

# ADALYA

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# Capturing the Seen and Unseen in the Beldibi Rock Art

BURÇİN ERDOĞU\*

## Abstract

This article examines the engravings of the Beldibi Rock Shelter using digital techniques. The engravings, which consist of a jumping deer and an ox with its head turned back, were first discovered by E. Bostancı in 1959. Both Bostancı and Anati compared them to Western European Upper Palaeolithic figures. If the engravings of Beldibi really exist, they would exhibit the earliest rock art in Anatolia.

**Keywords:** Antalya, Beldibi, rock art, engraving

## Öz

Bu makalede, Beldibi Kaya Sığınağı'nın gravürleri dijital tekniklerle incelenmektedir. Zıplayan bir geyik ve başını geri çeviren bir öküzden oluşan çizgi/kazımalar ilk olarak 1959'da E. Bostancı tarafından keşfedilmiştir. Hem Bostancı hem de Anati, onları Batı Avrupa'nın Üst Paleolitik Dönem figürleriyle karşılaştırmıştır. Beldibi'nin gravürleri gerçekten varsa, Anadolu'daki en eski kaya sanatını sergilemektedirler.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Antalya, Beldibi, kaya sanatı, gravür

## Introduction

The Beldibi Rock Shelter first gained importance with its rock art excavated by E. Bostancı between 1959-1960 and 1966-1967.<sup>1</sup> The rock art consists of paintings that feature stylized animal and human figures as well as crosses executed with red paint. Bostancı<sup>2</sup> suggests that the oldest rock art consists of engravings created by completing natural depressions and protrusions with deep lines. These engravings were lines under the painted figures at the bottom of the rock shelter and consist of a jumping deer and an ox with its head turned back (fig. 1). According to Bostancı,<sup>3</sup> the animal figures show typical Upper Palaeolithic stylistic patterns. E. Anati, who investigated the rock art of Beldibi in the 1960s, recognized only the ox figure and compared it to Western European Upper Palaeolithic examples.<sup>4</sup> According to him, the figure was probably made by using a flint tool. The figures were rather small, approximately 5x4 cm in size (fig. 2).

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<sup>1</sup> Bostancı 1959, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Bostancı 1959, 140, pl. II.

<sup>3</sup> Bostancı 1959.

<sup>4</sup> Anati 1968, 28.

Although their existence has not been questioned so far, researchers have always looked at them with suspicion so have not much paid attention. On the other hand, the ox was probably a symbolically important animal in the pre-Neolithic Antalya region. For instance, the engraving of an ox, alongside figurative depictions of humans, was recorded at the Öküzini Cave (now completely vanished, but its copy can be seen in the Antalya Archaeology Museum). It was created by two incised pebbles.<sup>5</sup> If engravings at Beldibi really do exist, they would be considered one of the possible earliest examples of rock art in Anatolia. This article investigates the engravings of the Beldibi Rock Shelter using digital techniques.

## Beldibi Rock Shelter and Methodologies Implemented for the Engravings

The Beldibi Rock Shelter is located 2 km north of the Beldibi Village, Antalya, on the eastern part of the Mount Çamdağ limestone cliffs, which stretch towards the sea. It consists of a semicircular terrace, with a length of approximately 3 m. Jurassic-Cretaceous limestone covers a large area while Plio-Quaternary rocks that petrified with carbonated water from faults are formed with travertine breccias in the region.<sup>6</sup> The significance of the Beldibi Rock Shelter with its rock art has remained undisputed since its first discovery. A 6.2 m archaeological deposit and four cultural phases have been revealed during the excavations.<sup>7</sup> The first layer (A) is dated to the Modern and Roman/Greek Age. Layer B is divided into two sub-phases and dated to the Neolithic period. Epi-palaeolithic layer C follows the Neolithic layer which is also divided into two sub-phases. The two layers are separated by a 20 cm thick reddish soil. The lowest layers D-G are dated to the Upper Palaeolithic. No radiocarbon dates available.

Macro and microscopic analyses were applied to identify and characterize the engravings. Macrophotography allows detailed digital imaging of very small subjects and provides a method for detailed digital imaging for the study of details in rock art.<sup>8</sup> With the help of macrophotography, we were able to more closely examine the edges of lines, grooves, depressions, and protrusions. Custom and YRD filters were also used to reveal an internal structure and a differentiated utilization of lines not visible to the naked eye. In addition, a USB digital microscope was used to observe the microscopic characteristics of fractured surfaces.

## Results

Filters used to emphasize contrast between the rock surface and the engravings show that the lines of the ox figure are partially seen (fig. 3). The lines are not man-made, but instead fossilized tracks with natural depressions and protrusions (fig. 4). These fossilized marks, natural depressions, and protrusions were not shaped by combining them with flint tools, as suggested earlier. The USB digital microscope did not show any traces of completions made by sharp instruments such as flint tools on rock surfaces. In addition, the deer motif cannot be seen on the surface. Old photographs show that the depressions on the rock surface resemble a deer head, and probably this naturalness has caused the misinterpretation. Over the time, natural destruction has erased the image.

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<sup>5</sup> Kökten 1962, pl. XXXVII, fig. 2; Otte et al. 1995; Kartal 2009, 111.

<sup>6</sup> Kalafatçıoğlu 1973.

<sup>7</sup> Bostancı 1959.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Robert et al. 2016, 852-53.

Trace fossils (or ichnofossils) are impressions made on the substrate by an organism.<sup>9</sup> The traces in Beldibi belong to soft-bodied organisms. Trace fossils can be seen on rock surfaces and may create different figures that deceive the viewer. How the natural depressions, protrusions, and fossilized traces can form shapes in the mind may be explained by the Gestalt principles of visual perception.<sup>10</sup> When you see an image that has missing parts, your brain fills in the blanks and makes a complete image so you can recognize the whole pattern. This sometimes lets us see what we want to see.

## Concluding Remarks

The important site of Beldibi has the potential to further understanding of cultural complexity regarding hunter-gatherers in the region and their transition to the Neolithic way of life. Although there is no dating, the formation of rock art associated with the excavation increases its importance. We understand that rock art does not belong to a single period and the surface of the rock was used for paintings in various periods - Byzantine, Neolithic, or perhaps even earlier. Although it is said to be the oldest rock art consisting of the engravings, natural rounded-shaped protrusions and depressions along with trace fossils on the rock surface seem to have misled previous researchers. Thus, according to these latest digitally derived results, the engravings of Beldibi can be considered to be nothing more than a cognitive illusion.

---

<sup>9</sup> Frey 1975, 13.

<sup>10</sup> Koffka 1935.

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FIG. 1  
Engravings  
of Beldibi  
(Bostancı 1959,  
pl. II).

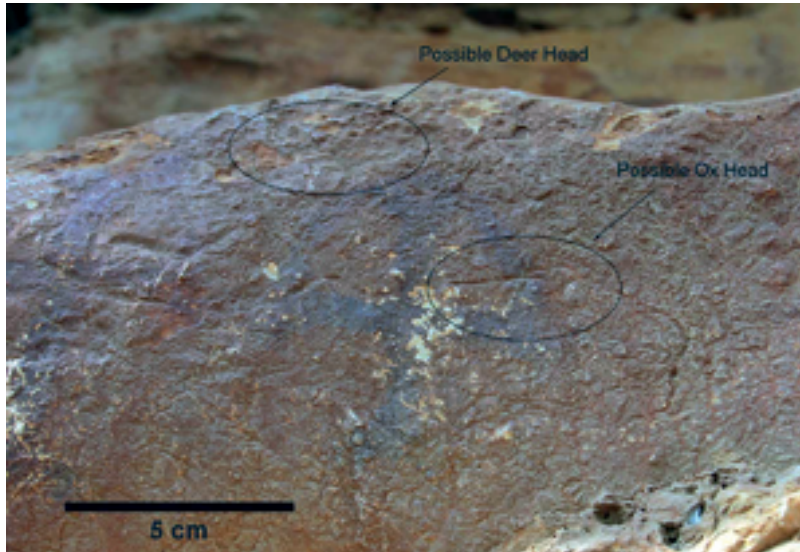


FIG. 2  
Possible location  
of deer and ox  
figures.

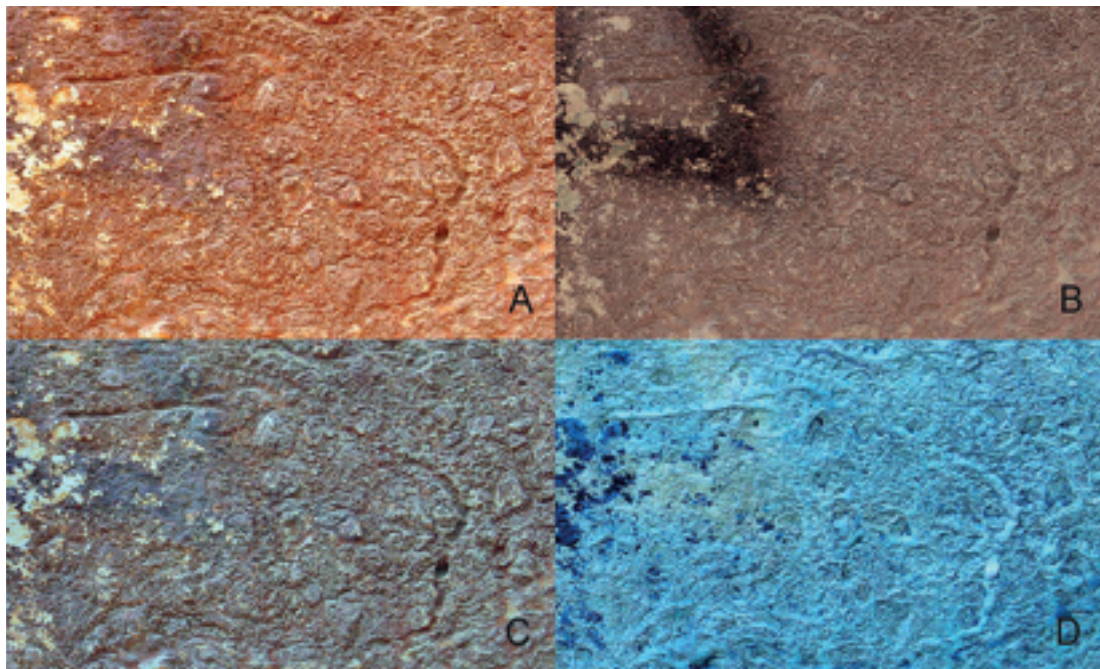


FIG. 3 Declination of different filters on the ox figure (A. Original; B. YRE Filter; C. Custom Filter High Pass; D. Custom Filter Photonegative).

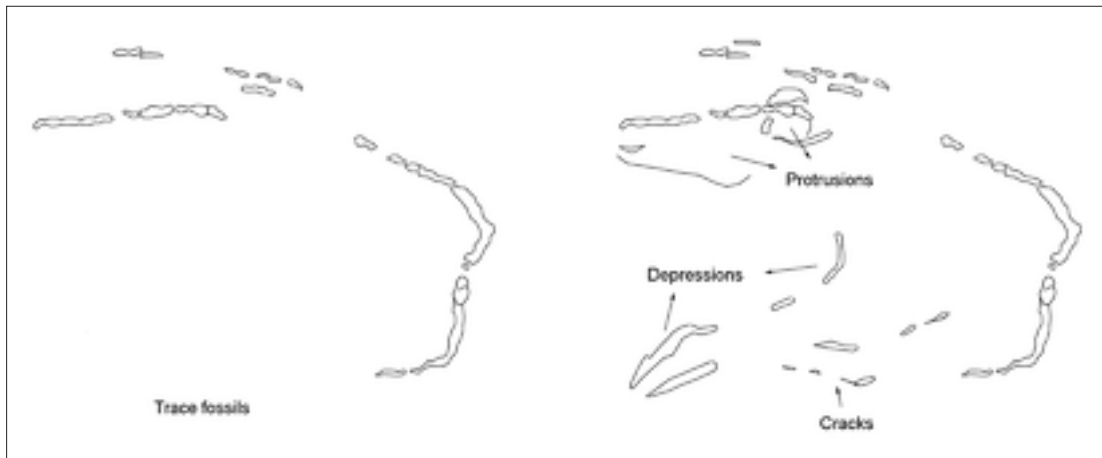


FIG. 4 Interpretation of the ox figure: Trace fossils (left); depressions and protrusions (right) on the rock surface.



# The Galena Objects from Neolithic Ulucak: The Earliest Metallic Finds in Western Turkey

ÖZLEM ÇEVİK – MURAT DİRİCAN – AYDIN ULUBEY – OSMAN VURUŞKAN\*

## Abstract

The earliest metal finds in central and eastern Anatolia are small copper and malachite beads dating from the 9th millennium BC onwards. However, the presence of metallic finds in Neolithic contexts from western Anatolia are rarely known. An analysis of metallic finds from Ulucak Höyük shows that galena was used at the site from the early 7th millennium BC to the early 6th millennium BC. Objects made of galena from initial phases at the site are considered personal ornaments, while an increasing number of galena lumps in relation to ovens were found in later phases. Thus, galena finds from Ulucak Höyük suggest that at first this raw material seemed to have been perceived as an exotic “stone”, while a full understanding of its properties may have been developed later.

**Keywords:** galena, Ulucak Höyük, Neolithic, personal ornaments

## Öz

En erken metal buluntuları temsil eden bakır ve malahit yapımı küçük boncuklar, Orta ve Doğu Anadolu’da MÖ 9. binyıldan itibaren görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte Batı Anadolu’da Neolitik döneme tarihlenen metal buluntu seyrekdir. Ulucak Höyük’te ele geçen metal buluntuların analizi, galenin erken MÖ 7. binyıldan MÖ 6. binyılın başına kadar yerleşimde kullanıldığını göstermektedir. En erken evrede bulunan galen yapımı nesnelere kişisel süs eşyaları temsil ederken, geç evrelerde artan sayıda galen topağının fırınlarla ilişkili olarak ele geçtiği kaydedilmiştir. Bu nedenle Ulucak galen buluntuları, olasılıkla başlangıçta bu hammaddenin egzotik bir “taş” olarak algılandığını, kimyasal özelliklerine dair tam bir anlayışın ise daha sonra geliştirildiğini işaret etmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** galen, Ulucak Höyük, Neolitik, kişisel süs eşyaları

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## Introduction

Archaeological evidence suggests a series of developmental sequences can be traced between the first appearance of metal objects and the onset of extractive metallurgies. The earliest metal finds found in Anatolia date from the 9th millennium BC and are small copper and malachite beads.<sup>1</sup> The use of native copper then became widespread during the late 7th/early 6th millennium BC, with examples found from Iran to Europe.<sup>2</sup> During the Neolithic, most of the copper objects were shaped by cold-hammering. Some, however, like those from Çayönü and Aşıklı dating to the 8th millennium BC, were clearly made from annealed native copper.<sup>3</sup>

Galena (a lead sulfide ore, PbS) is one natural metal found in Neolithic contexts from the Near East. When compared to the abundance of copper and malachite artefacts, galena objects have only been recorded at two Neolithic settlements (fig. 1). Three galena balls with textile impressions are known from Tell-Halula in northern Syria.<sup>4</sup> These balls, found in burial contexts, are dated to the latest PPNB phases - the end of the 8th millennium BC. In Çatalhöyük thirteen galena beads, first mistakenly identified as lead, were found in Level VIB, dating to around the mid-7th millennium BC.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, a piece of galena found next to a limestone figurine in a special deposit from the upper levels of Çatalhöyük (Level III) indicates long-term use of this raw material at the site.<sup>6</sup>

Unlike the situation observed in eastern and central Anatolia, the occurrence of metallic finds in Neolithic contexts from western Anatolia is rare. Thus, the recent discovery of metallic objects from Ulucak and a malachite bead from Uğurlu<sup>7</sup> on the island of Gökçeada (Imbros) represent the only known finds from western Anatolia in the 7th millennium BC. Until now, the earliest known metallurgical activities in western Anatolia have been traced to the late 4th and the early 3rd millennium BC, with lines of evidence from Limantepe, Baklatepe, Troy, Çukuriçi and Ilıpınar.<sup>8</sup>

In this article, we present an analysis of the metallic finds found at Ulucak Höyük, dating from the early 7th millennium BC through to the early 6th millennium BC. XRF, XRD and SEM-EDX analyses were applied in order to determine the mineralogical and chemical properties of the archaeological finds and to compare them with modern samples taken from a nearby lead mine. The Ulucak metallic objects are also considered symbolic media. As a result, this article will also discuss the dynamics which may have stimulated the initial use of metallic ores.

## Metallic Finds: Contextual and Chronological Setting

Ulucak Höyük lies 25 km east of İzmir in west-central Turkey (fig. 2). The mound is located in the western part of the Kemalpaşa plain, which is surrounded by the Nif and Spil mountains in its southern and northern ends respectively. Ulucak is a small mound covering an area of

<sup>1</sup> Birch et al. 2013; Lehner and Yener 2014; Yalçın 2016; Erdoğan 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Roberts et al. 2009, 1013-14.

<sup>3</sup> Maddin et al. 1999; Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1999; Esin 1995, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Molist et al. 2010, 37-41.

<sup>5</sup> Radivojevic et al. 2017, 105-6; Sperl 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Meskell et al. 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Erdoğan 2017, 36.

<sup>8</sup> Şahoğlu and Tuncer 2014, 71; Kaptan 2008; Erkanal 2008; Horejs and Mehofer 2015; Begemann et al. 1994.

ca. 1 ha with 11 m of stratigraphic sequence.<sup>9</sup> The Neolithic occupation at the site, which is designated by Levels VI through IV, is dated from 6850 to 5670 cal BC. The analysis of the cereals and the animal bones prove that the subsistence at the site was based on a fully-fledged agricultural system, starting from the basal layers onwards.<sup>10</sup>

Metallic finds have been found in Level VI (6850-6500 cal BC) and Level IV (6000-5670 cal BC). Their absence in between (Level V) may be the result of excavation bias. There are five worked metallic finds (fig. 3), with the remaining objects (n=25) considered metallic lumps (fig. 4 and table 1). The total weight for the metallic lumps is about 1.5 kgs. The measurement of these lumps is highly varied, from small (0.65 x 0.29 cm) to large (7.31 x 3.78 cm).

Three metallic pendants belong to the earliest occupation, Level VI (fig. 3a, b and e). These personal ornaments are of particular significance as they represent the earliest portable symbolic media at Ulucak. Level VI is represented by two adjacent buildings (Buildings 42 and 43) flanked by open spaces with fire installations.<sup>11</sup> Building 42, and the adjacent fire installations, were rebuilt three times while the earliest phase was contemporary with Building 43. Scattered animal bones surrounding the fire installations suggest that they were used for cooking. These buildings, with lime-plastered and red-painted floors and walls, are thought to have been of communal character. Both buildings seem to have been deliberately left clean and covered with a green and sterile layer. No pottery or other clay objects were attested in this earliest phase at the site. One of the pendants has a triangular shape (fig. 3a) and was found in an ashy deposit around the hearth in an open space located at the southern end of Building 43. Two of the pendants are stylized human (figs. 3b and 5) and lozenge shaped (fig. 3e) and were uncovered in a thin fill lying between Building 40 in Level Ve and the wall debris of Building 42 in Level VI. These pendants are considered within the context of Building 42, as Building 40 was directly built on the wall debris of the former building. Archaeological evidence found in relation to Buildings 42 and 43 suggest that they were ritually abandoned. This includes the deliberate placement of objects as part of ritual abandonment of Building 42 and 43 including grinding stones and specific animal bones such as scapulae and mandibles. Additionally, stone beads, grinding stones, and animal bones found in a special deposit above Building 54 in Ulucak Vd provide further evidence that personal ornaments were part of building closure deposits.

Two metallic objects together with twenty-five lumps were found in Ulucak IV (figs. 3c-d and 4). Level IVb (5840-5700 cal BC) has been investigated in a relatively large area, covering ca. 1000 m<sup>2</sup>. This phase is characterized by adjacent mudbrick dwellings which were arranged along the narrow streets. The earlier phase of this horizon, IVc (6005-5840 cal BC), is only known from a specialized pottery production workshop.<sup>12</sup> This workshop, consisting of six post-framed structures, revealed a large number of clay loaves, unfinished coil vessels, red hematite lumps, and the remains of pigmented grinding stones used for powdering hematite.

One of the metallic objects (fig. 3d) is reminiscent of the abbreviated human clay figurines from the same horizon (fig. 6) in Ulucak IV. This metallic figurine was found beneath fallen wall debris immediate outside Building 13, which caused great conflagration in Level IVb, and possibly belongs to the same building. Another object looks like a chisel (fig. 3c) when

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<sup>9</sup> Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004, 3-5.

<sup>10</sup> Çakırlar 2012, 26.

<sup>11</sup> Çevik 2019, 221-26; Çevik and Abay 2016, 187-93.

<sup>12</sup> Çevik 2016.

compared with stone examples (fig. 7). However, it seems that it was not used for the same purposes. The context of a chisel-like object is not clear as it was found in a fill between Levels IVa and IVb which was partly disturbed by Late Roman building activities.

The metallic lumps (fig. 4) were only attested in Ulucak IV. About half of these lumps were found in buildings with substantial ovens. Most of these *in situ* finds came from Buildings 61 and 66 where pottery production in specialized and domestic contexts took place. The ovens in these buildings, however, appear to have been primarily used for pigment production seen by traces of red pigment on oven bases and a heavy concentration of red hematite lumps surrounding the ovens. The sudden increase in quantity of metallic lumps after 6000 BC, and their contextual relationship with ovens, is significant given the connection between metallic lumps and pottery production, but their connection is yet unknown.

### Metallic Ore Sources and Chemical Analysis of the Ulucak Samples

Evidence for mining and metallurgical activities in Anatolia dates back to prehistoric periods.<sup>13</sup> However, metallic sources are particularly rich in the eastern and northeastern regions of Anatolia where such activities are more intensely observed both in the past and present. Nevertheless, the sources and exploitation of copper, gold, silver, lead and zinc have also been reported in western Anatolia.<sup>14</sup>

The shiny appearance of metallic ore lumps could have attracted the Neolithic community of Ulucak. The Neolithic inhabitants at the site must have had easy access to the rich metallic ore sources on the slopes of Nif Mountain, which lies immediately south of the site. In fact, a modern lead mine located about 4 km southeast of Ulucak Höyük is still actively exploited (fig. 2).

It is necessary to determine the mineralogical and chemical properties of both archaeological samples and modern samples by analytical methods. The aim of this analysis is to determine the properties of the material and to conduct a provenance analysis. In order to determine the mineralogical and chemical properties of the metallic finds (Ulucak OVG, OTC, RUO, LOP) (fig. 5), XRD, XRF and SEM-EDX analyses were performed on the metallic figurine from Phase IV (fig. 3d) and on two modern metallic ore samples (Modern 1 and Modern 2) from the above-mentioned lead mine. Since we were not allowed to take samples from the modern mine site, the modern raw material samples were provided by miners.

X-ray Diffraction (XRD) analyses were carried out at the MAM (Marmara Research Center) in TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey), using an diffractometer XRD-6000 Shimadzu (CuK $\alpha$  source,  $\lambda = 1.5405 \text{ \AA}$ ). The X-ray patterns were collected at an interval of  $0.01^\circ$  and  $6^\circ$  width. The diffraction peaks observed are defined according to Hanawalt Search Manual, Inorganic Phases, Powder Diffraction Files.

As a result of XRD analysis (table 2), except for one of the modern samples (Modern 2), the main mineral components are galena, anglesite and cerusite.<sup>15</sup> The main identification of galena, as well as the presence of other lead mineral phases (anglesite, cerusite) (table 2), clearly confirms the mineral configurations of archaeological lump findings and one of the

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<sup>13</sup> Tylecote 1976; de Jesus 1980.

<sup>14</sup> de Jesus 1978, 1980.

<sup>15</sup> Lafuente et al. 2015.

modern samples.<sup>16</sup> Anglesite and cerussite minerals are alteration products formed as a result of the galena mineral.<sup>17</sup>

The main mineral components of the other modern sample, Modern 2, were determined as pyrite, barite, smithsonite, quartz and calcite. These are not lead-containing minerals. However, these minerals are associated with the galena mineral. Galena is a common sulfide in hydrothermal veins in association with sphalerite, pyrite, chalcopyrite, marcasite, calcite, quartz, barite, fluorite, smithsonite and silver minerals.<sup>18</sup> In hydrothermal veins it is formed under a wide range of temperatures and in contact with metamorphic deposits in pegmatites. Limestones and dolostones are common host rocks.<sup>19</sup> Nif Mountain and its environs south of Ulucak, where the modern samples were taken, was a suitable geological resource area. Jurassic-Cretaceous-aged Neritic limestone units and Upper Senonian-aged clastics and carbonate units can provide suitable environments for this type of ore formation.<sup>20</sup>

X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) analyses was also carried out at the MAM in TÜBİTAK. XRF analyses were performed on the same three samples in order to determine the main element concentrations. X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy analysis was performed using a Philips PW-2404 system equipped with 4 kW Rh x-ray source, 6 analyzer crystals (LiF 220, LiF 200, Ge 111, PE 002, PX-1 and PX-4), 3 detectors (argon flow proportional and scintillation detectors, sealed xenon detector) and Super Q 4.0 software. The samples were directly analyzed without sample preparation.

The results of analysis are presented in table 3. One of the modern samples (Modern 1) shows close similarity to the archaeological lumps, especially with regards to its lead content. Ulucak OTC provides the closest similarity. The second modern sample (Modern 2) has high zinc and iron concentrations in parallel to XRD results and does not contain lead.

In addition to archaeological lumps, the Phase IV metallic figurine (fig. 3d) was subjected to non-destructive SEM-EDX analysis. SEM-EDX analysis were carried out at the TÜTAGEM (Technology Research Development Application and Research Center in Trakya University) using a ZEISS-EVO® LS 10 scanning electron microscope system equipped with thermionic emission (W, LaB6), 3 nm @ 30 kV, 20 nm @ 1kV resolution, energy dispersive spectrometer (EDS) and backscattered electron detector (4QBSD). During the analysis, backscattered electron mode was also used, therefore, elemental density in the area where the analysis was applied was determined and mapped in different colors (fig. 8 and table 4). Areas with high lead (Pb) density are shown in pink. These results support the previous results of XRF analysis performed on metallic ore lumps.

Native lead is rarely encountered. The principal ore of lead is galena (lead sulphide), which, when it occurs in hydro-thermal veins, is frequently associated with silver ore minerals. Cerussite (lead carbonate) is an important, widely distributed secondary ore mineral of lead formed by the action of carbonated waters on galena.<sup>21</sup> Galena has a distinct silver color and a bright metallic luster, while it is relatively soft, heavy mineral.<sup>22</sup> The manufacturing techniques

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<sup>16</sup> Moore and Reynolds 1997.

<sup>17</sup> Keim and Markl 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Klein and Philpotts 2013.

<sup>19</sup> Anthony et al. 1990.

<sup>20</sup> MTA 1972.

<sup>21</sup> Moorey 1994.

<sup>22</sup> Austin et al. 2000, 123.

of metal objects from Ulucak are unknown. However, it has been suggested that galena can easily be shaped with stone-working techniques.<sup>23</sup>

## Conclusion

The results of XRD and XRF analyses on the metallic lumps, together with the result of the SEM-EDX analysis on one of the archaeological objects, shows that galena was exploited throughout the Neolithic period at Ulucak Höyük. The close similarity between the galena lumps and the modern samples from the nearest lead mine indicates the possible provenance of the archaeological finds. Lead isotope analysis is one reliable methodology that can be used to identify the origin of metal artefacts.<sup>24</sup> Thus, in the next stage of the our study, lead isotope analysis will be conducted to accurately determine the provenance of the archaeological samples.

In contrast to the exploitation of native copper and malachite during the Neolithic period, artefacts made of galena have so far only been attested at Tell Halula, Çatal Höyük, and now Ulucak. There seems little evidence, if any, to suggest that the knowledge of exploitation of this raw material at Ulucak was transferred from the East, as local sources are close to the site. Furthermore, neither the subsistence economy nor the lithic technology at Ulucak suggests any similarities with the sites in central Anatolia.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the Ulucak Neolithic community may well have been innately impressed by the shiny appearance of galena.

It is also worth noting that objects made of galena from Ulucak represent symbolic media, such as personal ornaments and a figurine. The chisel-like object may also have been considered symbolically significant, as galena is a soft material for tool manufacture. It has been generally argued that practical technologies were stimulated by aesthetic curiosity and specific socio-cultural desires rather than economic or technical necessities.<sup>26</sup> At Çatal Höyük, for instance, a piece of galena found next to the limestone figurine in a special deposit is thought to have been associated with the manufacturing process of the figurine because of the abraded edges of the piece.<sup>27</sup> The abbreviated galena figurine from Ulucak and the use of galena as a tool in making figurines at Çatal Höyük may show us a particular significance that cross-culturally attributed to this raw material.

Hayden also placed prestige technologies as the first stage of technical achievements which later evolved into more practical applications.<sup>28</sup> Three galena pendants found in the earliest level at Ulucak can be considered prestige items. The percentage of the galena pendants is indeed rare, less than one percent, when they are compared with the total number of the personal ornaments made of stone, bone and shell from the site. Visibility and distinctiveness are considered important aspects of prestigious items. In a wider sense it has been stressed that prestige acts simultaneously as a mechanism of social distinction.<sup>29</sup> Personal ornaments are considered to be one of the body's paraphernalia which played an active role in the

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<sup>23</sup> Pernicka 2014, 449.

<sup>24</sup> de Jesus and Dardeniz 2015.

<sup>25</sup> Guilbeau et al. 2019, 15; Arbuckle et al. 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Smith 1977, 146; Roberts et al. 2009, 1012; Clark 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Meskell et al. 2016, 141 and fig. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Hayden 1998, 33-34.

<sup>29</sup> Bagley and Schumann 2013, 125-26.

constitution of past identities.<sup>30</sup> Accordingly, the recovery of galena ornaments from communal buildings at Ulucak may be further evidence to indicate certain individuals with affiliation to these buildings may have gained their social status by wearing these potentially prestigious ornaments.

The increase of galena lumps in Ulucak IV, and their close contextual relation to ovens, lead us to believe that galena may have been fired after 6000 BC. In two cases (Buildings 61 and 66) where a high number of galena lumps were found, the function of ovens was clearly related to pottery-making, and particularly for red pigment production. Thus, it is yet unknown whether these ovens were used for pigment production and galena firing, or whether galena had some role in pigment production itself. Exploitation of galena for pigment material is known from later periods.<sup>31</sup> However, the pigment colors originating from galena are black, gray and white. Therefore, the use of galena in pigment production can hardly be assumed as the surface color (slip) of Ulucak Neolithic pottery is mainly red. Nonetheless, galena was most likely perceived as an exotic “stone” initially to those at Ulucak, as a full understanding of its natural properties developed over time.

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<sup>30</sup> Joyce 2005, 142-43.

<sup>31</sup> Austin et al. 2000, 123.



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FIG. 1 The map showing the sites mentioned in the text.

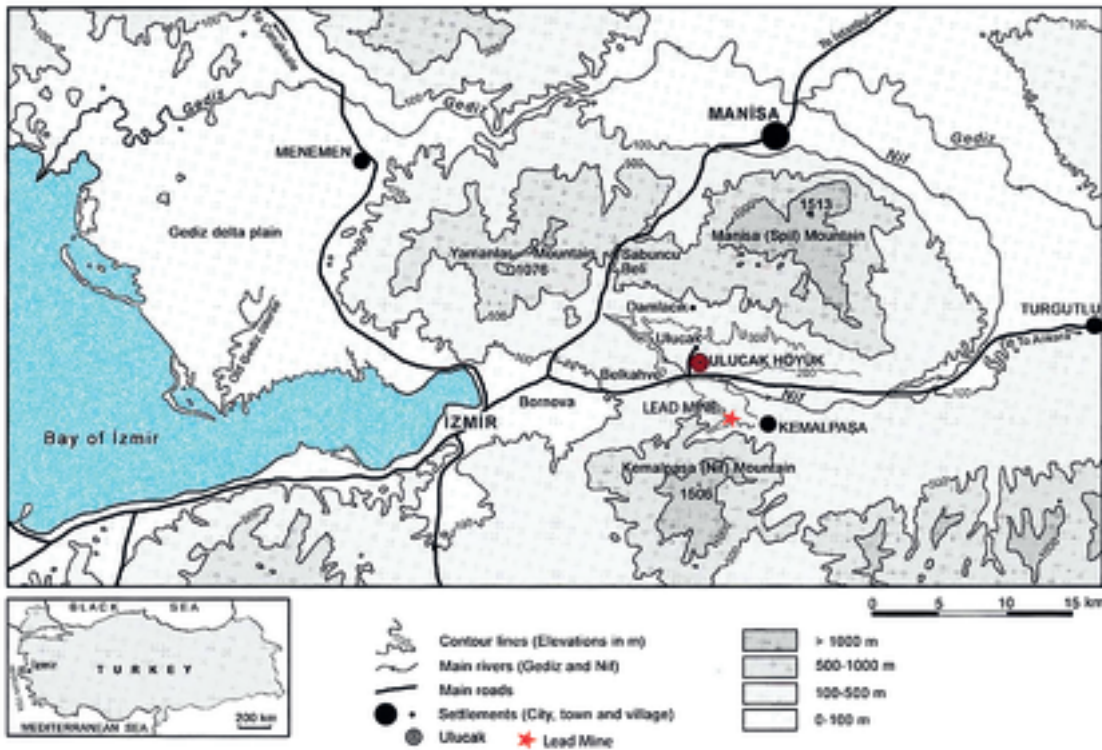


FIG. 2 The map showing the locations of Ulucak Höyük and lead mine.

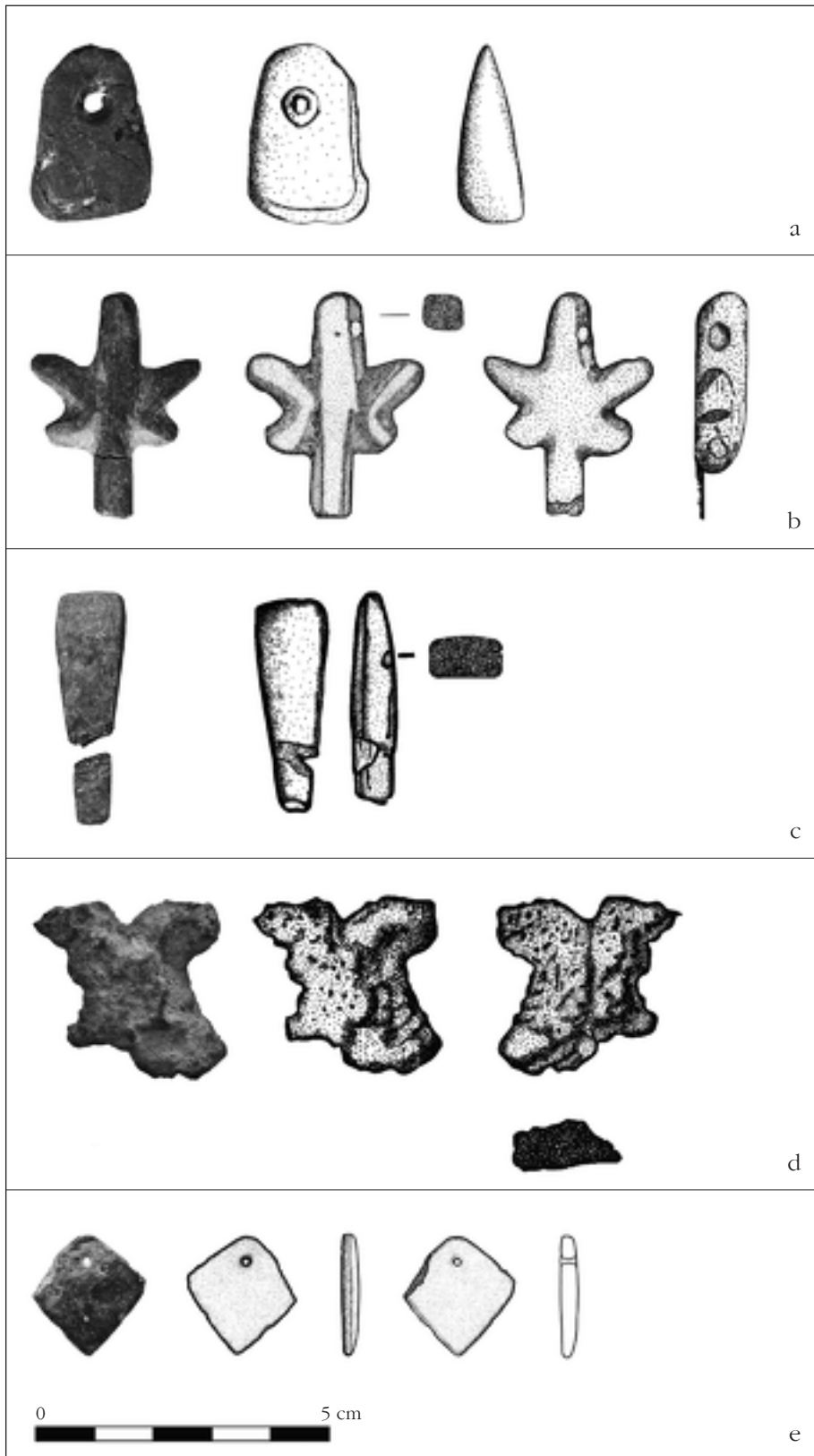


FIG. 3  
Photos and  
drawings of  
galena objects.

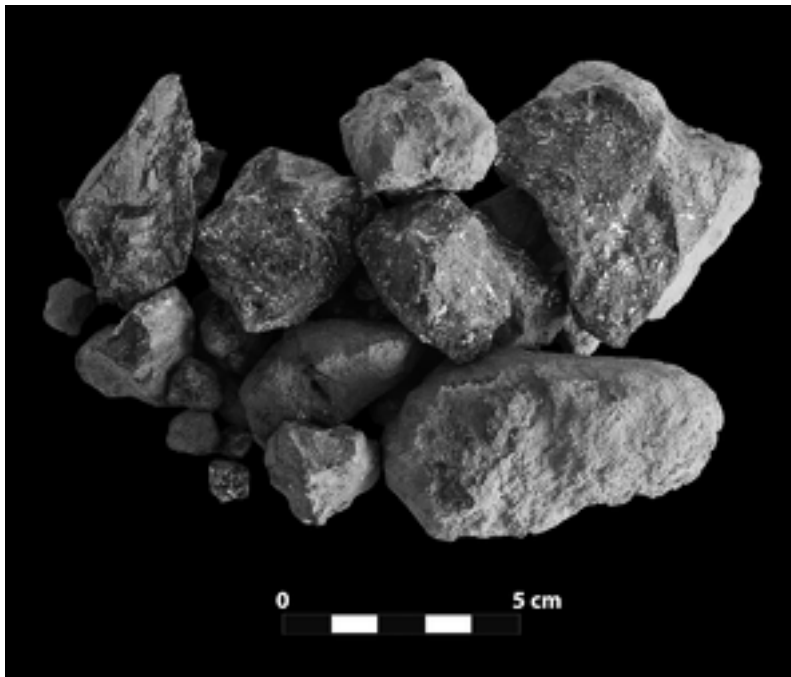


FIG. 4  
Galena lumps  
from Ulucak IV.



FIG. 5  
Galena pendant  
(level VI) and a chisel  
like object (level IV).



FIG. 6 Galena figurine and abbreviated clay figurines from Ulucak IV.





FIG. 7  
Chisel like galena  
object and stone  
chisels.

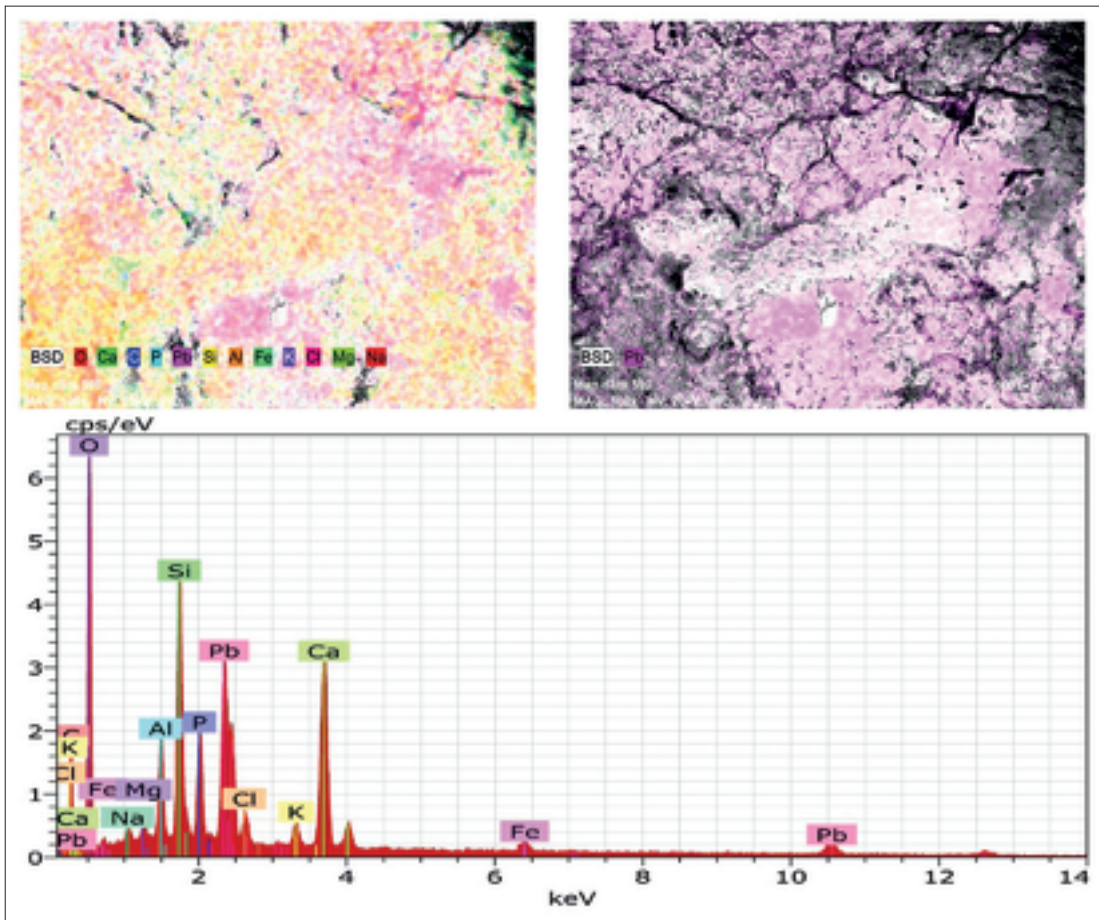


FIG. 8 Results of SEM-EDX analysis, backscattered electron mode.

TABLE 1 Context and dating of galena finds from Ulucak Höyük.

| No | Code              | Object                             | Trenc | Level | Context   | Dating                |
|----|-------------------|------------------------------------|-------|-------|---|-----------------------|
| 1  | JMC               | Pendant (fig. 3a)                  | L13   | VI    | From the ashy fill (unit 269) around the hearths in open space                                  | 6850/6830-6500 cal BC |
| 2  | FRM               | Pendant (fig. 3b)                  | L13   | VI    | Above the wall debris of Building 42.   | 6850/6830-6500 cal BC |
| 3  | CEB               | Chisel                             | M12   | IVa   | From the fill possibly related to flimsy architectural remains of the latest phase of Level IV. | 5700-5670 cal BC      |
| 4  | KSE               | Anthropomorphic figurine (fig. 3d) | 013   | IVb   | Outside Building 12 but beneath the fallen mudbrick wall of the same building.                  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 5  | FRL               | Pendant (fig. 3e)                  | L13   | VI    | Above the wall debris of Building 42.   | 6850/6830-6500 cal BC |
| 6  | CFI               | Lump                               | M13   | IVb   | From the courtyard of Building 19.  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 7  | JES               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 8  | JVB               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 9  | JZE               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 10 | KBD               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 11 | KHV               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 12 | KOI               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 13 | LCV               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 14 | LJS               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 15 | LOP               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | Fill  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 16 | MOT<br>(2 pieces) | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | From fire debris of Building 52.  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 17 | MRE               | Lump                               | 013   | IVb   | From fire debris of Building 52.  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 18 | ONB               | Lump                               | M12   | IVb   | From fire debris of Building 57.  | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 19 | OTC               | Lump                               | M12   | IVc   | From fire debris possibly belonging to Building 61 or 62 (pottery workshop).                    | 6005-5840 cal BC      |
| 20 | OVG               | Lump                               | M12   | IVc   | Building 61 (pottery workshop)  | 6005-5840 cal BC      |
| 21 | PIR               | Lump                               | M12   | IVc   | From the small cache pit dug into the floor of Building 61 (pottery workshop).                  | 6005-5840 cal BC      |
| 22 | RUO               | Lump                               | 010   | IVb   | Building 66 around the oven   | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 23 | RUP               | Lump                               | 010   | IVb   | Building 66 around the oven   | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 24 | RUV               | Lump                               | 010   | IVb   | Building 66 around the oven   | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 25 | RYH               | Lump                               | 010   | IVb   | Building 66 around the oven   | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 26 | SDY               | Lump                               | 010   | IVb   | Building 66 around the oven   | 5840-5700 cal BC      |
| 27 | SLD               | Lump                               | 010   | IVb   | Building 66 around the oven   | 5840-5700 cal BC      |

TABLE 2 Results of XRD analysis.

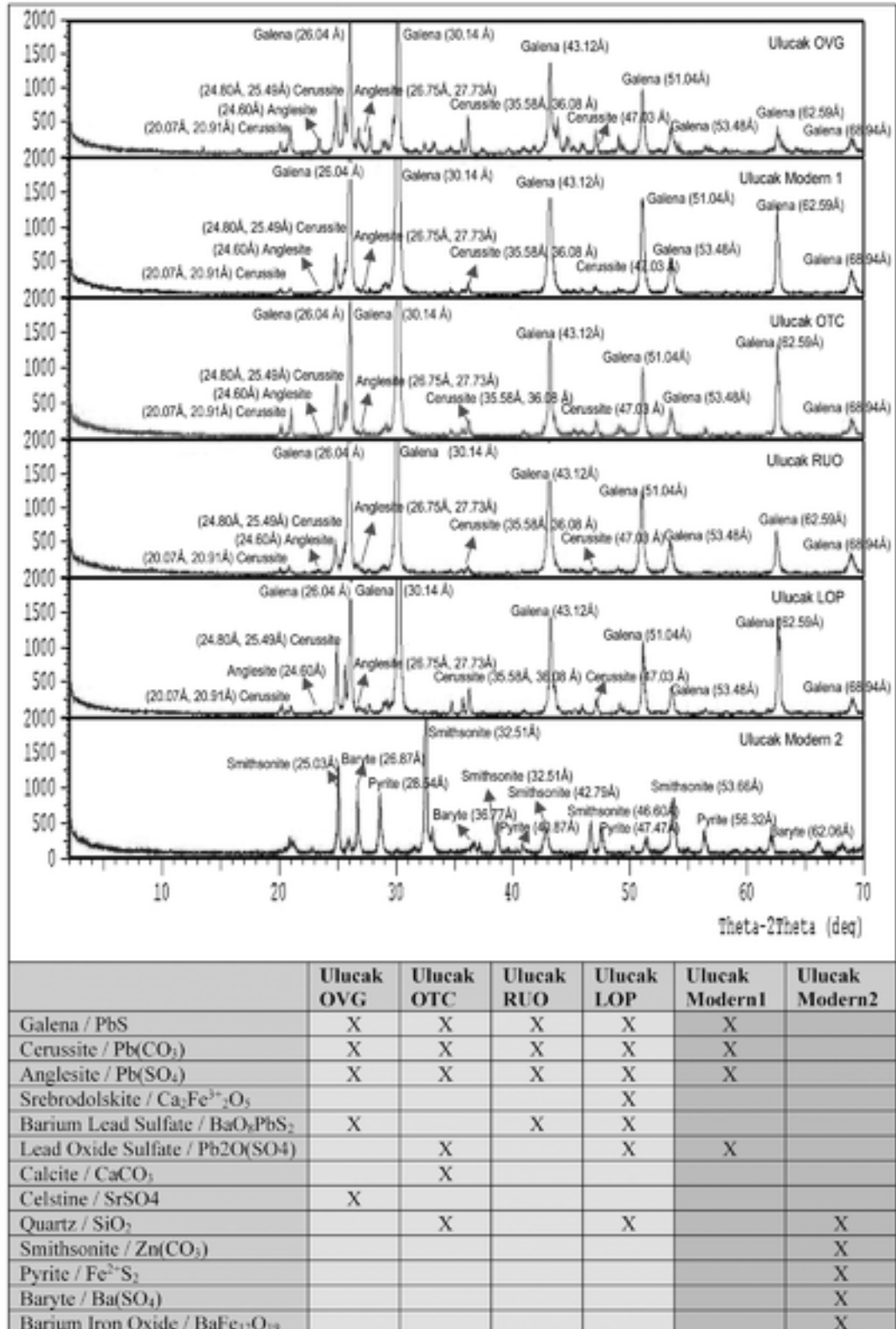




TABLE 3 Results of XRF analysis.

|           | Ulucak OVG (wt%) |         | Ulucak OTC (wt%) |         | Ulucak RUO (wt%) |         | Ulucak LOP (wt%) |         | Ulucak Modern1 (wt%) |         | Ulucak Modern2 (wt%) |         | Det.Limits |
|-----------|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|------------|
|           | unn. c           | norm. c | unn. c           | norm. c | unn. c           | norm. c | unn. c           | norm. c | unn. c               | norm. c | unn. c               | norm. c |            |
| <b>O</b>  | 21.1             | 21.409  | 21.0             | 21.515  | 22.3             | 22.697  | 22.5             | 22.325  | 22.6                 | 22.826  | 32.5                 | 32.603  | 0.85267    |
| <b>Na</b> | 0.18             | 0.193   | 0.04             | 0.039   |                  |         |                  |         | 0.04                 | 0.043   |                      |         | 0.00244    |
| <b>Mg</b> | 0.22             | 0.242   | 1.5              | 0.144   | 0.03             | 0.025   | 0.1              | 0.091   | 0.07                 | 0.069   | 0.1                  | 0.103   | 0.00754    |
| <b>Al</b> | 0.86             | 0.853   | 0.57             | 0.525   | 0.25             | 0.278   | 0.4              | 0.450   | 0.22                 | 0.214   | 0.3                  | 0.313   | 0.00196    |
| <b>Si</b> | 1.6              | 1.504   | 1.2              | 1.111   | 0.9              | 0.810   | 1.2              | 1.332   | 0.31                 | 0.322   | 6.9                  | 6.844   | 0.00153    |
| <b>P</b>  | 0.07             | 0.086   | 0.32             | 0.334   | 0.18             | 0.178   | 0.21             | 0.255   |                      |         | 0.02                 | 0.024   | 0.00140    |
| <b>S</b>  | 8.6              | 8.573   | 8.7              | 8.977   | 10.1             | 10.515  | 8.9              | 9.049   | 11.5                 | 11.415  | 5.6                  | 5.716   | 0.00110    |
| <b>K</b>  | 1.9              | 0.188   | 0.16             | 0.173   | 0.05             | 0.063   | 0.21             | 0.192   | 0.06                 | 0.065   | 0.08                 | 0.074   | 0.00138    |
| <b>Ca</b> | 0.68             | 0.600   | 1.12             | 1.138   | 0.7              | 0.699   | 1.65             | 1.697   | 0.14                 | 0.153   | 0.3                  | 0.327   | 0.01743    |
| <b>V</b>  |                  |         | 0.12             | 0.119   |                  |         |                  |         |                      |         |                      |         | 0.00131    |
| <b>Fe</b> | 0.4              | 0.347   | 0.3              | 0.289   | 0.3              | 0.269   | 1.03             | 1.046   | 0.09                 | 0.096   | 16.4                 | 16.332  | 0.00710    |
| <b>Ba</b> | 1.9              | 1.905   | 0.6              | 0.666   | 2.3              | 2.243   | 6.1              | 6.391   |                      |         | 3.9                  | 3.849   | 0.00374    |
| <b>Pb</b> | 62.7             | 63.145  | 65.3             | 64.969  | 61.3             | 61.838  | 56.5             | 56.306  | 64.8                 | 64.797  |                      |         | 0.00142    |
| <b>Cr</b> |                  |         |                  |         |                  |         |                  |         |                      |         | 0.01                 | 0.013   | 0.00216    |
| <b>Zn</b> | 0.25             | 0.235   |                  |         | 0.4              | 0.353   | 0.82             | 0.867   |                      |         | 33.2                 | 33.500  | 0.00324    |
| <b>Cd</b> |                  |         |                  |         |                  |         |                  |         |                      |         | 0.25                 | 0.243   | 0.00873    |
| <b>Co</b> |                  |         |                  |         |                  |         |                  |         |                      |         | 0.05                 | 0.041   | 0.00987    |
| <b>Cu</b> | 0.76             | 0.719   |                  |         | 0.03             | 0.032   |                  |         |                      |         | 0.01                 | 0.016   | 0.00484    |

TABLE 4 Results of SEM-EDX analysis.

| Elements  | Unn. C [wt.%] | Norm. C [wt.%] | C Atom. [at.%] | C Error [wt.%] |
|-----------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <b>O</b>  | 33.89         | 41.67          | 59.13          | 4.32           |
| <b>Pb</b> | 14.92         | 18.35          | 2.01           | 0.56           |
| <b>Ca</b> | 12.05         | 14.82          | 8.40           | 0.39           |
| <b>C</b>  | 8.50          | 10.46          | 19.77          | 1.40           |
| <b>Si</b> | 4.15          | 5.11           | 4.13           | 0.21           |
| <b>P</b>  | 2.14          | 2.63           | 1.93           | 0.11           |
| <b>Al</b> | 1.84          | 2.26           | 1.90           | 0.12           |
| <b>Fe</b> | 1.59          | 1.95           | 0.79           | 0.08           |
| <b>K</b>  | 0.98          | 1.21           | 0.70           | 0.06           |
| <b>Cl</b> | 0.61          | 0.75           | 0.48           | 0.05           |
| <b>Na</b> | 0.35          | 0.43           | 0.43           | 0.06           |
| <b>Mg</b> | 0.29          | 0.36           | 0.34           | 0.05           |



# Anatolian Pot Marks in the 3rd Millennium BC: Signage, Early State Formation, and Organization of Production

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## Abstract

This study presents new information and interpretation of pot marks applied specifically on “Anatolian Metallic Ware” that are dated to the 3rd millennium BC, and distributed in the southern Konya Plain and the southwestern region of Cappadocia. While many specialists have studied this ware group, also referred to as “Darboğaz” vessels, detailed studies have not been conducted on the pot marks themselves. The finds from the Göltepe excavations, when combined with other research data and ethnographic/ethnoarchaeological records, have helped to classify and interpret this signage. According to our preliminary results, there is no relationship between the pot marks and vessel type, sub-ware group, or ownership. Taking into account the general characteristics of the Anatolian EBA and the production techniques of Anatolian Metallic Ware, we discuss whether the pot marks reflect quality control over the production process and serve interregional connectivity.

