In the 14th c. there is no evidence to suggest Patara was occupied by Latin pirates, although it was sacked by Latin forces. It seems probable that craft from Patara were in the large Menteşe fleet of Murad Bey that in 1300 captured much of the island of Rhodes from its East Roman inhabitants and its Genovese rulers nominally acting on behalf of the East Roman Emperor. Slaves were exported from Meğri-Fethiye in 1300⁵², probably from those captured on Rhodes, but there is no record

⁴⁸ Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devleti 70-71; see also Wittek, Menteşe Beyliği 29-31. The Bahaed-Din mentioned by Ibn Bibi and known to Jelalad-Din Rumi, op. cit. fn. 16.

⁴⁹ Silver dirhems were minted in the name of the Seljuk's at Antalya from 1257/60 to 1302, Lindner 1994, 281-284, indicating a degree of trade and prosperity and it seems reasonable to suppose that the coastal invasions of Caria was organized from Antalya and was Seljuk official policy rather than being necessarily an independent initiative.

⁵⁰ Perk – Öztürk, Sikke 13. Antalya like Finike minted in the name of the Seljuks until 1302, as noted in fn. 48, while Alanya struck coins in the name of the Mongol Ilkhan in the first decade of the 14th c. before minting coins frequently struck in the name of the Mamluke Ruler.

⁵¹ Perk – Öztürk, Sikke 33.

⁵² Fleet, Ottoman State 40.

of slaves exported from Patara. However, the two main cities on the island of Rhodes, Rhodes city and Philerimos, were not captured and the Turkmen were gradually driven from the island from 1306 onwards⁵³ through the intervention made by the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, under the rule of Grand Master Fulk de Villaret (1305-19). They had been invited to the island from their base in Latin Cyprus and the Genovese Vignolo de Vignoli then sold the island to them, with the Hospitaller Knights' conquest of the island certainly completed by the 15th of August 1310⁵⁴. The Hospitaller Knights proceeded to establish their headquarters at Rhodes city and ruled the island of Rhodes until their expulsion by the Ottomans in 1522. Craft may also have left from Patara in 1320 in Menteşe Shujaded-Din Orhan Bey's unsuccessful attempt to conquer Rhodes from the Knights of St. John⁵⁵. However, the lack of a strong castle at the entrance to the port at Patara meant that the Muslim holy warriors-pirates who almost certainly used the harbor prior to 1310, following the establishment of the headquarters of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes, would over time have moved to Meğri and to other more secure and more defensible bases along the Aegean coastline, given the possibility of a raid launched on Patara from Hospitaller Rhodes.

The small Hospitaller fleet of powerful galleys commanded to a considerable extent, during a period of more than two hundred years until their expulsion from Rhodes, the important straits between Anatolia and the islands of Rhodes and İstanköy (Lango-Stancho-Cos) that linked the eastern Mediterranean with the Aegean Sea and this control extended eastwards to reach Meis (Casteyl roys-Castello Rosso-Chateau Roux, Castellorizo⁵⁶), the island opposite Kaş-Antiphellos, the island was in Hospitaller hands for most of the period from 1306 to 1522⁵⁷, and their control also extended northwards to Izmir (Smyrna), following its capture in 1344 until 1402. Western shipping, largely Genovese and Venetian, often traveled in convoys for protection⁵⁸ and there were regular maritime patrols by the Hospitaller Knights' galleys in the attempt to prevent the Turkmen Emirates' jihad of naval warfare conducted from bases largely on the Aegean coastline and which consisted of attacking Christian shipping⁵⁹ and in raiding the islands in Latin hands for slaves and other booty. How-

⁵³ When Philerimos was taken by the Knights of St. John.

⁵⁴ Edbury, Cyprus 111; Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devleti 70-1.

⁵⁵ Wittek, Menteşe Beyliği 64.

⁵⁶ The fortress above the harbor was constructed of sanguine plastered limestone, giving its name to the island, by order of the Grand Master of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, Juan Fernando Heredia (1377-96). The island had a population of about 700 in 1395, Luttrell 1989, 146; and there was a truce between them and the Turks and they cultivated vines on the mainland in the same year, idem 152; and that 60 Greeks worked the salt pans on the island in 1396, idem, 153. Peri Reis calls it "Miyis" rather than Castellorizo in the 16th c. stemming from Megisti its ancient name.

⁵⁷ Luttrell 1989, 151-2. The island was attacked by the Mamlukes in 1440 but their fleet of 12 ships was destroyed, 700 troops were killed and the rest were captured by the Knights, but it was captured by the Mamlukes in 1443 and held for some months before being retaken by the Knights and was then held by the Knights until 1450 when it was ceded to King Alfonso I of Aragon whose fleets raided the Anatolian coastline until 1451, Hellenkemper – Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien I, 179, gives 1456, and it was then handed back to the Knights who handed it over to the Ottomans on the surrender of Rhodes in December 1522, Nicolle, Hospitallers 9; Sire, Knights 34.

⁵⁸ Pryor, Maritime 169.

⁵⁹ Not that the Knights didn't also on occasion attack Latin shipping, as F. Guicciardini (d.1540) in his History of Italy, printed in 1561 remarks, "although they were somewhat notorious for the fact that, spending all their days in piracy against the ships of the infidel, they also at times pillaged Christian ships" (F. Guicciardini, History of Italy, ed. and trans. S. Alexander, Princeton 1984, Bk. XV, 334; a practice that continued after their move to Malta,

ever, there was also trade between the Emirates and Rhodes during the 14th c., in addition to carpets, silks and other textiles and ceramics, wheat was shipped from ports on the Anatolian coastline, possibly including Patara until 1362, to Hospitaller Rhodes, in addition to the cargoes of wheat that were shipped from Cyprus, as the island of Rhodes could only produce half the food that it required to feed its population, with return cargoes from Rhodes to the Anatolian coastal ports that included woolen cloth from western Europe⁶⁰.

Latin control over both the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus meant that the international trade and pilgrimage traffic that passed along the southern coastline of Anatolia in the 14th c. was transported in Latin ships, frequently Genovese⁶¹. The proximity of Rhodes in Hospitaller hands to the port of Patara less than 100 km away, with the Hospitaller Knights' slave raiding, the capturing of Moslem ships and the Rhodiote corso, would have prevented the regular use of the port of Patara by long distance Moslem shipping, while Latin shipping, Genovese, Venetian, Pisan, Florentine and Cypriot docked at the port of Rhodes in Christian hands rather than at Patara, before passing eastwards or westwards along the coastline; ships transporting Latin pilgrims to Palestine first docked at Rhodes before briefly visiting Patara and Myra. Sir John Mandeville records Latin Christian pilgrims visiting Cos, Rhodes, Patara and Myra on their way to Jerusalem in the 14th c., "From this island (Lango-İstanköy-Cos) men pass to the isle of Rhodes, which the Hospitallers hold and govern...to the city of Patera⁶² where Saint Nicholas was born, and then to the city of Marc (Myra) where he was chosen for Bishop. There grows a good strong wine, which is called the wine of Marc."⁶³, and from there to Cyprus and Palestine.

There is no record of any tribute being paid by the port of Patara to the Latin Lusignan Cypriots, as was the case for Siq (Sij-Siki-Softa Kale), Anamur (Stalimure-Mamure), Alanya, Antalya and Myra in 1337⁶⁴, perhaps indicating that Patara was not a particularly significant port at this time, but more probably because it was at that time just beyond the western range of Lusignan Cypriot trib-

on into the 17th c.: "their naval operations tended all too often to savour less of honourable warfare than common piracy. Nor, even, did they invariably confine their depredations to Muslim shipping; unprovoked attacks, launched on the flimsiest of pretexts, against Venetian and other Christian merchantmen were becoming increasingly frequent.", Norwich, Venice 544.

⁶⁰ Kollias, Rhodes 24-26.

⁶¹ Makhairas, Chronicle I, 137, for the compulsory putting into the port of Famagusta of all Genovese shipping, laden or unladen passing by the island, abrogated by the Lusignan-Genovese treaty of 1364; Braudel, Mediterranean 299; the example of the Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta who sailed on a Genovese ship from the port of Latakiya (Syria) to 'Alaya (Alanya) in 1331, The travels of Ibn Battutah, ed. T. Mackintosh-Smith, 2002, 101-2; as also for example, an insurance contract signed in Genoa, Sept. 15, 1393 covering a cargo shipped on a Genovese ship to Ayasoluk (Selçuk-Ephesus) and Rhodes, Lopez – Raymond, Medieval Trade 259.

⁶² The names Patera or Patara were employed on Latin portulans that record this coastline from the 13th into the 17th c. and on printed maps of the 17th-19th centuries, even though the port had become silted up by the late 14th c. although access remained for small boats.

⁶³ The travels of Sir John Mandeville, ed. and trans. by C. W. R. D. Moseley, New York 1983, 53-54. The text of the pilgrimage route is somewhat disordered, placing the visit to Cos-İstanköy and Rhodes after Patara and Myra. It is of note that the 1725 Cotton Mss. of the travels, reprinted as: The travels of Sir John Mandeville, ed. A. W. Pollard, London 1923, 17, reads thus, "unto the city of Patera where St. Nicholas was born, and so to Martha, where he was chosen to be bishop; and there growth right good wine and strong, and that men call the wine of Martha.", Martha = Myra. For this pilgrimage route and the "bane of Sattaliya-Antalya" recounted by Sir John, Duggan 2003, 305-336.

⁶⁴ Edbury, Cyprus 158.

ute exactions, lying within Menteşe territory whose rulers at times received tribute from, and entered into treaties with the Venetians and others to protect Latin shipping and territory from Menteşe organized jihad-piracy and raiding⁶⁵.

Ludolf von Sudheim who was in the region from 1336-41 in his *De itinere terrae sanctae liber* records that both Patara and Myra were destroyed by the Turks⁶⁶, although it is in fact far more probable the destruction he alludes to at Patara and Myra in c. 1340, was due more to natural events such as the massive loss of population caused by the 542 A.D. plague pandemic that lasted for 200 years resulting in a huge contraction in inhabited settlement size, and by damage from frequent seismic disturbances, such as the earthquake and major tsunami of the 8th of August 1303⁶⁷, and to the loss of prosperity due to the control over shipping passing through the area that was exercised by the Knights of St. John on Rhodes lying less than 100 km distant, than to any damage to Patara caused in the 14th c. by the Turks. He then goes on to relate that both of these places were sacked by the Lusignan Cypriots in 1362, indicating perhaps that the destruction of these places in c. 1340 was less than complete, or more probably, that he is relating the former greatness of these cities to their present condition under Turkish rule. From Ludolf von Sudheim's remark it seems clear however, that neither the port of Patara, nor Stamira, the port of Myra, could be described as flourishing in 1340; and both of course contained much reduced populations living surrounded by fields of ruined buildings in comparison to their pre 542 A.D. populations. The 1303 seismic event was then followed by the first outbreak of the bubonic plague pandemic reaching both Cyprus and Rhodes in 1347, and which presumably also reaching Patara at this time, causing, like that of 542 A.D., a probable loss of life of between 40% and 60% of the population⁶⁸. This was followed by the 1366 Rhodes earthquake⁶⁹, that brought down fortification towers and damaged the strongly built castellum of the Knights on Rhodes and which probably caused some further damage to structures at Patara after the Lusignan sack of Patara in 1362.

Following the Cypriot Lusignan capture of the port-city of Antalya⁷⁰ on the 24th of August 1361⁷¹ -

⁶⁵ Zachariadou 1989, 214; Pryor, Maritime 169. This warfare-piracy continued into the 1350's, Edbury, Cyprus 161; and on into the 15th c., Luttrell 1989, 152, records 7 Venetian treaties with the Emirates between 1331 and 1407; while in 1365, apparently pressured by the Knights of St. John, Peter I of Cyprus, at Rhodes prior to his surprise attack on the port of Alexandria, made a peace treaty with the Emirs of Ephesus and Miletus, of Aydin and Menteşe, Makhairas, Chronicle I, 149.

⁶⁶ Flemming, Landschaftgeschichte 85.

⁶⁷ G. A. Papadopoulos, E. Daskalaki, A. Fokaefs and N. Giraleas, Tsunami hazards in the East Hellenic Arc, 57-64, in Natural Hazards and Earth Systems Sciences, www.nat-hazards-earth-syst-sci.net/7/57/2007/, 60, regarding the tsunami sediment at Dalaman from this 1303 seismic event.

⁶⁸ See for example, Zeigler, Black Death 43, 53, 231, for a reduction of between 40% and 60% of the population of Italian cities in this plague pandemic, with the seaports of Genoa and Venice worst affected; also, Benedictow, Black Death, 380-4 & Fig. 38, who indicates a mortality of 60%, while Gottfried, Black Death 134, suggests an average Black Death mortality across all of Europe of between 33% and 50% and a European population decline between 1349 and 1450 due to repeated outbreaks of plague of between 60% and 75%, 123. A Turkish calendar entry for hegira 748, 1347/8, in a concise and non specific entry records that in this year there was: "plague, epidemics and death", "Veba, Taun ve Ölüm", Turan, Tarihi Takvimler 71. A mass grave of probable plague victims from a 14th c. context was found during the course of the excavation of the Liman (Hurma) bathhouse at Patara. My thanks to Prof. Dr. N. Çevik, in charge of these excavations in 1993-4 for this unpublished information.

⁶⁹ Little 2001, 161-2; Vatin 2001, 167, who dates this event to 1364 rather than 1366.

⁷⁰ Captured by a largely Lusignan fleet of 120 large and small craft that including 4 galleys contributed by the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John Roger de Pins (1355-65), 2 galleys supplied by Pope Innocent VI (1352-

spoken of as a Crusade⁷² and led by galleys of the Knights of St. John - but which in fact seems to have concealed King Peter's (r.1359-69) policy of forcing east Mediterranean maritime trade to pass through his main port of Famagusta on Cyprus, thereby raising his tax revenue, through the simple means of raiding, capturing and destroying the competing Muslim ports in the region⁷³ under the flag of a Crusade - the port of Myra, Stamira, which was then under the control of Zincirkiran⁷⁴ Mehmet Bey, the Tekke Emir⁷⁵, was sacked by the Lusignan Admiral Jean de Sur's naval forces in

62) and a contingent of Genovese troops, Luke 1975, 353; Edbury, Cyprus 163. Its capture was mentioned by G. Chaucer, together with the (Lusignan) sack of Alexandria of 1365 and also, interestingly that this English Knight fought together with Menteşe Bey, ruler of the city of Balat-Milet-Palatia, in a war against another Emirate, in his "The English Knights Prologue": "At Alisandre (Alexandria) hee was, when it was wonne:... and also at Satalye (Antalya), When they were wonne... This ilke worthie Knight had bin also, sometimes with the lord of Palathye (Palatia-Balat) ayenst another Heathen in Turkie.". A knight who volunteered aged 23 and participated in the slaughter in Antalya in 1361 and again in Alexandria in the sack of 1365 was the Englishman Sir Richard Waldegrave from Suffolk, England, who knew Chaucer, and who died in 1402. If he participated in the 1362 sack of Patara is unknown, Roskell 1957, 154-174.

⁷¹ The port of Finike was also taken on the 24th of August 1371 (sic a typo meaning 1361), Wittek, Menteşe Beyliği 54, fn. 179, and was occupied by the Cypriot Lusignans, with the visit of the Cypriot fleet to Finike (Phinika) in 1369, having just left Antalya where they were re-caulked, doubtless to take on water and provisions and possibly troops from the garrison, before sailing to Alexandria, Egypt, Makhairas, Chronicle I, 275. Finike was back in Tekke hands by the 14th of May 1373, Wittek, Menteşe Beyliği 54, fn. 179, necessarily returned to Zincirkiran Mehmet Bey with the ending of the Lusignan occupation of Antalya given the imminent threat to Cyprus from the Genovese.

⁷² What the Papal Legate, Peter de Thomas, Carmelite friar, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and Apostolic Legate, who crowned Peter I, King of Jerusalem in Famagusta in 1360 and who was later sanctified as St. Peter Thomas, described as, the "God-willed work of destroying the enemies of the faith.", that is to continue to massacring Moslems, Housley, Crusades 85, citing the Chancellor of Cyprus, Philip de Mézières's (d. 1405) work entitled, The Life of St. Peter Thomas.