**Keywords:** Southern Central Anatolia, Early Bronze Age, pot marks, Anatolian Metallic Ware

## Öz

Bu çalışma MÖ 3. binyılda, Konya'nın güneyi ile dağlık alanları da içeren Kapadokya'nın güneybatı bölgesinde yoğun olarak görülen, 'Anadolu Metalik Mal' grubuna özgü olarak işlenmiş kap markalarına ilişkin yeni bilgi ve yorumlar sunmaktadır. 'Darboğaz Kapları' olarak da adlandırılan bu mal grubu bir çok uzman tarafından ele alınmıştır. Ancak elde edilen verilerin yetersiz olması nedeniyle kap markaları hakkında bugüne kadar detaylı bir çalışma yapılmamıştır. Göltepe kazılarında ve daha önce yapılan diğer araştırmalardan elde edilen detaylı bilgiler, etnografik/etnoarkeolojik veriler ile birleştirildiğinde, Anadolu metalik mal markalarının işlevine ve bu buluntu grubunun yansıttığı toplum yapısına ilişkin yeni bakış açıları ortaya çıkarmıştır. Elde edilen ilk sonuçlara göre bu marklar kap tipi, alt mal grubu, kap hacmi veya mülkiyet ile ilgili olarak işlenmemiştir. Bu çalışmada Anadolu'nun İTÇ'deki genel özellikleri ve Anadolu Metalik Mal grubunun üretim tekniği dikkate alınarak kap markalarının, üretimdeki kalite kontrolünü yansıtmış olup olamayacağı tartışılmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Orta-Güney Anadolu, İlk Tunç Çağı, kap markaları, Anadolu metalik mal

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## Introduction

The pot marks evaluated in this study occur on a specific style of pottery referred to as "Anatolian Metallic Ware" or "Darboğaz" vessels dated to the Early Bronze Age (hereafter, EBA) Ib-IIIa.<sup>1</sup> The ware is distributed at sites mostly in the southern parts of the Konya and Niğde Plains as well as the mountainous areas of the north-facing central Taurus Mountains.<sup>2</sup> Its use also extends south to Cilicia and the northern and eastern regions of Cappadocia (fig. 1).

The sites of third millennium BC Göltepe - and Kestel tin mine have provided detailed and important data both about the dating and technology of production of this ware as well as the variety of pot marks. These two archaeological sites, approximately 2 km apart, are located near the passes through the central Taurus Mountains near Celaller village, Niğde-Çamardı.<sup>3</sup> Göltepe Periods 3a, 3b and 2 are respectively dated to EB Ib (2900-2700 BC), EB II (2700-2450 BC), and EB IIIa (2450-2200 BC).<sup>4</sup>

The large number of examples found at Göltepe has enabled a detailed production analysis of Anatolian Metallic Ware.<sup>5</sup> Its extraordinary features such as production techniques, forms and surface treatments distinguish Anatolian Metallic Ware from the other contemporary ware groups in Anatolia (figs. 2-10).<sup>6</sup> One of the unique features of this ware is the prefired pot marks, which consist of straight line, groove, dots and their combinations, incised or impressed on different parts of the handle (table 2, figs. 5-10).

To date no other remarkable pot-marking tradition dated to 3rd millennium BC has been identified in western or central Anatolia. In the Near East or other regions mentioned below, the marking of vessels begins with early state formation periods and with complex economic structures.<sup>7</sup> These two crucial junctures make the study of 3rd millennium BC Anatolian Metallic Ware pot marks important.

In this study we describe these marks in detail and interpret their possible functions, which have not been discussed thoroughly so far. The interpretations relate only to the general use of the marks, as more data is needed to interpret the symbolic meanings of individual pot-mark motifs. Suggestions are made here about the broader meanings of the marks, especially since they date to a period when social transformations began over wider geographical regions. The data were examined both diachronically and synchronically, and efforts were made to determine whether they reflected social aspects of the population. The qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the Anatolian Metallic Ware on which the marks were incised, the processing techniques, and formal features of the motifs were used in our interpretations. Parallels were also drawn to prehistoric marking traditions in other regions and periods in chronological order. In addition, other Anatolian EBA signages and their possible functions were mentioned.

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<sup>1</sup> Mellaart 1963; Öztan 1989; Güneri 1989; Özgüç 1990.

<sup>2</sup> Mellaart 1954, 1963; Seton-Williams 1954; Mellink 1989; Öztan 1989; Güneri 1989; Özgüç 1990; Yener 2000; Hacı 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Yener 1992, 276; Hacı 2017, figs. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Yener 2000, 101-9, table 4; Yener (forthcoming); Yener and Vandiver 1993, 215-21, tables 1-2; Hacı 2016, 194-97, table 2.

<sup>5</sup> Yener 2000; Friedman 2001; Hacı 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Mellaart 1954, 1963; Mellink 1989; Öztan 1989.

<sup>7</sup> Frangipane 2012; Mazzoni 2013; Fischer 2008; Lal 1975; Potts 1981; Bailey 1996; Lindblom 2001.

## Anatolian Metallic Ware

### *General Characteristics*

Detailed information on the production of Anatolian Metallic Ware has previously been published.<sup>8</sup> As a result of the analyses of Göltepe finds, handmade Anatolian Metallic Ware was classified into two subgroups, plain and classic.<sup>9</sup> Both were produced using similar techniques; however, there are differences in the structural characteristics of the clay and surface treatments. The paste of plain Anatolian Metallic Ware has a larger mineral temper. On the surface of all examples, there are small pits resulting from burned-out limestone or sandy temper, which cause the surface to be rough.<sup>10</sup> The majority of the first group are unslipped, but there are also self-slipped examples.

The paste of classic Anatolian Metallic Ware is more refined and with finer mineral temper than the previous group. This sub-ware group also exhibits a hard and clinky character, which seems to be a result of overfiring.<sup>11</sup> However, thin section analysis of Göltepe examples<sup>12</sup> has revealed the use of serpentine clays, which could result in the clinky characteristic without high firing. Neutron activation analysis of Anatolian Metallic Ware reveals that it is a distinct, cohesive group and is unrelated to any other group from the Göltepe ceramic assemblage. Moreover, the composition of Anatolian Metallic Ware does not match favorably with the local alluvial clays around Göltepe. On the contrary, the local clay demonstrates a close geochemical relationship to the tin-rich crucibles, micaceous, and burnished wares.<sup>13</sup> Another feature that distinguishes classic ware from the plain sub-ware is the more elaborate surface treatment. Besides self-slipping, dark red, brown, black and purple slip also occur (figs. 8.2, 8.4, 9.8). Most vessels of the classic subgroup have black, dark brown, purple or red painted decorations.

### *Shapes*

Due to the production mode mentioned below, the closed vessels have quite standard forms. These forms have a spherical or ovoid body, and the transition from body to neck is very sharp (figs. 3-6). Almost all of the bases have a concave/*omphalos* profile (figs. 2-4). Rarely, some bowls have a flat base. Many examples of the jugs have lugs attached under the rim or on the shoulder opposite the handle (figs. 2, 5.1).<sup>14</sup> In some jars, there are similar lugs on the shoulder between the two handles. These lugs are vertically or horizontally perforated, but there are also semi- or non-perforated examples.

Similar types of jug, jar and cup do not occur in other ware groups; each vessel type is unique to Anatolian Metallic Ware.<sup>15</sup> Up to now, four different forms of bowls, six of jugs, four of jars, one of cup, and one of baby feeder were identified (figs. 3-4).

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<sup>8</sup> Mellaart 1963; Öztan 1989; Hacıar 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Hacıar 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Mellaart 1963, 228; Öztan 1989.

<sup>11</sup> Mellaart 1963, 210; Hacıar 2017, 23-24.

<sup>12</sup> Friedman 2001.

<sup>13</sup> De Sena and Friedman 1997; Friedman 2000.

<sup>14</sup> Hacıar 2017, figs. 5.7, 5.10, 7.8.

<sup>15</sup> Mellaart 1963, 228-35.

## Specialized Production Process of Anatolian Metallic Ware

### *General Definitions of Craft Specialization*

In ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies, different types of specialization have been defined based on analyzing the standardization, quality and statistical data that can be determined in the material.<sup>16</sup> In these studies, specialization is generally classified as “attached” and “independent” (referring to production conditions) or “full-time” and “part-time” (referring to working time) or “individual”, “kin-based” and “workshop” (referring to production environment).<sup>17</sup> Since the condition and environment of each production type is different, it is assumed that the pottery produced in different types of production modes will reflect their own production organization. For example, as “attached” and “independent” production types have completely different conditions and environment, the finished products are completely different from each other.

In attached specialization, raw material of high quality is usually supplied by the elites or ruling class, and experienced specialists are also selected/employed by them. Thus the elites have direct control over *chaîne opératoire*, and the products are generally prestige or luxury objects.<sup>18</sup> These objects are produced in a limited number and are high quality. However, highly standardized mass products of low quality, which occur first in the Near East in the 5th and 4th millennium BC, can also be produced in this mode of production.<sup>19</sup> In contrast to the special products of the first production mode, these mass-produced vessels produced under the control of elite groups are intended for ration distribution among the employees of the elites or other similar purposes.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, as mentioned in detail below, many of these vessels bear pot marks.

In the independent specialization model, production can be made for all segments of society. The production environment has more flexible conditions, as it is often not directly controlled by the elite or political structures.<sup>21</sup> Production is generally shaped by demand and continues as long as demand continues. In this production mode, the types of specialists can also be quite different. Full-time and part-time, household, kin-based, dispersed or more institutionalized workshops can produce their products independently.

### *Specialized Production Process of Anatolian Metallic Ware*

A statistical analysis of the degree of standardization in Anatolian Metallic Ware has not been conducted so far. However, the visual morphological analysis by the authors, and the thin section and neutron activation analysis conducted by other scholars, provide important evidence for specialization.<sup>22</sup> The specialized production characteristics of Anatolian Metallic Ware, which also distinguish it from the other contemporary wares, can be listed as follows:

- Refined, intentionally tempered fabric
- Methodical and mass production

<sup>16</sup> Rice 1991; Costin and Hagstrum 1995; Blackman et al. 1993; Roux 2003.

<sup>17</sup> Costin and Hagstrum 1995, 620-21; Costin 2000, 389-90; Roux 2003, 768-69.

<sup>18</sup> Clark and Parry 1990, 293-94; Costin 1991, 12; Costin and Hagstrum 1995, 620.

<sup>19</sup> Frangipane 1993, 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Frangipane 2012, 43-44.

<sup>21</sup> Costin 2000, 392-93; Costin and Hagstrum 1995, 620-21.

<sup>22</sup> Friedman 2000; Hacı 2017.

- High production rates
- Quality and fineness
- Standardization
- Unique features of appearance and shape type
- Pot marks

Ethnoarchaeological studies show that in specialized production, raw material and paste temper are not randomly collected but are intentionally selected by the specialists.<sup>23</sup> Apart from the high-quality clay used in the production of Anatolian Metallic Ware, some tempers were intentionally chosen for certain purposes. According to Friedman's interpretations, the pyroxene (magnesium silicate) revealed by thin section and neutron activation analysis were intentionally added to the paste by the potters to give the clinky characteristic, which is a distinctive feature.<sup>24</sup> Apart from this, the potters developed new methods and techniques which were developed for mass production, thus decreasing diversity. As explained below, the use of molds for individually shaped parts and some tools for final adjustment were developed to ensure the quality and standardization (fig. 2).

A specialized production technique that involved different stages was developed for this handmade process (fig. 2). The first stage entailed the use of a mold to form the body. Evidence for this occurs in very standardized forms, sizes, smooth concave bottom profiles, and thin body walls.<sup>25</sup> In addition, scraping marks on the inner surface of the sherds would have occurred when placing and fitting the clay into the mold<sup>26</sup> (fig. 2). After shaping the body, the handle hole and the notches in the area to be joined with the neck were opened<sup>27</sup> (fig. 2). In the second stage of production, the neck was shaped on a leather hard (or maybe bone dry) body. Thus, the dry and hard notches of the body passed through the wet and soft clay of the neck. Before the clay was dried again, handle holes must also have been opened on the neck. In the third stage, handles were inserted into the body (fig. 2). The joins of body-neck, neck-handles and body-handles were covered with a second layer of clay to smooth all the joins in the fourth stage (fig. 9.2). Slipping, burnishing, painting and application of pot marks were done after these operations.

Very standardized forms, which are specific to Anatolian Metallic Ware, have been produced with this production technique. There are no local differences in the fabric characteristics or shapes of the vessels recovered from different settlements. Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels obtained from the core region -the settlements located in the southern of Konya and in the southwest of Cappadocia- and Kültepe located in eastern Cappadocia, Tarsus and Mersin-Yumuktepe located in Cilicia are indistinguishable from each other.

These distinctive features are not precisely similar either to the prestige objects or the mass-produced coarse vessels of the attached specialization process or to vessels produced during the independent production process which has flexible production conditions and environment identified in ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies. In fact, the characteristics

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<sup>23</sup> Costin 2000, 380; Costin and Hagstrum 1995, 622.

<sup>24</sup> Friedman 2000, 161-70.

<sup>25</sup> Mellaart 1963, 228; Hacıar 2017, 24.

<sup>26</sup> Hacıar 2017, 24-25.

<sup>27</sup> Mellaart 1954, 193; Öztan 1989, 408; Hacıar 2017, 24-25.

seen in the two different kinds of attached specialization, namely the “quality” of the prestige goods produced by attached specialist in a small number and the “mass production” and high “standardized” forms, seem to have come together in Anatolian Metallic Ware.

### Anatolian Metallic Ware Pot Marks

Of the Anatolian Metallic Ware recovered from Göltepe and Kestel Mine, which includes the two sub-ware groups (plain and classic), a total of 274 rim and handle sherds were directly analyzed by the authors.<sup>28</sup> 65 handle pieces (19 plain and 46 classic) from Göltepe and four handle pieces (2 plain and 2 classic) from Kestel were marked (table 1). Other pot marks in the core region were included in the study from publications. The examples of marked vessels from Karaman and the southern Konya region were obtained from archaeological surveys.<sup>29</sup> Marked vessels were also found in the Ereğli plain and Ulukışla valley.<sup>30</sup> Anatolian Metallic Ware sherds were also recovered outside the core region in Cilician and Cappadocian EBA settlements such as Tarsus-Gözlükule and Mersin-Yumuktepe in Cilicia, Kilisetepe in Göksu Valley/*Calycadnus*, Acmhöyük, and Kültepe in western Cappadocia (table 1).

#### *General Characteristics*

The methodical production technique of Anatolian Metallic Ware resulted in a large number of similar vessels. One can hardly distinguish between Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels retrieved from different sites in other regions, several of which were included in this study. Standardized production also occurred in the 50 identified pot-mark motifs. The harmonization of the motifs and sizes of the pot marks is immediately noticeable (table 2) (figs. 5-10). Motifs consisted of combinations of parallel, intersecting or perpendicular lines, dots or grooves. However, there are also examples of a horizontal or vertical line, dot or groove applied individually. Pot marks were usually located on the top of the handles. However, there were also examples applied on the rear, right or left sides, as well as the bottom part of the handles (motifs 8, 10, 18, 25, 28, 30, 32-33) (figs. 6.4, 6.6-7, 7.5, 8.4-5, 8.7, 9.5).

It is important to determine whether the marks are applied before or after firing in order to define the function of the pot marks. The reason for this scrutiny is that most prefired marks are related to the production process, whereas postfired marks are determined by the vessels' users and are related to vessel contents or property.<sup>31</sup> All Anatolian Metallic Ware pot marks were applied before firing. Most of the marks have a characteristic accumulation of clay along the edges, which could only occur on unfired clay (figs. 8-10). Some examples indicate that the slip leaked into the mark interior.

Some pot marks applied to the two sub-ware types of Anatolian Metallic Ware have different characteristics. Generally, the motifs in the plain category consist of wider or longer lines and grooves and dot combinations (e.g., motifs 8, 14-15, 38, 44-50) (figs. 5.5, 5.6, 7.2, 7.7, 7.8, 8.1, 8.6, 10.3-7). On the other hand, the motifs of the classic Anatolian Metallic Ware consist of thinner and narrower lines and dots (e.g., motifs 1-5, 10-13, 16-19, 23-28, 34-37) (figs. 5.1-2,

<sup>28</sup> The results of our analysis and classification for the pot marks retrieved from all sites mentioned in text can be seen in table 2. This table contains information on 50 different motifs, their position on the handle, the type of the vessels on which marks are applied, the settlements they were retrieved, and their dating.

<sup>29</sup> Mellaart 1963; Güneri 1989.

<sup>30</sup> Mellaart 1954, 1963; Öztan 1989.

<sup>31</sup> Hirschfeld 2008, 120.



5.4, 5.7, 6.1-7, 8.2-5, 8.7, 9.2-5, 9.7-8). However, some common motifs were used in both sub-ware groups.

From the scoring, it appears that at least four different tools were used for marking. One of them is a sharp-edged tool with a convex outline that shaped the wide grooves on plain Anatolian Metallic Ware (figs. 7.2, 8.1, 8.6). Another appears to be a flat, rounded tool that formed oval marks specific to this sub-ware type (fig. 8.6). In addition to these, a slim, flat tool and a pointed tool could probably have been used to shape lines (figs. 5.1, 5.7, 8.2, 8.4-5) and dots (figs. 5.8-9, 8.3, 9.1, 9.6) which occur in both sub-groups.

The sizes of the pot marks vary in direct proportion to the motifs and vessel size (figs. 5-10). With the exception of the motifs covering the entire handle area in the plain sub-group, most of motifs fit into a 1-3 cm square area (table 2) (figs. 5.5, 7.7-8, 10.3-7). It is important to point out that the size of Anatolian Metallic Ware pot marks and motifs are much more standardized than the pot marks of other sites mentioned below.

Apart from the incised or impressed pot marks on handles, some painted motifs on Anatolian Metallic Ware could also function as pot marks. They usually consisted of geometric shapes such as a swastika, crescent, lines and dots applied to the middle or upper part of the pot body. In addition to Göltepe, EBA vessels with painted signs occur at Ereğli-Çayhan, Mersin-Yumuktepe and Konya-Kerhane.<sup>32</sup> If this assumption can be proven, the number of pot mark types and quantities will also increase for the 3rd millennium BC. This signage tradition continues into the 2nd millennium BC,<sup>33</sup> and expands to other media such as metal weapons and tools as well, especially in Syro-Anatolia.

### *Dating and Rates*

Pot marks occur on plain Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels at the earliest during Göltepe EB Ib. This sub-ware group remained in use until the end of the EB IIIa. In all phases of the EBA, the percentage of plain Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels is only 2% among all ware groups. For this reason, the use and production of this sub-ware category remained at a limited level compared to classic Anatolian Metallic Ware.<sup>34</sup> The percentage of classic Anatolian Metallic Ware, which appears in EB II (2700-2450 BC), is about 23% of all wares.<sup>35</sup> Classic Anatolian Metallic Ware is thus the most typical ware group at Göltepe Period 3b (EB II). Further, the intensive use of this ware continued in the next phase. In Göltepe Period 2-EB IIIa, (2450-2200 BC) classic Anatolian Metallic Ware at 19% is the second most common pottery group, after dark bur-nished ware.

Since only rim fragments were used in the statistical studies of Göltepe pottery, it is impossible to determine the exact percentage of the pot-marked vessels. However, it should be emphasized that more than half of the handles evaluated in the classification are pot marked. It is highly probable that most of the two handled vessels carry only one pot-marked handle. Besides, as mentioned above, if some painted motifs on the bodies are also pot marks, these vessels may not have any handle pot marks, although in MBA Alalakh both occur.<sup>36</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>32</sup> Öztan 1989, figs. 17, 19, 33; Garstang 1953, fig. 122; Mellaart 1963, fig. 12.15.

<sup>33</sup> Yener 2020.

<sup>34</sup> Hacıoğlu 2016, 78-79.

<sup>35</sup> Hacıoğlu 2016, 86-87; 2017, 27-28.

<sup>36</sup> Yener 2020.

instead of giving exact percentages for pot marked vessels, for now it is more accurate to state that more than half of the Anatolian Metallic Wares were produced with incised or impressed pot marks during the EB II and EB IIIa periods.

### *Distribution*

The geographical distributions of the 50 pot-mark motifs and their percentage of use are not easy to determine. Although a variety of motifs exist, they are not numerous enough for statistical evaluation except for a few examples. What is apparent, however, is that a wide geographical area in central Anatolia has shared signage traditions and many motifs co-occur. Common motifs were found both at Göltepe and other sites where surface surveys were conducted; for example, motif 3 is the most frequent. Similarly, motifs 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 21, 22, 34, 36, 47, 49 occur both at the core region (Karaman and southern part of Konya)<sup>37</sup> and other sites outside this zone. Pot-marked sherds of both plain and classic Anatolian Metallic Ware were found at Karapınar I (motif 21), Topraktepe (motifs 4, 13), and Kanaç (Kıbrıs) (motifs 3, 4, 21, 22) (fig. 1, table 2). Only the pot-marked classic Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels were found at Eminler (motif 36), Kocahöyük I-II (motifs 1, 3, 4, 6, 13, 36), Kerhane (motifs 1, 3, 4, 7), Domuzboğazlayan (motif 1), Üçhöyük (motif 9), Kızılviran (motif 11), Sarlak (motif 13, 16, 17?), and Kozlubucak (motif 32).

Anatolian Metallic Ware pot marks were also retrieved from surveyed sites from the Ereğli plain to Ulukışla<sup>38</sup> along the northern flanks of the Taurus and the passes. Beytepe (motifs 16, 22, 36) and Ulukışla (motif 49) have pot-marked sherds of both plain and classic Anatolian Metallic Ware; Çayhan (motif 3), Hüsniye (motif 9), and Darboğaz (motif 13) have only classic Anatolian Metallic Ware examples. All the pot-marked sherds found on survey in the sites of the western, northern and eastern parts of Cappadocia belong to only the classic Anatolian Metallic Ware sub-group. Pot marks were recovered from Kültepe-Gülağaç (motif 10) and at Achemhöyük (motifs 3, 6).<sup>39</sup> Apart from this, there is also a miniature jug with a pot mark from Kültepe.<sup>40</sup>

Both sub-groups of Anatolian Metallic Wares with pot marks occur at Tarsus-Gözlükule in Cilicia, which is an important site for dating wares (motifs 7, 47).<sup>41</sup> At Mersin-Yumuktepe and Kilisetepe, examples were found of the classic Anatolian Metallic Wares.<sup>42</sup> An example of a pot mark from Troy (motif 1), located a long distance away from the core area, also belongs to the classic Anatolian Metallic Ware group.<sup>43</sup>

### **Other Pot-Marking Traditions**

Generally, Near Eastern examples of prefired pot marks are considered as trademarks, numerical values reflecting the vessel volume, or as a sign indicating the potter, workshop, user, cooperative production or standardization due to centralized political control. Pot marking began quite early in the Neolithic and continued in early historic periods. Neolithic pot marks usually

<sup>37</sup> Mellaart 1963; Güneri 1989.

<sup>38</sup> Mellaart 1954, 1963; Öztan 1989.

<sup>39</sup> Hacı 2016; Öztan 1989.

<sup>40</sup> Özgüç 1986, 38, fig. 3.21.

<sup>41</sup> Goldman 1956, 121, figs. 192, 250-51.

<sup>42</sup> Symington 2007, 302, fig. 369.236-37; Garstang 1953, fig. 122.

<sup>43</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 170, fig. 250.7.

consisted of crescents in relief, as well as straight lines or uneven knobs, which were applied randomly to the lower part of the body near the bottom. Karen D. Vitelli<sup>44</sup> states that these pot marks may be signs of kinship relations whereby families who produced pottery during certain times of the year continued this production throughout generations. New generations, who learned pottery production from their parents would have continued to apply these pot marks, which symbolized family identity.

The vessels found in Malatya-Arslantepe and dated to 4th millennium BC also bear pre-fired pot marks. They consist of randomly incised line and dot combinations and occur on almost all vessels that reflect mass and collective production developed as a result of a changing economy and political structure. For this reason, Marcella Frangipane<sup>45</sup> has stated that the pot marks were made by potters to distinguish their vessels after collective drying and firing in a mass-production model supported by the central economy. At around the same time in the greater Near East, pot marks began to appear when socio-economic transformations were contemporary to Arslantepe. Prefired pot marks appeared in the early Indus valley Harappan period at the end of the 4th millennium BC and are considered to be the roots of Harappan script.<sup>46</sup> Similar pot marks were found in the Kerman region in Iran at Tepe Yahya and dated to the Early Proto-Elamite (IVB) period, the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC.<sup>47</sup>

Dated to the second half of 3rd millennium BC, pot-marking practices from Syria and Jordan appear during early state formation processes. Some of the pottery at Ebla bear incised or impressed pre-fired pot marks. Motifs consist of crescent, star, trefoil, circle, simple cross, parallel or intersecting lines, groove, or dots.<sup>48</sup> Pot marks on jars and storage jars were usually placed under the rim or upper part of the body. However, on some bowls or cups, pot marks were applied to the base. EBA Al Kharaz in Jordan yielded incised pre-fired marks applied to the body, base or under the rim and bear similarity to Ebla. There are also handles with pot marks.<sup>49</sup>

Interestingly, the closest analogous examples for the handle marks of Anatolian Metallic Ware occur in the Aegean and Cyprus, where incised or impressed pot marks were applied to the bodies and bases, as well as to handles. However, it is not clear whether or not these two traditions are influenced by each other. As Susan Sherratt<sup>50</sup> notes, the lack of research in the south and southwest coastal regions of Anatolia prevents us from interpreting the connections between Anatolia and the Aegean and Cyprus, especially during the EBA. The earliest examples in the Aegean are dated to EBA II-III, contemporary with our region and continued until the end of 2nd millennium BC.<sup>51</sup> Examples in Crete and Cyprus are similarly dated to the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages.<sup>52</sup> Motifs consist of simple line or dot combinations.<sup>53</sup> According to some scholars,<sup>54</sup> some of these signs reflect Linear A or B syllables or numerical values.

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<sup>44</sup> Vitelli 1977, 17, 29-30, figs. 1, 2, 10-26.

<sup>45</sup> Frangipane 1993; 2012, 44-45, figs. 3-4.

<sup>46</sup> Lal 1975, 173-74, fig. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Potts 1981, 107, 115-19, fig. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Mazzoni 2013, 93-94, figs. 5.1, 5.11-13, 5.21-26, 5.37.

<sup>49</sup> Fischer 2008, 138, figs. 136.2, 136.4; Feldbacher and Fischer 2008, 391-98, figs. 328-31.

<sup>50</sup> Sherratt 2013, 89-92.

<sup>51</sup> Bailey 1996, 215, 240-43, pls. I-V; Lindblom 2001, pls. 49-56.

<sup>52</sup> Hirschfeld 2008, 124; Åström 1966, 149-92, fig. 4, pls. 44-48; Frankel 1975.

<sup>53</sup> Åström 1966; 1969; Bailey 1996; Bikaki 1984.

<sup>54</sup> Edgar 1904, 177-80; Evans 1904, 181-85; Åström 1966, 149-92; Sherratt 2013; Hirschfeld 1993, 2008.

To date, no other pot-marking tradition dated to the 3rd millennium BC has been identified in other parts of Anatolia except for a few examples in some EBA settlements such as Troy, Tarsus Gözlükule and Karataş.<sup>55</sup> However, after the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, the percentage of pot-marked vessels increased steadily. This ratio is at the highest level in all the centers that were within Hittite imperial territory, especially in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>56</sup> The incised or impressed pot marks dated to the 2nd millennium BC were mostly applied on the pot bodies. However, there are a few examples applied on handles.<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, incised examples reflect similar motifs as Anatolian Metallic Ware handle pot marks.<sup>58</sup>

Marie-Henriette Gates<sup>59</sup> sees the pot marks as an indicator of Hittite administrative control. According to Claudia Glatz,<sup>60</sup> LB pot marks point to an organization of cooperative production in which independent experts collaborate at a certain stage of production. Some experts who have considered the individual meanings of the motifs have interpreted them as numerical values or hieroglyphic script.<sup>61</sup> Mara T. Horowitz,<sup>62</sup> working with LBA Alalakh pot marks, sees them as serving interregional connectivity, broadly defining what appears to be the case with earlier Anatolian Metallic Wares.

### Other Signage Systems during the Anatolian EBA

With new research, the number of marks and signs on different materials dated to the EBA in Anatolia is increasing. Some interesting finds were recovered from Bademağacı, located in southwestern Anatolia and dated to the EBA II (2600-2500 BC).<sup>63</sup> Three disc-shaped clay objects, called *numeric (?) tablets* by Gülsün Umurtak, bear prefired incised or impression marks applied by fingernails or some kind of tools.<sup>64</sup> Since the signs are repeated in a certain order, Umurtak suggests that these signs may carry numerical values that indicate the amount of countable goods.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to these limited numbers of finds, many EBA settlements, such as Troy, Tarsus, Karataş-Semayük and Kusura, yielded a large number of spindle whorls that bear some incised or impressed signs.<sup>66</sup> The signs consist of crosses, chevrons, twigs and comb-like marks.<sup>67</sup> Due to the character of some signs and their repetitive orders, some scholars have made some similarities between these signs and Linear A signs.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Waal 2017, 114-15, fig. 1; Bachhuber 2015, 78; Schmidt 1902, 90; Goldman 1956; 123-24, figs. 256, 352; Mellink 1965, 249, fig. 44.

<sup>56</sup> Seidl 1972; Gates 2001; Müller-Karpe 1988; Glatz 2012.

<sup>57</sup> Seidl 1972, figs. 8-23.

<sup>58</sup> Seidl 1972, figs. 21.b1, b3-4, b8, b10, 22.b20.

<sup>59</sup> Gates 2001, 137-38, 140-41.

<sup>60</sup> Glatz 2012, 32-35.

<sup>61</sup> Seidl 1972, 75-76; Müller-Karpe 1988; Mielke 2006, 153-54.

<sup>62</sup> Horowitz 2017.

<sup>63</sup> Umurtak 2009.

<sup>64</sup> Umurtak 2009, 2, figs. 3-5.

<sup>65</sup> Umurtak 2009, 3-4.

<sup>66</sup> Waal 2017, 115-16; Goldman 1956; 328-30, figs. 446-50; Mellink and Angel 1966, 250, figs. 34-36; 1967, 52-53, 57.

<sup>67</sup> Waal 2017, 115-16.

<sup>68</sup> Waal 2017, 115-16, figs. 4-5.

The number of EBA seals and sealings have also increased with recent research. Sites in southwestern Anatolia, such as Bademağacı, Hacılar Büyük Höyük, and Kandilkırı, were added to the settlements of Troy, Tarsus, Karataş-Semayük where seals had been obtained earlier.<sup>69</sup> Over 100 seals were recovered from Bademağacı EBA levels.<sup>70</sup> During the recent excavations at Kültepe more than 1000 sealings/*bullae*, probably of northern Syrian or Mesopotamian origin, have been found in the rooms of an administrative structure which may prove both economic links between these regions and administrative recording and control over the circulation of goods.<sup>71</sup>

Anatolian stamp seals occurring since the Neolithic have geometric signs and are usually made of clay or, in small numbers, of stone or metal. The most common motifs consist of groups of dots, straight or wavy lines, angle-filled cross and hatched cross.<sup>72</sup> There are various suggestions regarding the function of Anatolian seals: a symbol of individual or family identity, amulet, ritual or magical object or textile decoration tools.<sup>73</sup> Early Bronze Age seals may be similarly multifunctional. However, there was an increase in the number of seals and sealings during this period, and some were discovered in public areas. This case probably indicates that in the EBA some of the seals were also being used by the elites for administrative recording and control.<sup>74</sup>

In this period a few seal-impressed vessels were also retrieved from Troy, Tarsus-Gözlükule, Mersin-Yumuktepe and Karataş-Semayük.<sup>75</sup> Michele Massa<sup>76</sup> has classified these seals into four different types based on shapes and motifs: Anatolian, Aegean, cylinder with geometric, and cylinder with figurative motifs. Although the function of the seal-impressed vessels is uncertain, they are particularly important in terms of demonstrating regional relationships and the circulation of products.

## Discussion

The motifs on spindle whorls, numerical (?) tablets, seals and sealings may indicate that in the EBA the use of cognitive signage was becoming widespread in many social areas of daily life. Cultural complexity, increased levels of socio-political networking, and relations with Near Eastern communities may have facilitated the spread of these practices. However, the 3rd millennium BC pot marks discussed here were incised or impressed specifically on Anatolian Metallic Ware and are entirely different from all other contemporary wares due to the techniques applied during the production process such as the preparation of the paste to shaping and firing. Furthermore, there is no significant pot-marking tradition in Anatolia in the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC or even in the 2nd millennium BC, except some examples mentioned above.

<sup>69</sup> Blegen et al. 1950, 256, fig. 408; Goldman 1956, 232-33, 240-41, figs. 392-98; Mellink 1965, 250, fig. 33a-b; 1967, 264, figs. 54-56, 58-59; Umurtak 2015; 2013; Oğuzhanoğlu 2019.

<sup>70</sup> Umurtak 2013, 52.

<sup>71</sup> Kulakoğlu and Öztürk 2015.

<sup>72</sup> Massa 2016, 132-33; Umurtak 2013, 52.

<sup>73</sup> Umurtak 2000, 6-7; 2013, 53; Çilingiroğlu 2009, 7-12.

<sup>74</sup> Bachhuber 2015, 131, 155-62; Massa 2016, 137-38; Umurtak 2013, 52-53; Kulakoğlu and Öztürk 2015.

<sup>75</sup> Massa 2016, 139-41; Blegen et al. 1950, 256, fig. 408; Goldman 1956, 236, figs. 396-97.

<sup>76</sup> Massa 2016, 139-40, figs. 5.21-5.23.

James Mellaart's statement clearly defines the distinctive characteristics of Anatolian Metallic Ware:

No single class of pottery in Southern Anatolia can claim such an individual and unique appearance, in texture, shapes and decoration, as the metallic ware of the Konya Plain. Throughout its use it preserved these qualities and there is no evidence that it ever borrowed a single shape from the other classes of pottery which were in use at the same time.<sup>77</sup>

All these features, namely the pot marks applied on a ware group which have standard, specific shape types and production techniques, are not unusual just for Anatolia but also for most geographical regions where the above-mentioned marking traditions are seen.

The uniformity of Anatolian Metallic forms and their spread over a large area with a certain order caused us to analyze the function of the pot marks. Mitigating against pot marks being related to vessel typologies comes from the fact that there are larger numbers of pot-mark motifs compared to the number of vessel types. Also, different pot marks occur on the same vessel types, and similar motifs can be seen on different vessel types (table 2). In addition, similar pot-mark motifs occur at different sites. These suggest that the possibility of pot marks being symbols of property relationships is less likely. It cannot also be said that all pot marks carry numerical values that reflect the size of the vessels, since vessels with different volumes have similar pot-mark motifs. However, on occasion some marks may carry numerical values. For example, motif 43 and similar motifs consisting of a combination of different numbers of dots and lines probably bear numerical meanings.

According to other views, pot marks may carry a symbolic meaning related to the vessels' contents. If some high-value products had been produced under the control of a possible centralized power and redistributed using these vessels, the signs could represent certain products being distributed. The spread of Anatolian Metallic Ware over a large area outside the core region supports this possibility. However, this idea is also less viable since the pot marks also include miniature vessels such as cups, jugs and baby feeders.

The general characteristics of the Anatolian EBA may provide possible answers to the interpretation and function of pot marks. The questions – who produced these vessels and who were the recipients – are important considerations to define the types of production organization.<sup>78</sup> As noted above, it is noteworthy that signage on vessels begins in specific geographical regions exhibiting evidence of early state formation. Furthermore, local political structures during the EBA such as public/administrative architectural remains and elite graves yielded prestige objects in western and central Anatolia.<sup>79</sup> The boundaries of certain pottery groups centered in these specific regions around 2700-2200 BC could be markers for emerging territorial political structures.<sup>80</sup> According to some,<sup>81</sup> these regional political institutions may have managed the production of certain products (especially metal) and the circulation of some goods during the EBA II-III.<sup>82</sup> Prestige objects recovered from settlements such as Troy, Alacahöyük

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<sup>77</sup> Mellaart 1963, 228.

<sup>78</sup> Costin and Hagstrum 1995, 621.

<sup>79</sup> Bachhuber 2015; Şahoğlu 2019; Mellink and Angel 1966.

<sup>80</sup> Efe 1998, 2004; French 1969, 19-55; Bittel 1942, 187-91.

<sup>81</sup> Bachhuber 2015, 155-62, 185; Massa 2016, 261; Şahoğlu 2019, 119-20.

<sup>82</sup> Yener 2015; Bachhuber 2015, 78-79, 131; Umurtak 2013, 52-53; Massa 2016, 137-38; Şahoğlu 2019, 119-20; Kulakoğlu and Öztürk 2015.

and Eskiypapar suggest both the existence of an elite class and a specialist class directly attached to these elites and who controlled trade. Therefore, some of the seals, sealing or seal-impressed vessels recovered from Anatolian EBA settlements point to administrative control over the production and circulation processes.

The characteristics of Anatolian Metallic Ware do not precisely correspond to the characteristics of attached or independent specialization identified in ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies. However, these vessels seem to have the criteria which occur in the two kinds of attached specialization models mentioned above: high-quality, standardization and mass production.<sup>83</sup> The combination of these conditions indicates that the production of these vessels was not limited to elite groups or for the persons working for elites. Rather, political institutions in central Anatolia organized and controlled the production for a larger sector of society, perhaps better termed “middle class” in today’s terminology. Therefore, the production of Anatolian Metallic Ware would have been carried out by attached/semi-attached specialists under direct or indirect patronage of the administration in the workshops. The vast majority of Anatolian Metallic Ware pot marks could be indicators that the political structure had developed to control the quality and scale of production.

This as-yet not well-defined socio-political structure is likely to have been developed from local dynamics within central Anatolia, independent from the complex societies of the Near East. The production parameters and distinctive signage features of Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels reflect an administrative style different from neighboring regions. For this reason, we can state that these polities have their own organizational mechanisms as seen in the use of regionally shared symbolic signages. For now, it is most plausible to say that assuring production quality in the workshops was a priority for this EBA political entity in southern central Anatolia.

## Conclusions

Regardless of glimpses of political coherence in the EBA<sup>84</sup> perhaps spurred on by the trade of vital raw materials such as metal, outside of central Anatolia, regional Balkanization of pottery seems to be more the norm. Each region attached importance to the production of their special wares, especially for cultural identity and the differentiation from the “others” during the formative periods of larger polities. Similar strong regional expressions had previously been pointed out for metal typologies<sup>85</sup> throughout Anatolia during the EBA as well.

Throughout central Anatolia, however, pot-mark distributions suggest stricter control of quality and a high degree of organizational standardization not observed in any other region of Anatolia. Abdullah Hacıar<sup>86</sup> has suggested that this can be interpreted as the result of a more institutionalized political structure in the region. Mining activities and the control of the passes in the study area may have contributed to the institutionalization of production, trade organization and specialization. It is noteworthy that the signage on vessels begins in certain geographical regions during the periods of early state formation. The shared features of pot-mark motifs across a wide geographical region in Anatolia could be indicative of a flourishing trade

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<sup>83</sup> Costin 1991, 12; Costin and Hagstrum 1995, 620; Frangipane 2012, 44-49.

<sup>84</sup> Efe 1998, 2004; French 1969, 19-55.

<sup>85</sup> Yakar 1984, 1985; Yener 2000.

<sup>86</sup> Hacıar 2017.



enabled by the safe and appropriate production and exchange environments. These intra-Anatolian exchange networks during the EBA are very apparent in metal trade,<sup>87</sup> a majority of which link similar sites that utilize Anatolian Metallic Wares. The shared signage pot-mark traditions mentioned in this article are yet another facet of the same regional interconnectivity. This interconnectivity is fueled by the trade of mining resources, especially the polymetallic ores which contributed to the growth and power of EBA societies.<sup>88</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not have much data to directly support these interpretations, and this will not be obtained until comprehensive research begins to be carried out in the Karaman, Ereğli and Bor plains. These are the core regions of Anatolian Metallic Ware and where “large city-size mounds”<sup>89</sup> dated to the EBA are located. However, the socio-political conditions in other regions where pot marks occur (Near East and Indus valley) share the general characteristics of the Anatolian EBA and the unique features of Anatolian Metallic Ware. So we can at least suggest that these handle pot marks, whether or not a sign of administrative control over the production processes, clearly reflect the presence of the complex economic and production organization in our region, which is ultimately different from the other Anatolian regions.

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<sup>87</sup> Yener et al. 2015.

<sup>88</sup> Yener 2015, Yener (forthcoming).

<sup>89</sup> Mellaart 1963, 205.

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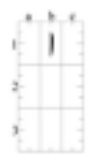







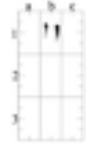
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TABLE 1 Table showing the number of marked sherds.












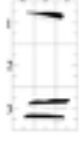


| AMW | Sub-ware | Excavation |        |        |        |         |      | Survey      |           |          | Total |
|-----|----------|------------|--------|--------|--------|---------|------|-------------|-----------|----------|-------|
|     |          | Göltepe    | Kestel | Acemh. | Tarsus | Kültepe | Troy | J. Mellaart | S. Güneri | A. Öztan |       |
|     | Plain    | 19         | 2      | -      | 2      | -       | -    | 5           | -         | -        | 28    |
|     | Classic  | 46         | 2      | 2      | 1?     | 1       | 1    | 17          | 28        | 3        | 101   |
|     | Total    | 65         | 4      | 2      | 3      | 1       | 1    | 22          | 28        | 3        | 129   |










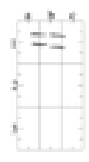

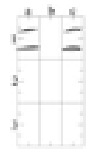


TABLE 2 Anatolian Metallic Ware pot marks. Column 3 shows the positions of the motifs when laid flat. Each of the twenty grids corresponds to a section of the cylindrical handle. Column b, the front; column d, the back; and columns a and c, the right and left sides of the handle. Rows 1, 2 and 3 roughly represent the top, middle and bottom sections of each side.


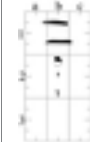

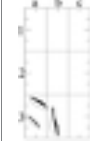

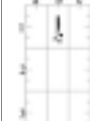

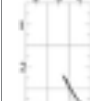

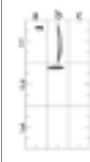

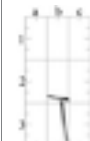
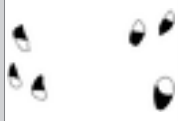
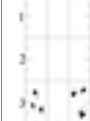
| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs. | Type  | Settlement/ Number of Pieces   | Date          | Reference   |
|--------------|---|---|----------------------|---|--|---------------|---|
| 1            |    |    | Classic              | Jr.2<br>?   | Göltepe/3<br>Kocahöyük<br>Kerhane<br>Domuz-boğazlayan<br>Troy?                     | EB II-IIIa    | Güneri 1989, figs. 8.2, 9.1-2<br>Blegen et al. 1950, fig. 250.7                               |
| 2            |  |  | Classic              | ?   | Göltepe  | EB II         |   |
| 3            |  |  | Classic (fig. 5.1)   | Jg.1<br>Jg.2<br>Jg.2 (Miniature)<br>Jg.4<br>Jr.1<br>? | Göltepe/6<br>Kestel<br>Kocahöyük<br>Kerhane<br>Kanaç<br>Çayhan-Ereğli<br>Acemhöyük | EB II-IIIa    | Güneri 1989, figs. 8.12, 9.9<br>Mellaart 1963, figs. 15.12, 16.16<br>Öztan 1989, figs. 20, 22 |
| 4            |  |  | Classic              | Jg.1<br>Jg.3<br>Jg.6<br>Jr.1<br>Jr.2?                 | Göltepe/3<br>Kerhane/3<br>Kocahöyük<br>Kanaç<br>Topraktepe                         | EB II-IIIa    | Güneri 1989, figs. 10.3, 10.5, 10.6<br>Mellaart 1963, figs. 15.1, 15.11, 16.7                 |
| 5            |  |  | Classic              | ?   | Göltepe  | EB II or IIIa |   |















| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs.                | Type                      | Settlement/ Number of Pieces                    | Date       | Reference   |
|--------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|------------|---|
| 6            |    |    | Classic Plain<br>(figs. 5.7, 8.1-2) | Jg.2<br>Jr.2<br>Jr.3<br>? | Göltepe/4<br>Kestel<br>Kocahöyük/2<br>Acemhöyük | EB II-IIIa | Güneri 1989,<br>figs. 8.5, 9.10<br>Öztan 1989,<br>fig. 28 |
| 7            |    |    | Classic Plain<br>(figs. 7.1, 8.3)   | Bf.1                      | Göltepe<br>Kerhane<br>Tarsus                    | EB II-IIIa | Güneri 1989,<br>fig. 10.8-9<br>Goldman 1956,<br>fig. 250  |
| 8            |    |    | Plain                               | ?                         | Göltepe/2                                       | EB II-IIIa |   |
| 9            |  |  | Classic Plain                       | B.1<br>Jg.2<br>?          | Göltepe<br>Üçhöyük<br>Hüsniye                   | EB IIIa    | Güneri 1989,<br>fig. 10.1<br>Öztan 1989,<br>fig. 12       |
| 10           |  |  | Classic                             | ?                         | Göltepe   | EB II      | Hacı 2016,<br>cat. no. 366                                |
| 11           |  |  | Classic                             | ?                         | Kızılviran                                      | ?          | Mellaart 1954,<br>fig. 143                                |
| 12           |  |  | Classic                             | ?                         | Göltepe   | EB IIIa    |   |








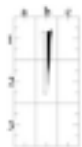

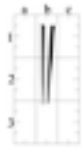

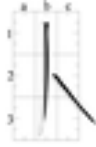










| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs.     | Type                      | Settlement/ Number of Pieces   | Date       | Reference  |
|--------------|---|---|--------------------------|---------------------------|--|------------|--|
| 13           |    |    | Classic (fig. 5.4)       | B.3?<br>Jg.2<br>Jr.1<br>? | Göltepe/3<br>Kestel<br>Kocahöyük<br>Topraktepe<br>Sarлак<br>Darboğaz | EB II-IIIa | Güneri 1989, figs. 8.9, 9.3<br>Öztan 1989, fig. 13 |
| 14           |    |    | Plain (fig. 7.2)         | ?                         | Göltepe<br>Kestel  | EB II      |  |
| 15           |    |    | Plain (fig. 8.6)         | ?                         | Göltepe  | EB II      |  |
| 16           |  |  | Classic                  | Jr.2<br>?                 | Beytepe<br>Sarлак  | ?          | Mellaart 1954, fig. 99; 1963, fig. 16.23           |
| 17           |  |  | Classic (fig. 7.4)       | ?                         | Göltepe<br>Sarлак?   | EB II      | Mellaart 1963, fig. 15.16                          |
| 18           |  |  | Classic (figs. 6.6, 8.4) | Jr.3                      | Göltepe  | EB II      |  |
| 19           |  |  | Classic (figs. 6.6, 8.7) | Jr.3                      | Göltepe  | EB II      |  |

| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs.                 | Type                | Settlement/ Number of Pieces      | Date       | Reference  |
|--------------|---|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|--|
| 20           |    |    | Plain                                | Jg.6                | Göltepe                           | EB II      |  |
| 21           |    |    | Plain<br>Classic<br>(figs. 5.9, 9.1) | Jg.6<br>Jr.3?<br>?  | Göltepe/3<br>Kanaç<br>Karapınar I | EB II-IIIa | Güneri 1989,<br>fig. 9.8<br>Mellaart 1963,<br>fig. 15.17, 16.2 |
| 22           |    |    | Classic<br>Plain                     | Jg.6<br>?           | Göltepe/3<br>Kanaç<br>Beytepe     | EB II-IIIa | Güneri 1989,<br>fig. 9.15<br>Mellaart 1954,<br>98              |
| 23           |  |  | Classic                              | ?                   | Göltepe                           | EB II      |  |
| 24           |  |  | Classic<br>(figs. 6.5, 9.2)          | Jr.3                | Göltepe                           | EB II      |  |
| 25           |  |  | Classic<br>(fig. 8.5)                | ?                   | Göltepe<br>Kültepe<br>(Gülağaç)   | EB II      |  |
| 26           |  |  | Classic<br>(fig. 5.8)                | Jg.2<br>(Miniature) | Göltepe                           | EB II      |  |

| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs.        | Type             | Settlement/ Number of Pieces | Date          | Reference                 |
|--------------|---|---|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 27           |    |    | Classic                     | ?                | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 28           |    |    | Classic                     | ?                | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 29           |    |    | Plain<br>(figs. 5.3, 9.6)   | Jg.2 (Miniature) | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 30           |  |  | Classic<br>(fig. 7.5)       | ?                | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 31           |  |  | Classic<br>(figs. 6.3, 9.3) | Jr.3             | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 32           |  |  | Classic                     | ?                | Kozlubucak                   | ?             | French 1965,<br>fig. 4.18 |
| 33           |  |  | Classic                     | ?                | Göltepe                      | EB II or IIIa |                           |

| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs.     | Type             | Settlement/ Number of Pieces      | Date             | Reference  |
|--------------|---|---|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|--|
| 34           |    |    | Classic (fig. 6.1)       | Jr.2<br>?        | Göltepe<br>Beytepe                | EB II            | Mellaart 1954,<br>fig. 117; 1963,<br>fig. 16.19            |
| 35           |    |    | Classic (figs. 6.4, 9.5) | Jr.3             | Göltepe                           | EB II            |  |
| 36           |    |    | Classic (figs. 6.2, 9.4) | Jr.2<br>?        | Göltepe/3<br>Kocahöyük<br>Eminler | EB II-IIIa       | Güneri 1989,<br>fig. 9.18;<br>Mellaart 1963,<br>fig. 16.15 |
| 37           |  |  | Classic                  | Jr.3             | Göltepe                           | EB IIIa          |  |
| 38           |  |  | Plain (fig. 5.2)         | Jg.2 (Miniature) | Göltepe                           | EB Ib            |  |
| 39           |  |  | Classic (fig. 9.8)       | Jr.3             | Göltepe                           | EB II            |  |
| 40           |  |  | Classic                  | ?                | Göltepe                           | EB II or<br>IIIa |  |

| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs.         | Type      | Settlement/ Number of Pieces | Date          | Reference                 |
|--------------|---|---|------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 41           |    |    | Plain<br>(fig. 9.7)          | ?         | Göltepe                      | EB II or IIIa |                           |
| 42           |    |    | Classic<br>(figs. 7.3, 10.1) | ?         | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 43           |    |    | Classic<br>(figs. 7.6, 10.2) | B.1?      | Göltepe                      | EB II or IIIa |                           |
| 44           |  |  | Plain                        | ?         | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 45           |  |  | Plain<br>(figs. 7.7, 10.3)   | Jg.6?     | Göltepe                      | EB II         |                           |
| 46           |  |  | Plain<br>(fig. 10.4)         | ?         | Göltepe                      | EB II or IIIa |                           |
| 47           |  |  | Plain<br>(figs. 5.5, 10.6)   | Jg.6<br>? | Göltepe<br>Tarsus            | EB II-IIIa    | Goldman 1956,<br>fig. 251 |

| Motif Number | Motif   | Position  | Sub-Ware Group/Figs.       | Type              | Settlement/ Number of Pieces | Date       | Reference                  |
|--------------|---|---|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| 48           |  |  | Plain<br>(fig. 10.5)       | Jg.6?             | Göltepe                      | EB II-IIIa |                            |
| 49           |  |  | Plain<br>(figs. 7.8, 10.7) | Jg.5<br>Jg.6<br>? | Göltepe<br>Ulukışla          | EB IIIa    | Mellaart 1954,<br>fig. 124 |
| 50           |  |  | Plain<br>(fig. 5.6)        | Jg.6              | Göltepe                      | EB II      |                            |

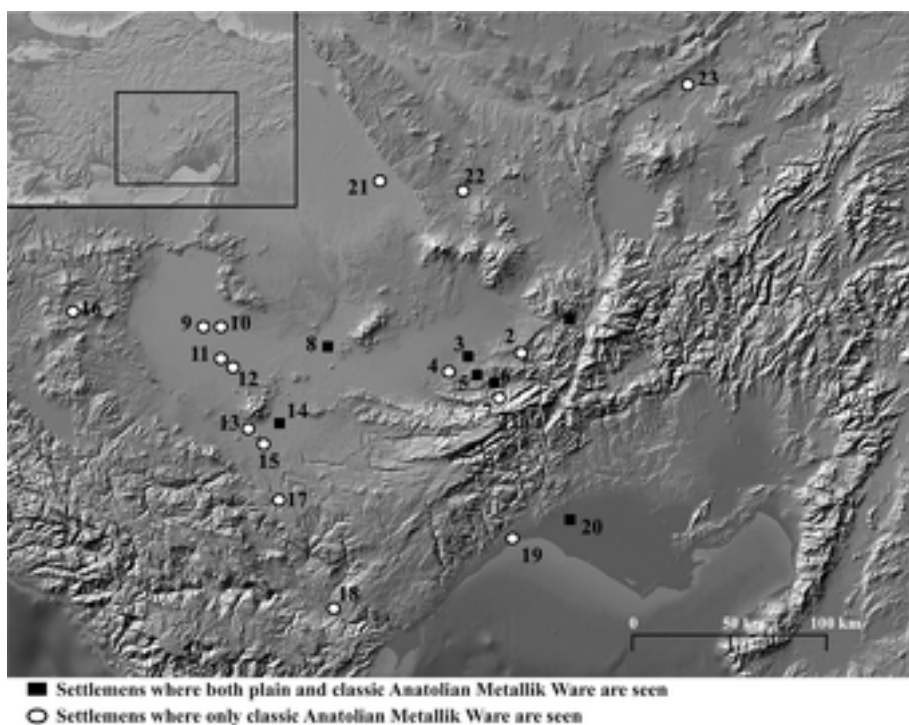


FIG. 1 Map of sites mentioned in the text (1- Kestel and Göltepe, 2- Hüsniye, 3- Topraktepe, 4- Çayhan-Ereğli, 5- Beytepe, 6- Ulukışla, 7- Darboğaz, 8- Karapınar I, 9- Domuzboğazlayan, 10- Kerhane, 11- Sarlak, 12- Üçhöyükler, 13- Eminler, 14- Kanaç, 15- Kocahöyük, 16- Kızılviran, 17- Kozlubucak, 18- Kilisetepe, 19- Mersin-Yumuktepe, 20- Tarsus, 21- Acemhöyük, 22- Kültepe [Gülağaç] 23- Kültepe).



FIG. 2 General characteristics of Anatolian Metallic Ware.



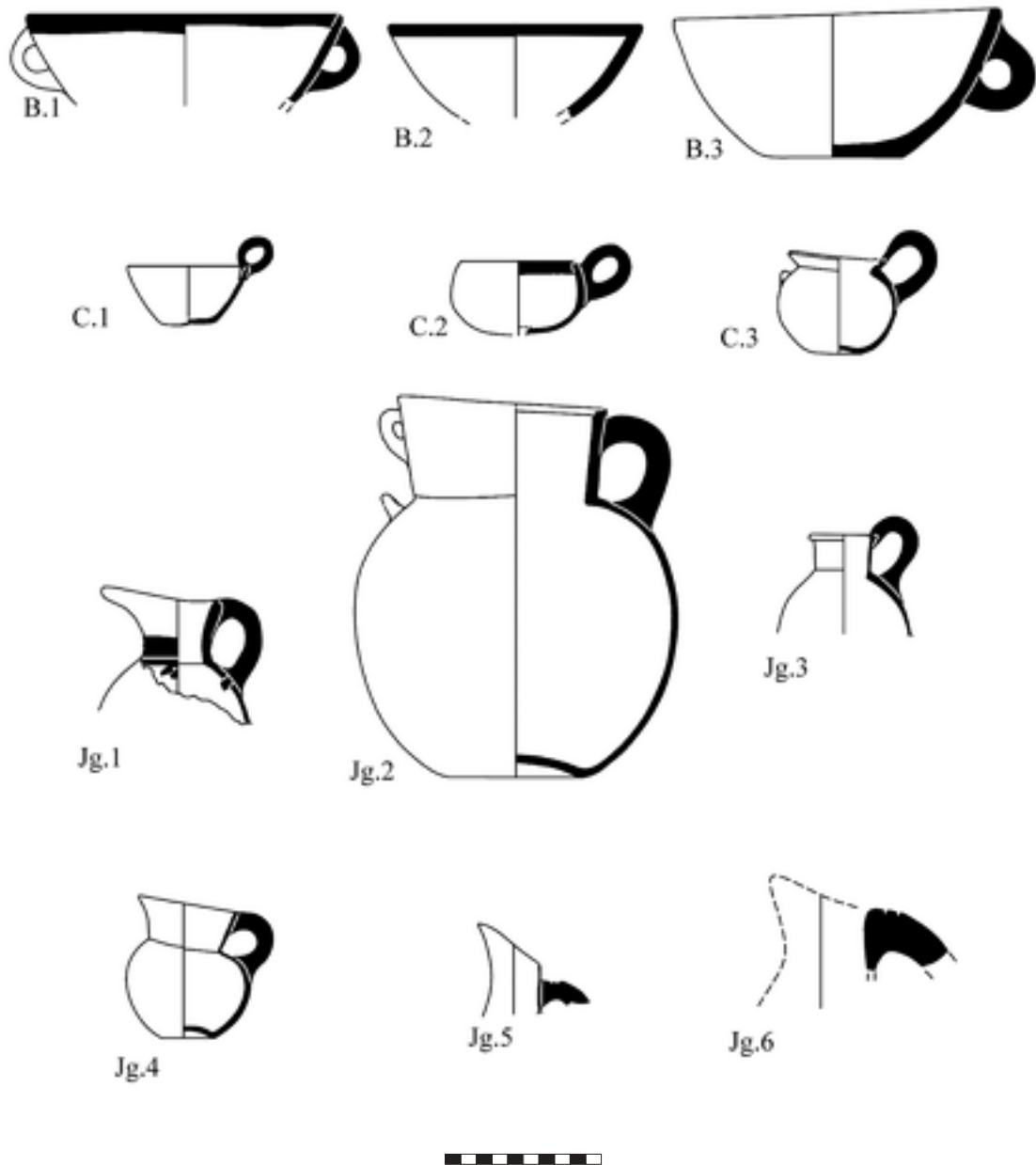


FIG. 3 Anatolian Metallic Ware types; drawing by A. Hacı.