⁷³ As for example with the sack of Alexandria in 1365, the destruction of the town of Ayaş-Yumurtalık, as also in the attacks launched on the coastal ports of: Anamur where many of the inhabitants were enslaved and the town burnt in 1364, on Alanya in 1366, with much Turkish shipping sunk at Manavgat in the same year, and with Tripoli attacked in 1367, and the ports of Valania and Malo and Tortosa which was raided again in 1369. For Cyprus's importance in drawing the trade from Syria to then be transported to the west, "For the merchant ships of the Christians which came from the West *did not venture to do their business anywhere else but in Cyprus* (not in fact true with the Venetians and others trading through Alexandria as also Antalya prior to the Lusignan occupation); and all the trade of Syria was done in Cyprus. For thus were the commands and prohibitions of the most holy pope (on pain of excommunication), that the profit might go to the poor Cypriots, because they dwell upon a rock in the sea, having upon one side the Saracens (the Mamlukes) and on the other the Turks. And because Syria is near Famagusta, (Cypriot) men used to send their ships and convey their wares to Famagusta, (and they had agents there for the sale of their goods...). And when the ships of Venice, of Genoa, of Florence, of Pisa, of Catalonia, and of all the West arrived, they found the spices there, and loaded whatever they needed and went on their way (to the west).", Makhairas, Chronicle I, 81.

⁷⁴ Zincirkiran, the chain breaker, alludes presumably to his breaking the chain of the Lusignan occupation. The fact that the Lusignans wanted to leave Antalya in 1373 to defend Cyprus, and were given gifts on their departure by Mehmet Bey as Makhairas relates, was beside the point, the Lusignan occupation of Antalya was ended and Mehmet Bey recorded their departure as a victory, as the *kitabe* above the door of the Yivli Minare Mosque recording the conversion of this building into a mosque in 1373, following the destruction of the Seljuk ulu cami during the occupation, records the peaceful departure of the Lusignan Crusaders from Antalya as a *fath* – as a victory for Zincirkiran Mehmet Bey, Riefsthal, Anatolia 85, Pl. 205; Yilmaz, Antalya, Cat. No. 1, "şehri feth".

⁷⁵ Implied by Mehmet Bey's visit to Myra following its destruction, "and when he went there (to Myra) and found the people taken captive and the place all burned and ruined he was sorely grieved", Makhairas, Chronicle I,

May 1362⁷⁶. Leontis Makhairas relates: “Then the admiral (Jean de Sur) took the ships and went to Myra where St. Nicholas was, and he set to and they besieged (the Turks). And by the help of God he took the castle and ravaged (and slaughtered) as much as he could...And when the admiral left Myra, he set fire to it and (he) burned the castle.”⁷⁷ Makhairas records in his chronicle that Jean de Sur enslaved the population of Myra, burned the place leaving it a ruin and removed the famous icon of St. Nicholas which was then placed in the Church of St. Nicholas of the Latins, in Famagusta, Cyprus, and that after sailing from Antalya to Myra and sacking it, the Admiral then returned to Antalya⁷⁸; however, Ludolf von Sudheim records that Patara was also sacked by this fleet at this time⁷⁹, indicating therefore that the port of Patara was still functioning in May 1362, was inhabited and so would seem worth the sacking by this Lusignan fleet, who doubtless also enslaved the population of Patara and obtained other booty.

The Seljuk mosque at Patara was probably destroyed in this Latin Lusignan sack of Patara. It was probably burnt down, as it was almost certainly of the “forest of wooden columns type” supporting a wooden roof, walls constructed of *spolia*, some re-carved and of a rectangular plan, as would almost certainly have also been the case with the mosque destroyed in the sack of Myra in 1362, and for the Seljuk Grand Mosque at Antalya, that dated back to 1207⁸⁰, which was also destroyed by the Lusignans during their occupation of Antalya. When the Lusignan-Cypriot forces withdrew from the city of Antalya on the 14th of May 1373, Zincirli Mehmet Bey entered a depopulated city⁸¹ with a burnt out, ruined Seljuk congregational mosque⁸², and, in consequence, the former Orthodox church that had been dedicated to H. Ioannes Theologos⁸³ that stood beside the Yivli *mubarak manar*-victory tower⁸⁴, a church that had served some different function following the Seljuk con-

113.

⁷⁶ Makhairas, Chronicle 111-13. The fleet left Cyprus on the 9th of May via Korykos for Antalya, then after visiting Antalya sailed along the coast and sacked Myra and Patara.

⁷⁷ Makhairas, Chronicle I, 113.

⁷⁸ Makhairas, Chronicle I, 113. The source for İ. Erdem’s statement that both Patara and Myra were sacked, Erdem 2006, 249, is not footnoted, but seems to be Foss, *Asia Minor* I 31, “Patara and Myra were destroyed by a Cypriot attack in 1362 and long lay desolate.”, and/or, Flemming, *Landschaftgeschichte* 85, citing Ludolf von Sudheim’s work. The sack of Patara is not mentioned in Edbury, Cyprus.

⁷⁹ Flemming, *Landschaftgeschichte* 85, fn. 9.

⁸⁰ Ibn Bibi, *El Evamirü'l-Ala'ıye Fil Umurü'l-Ala'ıye* (Selçuk Nâme), Ankara 1996, vol. I, 119 records the appointments in 1207 to the newly established mosque in Antalya, “Kadı, hatib, imam, müezzin ve hafızlar tayin edilip, mimber ve mihraplar kuruldu”.

⁸¹ Froissart’s (1337-1410) Chronicle records that King Peter I, had massacred the entire Moslem population within the city walls: “the kynge of Cypre had newly taken the strong cyte of Salate against the enemyes of God, and slayne all that ever were within, none except.” and it seems the majority of the Moslem and Jewish populations of the city were killed. The remaining Orthodox population of the city, “the people” in Makharios’s text, together with the icons and the relics of Saints, together with all the Latin occupying forces and the weapons in the arsenal, seem to have been evacuated in the great ship and all the other ships sent from Cyprus, departing from the city on the 14th of May 1373, Makhairas, Chronicle I, 347.

⁸² It is possible that the series of re-carved stone blocks bordering a flower bed by the “Nigar Hatun” turbé in Antalya came from this Seljuk mosque.

⁸³ Hellenkemper - Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien* I, 329; 337.

⁸⁴ There is no possibility that this was Antalya’s former Seljuk mosque, as stated for example in, *Türkiye’de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler*, Adana-Artvin, 1983, 525. R. Hillenbrand describes this mosque as erected in 1373, but then, when describing the Seljuk Yivli Minaret, he oddly describes the minaret as, “standing by its parent

quest of the city, was converted into Antalya's congregational mosque, converted by the architect Balaban Tavaşi into the 14th c. Yivli Minare cami⁸⁵. However, there are no visible or recorded indications to suggest that the Seljuk mosque at Patara was rebuilt or that any new mosque was constructed at Patara in the period following the Lusignan sack of 1362, suggesting, as was also the case for Myra, that Patara following the 1362 sack did not have a sizeable number of settled Moslem inhabitants, no garrison or harbor officials, although there were doubtless numerous nomadic Turkmen in the area, otherwise the mosque would have been rebuilt, and some of the Rum population may have remained or had moved here as there was a Rum community recorded here by the 16th c.⁸⁶ It seems probable that the port of Patara probably no longer functioned to any significant extent at any time after 1362.

It is unclear from the sources if Patara, like nearby Myra⁸⁷, was absorbed into Tekke territory during the first half of the 14th c., but this seems not improbable. Patara was certainly absorbed into Ottoman territory in the late 14th or early in the 15th c. with the initially largely nominal incorporation of the territories of both of these Emirates⁸⁸ into the Ottoman Sultanate. Patara later formed a part of the Ottoman Menteşe sanjak and so Patara possibly formed a part of Menteşe territory at the time of its incorporation into Ottoman territory. The Tekke Emirate was first taken by Sultan Murat I in either 1386 or 1388⁸⁹ linking the port of Antalya to Bursa; while the Menteşe Emirate was first briefly taken by Sultan Beyazıt I in 1390⁹⁰, was then restored to Menteşe rule by Timur after 1402⁹¹, and was then retaken by Sultan Mehmet I in 1416 and was in Sultan Murad's hands by 1425⁹². Patara was therefore perhaps an Ottoman possession as early as the 1380's, although quite

mosque only a few meters away", Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* 98 and 163, respectively, as though the Emirates were parents to the Seljuks and not visa versa, and implying there is a clear relationship between the "parent mosque" and the minaret, but there clearly is not, in terms of scale, style, quality of workmanship, materials or date. It seems evident that the relationship between the mosque and the minaret was established in 1373 when the building adjacent to the minaret was converted into a mosque, not before. There is no possibility whatsoever that the richest Rum Seljuk Sultan, Alaed-Din Keykubat I, who had the monumental Yivli *mubarak manar*-victory tower constructed would ever even have dreamed of converting the adjacent small former Byzantine church into his mosque in Antalya. He did not convert churches into mosques during his reign, and even the wall of this former church is not aligned with the kible and the mihrab is angled out from the wall. The site of the Antalya Seljuk Ulu Cami lies elsewhere. The Yivli minaret was constructed as a free-standing *mubarak manar*-victory tower, erected to commemorate the conquest of the coastline to Silifke by 1225 from Lesser Armenian and Knights Hospitaller forces and possibly also the conquest of Soğdak in the Crimea, and it was not connected to the Antalya Seljuk Ulu Cami that had been constructed elsewhere earlier and which of course had its own minaret and müezzin.

⁸⁵ Yılmaz, Antalya, 130, Kitabeler Cat. No. 1; Riefstahl, Anatolia, Cat. No. 5, reads the date as the 14th of May 1373, the date of the surrender of the city by the Lusignans, that is, the date the work began on this building conversion; Makhairas, *Chronicle* I, 347. It is only from this conversion of 1373 that the Yivli *mubarak manar* became a minaret.

⁸⁶ Yerasimos (*Les Voyageurs*) records in 1576 the protonotarie of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Theodosie Zygomalos on his tour of diocese visited Patara and he would have had no cause to do so if there was no Rum population living in and around Patara in 1576.

⁸⁷ Probably in the 1320's, certainly by the 1330's.

⁸⁸ The Menteşe Emirate briefly became a Sultanate from 1377.

⁸⁹ Imber, *Ottoman Empire* 28.

⁹⁰ Imber, *Ottoman Empire* 38.

⁹¹ Imber, *Ottoman Empire* 63.

⁹² Imber, *Structure of Power* 23.

what, if any, Ottoman control was then exercised over the port of Patara remains unknown. However, with the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in control of Rhodes, of İstanköy-Cos-Lango, of Meis island (Castel Rosso) and with their newly constructed naval base and castle of Petronium, St. Peter the Liberator, at Bodrum (Halik)⁹³, built following their loss of Smyrna to Timur in 1402, and patrolling the sea lanes with 3-4 war galleys, including the coastline from Rhodes to Castel Rosso (Meis), any Ottoman control over Patara in the late 14th or early 15th c. was of little real consequence, the port of Patara, apart possibly from fishing and the customary seasonal, local cabotage trade including the transport of grain from port to port along the coast, essential given the isolation of the coastal areas of this mountainous region, was otherwise not used and had no military importance and, following the Lusignan Cypriot sack and enslavement of the population in 1362, the settlement at Patara would have been largely destroyed and Patara was perhaps uninhabited.

Ottoman Period Postscript

Any attempt by the Ottomans to open up the important maritime route past Rhodes-Patara-Fethiye-Marmaris to Ottoman shipping was entirely dependent upon the expulsion of the Knights of St. John from their fortified headquarters on Rhodes. This fact was realized by successive Ottoman Sultans but it took nearly a century to achieve the conquest of Rhodes⁹⁴. It was attempted unsuccessfully in 1455, following the Mamluke attempt made in 1444⁹⁵, and the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and the tardy offer made by the Knights to allow Ottoman merchants to trade in Rhodes in exchange for the right of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John to trade in Lycia and Caria⁹⁶, indicating there was no direct trading between the Knights of St. John and the Lycian and Carian Ottoman coastal ports at the time, only through Rhodiote intermediaries, with the siege caused by the refusal of the Knights of St. John to pay any tribute to the Sultan. The disgraced Ottoman Admiral Hamza, having failed to take Rhodes in 1455, was demoted to be Governor of the port-city of Antalya by Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror. Plague was reported in Rhodes in 1456-1457 and on Lango-Cos-İstanköy in 1457 where 1,500 people died from the it⁹⁷ and it may have spread through trade contacts to the ports on the Anatolian coastline, although there is no surviving record of this, as of so much else. In August 1472 a combined fleet led by the Venetian Captain General Pietro Mocenigo, allied with Uzun Hasan against the Ottomans, consisting of 48 galleys from Venice with a force of Albanian mercenary troops, 18 galleys sent by the Pope, Sixtus IV, and 17

⁹³ Construction began either in late December 1402, following the fall of their castle and Smyrna to Timur in the same month or early in 1403.

⁹⁴ Including the period from 1490 until the death of Jem Sultan in 1495, when Sultan Beyazit II undertook not to attack Rhodes, Venice or the Papal states, Imber, *Structure of Power* 100.

⁹⁵ The siege of Rhodes lasted 40 days, Nicolle, *Hospitallers* 9; Sire, *Knights* 34.

⁹⁶ Babinger, Mehmed 129-30 In the peace treaty of December 25th 1451 between the Ottoman Sultanate and the Knights, it is recorded that, "The traders... may go back and forth ... get on with their work and see to their merchandise, untroubled and without danger.", and, the Grand Master asked the King of Aragon to prevent his fleet, at that time based at Castellorizo, from capturing Turkish vessels in the vicinity of Rhodes, and to refrain from selling slaves or any other booty that they had captured in raids along the Anatolian coastline in the markets at Rhodes, in case these actions invalidated the 1451 peace treaty, cited in Kollias, *Rhodes* 25-6. Following the siege of 1480 and the earthquake followed by famine of 1481, it is reported that due to the peace treaty between the Knights and the Ottomans, in 1482 Moslem merchants were in Rhodes, Kollias, *Rhodes* 30.

⁹⁷ Hasluk 1910, 163.

galleys sent by King Ferdinand of Naples, made rendezvous at Rhodes and were joined by 3 galleys from the Knights of St. John. This fleet then sailed eastwards along the coast, stopping to provision at Stamira⁹⁸ and, after breaking the harbor chain and sacking the port district of Antalya city, looted 6,000 ducats worth of soap, carpets, wax and sugar, and enslaved people in the port and on an adjacent mountain⁹⁹; they then sailed back along the coast and sacked Makri (Fethiye) and then continued northwards and on the 13th of September 1472 sacked Smyrna-Izmir, looted and enslaved many, and the following year took Sechi (Sij-Siq-Softa Castle, 12 km east of Anamur), Corycos and Silifke¹⁰⁰. There is no mention made of Patara, indicating any habitation there was not worth sacking and the port was not functioning. Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror again attempted to take Rhodes from the Knights of St. John in 1479-80. He employed his son Jem (Djem-Cem Sultan) Sanjak Bey of Menteşe – Governor of Karaman Province from 1474¹⁰¹, who in 1478-9, preparatory to the 1480 siege, conducted negotiations for tribute from the Knights in exchange for peace, through his emissary Dimitrios Sophianos of Negroponte who left Ottoman territory for Rhodes to conduct these talks via Patara-Patara¹⁰². There are no other indications to suggest the possible functioning of the port of Patara in the 15th c. The Ottoman fleet that transported the troops for this siege was based in the Bay of Marmaris¹⁰³, but the raid of 1479 followed by the siege mounted of Rhodes city by Mesih Pasha from the 23rd of May to the 17th of August 1480 was raised following a great loss of life. The series of earthquakes and a tsunami that struck Rhodes in 1481¹⁰⁴ almost certainly caused substantial damage to structures at Patara, as elsewhere along the coastline. Plague

⁹⁸ Hellenkemper - Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien I*, 137-8.