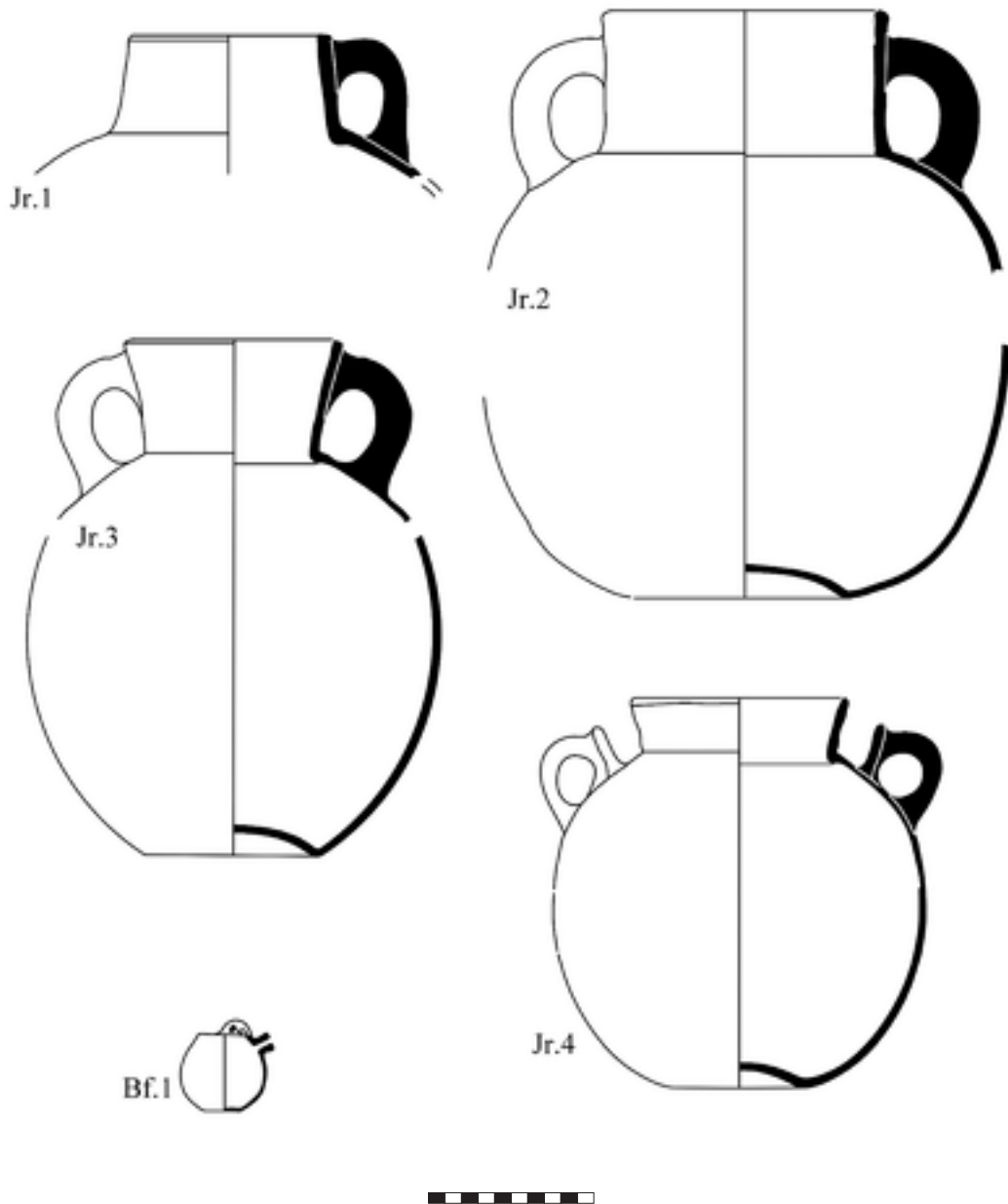


FIG. 4 Anatolian Metallic Ware types; drawing by A. Hacıar.

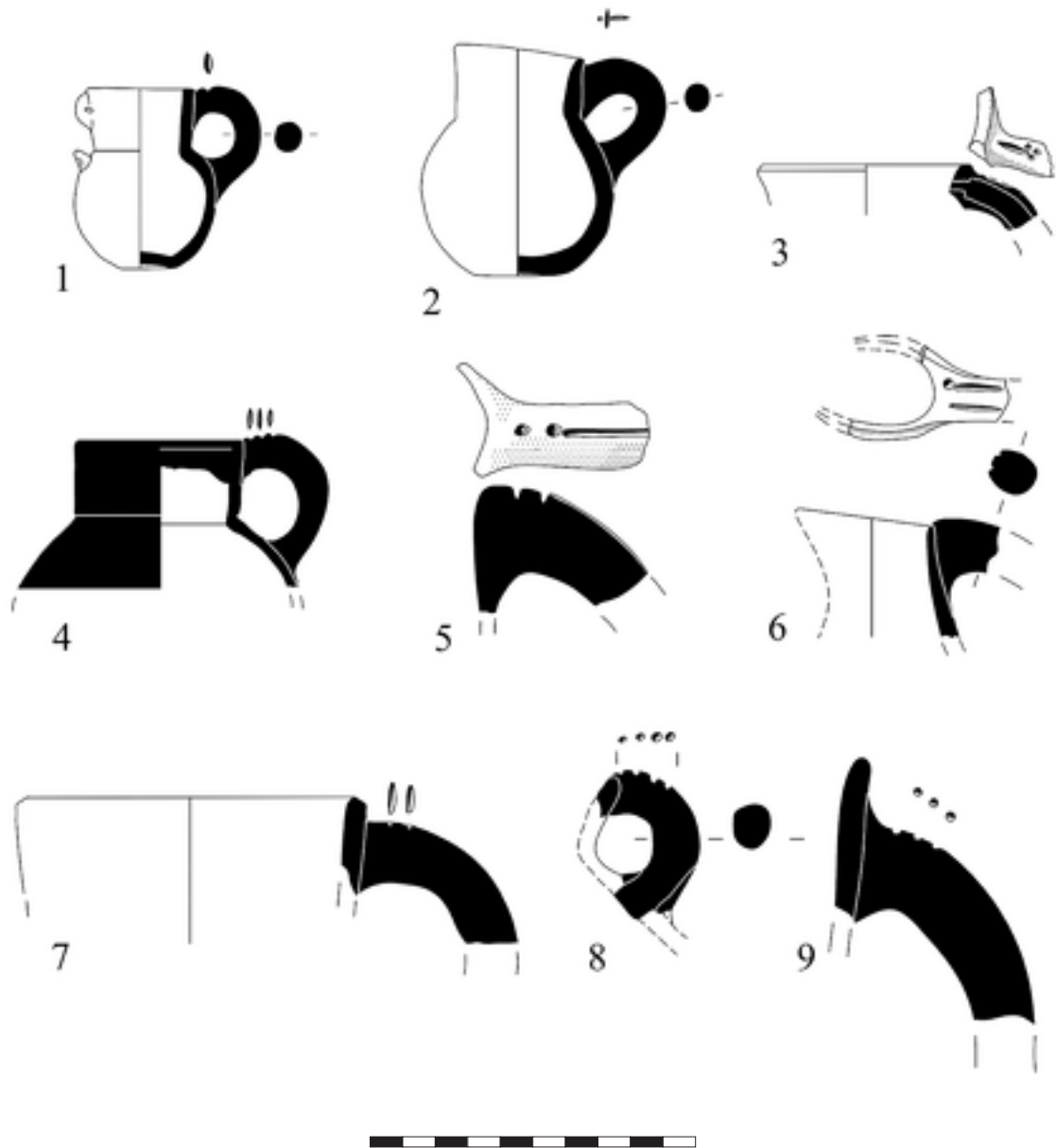


FIG. 5 Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels with handle marks from Göltepe; drawing by A. Hacı.

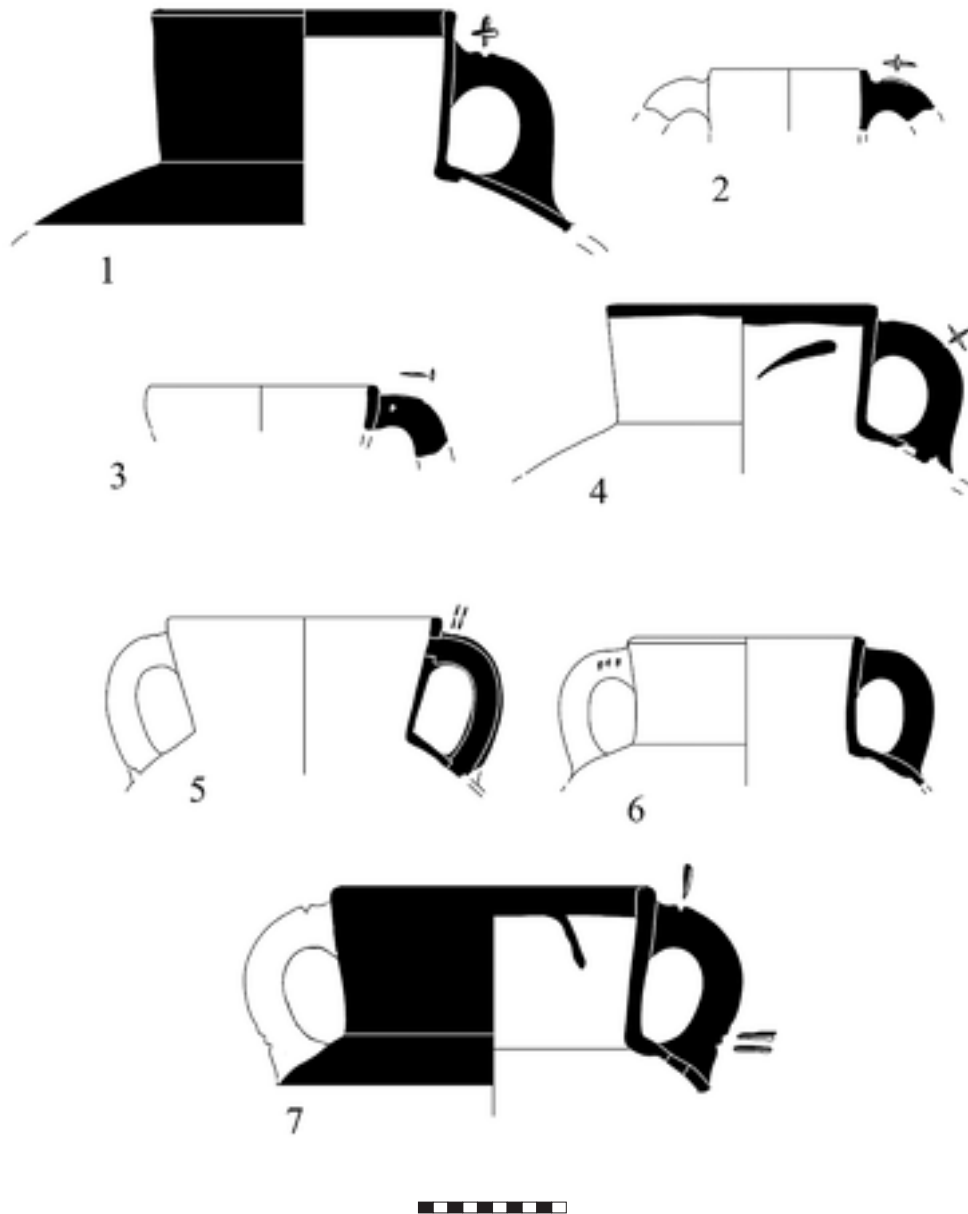


FIG. 6 Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels with handle marks from Göltepe; drawing by A. Hacıar.

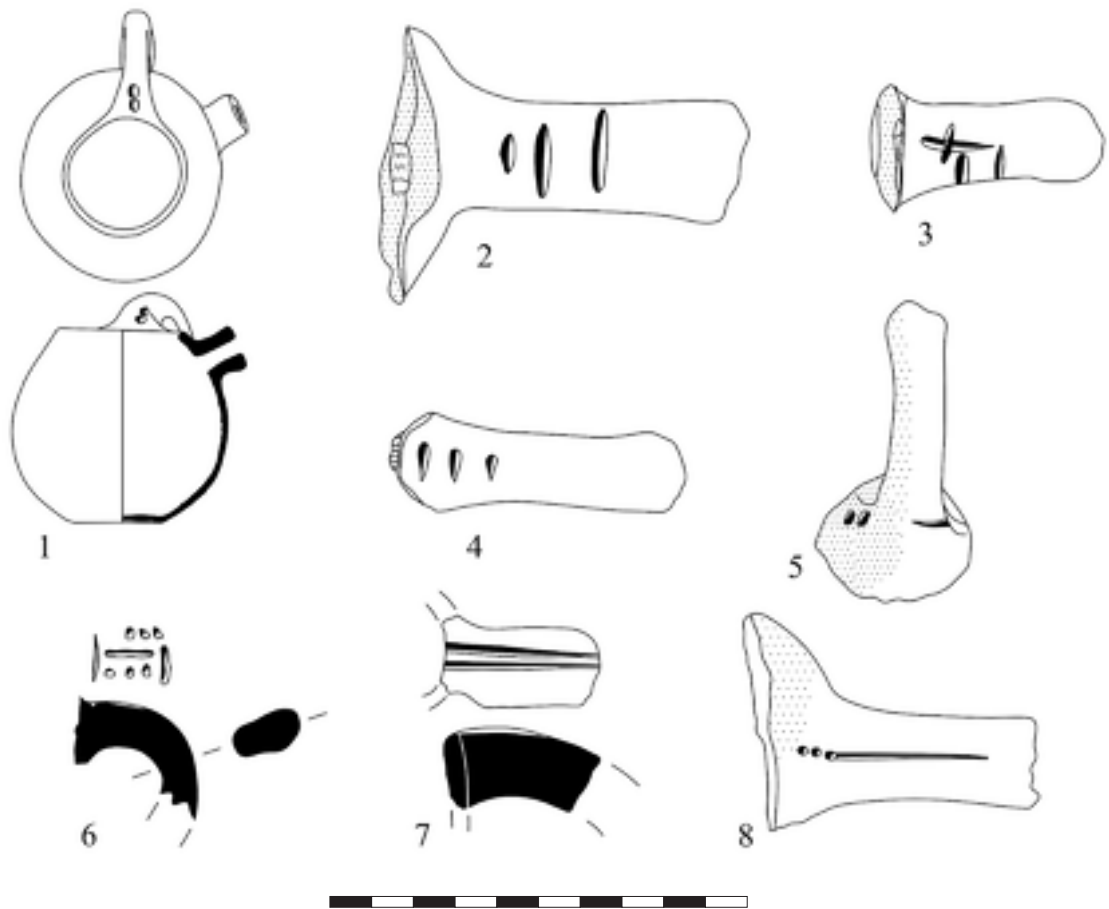


FIG. 7 Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels with handle marks from Göltepe; drawing by A. Hacı.



FIG. 8 Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels with handle marks from Göltepe; photograph by A. Hacıar.



FIG. 9 Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels with handle marks from Göltepe; photograph by A. Hacıar.



FIG. 10 Anatolian Metallic Ware vessels with handle marks from Göltepe; photograph by A. Hacı.



# Reflection on the Sunrise Positions in Early and Middle Bronze Age Extramural Cemeteries in Anatolia

A. TUBA ÖKSE\*

## Abstract

In Early and Middle Bronze Ages extramural cemeteries in Anatolia, burials are occasionally oriented towards the rising sun in various seasons. The orientations of Early Bronze Age burials cluster towards the sunrise in autumn and winter; however, this differs in Middle Bronze Age cemeteries. Burials in Çavlum are mainly oriented towards the rising sun in summer, those in Yanarlar in spring, and in Gordion the winter months. The orientations towards the sunrise from the equinox to the summer solstice in Yanarlar, Tatıka and Çavlum may reflect the superiority of light to darkness, or life to death. Only a few burials are oriented towards the rising sun during the harvest period. In the Early Bronze Age cemeteries of Gre Virike, Aşağı Salat, Elmalı-Karataş and Babaköy, sunrise positions during one month after the autumn equinox dominate. In this month, fields are sown; henceforth, seeds wait for sprouting until the following spring. The rising sun between the equinox and winter solstice is preferred in the Middle Bronze Age, making a peak during the month prior to the winter solstice when animals mate. These give birth after around five months. This natural cycle might have been associated with the dead waiting in the grave like seeds in the ground or like the fetus awaiting life in the spring.

**Keywords:** burial orientation, sunrise, Bronze Age, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, lifecycle

## Öz

Anadolu'da Erken ve Orta Tunç Çağı yerleşim dışı mezarlıklarında mezarlar yaygın olarak güneşin farklı mevsimlerdeki doğuş pozisyonlarına yönelik yerleştirilmiştir. Mezarların yön açıları sayısal olarak kümelenildiğinde, Erken Tunç Çağı mezarlarında güneşin sonbahar ve kış aylarında, Orta Tunç Çağı'nda Çavlum Mezarlığı'nda yaz, Yanarlar Mezarlığı'nda bahar, Gordion Mezarlığı'nda ise kış aylarındaki doğuş pozisyonları ön plana çıkmaktadır. Yanarlar, Tatıka ve Çavlum'da güneşin genellikle ekinoks ile yaz gündönümü arasındaki konumunun tercih edilmesi, aydınlıkla özdeşleşen yaşamın ölümle özdeşleştirilen karanlığa galip gelmesi şeklinde değerlendirilmiş görünmektedir. Güneşin hasat dönemlerindeki doğuş konumlarına yöneltilen mezar sayısı azdır. Erken Tunç Çağı'nda Gre Virike, Aşağı Salat, Elmalı-Karataş ve Babaköy mezarlıklarında güneşin sonbahar ekinoksundan sonraki bir aylık doğuş pozisyonları ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu dönemde tarlalara tohum atılmakta ve ertesi ilkbaharda filizlenmek üzere beklemektedir. Orta Tunç Çağı'nda en çok tercih edilen yön ekinoks ile kış gündönümü arasındaki üç aya rastlanmaktadır. Kış gündönümü öncesindeki aylarda hayvanlar gebe kalmakta ve yaklaşık beş ay sonra yavrulamaktadır. Bu doğa döngüsü ölümlerin de tohumlar ve yavrularla birlikte ertesi ilkbaharda yaşama dönmesi arzusu ile ilişkilendirilmiş görünmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** mezar yönü, güneş doğuşu, Tunç Çağı, Anadolu, Mezopotamya, yaşam döngüsü

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## Introduction

Death is defined as the cessation of biological functions that keep the organism alive and the end of life. People who have lost those around them – relatives and the beloved – might have feared to disappear in this way. To overcome the fear of death, including fears of unknowingness, uncertainty, loneliness and suffering in the underworld, it has become an option to envision death as a supreme reunion rather than extinction. According to the “Psychodynamic Approach” of Sigmund Freud, linking historical events with spirituality and religious phenomena as part of social psychology are behaviors that deny death and desire a new life.<sup>1</sup>

In this context, the mythological worldview is a psychological process that becomes a part of belief systems and social behaviors including predetermined and repetitive acts with symbolic meanings.<sup>2</sup> Ancient Mesopotamians believed that the sky and the earth consisted of three ranks. On the top resided the sky god <sup>d</sup>AN/Anu, on the second level other gods, and on the third celestial bodies.<sup>3</sup> Human beings and ghosts are on the earth dominated by <sup>d</sup>Enlil, and the underground is *Abzu* (Deep Ocean) dominated by <sup>d</sup>EA. At the bottom is the *KI/KUR/ersetu* (underworld), the place of 600 *Anunnaki*, dead spirits (*GIDĪM/etemmu*) and dead demons dominated by the goddess <sup>d</sup>Ereškigal and her husband <sup>d</sup>Nergal.<sup>4</sup> The dialogue of *Gilgameš* and *Enkidu* in the mythological story of *Enkidu's* journey to the underworld reflects the belief that the souls of the dead could get closer to the gods in proportion to the number of their successors who offer food and drink, and that the untreated dead souls suffer. Burying the dead, offering food and drink into graves, burning incense and mentioning the names of the dead in certain ceremonies are behaviors aimed to provide peace for the dead souls.<sup>5</sup> Otherwise, these would disturb their successors.

The Mesopotamian sun god <sup>d</sup>UTU/Šamaš walks out the doorway in the mountains in the east, crosses the sky, and passing through the doorway in the sea in the west, descends to the underworld.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, the souls of the dead also descend to the underworld. The Hittites and Hurrians believed that the sun goddess of the underworld, <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš/ištanuš, descended from the west gate to the underworld and illuminated the souls of the dead during the night.<sup>7</sup> So the sun god was also associated with <sup>d</sup>Nergal (*Erra/Irra*). Accordingly, in a prayer to the *Storm God of Nerik* to bring rain,<sup>8</sup> the name of the *Sun Goddess of Arinna* was written interchangeably with the name of the underworld goddess <sup>d</sup>Ereškigal. In Mesopotamia, offerings were made to the sun god and the underworld gods to prevent the ghosts from affecting the living people:<sup>9</sup> “*in that day, <sup>d</sup>Šamaš and Gilgameš stand in front of the (underworld gods)... I will pour cold water into your water pipes; heal me so that I can tell you my praises (or gratitude)*”

<sup>1</sup> Karaca 2000, 157; Şahin 2016, foreword; Freud 1993; Rieff 2010, 109-13.

<sup>2</sup> Durkheim 1926, 226-370; Wulf 2009, 233-34.

<sup>3</sup> Horowitz 1998, 8-9, 16-18, 213, 272-74; Speiser 1969.

<sup>4</sup> Kramer 1990, 153-44; Black and Green 1992, 180-82.

<sup>5</sup> Byliss 1973, 116-17; Abusch 1974; Tsukimoto 1985; Ökse 2005, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Edzard 1965, 126-27; Black and Green 1992, 182-84; Horowitz 1998, 264-66; Foster 2005, 756; 2007, 166-76. The Sun god is <sup>d</sup>UTU in Sumerian and *Šamaš* in ancient Mesopotamian Semitic languages.

<sup>7</sup> von Schuler 1965, 199-200; Collins 2007, 174-77.

<sup>8</sup> Sevinç 2008, 177, 179, 183 n. 21; Beckman 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Byliss 1973, 118.

The positions of the sun vary according to the earth's orbit and the 23°27' axis inclination. During equinoxes (21st March; 22nd/23rd September) the earth's axis is steep, when the length of the day and night is equal, and sunrise and sunset positions are the same at all latitudes. The oscillation between the summer solstice (21st June) and the winter solstice (21st December) is 46°54' degrees (figs. 1-2). Accordingly, the lengths of day and night and the positions of the rising and setting sun varies at all latitudes every day. The phrase "you stepped in four endless corners" in hymns written to the Hittite sun gods seems to define the four extreme positions of the rising and the setting sun.<sup>10</sup>

This phenomenon seems to have led to the emergence of various beliefs and practices. The astronomical observations of the priests on the path of the sun were also decisive in the establishment and renewal of temples.<sup>11</sup> The two opposite corners of Mesopotamian temples were located according to the sunrise and sunset positions during equinoxes.<sup>12</sup> On the high terrace of Gre Virike established on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, a basalt channel associated with sacrificial pits was placed in an east-west direction during the equinoxes. Thereupon, this complex is suggested to have been used during the *Akītu* feast in the 29th-26th centuries BC.<sup>13</sup> In the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya near the Hittite capital Hattuša, Chamber A is suggested to have been planned as such: that the light entering the entrance of Building I during the sunset at the summer solstice would illuminate the relief of Tudhaliya IV.<sup>14</sup> The northwestern wall of Building IV in Yazılıkaya is also supposed to have been oriented towards the sunset at the winter solstice, so that the rock located in the courtyard would be illuminated by the sunset.<sup>15</sup> In the upper city of Hattuša, Chamber 1 of the sacred pool, the southwest corner of Yerkapı, and the King's Gate face the sunset at the winter solstice, while the Sphinx Gate faces the sunrise then.<sup>16</sup> The temple in the Hittite city Šarišša was also oriented according to the sunrise at the summer and winter solstices.<sup>17</sup>

The association of the Sun God or Sun Goddess with the underworld has also impacted the orientation of graves towards the sunrise. In the Bronze Age cemeteries of Western Anatolia<sup>18</sup> and the Balkans,<sup>19</sup> the heads of most skeletons (96%) and the rims of pot/pithos burials appear to be oriented towards the sunrise during various seasons. Also, in Eastern Anatolia, most individuals (53%) were placed in an east-west direction, while some (13%) in northwest-southeast or northeast-southwest directions.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, most publications state roughly the main and intermediate directions for the orientation of burials, and precise data is usually not published. Even if the intermediate directions may coincide with the path of the sun during the summer and winter solstices, such a determination is not always possible. Yet in some studies

<sup>10</sup> González García and Belmonte 2011, 481.

<sup>11</sup> González García and Belmonte 2015, 1786.

<sup>12</sup> Lundquist 1984; Shepperson 2012; Ruggles 2015, 376-82.

<sup>13</sup> Ökse 2006a, 3-4, 6-7; 2006d, 50-51; 2007a, 94-98; 2017a; Ökse (forthcoming).

<sup>14</sup> González García and Belmonte 2011, 466, 481-82, fig. 4a; Zangger and Gautschy 2019, 18, 21-23, figs. 10-14.

<sup>15</sup> Zangger and Gautschy 2019, 24-25, fig. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Müller-Karpe et al. 2009, 47, 50-61; González García and Belmonte 2011, 481-82; Belmonte and González García 2015, 19-21; Zangger and Gautschy 2019, 26-27, 30, figs. 16-17.

<sup>17</sup> Müller-Karpe et al. 2009, 62; Müller-Karpe 2013, 343; 2015, 86.

<sup>18</sup> Uhri 2006, 282-83; 2010, 90-93.

<sup>19</sup> Vince et al. 1996.

<sup>20</sup> Parlütü 2019, 741, table 5.157.

concerning this matter, the orientation of each grave has been measured and the intensity towards some directions have been determined.<sup>21</sup>

This study deals with the orientations of burials measured from the published plans of Early Bronze Age cemeteries at Çavdartepe, Babaköy, Sarıket, Elmalı-Karataş, Gre Virike and Aşağı Salat; the Early Hittite cemeteries in Çavlum, Gordion and Yanarlar; and the Late Bronze Age cemetery of Beşiktepe (fig. 3). The angles determined for Lycian rock monuments are taken as the basis for seasonal sunrise-sunset directions.<sup>22</sup> Although at first glance most burials appear to have been oriented in different directions, the orientation of more than nine-tenths of the burials meet the sunrise positions in particular seasons. Nevertheless, the rugged profile of the eastern horizon may have caused deviations. Indeed, the sun rises at an angle relative to the horizon in the morning (fig. 1), so the viewer can see the sun on the hills from a point that slides southwards.

Based on the extramural cemeteries examined in this study, graves were mostly directed to the sunrise positions in different seasons, though some seasons come to the forefront. These seasons coincide with the dates of some feasts related to various stages of agricultural activity and animal husbandry. Compared with the Mesopotamian and Anatolian agricultural and ritual calendars (tables 1-2), these preferences may define possible reasons.

## Early Bronze Age Cemeteries

Baklatepe Cemetery near Menderes in Izmir province provides earthen, stone cist and pithos graves dating to the Early Bronze Age I. The individuals were laid in an east-west direction with their heads towards the east, without any data on exact directions.<sup>23</sup> In the Early Bronze Age II cemetery to the south of Baklatepe, 64 graves, mostly pithoi, have been uncovered. According to the measurements on the published photos, the rims of the pithoi face the sunrise during the equinoxes. In Ulucak Höyük Cemetery near Kemalpaşa in Izmir province, 45 pithos burials facing the east and southeast are dated to the Early and Middle Bronze Ages.<sup>24</sup> No exact directions for all these cemeteries were given in the publications.

Kusura A Cemetery on the Sandıklı Plain in Afyon province is dated to the transition from the Late Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Ages, and to the Early Bronze Age I.<sup>25</sup> The 13 burials, mostly pithoi, were orientated with small deviations towards the sunrise during one month after the fall equinox and towards the winter solstice (fig. 4). On the other hand, the skeletons were placed with the head at the bottom of the pithoi.

In Babaköy (Başpınar) Cemetery near Bigadiç in Balıkesir province, 23 jar and cist graves dating to the Early Bronze Age II-III were unearthed.<sup>26</sup> The rims of the pithoi were covered with stone slabs facing east with small deviations. The heads of the individuals were at the rims. Nearly two-thirds (72%) of these pithoi were oriented towards the sunrise positions throughout the period from the equinox to the winter solstice (fig. 4).

<sup>21</sup> Massa 2014.

<sup>22</sup> González García and Belmonte 2014, fig. 2a.

<sup>23</sup> Özkan and Erkanal 1999, 18, 29, 31.

<sup>24</sup> Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004, 53-63.

<sup>25</sup> Stewart 1936, 55-62, fig. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Bittel et al. 1939-1941, 5, fig. 3; Özgüç 1948, 52-53.

Çavdartepe (Yortan) Cemetery, located to the east of Kırkağaç in Manisa province, was used during the Early Bronze Age.<sup>27</sup> The pithoi face east with some deviations. Most (80%) are oriented towards the sunrise positions halfway between the winter solstice and the equinox (fig. 4). A small portion (9%) aligns with the sunrise between the equinox and the summer solstice, while others (9%) are adjusted towards the summer solstice and the north. Only two pithoi face the sunrise at the winter solstice.

Karataş Cemetery, located to the east of Elmalı in Antalya province, is dated to the Early Bronze Age II.<sup>28</sup> The rims of 445 pithos burials covered with stone slabs face the east and northeast. Among these, only the orientation of 90 pithoi could be measured. The rims of 90% of these are directed towards the rising sun during one month after the fall equinox, 10% towards the sunrise between the equinox and the summer solstice, while the rest towards the winter solstice (fig. 5).

At the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, about 10 km north of Carchemish, a high terrace was constructed in Gre Virike on the east bank of the Euphrates River. Two rectangular pools on the northwest corner of the terrace have narrow edges facing the sunrise after one month (10° to the south) following the equinox. These were most probably constructed as libation installations.<sup>29</sup> In the 25th-21st centuries BC, an underground chamber tomb had been placed in one of these pools, and two chamber tombs had been constructed to its west, each oriented in the same direction with entrances in eastern walls<sup>30</sup> (fig. 6). Similar orientations are also measured in the chamber tomb complex of Tell Ahmar.<sup>31</sup> In the last centuries of the 3rd millennium BC, satellite burials were dug into the terrace at Gre Virike.<sup>32</sup> A shaft grave was placed parallel to the chamber tombs, and one pot burial and two cist graves were oriented roughly towards the rising sun at the equinoxes, with slight deviations of around 5° to the north and south. Similar orientations are also attested at the Birecik Early Bronze Age I-II Cemetery located approximately 17 km to the north.<sup>33</sup>

Aşağı Salat Cemetery to the east of Bismil in Diyarbakır province is dated to the transition period from the Late Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Ages.<sup>34</sup> The 53 stone cists were oriented in a southeast-northwest direction. The orientation of these graves measured from the published plan coincides with the sunrise positions during one month after the fall equinox (fig. 6). A similar orientation is given for Müslümantepe Cemetery located on the opposite bank of the Tigris River.<sup>35</sup>

A cemetery and associated structures dating to the Early Bronze Age I-II have been uncovered at Tatıka in the district of Güçlükönak in Şırnak province.<sup>36</sup> The 40 structures, without any traces of superstructures, are associated with infant burials dug into or leaned against their walls. The animal bones found around the graves seem to have been the remains of funerary

<sup>27</sup> Kamil 1982, 1-10, fig. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Mellink 1964, 272; Warner 1994, 175, pl. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Ökse 2006a, 2, 4-8.

<sup>30</sup> Ökse 2006b, 38-39; 2007b.

<sup>31</sup> Dugay 2005, fig. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Ökse 2006c.

<sup>33</sup> Sertok and Ergeç 1999, 90.

<sup>34</sup> Akçay 2017, 53-54, 58, fig. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Ay 2004, 376.

<sup>36</sup> Ökse 2017b.

meals, and broken pot fragments collected in some areas may be the remnants of libation ceremonies.<sup>37</sup> Most of the buildings (80%) face the sunset at summer solstice, and the rest (20%) the sunset.<sup>38</sup> Located on the opposite bank of the river, Zeviya Tivilki had cremation urns placed in the southeastern corner of the settlement.<sup>39</sup> These face the sunrise at the summer solstice, indicating continuity of this tradition further into the 8th-7th centuries BC.

In summary, in Babaköy the orientation of burials towards the sunrise increases during one month after the autumn equinox, and in Elmalı-Karataş during two months following the fall equinox. In Çavdarstepe, orientations towards the sunrise during the equinox are frequent. Only half of the burials face the sunrise at the winter solstice, and a few at the summer solstice. In Kusura, orientations toward the sunrise during one month after the fall equinox and during the winter solstice were preferred. Sariket Cemetery differs from the others. Here more than half of the individuals (52%) face the southeast, and approximately one-third (35%) the sunrise between the equinox and the winter solstice. In Gre Virike, the tombs were oriented towards the sunrise during one month after the autumn equinox. The sunrise at equinoxes and the winter solstice were preferred in the cemeteries in Hassek Höyük, Birecik and Shamseddin A.<sup>40</sup> The subsequent two winter months after the autumn equinox were preferred in Aşağı Salat, and the mortuary structures in Tatıka tend mainly towards the summer solstice.

## Middle Bronze Age Cemeteries

In Sariket (Demircihüyük) Cemetery, located approximately 25 km west of Eskişehir, a total of 499 burials have been uncovered. These include earthen, cist and pithos burials covered with stone plates. These are mostly dated to the Early Bronze Age II; however, 78 graves date to the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>41</sup> Nearly half of the graves were oriented towards the sunrise positions between the equinox and the winter solstice (43%), while the remaining half (48%) between the winter solstice and the south (fig. 7). Only a small number of pithoi were oriented to other directions: 4.5% to the sunrise between the equinox and the summer solstice, 4.5% between northwest and southwest, and two towards the summer solstice and the north. In the Early Bronze Age II cemetery of Küçükhöyük near Bozüyük in Bilecik province, 204 pithoi and cist graves were reported to face southeast.<sup>42</sup> However, no detailed data on whether these met the winter solstice is available.

In the Çavlum Cemetery located on the Alpu plain, east of Eskişehir, 73 burials dating to the late phase of the Assyrian Trade Colonies and to the Early Hittite Period were unearthed<sup>43</sup> (fig. 8). The rims of 46 pithoi were covered with stone slabs or large sherds. According to their publication, more than half (58%) of these lay in an east-west direction, while the majority of the others are oriented northwest-southeast and southwest-northeast. According to our measurements of the orientations of the burials illustrated in the general plan of the cemetery, most of the pithoi (40%) face the sunrise at equinoxes, more than one-third (37%) the sunrise

<sup>37</sup> For similar infant burials in sacred areas and temples in Upper Mesopotamia, see Valentini 2011, 271. For crushed libation vessels in graveyards, see Akyurt 1998, 143.

<sup>38</sup> Ökse (forthcoming).

<sup>39</sup> Ökse and Eroğlu 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Emanet 2017; Ekinbaş 2018, 144-45.

<sup>41</sup> Seeher 1992, 6, 16; Massa 2014, 78, 88, fig. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Gürkan and Seeher 1991, 39.

<sup>43</sup> Bilgen 2005, 3, 13, 45, pl. XCII.

between the summer solstice and the north, a small number (19%) the sunrise between the equinox and the winter solstice, and one pithos the southwest. Accordingly, the sunrise positions around the summer solstice seem to have been preferred in the Çavlum Cemetery (77%).

The Yanarlar Cemetery, 30 km northeast of Afyon, yielded 41 pithos graves dating to the late phase of the Assyrian Trade Colonies and to the Early Hittite Period.<sup>44</sup> The individuals were laid with their heads at the rims and covered with stone slabs. One quarter of the pithoi were oriented towards the sunrise between the summer solstice and the equinox, and another 25% between the winter solstice and the equinox. The others were oriented towards the equinoxes (13%), or towards the sunrise positions between the winter solstice and the south (16%), and between the southwest and the northwest (13%) (fig. 8).

The excavations at Gordion near Polatlı in Ankara province yielded 45 graves dating to the late phase of the Assyrian Trade Colonies and to the Early Hittite Period.<sup>45</sup> Twenty-nine pithos burials were placed in a southeast-northwest direction, and the heads of the individuals were at their rims covered with flat-stone slabs or mud-brick blocks. Nearly half of the pithoi (48%) were oriented towards the sunrise positions between the winter solstice and the south (fig. 9). It appears that the sunrise positions between the equinox and the winter solstice was preferred in one-third of the burials. Of all the graves, a small number of pithoi (12%) are oriented towards the sunrise positions between the equinox and the summer solstice, while only two face the sunrise between the summer solstice and the north.

The İlica Cemetery near Ayaş in Ankara province is dated to the late phase of the Assyrian Trade Colonies and to the Early Hittite Period.<sup>46</sup> The rims of 131 pitcher-urns were closed with bowls or potsherds. The urns are generally oriented towards the east (70%). A small portion (16%) face the southeast and northeast, while the rest towards the north or the south. Since no sufficient details have been published, the seasons coinciding with these orientations could not be determined.

The cemetery of Beşiktepe, located southwest of Troy in Çanakkale province, is dated to the 13th century BC.<sup>47</sup> Most of the 56 pithos burials (80%) are oriented towards the sunrise at the winter solstice, and the rest towards the equinoxes (fig. 9).

In summary, sunrise positions in different seasons appear in each Middle Bronze Age cemetery. Although all these are located in the northern part of Central Western Anatolia and represent similar material cultures, sunrise positions in summer are preferred in Çavlum, those in spring in Yanarlar, and the rising sun in winter at Gordion. The orientations of the Late Bronze Age burials in Beşiktepe towards the sunrise during one month before and after equinoxes, appear to be a regional difference, or a varying practice of the following period.

## Agricultural Calendar and Festivals

The rhythmic changes in the sun's oscillation is the source of life that brings light and heat to the earth. It also determines the timetable for the birth of animals, the growth of plants, the planting of crops, and the harvest. In the agricultural calendars<sup>48</sup> used in Anatolia and the Near

<sup>44</sup> Emre 1978, 12, 16, plan 2.

<sup>45</sup> Mellink 1956, 5-7, 57, pl. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Orthmann 1967, 36.

<sup>47</sup> Korfmann 1986, 320, fig. 6; Basedow 2000.

<sup>48</sup> Özergin 1969, 5276; Sanı 1970, 68-70.



East until recently, the seasons were determined according to the equinoxes and solstices. According to the Babylonian calendar in the 2nd millennium BC, the winter solstice occurs in *Addaru* (12th month), the spring equinox in *Simannu* (3rd month), the summer solstice in *Ulūlu* (6th month), and the autumn equinox in *Kislimmu* (9th month). In the *Mul.Apin* texts dated to the Old Babylonian Period, the longest night was determined as the 15th day of the 9th month, the shortest night the 15th day of the 3rd month, and the equinoxes the 15th days of the 12th and 6th months.<sup>49</sup> In the Neo-Assyrian tablets,<sup>50</sup> these seasonal turns coincide with the 1st month (*Nisannu*), the 4th month (*Du'uzu*), the 7th month (*Tašrittu*) and the 10th month (*Tebētu*) (tables 1-2). The archives of Ešnunna, Abu Salabikh, Lagaš, Gasur (Nuzi), Ebla and Mari refer to a calendar used in Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia between 2600-2000 BC.<sup>51</sup>

### The New Year - the First Month of the Year (March-April)

The spring equinox (21st March) - when day and night are equal - is the beginning of the new agricultural year in various cultures. Hereafter, days gradually get longer and the weather gets warmer. Plants begin to sprout, and animals bear their offspring. In the Mesopotamian calendar, the month following the spring equinox, *Nisannu* (the first month of the year, the beginning, the first crop, the first barley offer), is considered as the annual parade of the great gods.<sup>52</sup> In the 1st-12th days of this month, people offered the earliest fruits to the gods in the *Akītu* (New Year) feast.<sup>53</sup> The first month of the calendar used between 2600-2000 BC is *Za'atum* (sheep/goat herd), which coincides with the birth of offspring.<sup>54</sup>

The Hittites celebrated the beginning of the New Year with the *AN.TAH.ŠUM<sup>ŠAR</sup>* festival. Breads baked with the *AN.TAH.ŠUM<sup>ŠAR</sup>* plant<sup>55</sup> were offered to the gods, and on the 11th day of the festival, funerary rituals were organized.<sup>56</sup> The Hittites also celebrated a Hattian festival dedicated to the storm god <sup>EZEN</sup>*Purulliya* at the beginning of the new agricultural year in the spring.<sup>57</sup> In this context, rainfall (<sup>EZEN</sup>*ḫewas̄*) and thunder (<sup>EZEN</sup>*Tetḫešnaš*) festivals were also celebrated.<sup>58</sup> In Phrygia, the *Attis* priests fasted and castrated themselves during the *Cerelia* festival dedicated to the goddess *Kybele* (Magna Mater) and her lover *Attis*, who dies in the autumn and resurrects in the spring.<sup>59</sup> During the Roman period, Gallus monks organized this feast on the 25th of March as the *Megalensia* festival accompanied by banquets.

In Anatolia, various festivals, such as *Nevruz*, *Çiğdem Günü* (Crocus day), *Mart Dokuzu* (9th of March), *Yılsırtı* (new year), *Günsırtı* (new day) or *Yazbaşı* (beginning of summer) are still being celebrated at the spring equinox. During these, festivities associated with banquets

<sup>49</sup> Brown 2000, 113, 115, 117.

<sup>50</sup> Horowitz 1996, 42-44; 1998, 192, 196.

<sup>51</sup> Cohen 1993, 23-29.

<sup>52</sup> Horowitz 1996, 36-37; 1998, 199; CAD 11(II), 266; Cohen 1993, 305-11.

<sup>53</sup> CAD 1(I), 267-68; Black 1981, 41-42; Black and Green 1992, 136-37; Black et al. 2000, 255.

<sup>54</sup> Cohen 1993, 23-29.

<sup>55</sup> *AN.TAH.ŠUM<sup>ŠAR</sup>* is considered a bulbous plant like the crocus, iris, saffron and snowdrop; see Ertuğ 2000.

<sup>56</sup> Sachs 1969; Haas 1994, 772-74, 819; Ökse 2006d; Shepperson 2012.

<sup>57</sup> Haas 1994, 696, 722; Hoffner 1997, 391-92. The *Purulliya* (growth, soil) feast celebrates both the renewing of nature and the king's power, and is a New Year festival originating with the Hattians.

<sup>58</sup> Demirel 2017, 23, 25.

<sup>59</sup> Çapar 1978, 177-79.



are organized, and people make wishes.<sup>60</sup> As the weather warms up and the snow melts, children read verses (*mâni*), collect crocus blossoms, take bulgur and fats from several houses, then cook and eat them all together.<sup>61</sup>

Only a small part of the Early Bronze Age graves and a small number of burials in the Middle Bronze Age cemeteries of Gordion and Yanarlar are oriented towards the sunrise positions during this month. Although people made offerings to the graves during the New Year's feasts, grave orientation in this direction is not generally preferred.

## Development of Product and Propagation - the Second Month of the Year (April-May)

In Anatolia, cereals sprout in the spring and are watered by rain in April and May. During these months, seedlings are planted and pruned, and animals give birth to offspring. May is the harvest time for early legumes, forage crops and some fruits. Similarly, in the Mesopotamian calendar, fields were sown as seeds were cast, and the “donkey feast” was celebrated in the month of *Ajaru*.<sup>62</sup> The gods <sup>d</sup>*Nabû* and <sup>d</sup>*Taşmētum* got married in this month, and in this context celebrations were held in Nimrud during the Neo-Assyrian Period. People celebrated the “warm month feast” in the second month (*Gi-um*) of the calendar used between 2600-2000 BC.<sup>63</sup>

In contemporary Anatolia, no feasts are recorded for the birthing period (*Döl dökümü*). In the Anatolian folk calendar, the summer months (6th May-7th November) are called *Hızır Günleri* (Khidr Days). The prophets *Hızır* (Khidr) and *Ilyas* (Elijah) are believed to have found the secret of immortality and to help those who are in trouble. The *Hidrellez* Feast is celebrated every year on the night of 6th May, the day these prophets are believed to have met on earth. People visit graves and celebrate the event with festivities and collective meals.<sup>64</sup> However, only a small portion of the Early Bronze Age graves and of Çavlum's Middle Bronze Age graves are oriented towards the rising sun in this month.

## Early Harvest - the Third Month of the Year (May-June)

In the agricultural calendar, legumes, forage crops and some fruits are harvested in early May, while crops are ready for harvest in June. In Mesopotamia, seeds were sown for the second crop in the month of *Simannu*,<sup>65</sup> and commemorative ceremonies were held at the summer solstice.<sup>66</sup> These practices suggest that death is identified with harvest. In addition, rituals of producing bricks for buildings were also performed in this month.<sup>67</sup> The Hittite Sickle Feast (<sup>EZEN.URUDU</sup>*ŠU.KIN.DÚ*), associated with the Sun God, was probably celebrated in June.<sup>68</sup> Ancient Greeks celebrated the *Thargelia* Festival in the 6th-7th days of *Thargelion* (end

<sup>60</sup> Köroğlu 1999.

<sup>61</sup> Türkmen 1969, 5389; Oğuz 2014, 29-30.

<sup>62</sup> Cohen 1993, 305-11.

<sup>63</sup> Cohen 1993, 23-29.

<sup>64</sup> Günay 1995.

<sup>65</sup> Black et al. 2000, 323.

<sup>66</sup> Cohen 1993, 400-53; Sallaberger 1993, 179-90; Nadali and Polcaro 2016, 106-7.

<sup>67</sup> Cohen 1993, 314-15.

<sup>68</sup> Hazenbos 2003, 112; Demirel 2017, 26.

of May). During this festival, purification rituals were performed during the seeding and harvesting periods in order to prevent crop diseases. The early harvest was celebrated by offering the first crop to the gods.<sup>69</sup>

It is conceivable that long days in the beginning of the summer may have been attributed to the notion of identifying life with light. However, only very few Early Bronze Age graves and a small part of the Middle Bronze Age graves in Çavlum and Gordion are oriented towards the rising sun in this month.

## Second Harvest - the Fourth Month of the Year (June-July)

In the agricultural calendar, harvest time varies in different climate zones. This period generally lasts from June to the end of August. In the folk calendar, July is called *Orak/Ekin Biçme Ayı* (Sickle/Harvest month).<sup>70</sup> After the harvest, fields are immediately planted during July and August in temperate climate zones. For livestock breeders, this month is the period of wool shearing and milk processing.

In Mesopotamia people mourned for <sup>d</sup>*Dumuzi* in *Du'uzu/Tam(m)uzu* (July), implying the descent of the god to the netherworld.<sup>71</sup> The fourth month of the calendar used between 2600-2000 BC in northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria is *İrisâ* (sowing and planting).<sup>72</sup> Therefore, people might have planted seedlings for the second crop. The ideogram *BURU*<sub>14</sub> used in Hittite texts denotes harvest.<sup>73</sup> The Harvest Festival (<sup>EZEN</sup>Û.BURU/<sup>GIŠ</sup>BURU<sub>14</sub>) and the Fruit Harvest Festival (<sup>EZEN</sup>GURUN), dedicated to the Hittite storm god, coincide presumably with this period.<sup>74</sup> The ancient Greeks celebrated the *Skira* and *Kalligeneia* festivals in the month of *Skirophorion* in the context of the mythological story of Persephone, the daughter of Demeter. Hades, the god of the underworld, abducted Persephone and let her return to her mother every year in summer.<sup>75</sup> Women celebrated her return through secret rituals, fasting and feasts. The aim was to bring abundance and fertility to women.

People still celebrate a harvest festival after June. In the province of Hatay, a festival named *evvel temmuz* (early July, the beginning of July in the Rumi calendar), is celebrated for the next harvest to be fertile. On the 14th day of July, after purification in the Mediterranean Sea, people visit the Khidr Tomb (*Hızır Türbesi*) in Samandağ where the prophets Khidr and Moses are believed to have met.<sup>76</sup> During this activity people invoke prayers, offer animals and consume collectively. Although the first harvest and planting the second crop, and rituals related to the cult of the dead were carried out in this month, only a few Early Bronze Age graves and a few Middle Bronze Age graves in Çavlum and Gordion are oriented towards the rising sun during this month.

<sup>69</sup> KIPauly 5:650-51, s.v. "Thargelia"

<sup>70</sup> Özergin 1969.

<sup>71</sup> Cohen 1993, 315-19.

<sup>72</sup> Cohen 1993, 23-29.

<sup>73</sup> Hoffner 1974, 24-26.

<sup>74</sup> Hazenbos 2003, 112; Demirel 2017, 26.

<sup>75</sup> Thomson 1983, 248; Sina 2004, 44, 47-49.

<sup>76</sup> After Vatfa Çolak, 90, Harbiye/Antakya, transmitted by her grandson İbrahim Tayfur Aşkar.

### Last Harvest - the Fifth Month of the Year (July-August)

In the Anatolian folk calendar, August is called the month of “Harvest/Meadow” or “Harvest Heat” (*Harman/Çayır Ayı*, *Harman Sıcağı*).<sup>77</sup> In Mesopotamia, crops ripened and were harvested in the month of *Abūm* as blessed by the sun god <sup>d</sup>*Šamaš*. In this context, the feast of *Abu(m)* was celebrated.<sup>78</sup> In the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, rituals were carried out at the entrances of tombs on particular days of this feast, indicating the association of harvest with the cult of the dead.<sup>79</sup> The fifth month of the calendar used between 2600-2000 BC is *Ga-sum* (wool shearing). Thus, it is suggested that sheep were sheared in this month.<sup>80</sup> The month *Hubur* (month of the underworld) in the same calendar bears the name of the river *Hubur*, which was crossed into the underworld and thus indicates festivities associated with the cult of the dead.<sup>81</sup> The ancient Greeks celebrated two different festivals associated with the underworld during the month of *Hekatombaion*. The *Synoikia* was held on the 16th-17th days and the *Panathenaia* on the 28th day.<sup>82</sup>

The evidence examined in this study shows that only a very modest number of the Early Bronze Age graves and the Middle Bronze Age graves at Gordion and Yanarlar are oriented towards the rising position of the sun during this month. This suggests a relationship between harvesting and the “death” of plants. However, this orientation is not common.

### Vine Harvest - the Sixth Month of the Year (August-September)

In Mesopotamia, rituals and sacred marriage ceremonies were organized for the sky god <sup>d</sup>*Anu* and the fertility goddess <sup>d</sup>*INANNA*<sup>83</sup> before the fall equinox in the month *Ulūlu/Elūlu*. The sixth month of the calendar used between 2600-2000 BC is *I.NUN.NA-at* (butter). This indicates that milk products were processed during this month.<sup>84</sup> In the Hittite world, the <sup>EZEN</sup>*nuntarriyašbaš* (Speed/Haste) festival was celebrated at the autumn equinox.<sup>85</sup> Celebrated in autumn when the king returned from the campaign, this feast was associated with harvest. Another Hittite festival associated with harvesting and rain-making rituals was <sup>EZEN</sup>*KI.LAM*, celebrated with offerings made for the grain god <sup>d</sup>*ḫalki* in autumn.<sup>86</sup>

The grape harvest festival (<sup>EZEN.GIŠ</sup>*GEŠTIN/tubšuwāš*) was dedicated to the Hittite storm god.<sup>87</sup> The ancient Greek *Pythia* festival, celebrated in the month *Metageitnion*, must also be considered in this context.<sup>88</sup> The ninth month of the calendar used between 2600-2000 BC was *MAxGANAtenu-sag*, while the tenth month, *MAxGANAtemû-úgur*, means “ripe fruit” and “harvest”.<sup>89</sup> Although climatic conditions show variations on a regional basis, vineyards

<sup>77</sup> Özergin 1969.

<sup>78</sup> Hasluck 1929, 319-20; CAD 1(D), 2, 67, 73; Black et al. 2000, 3.

<sup>79</sup> Abusch 1974, 252; Cohen 1993, 259-61, 319-21, 454-55; Ökse 2005.

<sup>80</sup> Cohen 1993, 23-29.

<sup>81</sup> Cohen 1993, 237-47.

<sup>82</sup> Sina 2015, 43-44.

<sup>83</sup> CAD 4, 136; Cohen 1993, 321-26.

<sup>84</sup> Cohen 1993, 23-29.

<sup>85</sup> Haas 1994, 827; Nakamura 2002.

<sup>86</sup> Singer 1984, 127; CHD L-N, 473; Haas 1994, 748.

<sup>87</sup> Demirel 2017, 29, table 1.

<sup>88</sup> Sina 2015, 86.

<sup>89</sup> Cohen 1993, 23-29.

are harvested from the beginning of September to mid-October in Anatolia. During festivities held throughout the vine harvest (*Bağ Bozumu*), people enjoy and consume food collectively. Although it is assumed that harvesting and the shedding of leaves in autumn would have implicitly been correlated with death, only a small portion of Early Bronze Age graves and a few Middle Bronze Age burials in Çavlum appear to be oriented towards the rising position of the sun during this month.

### Planting - the Seventh Month of the Year (September-October)

Having different climatic and ecological niches in Anatolia enable us to establish a broad timetable ranging from September to November for plowing fields and sowing seed. The seventh month of the year in Mesopotamia is *Tašrittu* (the beginning of time, courageous *Šamaš*), which begins with the first new month after the fall equinox.<sup>90</sup> On the first night of this month, people celebrated the “Opening/Beginning Day”, and seeds were sown in the fields.<sup>91</sup> In the same way, the ancient Greek festival of *Makra Mysteria* (Great Mysteries) started on the 15th of *Boedromion* and lasted seven or nine days.<sup>92</sup>

Nearly one quarter of the Early Bronze Age graves and half of the Middle Bronze graves at Yanarlar were oriented towards the rising position of the sun during this month. This suggests that the dead were laid into the earth like seeds.

### Planting - the Eighth Month of the Year (October-November)

In Mesopotamia, the “*akītu* feast of sowing” is celebrated in the month of *Alabšamnu/Arabšamna*.<sup>93</sup> In a similar vein, following the harvest, the Hittites celebrated the feasts of Threshing Sledge (<sup>EZEN</sup>*habrannaš*), Crop Sheaving (<sup>EZEN</sup>*harpaš/barpiya*), and Crop Binding (<sup>EZEN</sup>*šeliyaš*).<sup>94</sup> The ancient Greeks celebrated the *Pyanopsia* Festival on the 7th day of *Pyanopsion*, a month dedicated to Apollo. During the *Thesmophoria* festival on the 11th-13th days of this month, women sowed the fields and rituals progressed in secrecy in order to increase fertility and impregnation in the frame of the Demeter cult.<sup>95</sup> During the *Proerosia* (preparing the soil for ploughing) festival dedicated to Demeter, phalluses were stuck in the soil to provide fertility and to germinate the crops in spring.

Approximately one quarter of the Early Bronze Age graves and some of the Middle Bronze Age graves at Yanarlar were oriented towards the rising position of the sun during this month. Then the harvested crops were processed, and the fields were plowed and prepared for the new agricultural year. The density of graves oriented in this direction seems also to be related to the dead buried in the earth like seeds.

### Mating - the Ninth Month of the Year (November-December)

In Anatolia, bucks and rams joined the flocks of sheep and goats (*koç katımı*) in November so that they could breed. Lambs were born in the spring after a five-month gestation. In

<sup>90</sup> Cohen 1993, 326-30; Horowitz 1996, 36-37; CAD 18, 297.

<sup>91</sup> Black et al. 2000, 402.

<sup>92</sup> Eliade 2007, 363.

<sup>93</sup> Cohen 1993, 331-32.

<sup>94</sup> CHD P, 88; Demirel 2017, 29, table 1.

<sup>95</sup> Thomson 1983, 245; Sina 2015, 44-45.

Mesopotamia, rituals were organized for <sup>d</sup>*Nergal*, the god of the underworld, in the month of *Kislimmu* to celebrate the end of crop processing and the impregnation of sheep and goats.<sup>96</sup> In Anatolia, this event is still celebrated collectively in November.<sup>97</sup> Henna is applied to rams, colored rags are bound to the horns, and banquets accompanied with various drinks and native music are organized.<sup>98</sup>

Approximately one quarter of the Early Bronze Age graves, a large portion of the graves at Beşiktepe, and a portion of the Middle Bronze Age graves at Gordion were oriented towards the rising positions of the sun during this month. This suggests a simulation of the dead with offspring waiting to be born.

### Early Winter - the Tenth Month of the Year (December-January)

Days get longer after the winter solstice, and the days when the seeds will sprout and the offspring will be born are approaching. In Mesopotamia, *Ṭebētu*, the month of severe cold, is dedicated to *Papsukkal*, the vizier of <sup>d</sup>*Anu* and <sup>d</sup>*Ištar*.<sup>99</sup> During this month, rituals were carried out for <sup>d</sup>*Anu* within the feasts of *Kinūnu* (brazier) and *Nabrū*.<sup>100</sup> During the ancient Greek month *Poseidon*, the hardest month in winter, the *Haloa* (fruit trees) festival was celebrated at Eleusis on behalf of Demeter and her daughter Persephone. During these festivities women performed secret rituals and carried phalluses to ensure the growth of seeds and fertility.<sup>101</sup> One quarter of the Early Bronze Age graves, and a large portion of the Middle Bronze Age graves at Beşiktepe and Gordion are oriented towards the rising positions of the sun during this month. This reveals that the dead, like seeds and offspring, are waiting to attain life in the spring.

### Mid-Winter - the Eleventh Month of the Year (January-February)

The Mesopotamian frost month *Šabātu* is associated with divine marriages in Babylonian mythology:<sup>102</sup> <sup>d</sup>*Nabū* with <sup>d</sup>*Tašmētu* and <sup>d</sup>*Bēl* with <sup>d</sup>*Bēltiya*. The pregnancy of sheep might have inspired the mythologies of these divine marriages. In this month, feasts were celebrated in honor of <sup>d</sup>*Enlil*. The eleventh month of the calendar used in Anatolia during the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period - *Kuzallu* (shepherd month) - seems to have been associated with stock breeding.<sup>103</sup> The ancient Greeks defined the month of *Lenaion* as the month of marriage. The *Lenaia* Festival was celebrated as the revival of vegetative life.<sup>104</sup>

In Anatolia and Iran, several communities believe that lambs begin to move and become hides in the womb one hundred days after insemination. They perform a seasonal feast, *Saya Gezme*, in this context.<sup>105</sup> During this feast, shepherds or children collect food from all houses

<sup>96</sup> CAD 8, 429; Cohen 1993, 333-34; Black et al. 2000, 402.

<sup>97</sup> And 1985, 143.

<sup>98</sup> Kalafat 2005, 196; Konya Ereğli region after Assoc. Prof. Dr. Meryem Gürbüz; Bitlis, Muş and Ağrı after Salih Çiftçi, 55, transmitted by his daughter Şeyma Çiftçi; Karacadağ region after Fatima Ekinbaş, 76, transmitted by her daughter Özlem Ekinbaş.

<sup>99</sup> CAD 19, 66.

<sup>100</sup> Cohen 1993, 335-37, 392-93.

<sup>101</sup> Eliade 1994, 343; Sina 2004, 47-48.

<sup>102</sup> CAD 17(I), 8; Cohen 1993, 337-39.

<sup>103</sup> Cohen 1993, 237-47.

<sup>104</sup> Yücel 2015, 156-57.

<sup>105</sup> Boratav 2003, 268.

of the village, eat these all together, and sing folk songs.<sup>106</sup> One quarter of the Early Bronze Age graves and some Middle Bronze Age graves at Yanarlar are oriented towards the sunrise during this month. The density of this orientation may be related to fetuses waiting to be born and the dead approaching life.

### End of Winter - the Twelfth Month of the Year (February-March)

In the Anatolian folk calendar, from the 100th day of *Kasım Günleri* (November days), that is, from 8th November-5th May) onwards, the days are getting longer, the weather is warming up, and spring is stepping up. This phenomenon is defined as “heat falls into air” (*bavaya cemre düşüşü*) on 19th/20th February, into water (*suya cemre düşüşü*) on the 26th/27th February, and into earth (*toprağa cemre düşüşü*) on the 5th/6th March.

Mesopotamian feasts held in honor of <sup>d</sup>*Enlil* continued in the month *Addaru*, and people mourned during the *qarrātu* feast.<sup>107</sup> The last month of the calendar used during the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period is *Allanātu* (the acorn month).<sup>108</sup> The only winter holiday of the Hittites, <sup>EZEN</sup>*gimmant*, was probably celebrated in this month.<sup>109</sup> In the Roman period, the *Anthesteria* Festival was held in honor of *Faunus* on the 15th day of *Anthesterion* (blooming flowers).<sup>110</sup> Then people performed purification rituals and *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage) for fertility,<sup>111</sup> along with rituals for ensuring the souls of the dead returning to life. Vines were pruned, and wine was ready for consumption during the *Mikra Mysteria* (Persephone Mysteries) when people fasted, held purification rituals, and made offerings to the gods.<sup>112</sup> Rituals were held in honor of Bacchus' resurrection in the spring.<sup>113</sup> The orientation of one quarter of the Early Bronze Age graves and half of the Middle Bronze graves at Yanarlar towards the rising positions of the sun during this month suggests that the resurrection of the dead may have been simulated in the same sense.

### Conclusion

Although the burials do not illustrate the same directions in the extramural cemeteries excavated in Anatolia, orientations towards the sunrise come to the forefront (fig. 10).

As noted above, the positions of the rising sun from the spring equinox to the summer solstice and back to the autumn equinox are occasionally associated with harvest and offspring. Several festivities were held in Anatolia and Mesopotamia to celebrate several cycles of agricultural products. The orientations of Early and Middle Bronze Age graves handled in this study revealed a lack of preference for these directions for the deceased. Burials facing the sunrise positions in equinoxes are rare, thus indicating that the beginning of the New Year (*akītu* feast) was not much related to death. The preference of sunrise between the equinox and the summer solstice in Yanarlar, the summer solstice in Tatıka and Çavlım, and the commemorative

<sup>106</sup> And 1985, 144; Düzgün 2005.

<sup>107</sup> CAD 1(D), 110-11; Cohen 1993, 340-42.

<sup>108</sup> Cohen 1993, 237-47.

<sup>109</sup> Demirel 2017, 29.

<sup>110</sup> Estin and Laporte 2005, 105; Sina 2015, 49-50.

<sup>111</sup> Erhat 1993, 113.

<sup>112</sup> Eliade 2007, 362.

<sup>113</sup> Dürüşken 2000, 84.

ceremonies held at the summer solstice in Mesopotamia may suggest a mentality that wishes to simulate light prevailing over darkness and life prevailing over death. Moreover, the practice of rituals at the gate of the tombs during the harvest festival in the month of *Abūm* in Mesopotamia suggests that death might have been identified with harvest. However, the sunrise positions during these months are also not preferred much in cemeteries.

Yet most of the burials are oriented towards the rising positions of the sun between the autumn equinox and the winter solstice in both ages. In Gre Virike, Aşağı Salat, Elmalı-Karataş and Babaköy, the burials are oriented towards the sunrise during one month following the autumn equinox. In this month, people sow in fields the seed that will sprout in the spring, suggesting a simulation of the dead with the seeds buried in fields. In Mesopotamia, this event is celebrated in the month of *Taşrittu* with festivals. The Greek and Roman world celebrated *Makra Mysteria*. In the Middle Bronze Age cemeteries at Gordion, Çavdarstepe, Kusura and Sarıket, the sunrise positions between the equinox and the winter solstice (23rd September-21st December) are preferred mostly. Also, animals mate before the winter solstice, and this event is celebrated in the month of *Kislimmu* in Mesopotamia. This again suggests a simulation of the dead with the offspring in the womb. The seeds and the offspring await coming to life during the three months from the winter solstice to the spring equinox.

The rhythmic nature of “sleeping” or “dying” in autumn and “reviving” in spring seems to have ensured the simulation of the dead with seeds waiting to sprout under the ground as well as the offspring waiting to be born in the womb during the winter months. The ancient Near Eastern tradition of spreading grain on the grave<sup>114</sup> might also have been a way to ensure the revival of dead souls in the spring. Thus, the burials facing the sunrise positions during the winter months may have symbolized the “waiting” of the dead to start a new life in the underworld. This practice can also be considered a reflection of the wishes for starting a new life at the end of the night. In daytime, all plants open their flowers and animals are active, while at night flowers close and animals sleep. Therefore, people might also have considered sleeping during the night as a temporary death.

Not all cemeteries in Anatolia are expected to support these results. Although it is conceivable that the orientation of burials towards the rising sun may be based on the location of the sun on the day of burial, the uneven distribution of orientations weakens this possibility. Topographic features or sacred elements such as the sea, mountains or open-air temples may also have played a role in the orientations of burials. However, in order to develop this point of view, field observations are required.

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<sup>114</sup> Taracha 2000, 174.



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TABLE 1 Agricultural calendars.

| AGRICULTURAL CALENDARS |                                   |                        |                        |                       |                        |   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---|
|                        | Agricultural Process              | Sumerian Calendar      | New Assyrian Calendar  | 2600-2000 BC Calendar | Ancient Greek Calendar | Anatolian Folks' Calendar               |
| March                  | Offspring                         | III <sup>1</sup> BARAG | Nisannu                | Za'atum               | Elaphebolion           | Döl Dökümü,<br>Kuzu Ayı,<br>Yazbaşı     |
| April                  |                                   |                        |                        |                       |                        |   |
| May                    | Offspring,<br>Planting            | III <sup>1</sup> GUD   | Ajaru                  | Gi-um                 | Mounikbion             | Abrul,<br>Yağmur ayı                    |
| June                   | Wool Shearing,<br>Fruit Harvest   | III <sup>1</sup> SIG   | Simannu                | Halida                | Thargelion             | Çiçek ayı,<br>Tut ayı                   |
| July                   | Early Harvest                     | III <sup>1</sup> ŠU    | Du'uzu<br>Tam(m)uzu    | İrisá                 | Skirophorion           | Yayla ayı<br>Kiraz ayı                  |
| August                 | Second Planting                   | III <sup>1</sup> NE    | Abūm                   | Ga-sum                | Hekatombaion           | Kotan ayı,<br>Orak ayı                  |
| September              | Second Harvest                    | III <sup>1</sup> KIN   | Ulūlu<br>Elūlu         | 1.NUN.NA-at           | Metageitnion           | Biçim ayı,<br>Çürük ayı                 |
| October                | Field Sowing                      | III <sup>1</sup> DU    | Taşrittu               | Za-LUL                | Boedromion             | İlk Güz,<br>Harman ayı,<br>Üzüm ayı     |
| November               | Field Sowing,<br>Animal Pregnancy | III <sup>1</sup> APIN  | Alabšamnu<br>Arabšamma | Ibasa                 | Pyanopsion             | Orta Güz,<br>Değirmen ayı,<br>Gazel ayı |
| December               | Field Sowing                      | III <sup>1</sup> GAN   | Kislimmu               | MAxGAN<br>Atenu-saq   | Maimakterion           | Son Güz<br>Koç ayı                      |
| January                | Early Planting                    | III <sup>1</sup> AB    | Ṭebētu                 | MAxGAN<br>Atemû-ûgur  | Poseidon               | Karakış<br>Nabır kovan                  |
| February               | Early Planting                    | III <sup>1</sup> ZIZ   | Šabātu                 | Kuzallu               | Gamelion               | Zemberi,<br>Don ayı                     |
| March                  |                                   | III <sup>1</sup> ŠE    | Addaru                 | Allanātu              | Antbesterion           | Göçük                                   |

TABLE 2 Agricultural festivals.

| AGRICULTURAL FESTIVALS |  |   |   |  |   |   |
|------------------------|--|---|---|--|---|---|
|                        | Ancient Mesopotamia  |   | Ancient Anatolia  |  | Ancient Greek/<br>Rome  | Folks'<br>Calendar                            |
| March                  | First product & offspring  | <i>Akītu</i>                            | <i>AN.TAH.ŠUM</i>   | <i>bewaš</i> (rain)  | <i>Megalensia</i> ,<br><i>Hilaria</i>                           | <i>Çiğdem Günü</i><br>(crocus day),<br>Nawruz |
| April                  |  |   | <i>Purulliya</i><br>(growth)  | <i>Tetbešnaš</i><br>(thunder)  |   |   |
| May                    | <sup>d</sup> <i>Nabū</i> and<br><sup>d</sup> <i>Tašmētum</i><br>wedding  | Donkey/<br>Warm Month                   |   |  |   | <i>Hidrellez</i>                              |
| June                   |  | Mudbrick<br>Production                  | <i>ŠU.KIN.DÚ</i> (siecle)   |  | <i>Thargelia</i>  |   |
| July                   | <sup>d</sup> <i>Dumuzi</i>   | Mourning<br>Ceremonies                  | <i>Ú.BURU</i> ,<br><i>BURU</i> <sub>14</sub> (harvest)<br><i>GURUN</i> (fruit)                                  | <i>Hubur</i> ayı<br>(cult of the dead?)                                      | <i>Skira</i> ,<br><i>Kalligeneia</i>                            | <i>Evvel Temmuz</i><br>(Ere July)             |
| August                 |  | <i>Abum</i> (harvest)                   |   | <i>I-rī-sā</i> (sowing)  | <i>Symoikia</i> ,<br><i>Panathenaia</i>                         | Harvest                                       |
| September              | <sup>d</sup> <i>Anu</i> ile<br><sup>d</sup> <i>INANNA</i>  | <i>Hieros gamos</i>                     | <i>nuntarriyašbaš</i><br><i>KI.LAM</i>  | <i>Ga-sum</i><br>(shearing)  | <i>Pythia</i>   | <i>Bağ Bozumu</i><br>(Vintage)                |
| October                | Courageous<br><i>Šamaš</i>   | Beginning                               | <i>habranmaš</i><br>(threshing),<br><i>barpaš</i> , <i>barpiya</i><br>(bundling), <i>šeliyaš</i><br>(gathering) | <i>GEŠTIN</i> ,<br><i>tubšuwaš</i> (wine),<br><i>I.NUN.NA-at</i><br>(butter) | <i>Makra Mysteria</i>   | Planting                                      |
| November               |  | Sowing Fields                           |   |  | <i>Proerosia</i> ,<br><i>Pyanopria</i> ,<br><i>Thesmophoria</i> | <i>Koç Katımı</i><br>(rams join<br>flocks)    |
| December               | <sup>d</sup> <i>Nergal</i>   | Pregnancy                               |   |  |   | Pregnancy<br>Celebrations                     |
| January                | <i>Papsukkal</i><br>(vizier of <sup>d</sup> <i>Anu</i><br>and <sup>d</sup> <i>Ištar</i> )  | <i>Kimūnu</i> (Brazier)<br><i>Nabrū</i> |   | <i>gimnant</i>   | <i>Haloa</i>  |   |
|                        | <sup>d</sup> <i>Nabū</i> and <sup>d</sup> <i>Tašmētu</i> wedding<br><sup>d</sup> <i>Bēl</i> and <sup>d</sup> <i>Bēliya</i> wedding |   | <i>Kuzallu</i> (Month<br>of Herdsman)   |  | <i>Lenaea</i>   | <i>Saya gezme</i>                             |
| February               | Mourning   | <i>Qarrātu</i>                          | <i>Allanātu</i><br>(acorn month)  |  | <i>Mikra Mysteria</i> ,<br><i>Anthesteria</i>                   |   |
| March                  |  |   |   |  |   |   |

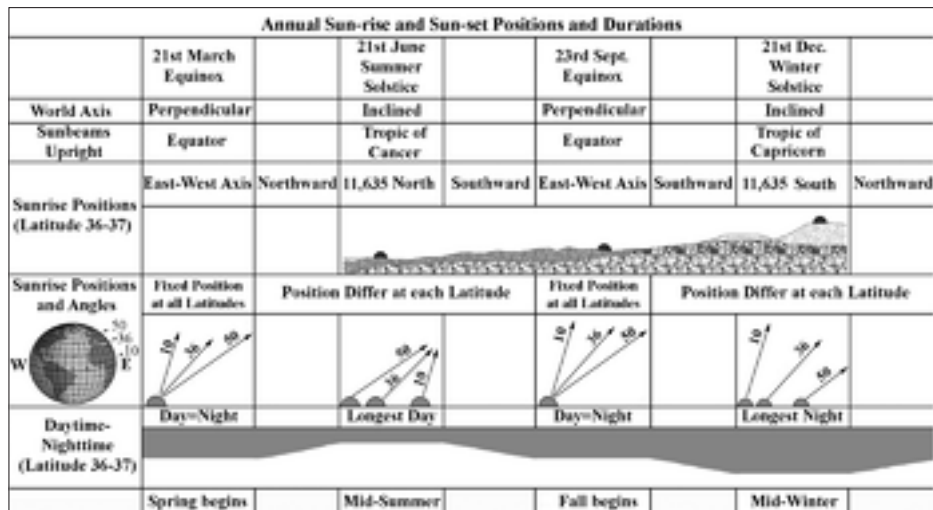


FIG. 1 Annual sunrise and sunset positions and durations.

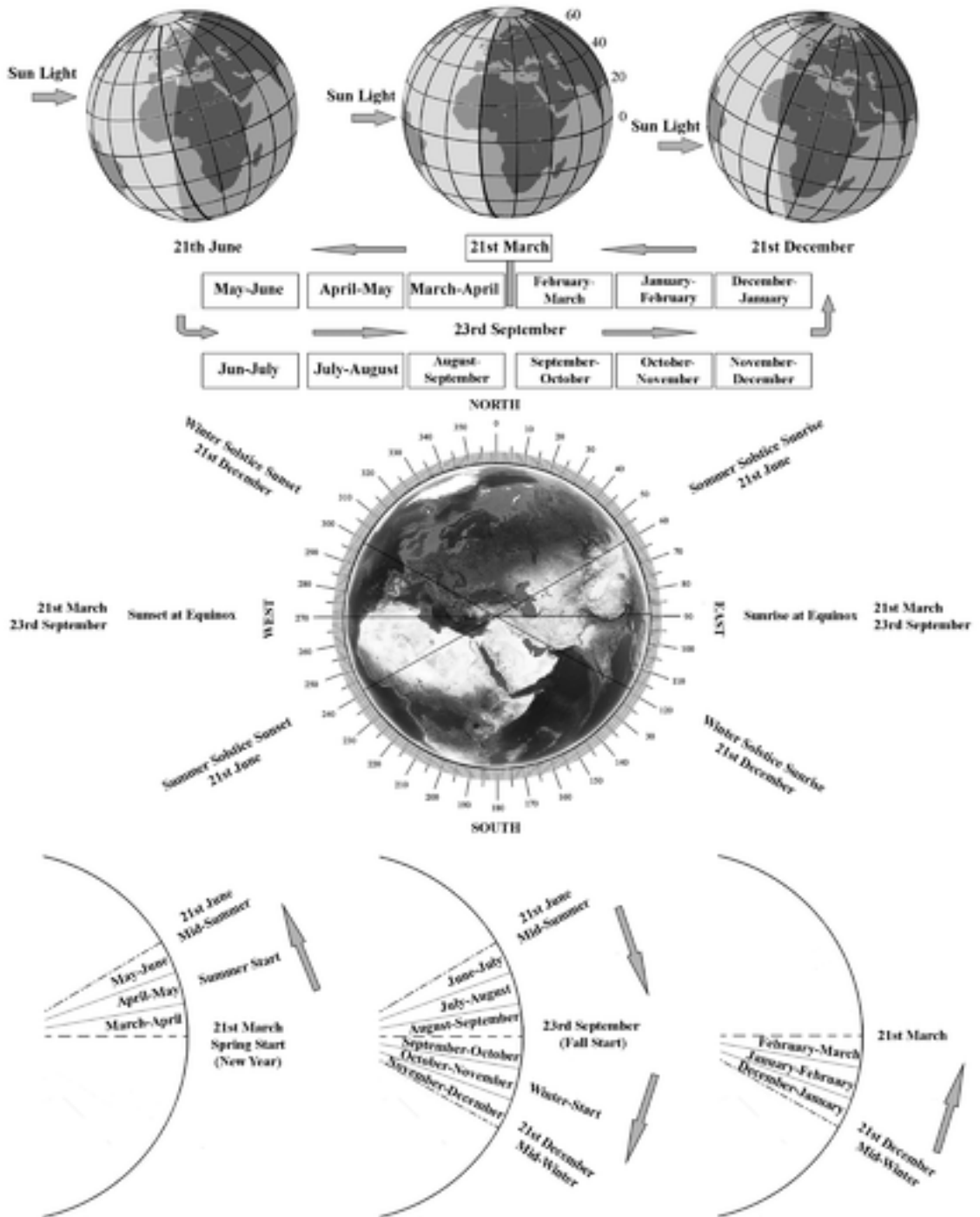


FIG. 2 Seasons according to the annual oscillation of the Sun.



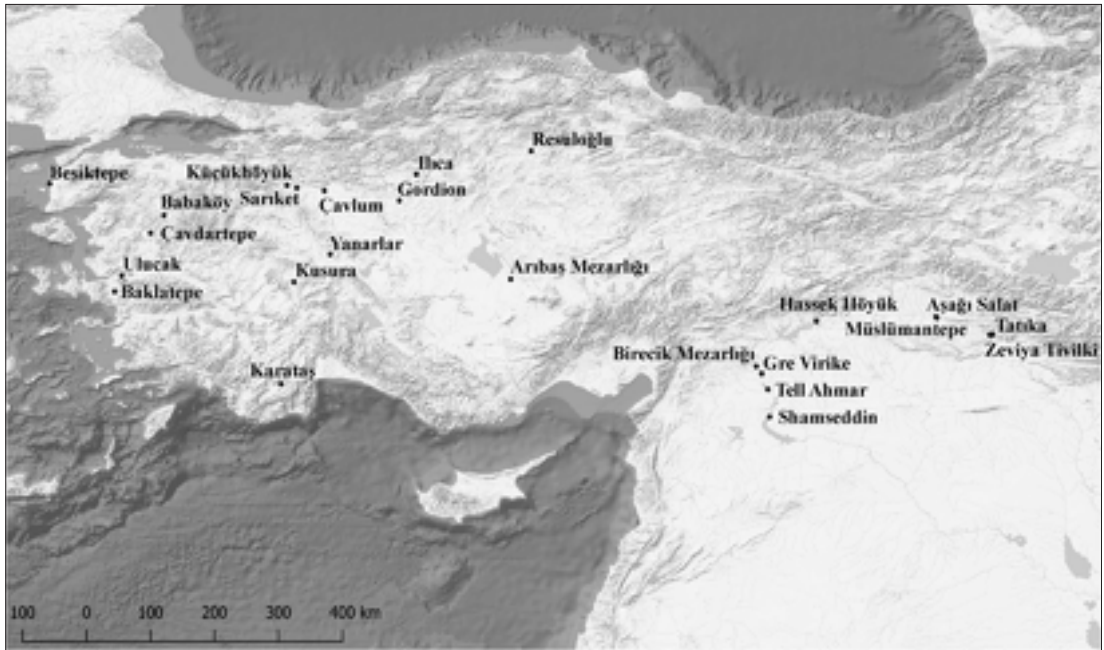


FIG. 3  
Early and Middle Bronze  
Age cemeteries  
(Map: Şakir Can).

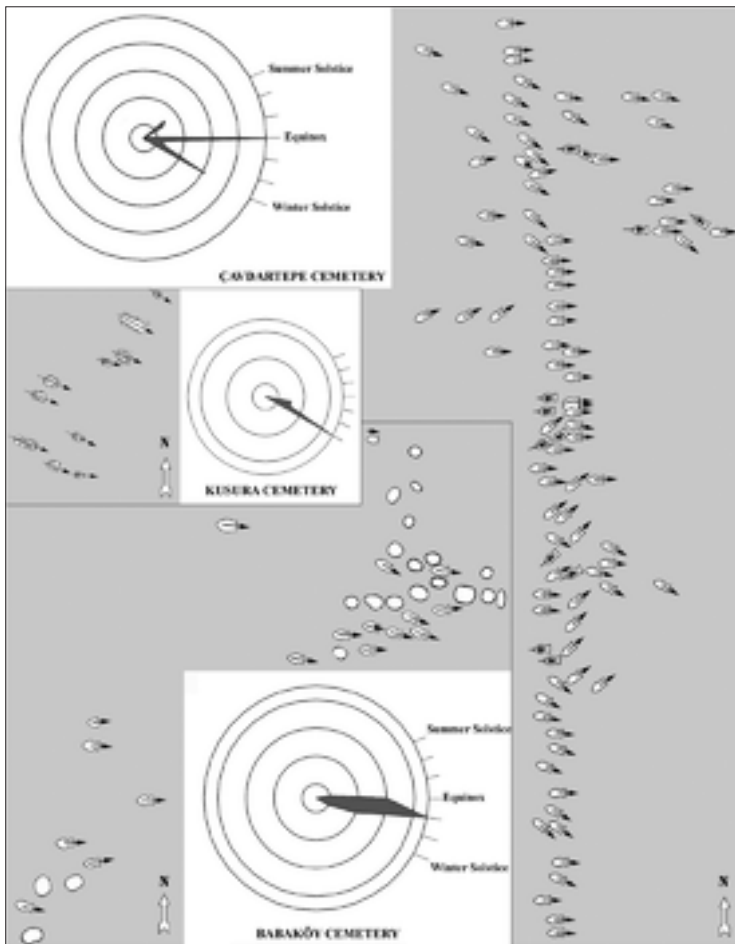


FIG. 4  
Orientation intensity in Early  
Bronze Age cemeteries  
Çavdartepe (prepared after  
Kamil 1982, fig. 12), Babaköy  
(prepared after Bittel et al.  
1939-41, 5), Kusura (prepared  
after Stewart 1936, fig. 25).



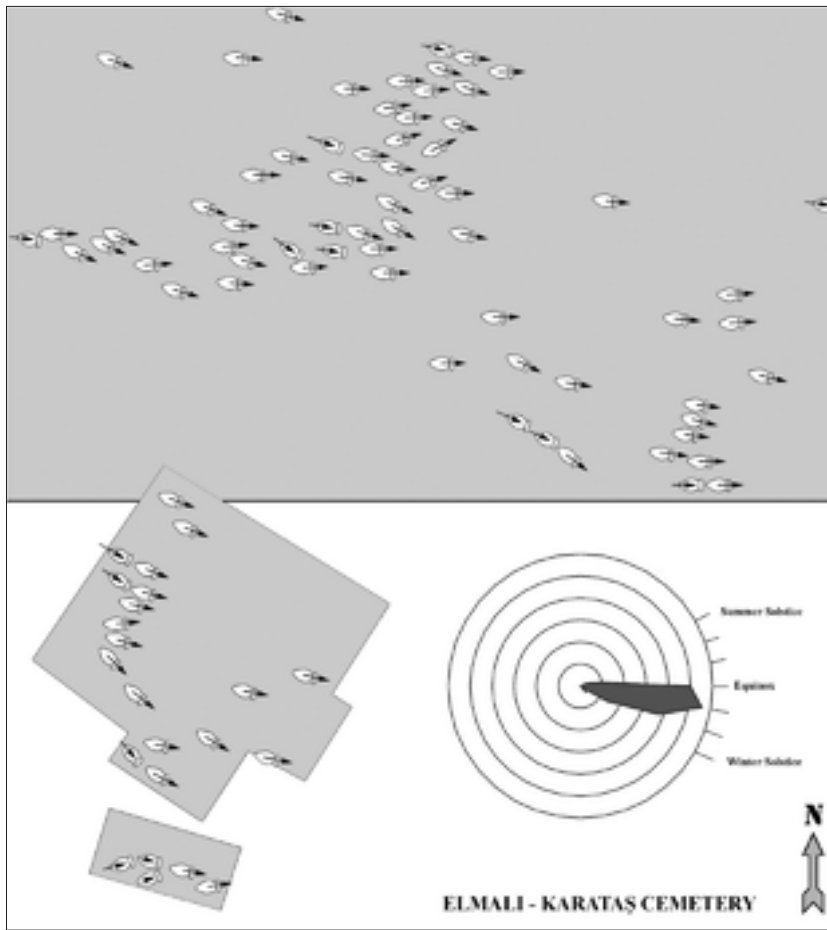


FIG. 5  
Orientation density  
in Early Bronze Age  
cemeteries  
Elmalı-Karataş  
(prepared after Warner  
1994, pls. 22, 55, 56).

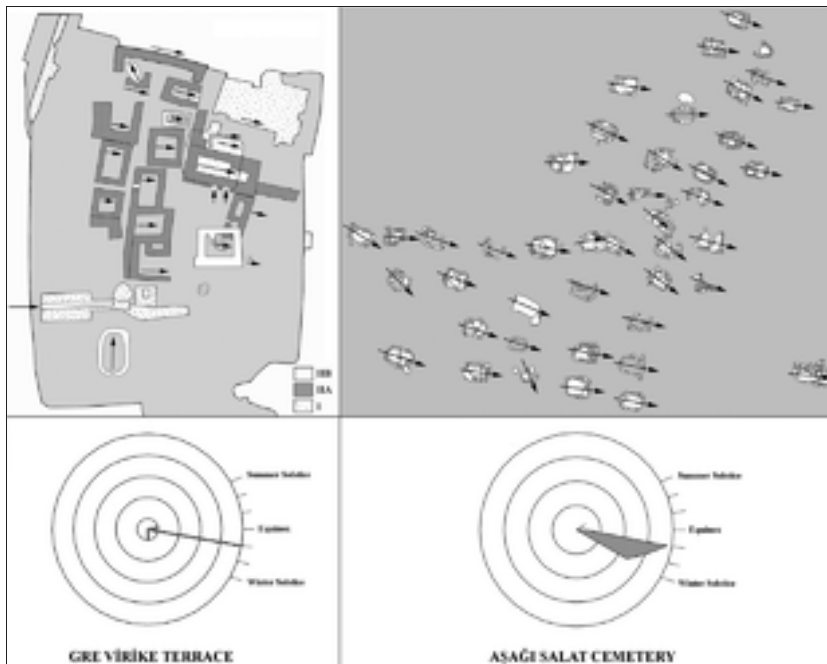


FIG. 6  
Orientation density  
in Early Bronze Age  
cemeteries  
Gre Virike (prepared  
after Ökse 2006a,  
2006b, 2006c),  
Aşağı Salat (prepared  
after Akçay 2017,  
fig. 4).



FIG. 7  
Orientation density in  
Early Bronze Age cemeteries  
Sariket (prepared after Massa  
2014, fig. 5).

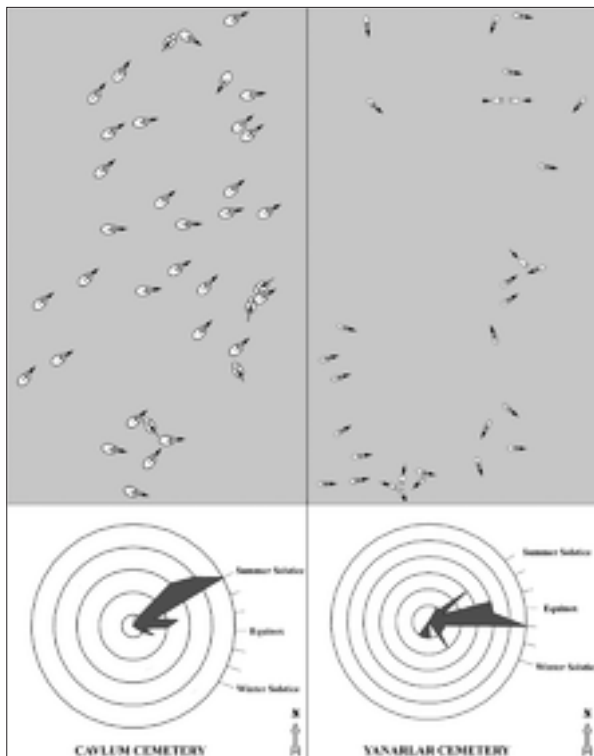


FIG. 8  
Orientation density in  
Middle Bronze Age cemeteries  
Çavlum (prepared after  
Bilgen 2005, pl. XCII),  
Yanarlar (prepared after Emre  
1978, pl. 2).

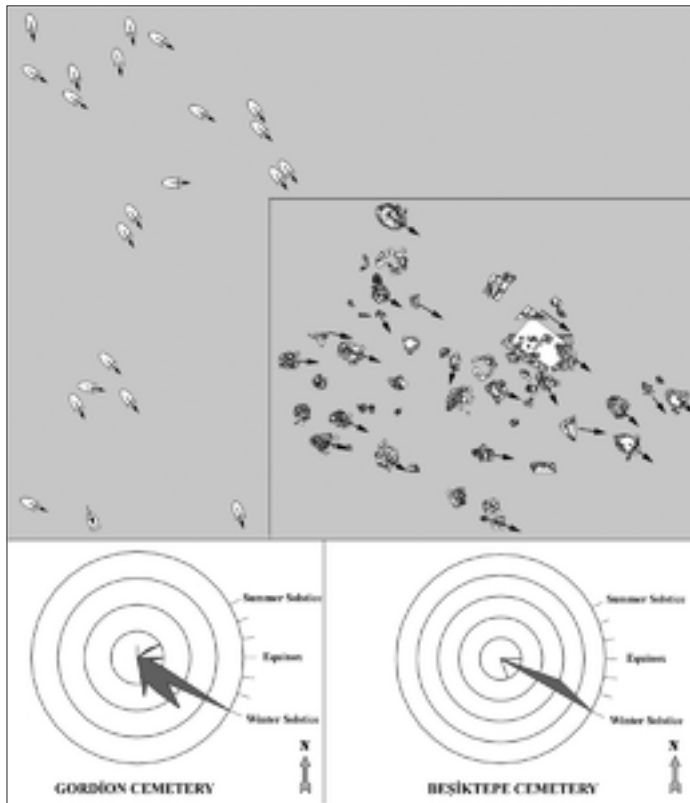
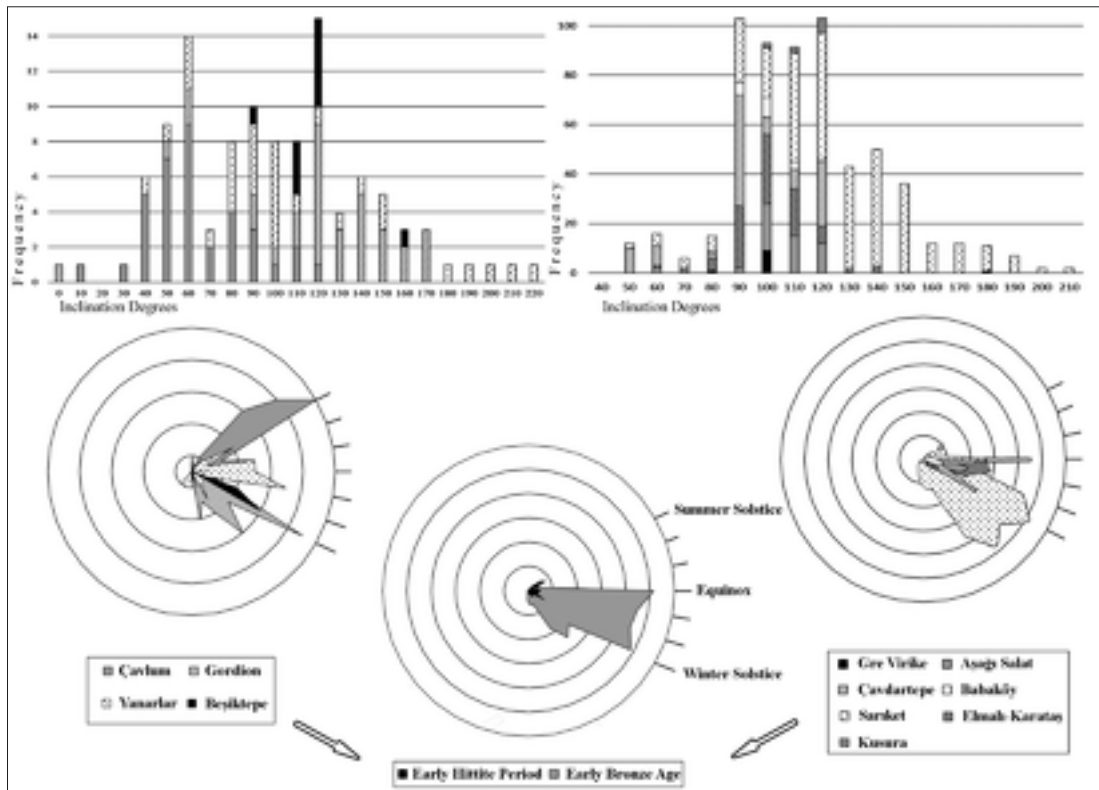


FIG. 9  
Orientation density in Middle Bronze Age cemeteries  
Gordion (prepared after Mellink 1956, pl. 1), Beşiktepe (prepared after Korfmann 1986, fig. 6).

FIG. 10  
Density of orientations in Early and Middle Bronze Age cemeteries.





# The Timing of Ritual Performance in Hittite Texts: The “Morning” Rites

SEVGÜL ÇİLİNGİR CESUR\*

## Abstract

Hittite rituals can be defined as religious practices that are meant to activate supernatural powers for the sake of a human being. These systematic practices were enacted under the supervision of ritual practitioners in case of any negative situations namely illness, black magic, epidemic and evil. Considering Hittite texts, it is noticeable that a ritual was carried out on any day of the year on the request of the ritual patron. Although there is not a pre-determined time for performing a ritual, it is intrinsic for these religious practices that they have their own sense of time. Furthermore, the concepts of time are applied in an extremely systematic fashion and “ritual time” is a phenomenon, which plays an important role in regulating the course of the rites. Although the perception of time in Hittite rituals has been previously studied, there is not yet any systematic research focusing merely on the morning period. Therefore, this article aims at contributing the significance of time by investigating Hittite magical ritual texts with regard to the terms used for the morning period and the typical rites performed in that part of the day by comparing the data obtained from ritual texts listed under CTH 390-500.

**Keywords:** Hittites, ancient Anatolia, religion, magic, ritual, morning

## Öz

Hitit insanı içinde yaşadığı dünyayı anlamlandırmak, başta hastalık olmak üzere olumsuz bir durum, salgın ya da kara büyü gibi çeşitli güçlüklerle çözüm bulmak ve tanrılarla iletişim kurmak için ritüellere başvurur. Çivi yazılı ritüel metinleri geniş malzeme grubu ve büyü uygulamaları ile araştırmacılara farklı açılardan pek çok veri sunar. Bu alanda günümüze kadar yapılan çalışmalar genellikle ritüellerin amacı ve ortaya çıktıkları coğrafi bölgelere odaklanır. Bu çalışma ise çivi yazılı ritüel metinlerinde geçen zaman kavramlarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Hitit büyü ritüellerinin (CTH 390-500) bayram kutlamaları gibi önceden belirlenmiş bir zamanı yoktur. Ritüele duyulan ihtiyaç onun icra edilmesi için yeterlidir. Bu makale, bir takvimi olmamasına rağmen Hitit büyü ritüellerinin bir zaman algısı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Dahası metinlerin önemli bir kısmında çeşitli ritüel uygulamalarının günün hangi bölümünde yapıldıkları da açıkça belirtilmiştir. Bu bilgilerden yola çıkarak, güneşin doğuşundan öğlene kadar devam eden zaman dilimleri için Hitit ritüel metinlerinde geçen kavramların filolojik incelemesi yapılmış ve bu zaman dilimlerinde icra edilen tipik ritüel davranışları ele alınmıştır. Böylece Hitit toplumunun ritüel aracılığıyla sabah vaktine atfettiği anlamlar tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Hititler, eski Anadolu, din, ritüel, büyü, sabah

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## Introduction

Several studies have revealed that rituals play an essential role in Hittite religion by constituting an important part of religious life.<sup>1</sup> As is well known, the Hittite texts justly treated in different sections of the *Catalogue des Textes Hittites (CTH)*<sup>2</sup> by E. Laroche give witness to two main categories of rituals. The first category comprises the festivals (EZEN<sub>4</sub>) prescribed in the official calendar, which consist of the rites performed at regular intervals with the aim of stimulating the satisfaction of the deities for the well-being of the Hittite society. The second consists of the magical rituals (SISKUR), which mostly intend to neutralize the negative situations such as an illness, epidemic, plague, black magic or any other negative phenomena. In contrast to the festival rites, the magical rituals are not dependent on the cultic calendar; rather, they are enacted on a case-by-case basis in specific situations. However, does it mean that they do not have any sense of time?

Hittite magical rituals have long been recognized as a group of texts that are not only well-organized but also offer detailed information about the materials required as well as the rites to be carried out. Especially in the case of well-preserved tablets, most details and individual steps of the ritual performance can be identified. The first and second paragraphs of each text usually mention the name of the ritual practitioner together with his or her native land, the purpose of the ritual, and a list of the ritual paraphernalia. The rest of the text specifies the rites to be performed.<sup>3</sup> When the texts are scrutinized, it is also possible to single out two aspects that regulate the course of the rites: these are “ritual space”<sup>4</sup> and “ritual time”.

The phrase *mebur UL kuitki tukkari* “the time does not matter” appears in a Middle Hittite substitution ritual for the Great King Tutḫaliya,<sup>5</sup> one of the rare magical ritual texts in the Hittite corpus in which the time of the rites is explicitly said to be insignificant.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, Hittite rituals usually specify which rites will be performed during which part of the day. A closer look at the concepts of time enables us not only to gain a better understanding of the terminology for various parts of the day, but also to identify specific rites performed at certain times and to describe how the cycle of the day structured the practices in magical rituals.

Although the subject has been previously studied, there is not any systematic research focusing specifically on the concept of morning in the texts. In his doctoral dissertation D.H. Engelhard indicates that time is an essential component in Hittite rituals by discussing the

<sup>1</sup> Ünal 1988, 52-85; Beckman 1989, 102-6; Haas 1994, 674-92, 876-906; Güterbock 1997, 87-90; Haas 2003, 26-48; Bawanypeck 2005, 11-15.

<sup>2</sup> For the updated version see S. Kořak-G.G.W. Müller-S. Görke-Ch. Steitler, [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/); Catalog (2020-01-27).

<sup>3</sup> See also Trémouille 2004, 157-203.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Haas 1994, 907-8; Engelhard 1970, 182-202. There is yet no detailed comprehensive study on the concepts of space in Hittite magical rituals.

<sup>5</sup> CTH 448.4.1.a.D; KUB 12.16 5'. For the translation of the text, see Taracha 2000, 34. For detailed information about the etymology of *tukkāri*, see Neu 1968, 178-80. For the etymology of the verb *tukke-*, see Joseph 1988, 205-13. McMahon points out that the verb has the meaning of “to be prescribed, specified”; see McMahon 1991, 258-59.

<sup>6</sup> There is another example of *tukke-* together with *mebur* in a text of the festival for renewing the <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kurša*-hunting bag of the Tutelary Deity (CTH 683): <sup>(1)</sup> [ma-a-an ŠA?] <sup>D</sup>Zi-it-ḫa-ri-ia <sup>Ü</sup>D<sup>L</sup>LAMMA Ḫa-te-en-zu-wa <sup>(2)</sup>[2 <sup>KJ</sup>UŠ<sup>UŠ</sup>kur-šu-uš EGIR-pa ne-e-u-wa-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi <sup>(3)</sup>ma-a-an I-NA MU.9<sup>KAM</sup> ma-a-na-aš ku-wa-pi ku-wa-pi ne-wa-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi <sup>(4)</sup>me-ḫur <sup>Ü</sup>UL tu-uk-ka-a-ri “[When] they renew the [two] hunting bags [of] Zithāriya and of the Tutelary Deity of Ḫatenzuwa - whether they renew them in the ninth year or whenever, the time does not matter” (KUB 55.43 obv. I 1-4); see McMahon 1991, 144-45; Groddek 2002a, 73-79. Cf. also the Cultic Festival of Istanuwa (CTH 772.3.A): *mebur UL kuitki tukkāri* (KUB 32.123 rev. III 14); see Starke 1985, 309.

ritual actions in two groups: those performed during the daytime and those at night respectively. However, his work does not provide detailed information about the terminology and only summarizes the specific ritual practices that are attested to be performed during the day or at night.<sup>7</sup> In his book on Hittite religion, V. Haas also briefly explains that the Hittites chose the suitable time for the magical rituals carefully and that the rites were usually performed during sunrise/dawn and sunset/dusk.<sup>8</sup> A. Mouton demonstrates that there are some ritual actions that are usually performed at night.<sup>9</sup> CHD L-N offers a broad analysis of the terminology for morning in Hittite texts (CHD L-N: 74-79). The aim of the present study is to evaluate the concepts of time related to the morning period in more detail, both with regard to the terminology employed in Hittite magical rituals and the typical rites performed.

### Terms for “Morning” in Hittite Rituals

The Hittites perceived the day to be structured in seven parts: dawn, morning, daytime/noon, afternoon/meal time, evening, sunset and night.<sup>10</sup> In ritual texts, there are two ways of referring to the “morning”. On the one hand, terms such as *karuwarriwar*, which signifies dawn, and *luk(k)atta*, which means both dawn and morning, may be used. On the other hand, various phrases describing the position and motion of the sun are employed. The morning period starts with *karuwarriwar*, a term generally translated as “at dawn, early in the morning”. Following dawn, the morning, which also comprises dawn, is designated generally as *luk(k)atta/i*. The two terms *karuwarriwar* and *luk(k)atta/i* can be placed in juxtaposition in phrases such as *mān lukkatta karuwarriwar* “when it becomes light at dawn” and *lukkatta=ma INA UD.x.KAM karuwarriwar* “but in the morning on the Xth day at dawn”.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, it is likely that various phrases are combined with *lukkatta/i* in order to indicate subdivisions within the morning period. These include *mān/mahḫan luk(k)atta/GIM-an lukzi* “when it becomes light”, *mān lukkatta<sup>D</sup>UTU-uš nāwi upzi* “when it becomes light (but) the sun has not risen yet”, *mān lukkatta<sup>D</sup>UTU-uš upzi* “when it becomes light (and) the sun rises”, and *lukkatta=ma=kan kuitman<sup>D</sup>UTU-uš nāwi uizzi* “but on the (following) morning when the sun has not risen yet”. Finally, apart from the direct designations, it is possible to refer to the morning by using the Sumerogram <sup>D</sup>UTU “the sun”, even with or without other specific time indicators, e.g. <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš nāwi upzi “the sun has not risen yet”, *kuitman<sup>D</sup>UTU-uš nāwi uizzi* “when the sun has not risen yet”, *kuitman<sup>D</sup>UTU-uš AŠAR=ŠU nāwi ēpzi* “when the sun has not taken its place yet”, and <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš upzi “the sun rises”.

#### *karuwarriwar* and forms of *luk-*

Friedrich and Tischler translate *karuwarriwar* as “Morgen” (HW: 104; HEG I-K: 530). Tischler also asserted that it corresponds with Akkadian *šēru*, which denotes “morning star, dawn, morning” (HEG I-K: 530; CAD Š/II: 331). Puhvel translates *karuwarriwar* as “at daybreak, early in the morning, (in) the act of spending the daybreak, (at) the time of being up at dawn” while

<sup>7</sup> Engelhard 1970, 202-10.

<sup>8</sup> Haas 1994, 691, 906-7.

<sup>9</sup> Mouton 2008a, 1-17.

<sup>10</sup> See Engelhard 1970, 202-10; Mouton 2008a, 1-17. For a significant analysis of the Hittite perception of time, see Beckman 2017, 248-50.

<sup>11</sup> There are only two rituals in which *karuwarriwar* is attested alone. These are the ritual of Paškuwatti against effeminacy (CTH 406; KUB 7.5 obv. II 20'-26') and the purification ritual of a house (CTH 446.A; KUB 7.41 obv. I 4).



agreeing with Tischler's assertion that *šēru* is an Akkadian equivalent of Hittite *karuwariwar* (HED 4/K: 86-87). Etymologically, Oettinger suggests that *karuwariwar* is originally an adverb formed by the verbal substantive *ari(ya)war* "das Aufstehen" and *karū* "früh" meaning "das früh Aufstehen".<sup>12</sup> With regard to the attested variants of *karuwariwar*, Kloekhorst follows Puhvel in arguing that the form *karuwariwar* is a secondary reshaping based on the simplex *karū*, whereas *kariwariwar* or *karewariwar* represents the original form of the adverb.<sup>13</sup>

The terms *luk(k)at*, *luk(k)atta* (all.), *luk(k)at(ti)* (dat.-loc.) are all derived from the verb *luk-* "to grow bright, dawn".<sup>14</sup> Friedrich translated the term as "am nächsten Morgen, am folgenden Tage" (HW: 130). Kammenhuber interpreted *luk(k)-* "tagen" and *luk(k)atta* as an adverb "am (nächsten) Morgen".<sup>15</sup> Kümmel suggested that act. pres. sg. 3 *lukzi* should be translated as "es wird hell", whereas the middle form *luk(k)atta* rather means "es ist hell", and also includes sunrise.<sup>16</sup> Tischler interpreted it as "hell werden, tagen" (HEG L-M: 65-69). Puhvel, on the other hand, suggests "(day)light, daybreak, dawn, morning; the morrow, the next day" and remarks that there is no need for being too restrictive in translating this term (HED 5/L: 108-111). According to CHD L-N, "the verb *luk-* is confined to describing the faint but growing sunlight in the atmosphere at dawn just before the sun rises". Nevertheless, if mid. pres. sg. 3 *luk(k)atta/i* is used simply to start the rites of a new day off from those of the preceding day, it can simply be translated as "on the morrow, on the following day" (CHD L-N: 74-77). The fact that *luk(k)atta* is rarely used alone in Hittite rituals supports the idea that the term became a general descriptor for the (following) morning, and that there was often a need to specify the time by adding other more specific time expressions.

Examination of the evidence from Hittite ritual texts allows one to infer that if a specific subdivision of the morning is emphasized, the term *luk(k)atta/i* is used together with the temporal conjunctions such as *mān*, *mabhan* and *GIM-an*, which makes the time more explicit. Denoting "when, whenever, as soon as", these temporal conjunctions describe the process of sunrise in the sense of "when it becomes light, when it dawns". They are commonly used with mid. pres. sg. 3 *luk(k)atta* in Hittite rituals, except for *GIM-an*, which is consistently used with act. pres. sg. 3 *lukzi*.<sup>17</sup> The Hittite ritual texts also illustrate *luk(k)atta/i* in juxtaposition with the temporal adverb *karuwariwar*, which refers to more specific periods of time early in the morning. In the context of rituals, it seems that this type of usage refers to the time between dawn and sunrise. The fleeting nature of ritual performances during this period is emphasized in some rituals by the adverb *budak*, which denotes "straightway, at once, promptly, quickly" (HED 3/H: 414-416). The promptness of the ritual action indicated by *budak* makes it clear that the action of these rituals is to take place in the narrow, half-hour window between the onset of dawn and daybreak.

<sup>12</sup> Oettinger 1979, 479; cf. also Neu's translation of *karuwariwar* with "beim Erwachen Auf-Stehen/Sich-Erheben" in Neu 1980, 46.

<sup>13</sup> Kloekhorst 2008, 447-48.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed discussion on the term, see Neu 1980, 16-19.

<sup>15</sup> See Kammenhuber 1961, 336.

<sup>16</sup> See Kümmel 1967, 33; cf. also Carruba 1980, 363-64; Stefanini 1983, 148-49.

<sup>17</sup> In a substitution ritual for the king (CTH 419.A) the two morning expressions *luk(k)atta* and *GIM-an lukzi* are mentioned successively: <sup>(28)</sup>*GIM-an-ma lu-uk-zi nu-za LUGAL-uš UGU ap-pa-tar DÜ-zi [EGIR-an]-da-ma-az pār-na-aš KIN-ur* <sup>(59)</sup>*pār-ku-u-i KIN-ur DÜ-zi lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-za LUGAL-uš SISKUR [ḫa-la-le-é-ā]n-zi DÜ-zi* (KUB 24.5 obv. 28-29); see Kümmel 1967, 7-13; Trabazo 2010, 38-39. Kümmel argues that *luk(k)atta* should be understood here as temporally consecutive to *GIM-an lukzi*, which indicates an earlier part of the morning; see Kümmel 1967, 32.



Furthermore, a variation of the word pattern *mān lukkatta ... karuwarewar ... MUL<sup>III.A</sup> nuwa aranda* “when it becomes light ... at dawn ... when the stars still stand” is found in a group of rituals for the expansion of the cult of the Deity of the Night.<sup>18</sup> This signifies a period when the sky has started to illuminate, but it is still possible to see the stars, namely the early dawn. Here too the promptness of the ritual action is emphasized by adding *ḫudak*.

Another description of one of the subdivisions in the morning is formed with a negated form of the verb *luk-* in a fragment of a purification ritual. The text contains the word pattern *mahḫan=ma GE<sub>6</sub>-anza lukzi<sup>MULUD.ZAL.LE=kan uizzi lukzi nāwi</sup>* “But when the night grows brighter and the morning star rises, (while) it has not yet become light”. Here again, the ritual patron has to act promptly (*ḫudak*).<sup>19</sup> Almost all significant features of the time period that we would call early dawn are extant in this text: the process of the initial illumination of the night, the visibility of the morning star, and the absence of the sun in the sky. Although the word *karuwarewar* is not used here, the text clearly refers to the same time period as the expression *mān lukkatta ... karuwarewar ... MUL<sup>III.A</sup> nuwa aranda*.

There is a single example where *karuwarewar* occurs with *ḫudak* but without *luk(k)atta*. This text belongs to a group of purification rites, and the second paragraph informs us that the entire city – the men, women and children – wash themselves, and then sleep while the ritual practitioner performs on the third day. With reference to this third day, it is written down <sup>(9)</sup>*nu=za karū(-)ariuwar ḫūdāk ariḫḫi* “at dawn I rise promptly”.<sup>20</sup>

In sum, there are five different phrases formed with *luk(k)atta* and/or *karuwarewar* in Hittite ritual texts: (i) *mān/mahḫan luk(k)atta* or *GIM-an lukzi* corresponding to the process of lightening of the sky; (ii) *lukkatta ... karuwarewar*, which possibly refers to the period between dawn and sunrise; (iii) *mān lukkatta ... karuwarewar* with the adverb *ḫūdāk* emphasizing the promptness required of the ritual action, which is probably enacted between the late dawn and sunrise; (iv) *karuwarewar*, alone but with an emphasis too on the quick manner of the ritual action expressed by *ḫūdāk*, probably corresponding to the late dawn again; (v) *mān lukkatta ... karuwarewar ... MUL<sup>III.A</sup> nuwa aranda* and *mahḫan=ma GE<sub>6</sub>-anza lukzi<sup>MULUD.ZAL.LE=kan uizzi lukzi nāwi</sup>* corresponding possibly to the early dawn. Regarding the terms above, only the phrases *mān/mahḫan luk(k)atta* and *GIM-an lukzi* may comprise the sunrise without mentioning the sun ‘DUTU’ itself, while the remainder seems to refer to the dawn, i.e. the period before the sun becomes visible on the horizon.