⁹⁹ Imber, *Ottoman Empire 209-10*; Babinger, *Mehmed 307-8*, who incorrectly records the date of this raiding as 1473.

¹⁰⁰ Imber, *Ottoman Empire* 213.

¹⁰¹ Babinger, *Mehmed* 332.

¹⁰² Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği* 106-7 and fn. 360; Babinger, *Mehmed* 381.

¹⁰³ Known as: Porto Fisko-Marmora-Marmaris. For example, Babinger, *Mehmed* 382, 399; Wittek, *Menteşe Beyliği* 107.

¹⁰⁴ Duggan, *Antalya*. Following that of 1418 that struck Rhodes and damaged the Auberge of the Langue of Provence of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes City, a series of earthquakes struck the island in 1481 on March the 18th, with the shock wave from this March earthquake felt in Cairo, again on May the 3rd, the major seismic event with that of October the 3rd, and again on December the 18th, earthquakes which largely destroyed Rhodes city. It turned the shipping in the harbor into matchwood, with villages also destroyed and the population, as a result of this seismic activity, left starving. The evening quake of the 3rd of May caused a 3 m. high tsunami wave, which struck the south west Anatolian coast, leaving an identified level of tsunami sediment deposition in the bay at Dalaman. A. Papadopoulos, E. Daskalaki, A. Fokaefs and N. Giraleas, *Tsunami hazards in the East Hellenic Arc*, 57-64, in *Natural Hazards and Earth Systems Sciences*, www.nat-hazards-earth-syst-sci.net/7/57/2007/, 60, and this tsunami wave also struck Crete, as was the case with the similar earthquakes at Rhodes and their associated tsunami waves, as in 1609, that killed a minimum of 10,000 people, and again in 1741. Amongst the recorded damage to Rhodes city in these 1481 quakes was the destruction of the Auberge of the Langue of France and the Auberge of the Langue of Provence, both large well built stone structures which were so badly damaged that they had to be entirely rebuilt, further damage to St. Nicholas's tower which had already been damaged in the siege of the previous year, and damage to the tower by the west facing gateway to the Grand Master's Palace, with the entire West Gateway to the Castello of Rhodes city rebuilt after this earthquake, the rebuilding being carried out during the reigns of Grand Masters D'Aubusson 1476 - 1503 and D'Amboise 1503 -1512. There can be no doubt that these earthquakes of 1481 caused significant damage to built structures in the western half of Antalya Province, in addition to serious tsunami damage along the coastline.

struck Rhodes again from 1498-1500, recorded by a contemporary observer Emmanuel Limenites in his poem in Greek entitled the "Plague of Rhodes" and it may also have spread through local trade to the Anatolian coastline opposite. The Ottoman conquest of Rhodes was attempted once again in 1522 under the command of Mustafa Paşa from the 22nd of June, and this time, after a siege of six months, it was successful, leading to the surrender on the 22nd of December and the departure of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem from their forts and bases on Rhodes and in the region on the 1st – 2nd of January 1523, finally opening up the direct maritime route from Egypt and Syria to Istanbul¹⁰⁵. However, by this time it appears the port at Patara had largely silted up and the conquest of Rhodes meant little to the largely deserted port.

Even though Piri Reis does not record or mark either the port or the settlement at Patara in his *Kitab-ı Bahriye* of 1525, indicating thereby that the port no longer functioned and the settlement was probably abandoned, it is clear that the lighthouse- *manar* tower still stood to some considerable, if not to its original, height and Piri Reis on both of his maps of this stretch of coastline records this lighthouse-*manar* tower at Patara (Figs. 9 and 10). It was still a feature of this coastline in the 16th century and was still serving as an aid to coastal navigation¹⁰⁶, indicating it was standing to some considerable height and so was worth recording as a guide to 16th c. mariners, although this structure is not named, nor is it remarked upon in his text¹⁰⁷. It was almost certainly brought down in the 1609 earthquake and tsunami¹⁰⁸.

Patara was visited by Hacı Kalfa in the second half of the 17th c.¹⁰⁹ and a small number of pottery finds from the Medieval bath house excavations suggest there was perhaps some form of settlement at Patara in the later Ottoman period, 17th-18th centuries, although by 1811, Captain F. Beaufort records the site of Patara was devoid of human habitation¹¹⁰. This was doubtless due not only to the condition of the harbor and the mosquitoes of the swamp the harbor had become and the time of year that Beaufort visited, when many inhabitant were in the *yayla*, but also because of the repeated slave raids along the southern Anatolian coastline launched by the Knights of St. John from

¹⁰⁵ Prior to the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes, merchandise including slaves, passed south from Ottoman Bursa, Istanbul or elsewhere, overland to the port of Antalya and were then shipped to Syria and Egypt, and traveled north from the ports of Alexandria, Latakiya, Tripoli and Jaffa to Antalya and then overland, thus avoiding passing Rhodes and contributing greatly to the prosperity of the port-city of Antalya from 1310-1522, excluding the period of Lusignan occupation 1361-73. The gradual decline in the importance of the port of Antalya, that Malpiero had described in 1472 as, "The greatest and most famous seaport in Asia," dates from the conquest of Rhodes in 1522.

¹⁰⁶ Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı bahriye*, ed. by E. Z. Ökten, Ankara 1988, vol. 4, 1652 and 1656, s. 394/a and s. 395a.

¹⁰⁷ This is also the case for Piri Reis's depiction of the tower-*manar* serving this same purpose on Kum Burnu, by Myra, Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı bahriye*, ed. by E. Z. Ökten, Ankara 1988, vol. 4, 1644, s. 392a and that by Fethiye.

¹⁰⁸ In April 1609 a major earthquake struck Rhodes, leaving half of Rhodes City destroyed and the castle ruined. A large number of people, the sources suggest a minimum of 10,000 were killed by the tsunami wave that swept along the S.W. Anatolian coastline caused by this earthquake and it probably brought down the shaft of the Fethiye *manar*. The shock wave was reported from Syria and Cairo. All the people on Rhodes were ordered to give 3 days labor to repair the fortifications of the city following this disaster, N. N. Ambrasey and C. F. Finkel, *The seismicity of Turkey and adjacent areas. A historical review 1500-1800*, İstanbul, 1995, 59. A possible aftershock from this earthquake is recorded striking Rhodes in 1610, J. Vogt, *Osmanlı topraklarında tarih boyunca depremsellik: batılı Kaynaklardan ve tanıkların ifadelerinden örnekler*, E. Zachariadou (ed.), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Doğal Afetler*, İstanbul, 2001, 276.

¹⁰⁹ Wittek *Menteşe Beyliği* 167.

¹¹⁰ Beaufort, *Karamania* 6.

Rhodes¹¹¹ and then from their new headquarters on Malta together with the Maltese *corso* extending from the 1530's to the end of the 18th c.¹¹². The Rum farmers who tilled the fields around Patara in the 1840's¹¹³ inhabited villages that were built in part from material that had been taken from the ruins of Patara¹¹⁴, but these villages were for reasons of security located further inland, away from the ruins of Patara, at a distance from the coastline and away from the threat of pillage, enslavement and impressments into military service¹¹⁵. It was listed in the tour guide published by John Murray in 1846 on Route 101 as 'Patosa', with ruins and apparently no inhabitants, the settlement was at Fournas, Patosa-Patara lying at a distance of 9 hours overland travel from Antiphellos-Kaş¹¹⁶.

Abbreviated Literature

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Altan 2002 | E. Altan, 1150-1250 Yılları Arasında Anadolu'da Doğal Afetler, in: İstanbul Üni. Tarih Araşt. Merkezi Tarih Boyunca Anadolu'da Doğal Afetler ve Deprem Semineri, 22-23 Mayıs 2000, İstanbul 2002, 41-49. |
| Arık 1994 | F. Ş. Arık, Selçuklular zamanında Anadolu'da meydana gelen depremler, Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi 16/27, 1994, 13-32. |
| Armstrong 2001 | P. Armstrong, Seljuqs before the Seljuqs: Nomads and Frontiers inside Byzantium, in: A. Eastmond (ed.), Eastern approaches to Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999, Aldershot 2001, 277-286. |
| Babinger, Mehmed | F. Babinger, Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time, Princeton 1992. |
| Baykara 2006 | T. Baykara, Saltukname'de Antalya, Son bin yılda Antalya Sempozyumu, Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Antalya 2003, Antalya 2006, 9-14. |
| Beaufort, Karamania | F. Beaufort, Karamania, or a brief Description of the South Coast of Asia Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity, London 1817. |
| Benedictow, Black Death | O. J. Benedictow, The Black Death 1346-1353. A Complete History, Woodbridge 2004. |
| Braudel, Mediterranean | F. Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the Age |

¹¹¹ Sire, Knights 86, records that from 1462 onwards Turkish captives provided two-thirds of the galley slaves used to power the Knights galleys, many captured through coastal raiding and the capture of coastal shipping.