### Designations for “Morning” Referencing the Sun

The sun has always held a fundamental role in human life by passing through the sky every day, by providing light and warmth, and also by witnessing and marking out the pace of daily life. Hittite society was no different. The sun was deified, and the solar deity stood at the

<sup>18</sup> CTH 481.A; <sup>(14)</sup>*I-NA UD.3<sup>KAM</sup>-ma ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta nu* EN.SÍSKUR *ka-ru-ú-a-ri-wa-ar* <sup>(15)</sup>*ḫu-u-da-ak I-NA É.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> ú'-iz-zi MUL<sup>III.A</sup> nu-u-a a-ra-an-da* “Then on the morrow of the third day, the ritual patron comes immediately at dawn into the temple, (when) the stars are still out (lit. ‘stand’).” (KUB 29.4 + KBo 24.86 obv. II 14-15); see Miller 2004, 281.

<sup>19</sup> CTH 456.1.A; <sup>(16)</sup>*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma* <sup>(17)</sup>*GE<sub>6</sub>-an-za lu-uk-zi<sup>MULUD.ZAL.LE=kán ú-iz-zi lu-uk-zi na-a-ú-i</sup>* <sup>(18)</sup>*na-aš-kán URU-ri-az* <sup>(19)</sup>*ar-ḫa ḫu-u-da-a-ak pa-id-du* <sup>(20)</sup>*DUTU-uš-an-kán* (Ras.) <sup>(20)</sup>*ŠÀ URU-LIM le-e ú-ú-é-mi-ia-az-zi*; “But when the night grows brighter and the morning star rises, (while) it has not yet become light, let him promptly leave the city; the sun must not find him inside the city!” (KBo 12.103, obv. II 16'-18'); see Kümmel 1967, 32-33; CHD L-N, 75; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 456.1 (INTR 2015-12-21).

<sup>20</sup> CTH 456.9; see Torri and Barsacchi 2018, 113; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 456.9 (INTR 2016-03-22).

highest rank of the state pantheon together with the Storm-god as essential to the conditions of life. This is clearly narrated in the myth of the disappearance of the Sun-god.<sup>21</sup> It should come as no surprise, then, that the ritual texts also refer to the position and motion of the sun to describe the different phases of the morning period. Most often written with the Sumerogram <sup>D</sup>UTU<sup>22</sup>, the sun appears not only in accordance with different temporal conjunctions such as *mān* and *kuitman*, but also with the term *luk(k)atta*. The verbs *uwa-* “to come”, *up-* “to rise”, and *ep-* “to take” are also used to signify the motions of the sun. In the context of rituals, temporal phrases formed with the sun supply definite information about a specific period of the day rather than addressing the general phases.

The first example from this group is *mān lukkatta* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*uš nāwi uizzi* “when it becomes light (but) the sun has not risen yet”.<sup>23</sup> Considering the ritual texts, it is probable that this pattern is another way of expressing dawn before sunrise. Secondly, there are also phrases that indicate the point of sunrise exactly such as *mān lukkatta* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*uš upzi* “when it becomes light (and) the sun rises” appearing in the ritual of Ammiḫatna against impurity<sup>24</sup> or *lu(k)katta=ma=kan* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*uš upzi* “but on the (following) morning (when) the sun rises” in the ritual of Wattiti.<sup>25</sup> Finally, the phrase *kuitman* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*uš AŠAR-ŠU nāwi ēpzi* “when the sun has not taken its place yet” is usually interpreted as referring to dawn.<sup>26</sup> However, the possibility should be kept in mind that the phrase could also address to the period before the sun reaches the highest point in the sky since we do not know the Hittite perception about the exact place of the sun.

Hittite rituals provide limited information about midday when compared to the terminology on morning. Although it is widely accepted that the primary times for ritual actions are morning and nighttime,<sup>27</sup> it is also possible to encounter phrases describing midday. The first example of these phrases is UD<sup>III.A</sup>-*ti ištarna pedi*, which is translated by Puhvel as “on the day at mid-point” (HED 2/E-I: 480-481).<sup>28</sup> There is, to my knowledge, only one ritual that concretely mentions the midday using this phrase. In the ritual of Paškuwatti, midday is one of the three cycles in a day during which the goddess *Uliliyaš*<sup>29</sup> is entreated.<sup>30</sup> Hoffner argues that

<sup>21</sup> CTH 323 “The Myth of the Disappearance and Return of the Sun-god”. See Daddi and Polvani 1990, 57-71; Hoffner 1998, 27-28; Haas 2006, 117-20; Grodek 2002b, 119-31. For the commentary and enhanced bibliography of the text, see also Steitler 2017, 207-10.

<sup>22</sup> The recent book by Steitler has argued that many specific solar deities were worshiped in Anatolia during the Bronze Age. One of the designations for the solar deity in the Hittite texts is Sumerian <sup>D</sup>UTU. Steitler argues that scholars mostly recognize <sup>D</sup>UTU as “*Ištanu*” in Hittite, thanks to the phonetic complements of the *u*-stem. Nevertheless, he considers *Ištanu* as a Hittite generic name referring to any solar deity; see Steitler 2017, 13-17, especially nn. 31 and 42.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also the translation by Siegelová 1986, 314; Collins 1990, 222; Bawanypeck 2005, 277.

<sup>24</sup> CTH 471.A; KBo 5.2 obv. II 29; cf. Strauß 2006, 237.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also the translation of Fuscagni in F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 390 (INTR 2017-03-06).

<sup>26</sup> This phrase appears only in the ritual of Ammiḫatna against impurity (CTH 471; KBo 5.2 obv. I 42); cf. Strauß 2006, 235.

<sup>27</sup> Engelhard 1970, 210; Haas 1994, 906; Mouton 2008a, 1-17.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Hoffner 1987, 278; Trabazo 2002, 461; Mouton 2007, 139.

<sup>29</sup> Friedrich translated the word as “Grün(?), Pflanzenwuchs(?)” (HW, 233). Recent studies have argued that *ulili-* is a word interpreted as “field”. When applied with the Luwian possessive suffix (genitival adjective) *-ašši*, it is widely accepted as a Luwian counterpart of the Hurrian *šaušga* of the countryside written as <sup>D</sup>IŠTAR LÍL; see Wegner 1981, 31; Taracha 2009, 116. For comments on the goddess *Uliliyaš* in the ritual of Paškuwatti, see Hoffner 1987, 281.

<sup>30</sup> CTH 406.A<sub>3</sub>; KUB 7.5 obv. II 22'. Ibid. 26' (*ištarna* UD.KAM<sup>III.A</sup>-*ti* “at mid-day”). Both lines use the plural form for UD.KAM, which is unexpected in this text. Hoffner claims that the Hittite complement *-ti* indicates the locative

the threefold breaking of bread signifies the three meal times in that ritual.<sup>31</sup> Another expression indicating noon is UD-*az ištar-na paizzi*. Lebrun translates the sentence as “Au petit matin, une journée va s’écouler”.<sup>32</sup> Friedrich states that *ištar-na* with the verb *pai-* denotes “(dazwischen) vergehen (von der Zeit)” (HW: 154). Strauß interprets the sentence as “der Tag vergeht inzwischen” by referring to Friedrich’s translation.<sup>33</sup> Mouton, on the other hand, interprets it as “Ce jour-là passe pendant ce temps”.<sup>34</sup> CHD L-N translates it as “the day reaches its midpoint (noon?)” (CHD L-N: 77a). In Hittite rituals, there are two texts referring to this phrase: the first is the birth ritual of Papanegri from Kummanni,<sup>35</sup> while the second is the ritual of Ammiḫatna, Tulbi and Mati against an impurity in the temple of the god.<sup>36</sup> The latter qualifies UD-*az ištar-na paizzi* with *luk(k)atta*, supporting the idea that *luk(k)atta* is the common name for the (following) morning. The pattern UD-*az ištar-na paizzi* serves for referring to a more specific time at morning. Therefore, *luk(k)atta ... UD-az ištar-na paizzi* should be translated as “on the (following) morning ... (when) the day reaches its midpoint”.

### The Typical Rites of Morning

The Hittite ritual texts tend to put general information on the content and context of the ritual in the very first and second paragraphs. One would thus also expect to encounter the time period of the ritual in this section. On the contrary, most of the ritual texts do not mention any time patterns at the beginning. Expressions of time mostly appear within the running instructions of action emphasizing that the perception of time is strictly bound up with the ritual action. Therefore, it is possible to identify certain ritual practices that are usually performed in the morning. In the light of the texts, it can be claimed that morning is a period of (i) rites of separation instantiated mostly by cutting off or disentangling the threads of wool, (ii) rites of washing and purification, and (iii) invocation offerings for the deities. The principal verbs that are used in defining these rites are *arḫa tuḫš-* “to cut off” and *partai-* “to separate” for the separation rites; *warmu-* “to wash” for the purification rites; and *šipant-* “to offer” and *dai-* “to put” in the offering ceremonies for invoking the deities. In addition, the Sumerogram DÛ “to perform” is used for some special rites, and *penna-* “to drive (there)”, *unna-* “to drive (towards)”, *uwa-* “to come”,<sup>37</sup> and *pai-* “to go” are used to indicate the change of the ritual place in the morning.

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singular *šuwatti*. Therefore, he proposes an emendation to UD.KAM!-*ti* in both lines since there is no need for the plural 𒀭.A.; see Hoffner 1987, 287. Although Mouton prefers emending the plural 𒀭.A both for UD.KAM-*ti ištar-na pedi* and *ištar-na UD.KAM-ti*, she uses the plural 𒀭.A in her transliteration; see Mouton 2007, 133.

<sup>31</sup> Hoffner 1987, 286. See also Mouton 2007, 139 and Trabazo 2002, 461 n. 50.

<sup>32</sup> Lebrun 1979, 139-64.

<sup>33</sup> Strauß 2006, 267.

<sup>34</sup> Mouton 2016, 263.

<sup>35</sup> CTH 476.A; <sup>(57)</sup>*na-aš-ta a-pa-a-aš UD-az iš-tar-na pa-iz-zi* “And that day reaches its midpoint” (KBo 5.1 obv. I 57. See Strauß 2006, 288 and Mouton 2016, 262-63.

<sup>36</sup> CTH 472.A/B; <sup>(58)</sup>*[lu-uk]-kat-ti-ma-kán UD-[az iš]-tar-na pa-iz-[zi]* <sup>(59)</sup>*[nu še-bi-il-li-ia] ú-e-da-ar da-an-[zi]* “But [on the (following) morning - when the day reaches] its midpoint - [and] they take] the water [of purification.]” (KUB 30.38 + KBo 23.1 obv. 58); see Strauß 2006, 262-67.

<sup>37</sup> With inf. *karpuwanzi* (*karp-*) “come to take”.

### Separation Rite in the Morning

As discussed by Haas, the magical practices of the Hittites usually set up an explicit contrast between positive and negative phenomenon.<sup>38</sup> The underlying premise is that whatever causes the unfavorable situation to occur can be turned into positive or counteracted by means of magical practices. This contrast is mostly evidenced in the ritual practices of binding and separation. After the chthonic darkness of the preceding night during which the binding rite is applied, the sky is enlightened by the sun in the morning. This makes possible the freeing from negative situations like black magic, impurity, sin and illness by means of severing the previously applied bonds. The main materials of these rites are threads of wool having different colors. The binding is usually undertaken with the verb *ḥam(m)a(n)k/ḥam(m)enk-* “to tie” and serves to transmit the unfavorable situation of the patient onto the ritual paraphernalia.<sup>39</sup> The next morning, the separation is enacted, usually expressed with *arḥa tuḥš-* “to cut off” in order to take the evil away and help ensure the purified state of the ritual patron.

A good example of a separation rite is found in the ritual of Anniwiyani for the tutelary deities. There the ritual patron is bound (*ḥam(m)a(n)k-*) with threads of red and blue wool to the four bedposts when night falls (*nu maḥḥan nekuzi*). After also binding his chariot, bow and quiver, the ritual paraphernalia is put into a basket and placed under his bed. The ritual patron spends the whole night with these paraphernalia, and when it becomes light (*mān lukkatta*), the threads of wool are cut off.<sup>40</sup>

A similar set of ritual actions is found in the ritual of the augur Huwarlu against evil bird omens. The augur performs this ritual in cooperation with an Old Woman. According to the text, the Old Woman ties (*ḥam(m)a(n)k-*) red wool to the king and queen, to the four corners of the palace, to the threshold of the gate, and to the bolt. Then the king and the queen sleep inside during the night along with the ritual paraphernalia. When it becomes light (*maḥḥann=a lukkatta*), the Old Woman cuts off the threads of wool and places them into the basket.<sup>41</sup>

A third example of separation rites performed at morning comes from the ritual of Alli against bewitchment. As stated, after giving offerings outside to Marwaya,<sup>42</sup> *miyanit*-tongue,<sup>43</sup> the Dark Earth, the Sun-god, Ariya,<sup>44</sup> and lastly Šalawaneš of the Gate,<sup>45</sup> Alli returns to the city

<sup>38</sup> Haas 1990, 235.

<sup>39</sup> Szabó remarks that the binding rite is usually seen in Luwian-Hittite rituals; see Szabó 1971, 95-102.

<sup>40</sup> CTH 393.A; <sup>(22)</sup>*ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta na-aš-ta A-NA EN SÍSKUR* <sup>(23)</sup>*ḥu-u-ma-an-da-zi-ia SÍG a-an-ta-ra-an SÍG mi-da-an-na* <sup>(24)</sup>*ar-ḥa tuḥ-ša-an-zi na-at-ša-an kat-ta pād-da-ni-i* <sup>(25)</sup>*da-a-i* “When it becomes light, they cut off the blue wool and the red wool altogether from the ritual patron. And she puts them down into the basket” (VBoT 24 obv. I 22-25); see Bawanyeck 2005, 54-55.

<sup>41</sup> CTH 398.A; <sup>(38)</sup>*ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-na lu-uk-kat-ta na-an-kān* <sup>(39)</sup>*ar-ḥa tuḥ-ḥu-uš-zi* <sup>(39)</sup>*na-an-kān kat-ta* <sup>(41)</sup>*pād-da-ni da-a-i* “When it becomes light, she cuts them (the wool) off and puts them down into the basket” (KBo 4.2 obv. I 38). Bawanyeck translates the sentence as “Sobald es hell wird, schneidet sie sie (die Wolle) ab und legt sie in den Korb nieder”, preferring to use “sobald” instead of “wenn”; see Bawanyeck 2005, 26-27.

<sup>42</sup> Laroche 1947, 86; Jakob-Rost 1972, 82.

<sup>43</sup> Although Jakob-Rost proposes to translate it as “Zunge des Wachstums”, the meaning of *miyanit*- is still unclear. For discussions see Jakob-Rost 1972, 82; CHD L-N, 235.

<sup>44</sup> <sup>D</sup>*Ariya* is rarely stated in Hittite texts. Ehelolf asserted *keldi* as synonym of *ariya*; Ehelolf 1927, 143. Laroche also listed <sup>D</sup>*Āra* among the Hurrian deities, which is identified with *keldi*- “health”; Laroche 1947, 45. Jakob-Rost claims that the deity is treated as “the Genius of Well-Being”; Jakob-Rost 1972, 83. For attestations to this deity, see Cohen 2002, 41-44.

<sup>45</sup> Haas 1994, 473. For attestations to Šalawaneš of the Gate, see Van Gessel 1998, 367-69.

and puts *kar(a)š*-wheat,<sup>46</sup> a little barley, *pašša*-bread,<sup>47</sup> a bow and three arrows in a basket, and places it under a bed, almost certainly the bed of the bewitched. She also ties (*ḥam(m) a(n)k-*), the *ašara*-band,<sup>48</sup> at the bedside and its corner posts. On the second day when it becomes light (*mān lukatta*), she takes the basket from under the bed, sways it over the bewitched, prays to send the sorcery back to the sorceress, cuts off (*tubš-*) the *ašara*-band, and places it into the basket.<sup>49</sup>

A final example of a morning-time separation rite comes from the ritual of Tunnawiya against impurity. According to the text, a tent is built besides the river in an uncultivated place at nighttime (*nekuz meḥur*). The Old Woman brings clay from the riverbank and wraps some ritual paraphernalia with animal fat. She also bunches together a bit of blue wool, red wool and a rope, and places them in a reed basket along with the other paraphernalia. Then she provides an *ušantari*-cow,<sup>50</sup> but if it is a man, then she readies a bull. When it becomes light (*mabḥan=ma lukkitta*), the ritual patron comes into the tent and puts on black clothes. Then the Old Woman takes the blue and red wool, unravels them (*partai-*),<sup>51</sup> and throws them over the body of the ritual patron while speaking the charm of lifting.

Remarkably, all the ritual texts quoted above illustrate that the suitable time for a separation rite is *mān/mabḥan lukkatta/i*, which refers specifically to the period of becoming light in the morning.

### Washing and Purification in the Morning

As exemplified by the separation rites, the Hittites considered morning as a period for removing the impurities troubling the patient. In addition to enacting ritual transference through binding and separation, the Hittites could sometimes obtain purity by means of ritual washing and cleansing in the morning.

The first example comes from a Middle Hittite birth ritual, which belongs to a Kizzuwatnaean tradition. Purification plays an important role in this ritual, and many of its rites are performed in the morning. The text describes that when the seventh month of the pregnancy arrives, the

<sup>46</sup> The term is translated as “Weizen, wheat” (HEG I-K, 498); Hoffner 1974, 73-74. Ertem interpreted it as “yulaf (oat)” or “çavdar (rye)”; Ertem 1974, 21-22. For an extensive discussion see Rieken 1999, 63-65. For the use of *kar(a)š-* in Hittite rituals, see Haas 2003, 382-83.

<sup>47</sup> See CHD P, 204.

<sup>48</sup> <sup>sīG</sup>*ašara-*/<sup>sīG</sup>*ešara-* is first considered as a type of wool used for tying (*ḥamank-*) or stretching (*ḥuittiya-*) by Goetze and Sturtevant 1938, 85 n. 325. The term was later interpreted as “Band, Schleife” by Friedrich (HW, 35). Tischler asserted that *ašara-/ešara-* denotes “hell” and proposed “weißes Band” for <sup>sīG</sup>*ašara-* (HEG A-H, 79). Puhvel points out that *ašara-* means “white, bright” and <sup>sīG</sup>*ašara-* should be translated as “[strand of] white wool” (HED 1/A, 206-7).

<sup>49</sup> CTH 402.H; <sup>(11)</sup>*ma-a-an lu-kat-ta nu* <sup>DUG</sup>DÍLIM.GAL MUŠEN *ḫat-ta-an ...*] <sup>(12)</sup>GADA-*aš-ša šu-i-el túb<sub>ub</sub>-ša na-[at-ša-an ...]* <sup>(13)</sup>*še-er da-a-i*. (KUB 41.1 rev. III 11-13); see Jakob-Rost 1972, 42-43. For an updated edition see Mouton 2013, 195-229; A. Mouton (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 402 (INTR 2016-03-23).

<sup>50</sup> *ušantari-* is interpreted by Tischler as “ein positives Beiwort von Menschen und Opfertieren, also etwa, fruchtbar, schwanger, trächtig”, dann von Gottheiten, also etwa, fruchtbringend, segenspendend’ und schließlich auch von Konkreta, also etwa, ertragfördernd, ertragbringend” (HEG U, 111-13). See also the translation “bringing gain, blessings” of Melchert 1993, 246.

<sup>51</sup> CTH 409.I.A; <sup>(53)</sup>*ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma lu-uk-kit-ta nu* EN.SISKUR <sup>Gİ</sup>ZA.LAM.GAR *ú-iz-zi* <sup>(54)</sup>*na-aš ma-aḥ-ḥa-an a-ri nu* GE<sub>6</sub>-TĪ *ua-aš-še-iz-zi nam-ma* SAL.ŠU[.GI ŠÍG ZA.GÌN] <sup>(55)</sup> ŠÍG SA<sub>3</sub> *da-a-i na-at pār-ta-a-iz-zi* “When it becomes light, the ritual patron comes to the tent, and when s/he arrives, s/he wears black clothes. Then the Old Woman takes [the blue wool] (and) the red wool and disentangles it” (KUB 12.58 obv. I 53-55); see Goetze and Sturtevant 1938, 8-9; Lorenz and Taş 2012, 48; CHD P, 198; Cornil 1999, 9.

*mala*-offering<sup>52</sup> and the *uzi*-<sup>53</sup> and *zurki*<sup>54</sup> rites are performed first, and then the purification rite is conducted.<sup>55</sup> Following these, the next paragraph starts with the time indicator *luk(k)atta=ma=kan*, illustrating that a group of rites were performed on the previous day. The following morning begins with the purification of the mouth of the pregnant woman.<sup>56</sup> According to the text, the pregnant woman purifies her mouth<sup>57</sup> most probably with the water in which the *ḫarnau*-birthstool,<sup>58</sup> cedar wood, olive tree and tamarisk wood are laid.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, in the eighth month, the mouth of the pregnant woman is also washed on the (following) morning (*lukkatta=ma=kan*) after she washes herself on the previous day.<sup>60</sup>

Moreover, the purification ritual of Papanegri from Kizzuwatna, which is related to giving birth, is also conducted in the morning. As stated in the text, the ritual patrons return home after having sacrificed one bird for *urnazḫi*-<sup>61</sup> and one bird for *keldi*- in the *šinapši*-house. There is not any ritual performance during the night, but when it becomes light (*maḫḫan=ma lukkatta*), the (newborn) baby is cleansed and a *pabḫiša*<sup>62</sup> is beaten over him/her.<sup>63</sup> Then the offerings are brought at midday, and the ritual is terminated.

<sup>52</sup> *mala-*, is thought to be borrowed from Hurrian *mali*, a term that symbolizes the power of manliness. See Haas and Wilhelm 1974, 67. Kümmel also discusses the relation of this term with adjective *malant*- “üppig, strotzend”; see Kümmel 1967, 125.

<sup>53</sup> This is a Hurrian word for “flesh”. A glossary from Ugarit allows us to trace the term in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian and Ugaritic. RS 20.149 obv. II 3’ contains [Z]U in Sumerian = *ŠTRU* in Akkadian = *uzi* in Hurrian = *šīru* in Ugaritic. *uzi* is frequently mentioned together with Hurrian term *zurki-*, which corresponds with ‘*ešḫar*’ in Hittite by Laroche meaning “blood rite”. Both terms are also used with the verb *šipant-* in numerous Kizzuwatnean rituals in the form of ‘*uzija zurkija šipanti*’. See Laroche 1973, 95-99; Haas 1998, 252-54; Wegner 2000, 154-55; Wegner 2007, 177; Strauß 2006, 92-98.

<sup>54</sup> See n. 54.

<sup>55</sup> CTH 489.A; <sup>(9)</sup>[*ti še-ḫi-el-ḫi-ḫn*]na pa-a-i[( )] “She gives purity ...” (KBo 17.65 obv. 9); see Beckman 1983, 132; Klinger 2010, 185; Mouton 2008b, 110.

<sup>56</sup> CTH 489.A; <sup>(10)</sup>lu-uk<sup>3</sup>kaḫ<sup>3</sup>ḫa- ... -š]Ḫ pa-ra-a ki-iš-ša-an šu-up-pi-ia-ab-ḫi (ABoT 1.21 + KBo 17.65 obv. 10); see Beckman 1983, 132.

<sup>57</sup> Purification of the mouth is a ritual practice, which is mostly evidenced in Hurrian tradition. CTH 777 contains the Hurrian rites of purification of the mouth. For detailed information see Haas 1984.

<sup>58</sup> *ḫarnau-* is translated as “birthing seat” (HW, 58 “Gebärstuhl”; HED 3/H, 174-76). But in this text it should be the figure of the birthing seat that is thrown into the beaker of the fired clay.

<sup>59</sup> CTH 489.A; <sup>(10)</sup>lu-uk-kat[ḫ]a-ma-kán <sup>(11)</sup>AZU KA×U-š]U pa-ra-a ki-iš-ša-an šu-up-pi-ia-ab-ḫi <sup>(12)</sup>AZU-ša-an [( )] <sup>(11)</sup>A-NA GAL GI[R<sub>4</sub>] la-a-ḫu-u-ḫ an-d]a-ma-kán ḫar-na-a-in pi-eš-ši-iz-zi <sup>(12)</sup>GIŠ ERIN-ia-kān] <sup>(12)</sup>GIŠ ZĒ-ER-ḫUM <sup>(12)</sup>GIŠ pa-a-i-ni an-d]a da-a-i nu-za-kán KA×U-š]U pa-ra-a šu-up-pi-ia-ab-ḫi [( )] “But on the following morning [the AZU-priest] purifies [he]r [mouth] as follows: The AZU-priest into a beaker of fired clay ... pours]. But [there]in he throws *ḫarnai*. And cedar(-wood), olive tree [(and) tamarisk<sup>2</sup>(-woods) there]in he places. And she purifies her own mouth.” (KBo 17.65 obv. 10-12); see Beckman 1983, 132-33.

<sup>60</sup> CTH 489.A; <sup>(25/28)</sup>lu-uk-kat[ḫ]a-ma KA×U-š]U wa-ar[pa-an-zi nu Ḫ-N]U-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIR<sub>4</sub> Ḫ-NU-TE<sup>MEŠ</sup> GIŠ-ia ḫu-u-ma-an da-d]n-n]a-ra-an-da-an da-d]š-kan-zi “[But] the following morning they wa[sh] her [mouth, and the uten]sils of fired clay and the utensils of wood - all of them empty - they ta[ke] ...” (KBo 17.65 + ABoT 1.25 rev. 25/28); see Beckman 1983, 142; Mouton 2008b, 113.

<sup>61</sup> See Haas and Wilhelm 1974, 101; Haas 1998, 250; Strauß 2006, 308.

<sup>62</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>*pabḫiša*- is translated as “Stock(?), Gerte(?)” (HW, 153); “ein Gegenstand bzw. Schlaginstrument aus holz, mit dem Geräusche erzeugt werden” (HEG P, 361). Cf. also HED 8/PA, 3; CHD P, 9. For further information see Strauß 2006, 308-9.

<sup>63</sup> CTH 476.A; <sup>(31)</sup>ma-ab-ḫa-an-ma lu-uk-kat-ta <sup>(32)</sup>na-aš-ta DUMU/TUR ša-an-ḫa-an-zi <sup>GIŠ</sup>pa-ab-ḫi-ša-ia-aš-ši <sup>(33)</sup>ša-ra-a wa-al-ḫa-an-zi “But when it becomes light, they cleanse the baby (and) they beat a *pabḫiša* over it” (KBo 5.1 rev. IV 31-33); see Strauß 2006, 294-303; Mouton 2008b, 95-109.



### Other Rites Performed in the Morning

A variety of other kinds of ritual practices, including the (hand-)lifting rite (UGU *appatar*), burial rite, the *keldi*-sacrifice, and the *tubalzi*-rite also tend to be performed in the morning.

To begin with the (hand-)lifting rite, a New Hittite Substitution Ritual clearly illustrates that both the (hand-)lifting<sup>64</sup> and purification rites are performed in the morning. According to the text, the king makes offerings to the Moon-god at night and prays that evil omens, short years and days be taken from him, then transferred to the substitute. Then he performs the (hand-)lifting rite (UGU *appatar*) and washes himself. When it becomes light (GIM-*an*=*ma lukzi*), the king does the (hand-)lifting rite again, then he performs “the ritual of the house” and “the ritual of purification”. Afterwards, while it is still morning the king does “the purification rite” (SISKUR *halalenz*<sup>65</sup>) and sacrifices one sheep to the Sun-god of Heaven.<sup>66</sup>

A burial rite, seen as a variation of the ritual transference in the rites of passage, is mentioned occurring in the morning in the ritual of Wattiti against illness. After creating an analogy with a piece of flesh by placing it into the mouth of a child, who is suffering from the shrinking of his or her entrails, on the ninth day on the following morning when the sun has not yet risen (at dawn) (*lukkatta*=*ma*=*kan kuitman* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*uš nāwi uizzi*), Wattiti rolls the flesh out and buries (*hariya*-) it in an offering pit while proclaiming the analogy between the flesh and the child’s illness.<sup>67</sup>

The *keldi*-rite is among the rites that can take place at the morning period. The term is a Hurrian word translated as “wholeness, health, well-being” (HED 4/K: 142-143). Tischler interprets it as “Heil, Wohlergehen” (HEG I-K: 551). It is a kind of sacrificial rite, and shows the enduring impact of Hurrian ritual traditions, first imported in the Middle Hittite period into Hittite religion. Haas claims that the real purpose of the *keldi*-sacrifice is to restore the contentment of the deities that was somehow disturbed.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, it is also possible to think of the *keldi*-offering as compensation.<sup>69</sup> In the second paragraph of the birth ritual the ritual practitioner bestows purity after performing the *uzi*-rite with a bird and a lamb. Unfortunately, it is not possible to find out at which time of the day the *uzi*-rite is performed. However, the next line starts with *lukkatta*=*ma*, indicating that a new day begins. The rites are carried out on the following morning, including most probably some burning rites with birds. In the same paragraph, it is also mentioned that the practitioner makes the *keldi*-offering with a sheep.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Bawanypeck has recently written an article on the hand-lifting rite in Mesopotamia in the second and first millennium B.C. In her study, she claims that Akkadian *šu-ila* “hand-lifting” rituals, which originally come from Sumerian tradition, were also performed either at night or at sunrise; see Bawanypeck 2014, 76.

<sup>65</sup> A Luwian word *halali*- is translated as “clean” and *halalenz* is the pl. acc. com. (HEG A-K, 126; HED 3/H, 13). For detailed information see Kümmel 1967, 33-34.

<sup>66</sup> CTH 419.A; KUB 24.5 + KUB 9.13 obv. I 28-31. See Kümmel 1967, 10-11; Trabazo 2010, 38-39.

<sup>67</sup> CTH 390.A<sub>2</sub>/C<sub>6</sub>; <sup>(11/5)</sup>lu-uk-kat-ta-ma-kân ku<sup>3</sup> i[-*ma-an* <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš na-a-*ü-i ü-iz-zi* <sup>(12/6)</sup>nu-kân UZU *bu-it<-t>-ia-rî na-at bu-uš-ši-li-ia ha-ri-iz-zi*. (KBo 3.8 + Bo 4010 obv. II 11/5'-12'); see Oettinger 2004, 347-56; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 390 (INTR 2017-03-06).

<sup>68</sup> Haas 1998, 1-3 n. 3.

<sup>69</sup> Schwemer 1995, 81-116.

<sup>70</sup> CTH 430.8; <sup>(12)</sup>lu-uk-kat-ta-ma <sup>(13)</sup>[ ... -zi] <sup>(14)</sup>[ ... pa-*ra*-a ap-pa-an-zi pa-ri-li-ia-aš-ša MUŠEN<sup>III.A</sup> <sup>(15)</sup>[ ... ar]-*ha*<sup>1</sup> wa-ar-nu-ma-aš-ša MUŠEN<sup>III.A</sup> <sup>(16)</sup>[ ... ] ke-el-di-ia IŠ-TU UDU BAL-ti <sup>(17)</sup>[ ... ]x-*ü-ü-ü-pa-u-wa-aš na-aš* EGIR-pa <sup>(18)</sup>[ ... ] “In the morning [ ... ] they hold forth. And the birds of *parilya*- [ ... ], and the birds of burning [ ... ] [ ... ] she makes a *keldi*- offering with a sheep. [ ... ] ... Then [ ... ] they [ ... ]” (KBo 21.45 obv. 12'-18'); see Beckman 1983, 206-9; Mouton 2008b, 132-34; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 430.8 (INTR 2013-01-02). For the term *parili-/parli-/paliri*-, which is attested to a bird in this text, see CHD P, 154-55; Laroche 1980, 195.



Lastly, *tubalzi* is a Hurrian word that is usually identified with the verb *šipant-* in Hittite texts. Although it was considered as an animal name or sacrifice in early studies,<sup>71</sup> recent works tend to interpret it as a kind of offering but not necessarily an identifier of an animal sacrifice. Kronasser claimed that the *tubalzi* is a sacrifice but not an animal sacrifice.<sup>72</sup> Beckman considers that the rareness of the *tubalzi* in Hittite rituals implies that the term denotes something concrete. It is therefore not possible to establish a more precise meaning from the few contexts.<sup>73</sup> Tischler also interprets it as “ein Opfergegenstand und danach Benennung eines Opfers” (HEG T-D: 408). Within the scope of the ritual texts, there seems to be a connection between the *tubalzi* and the post-dawn, morning period. In the ritual for the expansion of the cult of the Deity of the Night, on the fifth day when it becomes light (*mān lukkatta*), the *tubalzi* rite is offered with flat-bread loaves, *mulati*-bread, *gangati*-soup, cress and beer for the deity.<sup>74</sup> The term *tubalzi* is also mentioned on the second day of the ritual of Papanegri. According to the text, after performing the *šebelliški*<sup>75</sup> rite at night (*nekuz mebur*), the second day is spent offering two *tubalzi*. There is also a specific time expression “UD-az ištarna paizzi” that addresses the noon right after stating the *tubalzi* in this text. It is clear that the second day is spent with a *tubalzi* rite since the next line begins with the mention of the third day (*INA UD.3<sup>KAM</sup>*).<sup>76</sup> Although Strauß considers the *tubalzi* rite belonging to the nighttime, in my point of view it is more likely that this rite continued till noon on the second day, namely in the morning period since there is not any mention about nighttime in that part of the passage. However, “UD-az ištarna paizzi” signifies the daytime period.<sup>77</sup> Another example comes from a Kizzuwatnean purification ritual. On the third and twenty-second days of this ritual, in the morning (*lukkatta=ma*) they perform the *tubalzi* rite following the *šebelliški* rite carried out on the previous night, which is very similar to the ritual of Papanegri.<sup>78</sup> In the sphere of the Papanegri and Kizzuwatnean purification rituals, it should be pointed out that the *tubalzi* is usually offered in the morning right after the *šebelliški* rite, which is mostly performed during the previous night. On the other hand, only the ritual for the expansion of the cult of the Deity of the Night describes it as the *keldi* offering performed during the previous night in the temple of the deity before offering the *tubalzi* when it becomes light in the following morning.

To sum up, there are two significant points that need to be considered within the context of the typical rites. First, while ritual texts describe various types of rites associated with the morning period, the phrases designating daytime are comparatively infrequent. Thus, it is not easy

<sup>71</sup> Sommer and Ehelolf tentatively suggested that *tubalzi* is a “Tierbezeichnung”; see Sommer and Ehelolf 1924, 41. Friedrich offered the translation as “ein Opfer oder Opfertier” (HW, 226).

<sup>72</sup> Kronasser describes the term as “*tubalzi*- C/N. kann im Hinblick auf III 25 SISKUR oder <sup>SISKUR</sup>t. doch wohl nur ein Opfer (kein Opfertier) sein, das als letztes im alten Tempel vollzogen wird”; Kronasser 1963, 52.

<sup>73</sup> Beckman 1983, 220.

<sup>74</sup> CTH 481.A; <sup>(12)</sup>*I-NA UD.5<sup>KAM</sup> ma-a-an [(lu)]-uk-kat-ta nu NINDA.SIG<sup>MEŠ</sup> 1 NINDA-mu-u-la-ti-in ŠA ½ UP-NI<sup>(13)</sup>TU, ga-an-ga-ā(i ZĀ.A)]Ī.LI 1 <sup>DUG</sup>ba-ni-iš-ša-an KAŠ <sup>(14)</sup>da-an-zi ūlu (A-N)A DINGIR-LIM tu-ḫal-zi ši-pa-an-da-an-zi* “On the fifth day, when it becomes light, they take 5 flat-bread loaves, 1 *mulati*-bread loaf of ½ an *upnu*-measure, *gangati*-herb soup, cress (and) 1 *ḫanešša*-vessel of beer, and they perform the *tubalzi*-(ritual) for the deity” (KUB 29.4 + KBo 24.86 rev. III 12-14); see Miller 2004, 288.

<sup>75</sup> Derived from a Hurrian rooted term *šehl-* “rein”, this sacrifice was usually offered at night. For detailed information see Trémouille 1996a, 73-94; Strauß 2006, 98-101; Mouton 2008a, 5-6.

<sup>76</sup> CTH 476.A; <sup>(56)</sup>*I-NA UD.2<sup>KAM</sup>-ma 2 tu-ḫal-zi ši-pa-an-da-an-zi* <sup>(57)</sup>*na-aš-ta a-pa-a-aš UD-az iš-tar-na pa-iz-zi*. (KBo 5.1 obv. I 56-57). For the translation see Strauß 2006, 286-303; Mouton 2008b, 95-108.

<sup>77</sup> Strauß 2006, 304.

<sup>78</sup> CTH 479.1; <sup>(28)</sup>*[lu-u]k-kat-ta-ma še-ḫé-el-li-iš-ki EGIR-an-da tu-ḫal-zi-in ši-pa-an-da-an-zi UD 4<sup>KAM</sup> QA-TI*. (KBo 24.45 obv. 28); for the translation see Strauß 2006, 313-23. For the twenty-second day of the ritual, see also CTH 479.2.1; KUB 30.31 rev. IV 29-32.

to distinguish the difference between the rites of morning and those of the daytime. It seems that the rites that begin in the morning period often continued into the daytime and terminated in the evening or at night when a new ritual cycle began. Secondly, the examples above exemplify that there are some ritual practices that are performed both in the morning and at night such as (hand-)lifting, burial and *keldi* rites. However, the rites of purification, whether through binding and separation or washing, as well as the *tuhalzi* rite that seems to have habitually followed the nocturnal *šebelliški* rite, tend to be conducted in the morning period.

### *Invoking the Deities in the Morning*

It is a known fact that the morning and daytime are periods closely associated with the Sun-god. Engelhard argued that the rites performed during the daytime were under the jurisdiction of the Sun-god. However, the Sun-god is not the only deity invoked during the morning period since there are also chthonic deities who receive offerings during the daytime.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, as Mouton points out, the ritual of the Old Woman Wattiti against an illness directly correlates the night to the Sun-goddess of the Earth and the chthonic deities, while the morning to the Sun-god.<sup>80</sup> In the ritual, Wattiti takes black, yellow, red and blue wool, intertwines them, and covers the shaft of an arrow and a spindle from box-tree wood with formerly twisted wools. She lays the objects on a thick loaf of bread, and brings them onto the roof at night (*išpantaz*). She puts them together with the thick loaves of bread behind the water pipe under the stars, and speaks thus: “*The thousand stars will conjure it from top to the bottom, from the sky; let the heavenly gods conjure it, but on the bottom, from the dark earth let the Sun-goddess of the Earth conjure it*”.<sup>81</sup> Then she leaves the paraphernalia under the stars. On the following morning when the sun rises (*lukkatta=ma=kan* <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš *upzi*), she takes them from the roof, breaks the *ħaršaima*-bread for the Sun-god, and speaks: “*During the night the thousand stars and the deities put a spell on it; also the Sun-goddess of the Earth has conjured it. Now, you, the Sun-god, should conjure it*”.<sup>82</sup>

With regard to the concepts of morning and their relationship with the offerings to the deities in Hittite rituals, a distinction can be made between dawn, on the one hand, and sunrise, on the other, in terms of the favorable time to make offerings to the heavenly and chthonic deities. It can be seen in the texts that *karuwariwar*, identified with the dawn in the first part of this study, is the time when the chthonic deities, particularly the Sun-goddess of the Earth, are generally meant to be invoked.<sup>83</sup>

Keeping with the rituals discussed above, most of the examples of contacting the chthonic deities are found in the purification rituals, and dawn is specified as a favorable time to invoke them. The first example comes from the purification ritual of a house. It is understood from the text that the ritual starts at dawn (*karuwariwar*) by opening the house.<sup>84</sup> After entering

<sup>79</sup> Engelhard 1970, 210-14.

<sup>80</sup> Mouton 2008a, 8.

<sup>81</sup> CTH 390.A<sub>1</sub>; “<sup>(21)</sup>*še-e-er kat-ta-at ne-pí-ša-za 1 LI-IM MUL<sup>HLA</sup> (22) ħu-uk-ki-iš-kán-zi na-at DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš ħu-uk-ki-iš-ki-id-du (23) kat-te-ra-ma-at da-an-ku-wa-az ták-na-a-az ták-na-aš<sup>2</sup> DUTU-uš<sup>(24)</sup> ħu-uk-ki-iš-ki-id-du*” (KUB 7.1 obv. II 21-24); see Kronasser 1961, 148-51; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 390 (INTR 2017-03-06).

<sup>82</sup> CTH 390.A<sub>1</sub>; “<sup>(27)</sup>*iš-pa-an-ti-wa-ra-at 1 LI-IM MUL<sup>HLA</sup> (28) DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš-ša ħu-uk-ki-iš-ki-ir ták-na-aš-ša-wa-ra-at (29) DUTU-uš ħu-uk-ki-iš-ki-it (30) ki-nu-na-wa-ra-at zi-ik<sup>3</sup> DUTU-uš ħu-uk-ki-iš-ki*” (KUB 7.1 obv. II 27-30); see Torri 2003, 76; F. Fuscagni (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 390 (INTR 2017-03-06).

<sup>83</sup> Janowski 1989, 98-105.

<sup>84</sup> CTH 446.A; “<sup>(4)</sup>*ka-ru-ú-a-ri-wa-ar<sup>LÚ</sup> AZU É-ir ħa-a-ši [na-aš] É an-da (5) pa-iz-zi<sup>URUDU</sup> AL<sup>URUDU</sup> MAR<sup>URUDU</sup> gul-lu-bi ħar-zi* “At dawn the AZU-priest opens the house [and he] goes into it. He holds a hoe, a spade and a bucket.”

into it and digging the ground with the hoe and clearing the pit with a spade, the ritual practitioner digs in the same way in the four corners of the house and to the side of the hearth. He speaks to the Sun-goddess of the Earth in order to find out the reason for the evil affecting the house.<sup>85</sup> Then the rites are performed to purify the house from evil (HUL-*lu*), impurity (*papratar*), perjury (NĪŠ DINGIR<sup>LM</sup>), bloodshed (*ēšḫar*), curse (*ḫurtai-*), threat (*kurkurai-*), tears (*ēšḫabru*), and sin (*waštai-*). Moreover, in the ritual of Ammiḫatna against impurity, the AZU-priest takes some of the ritual paraphernalia on the first day when the sun has not taken its place yet (*kuitman*<sup>DUTU-uš AŠAR=ŠU nāwi ēpzi</sup>)<sup>86</sup> and goes to the riverbank. After making offerings and libations there, he demands water from the Sun-goddess of the Earth.

The period of becoming light also plays an important role in the funerary ritual. The ritual practitioners make offerings to the deities, which mostly have a chthonic nature. On the third, seventh, tenth, and twelfth days of that ritual, some parts of the rites are performed when it becomes light (*mān lukkatta*). With the exception of the third day, the practices carried out at that period of the day are quite similar.<sup>87</sup> The participants begin to perform the rites when it becomes light. These consist of treating the statue of the deceased and making offerings to the Sun-goddess of the Earth, to the Sun-goddess of Heaven, to the grandfathers and grandmothers (*ḫubḫaš ḫannaš*), to the soul of the deceased, and lastly to the god of the “propitious day (<sup>D</sup>UD.SIG<sub>5</sub>)”. This happens while the statue of the deceased is still in the house. The funerary ritual is a text *sui generis*, and it is difficult to compare it with other magical rituals. However, it is clear that the invocation of both chthonic and heavenly deities takes place when it becomes light in the morning since the term *mān lukkatta* may include both dawn and sunrise.

Furthermore, there are also specific deities that are invoked in the morning in Hittite rituals. For instance, in the ritual of Paškuwatti against effeminacy, after performing the rites in an uncultivated place in the steppe, Paškuwatti and the ritual participants go to the house of the patient, where a bed is placed in front of the offering table of the goddess *Uliliyaši*. While the patient is lying down, either the *KUSĪTU*-garments<sup>88</sup> or the cloak<sup>89</sup> are spread out each night for three days. But on the first day, the practitioner entreats *Uliliyaši* three times by breaking thick loaves of bread at dawn, at midday, and at dusk while scattering groats.<sup>90</sup> It is clear that here *karuwarewar* “dawn” is one of the three periods of the day during which the goddess *Uliliyaši* is evoked (*mugai-*)<sup>91</sup> through a sacrifice of a sheep.

(KUB 7.41 obv. I 4-5); see Otten 1961, 114-57; Miller 2008, 206-17. The text was also edited by Andrea Trameri in his MA thesis, which he is currently revising for publication.

<sup>85</sup> CTH 446.A; KUB 7.41 obv. I 9-22.

<sup>86</sup> CTH 471.A; KBo 5.2 obv. I 42. See Strauß 2006, 216-52; Mouton 2016, 282-319.

<sup>87</sup> On the third day of the funerary ritual after the burning ceremony, the women go to the pyre when it becomes light and gather the bones. CTH 450.I.3; <sup>(1)</sup>*ma-a-an I-NA UD.3<sup>KAM</sup> lu-uk-kat-ta nu MUNUS<sup>MES</sup> uk-tu(-u-ri-ḫ)ḫa-aš-ti-aš li-eš-šu-wa-an-zī* (KUB 30.15 (528/ḫ) obv. 1); see Kassian et al. 2002, 260-61; Groddek 2001, 111-12 (no. 103); Mouton 2016, 126-27.

<sup>88</sup> *KUSĪTU* is equated with Sumerian TÚG.BAR.DUL<sub>5</sub>, which is explained as “an elaborate garment” in CAD K, 585. Košak translates it as “long gown garment”; see Košak 1982, 248.

<sup>89</sup> Both Goetze and Košak translate TÚG.GÚ.É.A as “shirt” by equating it with the Akkadian NAḪLAPTU; see Goetze 1969, 350; Košak 1982, 278.

<sup>90</sup> CTH 406.A; <sup>(20)</sup>*I-NA UD.1<sup>KAM</sup> ma<sup>(21)</sup>3<sup>J</sup>ŠU mu-u-ga-mi ka-ru-ú-wa-ri-wa-ar<sup>(22)</sup>UD<sup>KAM</sup>!(ḪÁ)-ti iš-tar-na pé<sup>J</sup>dī 1-ŠU ne-ku-uz me-ḫur<sup>(23)</sup>1-ŠU me-mi-ia-nu-ša-kán an-da a-pu-u-uš-pát<sup>(24)</sup>me-mi-iš-ke-mi NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA<sup>ḪÁ</sup>-ia<sup>(25)</sup> ku-i-uš ka-ru-ú-wa-ri-wa-ar<sup>(26)</sup>pár-ši-ia-an-na-aḫ-ḫi* “But on the first day, I evoke (the deity) three times at dawn (once), at midday once and at dusk once. In doing so, I speak those very words. And at dawn I break some thick loaves of breads.” (KUB 7.5 obv. II 20'-26'); see Hoffner 1987, 278; Trabazo 2002, 460-61; Mouton 2016, 230-51.

<sup>91</sup> *mugai-* denotes “pray, entreat, beseech, invoke, entreat, evoke” (HED 6/M, 177-84; HEG L-M, 226-28; CHD L-N, 319-22). This verb is generally used in ritual context to induce the return of the angry and absent deity or a

In a summary tablet of the funerary ritual,<sup>92</sup> the ritual practitioner offers one sheep to the deities in the morning (*lukkatti=ma*). But besides the Sun-god and the gods of Heaven, the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the netherworld goddess *Allani*,<sup>93</sup> and the deities of the Earth also receive a sheep offering in the morning.<sup>94</sup>

In a ritual of the Tutelary Deity of the Hunting Bag <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš*, after completing the rites on the second day, on the third day in the morning at dawn (*lukkatta=ma* <sup>INA</sup> UD.3<sup>KAM</sup> *karuwariwan*),<sup>95</sup> the Old Woman goes in front of the statue of <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš*,<sup>96</sup> where she waves the freshly roasted grain over the deity and the augurs. Then she prays to send the evil and terrifying words away, and pours out the grain to the *ḫekur*.<sup>97</sup> From this point on, the ritual practices are performed at night. But on the fifth day of the same ritual, on the (following) morning (*lukkatta=ma*) the augurs come to take the deity (i.e. the statue) from the temple. This indicates that they carry out the rites on the fourth day inside the temple.<sup>98</sup> However, on the fifth day in the morning (*lukkatta=ma*) the ritual practitioner does not go into the temple, and the ritual patron has to give him the ritual paraphernalia to be offered to the Sun-god.<sup>99</sup> With regard to the text, it is significant that the offerings for the Sun-god are made in an outdoor place. Bawanyeck also asserts that the offering rite performed by the ritual practitioner should have taken place at sunrise (*Sonnenaufgang*) in the outdoors.<sup>100</sup>

Finally, the offerings to different deities in the morning are described in the ritual of Kuwanni, a priestess from Kizzuwatna and woman of the temple of Kummanni. On the first day in the morning (*lukkatta*) an offering table for *Ḫepat*, *Zulkappi*<sup>101</sup> and *Temu*<sup>102</sup> is

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disaffected soul of the deceased. For detailed information see also Singer 2002. In his recent study on *mugai-*, Melchert argues that *mugai-* denotes “to rouse, bestir, urge to action” by referring to the study of Laroche; see Melchert 2010, 207-15; Laroche 1964, 20-24.

<sup>92</sup> See the edition of S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net*/: CTH 451 (INTR 2015-06-08). Kapehuš considers that CTH 451 is a text about the case of king’s death in another city and the descriptions represent transporting the body from another country; see Kapehuš 2011, 145.

<sup>93</sup> *Allani* is identified with the Sun-goddess of the Earth in Hittite Anatolia. However, the deity literally is Hurrian in origin and worshiped as “Lady of the Underworld” under the name of Akkadian *Allatum* and Sumerian EREŠ. KI.GAL. The Hittites also used *Allatum* as an Akkadogram for Lelwani during the Empire Period. In the epic of liberation (CTH 789; KBo 32.11 obv. I 1-6) *Allani* is defined as “a young lady who stays at the bolt of the Earth”; see Neu 1996, 30. For detailed information see Haas 1994, 130-33; Popko 1995, 99; Janowski 1989, 98-99; Karasu 2003, 231; Archi 2002, 22.

<sup>94</sup> CTH 451; KUB 30.27 rev. 4-8; see Otten 1958, 98-99; S. Görke (ed.), *hethiter.net*/: CTH 451 (INTR 2015-06-08).

<sup>95</sup> CTH 433.2.A<sub>1</sub>; <sup>(1)</sup>*lu-uk-kat-ta-ma I-NA* UD.3<sup>KAM</sup> *ka-ru-ū-ri-wa-ri* <sup>MUNUSŠU.GI</sup> <sup>PA-NI</sup> <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš* <sup>(2)</sup>*pa-iz-zi*. (KBo 17.105 rev. III 1-2; see Bawanyeck 2005, 90-1; McMahon 1995, 263-74).

<sup>96</sup> CTH 433.2.A<sub>1</sub>; <sup>(1)</sup>*lu-uk-kat-ta-ma I-NA* UD.3<sup>KAM</sup> *ka-ru-ū-ri-wa-ri* <sup>MUNUSŠU.GI</sup> <sup>PA-NI</sup> <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kur-ša-aš* <sup>(2)</sup>*pa-iz-zi* “But in the morning on the third day at dawn the Old Woman goes in front of the <sup>D</sup>LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kuršaš*”. (KBo 17.105 rev. III 1-2); see Bawanyeck 2005, 84-105; McMahon 1995, 263-74.

<sup>97</sup> <sup>NA</sup>*ḫekur-* is traditionally translated as “rock-sanctuary, hierothesion, acropolis” (HED 3/H, 287). But here, as Bawanyeck mentioned, it is the plural form of “der Fels (Felsen)”; see Bawanyeck 2005, 100. For a detailed examination see Rieken 1999, 287-89; Van den Hout 2002, 75; Harmanşah 2015, 43-45; Groddek 2002c, 213-18.

<sup>98</sup> CTH 433.1.A; <sup>(20)</sup>*lu-uk-kat-ta-ma A-NA* DINGIR<sup>LM</sup> *kar-pu-u-wa-an-zi ū-wa-an-zi* “But on the (following) morning they come to take the deity away” (KBo 12.96 rev. IV 20); see Bawanyeck 2005, 76-77.

<sup>99</sup> CTH 433.1; <sup>(21)</sup>*am-mu-uk-kân a-pé-e-da-ni I-NA* UD.5<sup>KAM</sup> <sup>(22)</sup>*I-NA ŠĀ É.DINGIR<sup>LM</sup> Ū-UL pa-a-i-mi*. (KBo 12.96 rev. IV 21-22); see Bawanyeck 2005, 76-77.

<sup>100</sup> Bawanyeck 2005, 216.

<sup>101</sup> This is a Hurrian deity associated with goddess *Ḫepat*. For the texts in which *Zulkappi* is stated, see Laroche 1980, 307; Van Gessel 1998, 602.

<sup>102</sup> For the texts in which *Tenu/Temu* is mentioned, see Laroche 1980, 262; Van Gessel 1998, 480-81. Haas pointed out that he is the vizier (<sup>LU</sup>SUKKAL) of Tešub, and a monthly festival is celebrated in Ḫalab for the deity *Tenu/Temu*; see Haas 1994, 332. Trémouille also claims that the name *Tenu/Temu* is always stated at the end of the list of male deities; see Trémouille 1996b, 98.

prepared.<sup>103</sup> As stated in the text, the rites of the first day possibly last till the evening, as Kuwanni places the ritual paraphernalia at the bedside, and the ritual patron sleeps there the whole night.

### The Fleeting Nature of the Ritual Practices in the Morning

As mentioned in the first part of this article, a fair number of ritual texts emphasize the fleeting nature of the ritual performances during the morning period with the word pattern *mān lukkatta ... karuwariwar*. And an adverb *ḫudak* identifies the verb in order to specify the promptness of the action. The actions taken during the fleeting morning ritual period are mostly designated by the verbs *pai-* “to go”, *ḫenna-* “to drive (away)”, *unna-* “to drive (towards)”, and *uwa-* “to come”. These indicate a change in the ritual space, which most probably necessitated acting in a quick manner.

The first example comes from the ritual of Ašḫella against an epidemic in the army. It is seen that the swiftness of ritual performances during *mān lukkatta ... karuwariwar* is emphasized on the second, third, and fourth days during which the offerings are taken up promptly when it becomes light at dawn. They are brought to the steppe to perform the rites for the deity that has sent the epidemic into the army. It should also be noted that on the morning of the first day (*luk(k)atti*), the “scapegoat” rite is performed by carrying the rams, the adorned woman, one thick loaf of bread, and beer through the middle of the army, driving them outside in the steppe, and leaving them on the borders of the enemies. Likewise, on the second, third, and fourth days of the ritual, the sacrificial ceremony is performed in an immediate manner when it becomes light at dawn (*mān lukkatta ... karuwariwar*). According to the text, the ritual paraphernalia is prepared, and then taken to the place where the ceremony is held.<sup>104</sup>

Additionally, in a Kizzuwatnean ritual to expand the cult of the Deity of the Night on the third day when it becomes light at dawn (*mān lukkatta ... karuwariwar*), the ritual patron comes promptly into the temple.<sup>105</sup> It is noteworthy here that there is an additional sentence mentioning “when the stars still stand”. This possibly signifies early dawn, which was discussed in the first part of this study.

Finally, there are also some ritual fragments including this pattern. In the *taknaz dā-* ritual,<sup>106</sup> at dawn on the morning of the second day, they promptly do some action that is not

<sup>103</sup> CTH 474.1.A.<sub>4</sub>; <sup>(8)</sup>*lu-uk-kat-ḫa ...* ] <sup>(9)</sup>*ti-ia-an-zi* [“In the mornin[g ...] they plac[e]”. (FHG 13a obv. I 8’); see Groddek 1996, 300-1; Groddek 2004, 44-45, 57-58; S. Görke (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 474.1 (INTR 2015-08-14).

<sup>104</sup> CTH 394.C; <sup>(55)</sup>*I-NA UD.2*<sup>KAM</sup> *ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta ka-ru-ū-wa-ri-u-ar ḫu-u-da-ak* <sup>(56)</sup>6 UDU.ŠIR<sup>III.A</sup> 6 MÁŠ.GAL 12 <sup>IDUG</sup>GİR.GÁN 12 GAL<sup>III.A</sup> 12 NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>[RA] <sup>(57)</sup>1 <sup>DUG</sup>*ḫu-u-up-pár* KAŠ 3 GÍR.TUR ZABAR *ḫa-an-da-an-zi* “On the second day when it becomes light at dawn, they prepare prom[ptly] 6 rams, 6 male-goats, 12 GİR.KÁN-vessels, 12 cups, 12 thick loaves of bread, 1 *ḫuppar*-vessel (and) 3 small knives from bronze”. <sup>(13)</sup>*I-NA UD.3*<sup>KAM</sup> *ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta ka-ru-ū(-)u(a-ri-wa-ar)* <sup>(14)</sup>*ḫu-u-da-a-ak nu* 1 MÁŠ.GAL 1 [UDU].NÍTA 1 ŠAḪ <*u-un-ni-an-zi*> “On the third day, when it gets light at dawn, they drive promptly a male-goat, one [ram] (and) a pig.” <sup>(28)</sup>*I-NA UD.4*<sup>KAM</sup> *ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta ka-ru-ū(-)u(a-ri-wa-ar)* <sup>(29)</sup>*ḫu-u-da-a-ak* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ 1 UDU.ŠIG+MUNUS’ 3 UDU.NÍTA *u-un-ni-ia-an-zi* “On the fourth day, when it becomes light at dawn, they drive promptly a bull, an ewe, 3 rams, (and maybe) an ewe to which a ram has not yet gone.” (KUB 9.31 rev. III 55-57; rev. IV 13; rev. IV 28); see Dinçol 1985, 1-40; Mouton 2016, 169-89; A. Chrzanowska (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 394 (INTR 2016-07-13).

<sup>105</sup> CTH 481; <sup>(14)</sup>*I-NA UD.3*<sup>KAM</sup> *ma ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta nu* EN.ŠÍSKUR *ka-ru-ū-a-ri-wa-ar* <sup>(15)</sup>*ḫu-u-da-ak I-NA É.DINGIR-LLM ū-iz-zi* MUL<sup>III.A</sup> *nu-u-a a-ra-an-da* “But on the third day when it becomes light and the ritual patron comes promptly into the temple at dawn, (when) the stars still stand” (KUB 29.4 obv. II 14-15); see Miller 2004, 281.

<sup>106</sup> It is literally interpreted as “to take from/out of the Earth”, which is basically a kind of substitution ritual. For a comprehensive commentary on *taknaz dā-* rituals, see Taracha 2000, 213-24, especially n. 2 on p. 213. For a further bibliography, see Görke 2010, 174-79.



possible to understand due to a gap in the tablet. Then the participants take the precious garments from the storehouse (ÉSAG) and bow to the Sun-god.<sup>107</sup> Additionally, in a fragment of a *mugawar*, when the HAL-priest evokes the Storm-god and summons him to the uninhabited place outside the city, on the first day in the morning at dawn, he goes promptly to the nine fireplaces, and sets nine tables at each place on which the offerings for the deity stand.<sup>108</sup>

## Conclusions

This study was designed to determine the concepts of morning and the perception of time in Hittite magical rituals. Although there is not a predetermined calendrical date for the magical rituals, the texts clearly show that Hittite rituals have their own sense of time. This study reinforces the idea that time had a profound effect on these religious performances and that Hittites were concerned about the time of the rites with due consideration.

There are various patterns used to express the different phases of the morning in Hittite rituals. This supports the idea that the morning is one of the most frequently attested time periods. It is possible to analyze them in two groups. The first includes the terms *luk(k)atta*, which means morning in general and *karuwarīwar*, denoting dawn. The second comprises the word patterns formed by referring to the location and motion of the sun. It should be noted that the latter designates a more specific point of time at morning by describing the position of the sun in the sky. Consistent with the rituals, I observed that the perception of time is strictly bound up with the ritual action and the mention of time usually refers to the beginning of a new group of rites. This study has shown that the rites such as the separation, purification, the (hand-)lifting, *keldi* and the *tuhzalzi* are performed in the morning. This is expressed by the phrases such as *mān/mahḫan lukkatta/i*, and *GIM-an lukzi*, which correspond to the period of becoming light in the morning and probably comprise the sunrise. On the other hand, the burial rite is performed on the (following) morning when the sun has not risen yet (*lukkatta=ma=kan kuitman*<sup>D</sup>*UTU-uš nāwi uizzi*), which means dawn, that is, the period before the sun becomes visible on the horizon.

This article also contributes to the field by putting forward three significant results related with the morning period.

1. The *tuhzalzi* rite was usually performed in the morning after the nocturnal *šehelliški* rite.
2. The Hittites differentiated between dawn and the sunrise regarding the invocation of the deities. Although morning was generally related to the Sun-god, the texts suggest that the dawn (*karuwarīwar*) held a special place as the last moment to contact the chthonic deities, especially the Sun-goddess of the Earth.
3. The fleeting nature of the ritual practices in the morning is mostly expressed by the use of the adverb *hūdak*. This study reveals that it is most probably due to the change of the ritual place identified with the verbs “to go, to drive (away, towards), and to come”, which

<sup>107</sup> CTH 448.2.1.1.A; <sup>(15)</sup>[*lu-uk-ka-ta k]a-a-ri-wa-ri-wa-ar ḫu-u-ḏa-a-ak*<sup>(16)</sup>[ ]x<sup>HIA</sup> *tan-na-ra-an-du-uš ḫe-pū ar-ḫa*<sup>(17)</sup>[ ] [*uš-ṭu* ÉSAG<sup>MES</sup> TUGNÍG.LÁM<sup>MES</sup> *da-ran-zi*] “In the morning at dawn promptly [ ] empty a [little] bit away [ ] they take the precious garments [from] the storehouses” (KUB 17.18 obv. I 15'-17'); see S. Görke (ed.), [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): CTH 448.2.1.1 (INTR 2016-07-01).

<sup>108</sup> CTH 459.1; <sup>(5)</sup>*lu(k)katti=ma* INA UD.1<sup>KAM</sup> *karūwarīwar* *hūdak paizzi*. “But in the morning on the first day at dawn, he goes promptly” (KBo 48.110 + KUB 9.9 + KBo 13.130 + KBo 49.153 obv. I 5); see Groddek 2012, 77; Kümmel 1967, 41; Groddek 2013, 94.

necessitates acting in a quick manner. It also refers to the fleeting nature of the time between the late dawn and sunrise.

This article has assessed the terminology and typical rites of the morning period. Despite the promising results discussed above (see also fig. 1), there is still a lack of studies in the field that focus on the morning period as well as on the other parts of a day. To develop a fuller picture of the perception of time in Hittite rituals, further investigations need to be undertaken.

FIG. 1 Significant results related with the morning period in Hittite magical rituals.

|            | Terms/Phrases   |   | Rites  |
|------------|---|---|--|
| Morning    | <i>luk(k)atta/i</i>   | morning   | Ritual washing and purification, <i>keldi</i> -sacrifice, <i>tubalzi</i> -rite, offerings to the deities.  |
|            | <i>mān/mabḥan luk(k)atta/GIM-an lukzi</i>   | when it becomes light   | Rites of separation, purification rite (SISKUR <i>ḥalalenzī</i> ), (hand-)lifting rite, and <i>tubalzi</i> -rite, invocation mostly of the chthonic deities. |
| Early Dawn | <i>mān lukkatta ... karuwariwar ... MUL<sup>HIA</sup> nuwa aranda</i>                   | when it becomes light ... at dawn ... when the stars still stand                                  | Emphasis on the promptness of the ritual actions ( <i>ḥudak</i> ).   |
|            | <i>mabḥan=ma GE<sub>6</sub>-anza lukzi MUL<sup>UD</sup>.ZAL.LE=kan uizzi lukzi nāwi</i> | but when the night grows brighter and the morning star rises, (while) it has not yet become light |  |
| Dawn       | <i>karuwariwar</i>  | dawn  | Invocation of the chthonic deities viz. the Sun-goddess of the Earth. Emphasis on the promptness of the ritual actions ( <i>ḥudak</i> ).                     |
|            | <i>mān lukkatta ... karuwariwar</i>   | when it becomes light ... at dawn   | Emphasis on the promptness of the ritual actions ( <i>ḥudak</i> ).   |
|            | <i>lukkatta=ma=kan kuitman D<sup>UTU</sup>-uš nāwi uizzi</i>                            | but on the (following) morning when the sun has not risen yet                                     | Burial rite.   |
|            | <i>kuitman D<sup>UTU</sup>-uš AŠAR=ŠU nāwi ēpzi</i>                                     | when the sun has not taken its place yet  | Invocation of the Sun-goddess of the Earth.  |
|            | <i>lukkatta=ma INA UD.x.KAM karuwariwar</i>   | but in the morning on the Xth day at dawn   | Invocation of the <sup>D</sup> LAMMA <sup>KUŠ</sup> <i>kušaš</i>   |
| Sunrise    | <i>lukkatta=ma=kan D<sup>UTU</sup>-uš upzi</i>  | but on the (following) morning (when) the sun rises   | Invocation of the Sun-god.   |



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## Reassessing the Origin of *Polis* in Lycia and Southwest Anatolia

DRIES DAEMS\*

### Abstract

The *polis* was one of the most important community forms in antiquity. Its origins are situated in the Aegean during the eighth century BCE. At the same time, the concept has been applied on a far larger spatial and temporal context. This article will focus on what the emergence of *polis* communities beyond the Aegean heartland entailed. The aim is to move beyond a one-sided Hellenocentric approach. I will discuss the emergence and development of urban and political communities in southwestern Anatolia - focusing on Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia - through archaeological evidence from settlement patterns and material culture. I will study *polis* formation through the lens of push-pull interactions as drivers of community organization by means of a comparison between two models of change: peer polity interaction and the royal policy model. This article shows that the development of political and urban communities, subsumed under the moniker of *polis* formation, should be dissociated from Hellenization and the spread of Greek culture. Complex and multidimensional processes of community formation cannot be unilaterally reduced to Greek influences. The observed changes can be explained by the superposition of actors on multiple levels pursuing their aims and strategies within a locally and regionally embedded context.

**Keywords:** *polis*, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, push-pull interactions

### Öz

Antik Çağ'ın en önemli toplumsal oluşumlarından birisi olan *polis*in kökenleri MÖ 8. yüzyıla ve Ege'ye dayanır. Ancak *polis* kavramı olarak çok daha geniş bir coğrafyada ve zamansal bağlamda ele alınmış ve geliştirilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, *polis*in Ege'nin merkezinde ortaya çıkışına ve bunun neler ifade ettiğine odaklanılmıştır. Amaç, tek yönlü, Hellen-merkezci yaklaşımın ötesine geçmektir. Makalede Güneybatı Anadolu'da, özellikle Lykia, Pamphylia ve Pisidia'da, kentli ve politik toplumların doğuşu ve gelişimi, yerleşim düzenleri ve malzeme kültüründen gelen arkeolojik kanıtlar üzerinden incelenmiştir. *Polis*in oluşumu incelenirken, konuya toplumsal düzenlerin kuruluşunda itme-çekme ilişkilerinin yönlendirme gücü açısından yaklaşmıştır. Bu amaçla iki farklı değişim modeli üzerinden gidilmiş, 'denk toplumlar arası etkileşim modeli' ile 'yerel toplumları yöneten hanedanlık politikası modeli' arasında karşılaştırmadan yararlanılmıştır. Makale, toplumların politik ve kentsel olarak gelişimi üzerine yürütülen ve *polis*lerin oluşumu başlığı altında toplanan araştırmaların Hellenleşme süreçleri ve Yunan kültürünün yayılması ile doğrudan ilişkilendirilmemesi gereğini ortaya koymuştur. Toplumların oluşumu karmaşık ve çok boyutlu süreçlerdir ve sadece tek yönlü şekilde antik Yunan kültürünün yayılmasına indirgenemez. İncelenen toplumsal değişimler, kendi amaç ve stratejilerini takip eden, yerel ve bölgesel bağlamda ve farklı seviyelerde etkin aktörlerin çakışması ile açıklanabilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *polis*, Lykia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, itme-çekme ilişkileri

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## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The *polis* is considered one of the most important community forms in antiquity. The origin of the *polis* is situated in mainland Greece and the Aegean in the eighth century BCE. At the same time, the concept has been applied to communities throughout the (eastern) Mediterranean, far beyond its original spatial and temporal context. This article will focus on what the emergence of *polis* communities beyond the Aegean heartland actually entailed, and how they related to supposed Greek cultural influences. Its aim is to move beyond a one-sided Hellenocentric approach. I will take the case of southwestern Anatolia for a discussion of the emergence and development of *polis* communities from the Iron Age to Hellenistic times. I will particularly consider data from settlement patterns and material culture in the archaeological record to compare regional trajectories of *polis* formation in the ancient regions of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia.

*Polis* formation is a complex phenomenon characterized by interrelated processes of civic community formation, urbanism, territorialization, specialization, and integration in social, political and economic networks.<sup>2</sup> This article will consider this complex phenomenon through the lens of push-pull interactions to elucidate the drivers behind the observed changes in community organization and culture in southwestern Anatolia from the Iron Age to Hellenistic times. To do so, I will compare two models starting from different drivers of change: peer polity interaction and the royal policy model.

This article shows that the discussion on the development of political and urban communities, commonly subsumed under the moniker of *polis* formation, should be dissociated from Hellenization and the spread of Greek culture, especially beyond the Aegean. By contrasting the developments in Lycia in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods with the neighboring regions of Pisidia and Pamphylia, I will argue that the framework of the *polis* as a Greek phenomenon is insufficient to discuss political and urban communities in southwest Anatolia. This complex and multidimensional process cannot be unilaterally reduced to the spread of Greek influences. Instead, the observed changes in community formation and intercommunity interactions can be explained by the superposition of actors on multiple levels pursuing their own aims and strategies within a locally and regionally embedded context.

## The *Polis* as Greek Phenomenon?

The *polis* is considered the quintessential form of community in ancient Greece.<sup>3</sup> In Archaic and Classical sources, four uses of the word *polis* have been identified: 1) stronghold and/or hilltop settlement; 2) nucleated settlement; 3) territorial unit in the sense of the combination of town and hinterland; and 4) political community.<sup>4</sup> These can be reduced to two main usages, often used simultaneously, of *polis* as a physical town and a political community.

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<sup>2</sup> Daems 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Hansen 2006, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Hansen 1996, 25-36.

At the same time, this definition opens up the concept for applications beyond Greece itself. The Copenhagen Polis Centre identified more than 1000 *poleis* throughout the Mediterranean world in Archaic and Classical times.<sup>5</sup> The question can be raised whether such an enormous amount of settlements can truly be covered by a single moniker without disregarding essential elements of variability in community organization and social life. At the same time, the *polis* is considered to have existed over an extensive chronological period ever since its emergence in the early Iron Age. Some scholars argue that the *polis* as the core unit of social and political life ceased to exist with the loss of Greek independence in the Macedonian conquests of Philip II and Alexander the Great, and the subsequent rise of the Hellenistic successor states.<sup>6</sup> Others even argued that the *polis* as a civic community lasted well into Roman Imperial times.<sup>7</sup>

The Greek *polis* was a city-state (i.e., the combination of an urban and political community), and therefore a specific instantiation of the wider phenomenon of city-state cultures, such as emerged, among others, in Mesopotamia in the fourth and third millennia BCE, in Lycia during the Achaemenid period, and in twelfth-century Italy.<sup>8</sup>

The spread of *poleis* beyond the Aegean is often seen as indicative of the movement of Greek people (either as traders or colonists) or the adoption of Greek cultural practices (e.g., through contacts with settled veterans from the armies of the Hellenistic kings).<sup>9</sup> The idea of *polis* as a specific instantiation of city-state culture forces us to clarify exactly what we mean when talking about the spread of the *polis*. Are we tracing the movement of Greek people, the distribution of Greek culture, or are we comparing community formation processes related to the development of political and urban communities through time and space? This issue becomes even more pressing when different city-state cultures coalesce in time or space. One example is Lycia, where a local city-state culture emerged in the Achaemenid period, which was superseded by *polis* communities in Hellenistic times.<sup>10</sup> So what does this supposed transformation actually entail?

### Culture, City-States and *Poleis* in Lycia

Lycia was located on the Anatolian coast between Caria and Pamphylia. To its immediate west laid Kaunos, the first city of Caria. In the east, Phaselis was sometimes mentioned as the final city of Lycia, although it is often seen as part of Pamphylia as well. Towards the north, it bordered the regions of Kabalia and Milyas. As for most ancient regions, the boundaries of Lycia are not easily established, and were subject to considerable change through time. It has, for example, been argued that at its largest extent during the rule of King Perikle of Limyra in the fourth century BCE, Lycia included at least the southern parts of Kabalia.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 53-54.

<sup>6</sup> Green 1990.

<sup>7</sup> Millar 2006.

<sup>8</sup> Hansen 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Billows 1995; Cohen 1995; Keen 2002.

<sup>10</sup> Hansen 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Gay and Corsten 2006.

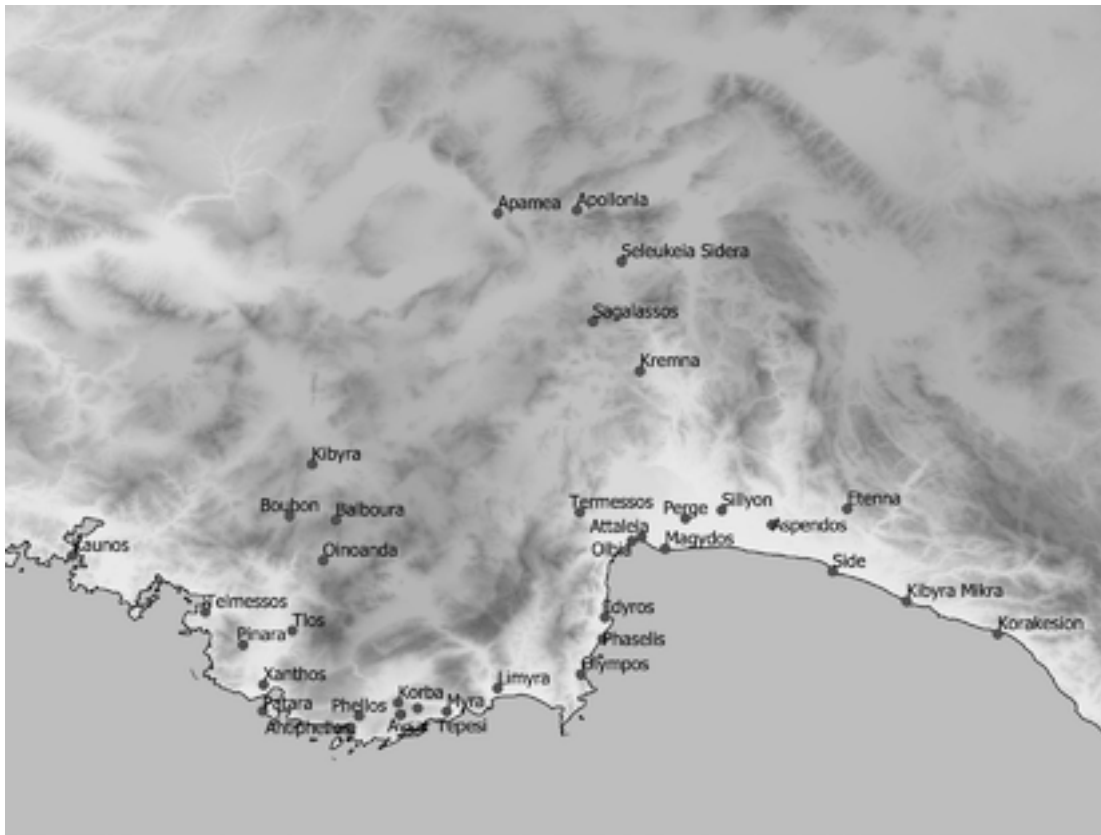


FIG. 1 Map of Southwestern Anatolia with sites mentioned in the text.

Lycia has been highlighted as an important point of contact between socio-cultural traditions from the Near East and the Mediterranean in the first millennium BCE.<sup>12</sup> Some of the most characteristic features are its elaborate funerary architecture, the Lycian language, and a shared coin standard.<sup>13</sup> Of these indicators, monumental sepulchral architecture is the most notable. In his seminal work on the tombs of Lycia, Zahle lists more than 1000 tombs.<sup>14</sup> In Limyra alone, approximately 500 tombs have been identified.<sup>15</sup> Four main types can be discerned: monumental heroon tombs, pillar tombs, sarcophagi, and rock-cut house tombs. While the different types of graves have been linked to differences in social stratification, not enough evidence is available to prove such arguments conclusively.<sup>16</sup> A strong Achaemenid influence has been noted in several of these funerary monuments. One of the most famous examples is the orientaling audience scene found on the “Harpy” pillar tomb at Xanthos. Another famous example of this symbiosis is the Nereid monument (now in the British Museum), possibly the tomb of the Xanthian dynast Erbbina. The lavish decorations of the tomb include typical Achaemenid

<sup>12</sup> Bryce and Zahle 1986, VII.

<sup>13</sup> Hansen 2002a, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted from Keen 1998, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Schulz 1990.

<sup>16</sup> Kuban 2012.

iconography such as an audience scene and a banquet scene. These were symbols of power inspired by Persian royal ideology, and possibly chosen by the dynast of Xanthos to signify his association and legitimation through Achaemenid royal power.<sup>17</sup>

The Lycian language uses the Rhodian version of the Greek alphabet and is found in rock-cut inscriptions and coins dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. It seems closely connected with the Indo-European Luwian language, which was widely spoken in western and south-eastern Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age. It is assumed that the Lycians were part of the Lukka, a conglomerate of communities with close ethnic affinities that inhabited south-west Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age.<sup>18</sup> The Lycians referred to themselves as *Trmmili*.<sup>19</sup> Our use of the name Lycian today derives from the name *Lykioi*, given to them by the Greeks.

The Lycians played an important role in Greek literary traditions. Lycia provided the setting for myths such as the exploits of Bellerophon, and figures such as Sarpedon and Glaukos, who led a Lycian army that participated in the Trojan war as an important ally of the Trojans.<sup>20</sup> The Greeks were well aware of Lycia as a geographical location, and acknowledged its role in their traditions. On the one hand, the Lycians functioned as an antagonist that was to be defeated in combat (as in the Trojan war). On the other hand, Greek literary traditions attributed certain moral and cultural values to the Lycians that were considered characteristically Greek. The Lycian king Iobates, for example, who was supposed to dispose of Bellerophon, was caught between his loyalty to family ties (the instructions given by his son-in-law Proites to kill the hero) and his duties as a host towards Bellerophon who entered his household as his guest. Bellerophon's ascent to the throne, following his victories in the tasks set upon him by Iobates, served to establish the partial Greek ancestry of the Lycians. Yet, it is also interesting to note that the theme of the monster-slaying rider on a winged horse (Pegasus) was derived from the Near East. The figure of Bellerophon therefore seems to embody the strong symbiosis between Mediterranean and Anatolian/Near Eastern cultures characteristic of Lycia at large.

The Lycians were described in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax as an *ethnos* (tribe), and related to a Cretan origin.<sup>21</sup> Diodoros' account of the Anatolian expedition of Kimon in the fifth century BCE describes the Lycian settlements as *poleis*.<sup>22</sup> Arrian, on the other hand, uses the word *polisma*.<sup>23</sup> This term may denote the *polis* as a physical, urban phenomenon without its corresponding political counterpart.<sup>24</sup> All in all, the Greek sources appear to have looked ambivalently at the Lycians, never losing sight of their outsider status.<sup>25</sup>

Little material evidence is known of Lycia from the second and early first millennia BCE. One exception is Tlos, where excavations yielded material dating back to the middle

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<sup>17</sup> Dusinberre 2013, 199-201.

<sup>18</sup> Bryce and Zahle 1986.

<sup>19</sup> Melchert 1989.

<sup>20</sup> Hom., *Il.* 6.156-200.

<sup>21</sup> Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus* 1.173.1.

<sup>22</sup> Diod. Sic., *Library* 11.60.

<sup>23</sup> Arr., *Anab.* 1.24.4.

<sup>24</sup> Flensted-Jensen 1995, 129-31.

<sup>25</sup> Keen 2002.

Chalcolithic, as well as for the Bronze Age, Iron Age, Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.<sup>26</sup> Remains of a dynast's palace were dated to the early Achaemenid period.<sup>27</sup>

The town of Xanthos is mentioned in literary sources as the largest and most important of early Lycia, along with Limyra.<sup>28</sup> Both centers were located on strategic locations in the landscape and originated as nucleated settlements possibly already in the eighth and seventh centuries. Excavations at the acropolis of Xanthos and at Limyra yielded a number of Rhodian and Attic black-figured pottery sherds that could be dated to the eighth century BCE.<sup>29</sup> However, there is little conclusive evidence for architectural remains that can be associated with these earliest phases.<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere, excavations at the Tepecik acropolis of Patara yielded structures dated to the late seventh and early sixth centuries BCE.<sup>31</sup> This indicates that Patara's acropolis, with its sequence of monumental terrace walls, was already laid out at least at this point in time.

In the sixth century BCE, these centers, along with other fortified settlements such as Avşar Tepesi and Telmessos, developed into *Herrensitzen*, or power centers, for local dynasts.<sup>32</sup> Excavations on the acropolis of Xanthos uncovered a large, fortified building that was destroyed by fire around 540 BCE (possibly related to the Achaemenid conquest) and was identified as a fortified dynastic residence.<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere on the site, buildings dated to the fifth century BCE have been unearthed at the Lycian agora, the Southeast Sector, and the so-called Lycian building.<sup>34</sup>

In the early fifth century BCE, many dynastic settlements underwent a phase of urban development. Avşar Tepesi expanded beyond its original fortifications and attained important central place functions for the surrounding hinterland on an administrative, military and economic level.<sup>35</sup> Fortifications were built at Limyra, as attested in soundings at the southern tower in the Western District of the city.<sup>36</sup> Several structures were constructed on the acropolis of Andriake, including a suspected assembly hall.<sup>37</sup>

The main centers at this time appear to have been Xanthos, Limyra, Telmessos, Avşar Tepesi, Andriake Tlos, Pinara and Phellos.<sup>38</sup> The fortifications of these large settlements typically enclosed an area between 10 and 25 ha and housed between 1000-1500 people. During the Achaemenid period, a multi-tiered settlement pattern emerged as bigger centers increasingly started to pull in smaller settlements into their sphere of influence. A range of fortified hilltop sites have been identified throughout the Lycian landscape.<sup>39</sup> Sites such as Trysa, Kyaneai and Korba likely became dependent on Avşar Tepesi.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Korkut et al. 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Korkut et al. 2018.

<sup>28</sup> For an extensive overview of the primary role of Xanthos in Lycia in the ancient sources, see Keen 1998.

<sup>29</sup> Metzger et al. 1972.

<sup>30</sup> Coulton 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Işın 2010.

<sup>32</sup> Hansen 2000, 9; Kolb 2008, 35.

<sup>33</sup> Keen 1998, 39.

<sup>34</sup> Varkıvaç 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Kolb 2008, 60.

<sup>36</sup> Marksteiner et al. 2007; Seyer 2019.

<sup>37</sup> Çevik et al. 2018.

<sup>38</sup> Hansen 2002a.

<sup>39</sup> Marksteiner 2002, 63-64.

<sup>40</sup> Kolb 2008, 60.

In accordance with the multi-tiered settlement pattern, Anthony Keen has argued for a hierarchical political structure in Lycia, with a central dynast who ruled over a number of lesser dynasts, each with a certain degree of autonomy expressed through rights such as minting coinage.<sup>41</sup> Trevor Bryce argued that the Achaemenids initiated a process of political unification in Lycia in the late sixth century BCE.<sup>42</sup> During the fifth century a line of dynasts based at Xanthos, under the suzerainty of the Achaemenid kings, seemed to have held political control over most of Lycia.<sup>43</sup> Others have questioned the political unity of Lycia, stressing the political and economic autonomy of each dynast, and suggesting a more ephemeral process of a centralized dynast taking and losing control over the region periodically.<sup>44</sup> The resultant political structure “may reflect a loose network of political relationships among the various Lycian communities, with Xanthos as the focal point”.<sup>45</sup>

High-tier Lycian settlements in the Achaemenid period were typically highly urbanized and fortified, with varying degrees of political independence and part of a wider cultural entity, displaying strong indicators of cultural cohesiveness. This has prompted the suggestion of an “indigenous”<sup>46</sup> Lycian city-state culture dated from the second half of the sixth century to the first half of the fourth century, that must be differentiated from the Greek *poleis* on the basis of the absence of Greek cultural characteristics.<sup>47</sup>

The distinction between the urbanized communities of the fifth and early fourth centuries BCE and those from the later fourth century BCE onwards is drawn overly stark and even becomes problematic when considered beyond a normative Hellenocentric perspective. The identification of the Lycian communities as city-states - in the form of highly urbanized communities acting as political, economic and social centers - in Achaemenid times seems uncontested at this point. The question is whether they can also be considered Greek city-states or *poleis* and, if not, how they differ from their later successors. The common argument is that Lycian communities only obtained the typical characteristics of Greek *poleis* in the Hellenistic period.<sup>48</sup> Kyaneai, for example, superseded Aṽsar Tepesi as a prime center in the late fourth century BCE, developing into a *polis*, as indicated by its monumental public buildings, cults, coinage and inscriptions using the Greek language.<sup>49</sup> To restate the questions raised in the first part of this article, we must elucidate whether the drivers behind these changes are related to the spread of Greek culture, or whether they are expressions of various community formation processes related to the development of political and urban communities.

The first thing to elucidate is the role of Greeks in Lycia and the various mechanisms of contact with the Greek world. No Greek colonies have been attested in Lycia except for Phaselis (although sometimes considered part of Pamphylia), which is said to have been

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<sup>41</sup> Keen 1998, 52.

<sup>42</sup> Bryce 1983.

<sup>43</sup> Bryce 1983, 1982; Keen 1998.

<sup>44</sup> Hansen 2002a, 9.

<sup>45</sup> Bryce 1983.

<sup>46</sup> I quote Hansen (2002a) who uses “indigenous” to describe the Lycian city-state culture, as opposed to the Greek *poleis*. It should be noted that uncritical usage of the term is problematic, especially as a device of differentiation with a Eurocentric/Hellenocentric heuristic such as the *polis*. To elaborate on Indigenous Archaeology in detail would go beyond the scope of this paper. See Nicholas and Watkins 2014 for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>47</sup> Hansen 2002a, 8-10.

<sup>48</sup> Domingo Gyax 2016; Hansen 2002b; Kolb 2008; Marksteiner 2002; Schuler 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Kolb 2008, 168.

founded by the Rhodians.<sup>50</sup> We can therefore exclude a direct, large-scale influx of Greek peoples in the region.

The Lycian cities entered the Delian League, most likely after the expedition of Kimon in the late 470s or early 460s BCE.<sup>51</sup> Lycia's position outside of the Achaemenid Empire was officially acknowledged in the Peace of Kallias in 462/61. The Lycians appeared in the Athenian Tribute lists, confirming the political association between Lycia and Athens. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the extent of Greek influence on Lycia at this time. Greek decoration motifs and building techniques were used in the Lycian monumental funerary architecture, but strong Anatolian and Persian influences have been noted as well. Lycian dynasts minted silver coinages inspired by Greek types in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.<sup>52</sup>

The Lycian cities appear to have left the Delian League around 442 BCE along with many other cities in southwestern Anatolia. The exact reason for this exit remains unclear, but seems to have not been met with retaliation from the Athenians, suggesting that their membership was not bound by oath.<sup>53</sup> Lycia subsequently reentered the Achaemenid sphere of influence for more than a century. After the death of Erbbina, the last Xanthian dynast, a struggle for power ensued in which Perikle, the king of Limyra, emerged victorious. Under his rule, Lycia would reach its largest extent, expanding northwards into the Kabalia region.<sup>54</sup> After Perikle lost his power and territory because of his involvement in the Revolt of the Satraps (366-360 BCE), control over Lycia was granted to Mausolos, the satrap of Caria.<sup>55</sup> The Hekatomnid dynasty, founded by Mausolos' father Hekatomnos, is considered a strong "Hellenizing" force in Anatolia, bringing in Greek architects, artisans and artists among others to work on prestigious building projects such as the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos.<sup>56</sup>

It has been argued that the promotion of Helleno-Carian culture by the Hekatomnids, followed by the influx of Greek settlers and culture following the conquests of Alexander the Great, initiated a process of gradual suppression of Lycian culture and identity. This resulted, among others, in the disappearance of the Lycian language in written form by the end of the fourth century BCE.<sup>57</sup> Although Greek language was widely used on coins and in official inscriptions, this should rather be interpreted as the result of the development of state-level political and administrative structures associated with the Hellenistic kingdoms, in which Greek was the official language. Scholars have indeed stressed the cultural and institutional continuity of indigenous communities, even in the face of the appearance of Greek in official communication channels.<sup>58</sup> It is, of course, impossible to prove but not unlikely that Lycian remained in use as a spoken language beyond the fourth century. In material culture at least, monumental tomb architecture - the most prominent characteristic of Lycian culture - continued well beyond the Hellenistic period until 300 CE, suggesting strong cultural continuity.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Tsatskhladze 2006; Jacoby "Aristainetos (771)".

<sup>51</sup> Diod. Sic., *Library* 11.60.4.

<sup>52</sup> Harl 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Keen 1998, 123-24.

<sup>54</sup> Keen 1998, 125.

<sup>55</sup> van Bremen and Carbon 2010.

<sup>56</sup> Homblower 1982.

<sup>57</sup> Keen 1998, 175.

<sup>58</sup> des Courtils and Cavalier 2001.

<sup>59</sup> Atik et al. 2013.



Another commonly identified element of change between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods is the urbanization of Lycian communities. Hansen argues that, whereas settlements were highly urbanized in both phases, its urban components were clearly distinct.<sup>60</sup> He highlights that no monumental buildings characteristic of the Greek *polis* - such as the *prytaneion*, *bouleuterion*, theater or stoa - were found in Lycia before the Hellenistic period. However, “palaces” or dynastic residences of Lycia are virtually unattested elsewhere before the Hellenistic period. It can be noted, however, that most of these buildings such as, for example, the *prytaneia* from Tlos and Telmessos or the *bouleuterion* at Antiphellos can be dated to the first century BCE or, more generally, the late Hellenistic period. For most archaeologically attested theaters in Lycia only general dates can be suggested, but it seems that they only start to appear from the second century BCE onwards.<sup>61</sup> The late date of appearance of these buildings suggests that they must be explained by a different driver and cannot be associated with Hekatomnid influence or the transition from Achaemenid to Hellenistic rule in Lycia.

This observation follows the picture that emerged from the inland regions in the northern part of Lycia and the neighboring region of Kabalia. Cities such as Balboura originated around 200 BCE, as attested through local coinage and a monumental description discussing land allotments related to the foundation of the city.<sup>62</sup> Other contemporaneous cities were Boubon, Kibyra and Oinoanda. Together they formed a federal league called the Kybriatic tetrapolis. The emergence of Balboura has been notably associated with a supposed expansion of Pisidian involvement in the area, as was the foundation of Oinoanda as a colony of Pisidian Termessos.<sup>63</sup> However, this hypothesis of external involvement at Balboura has been mainly posited because of the rapid establishment of the urban center and its associated rural settlement pattern resembling more that of a city foundation than a gradual *polis* emergence as seen in southern Lycia.<sup>64</sup>

Clearly, the developments in Kabalia can be differentiated from those of southern Lycia, where similar dynamics of urbanization had already been initiated three centuries prior. Yet they seem to coincide with marked developments in the southern Lycian cities, who were at this time gradually starting to display the characteristic architectural features of Greek *poleis*. By the end of the third and early second centuries BCE, the differences between the coastal and inland areas of Lycia had largely disappeared, and communities of both areas entered into networks of political and economic cooperation. This culminated in the uniting of 23 Lycian communities in the Lycian League. League members gathered every year to discuss problems and vote on important collective decisions. Members had a differing number of votes (1 to 3) depending on their importance. Xanthos, Tlos, Pinara, Patara, Myra and Olympos were the most important members with each having three votes. All members awarded each other *isopoliteia*, or mutual rights of citizenship.<sup>65</sup> It has been suggested that the *triskeles* found on Lycian coinage of the time was used as the league symbol.<sup>66</sup> The league maintained its own institutions, army and coinage until the Romans assumed control over the region in 42 CE.

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<sup>60</sup> Hansen 2002a, 10.

<sup>61</sup> Frederiksen 2002.

<sup>62</sup> Coulton 2012, 64-70.

<sup>63</sup> Coulton 1982; 2012, 63.

<sup>64</sup> Coulton 2012, 245.

<sup>65</sup> Bousquet and Gauthier 1994.

<sup>66</sup> Head 1911.

The evidence for the development of Lycian communities during the Hellenistic period seems to confirm the increased attestations of political and economic features that are traditionally associated with *polis* formation. It has been noted, however, that few indications exist for an immediate widespread impact (beyond architectural stylistic influences) of the Hekatomnids or the early Hellenistic states in the late fourth and early third centuries BCE. Instead, crucial social, economic and political developments seem to take off only from the second century BCE onwards. To offer an explanation for this chronological discrepancy, I will contextualize the picture of Lycia with observations from the neighboring regions of Pamphylia and Pisidia.

### The *Polis* in Pamphylia and Pisidia

Pamphylia covered the coastal plains in the southwestern part of Anatolia, stretching east and west around the modern city of Antalya, originally founded as Attaleia. The first urban communities emerged in Pamphylia in the early Iron Age. By the Archaic period, seven main centers had emerged: Side, Magydos, Olbia, Aspendos, Sillyon, Perge and Phaselis (the latter is sometimes considered part of Lycia). The coastal cities of Pamphylia participated in wider economic and cultural networks across the eastern Mediterranean. They were important stops on trade routes between Rhodes, Cilicia and Egypt.<sup>67</sup> Greek influences have been attested in Pamphylia through material culture, building techniques and language. These influences have been mainly explained through colonization by Greek migrants.<sup>68</sup>

Recent excavations on the acropolis of Perge yielded a suspected sanctuary complex and several house structures dated to the Iron Age.<sup>69</sup> In association with these structures, Greek and Rhodian pottery fragments were found that could be dated to the seventh century.<sup>70</sup> The use of stone masonry, monumental sculpture and a Graeco-Pamphylian dialect in epigraphy are all considered to have been a direct material manifestation of the influence of Greek colonization and city foundations in Pamphylia.<sup>71</sup> The first local coinages from Olbia, Side and Aspendos date back to the early fifth century BCE.<sup>72</sup> Centers such as Aspendos and Perge were also paying tribute to Athens and the Delian League during the fifth century. Pamphylia is considered to have been “an island of Greek cities on the frontier of Greek society”.<sup>73</sup> Phaselis also established political treaties with Athens and Mausolos of Caria.<sup>74</sup>

An inscription from Aspendos mentions the *polis* as a political entity and collective decision-making unit, as well as the *demos*, *ekklesia kyria* and *phylae* as political institutions.<sup>75</sup> It also refers to Greek political practices such as the display of public decrees in the temple of Artemis. In Hellenistic times, Pamphylian communities abandoned their Greco-Pamphylian dialects in favor of the regular Greek *koine*. Some Pamphylian cities also started to profile themselves as full-fledged *poleis* with a Greek-inspired communal organization, such as at Perge where the civic body was divided into tribes named after divinities such as Hermes, Athena

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<sup>67</sup> Grainger 2009.

<sup>68</sup> Adak 2007; Grainger 2009; Mitchell 2017, 14-15.

<sup>69</sup> Martini and Eschbach 2017.

<sup>70</sup> Martini 2010.

<sup>71</sup> Martini and Eschbach 2017, 468-88.

<sup>72</sup> Hill 1897, 93-94, 118, 143-44.

<sup>73</sup> Grainger 2009, xiv.

<sup>74</sup> *IG P* 10; *TAM II* 1183.

<sup>75</sup> *SEG* 17 639.

and Hephaistos.<sup>76</sup> Demographic growth in Hellenistic times resulted in clear processes of city expansion in many Pamphylian cities. New suburbs developed on the lower areas surrounding the acropolis of Aspendos, Perge and Side.<sup>77</sup> At Perge, new fortification structures and a regular street grid plan were constructed in Hellenistic times as well.<sup>78</sup> Additionally, new centers emerged, such as the settlement at Korakesion and the Attalid colony Attaleia. Several of these centers are explicitly identified in sources such as the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax dated to the fourth century. In this text Aspendos, Side, Sillyon, Perge and Phaselis are identified explicitly as *poleis*, along with Idyros and Kibyra Mikra, whereas curiously Olbia and Magydos are named but not explicitly identified as *poleis*.<sup>79</sup>

Let us now turn to the third and final region to be discussed in this article. Pisidia was located in the highland outskirts of the western Tauros Mountains, stretching north from the Pamphylian coastal plains beyond the lakes of Burdur, Eğirdir and Beyşehir. In contrast to Lycia and Pamphylia, it was located fully inland. Pisidia was connected to the Pamphylian coast only through a small number of valleys interspersed among inaccessible mountain ranges. Still, both regions were inextricably linked through seasonal migration, transhumance and other socio-economic and cultural interactions.<sup>80</sup> Various tribes inhabited Pisidia, including the Milyadeis, the Solymi, and the Pisidians themselves.<sup>81</sup> The Pisidians enjoyed a reputation as fierce warriors and unruly subjects, frequently defying the larger powers that be of those times such as the Achaemenid king Kyros.<sup>82</sup> Pisidia is said to have been rapidly Hellenized from the fourth century BCE onwards, following the conquests of Alexander the Great.<sup>83</sup>

A considerable degree of discrepancy exists between the historical sources and archaeological evidence of Pisidia. The texts speak of major, populous cities such as Sagalassos and Selge, with the latter supposedly having a population of 20,000 people.<sup>84</sup> Etenna was even said to be able to field an army of 8000 men to aid Garsyeris, the general of Achaïos, in the war against the Selgians in 218 BCE.<sup>85</sup> Unfortunately, the archaeological record of Pisidia is patchy, with few long-term excavations and most information coming from extensive survey programs such as the Pisidia Survey Project. Strabo recalls a list of Pisidian cities enumerated by Artemidoros including Selge, Sagalassos, Pednelissos, Adada, Tymbrias, Kremna, Pityassus, (Tityassus?) Amblada, Anabura, Sinda, Ariassos, Tarbassos and Termessos.<sup>86</sup>

Few of these sites have been studied in detail. Even for Sagalassos, the most notable exception, little is known from the earliest phases of habitation, which can be traced back to the late fifth century BCE.<sup>87</sup> Later occupation phases, most notably from Roman Imperial and Early Byzantine times, have likely covered or destroyed much of the earlier evidence, making

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<sup>76</sup> Robert 1949.

<sup>77</sup> Grainger 2009, 95-96.

<sup>78</sup> Martini and Eschbach 2017.

<sup>79</sup> Grainger 2009, 76.

<sup>80</sup> Mitchell 1991, 121.

<sup>81</sup> Mitchell 1991, 119.

<sup>82</sup> Xen., *An.* I 1; I 2; I 9:14.

<sup>83</sup> Mitchell 1991.

<sup>84</sup> Strabo 12.7.

<sup>85</sup> Polyb., *Histories* 5.73.

<sup>86</sup> Strabo 12.7

<sup>87</sup> Daems and Poblome 2017; Poblome et al. 2013.

it hard to reliably trace the emergence of these communities. Yet it has been noted that the historical accounts of Pisidian settlements is not corroborated by the available archaeological evidence.<sup>88</sup> Sagalassos is a case in point, described by Arrian as “not a small city”<sup>89</sup> at the time of Alexander’s conquest. However, the archaeological evidence suggests it was likely not more than a sizeable village. The first phase of urbanization observed in the archaeological record of Sagalassos can likely only be dated to the late third-early second centuries BCE.<sup>90</sup> All interpretations of our evidence should therefore be considered in light of the patchiness of the available evidence.

In Iron Age and Achaemenid times, Pisidian communities appeared to have been organized mainly in fortified hilltop settlements. A number of these have been identified in archaeological surveys, among others by the Sagalassos Project and the Isparta Archaeological Survey.<sup>91</sup> These sites can be dated to the ninth to fifth centuries BCE based on the pottery. Few indications for monumental architecture have been attested at these sites, except for their fortifications.

Selge was one of the oldest urban sites in Pisidia, with civic coinage dating back to the fifth century BCE.<sup>92</sup> Most of the architectural remains documented at the site date from Roman Imperial or Late Antique times. But remnants of Hellenistic structures such as a temple, agora, market building, council chamber, and other unidentified buildings can be dated back to the second century BCE<sup>93</sup> Another of the early urban sites in Pisidia was Termessos, which has unfortunately only sparsely been studied. Earlier suggestions of pre-Hellenistic dates for the fortifications and a monumental tomb (supposedly of Alcetas) at Termessos by Lanckoronski have been questioned by later scholars.<sup>94</sup> One of the few securely dated buildings on the site is the Doric double stoa, which featured an inscription attesting the building as a gift from the Pergamene king Attalos II (159-138 BCE). Other structures such as the agora and the temples of Zeus and Artemis are generally dated to the middle of the second century BCE.

It was long believed that a widespread wave of urbanization and associated Hellenization occurred in Pisidia from the middle of the second century BCE onwards, as seen on sites such as Selge, Termessos, Sagalassos, Adada and Ariassos. This was suggested to have been induced by economic prosperity under Attalid rule (as exemplified by the gift of a Doric stoa to Termessos by Attalos II).<sup>95</sup> It has been argued that Hellenistic iconography, architecture and religious innovations observed in the major Pisidian settlements all point towards a distinct Hellenistic influence from the second century BCE onwards.<sup>96</sup>

It can be noted, however, that clear indications of urban change can already be observed in several Pisidian settlements before the time of Attalid control. Monumental public architecture had started to emerge at centers such as Sagalassos by the early second century BCE, whereas other evidence such as coins, inscriptions and historical texts indicate that political

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<sup>88</sup> Poblome and Daems 2019.

<sup>89</sup> Arr., *Anab.* I.28.

<sup>90</sup> Daems 2019; Talloen and Poblome 2016.

<sup>91</sup> Hümmüzlü et al. 2009; Kaptijn et al. 2013; Mitchell 1991; Vanhaverbeke et al. 2010.

<sup>92</sup> von Aulock 1977.

<sup>93</sup> Mitchell 1991, 127-28.

<sup>94</sup> Mitchell 1991; Pekridou 1986.

<sup>95</sup> Mitchell 1991.

<sup>96</sup> Mitchell 1991.

communities were already established in the late third century BCE.<sup>97</sup> Etenna and Kremna at this time started to mint civic coinages,<sup>98</sup> and an honorific inscription from Termessos records how the local assembly and magistrates of the city honored a Ptolemaic official in the year 281/280 BCE.<sup>99</sup> Greek political institutions such as the *boule*, *strategoí* and the *demos* were also attested in an inscription found at Olbasa, dated to the middle second century BCE.<sup>100</sup>

Changes largely coincided with the foundation of Seleucid colonies in the northwest part of Pisidia in the middle of the third century BCE.<sup>101</sup> These included Apameia (formerly Kelainai), Apollonia (formerly Mordiaion), Antiocheia and Seleukeia Sidera. These settlements acted as focal points in the landscape, resulting in a “sparse module of settlement”.<sup>102</sup> These colonies were located at strategic locations to exercise control over road and trade networks between the inland regions and the coast, as well as the Persian Royal Road which connected Sardis with Persepolis. These new Seleucid settlements are considered to have served as “avatars” of Hellenism in Pisidia, exercising influence on the development of local communities. We can again question to what extent the observed dynamics must necessarily be connected to a process of Hellenization. To what extent the Pisidians themselves were thoroughly “Hellenized” on an ethnic level has been questioned based on onomastic evidence such as in the decree of Termessos mentioned earlier. It featured five indigenous Termessian names, and only one Greek name.<sup>103</sup>

### *Polis* Formation and Push-Pull Interactions

*Polis* formation is a complex phenomenon characterized by interrelated processes of civic community formation, urbanism, territorialization, specialization and integration in social, political and economic networks.<sup>104</sup> In the last part of this article, I will suggest an alternative approach based on push-pull interactions to assess *polis* formation in southwest Anatolia beyond mono-causal, normative associations with Greek culture.

Push-pull dynamics have been mainly used as explanatory factors for migration, population aggregation, and other demographic processes.<sup>105</sup> Adler, van Pool and Leonard consider push and pull dynamics as, respectively, exogenous and endogenous drivers of population aggregation.<sup>106</sup> Here I will apply a broader definition. Generally speaking, push-pull interactions can be taken as those factors influencing organizational structures.<sup>107</sup> More specifically, they can be defined as forces operating on various levels and domains, in and between social units, that provide stimuli for the creation, development and disbandment of organizational structures through the aggregation/dissipation of flows of information, capital, people and resources. Pull dynamics are those processes influencing the aggregation of information, capital, people

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<sup>97</sup> Daems 2019.

<sup>98</sup> von Aulock 1977.

<sup>99</sup> Robert 1966, 53-58.

<sup>100</sup> Kearsley 1994.

<sup>101</sup> Cohen 1995.

<sup>102</sup> Hürmüzlü et al. 2009, 240.

<sup>103</sup> Mitchell 1991, 144.

<sup>104</sup> Daems 2019.

<sup>105</sup> Kohler and Sebastian 1996; Leonard and Reed 1993; Zimmermann 1996.

<sup>106</sup> Adler et al. 1996.

<sup>107</sup> Turner 2003, 5.

and resources, thus contributing to community formation and complexity development. Push dynamics are all forces resulting in the disbandment of any such structures and processes.

To apply this framework, it is essential to consider the agency of actors on multiple levels. In this article I have focused extensively on the level of settlements. At the same time, individuals exercise an important influence in the constant shaping and reshaping of society as well. Some of these actors such as dynasts and members of local elites have been preserved in the history books, but the vast majority of them remain unknown. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to assess the impact of most of the actions and interactions of these individuals through the available historical and archaeological evidence. Instead, we must focus on the aggregation of action and interaction through social practices as expressed by the material culture and built environment of communities in the past. This inherently lifts the scope of analysis from the individual to the social or collective plane.

Another important level to include is that of the state. It has been noted that the Achaemenids stimulated dispersed settlements patterns and fostered division among elites in Anatolia to facilitate their rule.<sup>108</sup> The Achaemenid dynasty exerted little direct influence on urban development, focusing on the satrapal headquarters (often in existing centers such as Sardis) rather than influencing the settlement pattern at large. Through these policies, the Achaemenid state coopted local elites, isolated them from their communities, and discouraged horizontal integration among communities.<sup>109</sup> This is in contrast to the complex set of inter-community relations developed in Hellenistic times such as *proxenia* (a citizen named diplomatic representative in another *polis*) and *isopoliteia* (citizenship between two *poleis*).<sup>110</sup>

To provide a structural framework for assessing push-pull interactions across different levels, I will integrate two explanatory models of societal change and assess these against the evidence presented earlier. These models are peer-polity interaction and a royal policy model. It must be noted, however, that - like every model - each of these models focuses on certain key aspects by simplifying reality and omitting details in an attempt to uncover an underlying truth or mechanism. As such, no single model can fully capture the complexity of reality. Only by drawing comparisons and contrasts between different perspectives and models are we able to gain more insight and adequately approximate a given problem or system.<sup>111</sup>

Peer-polity interactions (PPI) was first applied to Archaic and Classical Greece in the 1980s by Anthony Snodgrass.<sup>112</sup> The model has also been applied to the Hellenistic period by John Ma. He argued that the rich epigraphic record of diplomatic relations among *poleis* in Hellenistic times was indicative of peer interactions.<sup>113</sup> PPI essentially entail the full range of interactions between autonomous socio-political units on the same level.

This model focuses on the level of push-pull interactions between communities as driving forces of settlement networks. In the case of the Hellenistic *poleis*, this would essentially mean that the impact of the Hellenistic kings on local communities can be generally disregarded. The question can then be raised whether the many examples of Hellenistic kings intervening in the

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<sup>108</sup> Boehm 2018, 15.

<sup>109</sup> Boehm 2018, 15-16.

<sup>110</sup> Mack 2015.

<sup>111</sup> Page 2018.

<sup>112</sup> Snodgrass 1986.

<sup>113</sup> Ma 2003.

affairs of local communities occurred with sufficient frequency for it to markedly impact the overall trajectory of development of these communities.

The second model considered here is the royal policy model. One of the most prominent examples is the work by Gerassimos Aperghis on the Seleucid royal economy.<sup>114</sup> The main idea of his book is that when Seleukos I assumed power over Anatolia at the end of the fourth century BCE, he initiated a program of economic and political policies to stimulate widespread monetization among the local communities of his empire to finance his military campaigns. This policy required taxes to be paid in silver rather than in kind, as was the earlier custom under Persian rule, placing the burden of extracting and selling surplus production from local lands onto local communities rather than the central administration. This in turn put in motion a chain reaction that created additional market places for peasants to sell their produce. These policies stimulated the development of urban centers throughout the Seleucid Empire, in addition to their extensive program of civic foundations. This model focuses on the Hellenistic kings as a stimulating force behind political and economic transformations observed on the micro-level of individual communities. Another mode of royal interventions in community dynamics is gift-giving. The Attalid dynasty was particularly active in southwest Anatolia through this strategy, as attested by the gift of the Doric stoa to Termessos by Attalos II.

When comparing both models, the main difference is that of the actors behind the observed changes. Essentially, it boils down to how much power a *polis* could wield to influence its own course of history and carve its own path against the wider background of quarrelling kings. Scholars such as Graham Oliver have rejected extensive agency by individual communities by stating that “*Poleis* were often little more than observers, sometimes participants, and on occasion victims, of the ongoing political history around them”.<sup>115</sup> However, even Oliver concedes that *poleis* in the Hellenistic period developed an increasingly complex array of mechanisms and institutions to integrate themselves within a changing world, thus according them at least some degree of agency. I believe that the paradox arises from not differentiating between two levels of interaction: among *poleis* on the one hand and between *poleis* and kings on the other. Without this distinction the separate effects of either level, nor the reinforcing feedback loops between levels, can be adequately identified.

To do so, we need to assess to what extent either PPI or royal policies were significant drivers of societal change and development in Hellenistic times. Here the issue of the timing of change in communities across parts of southwest Anatolia is essential. Starting with the coastal areas of Lycia and Pamphylia, a long tradition of urban communities existed, respectively through local development and colonization. In the Iron Age period, no overarching state exercised control over southwest Anatolia. As a result, the main drivers of change at this time must have been intercommunity interactions or PPI.

Similarly, the supposed “light-touch” style of government in Achaemenid times would suggest a continuation of this trend. Additionally, Achaemenid policies to prevent strong bonds between communities may actually have contributed to ongoing competition and PPI between local dynastic centers, thus stimulating the development of a strong local Lycian culture. Even if a central dynast intermittently emerged and extended his control over the rest of Lycia, the overall political structure was that of interaction and competing peer polities. This power was

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<sup>114</sup> Aperghis 2004.

<sup>115</sup> Oliver 2018, 162.



transferred between different centers at certain points in time, such as from the dynast of Xanthos to Limyra and vice versa. This outcome was unique for Lycia and did not occur elsewhere in southwest Anatolia. Perhaps for this process to take place, the presence of preexisting nucleated communities such as Xanthos, Limyra and Avşar Tepesi was required.

If the main driver of community dynamics was indeed inter-community competition, this would also explain the minimal impact of the transfer of hegemony to the Hekatomnid dynasty of Caria. Given the minimal precedence of Greek influences (at least beyond stylistic impact in funerary architecture), local communities had little reason to change course. Similarly, the conquests of Alexander and the emergence of the Hellenistic kingdoms had little direct impact on local configurations. It was only from the middle Hellenistic period onwards that clear changes could be observed, possibly due to the implementation of changed political and economic policies by the Seleucid dynasty.