¹¹² For example, Joanne Masalet a slave trader on Malta reported he had 15 slaves, from Aleppo, *Adalia*-Antalya, Damietta, Rhodes, Tunis and Algiers on the 28th of March 1616, Wettinger, Slavery 226, and in 1617, Vely Agi (Veli Ağa) Mehmetoğlu, possibly from Antalya province, aged 80 was freed to raise the ransom for 9 other Ottoman slaves, presumably from the Antalya region held captive on Malta, idem, 207. Between 20 and 24 people from Antalya province were slaves on Malta between 1657 and 1666 and, between 15 and 19 people from Antalya province were taken into captivity and were slaves on Malta who were freed by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798, idem, figs 7 & 8. Between 1775 and 1798 3,447 captives-slaves were brought to Malta and in the same period 3,429 departed from Malta, freed through the payment of ransom, idem, 575-6, Table 25.

¹¹³ Slatter, Xanthus 150, citing from G. Scharf's unpublished Journals.

¹¹⁴ Beaufort, Karamania 6.

¹¹⁵ This situation along the coastline of Antalya province remained constant, with the threat of pillage and impressment-slavery extending into the 19th c., see for example, Beaufort, Karamania 107, leading to the deserted appearance of the coastline, the absence of settlements and cultivation remarked upon by Beaufort, Karamania p. V, 10, at the time of his visits in 1811-12.

¹¹⁶ A handbook for travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor and Constantinople, pub. by John Murray, London 1845, 344.

- of Phillip II, trans. S. Reynolds, Berkeley 1978.
- Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey: a general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071-1330, New York 1968.
- Cahen, Turkey C. Cahen, The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century, London 2001.
- Duggan 2003 T. M. P. Duggan, A 14th century account of Antalya's sunken cities. A historical context and a literary tradition, *Adalya* 6, 2003, 305-336.
- Duggan 2004 T. M. P. Duggan, A short account of recorded calamities (earthquakes and plagues) in Antalya and related areas over the past 2,300 years-an incomplete list, comments and observations, *Adalya* 7, 2004, 123-170.
- Duggan 2005 T. M. P. Duggan, Supplementary data to be added to the chronology of plague and earthquakes in Antalya Province and in adjacent and related areas, *Adalya* 8, 2005, 357-398.
- Duggan 2006 T. M. P. Duggan, The motifs employed on Rum Seljuk 13th century eight pointed star tiles from Antalya Province and elsewhere in Anatolia: an interpretation, *Adalya* 9, 2006, 149-219.
- Duggan 2007 T. M. P. Duggan, An interpretation of the 13th century function and appearance of non-urban state carvansaray-hans in Rum Seljuk Anatolia, in: Proceedings of the Antalya Mimarlar Odası-“Taş Sempozyumu”, Antalya 2007, 289-295.
- Duggan 2008 T. M. P. Duggan, The paintwork and plaster on Emdir and Kırkgöz Hans by Antalya – and some implications drawn concerning the original appearance of 13th c. Seljuk state buildings, *Adalya* 11, 2008, 319-358.
- Duggan, Antalya T. M. P. Duggan, The hidden history of Antalya Province, 300 B.C. to 2005, A chronology of plagues and earthquakes, çev. M. Oktan, Antalya'nın Gizli Tarihi: 2300 Yıl İçerisinde Bölgede Yaşanan Depremlerin ve Salgın Hastalıkların Kronolojisi, forthcoming İstanbul 2011.
- Durukan 2001 A. Durukan, Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Kaynakları Çerçevesinde Baniler, *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 5, 2001, 43-132.
- Edbury, Cyprus P. W. Edbury, The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374, Cambridge 1994.
- Erdem 2006 İ. Erdem, Ortaçağ sonlarında Likya levant Ticareti ve Türkmenler (12-15 yy), Ed. K. Dörtluk et al. III International Symposium on Lycia, Vol. 1, İstanbul 2006, 243-251.
- Fleet, Ottoman State K. Fleet, European and Islamic trade in the early Ottoman State. The merchants of Genoa and Turkey, Cambridge 1999.
- Flemming, Landschaftsgeschichte B. Flemming, Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter, Wiesbaden 1964.
- Foss, Asia Minor C. Foss, Cities, Fortresses and villages of Byzantine Asia Minor, Norfolk 1996.
- Gottfried, Black Death R. S. Gottfried, The Black Death, Natural and Human disaster in Medieval Europe, New York 1984.
- Gölpınarlı, Mektuplar A. Gölpınarlı, Mevlana Celaledin Mektuplar, İstanbul 1999.
- Hasluk 1910 F. W. Hasluk, Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish conquest, *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 17, 1910/11, 151-181.
- Hellenkemper - Hild, Lykien und H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, Lykien und Pamphylien, Teil I, Wien

- Pamphylien I 2004 (Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8).
- Hillenbrand, Islamic Architecture R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning*, Edinburg 2000.
- Housley, Crusades N. Housley, *Documents on the later Crusades, 1274-1580*, London 1996.
- Imber, Ottoman Empire C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1481*, Istanbul 1990.
- Imber, Structure of Power C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power*, New York 2002.
- Karamut 2003 İ. Karamut, *Work by Alanya Museum in 2002*, ANMED 2003/1, 53-4.
- Karamut 2004 İ. Karamut, *The work carried out by Alanya Museum in 2003*, ANMED 2004/2, 119-120.
- Koca, Keykavas S. Koca, *Sultan I. İzzeddin Keykavas (1211-1220)*, Ankara 1997.
- Kollias, Rhodes E. Kollias, *The Knights of Rhodes, the palace and the city*, Athens 1991.
- Köprülü, Byzantine Institutions M. F. Köprülü, *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*. Ankara 1999 (Translated, edited with introduction and postscript by Gary Leiser from the Turkish edition of 1931).
- Lindner 1994 R. P. Lindner, *Hordes and Hoards in Late Saljuq Anatolia*, in: R. Hillenbrand (ed.), *The art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, Costa Mesa 1994, 281-284.
- Little 2001 D. P. Little, *Memluk Tarihçileri Tarafından Kaydedilen Deprem Verileri: Tarih Yazımı Üzerine Bir Deneme*, in: E. Zachariadou (ed.), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Doğal Afetler*, İstanbul 2001, 149-158.
- Lopez – Raymond, Medieval Trade R. S. Lopez – I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents Translated with Introductions and Notes*, New York 1955.
- Luke 1975 Sir H. Luke, *The Kingdom of Cyprus 1291-1369*, in: H. W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. III, London 1975, 346-61.
- Luttrell 1989 A. T. Luttrell, *The Latins and life on the smaller Aegean Islands 1204-1453*, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4/1, 1989, 146-157.
- Makhairas, Chronicle Leontis Makhairas, *Recital concerning the sweet land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, Vol. I, II, Ed. and Trans. R. M. Dawkins, Oxford 1932.
- Martin 1980 M. E. Martin, *The Venetian Seljuk treaty of 1220*, *English Historical Review* 95, 1980, 321-30.
- Nicolle, Hospitallers D. Nicolle, *Knights of Jerusalem: The Crusading Order of Hospitallers 1100-1565*, Osprey 2008.
- Norwich, Venice J. J. Norwich, *A history of Venice*, London 1997.
- Perk – Öztürk, Sikke H. Perk – H. Öztürk, *Anadolu Sikke Monografileri 1*, Istanbul 2007.
- Pitcher, Ottoman Empire E. Pitcher, *A historical geography of the Ottoman Empire from the earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century*, Leiden 1972.
- Pryor, Maritime J. H. Pryor, *Geography, technology and war – studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean 649-1571*, London 1992.
- Redford – Leiser, Fetihname S. Redford – G. Leiser, *"Taşa Yazılan Zafer" Antalya İçkale Surlarındaki Selçuklu Fetihnamesi / "Victory Inscribed" the Seljuk Fetihname on the Citadel Walls of Antalya*, Istanbul 2008.
- Riefstahl, Anatolia R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in South Western Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931.