The effects of these changes were most clearly observed in those regions where urbanization was comparatively underdeveloped, such as northern Lycia, Kabalia and Pisidia. In these areas, an extensive program of city foundations was initiated on top of the stimuli for development driving changes in existing communities such as Sagalassos in Pisidia.<sup>116</sup> In coastal Lycia and Pamphylia, the Seleucids founded few cities, but rather focused on development of existing centers. As a result, these policies intensified ongoing community formation processes. Whereas the Achaemenid government had stimulated intercommunity rivalry to facilitate its rule resulting in continued dynastic competition, the Hellenistic kings generally discouraged military competition local communities.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps the foundation of the Lycian League can be interpreted as local communities initiating stronger bonds once this policy of active discouragement was suspended. At any rate, the urbanization of inland Lycia levelled the playing field of intercommunity interactions between inland and coastal regions, allowing formal structures such as the Lycian League to develop in the first place. While military action was off-limits, local communities turned towards other means of competition, expressed most notably in the spread of “Greek-style” monumental public buildings from the second century BCE onwards. This is a classic example of PPI. Besides public architecture, this was also expressed in the development of political institutions such as civic assemblies. From this perspective, the identification of Hellenistic city foundations as “avatars” of Hellenization becomes superfluous, and should rather be seen as a potential intensifier of ongoing dynamics of competition and interaction between local communities. This can only be explained by the combination of macro-level policies and intercommunity competition, that is, through the synergy between PPI and the royal policy model.

To conclude, the general picture is that of local communities embedded in long-term regional networks driven by PPI. At certain points of time, most prominently in the middle Hellenistic period, political and economic policies by state-level polities such as the Seleucid kingdom provided additional stimuli on top of existing intercommunity dynamics. These policies resulted in a second wave of urbanization across southwest Anatolia. It is only at this point that the “traditional” *polis* template generally started to emerge in southwest Anatolia.

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<sup>116</sup> Daems and Poblome 2016.

<sup>117</sup> Ma 1999.

## Conclusions

It is clear that the development of political and urban communities in southwest Anatolia, subsumed under the moniker of *polis* formation, should be dissociated from any direct associations with the spread of Greek culture. I have argued that the framework of the Greek *polis* is insufficient to trace the development of political and urban communities in southwest Anatolia, and that this complex and multidimensional process cannot be unilaterally reduced to the spread of Greek influences. Instead, the observed changes in community formation and intercommunity interactions can be explained by the superposition of actors on multiple levels who pursued their own aims and strategies within a locally and regionally embedded context. The only validity for the application of the framework of *polis* formation is as a heuristic concept to trace processes of community formation in the development of political and urban communities, dissociated from any normative cultural associations. The main driving force of these processes of community formation in southwest Anatolia were local communities embedded in long-term regional networks and engaged in intercommunity interactions. On top of these locally-driven interactions, state-level polities sometimes exercised their own policies, intensifying ongoing local dynamics and creating positive feedback loops of development.

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## Banded Bowls from Tepebağ Höyük (Cilicia Pedias)

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### Abstract

Tepebağ Höyük, located in Cilicia Pedias, has revealed different types of bowl forms classified as “Banded Bowls” in the literature of ancient pottery. In this article, banded bowls from the mound are categorized, according to their rims, into five groups: “simple”, “inverted”, “high”, “flat” and “everted-rounded”. High-rim bowls are further divided into two subgroups: “angular rim” and “rounded rim”. In the region, the earliest examples of these banded bowls are dated to the 7th century BC while the latest examples to the 4th century BC. The Tepebağ banded-bowl examples are known from many centers in the Eastern Mediterranean region, but this constitutes the first study on this subject for the Adana region. The banded bowls from Tepebağ have been dated between the 6th and 4th century BC based on the stratigraphic layers of the site.

**Keywords:** Eastern Mediterranean, Cilicia Pedias, Tepebağ Höyük, banded bowls, Archaic period, Classical period

### Öz

Ovalık Kilikia Bölgesi’nde yer alan Tepebağ Höyük’te literatürde “Bantlı Kâseler” olarak sınıflandırılan örneklerin farklı form tipleri ele geçmiştir. Höyükte tespit edilen bu bantlı kâseler, ağız formlarına göre “Basit Dudaklı, Dudak İçi Profilli, Yüksek Dudaklı, Düz Dudaklı ve Dışa Çekik Yuvarlatılmış Dudaklı” olarak beş başlık altında sınıflandırılmıştır. Yüksek Dudaklı Kâseler, Köşeli ve Yuvarlak dudaklı olmak üzere iki alt gruba ayrılmaktadır. Bölgede bu bantlı kâselerin en erken örnekleri MÖ geç 7. ve en geç örnekleri de MÖ 4. yüzyıllar arasına tarihlenmektedir. Doğu Akdeniz bölgesinde birçok merkezden bilinen bantlı kâselerin Tepebağ örnekleri, Adana bölgesi için bu konuda yapılmış ilk çalışmayı oluşturmaktadır. Stratigrafik tabakalardan ele geçen Tepebağ bantlı kâseleri MÖ 6.-4. yüzyıllar arasına tarihlendirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Doğu Akdeniz, Ovalık Kilikia, Tepebağ Höyük, bantlı kaseler, Arkaik Dönem, Klasik Dönem

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The Tepebağ Höyük excavations were conducted between the years 2015-2016 under the directorship of the Adana Archaeological Museum and with scientific advice from members of the Archaeology Department at Çukurova University, headed by Fatma Şahin. They were financially supported by the Adana Municipality. The Banded Bowls discussed here were unearthed in 2015 and being published for the first time in this article. Material from the 2015 season is held in the archives of the Tepebağ excavations. I would like to express my gratitude to Ebru İnceman for her drawings and support during the various stages of this work. Additionally, my thanks also go to Özlem Öztürk for translating this article into English and Ashley Cercone for its final English revision.

## Introduction

Situated in the city center of Adana, Tepebağ Höyük is of strategic importance. Immediately bordered by the Seyhan (Sarus) River to the east, the mound sits on an area measuring 360x620 m and has a cultural fill of 15 m (fig. 1).

The top of the mound is mostly occupied by registered historical buildings belonging to the Ottoman Period that date to the 18th century, as well as modest and ordinary present-day structures. At the top of the mound, an area measuring approximately 70x80 m was cleared of its modern structures to allow for rescue excavations to be conducted (fig. 2). During the stratigraphic studies carried out between the years of 2015 and 2016,<sup>1</sup> levels at a depth of about 5 m below the surface were reached on the mound, which contained a cultural fill of ca. 15 m (fig. 3).

Through the research conducted during these years, it is understood that Tepebağ Höyük was occupied uninterruptedly from the Late Bronze Age to the present day.<sup>2</sup> The identified stratigraphies are presented in figure 4. In the table, the phases printed in bold indicate the strata from which the banded bowls - the subject of this study - have been recovered. Accordingly, Phase 6 of Layer IV of the settlement has been dated to the Classical Period and Phase 7 of Layer V to the Late Iron Age/Archaic Period (6th-4th centuries BC).

## Tepebağ Banded Bowls

A total of 34 examples of banded bowls were recovered at Tepebağ Höyük during the 2015 excavation season. The Tepebağ examples of these bowls with hemispherical or conical bodies and ring bases consist of rim and base sherds. In some cases, the preservation of the rim-body-pedestal enables us to understand the complete profile of the form. The rims of the banded bowls differ in terms of their form. The decorations on the inner and outer surfaces of the bowls, made by using dark paint on a lighter surface display, is almost a standard technique. The aim of this article is to study the banded bowls recovered from Tepebağ and to classify the rims according to their forms and date them. Additionally, this work is of particular importance because it is the first study done on this subject in the Adana region. Regarding the dating of the Tepebağ banded bowls, the stratigraphy of the mound and similar examples recovered from other sites have been considered as criteria.

There are different opinions regarding the origin of the banded bowls recovered across the Eastern Mediterranean region. Some of the examples found in the excavations of Yumuktepe Höyük in Mersin have been introduced in the literature as “East Greek Banded Bowls”.<sup>3</sup> Using the same definition, Coldstream suggests that the East Greek banded bowls are imitations of the Levantine production, and the Cypriot examples could be the local production of the island.<sup>4</sup> These types of bowls, which are not frequently recovered, have especially been found in sites overseas.<sup>5</sup> It has been determined that in terms of form and decoration, the bowls with

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<sup>1</sup> The studies performed at the mound between the years 2015-2016 were carried out under the directorship of the Adana Archaeology Museum and the scientific consultancy of Dr. Fatma Şahin, and with financial contributions from the Adana Metropolitan Municipality.

<sup>2</sup> Şahin 2016a, 2016b, 2017a, 2017b; Şahin and Alkaç 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Barnett 1940, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Coldstream 1981, 19.

<sup>5</sup> Ploug 1973, 38.

a banded decoration were produced with inspiration from Greek models; however, they differ in decoration and clay. Regarding the banded bowls recovered in the Eastern Mediterranean region, it has also been emphasized that these types of bowls could have been produced in Northern Syria, considering their geographical spread within the region.<sup>6</sup> It is unlikely that all of the bowls were of Greek origin and imported into the region.

The examples from Tepebağ Höyük that fall under the definition “Banded Bowls” are categorized into five groups according to their rim profiles:

### Type I: Banded Bowls with a Simple Rim

Eight rim-body and handle sherds found in the excavations at Tepebağ fall into the category “Type I: Banded Bowls with Simple Rim” (fig. 5/1-8).

When the rim forms of these bowl sherds are examined, it is noted that the rims of examples nos. 1 and 2 are incurved. A horizontal circular-sectioned handle attached under the rim is preserved in example no. 2. The rims of banded bowls numbered 3 to 8 differ from the first two examples. In these, the rims make a slight out-curve. At Tepebağ, no examples have been found reflecting the complete profile of these types. However, it has been determined that these types of bowls had low and conical pedestals.<sup>7</sup> Banded bowls with a simple rim may have had no handles, or one or two handles.<sup>8</sup>

Ceramic sherds belonging to Type I possess an almost standardized decoration technique. Thin or thick decorative bands were made by painting dark colors onto a lighter clay color. The placement of the bowl decorations is all the same. The bands were placed on the outer side of the rim and on the rim, as well as under the rim on the inside and close to the tondo. The thickness of the bands decreases as the bands get closer to the tondo. In general, colors such as red, brown and gray were used for decoration. These bowls have a rigid texture because they are well-fired. Additives such as limestone, quartz, sand and mica have been detected in the paste. It is worth mentioning that coarse pieces of limestone are especially seen on the surface of the bowls.

The origin of the banded bowls with a simple rim, classified as Type I, are based on the “Eye and Rosette-Bowls” dated to the 7th century BC.<sup>9</sup> Other than these two groups, vessels termed as “Eye-Skyphoi” bear a resemblance to the banded bowls with a simple rim, in terms of form.<sup>10</sup> The place of production has yet to be determined for the examples of banded bowls with a simple rim. However, Coldstream suggests that the origin of banded bowls could be Cyprus.<sup>11</sup> Incorrectly fired banded-bowl sherds have been found at Kelenderis, a port of middle Cilicia Trachea. Based on this, the examples recovered from Kelenderis have been evaluated as local production.<sup>12</sup>

Spread over a wide geographical region, examples of banded-bowl Type I have been found in the Cilicia Region, the Orontes Delta, Northern Syria, the Levantine coasts, Cyprus

<sup>6</sup> Lehmann 2000, 100.

<sup>7</sup> Arslan 2010, 61.

<sup>8</sup> Gjerstad 1977, 31, nos. 1-8, pl. XII; Lehmann 2000, 91 a1-a2, fig. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ploug 1973, 40.

<sup>10</sup> For eye-skyphos, see Aytaçlar and Kozanlı 2012, 73-74, fig. 157.

<sup>11</sup> Coldstream 1981, 19; Reyes 1994, 132, pl. 43 b-c.

<sup>12</sup> Arslan 2010, 61.

and the inner regions of Anatolia. Parallels of examples nos. 1 and 2 with incurved rims are dated to the late 6th century BC or early 5th century BC at Kelenderis,<sup>13</sup> 425-350 BC at Nagidos,<sup>14</sup> the Iron Age at Mersin Yumuktepe,<sup>15</sup> the end of the 7th century BC to the first half of 6th century BC at Sirkeli,<sup>16</sup> the end of 6th century BC at Kition,<sup>17</sup> the Archaic Period at Marion,<sup>18</sup> the Archaic Period in the Museum of Cyprus,<sup>19</sup> the 5th century BC at Dor,<sup>20</sup> the end of the 6th century BC to the mid-5th century BC at Apollonia-Arsuf,<sup>21</sup> and the Persian Period at Tel Yoqne'am.<sup>22</sup> Similar examples that show the spread of the same form in the inner regions of Anatolia have been found at Kınık Höyük and Türkmen-Karahöyük in the Çumra District of Konya (fig. 11/1-2). The Kınık examples are dated to the Achaemenid Period (6th-4th centuries BC).<sup>23</sup> Examples similar to sherds nos. 1 and 2 have been found among the Iron Age ceramics during the surveys at Türkmen-Karahöyük located approximately 1 km southwest of the Türkmenkarahöyük Village in the Çumra District of Konya. Example from this mound (fig. 11/2) bear a resemblance to these banded bowls in terms of form and texture. However, the sherds differ in terms of decoration due to the large number of concentric circles inside the bowls.<sup>24</sup>

Examples of sherds numbered 3 to 8 of Type I from Tepebağ are dated to the 5th century at Kelenderis,<sup>25</sup> 425-350 BC at Nagidos,<sup>26</sup> the Iron Age at Mersin Karacailyas Höyük,<sup>27</sup> between the 6th and 4th centuries BC at Tarsus Keşbükü,<sup>28</sup> the Iron Age at Karatepe,<sup>29</sup> the Archaic Period in the Museum of Cyprus,<sup>30</sup> the Achaemenid Period at Al-Mina and Tall Rif'at,<sup>31</sup> the late 7th century BC to the first half of the 6th century BC at Sukas,<sup>32</sup> the second half of the 5th century BC to the 4th century BC at Ras Shamra,<sup>33</sup> the second quarter of the 6th century BC at Tel

<sup>13</sup> Zoroğlu 2009, 39, fig. 65, pl. XXVII.

<sup>14</sup> Durukan and Alkaç 2007, 143, nos. 96-99.

<sup>15</sup> Sevin and Özyayın 2004, 86, nos. 1-4, fig. 1; Garstang 1953, 258, nos. 6-7, fig. 161; Özyayın 2010, 77-78, figs. 116, 118.

<sup>16</sup> Arslan 2010, 157, no. 469, pl. 62.

<sup>17</sup> Karageorghis 1977, 62, nos. 2-3, pl. II.

<sup>18</sup> Gjerstad 1948, fig. LVII, no. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Gjerstad 1977, 31, nos. 3-8, pl. XII.

<sup>20</sup> Mook and Coulson 1995, 93-94, fig. 3.1, nos. 5-6, 8, 13, 18; fig. 3.2, nos. 2, 7-8, 10-11.

<sup>21</sup> Kapitaikin 2006, 43, fig. 12, nos. 1-3.

<sup>22</sup> Ben-Tor et al. 1983, no. 7, fig. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Ergürer 2016, 275-76, nos. 282-88, pls. 31-32.

<sup>24</sup> The presence of banded bowls has been detected in the Karatay and Çumra districts of the Province of Konya within the scope of the "Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (KRASP)" carried out under the co-directorship of Michele Massa (British Institute at Ankara) and Christopher Bachhuber (University of Oxford), and the vice directorship of Fatma Şahin (Çukurova University). The ceramics archives of the survey have been scanned for examples of banded bowls from Türkmen-Karahöyük and Göçü Höyük. We would like to thank the project directors for permission to review the archives. For studies of this region, see Massa et al. 2019a, 2019b.

<sup>25</sup> Zoroğlu 2009, 40-41, figs. 67-69, pls. XXVIII-XXIX.

<sup>26</sup> Durukan and Alkaç 2007, 122-23, nos. 93-95.

<sup>27</sup> Kalkan 1999, 50, fig. 3, pl. IId.

<sup>28</sup> Archives of the Tarsus Hinterland Archaeological Surveys.

<sup>29</sup> Darga 1986, pl. VIII, no. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Gjerstad 1977, 31, nos. 1-2, pl. XII.

<sup>31</sup> Lehmann 2000, 91.

<sup>32</sup> Ploug 1973, 39-40, fig. c.136a, pl. 7.

<sup>33</sup> Stucky 1983, 124, nos. 155-56.

Keisan,<sup>34</sup> the 5th century BC at Dor,<sup>35</sup> the end of the 6th century BC to the mid-5th century BC at Apollonia-Arsuf,<sup>36</sup> and the Persian-Period layers at Tell el-Hesi.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, the latest examples of this category have been uncovered during the Tel Mevorakh excavations. The banded bowls found at this site belong to the 4th century BC.<sup>38</sup>

Regarding sherds numbered 3 to 8 of Type I from Tepebağ, similar examples showing the spread of the same form in the inner regions of Anatolia have been found at Gövezli Tepe Höyük in Kavuklar Village of the Ayrancı District in the Karaman Province. These banded bowl pieces are dated to the Late Iron Age (7th-4th centuries BC).<sup>39</sup>

A group of examples classified as “Banded Bowl” in Klazomenai are similar in form and decoration to Type I in Tepebağ. These banded bowls are grouped into two types according to their forms. Type I dates to the late 7th to the early 6th century BC while Type II was found in layers dating to the late 6th century BC. These bowls were probably produced in centers in Eastern Greece and by colonies in the Mediterranean and Black Sea.<sup>40</sup> There are some form and decoration differences between the banded bowls of Klazomenai and the Type I samples of Tepebağ. The walls and bands of the banded bowls in Klazomenai are thinner.

A similar example of banded bowls with a simple rim has been found during the excavations of the Athenian Agora. The Agora ceramic is dated between the years 420-400 BC.<sup>41</sup> This banded bowl is of particular importance because it shows the farthest extent of the group to the west.

The examples belonging to Type I (fig. 5/1-8) are dated between the 6th-4th centuries BC, according to the stratigraphy of Tepebağ Höyük (fig. 9). The stratigraphic date of the Tepebağ finds falls within the general dating of banded bowls.

## Type II: Banded Bowls with an Inverted Rim

Twelve rim-body and handle sherds classified as “Type II: Banded Bowls with an Inverted Rim” have been found at Tepebağ Höyük (fig. 6/9-20).

In terms of form, the common characteristic of this group is the protrusion or rise inside the rim. The protrusion or rise is prominent in some of the ceramic examples. Some differences can be seen among the Type II bowl examples when the outer side of the rim is considered. On bowl sherds nos. 9, 13, 15 and 16, the outer side of the rim has an S-shaped contour. On sherds nos. 10-12, 14, 17-18 and 20, the outer side of the rim joins the body without interruption. The outer side of the rim on sherds nos. 12, 16 and 17 connects to the body with an angular outline. The bodies of these bowls are spherical (sherds nos. 9-11, 13-15, 18-19) or conical (sherds nos. 12, 16-17, 20). In all of the examples classified as Type II, the profile inside the rim shows a downward tilt. Sherd no. 10 enables us to understand the complete profile of the group. This bowl has a ring-pedestal with a torus. On the other hand, the bowl with an

<sup>34</sup> Noted 1980, 126, pl. 22.6.

<sup>35</sup> Mook and Coulson 1995, 93-94, fig. 3.1, nos. 3-4, 6, 9.

<sup>36</sup> Kapitaikin 2006, 43, fig. 12, nos. 5-6.

<sup>37</sup> Risser and Blakely 1989, 94, fig. 88.

<sup>38</sup> Stern 1978, 41, nos. 6-9, fig. 10, pl. 30.1-4.

<sup>39</sup> Ergürer 2018, 71, pl. 16D.

<sup>40</sup> Ersoy 1993, 349, 373-78.

<sup>41</sup> Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 357, no. 1721, pl. 79.

inverted rim and complete profile from Nagidos does not have a torus on the ring-pedestal.<sup>42</sup> The bowl with an inverted rim and complete profile from Sukas has a single handle.<sup>43</sup>

The decoration technique of the bowl sherds belonging to Type II is pretty much standard and similar to the Type I examples. Thin or thick decorative bands were made by using brown, red, gray and black paint on a lighter clay color. The bands were placed on the inside and outside of the bowls. Starting from the rim on the outside, the band continues inward covering the entire rim. In some of the examples, a reserved area inside the rim can be seen. The bands inside the bowls are thin and thick. The paste of this group is well-fired. The rigid paste contains limestone, quartz, sand and mica tempers. Limestone appears as coarse pieces in the paste.

Similar examples to the Type II bowls in terms of form are generally seen at sites in the Eastern Mediterranean. The earliest examples of this type belong to the 6th century BC.<sup>44</sup> A parallel at Kelenderis is dated from the late 6th century BC to the first half of the 5th century BC.<sup>45</sup> In the context dated between 425 and 350 BC at Nagidos, examples similar to the Tepebağ bowls have been found.<sup>46</sup> Among the Iron Age ceramics of Mersin Yumuktepe Höyük, there are also examples similar to the Tepebağ finds.<sup>47</sup> A bowl with an inverted rim at Tarsus Gözlükule Höyük is dated to the 5th century BC.<sup>48</sup> Similar examples have been detected among the surface finds at Tarsus Keşbükü.<sup>49</sup> An example found as a surface find at Tilan Höyük within the borders of Kozan has been dated between 500 and 350 BC, thanks to an analogue.<sup>50</sup>

A similar example of the bowl with an inverted rim was found on the surface at Hisallitepe by the Orontes Delta Survey.<sup>51</sup> In Sukas similar examples of this type belong to the 6th century BC.<sup>52</sup> In Ras Shamra they are dated from the second half of the 5th century BC to the 4th century BC.<sup>53</sup> Classified as Type D, similar examples of the Tepebağ bowls have been dated to the late 6th century BC or the early 5th century BC at Dor.<sup>54</sup> In Tel Mikhal, a bowl with an inverted rim was found in a layer dated from the third quarter of the 6th century BC to the first quarter of the 5th century BC.<sup>55</sup> Other examples similar to this type, in terms of form, have been recovered at Al-Mina and Abu Danna.<sup>56</sup>

Outside of Cilicia and the Levant, similar examples of bowls with an inverted rim have also been found in Cyprus. Examples dating to the late 6th century BC and the early 5th century BC have been recovered from Kourion.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Durukan and Alkaç 2007, 145, no. 109.

<sup>43</sup> Ploug 1973, no. 131, pl. VI.

<sup>44</sup> Lehmann 2000, 90, form 1 a-c, fig. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Zoroğlu 2009, 43, fig. 73.

<sup>46</sup> Durukan and Alkaç 2007, 144-46, nos. 100-13.

<sup>47</sup> Sevin and Özeydin 2004, 88, nos. 3-4, fig. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Hanfmann 1963, 265-66, no. 1232, fig. 88.

<sup>49</sup> Archives of Tarsus Hinterland Archaeological Surveys.

<sup>50</sup> Özdemir 2008, 46, no. 2, pl. XVII.c.

<sup>51</sup> Pamir and Nishiyama 2002, 307, no. 12, fig. 11.

<sup>52</sup> Ploug 1973, nos. 131, 133a, pl. VI.

<sup>53</sup> Stucky 1983, 124, nos. 187-88.

<sup>54</sup> Mook and Coulson 1995, 94, nos. 1-2, fig. 3.4.

<sup>55</sup> Marchese 1989, 145-46, no. 6, fig. 10.1.

<sup>56</sup> Lehmann 1996, 388, pl. 24.

<sup>57</sup> Buitron-Oliver 1996, 44, fig. 46, D18; 46, fig. 48, G13; 53, fig. 54, M6.

According to the stratigraphy of Tepebağ Höyük, the bowls with an inverted rim are generally dated between the 6th and 4th centuries BC (figs. 9-10). The stratigraphic dates of the Tepebağ bowls with an inverted rim conform with the general dating of the banded bowls from across the Eastern Mediterranean.

### Type III: Banded Bowls with High-Rim

According to their rims, the “Banded Bowls with a High-Rim” from Tepebağ have been broken down into two subgroups: “Angular” and “Rounded”.

#### A. Bowls with Angular Rim

Three rim-body sherds classified as “Banded Bowls with an Angular Rim” have been uncovered at Tepebağ (fig. 7/21-23). Bowl sherd no. 21 with an angular rim has a spherical body. On bowl sherd no. 22, the angular rim makes a downward tilt on the inside. The lip of the sherd was placed vertically. The rim angles sharply to the body. From this corner downwards, the body continues conically to the pedestal. On sherd no. 23, the angular rim makes a slight incurve. The continuation from the rim to the body is prominent, and as far as the preserved part is concerned, the body is spherical narrowing down to the pedestal. An example of this type recovered from Kelenderis has a horizontally-placed handle.<sup>58</sup>

The decoration technique of the bowls with an angular rim is similar to the other two groups: bands made by using dark colors on a lighter surface. Starting from the outside of the rim, the band continues inside the lip. On bowls nos. 22 and 23, there is a reserved area before the thick band begins on the inside. The paste of this bowl group contains rigid pieces of mica and limestone as added temper. They are also well-fired and of good quality.

Similar examples of the “Banded Bowls with an Angular Rim” are dated from the late 6th century BC to the mid-4th century BC at Kelenderis.<sup>59</sup> Examples similar to the Tepebağ bowls have been found in a context dated between 425 and 350 BC at Nagidos.<sup>60</sup> The parallels at Yumuktepe Höyük are considered to be Iron Age ceramics.<sup>61</sup> Similar examples of this type have been found at Tarsus Keşbükü.<sup>62</sup> Similar sherds recovered from Ras Shamra are dated to the second half of the 5th century BC and the 4th century BC.<sup>63</sup> The examples similar to this type at Sukas belong to the 6th century BC.<sup>64</sup> The Tepebağ bowls with an angular rim have been recovered from stratigraphic layers dated to the 6th and 4th centuries BC (fig. 10).

#### B. Bowls with a Rounded Rim

There are four sherds which fall into the category labeled as “Banded Bowls with Rounded Rim” at Tepebağ (fig. 7/24-27). Banded bowls nos. 26 and 27 reflect the complete profile of this subgroup. These bowls have spherical bodies and ring pedestals.

<sup>58</sup> Zoroğlu 2009, 42, fig. 72.

<sup>59</sup> Zoroğlu 1994, 62, fig. 71; Arslan 2010, 61, nos. 461, 465, pl. 62.

<sup>60</sup> Durukan and Alkaç 2007, 146, 148, nos. 114-20.

<sup>61</sup> Sevin and Özaydın 2004, 101, pl. 2.1.

<sup>62</sup> Archives of Tarsus Hinterland Archaeological Surveys.

<sup>63</sup> Stucky 1983, 121, nos. 163-64, pl. 70.

<sup>64</sup> Ploug 1973, no. 135, pl. VI.



The decorations on the banded bowls with a rounded rim consist of thick and thin bands painted in red and brown on a lighter surface. The decoration technique bears a close resemblance to the technique of the other groups. There are two bands on the tondos of examples nos. 26 and 27, which reflect a complete profile for this group. The rigid paste, containing mica and limestone as additives, is well-fired.

The parallels of the “Banded Bowls with a Rounded Rim” from Tepebağ are dated between 425 and 350 BC at Nagidos.<sup>65</sup> The bowl sherds from Kelenderis, which could fall into this subgroup, are dated to the 6th century BC.<sup>66</sup> Similar examples of bowls with rounded rims have also been found at Tarsus Keşbüki.<sup>67</sup> The finds from Dor start to appear in the second quarter of the 6th century BC and continue during the 5th century BC.<sup>68</sup> At Ras Shamra a similar banded bowl is dated between the second half of the 5th century BC and the 4th century BC.<sup>69</sup> The bowls with rounded rims at Tepebağ are dated between the 6th-5th centuries BC (fig. 10).

#### Type IV: Banded Bowl with a Flat-Rim

One sherd, which falls into the category termed as “Banded Bowl with a Flat-Rim”, has been found during the Tepebağ excavations (fig. 7/28). The sherd has a flattened lip. Outside the bowl, the rim makes a profile as it connects to the body. As far as the preserved part is concerned, the body continues spherically to the pedestal.

The decoration on sherd no. 28 consists of bands painted in dark colors on a lighter surface. Starting from the outside of the rim, the thick band extends to the outmost margin of the flat surface of the lip. There is a thin band between the two reserved areas on the flat surface of the lip. Beginning from the margin, where the flat surface curves inside, there is a thick band. The paste has a rigid texture because it is well-fired. It contains limestone, sand and quartz additives. On this rim-body sherd, the use of limestone is abundant. Sherd no. 28 was recovered from the layer dated to the 5th century BC at Tepebağ (fig. 10).

#### Type V: Banded Bowl with an Everted-Rounded Rim

One sherd classified as a “Banded Bowl with an Everted-Rounded Rim” has been found at Tepebağ (fig. 7/29). The rim of the sherd is everted and rounded. The rim has an S-shaped contour on the outside. The rim makes a profile as it connects to the spherical body.

Thin and thick decorative bands were made by using red paint on a lighter surface. Starting from the outside of the rim, the band continues on the inner surface of the rim. After the band, there is a reserved area down to the point where the rim connects the body. There is a thick and a thin band on the inside. The rigid paste contains limestone as an additive. The closest example to sherd no. 29 in terms of form and decoration comes from Kelenderis and dates to the second half of the 6th century BC.<sup>70</sup> Tepebağ sherd no. 29 appears in the layer dated to the 4th century BC (fig. 10).

<sup>65</sup> Durukan and Alkaç 2007, 148, nos. 121-24.

<sup>66</sup> Arslan 2010, 61, no. 466, pl. 62.

<sup>67</sup> Archives of Tarsus Hinterland Archaeological Surveys.

<sup>68</sup> Mook and Coulson 1995, 94, fig. 3.5, nos. 1, 4, 6.

<sup>69</sup> Stucky 1983, 121, no. 167, pl. 70.

<sup>70</sup> Arslan 2010, 155, no. 442, pl. 60.

## Banded Bowl Pedestals

Four pedestal-body sherds, identified as banded bowls, have been unearthed during the Tepebağ excavations (fig. 7/30-34). Since the rims of these four sherds have not been preserved, it is impossible to categorize them. Sherds numbered 30 to 34 have spherical bodies and ring pedestals. They are decorated with dark paint on a lighter surface. There are thick and thin brown bands inside the pedestal. On the tondo of sherd no. 31, an irregular circle painted in brown is seen. Similar examples to these pedestals have been found at Göçü Höyük (Karatay District of Konya)<sup>71</sup> (fig. 11/3), Kelenderis<sup>72</sup> and Dor.<sup>73</sup> Sherds numbered 31 to 33 have been recovered from the strata dated to the 6th-5th centuries BC of Tepebağ Höyük (fig. 10). Other pedestals have been found outside of this strata.

## Conclusion

Different types of bowl forms, classified in the literature as “East Greek Banded Bowls”, have been detected at Tepebağ Höyük. The banded bowls recovered from the mound have been categorized according to their rims into five groups: “Simple”, “Inverted”, “High”, “Flat” and “Everted-Rounded Rims”. High-Rim bowls have been further divided into two subgroups “Angular Rim” and “Rounded Rim”. The bodies of these bowls are spherical or conical. The decoration of the banded bowls with different rims displays a simple technique. In this technique, red, gray, brown and black paint was applied onto a lighter surface. Thin and thick horizontal bands were the preferred decoration. Even though the bands differ in thickness, their locations on the bowls are almost the same.

Banded bowls with different rims spread prevalently across the Eastern Mediterranean - Cilicia, Cyprus, the Orontes Delta, Northern Syria and the Levantine coastline and its inner region. The sherds from the Athenian Agora represent the farthest reach of the banded bowl form to the west. The similar examples of banded bowls found at Kınık Höyük, Gövezli Tepe Höyük, Türkmen-Karahüyük and Göçü Höyük indicate that this bowl form was transported to the inner regions of Anatolia. These bowls must have entered these areas as trade goods through pathways in Cilicia. As more literature about Iron Age ceramic wares recovered from surveys and excavations in the region are published, the spread of banded bowls over the inner regions of Anatolia will be better understood.

The basic schema of the Iron Age ceramics of Cilicia consists of horizontal and vertical bands that divide the vessel bodies. The simplest form of this decoration is the wider bands. In Cilicia, horizontal bands started to appear in the Transition Period from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, and continued during the Iron Age. The painted pottery forms of Cilicia and the Amuq Region, dated from the Transition Period to the Iron Age, feature horizontal band motifs such as shallow or deep bowls and jars, which were used together with hatching and wavy band motifs.<sup>74</sup> There are groups of parallel lines bordered by horizontal bands on all of the vessels from the Middle Iron Age. This decorative style of Cilician pottery seems to have been influenced by Cypriot White Painted and Black-on-Red Wares.<sup>75</sup> The products

<sup>71</sup> Massa et al. 2019b, 164, table 2; Archives of the “Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (KRASP)”.

<sup>72</sup> Arslan 2010, 141, no. 271, pl. 60.

<sup>73</sup> Mook and Coulson 1995, 95, fig. 3.6, nos. 1-23.

<sup>74</sup> Ünlü 2005, 2017; Janeway 2017; Jean 2019.

<sup>75</sup> Arslan 2010, 75; 2003, 258-61.

of the ceramic workshops located in Tarsus and Kinet Höyük are local imitations of Cypriot ceramics in terms of form and decoration. Imported from Western Anatolia, Corinth, Samos, Euboea and the Cyclades, the Eastern Greek ceramics, found in many centers in Cilicia and dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC, are generally decorated with wavy, zigzag, spiral and horizontal bands along with bands formed by parallel triangles.<sup>76</sup> The influence of Cypriot and Eastern Greek vessels is evident on the geometric decoration preferred in the local ceramics of Cilicia in the Iron Age.

The use of bands on the open and closed vessels of the Orientalist examples - an important ceramic fashion of Western Anatolia - is at the forefront of decorative style. The wide and thin horizontal bands on these vessels continue from the rim to the bottom of the body. The bands also constitute delimitation for the decoration on the shoulder.<sup>77</sup> Apart from the vessels for daily use and storage purposes, bands are common on amphorae of Miletus, Chios and Klazomenai, all products of the region as well.<sup>78</sup> Horizontal and vertical bands appear among the fundamental decorations of the open and closed, Protogeometric and Geometric vessels of Caria. At the same time, these bands border the decorative elements such as other geometric components and birds.<sup>79</sup> Among the Archaic ceramics of Caria, the basic decorative elements of the Milesian-type amphorae are horizontal, straight and wavy bands.<sup>80</sup>

Besides Western Anatolia and Cilicia, bands were also commonly used as decoration in Cyprus. Bands are generally observed on open and closed Cypriot vessels. Other than bands, there are wide areas on the pottery, painted in black. Sometimes bands constitute the upper and lower borders of the other decorations on Cypriot ceramics.<sup>81</sup>

The bowls categorized as “Banded Bowls” by excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean were accordingly inspired by Eastern Greek ceramics in terms of form and decoration. However, despite this representation, there are some differences in form, clay and painting. Banded bowls are not flamboyantly decorated. In terms of decoration, the band is an important component of the ceramic schools of Western Anatolia, Caria, Cilicia and Cyprus. This decoration was preferred by many pottery workshops of different schools for centuries, as it could be easily made. In this context, it is understandable that the decorative bands on the bowls discussed in this article had been used for a long period of time.

Stratigraphic layers that include kilns or waste ceramics have yet to be identified to prove the production of banded bowls. This creates a problem in determining the place(s) of production. Incorrectly fired sherds belonging to the banded-bowl category, “Type I: Banded Bowls with a Simple Rim”, have been found at Kelenderis. Consequently, it is suggested that the examples from Kelenderis were produced locally. Also, it has been suggested that Cyprus and Northern Syria were other production centers for these bowls. Banded bowls must have been produced in several centers. Overall, the geographical spread of these bowls suggests that the production center(s) was in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

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<sup>76</sup> Arslan 2011, 8-9.

<sup>77</sup> Aytaçlar 2005; İren 2003.

<sup>78</sup> Sezgin 2012.

<sup>79</sup> Özgünel 2006.

<sup>80</sup> Özer 2018, 89-107.

<sup>81</sup> Gjerstad 1948.

Considering the stratigraphy and context of the sites across the Eastern Mediterranean, banded bowls are generally dated between the late 7th century BC and the 4th century BC. The earliest examples of these bowls were produced in the same period as the Eye and Rosette-Bowls. Bearing in mind the dates of these two wares, it is suggested the rosette bowls inspired the creation of the banded bowls. Most likely due to the simple form and decoration technique, banded bowls were produced for more than two centuries. The Tepebağ banded bowls have been identified in the stratigraphic layers dated to the 6th and 4th centuries BC of the mound (figs. 4, 8-10). In general, different types of banded bowls were in use at Tepebağ during these same centuries.

## Catalogue

**Type I: Banded Bowls with a Simple Rim**

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 1   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/71-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.34   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 16 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 3.1 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2.5 YR 6/6 Light Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : A little limestone, a little mica   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an incurved rim and spherical body.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, and a thick dark red band under the rim. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 5th century BC  |



|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 2   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/71-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.34   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 14 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 5 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2.5 YR 5/8 Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 2.5 YR 5/8 Red  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : A little limestone  |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an incurved rim and spherical body. Horizontal circular-sectioned handle.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A light red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area inside the rim, and under the rim one thick and one thin light red band. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 5th century BC  |



- No** : 3  
**Findspot and Year** : BI-32/142-2015  
**Level** : 35.90  
**Diameter** : 17 cm  
**Height** : 4.7 cm  
**Paste Color** : 5 YR 5/6 Yellowish Red  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  
**Additives** : Limestone, quartz and mica  
**Description** : Bowl with a simple rim and spherical body  
**Decoration** : A dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area inside the rim, and under the rim one thick and one thin light red band.  
**Date** : ?



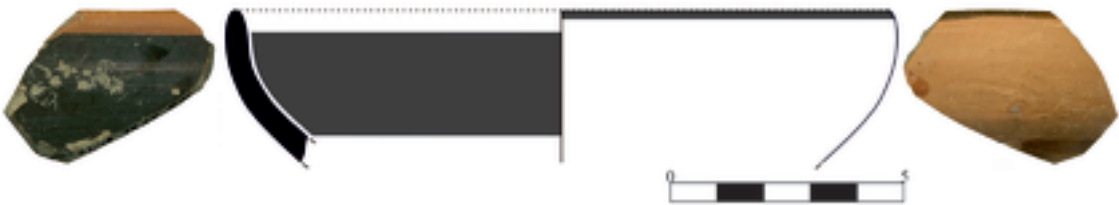
- No** : 4  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/87-2015  
**Level** : 35.98  
**Diameter** : 20 cm  
**Height** : 4.9 cm  
**Paste Color** : 7.5 YR 4/1 Dark Gray  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 5/4 Reddish Brown  
**Additives** : A little limestone and fine sand  
**Description** : Bowl with a simple rim and spherical body. Horizontal circular-sectioned handle.  
**Decoration** : A thick black band on the outside, a reserved area, a dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area inside the rim, and under the rim one thick and one thin brown band.  
**Date** : 6th century BC



- No** : 5  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/93-2015  
**Level** : 35.94  
**Diameter** : 14 cm  
**Height** : 4.4 cm  
**Paste Color** : 5 YR 5/6 Yellowish Red  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 5/4 Reddish Brown  
**Additives** : Limestone  
**Description** : Bowl with a simple rim and spherical body. Horizontal circular-sectioned handle. Three horizontal thin grooves on the outer surface.  
**Decoration** : A dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, and a thin brown band.  
**Date** : 6th century BC



- No** : 6  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/87-2015  
**Level** : 36.00  
**Diameter** : ?  
**Height** : 3.2 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2.5 YR 4/1 Dark Reddish Gray  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  
**Additives** : A little limestone, a little mica  
**Description** : Bowl with a simple rim and spherical body.  
**Decoration** : A thin gray band outside the rim, a reserved area inside the rim, and a thick gray band inside the rim.  
**Date** : 6th century BC





|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 7   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/140-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.05   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 12 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 3.0 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2,5 YR 5/8 Light Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 7/6 Reddish Yellow                                       |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with a simple rim and spherical body.                    |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 6th century BC  |



|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 8  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/190-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.72  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 13 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 3.1 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2,5 YR 6/8 Light Red   |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/8 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone, mica  |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with a simple rim and spherical body. Horizontal circular-sectioned handle. |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A reddish brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside.               |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 4th century BC   |



**Type II: Banded Bowls with an Inverted Rim**

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 9   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-33/14-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 39.65   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 30 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 6.3 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 7/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 7/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Mica and sand   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body. Stepped connection between rim and body on the outer surface. |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, a thin band.         |
| <b>Date</b>              | : ?   |



|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 10   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/34-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 38.74  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 24 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 7.6 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2.5 YR 6/6 Light Red   |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/4 Light Reddish Brown   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone and mica   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an inverted rim, spherical body and ring base. Irregular thin grooves on the outside portion of the rim.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, a thin band, two concentric bands on the tondo, and a solid circle in the center. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : ?  |



- No** : 11  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/1-2015  
**Level** : 37.79  
**Diameter** : 27 cm  
**Height** : 4.5 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2.5 YR 6/8 Light Red  
**Surface Color** : 2.5 YR 6/8 Light Red  
**Additives** : Mica and fine stone  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body.  
**Decoration** : A dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside.  
**Date** : ?



- No** : 12  
**Findspot and Year** : BI-32/131-2015  
**Level** : 36.04  
**Diameter** : 22 cm  
**Height** : 3.4 cm  
**Paste Color** : 7.5 YR 5/4 Brown  
**Surface Color** : 7.5 YR 5/4 Brown  
**Additives** : Limestone, mica and fine stone  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and conical body.  
**Decoration** : A thick brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside.  
**Date** : 6th century BC



- No** : 13  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/46-2015  
**Level** : 36.83  
**Diameter** : 18 cm  
**Height** : 4 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2.5 YR 5/6 Red Yellow  
**Surface Color** : 2.5 YR 6/6 Light Red  
**Additives** : Limestone, quartz and a little mica  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body.  
**Decoration** : A thick red band on the outside, a reserved area, a dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, and a thick red band on the inside.  
**Date** : 4th century BC



- No** : 14  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/83-2015  
**Level** : 36.03  
**Diameter** : 25 cm  
**Height** : 3.1 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2.5 YR 6/6 Red Yellow  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  
**Additives** : A little limestone and a little mica  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body.  
**Decoration** : A thick dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside.  
**Date** : 6th century BC



- No** : 15  
**Findspot and Year** : BI-32/1-2015  
**Level** : 39.40  
**Diameter** : 25 cm  
**Height** : 4.6 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2.5 YR 3/1 Dark Reddish Gray  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 5/4 Reddish Brown  
**Additives** : Limestone and sand  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body. Stepped connection between rim and body on the outer surface.  
**Decoration** : A thin dark gray band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area and a thick gray band on the inside.  
**Date** : ?



- No** : 16  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/122-2015  
**Level** : 35.50  
**Diameter** : 29 cm  
**Height** : 6.1 cm  
**Paste Color** : 5 YR 7/4 Pink  
**Surface Color** : 10 YR 7/4 Very Pale Brown  
**Additives** : Limestone and sand  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and conical body.  
**Decoration** : A thin dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area on the lip, and on the inside a thick brown band under the rim, a reserved area, and a thin brown band.  
**Date** : 6th century BC



|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 17   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/53-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.67  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 22 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 6.4 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 6/4 Light Reddish Brown   |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone and a little mica  |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an inverted rim, conical body and a single thin groove on the inside.  |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thin dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area on the lip, and on the inside a thick brown band under the rim, a reserved area, and a thin brown band. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 4th century BC   |



|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 18  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/146-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 35.79   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 30 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 2.7 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 5/6 Yellowish Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone and a little quartz   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area and a thick red band on the inside. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 6th century BC  |



- No** : 19  
**Findspot and Year** : BI-32/114-2015  
**Level** : 36.30  
**Diameter** : 22 cm  
**Height** : 3.2 cm  
**Paste Color** : 7.5 YR 6/4 Light Brown  
**Surface Color** : 7.5 YR 6/4 Light Brown  
**Additives** : A little limestone and a little sand  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body. Stepped connection between rim and body on the outer surface.  
**Decoration** : A thick black band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area on the lip and a thick dark brown band.  
**Date** : 5th century BC



- No** : 20  
**Findspot and Year** : BI-32/193-2015  
**Level** : 36.80  
**Diameter** : 24 cm  
**Height** : 4.2 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2,5 YR 5/8 Light Red  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 6/6 Light Red  
**Additives** : Limestone  
**Description** : Bowl with an inverted rim and spherical body.  
**Decoration** : A thick dark red band on the outside, a reserved area, a thick dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area on the lip, a thick dark red band on the inside and a red band.  
**Date** : 4th century BC





### Type III: Banded Bowls with a High-Rim

#### A. Bowls with an Angular Rim

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 21   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/86-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.86  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 27 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 7.6 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 7.5 YR 7/4 Pink  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone  |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an angular rim and spherical body.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, a thick dark brown band on the inside, a reserved area and a thin brown band. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 4th century BC   |



|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 22   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/146-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 35.79  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 14 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 2.9 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Mica   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an inward curved angular rim and conical body.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, a thick dark brown band on the inside, a reserved area and a thin brown band. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 6th century BC   |



|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 23  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/48-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.75   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 22 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 2.6 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2.5 YR 6/6 Light Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : A little limestone  |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an angular rim and spherical body.  |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area, a thick dark brown band on the inside. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 4th century BC  |



#### B. Bowls with a Rounded Rim

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 24   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/146-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.38  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 19 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 3.6 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone and mica   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an out-curved rounded rim and spherical body. A single deep groove on the outer surface. |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside.                                |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 5th century BC   |



|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 25   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/118-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.18  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 20 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 3.3 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 5/6 Yellowish Red   |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : A little limestone   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with a rounded rim and spherical body.  |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thin dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area and a thick red band on the inside. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 6th century BC   |



|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 26  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/1-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 37.79   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 20 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 6.8 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2.5 YR 5/6 Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 2.5 YR 5/6 Red  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone and a little mica   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with a rounded rim, spherical body and ring base. Irregular deep grooves on the surface.                                     |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, and two thin and thick brown concentric bands on the tondo. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : ?   |



|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 27  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/208-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 35.26   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 22 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 6.6 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2.5 YR 6/8 Light Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 2.5 YR 6/8 Light Red  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with a rounded rim, spherical body and ring base. Wide grooves on the outside.                                 |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, and two thin red concentric bands on the tondo. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 6th century BC  |



#### Type IV: Banded Bowl with a Flat-Rim

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>No</b>                | : 28   |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/144-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.38  |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 24 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 3.8 cm   |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 7.5 YR 7/4 Pink  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone, a little sand and a little quartz   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with a flat-rim and spherical body. Stepped connection between rim and body on the outer surface.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A light brown band covering the rim from the outside and inside, a reserved area on the lip, a thin light brown band on the lip, a reserved area, and a thick dark brown band on the inside. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 5th century BC   |

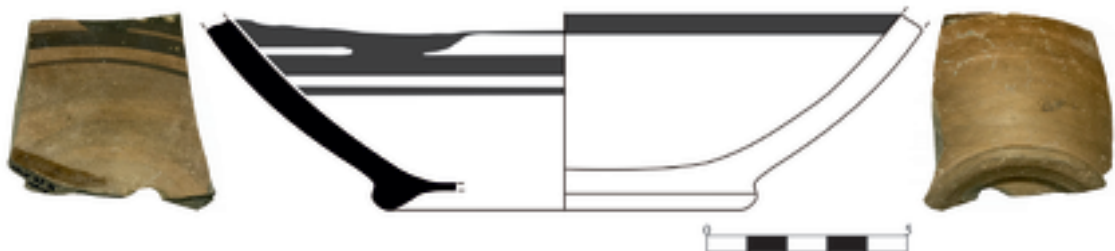


**Type V: Banded Bowl with Everted-Rounded Rim**

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 29  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/92-2015   |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.84   |
| <b>Diameter</b>          | : 16 cm   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 3.1 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 2.5 YR 5/8 Red  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : A little fine limestone   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with an everted-rounded rim and spherical body. Stepped connection between rim and body on the outer surface.  |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick dark red band covering the rim from the outside and inside, on the inside a reserved area on the lip, a thick red band, a reserved area, and a thin red band. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 4th century BC  |

**Banded Bowl Pedestals**

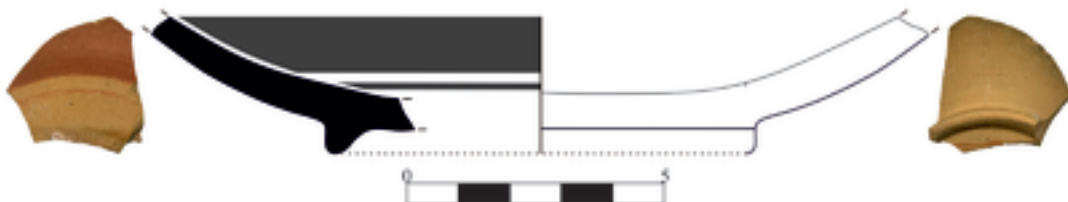
|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 30  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BJ-32/149-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 35.70   |
| <b>Base Diameter</b>     | : 9 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 4.9 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 10 YR 4/2 Dark Grayish Brown  |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 7.5 YR 5/4 Brown  |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with spherical body and ring base.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A brown band outside the body, a thick brown band inside, a reserved area, a thick brown band, a reserved area and a thin brown band. The bands inside the bowl are concentric. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : ?   |



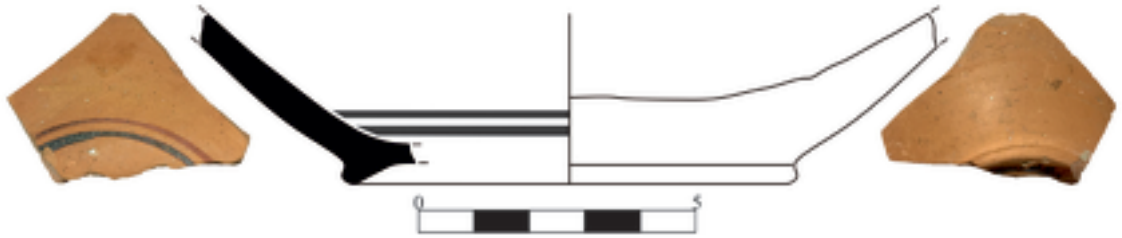
|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 31  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/145-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 35.76   |
| <b>Base Diameter</b>     | : 5 cm  |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 4.5 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Fine limestone, a little mica   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with spherical body and ring base.   |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick brown band inside the body, a reserved area, a thick brown band, a reserved area, a thin brown band, and an irregular, painted circle on the tondo. The bands inside the bowl are concentric. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 4th century BC  |



|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <b>No</b>                | : 32  |
| <b>Findspot and Year</b> | : BI-32/114-2015  |
| <b>Level</b>             | : 36.35   |
| <b>Base Diameter</b>     | : ?   |
| <b>Height</b>            | : 2.7 cm  |
| <b>Paste Color</b>       | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Surface Color</b>     | : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow   |
| <b>Additives</b>         | : Limestone   |
| <b>Description</b>       | : Bowl with spherical body and ring base.                             |
| <b>Decoration</b>        | : A thick red band inside the body, a reserved area, a thin red band. |
| <b>Date</b>              | : 5th century BC  |



- No** : 33  
**Findspot and Year** : BJ-32/65-2015  
**Level** : 36.42  
**Base Diameter** : 8 cm  
**Height** : 4.1 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2.5 YR 6/8 Light Red  
**Surface Color** : 2.5 YR 6/8 Light Red  
**Additives** : Limestone  
**Description** : Bowl with spherical body and ring base.  
**Decoration** : A thin brown band inside the body, a reserved area, a thin brown band. The bands inside the bowl are concentric.  
**Date** : 5th century BC



- No** : 34  
**Findspot and Year** : BI-32/67-2015  
**Level** : 39.25  
**Base Diameter** : 8 cm  
**Height** : 3.0 cm  
**Paste Color** : 2.5 YR 6/8 Light Red  
**Surface Color** : 5 YR 6/6 Reddish Yellow  
**Additives** : Limestone  
**Description** : Bowl with a spherical body and ring base.  
**Decoration** : A red band outside the body, a red band inside the body, a reserved area, a thin brown band, a reserved area and a thin brown band. The bands inside the bowl are concentric.  
**Date** : ?





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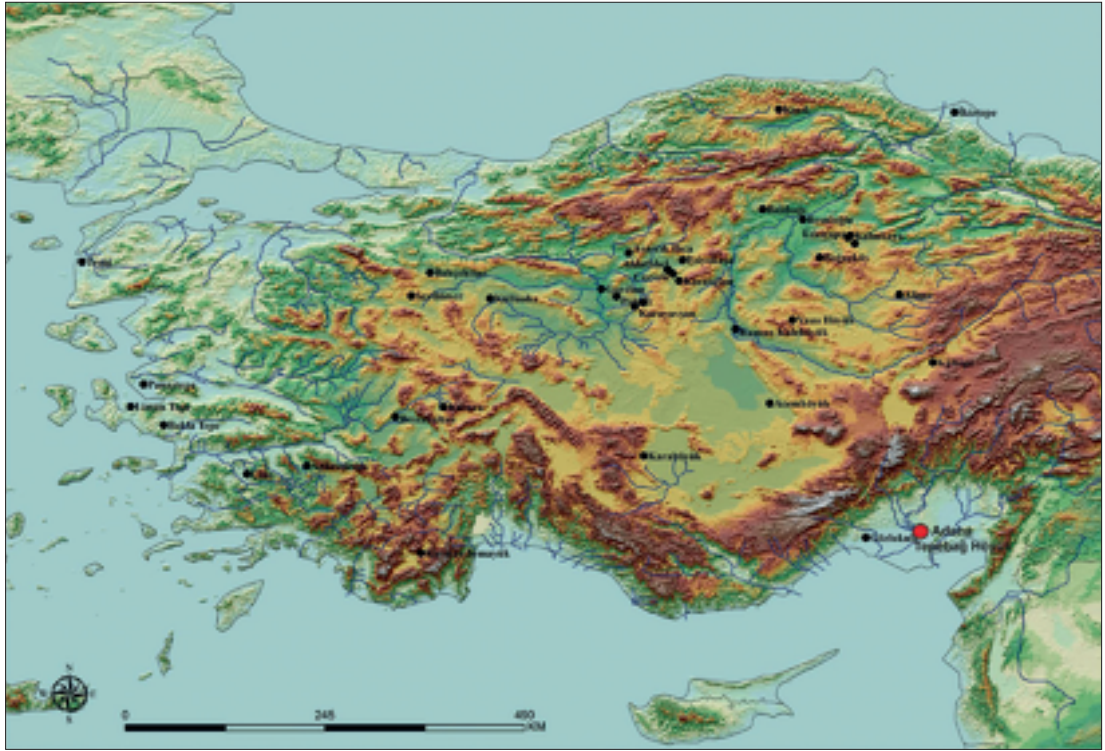


FIG. 1 Map of the Tepebağ Höyük.





FIG. 2 Aerial view of Tepebağ Höyük and Sarus River (Photo: Archive of Tepebağ excavations 2015 seasons).