- Rosenbaum et al., Western Cilicia E. Rosenbaum – G. Huber – S. Onurkan, A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia. Preliminary Report, Ankara 1967.
- Roskill 1957 J. S. Roskill, Sir Richard de Waldegrave of Bures St. Mary Speaker in the Parliament of 1381-2, Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology 27/3, 1957, 154-174.
- Savvides, Byzantium A. G. C. Savvides, Byzantium in the Near East: Its relations with the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols (AD c. 1192-1237), Thessalonike 1981.
- Sire, Knights H. J. A. Sire, The Knights of Malta, London 1996.
- Slatter, Xanthus E. Slatter, Xanthus: Travels of Discovery in Turkey, London 1994.
- Turan, Resmî Vesikalar O. Turan, Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar: Metin, Tercüme ve Araştırmalar, Ankara 1988.
- Turan, Tarihi Takvimler O. Turan, İstanbul'un Fethinden Önce Yazılmış Tarihi Takvimler, Ankara 1984.
- Turan, Türkiye O. Turan, Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye, İstanbul 1971.
- Türkmen – Demir 2006 S. Türkmen – G. Demir, Documentation work at the Şekerhane Köşkü at Ancient Selinus in 2005, ANMED 2006, 153-156.
- Türkmen – Demir 2008 S. Türkmen - G. Demir, Excavation and documentation work in 2007 at the Şekerhane Köşkü (Cenotaph) at Ancient Selinus, ANMED 2008, 168-171.
- Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devleti İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatına Medhal, Ankara 1988.
- van Cleve, Frederick II T. C. van Cleve, The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Immutator Mundi, Oxford 1972.
- Vasiliev, Byzantine Empire A. A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, Vol. II, Madison 1980.
- Vatin 2001 N. Vatin, 1481 Rodos Depremleri ve Bu Depremlerin Tarihçisi Guillaume Caoursin, in: E. Zachariadou (ed.), Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Doğal Afetler, İstanbul 2001, 167-199.
- Vryonis, Asia Minor S. Vryonis, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Centuries, Berkeley 1971.
- Wettinger, Slavery G. Wettinger, Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812, Malta 2002.
- Witteck, Menteşe Beyliği P. Wittek, Menteşe Beyliği, trans. O. Ş. Gökyay, Ankara 1999.
- Yavuz 1970 Y. Yavuz, Alanya'nın Demirtaş (Syedre) Bucağındaki Köşk, Belleten 34, 1970, 353-371.
- Yavuz 2000 A. T. Yavuz, Antalya Kemer'deki Selçuklu Köşkü, in: O. Aslanapa (ed.), Emin Bilgiç Hatıra Kitabı, İstanbul 2000, 279-302.
- Yerasimos, Les Voyageurs S. Yerasimos, Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman, XIVe-XVIe Siècles, Ankara 1991.
- Yetkin, Çini Sanatı Ş. Yetkin, Anadolu'da Türk Çini Sanatının Gelişmesi, İstanbul 1972.
- Yılmaz, Antalya L. Yılmaz, Antalya (16. yüzyılın sonuna kadar), Ankara 2002.
- Zachariadou 1989 E. A. Zachariadou, Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century, in: B. Arbel - B. Hamilton - D. Jacoby (edd.), Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204, London 1989, 212-225.
- Zeigler, Black Death P. Zeigler, The Black Death, New York – Hagestown – San Fransisco – London 1969.

Özet

13. ve 14. Yüzyıllarda Likya Limanı Patara ve Çevresi

Patara'da yarımada yakınındaki hamamda ve buna bitişik olan sur duvarın üst bölümündeki yüzey kalıntıları Rum Selçuk'un buradaki varlığına tanıklık eder. Olasılıkla yeniden kullanılan Roma Deniz Feneri yapısı buna dâhildir. Bu dönemde halen önemli bir yükseklikte olan yapı, Piri Reis'in haritasında açıkça işaretlendiği üzere 1524 yılı sonrasına kadar bu kıyıdaki denizcilere nirengi noktası teşkil etmekteydi. Liman, Lüzinyan Haçlıları'nın Patara'yı Mayıs 1362'deki işgalinden sonra işlerliğini büyük ölçüde kaybetmiş olmalıdır. Bu nedenle de Piri Reis'e kadar buna dikkat çekilmemiş veya işaretlenmemiştir. 1211 tarihli Rum Selçuk – Doğu Roma sınır anlaşması, 1216 tarihli Kıbrıs Kralı Hugh'un korsanlığı içeren mektubu, Antalya'nın 1216 yılında yeniden ele geçirilmesi sırasında muhtemelen Patara'da konuşlanan gemileri de içeren Selçuklu donanmasının Lykia limanlarını kullanımı ve 1220 tarihli Rum Selçuk – Venedik ticaret antlaşması Lykia ve onun hem Türkmen hem de Rum nüfusları ile Patara dâhil olmak üzere Lykia limanlarındaki kontrolü 13. yy.'ın ilk çeyreğinde sıkı bir Selçuklu devlet otoritesine işaret etmektedir. 1280'li yıllara kadar izlenebilen bu Rum Selçuk kontrolü, muhtemelen Selçuk destekli Menteşeoğulları Beyliği'nin 14.yy.'ın hemen başındaki yükseldiği döneme kadar sürmüştür. Limanın 13.yy. başlarından yağmalandığı 1362 yılına kadar kullanımı ve önemi bilinmektedir. Bu esnada yerel deniz ticareti ile Aziz Nikolaos'un doğum yerine varmak isteyen Latin ve Rum hacılarına yönelik korsanlık hareketlerinin kontrol edilmesinde Selçuklu donanmasının merkezi durumundadır. 1270'li yıllardan itibaren ise Latin ve Rum toprakları ile gemilerine yapılan cihat saldırılarının üssü olarak hizmet vermiştir.

Yavaş yavaş dolmasının yanı sıra 1362 yılındaki yağmalama sonrasında liman eski önemine tekrar kavuşamamasının nedenlerinden birisi, kente yakın olan Rhodos'ta 1310 yılından 1522 yılına kadar hüküm sürmüş olan Kudüslü St. Jean Şövalyeleri'nin (Hospitaller), artık liman girişi iyi bir şekilde korunmayan Patara'ya sürekli saldırılarda bulunmalarıdır. Şövalyelerin civardaki deniz yollarını donanmalarıyla etkili şekilde kontrol etmeleri ve Müslüman gemileri yerine sadece Latin-Rum ticaret gemilerinin bu yolu kullanabilmesi, Karia'da daha güvenli üslerin ortaya çıkmasına ve 14.yy.'dan itibaren görüldüğü üzere cihat hareketlerinin kuzeye, Miletus - Balat, Milas - Peçin ve Ephesos – Ayasoğluk ve İzmir – Smyrna (1344'e kadar) taraflarına yönelmesine neden olmuştur. 1347 yılındaki pandeminin nüfusun büyük bölümünü yok etmesi ve limanın büyük kent merkezlerine karayolu ulaşımının uzun olması kentin önemini kaybetmesinin dikkate değer diğer bir etmenidir. 1522 yılında Rhodos'un ele geçirilmesiyle Patara yakınından geçen İstanbul-Mısır deniz ulaşımının Osmanlı tüccarları için güvenlik sorununu ortadan kaldırması, Antalya Limanı aracılığıyla yapılan ticarette düşüşe yol açmıştır, fakat Patara Limanı da ondan sonra dolmuş ve kent terk edilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Patara, Likya, Rum Selçuk, Hospitaller, Osmanlı, yapılar.

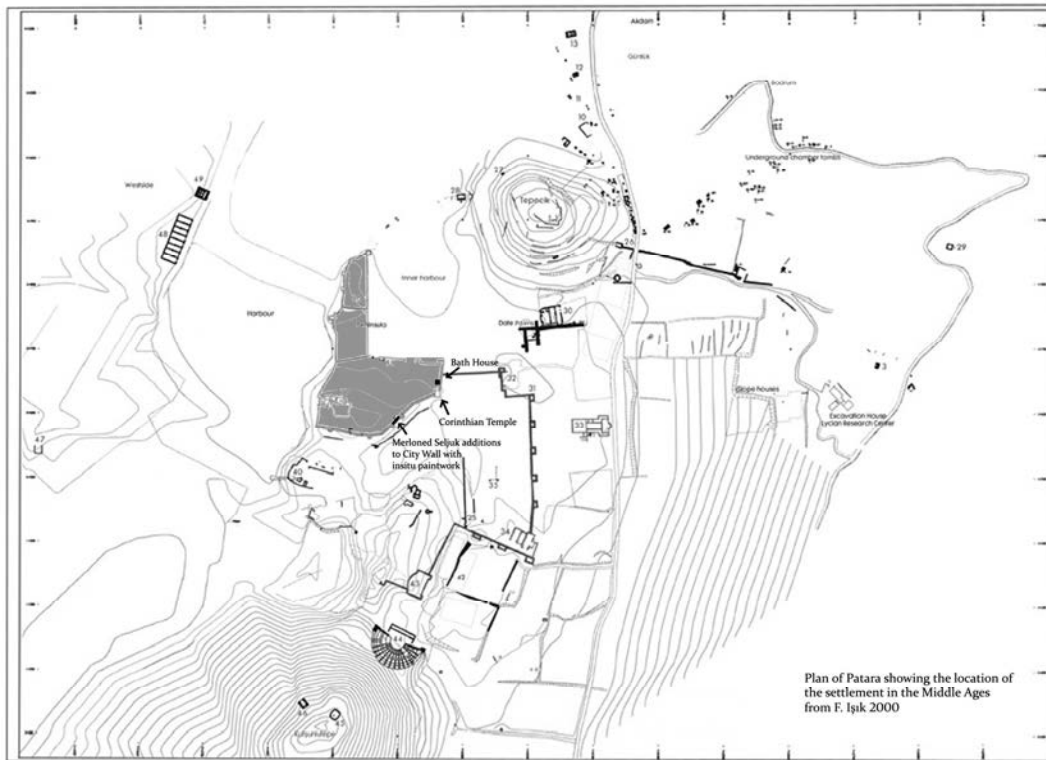


Fig. 1. Plan of Patara, the walled medieval settlement by the harbor indicated



Fig. 2. View of the bath house from the Corinthian Temple



Fig. 3. Plan of the bath house by the corinth temple containing Seljuk paintwork. The black paint is in the room marked by 1 (Drawing by M. Duman)



Fig. 6. Parapet and merlons that retain traces of insitu Seljuk paintwork



Fig. 4. Seljuk mortar and black paintwork in situ at the junction of the walls and floor



Fig. 7. The outer face of the medieval city wall restored by the Seljuks



Fig. 5. The bath house (roofed) and the area of merloned wall



Fig. 8. Seljuk merlons at Alara Han

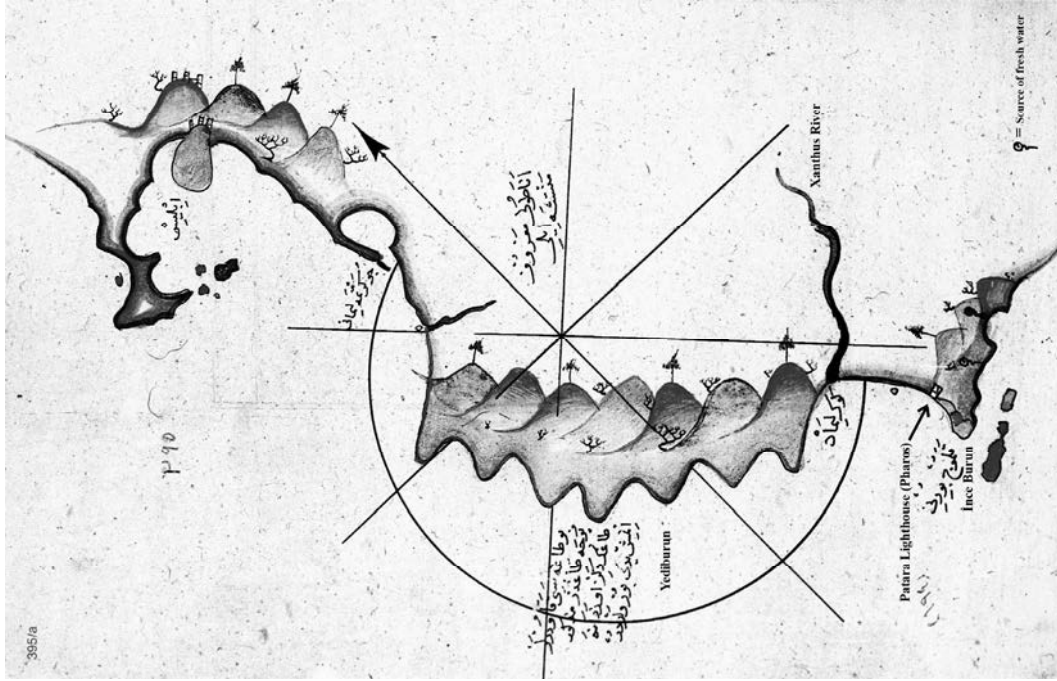


Fig. 10. Piri Reis Map showing the lighthouse at Patara (from Piri Reis 1988, 1656, s395a)

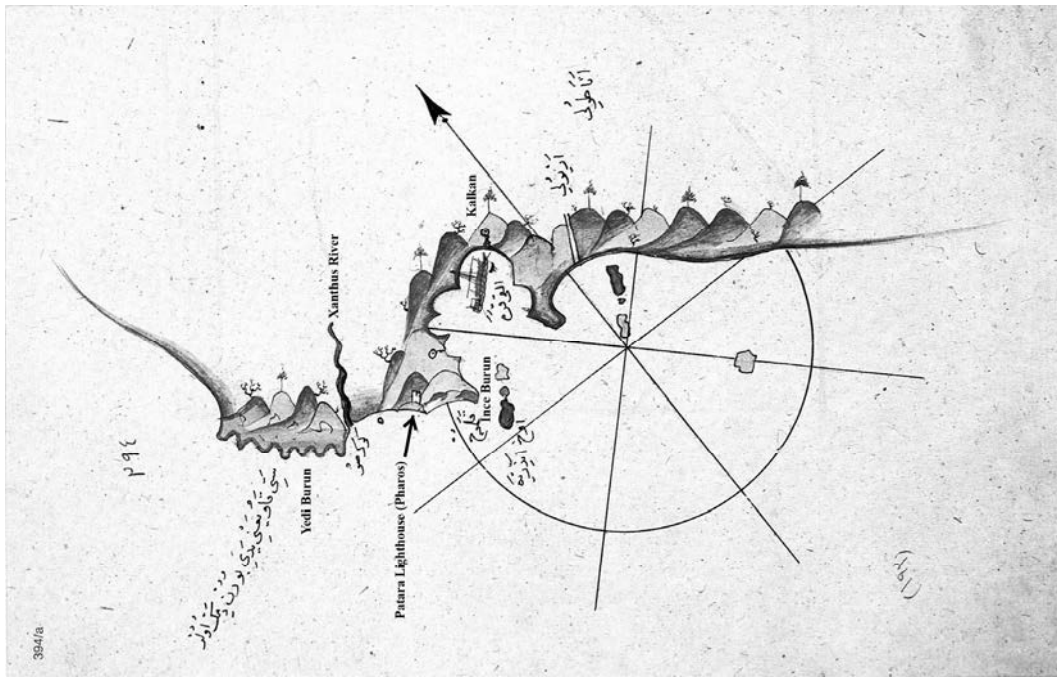


Fig. 9. Piri Reis Map showing the lighthouse at Patara (from Piri Reis 1988, 1652, s394a)