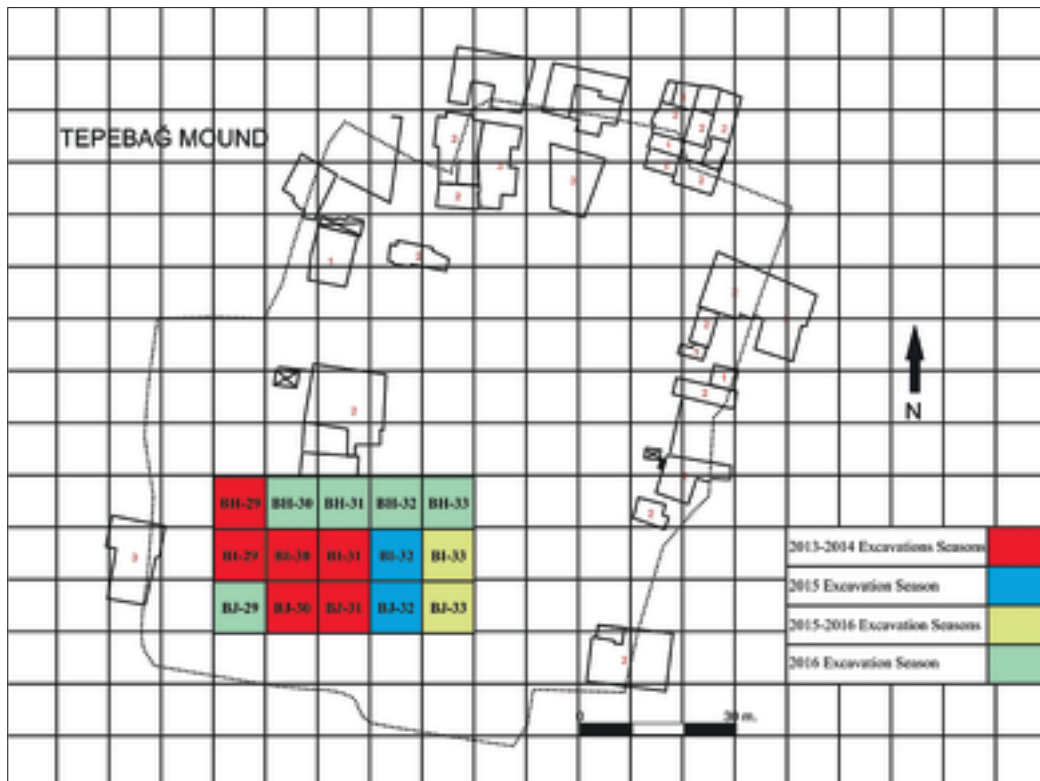


FIG. 3 Tepebağ Höyük topographic plan (Drawing: first author).

| <b>Stratigraphies of Tepebağ Höyük</b> |              |                                      |
|--|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>Level</b>                           | <b>Phase</b> | <b>Date</b>                          |
| I                                      | 1            | Early Period of Turkish Republic Era |
| II                                     | 2            | Late Ottoman Period                  |
|  | 3            | Ottoman and Medieval Period          |
| III                                    | 4            | Byzantine and Roman Period           |
| IV                                     | 5            | Hellenistic Period                   |
| <b>IV</b>                              | <b>6</b>     | <b>Classical Period</b>              |
| V                                      | <b>7</b>     | <b>Late Iron Age/Archaic Period</b>  |
|  | 8            | Middle Iron Age                      |
|  | 9            | Early Iron Age                       |
| VI                                     | 10           | Late Bronze Age                      |

FIG. 4 Stratigraphies of Tepebağ Höyük.

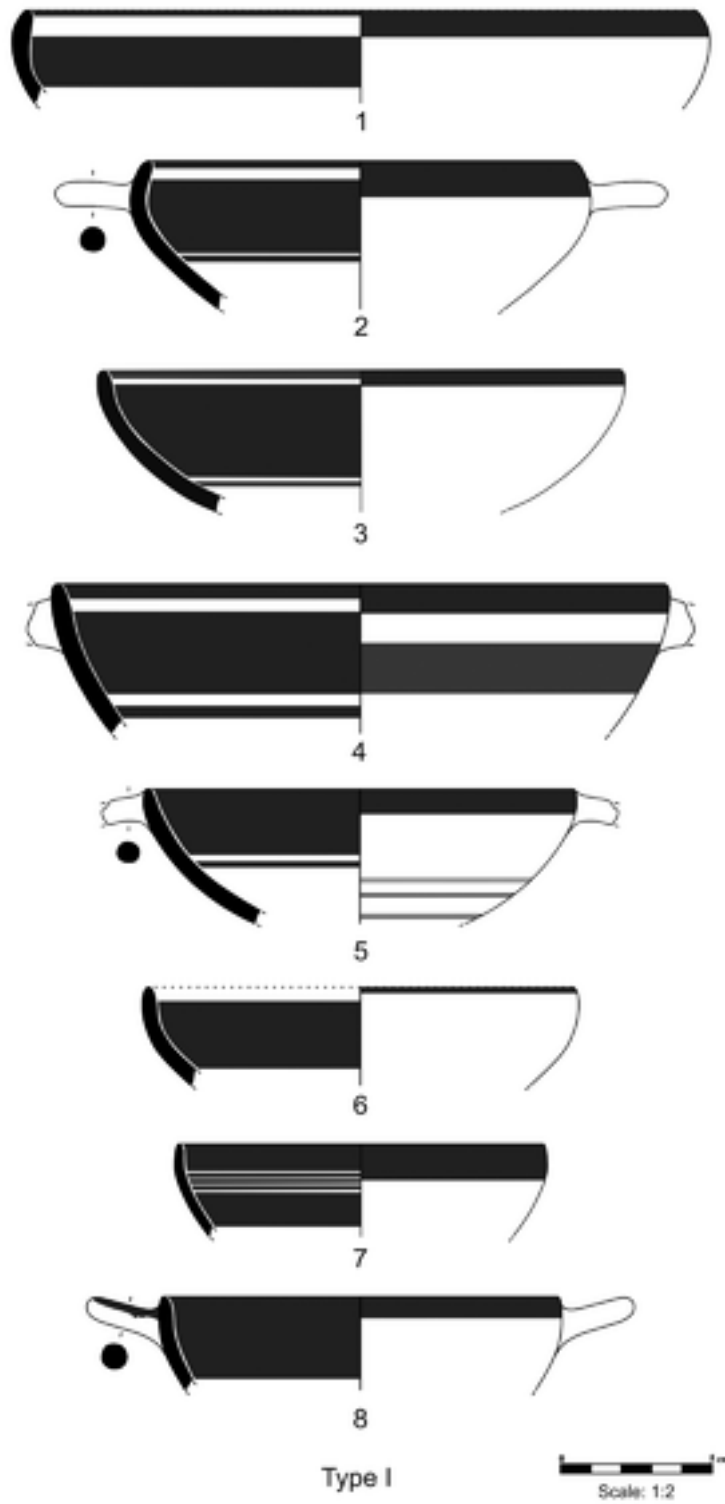


FIG. 5 Type I Banded Bowls (Drawing: Ebru İncaman).



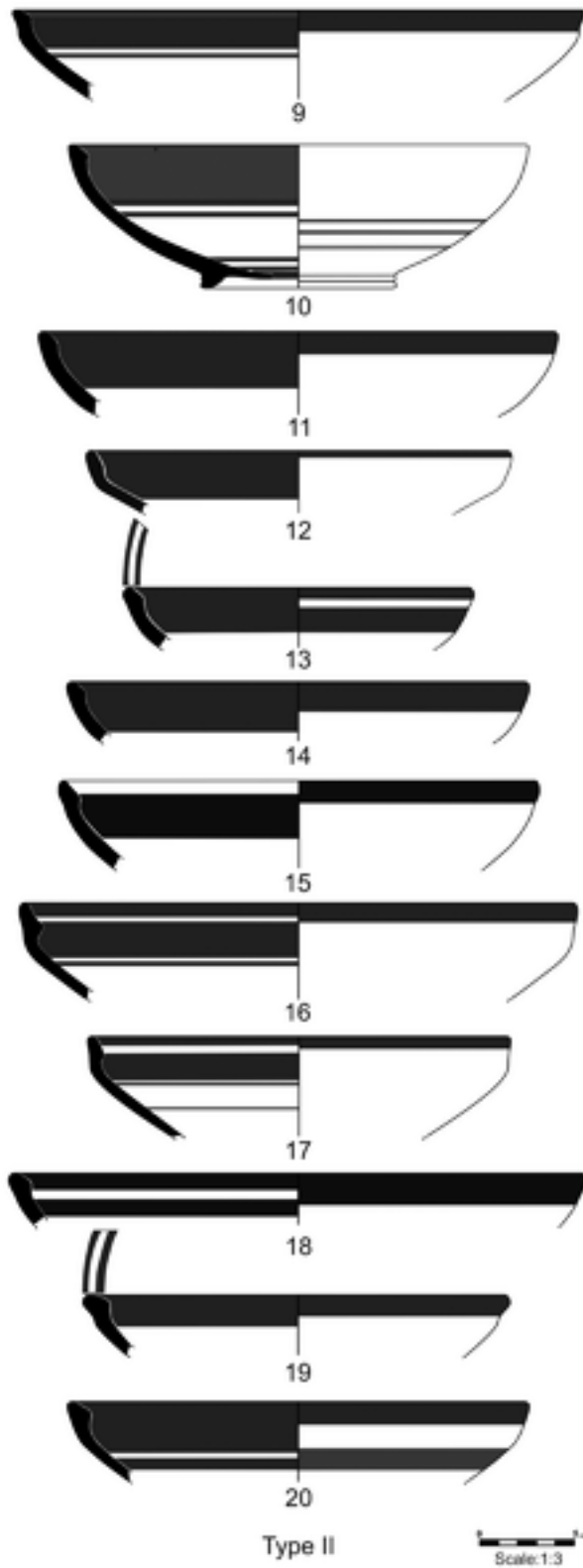


FIG. 6 Type II Banded Bowls (Drawing: Ebru İncaman).

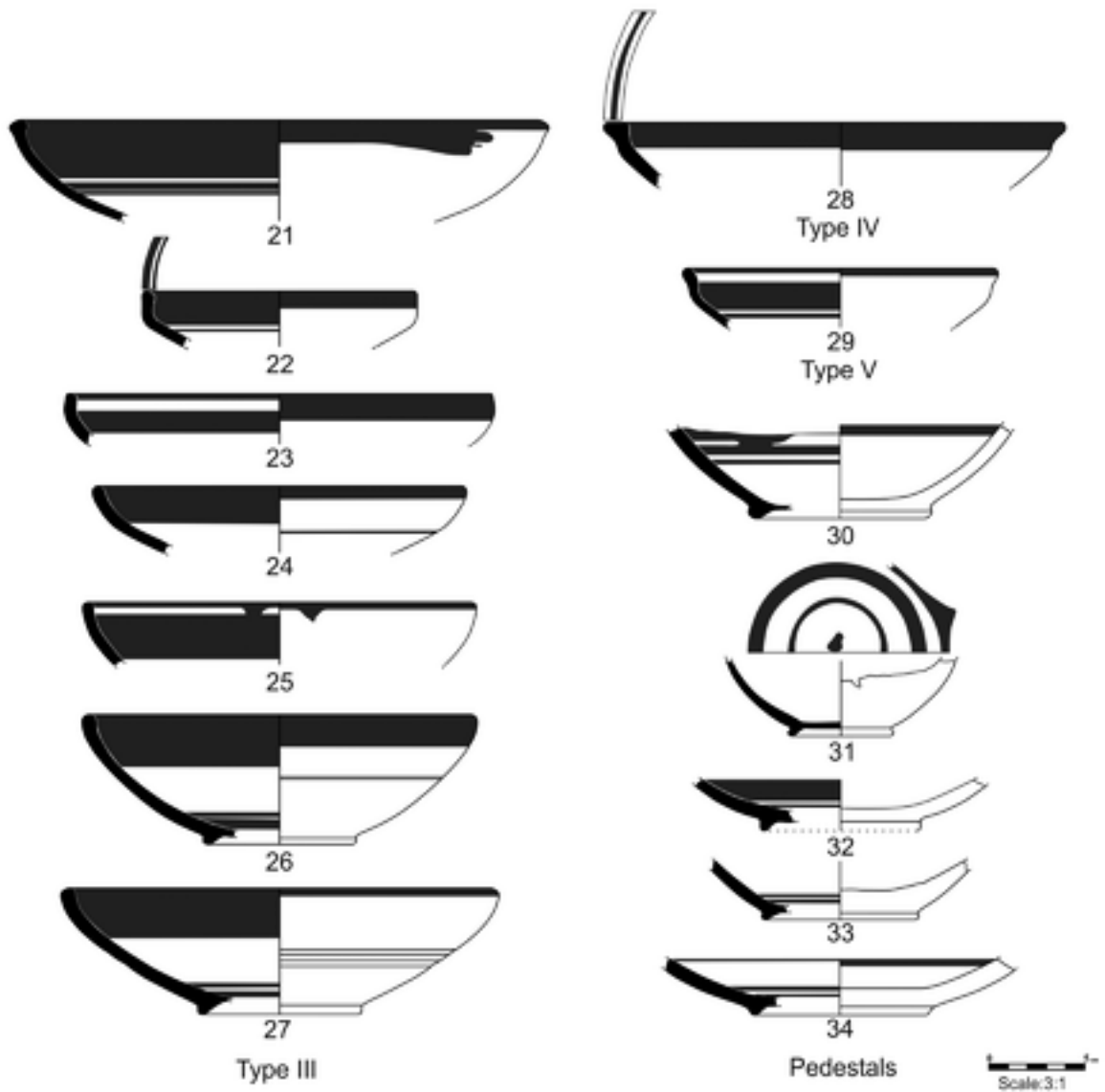


FIG. 7 21-27. Type III banded bowls; 28. Type IV banded bowl; 29. Type V banded bowl; 30-34. Banded bowl pedestals.

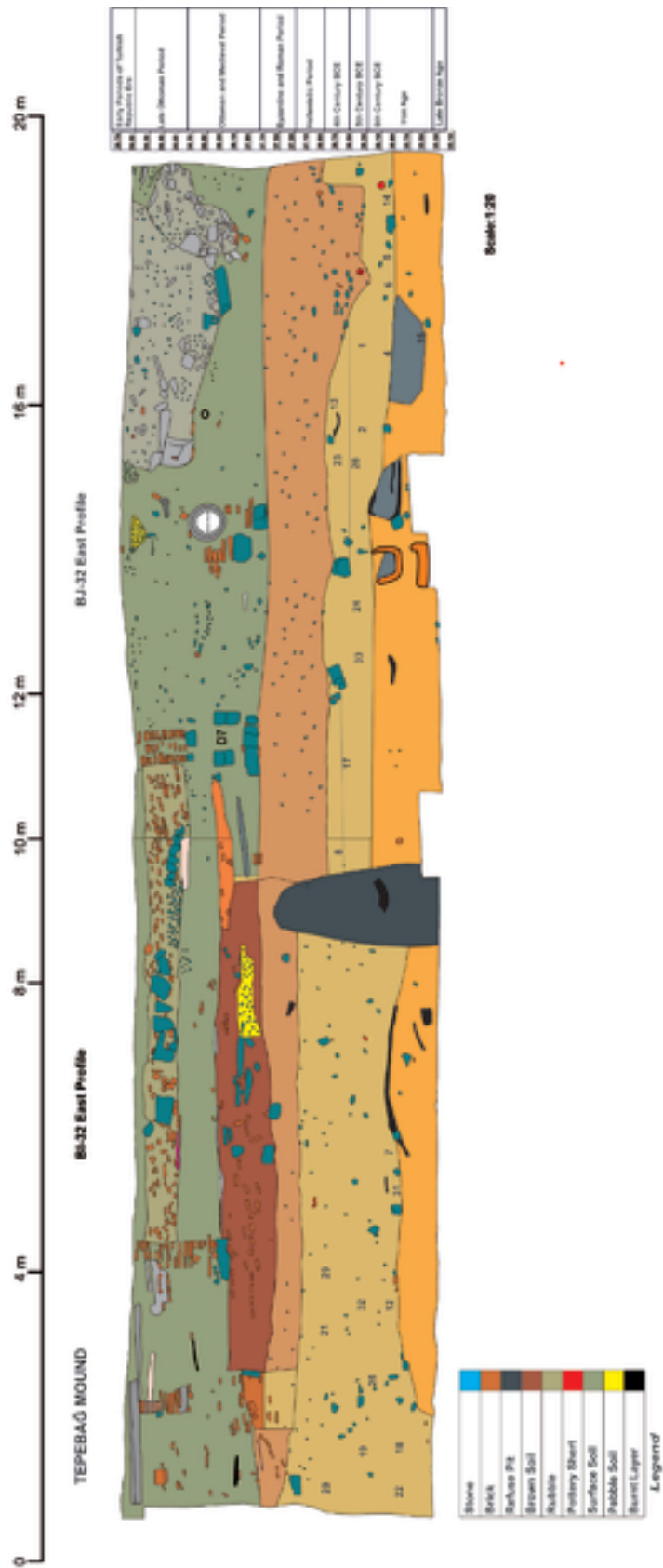


FIG. 8 Vertical drawing for trenches BI/BJ 32 of Tepebağ Höyük (Drawing: Cem Fırat).


















| Catalog No | Forms   | Trench    | Form Type | Level             | Phase | Dates       |
|------------|---|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------|-------------|
| 1          |    | BJ-32/71  | I         | IV                | 6     | 5th century |
| 2          |    | BJ-32/71  | I         | IV                | 6     | 5th century |
| 3          |    | BI-32/142 | I         | Destruction layer |       | ?           |
| 4          |    | BJ-32/87  | I         | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 5          |    | BJ-32/93  | I         | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 6          |    | BJ-32/87  | I         | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 7          |    | BI-32/140 | I         | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 8          |   | BI-32/190 | I         | IV                | 6     | 4th century |
| 9          |   | BJ-33/14  | II        | Destruction layer |       | ?           |
| 10         |  | BJ-32/34  | II        | Destruction layer |       | ?           |
| 11         |  | BJ-32/1   | II        | Destruction layer |       | ?           |
| 12         |  | BI-32/131 | II        | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 13         |  | BJ-32/46  | II        | IV                | 6     | 4th century |
| 14         |  | BJ-32/83  | II        | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 15         |  | BI-32/1   | II        | Destruction layer |       | ?           |
| 16         |  | BJ-32/122 | II        | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 17         |  | BJ-32/53  | II        | IV                | 6     | 4th century |

FIG. 9 Table of forms.

















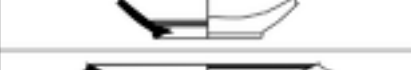
| Catalog No | Forms   | Trench    | Form Type | Level             | Phase | Dates       |
|------------|---|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------|-------------|
| 18         |    | BI-32/146 | II        | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 19         |    | BI-32/114 | II        | IV                | 6     | 5th century |
| 20         |    | BI-32/193 | II        | IV                | 6     | 4th century |
| 21         |    | BI-32/86  | IIIA      | IV                | 6     | 4th century |
| 22         |    | BI-32/146 | IIIA      | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 23         |    | BJ-32/48  | IIIA      | IV                | 6     | 4th century |
| 24         |    | BJ-32/146 | IIIB      | IV                | 6     | 5th century |
| 25         |   | BI-32/118 | IIIB      | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 26         |  | BJ-32/1   | IIIB      | Destruction layer |       | ?           |
| 27         |  | BI-32/208 | IIIB      | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 28         |  | BJ-32/144 | IV        | IV                | 6     | 5th century |
| 29         |  | BI-32/92  | V         | IV                | 6     | 4th century |
| 30         |  | BJ-32/149 | Base      | Destruction layer |       | ?           |
| 31         |  | BI-32/145 | Base      | V                 | 7     | 6th century |
| 32         |  | BI-32/114 | Base      | IV                | 6     | 5th century |
| 33         |  | BJ-32/65  | Base      | IV                | 6     | 5th century |
| 34         |  | BI-32/67  | Base      | Destruction layer |       | ?           |

FIG. 10 Table of forms.



1-2: Türkmen-Karayük, 3: Göçü Höyük



FIG. 11 Examples of banded bowls from Konya region (Archive of KRASP).





# Leaded Bronze Arrowheads at Daskyleion

ÖZGÜN KASAR – KAAAN İREN\*

## Abstract

Arrowheads made of leaded bronze and un-earthed in Daskyleion during the excavations between 1954-1959 and 1988-2019 constitute the subject of this study. 406 leaded bronze arrowheads have been found up to now in a grave named Tumulus T6. Leaded bronze arrowheads from Daskyleion date to the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The arrowheads are here classified according to their function. Especially some of the suggestions on archaeological typology proposed by different scholars are practically tested here as a case study using the Daskyleion arrowheads. This typology points to which arrowheads were used as military or hunting weapons in Daskyleion. It can be argued that lead, highly detected, was used in these arrows for “engineering” purposes. In addition, the deformation observed on the arrowheads is explained using historical events that occurred in the settlement and narrated by ancient authors. Consequently, the leaded bronze arrowheads used at Daskyleion are comprised of samples quite common in the Eastern Mediterranean. Fortunately, these examples were mostly found in the datable layers at Daskyleion.

**Keywords:** Daskyleion, tumulus, leaded bronze, weapon, arrowhead

## Öz

Daskyleion’da 1954-1959 ve 1988-2019 yılları arasındaki kazı çalışmalarında açığa çıkarılan kurşunlu tunçtan üretilmiş ok uçları çalışmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Günümüze kadar yerleşmede ve T6 Tümülüsü olarak adlandırılan mezarda toplam 406 adet kurşunlu tunç ok ucu ele geçmiştir. Bu ok uçlarının, MÖ 5. ve 4. yüzyıl içlerinde Daskyleion’da kullanıldıkları görülmektedir. Ok uçlarının, form özellikleri değerlendirilerek ne için kullanıldıkları konusunda çıkarımlarda bulunulmuştur. Literatürdeki tipoloji önerileri burada Daskyleion ok uçlarında pratik olarak test edilmiştir. Bu tipoloji, Daskyleion’da hangi ok uçlarının askeri veya av silahı olarak kullanıldıklarını göstermiştir. Yüksek oranda saptanan kurşunun bu oklarda bir “mühendislik” amacıyla kullanılmış olduğu savlanabilir. Ayrıca, bu ok uçlarında gözlemlenen deformasyonlar ışığında, İlk Çağ yazarları tarafından yerleşmede meydana geldiği anlatılan olaylar genel olarak irdelenmiştir. Daskyleion buluntusu ok uçlarının bir bölümünün Doğu Akdeniz’de oldukça yaygın örneklerden oluştuğu saptanmıştır. Bunların büyük bir bölümü, Daskyleion’da tarihlenebilir tabakalarda ele geçmiştir ve böylece Daskyleion’daki tabakalara ve diğer merkezlerdeki benzerlerine göre tarihlendirilmektedirler.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Daskyleion, tümülüs, kurşunlu tunç, silah, ok ucu

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## Introduction

Numerous metal finds were unearthed during the excavations that have continued for years at Daskyleion. Among these, arrowheads constitute the largest group in number. This must be related to the portability and practical use of arrows at any time. Arrowheads were also used as one of the main weapons in hunting and left as votive offerings in sanctuaries and as gifts to the dead in burial places.<sup>1</sup>

Although works conducted on metal finds including arrowheads have increased in recent years, they are still inadequate.<sup>2</sup> As publications on metal finds and especially arrowheads increase, it will also be possible to comment on local interaction. Therefore, the leaded bronze arrowheads unearthed at Daskyleion, which have been systematically excavated for many years, have been chosen as the topic of this study.

Along with developments in the production processes during the Early Iron Age, moulding techniques were put into practice through mass production. Due to this production, the endurance and functionality of the arrowhead were prioritized. The use of one form for many years without any change is well known. Therefore, the arrowheads unearthed at Daskyleion and their dating are of utmost importance. The research results obtained here will provide a source for other historical data for this and other sites.

## Leaded Bronze Arrowheads from Daskyleion

435 arrowheads were uncovered at Daskyleion so far. 406 of these are leaded bronze (Type I), and 29 are made of iron (Type II) so excluded in this study.<sup>3</sup> The analysis of these arrowheads with a portable XRF device has shown that the samples other than iron are leaded bronze. Besides, the detailed microscopic examination of these arrowheads has revealed that they were produced by a moulding technique.<sup>4</sup>

In the archaeometrical study conducted on arrowheads found in Daskyleion, it was confirmed that samples analysed in this study contain a large amount of lead (Pb). According to the analysis results, the minimum Pb rate in these arrowheads is 1,6 %, thus the rate is high in Daskyleion arrowheads.

Scott states that Pb is not usually formed of copper ores, and for this reason, Pb content represents a deliberate addition of Pb.<sup>5</sup> Gale, Stos-Gale and Gilmore also note that copper ores are quite pure; however, they may sometimes contain small amounts of arsenic and Pb.<sup>6</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> Özdemir and Işıklı 2017, 51; Akar-Tanrıver 2009, 178-86; Kasar 2018, 64, fig. 9.

<sup>2</sup> A "Workshop of Arrowheads found in Excavations" was organized by the Izmir Nif Mountain Site Presidency on 13-14 December 2016, and a common terminology was prepared for arrowheads as a consequence of this workshop. A part of the data and terminology of this workshop is used in this study.

<sup>3</sup> The determined number of Daskyleion iron arrowheads is limited to those whose forms are preserved. Apart from these, some samples, which were possibly arrowheads, have melted and almost taken the form of a stick. It should not be forgotten that, generally, weapons and other items made of iron are not preserved well in soil as compared to others made of bronze.

<sup>4</sup> A study is still being carried out on the material and production methods of a group of leaded bronze arrowheads from Daskyleion by Prof. Dr. Ali Arslan Kaya at the Department of Metallurgical and Materials Engineering, Metallic Materials in Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University. In addition to this, content analysis of the arrowheads has been done with the portable Olympus Vanta XRF device bought for the Department of Archaeology within the Infrastructure Project of Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University Scientific Research Projects. Prof. Dr. Ünsal Yalçın supports the interpretation of the studies carried out with this device.

<sup>5</sup> Scott 2010, 90.

<sup>6</sup> Gale et al. 1985, 154.

the other hand, the researchers in question state that ternary alloy was known by metal masters in the Bronze Age. Yet samples with up to 4 or 5% Pb that were used here might have come from an impure deposit.<sup>7</sup> According to the analysis results of the Daskyleion samples, the average Pb amount in the samples is too high to come from an ore.

As the result of the archaeometrical work conducted on Sardis arrowheads, it was uncovered that a certain amount of Pb was used in the arrowheads. Guralnick states concerning the Sardis samples that Pb was used in the production of bronze to reduce the cost of copper (Cu) and tin (Sn).<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Cu melts at 1085° C. When Sn and Pb are added to the copper alloy, the degree of melting of Cu decreases.<sup>9</sup> This decrease in melting temperature facilitates easier casting.<sup>10</sup> The fact that Pb made moulding easier at the commencement of mass production, and that more heads were produced from one tablet in one sitting, demonstrate that Pb as much as 50% was added to bronze alongside Sn.<sup>11</sup> In the archaeometrical analysis of bronze arrowheads at Acmhöyük and Gözlükule, it was found out that these arrowheads were also produced by using Pb in high quantity.<sup>12</sup> According to the analysis results of arrowheads found in Daskyleion, the second highest metal after the Cu is Pb; Sn is the third. This means that the sequencing is Cu, Pb and Sn. Because of this as well as the lack of arsenic in the samples from Daskyleion, we prefer to speak of directly “leaded bronze” instead of “leaded tin bronze”, as is sometimes found in the literature.<sup>13</sup>

Stern states that the number of iron arrowheads found in many centres in the 5th and 4th centuries BC is less than the bronze ones.<sup>14</sup> He associates this with the convenience of bronze heads for moulding. He also states that the arrowhead forms produced during these centuries were not suitable for iron moulding. This should not mean that no iron arrowheads were produced between the 9th and 6th centuries BC. There are centres in which bronze and iron arrowheads have been uncovered since the Early Iron Age.<sup>15</sup> Along with this, there are also samples, as in the example of Sardis, in which iron arrowheads were found in the same layer as copper alloy and leaded bronze.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, as iron arrowheads are shaped by hammering metal, the retention time of their production is longer compared to those that are produced from a mould.<sup>17</sup> For this reason, the number of bronze and leaded bronze arrowheads in scientific excavations is more in proportion to those made from iron. This quantity is also valid for Daskyleion arrowheads from the arrival of the Persians to Anatolia in the Middle Ages. Additionally, Summers suggests that leaded bronze trilobate arrowheads took the place of iron arrowheads from the mid-6th century BC onwards based on the form and dating of iron arrowheads found in Gordion and Kerkenes.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Gale et al. 1985, 155.

<sup>8</sup> Guralnick 1987, 40.

<sup>9</sup> Attaelmanan et al. 2013, 1437.

<sup>10</sup> Valério et al. 2012, 77; Hulit 2002, 108.

<sup>11</sup> Rothenberg 1975, 79-80; Scott 2010, 91; Scott 1991, 23-24.

<sup>12</sup> Dardeniz 2017, 13-14.

<sup>13</sup> See Waldbaum 1983, 170, table V.4b.

<sup>14</sup> Stern 1982, 154; Moorey 1980, 65.

<sup>15</sup> Özdemir and Işıklı 2017.

<sup>16</sup> <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-cahill-persian-sack-sardis>.

<sup>17</sup> Rothenberg 1975, 79-80.

<sup>18</sup> Summers 2017, 651.

## The Location of Leaded Bronze Arrowheads at Daskyleion and Their Condition

Arrowheads were uncovered in the settlement and in a grave named Tumulus T6 at Daskyleion (fig. 1).<sup>19</sup> Tumulus T6 is located in the eastern necropolis, about 10 km away from Acro-Daskyleion. T6 is probably a monumental family grave with multiple burials and three klines in the grave chamber.

The single place where arrowheads were brought to light *en masse* in Daskyleion is at Tumulus T6. A great number of leaded bronze arrowheads were among the finds in this burial area. These arrowheads number 91 - 32 being bilobate and 59 being trilobate. Wooden shaft finds are protected on the sockets of some arrowheads.<sup>20</sup> However, since treasure hunters had robbed this grave at some point in time, these arrowheads were found dispersed under the western and southern klines and in the middle of the grave chamber (fig. 2).<sup>21</sup>

These arrows must have been left in the grave in a quiver. As a matter of fact, Minns states that there were around 300 arrows in a single quiver in Scythian graves.<sup>22</sup> The number of arrowheads unearthed in Tumulus T6 is ideal for a single quiver or gorytos (kind of quiver and bow case). At the same time, the shape, size and weight of these arrowheads are different from each other (fig. 3). Rausing explains the existence of different forms of arrowheads in one quiver as a sign of use of arrows for different purposes with a single bow.<sup>23</sup> A similar explanation must be valid for the arrowheads found in Tumulus T6.

A bronze ornament belonging to a gorytos, possibly made of organic material, was found in the grave chamber (fig. 4). This ornament shows that a large number of arrows was put into the burial place in a gorytos. A very similar version of this gorytos piece is seen on the gorytos on the back of Persian soldiers depicted on the Persepolis reliefs (fig. 5).<sup>24</sup> Besides, a significant amount of the arrowheads found in Tumulus T6 consists of trilobate samples favoured by the Persians and often found on Persepolis city walls.<sup>25</sup> Some high-quality pottery from Attica, dated to 470-420 BC, was also discovered in the grave chamber of Tumulus T6.<sup>26</sup>

Statistical data on arrowheads show that these weapons were found mostly in buildings and in their vicinity on Acro-Daskyleion (fig. 6).<sup>27</sup> Arrowheads were specifically concentrated on the south part of the hill. The most important reason for this is that the south part of the hill was terraced and accommodated more structures depending on the topographic characteristics of the hill from the Lydian Period to the mid-Hellenistic Period. At the same time, the

<sup>19</sup> See for T6 Tumulus, Bakır et al. 2013.

<sup>20</sup> The anatomic analysis of two slivers (3,4 gr and 0,1 gr) of wood taken from the sockets of these arrowheads was conducted by Prof. Dr. Ünal Akkemik from the Faculty of Forestry, Istanbul University under the governance of the Bandırma Museum by permission of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

<sup>21</sup> Kasar 2018, 63-64.

<sup>22</sup> Minns 1913, 68.

<sup>23</sup> Rausing 1967, 164.

<sup>24</sup> Baitinger 1999, 131, figs. 6-7. In the depiction on the aforementioned relief, the arrow case used by the Persians is called a gorytos.

<sup>25</sup> Curtis and Tallis 2005, 232, fig. 429.

<sup>26</sup> These vases are being studied for publication by Çiçek Karaöz.

<sup>27</sup> This map was constructed according to the number of arrowhead finds in trenches excavated up to now. There has not been an excavation in the area encircling the top of the hill and in areas represented with blue color. In other parts of the hill, the ArcGis program is preparing a colored statistical evaluation between the excavated grids whose numerical values have been given and those about which no data has been entered. The density of finds in fig. 6 was prepared by topographical engineer Hasan Şarlak on an ArcGis program. We thank Mr. Şarlak for his help.

connection of this area to the so-called Cultic Road must have accelerated the active formation of these construction activities. Traces of this structuring have been revealed during the excavations that have continued since 2006 around the trenches in the southern part of the Cultic Road. In this area, the first phase of the bedrock pits and then the building remains of the Lydian and Persian cultures were found.<sup>28</sup> The building and its surroundings, used first by the Lydians and later by the Persians, was named the Three Roomed Structure by the archaeological team. It is among the places where arrowheads have been most intensely found around this region until today.

Another area in which arrowheads were most intensely discovered on the Acropolis is the area called Trench F located in the northeast side of the hill. A dense formation of buildings has been observed in this area as well since the Lydian Period. With the last quarter of the 4th century BC, the number of arrowheads became concentrated in the area where Hellenistic Period construction is located on the south slope of Acropolis. This construction (fig. 6) and its surroundings became the place where the most arrowheads were uncovered within the area.

The preservation and the deformation of the discovered arrowheads from Daskyleion give some information about the targets of the arrows. In the examination of the pieces from this aspect, the deformations resulting from slamming on a rock or armour were observed on the blades and tip parts of 10% of the finds. The tip of an arrowhead found during cleaning of a section in front of the so-called Persian Wall was bent as a result of slamming on a hard surface (fig. 7a). Interestingly, a fish scale of an armour from Daskyleion was destroyed by a piercing weapon (fig. 7b). More distortion and deformation are observed on trilobate Type IB1a samples, which constitute the largest group among Daskyleion arrowheads, in comparison with the other samples that emerged in the same area. The deformation in these samples is usually observed in the form of bending and warping of the blades (fig. 7c). This indicates that the arrow was stuck piercing a hard surface like an armour. On the other hand, distortion and deformation of the Daskyleion bilobate samples are in the form of fracture of a part of the arrowhead and bending of the tip part (fig. 7d). Both types of deformation observed on the arrowheads are the most important proof showing arrows were used as assault weapons at Daskyleion.

## Typology

Different typologies have been suggested in studies conducted on arrowheads. One of the most comprehensive studies was carried out by Smirnov and Petrenko.<sup>29</sup> Snodgrass prepared a general arrowhead classification in his analysis on weapons.<sup>30</sup> Hančar included an extensive typology in his publication dated 1972, in which he analysed Scythian arrowheads.<sup>31</sup> Erdmann did a comprehensive classification work on arrowheads used in the Marathon battle.<sup>32</sup> In his article published in 1977, Cleuziou gave a chronological typology of the arrowheads in the Near East dated between the 9th and 3rd centuries BC.<sup>33</sup> Baitinger, in his publication of 2001,

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<sup>28</sup> İren and Yıldızhan 2017, 339.

<sup>29</sup> Smirnov and Petrenko 1963, 51, table 12.

<sup>30</sup> Snodgrass 1964, 152, fig. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Hančar 1972.

<sup>32</sup> Erdmann 1973, 35, fig. 1; 45, fig. 2; 49, fig. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Cleuziou 1977, 189, fig. 1.

prepared a typology for arrowheads found in Olympia.<sup>34</sup> In his study on weapons found in Anatolia from the 12th to the end of the 6th centuries BC, Yalçıklı prepared a comprehensive typology of bronze arrowheads.<sup>35</sup>

Typology has been for a long time an arena of debate in almost every science. Unfortunately, archaeology is no different.<sup>36</sup> A single kind of “correct” typology does not seem to exist.<sup>37</sup> Contrarily, different approaches are acceptable for constructing typologies. The reason to construct a typology is either to answer a question of the archaeologist (basic) or to let the artefact “talk” for itself (instrumental).<sup>38</sup> The traditional intuitive construction of typology is omitted in this article; instead, the basic proposals were accepted. In this suggestion, to build many different typologies is possible with similar material depending on the question. Although there are many questions on arrowheads, such as when, where, by whom, etc., we decided to test their functions in praxis using the suggestion of Adams and Adams. So the arrowheads of Daskyleion are a case study towards this purpose.

Every instrument, inclusive of arrowheads, could have a multipurpose use, but every instrument also has a “native one”. The assumed native purpose of the arrowhead is primary for the typology here.<sup>39</sup>

While creating the Daskyleion arrowhead typology, all arrowheads were split into two groups according to their compositional differentiation: leaded bronze (Type I) and iron (Type II). Leaded bronze ones are also divided into two according to their primary function. These functional types of the arrowheads are hunting arrowheads (A) and warfare arrowheads (B).<sup>40</sup> Every type is itself divided into two. The first type consists of arrowheads that pierce hard surfaces (1), while the second is made up of arrowheads that hit or pierce the skin directly with an aim to kill (2). Subdivisions of these classifications are morphological and arranged chronologically (figs. 8-9).

As one may obviously notice, the typology constructed here is a hybrid classification that does not ignore morphology and composition, although it is mainly based on the functionality of the arrowheads.

The invention of the arrow must go back to husbandry times in the Palaeolithic Period.<sup>41</sup> The arrow brought to humans the facility to hunt the animals from a distance. Surely, it could be used later in wars between early clans.

However, the main concept of war was triggered by the transition to a sedentary lifestyle with the concept of property and the instinct to protect it<sup>42</sup>. The bow and arrow became the most commonly used weapon in war.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Baitinger 2001.

<sup>35</sup> Yalçıklı 2006, 282, table 6; 2016, 460, table 8.

<sup>36</sup> Adams 2008, 1026.

<sup>37</sup> Adams 2008, 1027.

<sup>38</sup> Adams and Adams 1991, 157-68.

<sup>39</sup> There is no single objective version of human affairs; see Trigger 2006, 447.

<sup>40</sup> This presumes that hunting arrowheads started earlier than warfare ones.

<sup>41</sup> Rudgley 2000, 165.

<sup>42</sup> Otto et al. 2006, 41-42.

<sup>43</sup> Otto et al. 2006, 361.

The piercing or destructive force of arrowheads depends firstly on speed, weight and form. For example, if the arrowhead is heavy, it cannot go far, but its impact is greater than with lighter types.<sup>44</sup>

While features such as form, weight, and wing number are defined in arrowhead production, calculations are also made as to what purpose the arrowhead will serve. For large game, for example, the hunter would need a wide arrowhead with a cutting edge along with a compatible bow. If the archer shoots the arrow on horseback, the bow needs to be short and the arrowhead smaller. Since there is a close relationship between the arrowhead's function and its features, the characteristics of both arrowhead forms are described here in general terms. A drawing showing the parts of an arrowhead is given to make more understandable the terminology used here (fig. 10).

Additionally, in a table of the typology of Daskyleion arrowheads, the XRF analysis results for each type of arrowhead have been provided in terms of compositional range. Also, the number of each kind of arrowhead uncovered up until today is noted in the same figure.

### IA. Hunting Arrowheads

Animals commonly hunted in ancient times were deer, roebuck, boar and fox. Also hunted were bird species such as pheasant, partridge, quail, starling, duck, and small animals such as hares and hedgehogs.<sup>45</sup>

Daskyleion arrowheads were used not only for combat but also for hunting. According to the ancient sources, there was a significant Persian hunting park (*paradeisos*) at Daskyleion.<sup>46</sup> Preliminary zooarchaeological studies on animal bones report the uncovering in Daskyleion of the bones of different varieties of deer and hare along with unidentified bird species.<sup>47</sup> It is known from bullae found in the first years of the Daskyleion excavations that various species of birds lived in this area in ancient times just as they do today.<sup>48</sup> Evliya Çelebi's travel book contains some information on Bird Lake:

The origin of its name is the fact that the lake's water comes from the İlyas spring on the --- side. The Turkmens call it Lake Manyas, which is a corrupt form of "ma-i İlyas" "water of İlyas". Its circumference is --- leagues, but it is not a deep lake. It is a "water of İlyas", which indeed resembles the "elixir of life". One catches trout, pike, eels, ---, and all other sorts of exquisite fish in it. Designated fishermen submit these fish as tax-not everyone is allowed to fish here for personal pleasure or livelihood. In wintertime, this lake brims with geese, ducks, ruddy shelducks, swans, cormorants, fieldfares, red ducks, mallards, seagulls, goldfinch, and many hundreds of colours of wild birds, and the plain of Manyas trembles every night with the sound of swans, geese and ruddy shelducks and the beating of their wings. The hunters of these birds too pay them as tax at a fixed lump sum rate.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ureche 2013, 187.

<sup>45</sup> Alcock 2006, 69-75; Soyer 2004, 182-200.

<sup>46</sup> Xen., *Hell.* 4.1.15-16.

<sup>47</sup> There is an unpublished "preliminary report" on the zooarchaeological finds at Daskyleion by İ. Özer, İ. Gürgör, S. İlbeç (Daskyleion Archive).

<sup>48</sup> Bakır 2011, 58.

<sup>49</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* V.88b.16 (513).



Today Manyas Lake is rich in plankton content and host to 266 species of birds. Other species such as boar, fox, hedgehog and mole continue to live in the region.<sup>50</sup>

From what can be determined, two different types of arrowhead forms were used to kill various types of animals in Daskyleion. These were arrows with wide cutting edges and small pyramidal arrowheads. These types of arrowheads varied depending on the size and activities of the animal hunted. For example, if the game was partridge, marsh hens, or quail of the pheasant family, the need would be for a lightweight and small arrowhead that would speedily hit the target.

### Type IA1

The arrowheads in this group have wide cutting edges, and for this reason have a high capacity for damage.<sup>51</sup> The reason behind this is to cause a deep laceration in the skin and a fast outflow of blood so that the animal can be caught without escaping too far.<sup>52</sup> More than one arrow piercing a large wild animal will increase blood loss and bring the animal to the ground. Sometimes, as seen in Assyrian reliefs, strong animals such as lions are brought down by numerous arrows that will deplete the animal's strength, after which the killing blow is dealt by a spear or sword.<sup>53</sup> It is possible that the type of wide arrowheads with cutting edges found in Daskyleion was used in hunting large wild animals.

Type IA1a is among the bilobate arrowheads. 19 arrowheads were uncovered in total - 16 from Tumulus T6, the other 3 from the Acropolis. In this group of samples, the midrib is conical while the body is diamond-shaped. They are approximately 3 cm long. Their weight ranges from 1,74 to 3,13 gr. Only one sample is prominently bigger. Their sample height is 5 cm on average. Their width between the two blades<sup>54</sup> is 1,8 cm, and their weight averages 7 gr.

In this group, the defining characteristic is that the socket is hidden in the body, and the surface between the two blades is wide. Malloy states that wide-bladed arrowheads have a skin-piercing feature, and samples with a narrow blade surface are ideal for piercing shields, leather and clothing.<sup>55</sup> Rausing mentions that arrowheads with wide-surfaced blades put up more resistance in the air in comparison with samples with narrow blades.<sup>56</sup> The relatively big and heavier arrows are advantageous to cause fatal wounds, but their flight distance is lesser than lighter ones and vice versa.

Similar samples in this group were unearthed in layers related to the Persians on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>57</sup> A similar sample of this type was unearthed in Lindos and dated to 490 BC by the researcher.<sup>58</sup> Another similar sample was uncovered in Kamiros and dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BC.<sup>59</sup> Similar versions of this type must have been used at Daskyleion around the 5th century BC.

<sup>50</sup> Sözüer 2018, 593.

<sup>51</sup> Forsom and Smith 2017, 281; Delrue 2007, 246; Blackmore 2000, 148; Paterson 1984, 33.

<sup>52</sup> Gilbert 2004, 27.

<sup>53</sup> Frankfort 1970, 99, pl. 109.

<sup>54</sup> We refer here to the widest part of the body, that is, from one edge of a blade to the other.

<sup>55</sup> Malloy 1993, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Rausing 1967, 163.

<sup>57</sup> Broneer 1935, 114-15, fig. 4; Broneer 1933, 342, fig. 13e-f.

<sup>58</sup> Blinkenberg 1931, 195, table 23, fig. 601.

<sup>59</sup> Bernardini 2006, 62, table 13, no. 53.

## Type IA2

The examples in this group are lightweight, small arrowheads that can travel long distances if needed. Their capacity to injure by piercing and inducing loss of blood is negligible compared to other examples of arrowheads. These arrowheads are used to kill a target by yielding a hard blow and stunning the animal. This type of arrowheads must have been used in Daskyleion particularly for hunting hare and small-sized birds such as partridge, marsh hens and quail. Moreover, this type of arrowheads, used to hit and kill, also allowed the animal's skin and hide to remain undamaged.<sup>60</sup>

Type IA2a is another important group among Daskyleion trilobate arrowheads. The body of the samples of this type is thin, long and triangular. They range from 2 to 3,5 cm in height. The width between blades ranges from 0,6 to 1 cm. A typical characteristic of this type is that the blades point towards the socket like a barb.

There have been 12 samples of this type discovered in Daskyleion. 2/3 of these samples were found in Trench M-8 opened on the south slope of the Acropolis. In this trench, the foundations of a tower called Structure A were found, with ground walls measuring 1,20 m revealed during Akurgal's excavations. A burnt layer 50 cm thick was found under the main blocks of this tower, and *in situ* vases were found right upon this burn layer. This fire was noted on many parts of the Acropolis and could be dated to Agesilaos' destruction. The pottery sherds found in this layer are dated to the early 4th century BC.<sup>61</sup> Because of this circumstance, the construction of the tower should be dated later than 395 BC. The arrowheads found in this area should also be dated later depending on the context. A similar sample of this type uncovered in the 2011 excavations on Grids G-XXXII/XXXIII and H-XXII/XXIII on the west slope of the Acropolis was found on Floor Number 2 dated to the early 4th century BC.<sup>62</sup> Another sample, unearthed in 2006 in a trench named Archive Building-North, is from a deposit dated to the 4th century BC.<sup>63</sup>

Type IA2b is pyramidal, small and light in comparison with the other arrowheads. Their height is between 2,2 and 3,2 cm; their width is 0,8 cm on average. Their weight ranges from 1,55 to 1,77 gr. Six of the IA2b type were unearthed in layers dated to the 4th century BC in the settlement. This type was also found during excavations in Heraion Teichos and dated to the same century.<sup>64</sup>

Erdmann assesses samples of this type within group CIIc8 in his classification.<sup>65</sup> Robinson examines similar samples of this type in Type GIII among the Olynthos arrowheads. Robinson argues that Northern Greece and the Balkans were mainly responsible for the distribution of this type in the period later than the 5th century BC. He also states that similar samples uncovered in Olynthos were found in the Thracian or Macedonian destruction layer dated to 348 BC.<sup>66</sup> Olson and Najbjerg analyse arrowheads found in Cyprus that were similar to the Daskyleion sample and include these samples among Type BII, stating that these arrowheads

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<sup>60</sup> Sawyer and Sawyer 2011, ch. 19.

<sup>61</sup> Bakır et al. 2003, 491.

<sup>62</sup> The diary reports of the Trench Grids G-XXXII/XXXIII and H-XXII/XXIII, 2011, 14.

<sup>63</sup> The diary reports of the Trench Archive Building-North, 2006, 12.

<sup>64</sup> Atik 2017, 73, fig. 5.

<sup>65</sup> Erdmann 1973, 47, fig. 2.

<sup>66</sup> Robinson 1941, 405.

were developed in the 5th century BC.<sup>67</sup> Daskyleion IA2b samples need to be dated to the 4th century BC according to comparable arrowheads and the layer in which they were found in the settlement.

Two samples of Type IA2c were brought to light in Daskyleion. This type of arrowheads is pyramidal and small. Their height is 2,3 and 2,8 cm, and their body width is 0,8 and 1,1 cm. Their weight is 2,46 and 3,37 gr. Erdmann includes similar samples of this type in CIIC10.<sup>68</sup> Due to the deposits in which these arrowheads were found, it can be argued that this type was used in Daskyleion during the 4th century BC.

Daskyleion Type IA2d is represented with two samples, which are also pyramidal. Their heights range from 2,3 to 2,4 cm. Their body widths range from 0,6 to 0,7 cm, and their weights range between 1,60 and 1,71 gr.

A similar sample of this type was found in the destruction layer dated to 480-479 BC and located on the west side of Building H in Athens. This type also bears a resemblance to the material unearthed in the Persian layers on the north slopes of the Acropolis.<sup>69</sup> A similar sample of this type in Cyprus was found in the Persian layer.<sup>70</sup> Olson and Najbjerg also consider arrowheads found in the Polis Khrysochous settlement in Cyprus that are similar to Daskyleion Type IA2d. These also date to the 5th century BC.<sup>71</sup> Erdmann places similar samples of this type in the CIIC2 group in his classification.<sup>72</sup> Deposits in which this type were uncovered in Daskyleion are dated between the late 5th and late 4th centuries BC.

## IB. Warfare Arrowheads

Arrows are used in different types of bows by infantry and mounted archers during war.<sup>73</sup> The arrowheads that may have been used in war are divided into two subtypes - those with skin-piercing properties and those with armour-piercing properties.

### Type IB1

The arrowheads in this group are trilobate and have the capacity to pierce armour. The reason trilobate arrowheads were used against armour was that this type is more resistant to bending compared to other arrowheads.<sup>74</sup> The greater the capacity of an arrowhead to pierce armor, the more its chance of being used in war.<sup>75</sup>

Type IB1a is one of the most frequent groups among trilobate arrowheads. These samples were found both in the settlement and in the grave chamber of the tumulus.<sup>76</sup> One of the main features of this group is that the socket is hidden in the body. The midrib is straight. The body of these arrowheads is diamond-shaped. The shortest one is 2,4 cm long while the longest is 3,8 cm. The most commonly used height value in this type is 3,1/3,2 cm. The body widths range from 1,1 to 1,2 cm, and their weights range from 2,80 to 4,59 gr.

<sup>67</sup> Olson and Najbjerg 2017, 643, fig. 7.

<sup>68</sup> Erdmann 1973, 47, fig. 2.

<sup>69</sup> Thompson 1940, 33.

<sup>70</sup> Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 194, fig. 182.

<sup>71</sup> Olson and Najbjerg 2017, 643, fig. 8.

<sup>72</sup> Erdmann 1973, 47, fig. 2.

<sup>73</sup> Ray 2009, 15-16, 18-19.

<sup>74</sup> Davis 2013, 82.

<sup>75</sup> Riesch 2019, 2.

<sup>76</sup> Similar samples of this type were found during excavations in 2012 in the lower city of Daskyleion.

Rausing considered that arrowheads with sockets were first brought to Anatolia by Scythians via the Caucasus.<sup>77</sup> A relationship was also mentioned between the Scythians and some arrowhead types uncovered in large amounts in Persepolis,<sup>78</sup> among which there are some types also found in Daskyleion (Types IB1a and IB1b). Erzen stressed that these arrowhead types were used by the Scythians who surrounded Çavuştepe.<sup>79</sup> Considering the relationship between Urartu, Assyria and Media, it is suggested that this type of arrowheads was later copied by the Persians.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, a large number of this type were found in Persepolis, causing this form to be relabelled as “Persian”. It is possible to suggest that this type of arrowheads was developed in Persian territories; however, they spread to all Mediterranean lands and were widely used by various peoples.

Guralnick called this type of arrowheads found in Sardis as “Persian”.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, Hellmuth uses the name “Persian type” for arrowheads similar to Daskyleion type IB1a and IB1b.<sup>82</sup> With the expansion of the Persians into Anatolia and the Mediterranean region, these arrowhead types later appeared within a larger geographical distribution. The fact that this type of arrowheads was uncovered in large amounts in centres like Smyrna, Sardis, Gordion and Cyprus - where destruction by the Persians occurred - increased the identification of these arrowheads with the Persians. Although all the arrowheads in these aforementioned types were found in the Persian destruction layers due to the siege of Sardis, Greenewalt pointed out that it is impossible to attribute them to one of the parties in the battle.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, it is not plausible to assign cultural and/or ethnic ownership concerning arrowheads.

Samples comparable to Daskyleion Type IB1a emerged in a number of centres in the Near East and Mediterranean region. Curtis and Tallis mention that these arrowheads are small and light, and for this reason, they could be effectively used by mounted archers. Also the same arrowheads could be produced easily and quickly.<sup>84</sup> The fact that this form spread to a wide area could be related to these reasons. Similar samples of this type were also discovered among a group of metal artefacts preserved in the private collection of Ahmet Köroğlu.<sup>85</sup> They are considered as finds from a grave. The artefacts in this collection are dated to the final period of Urartu during the reign of King Rusa (773-653 BC).<sup>86</sup> The arrowheads in this find group are similar to Daskyleion Type IB1a samples and show that this form was produced starting from the second quarter of the 7th century BC.

Sardis is another centre in which this type was found. Recent samples uncovered there were found in a garbage pit found during the 2018 excavations and dated to the 5th century BC.<sup>87</sup> Also, more than 150 bronze arrowheads were found at the Palai Paphos settlement in

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<sup>77</sup> Rausing 1967, 109.

<sup>78</sup> Schmidt 1957, 99.

<sup>79</sup> Erzen 1978, 52-56, fig. 38.3-4.

<sup>80</sup> Sulimirski 1954, 295, 309.

<sup>81</sup> Guralnick 1987, 40.

<sup>82</sup> Hellmuth 2014, 27, fig. 23.

<sup>83</sup> Greenewalt 1997, 14-15.

<sup>84</sup> Curtis and Tallis 2005, 232.

<sup>85</sup> Konyar et al. 2018, 180, fig. 18.

<sup>86</sup> Konyar et al. 2018, 12.

<sup>87</sup> [https://s3.amazonaws.com/sardis-images/pdf/Newsletter\\_2018.pdf](https://s3.amazonaws.com/sardis-images/pdf/Newsletter_2018.pdf), fig. 11 (accessed 21.04.2020)

Cyprus. Most of these have sockets and are trilobate. Among the samples are arrowheads similar to Daskyleion IB1a.<sup>88</sup> These samples in Cyprus were discovered in a Persian destruction layer dated to the 5th century BC. Among the places in which similar samples of this type were found include Metropolis,<sup>89</sup> Klaros,<sup>90</sup> Alishar Höyük,<sup>91</sup> Kerkenes,<sup>92</sup> Kelainai-Apameia,<sup>93</sup> Kaman Kalehöyük,<sup>94</sup> Deve Höyük,<sup>95</sup> Athens Acropolis,<sup>96</sup> Corinth,<sup>97</sup> Lindos,<sup>98</sup> Thasos Artemision,<sup>99</sup> Pasargadai,<sup>100</sup> Samaria<sup>101</sup> and Daphnai.<sup>102</sup>

Explorations carried out in the Cultic Road give important information about the date in which this type of arrowheads was used in Daskyleion. In 2006, these were discovered in the trench called Cultic Road-South on the partly burnt areas of Floor I. During the removal of the floor two arrowheads were found. Archaeologists working in the trench considered this floor as a continuation of the destruction layer (395 BC) of the Spartan king Agesilaos in the trenches around the Cultic Road. That the pottery found on the floor is dated to the first quarter of the 4th century BC points to the same period for the arrowheads unearthed here.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, another area in which this group was found in Daskyleion was at Tumulus T6. According to the pottery discovered in this tumulus, the arrowheads do not date earlier than 420 BC.

Daskyleion trilobate Type IB1a was found together with Type IB2a as one of the bilobates in Tumulus T6. The common aspect of both these types of arrowheads is that they were found often in the same geographical area. As bilobate Type IB2a arrowheads, these samples also spread to Greece and the Near East.<sup>104</sup> Also, these samples were discovered in layers associated with the Persians, as was the case with IB1a samples. The period in which these arrowheads were used at Daskyleion is suggested as 470-300 BC, based on the other archaeological finds on the site.

Type IB1b is another group frequently found both in the settlement and in the tumulus.<sup>105</sup> The midrib is straight. The blades of these arrowheads are trilobate; their body is oval. The height of these arrowheads is around 4 cm, and the width between the blades is between 0,9 and 1,2 cm. Their weights range from 2,13 to 7,63 gr. These arrowheads are similar to Type

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<sup>88</sup> Campbell 2008, 14.

<sup>89</sup> Arslan et al. 2017, 58, table 1, figs. 2-4.

<sup>90</sup> Akar-Tannver 2009, 859, cat. no. BG 12.

<sup>91</sup> Schmidt and Krogman 1933, 66, fig. 89.

<sup>92</sup> Schmidt 1929, 269, K64, K87.

<sup>93</sup> Ivantchik 2016, 476-78, cat. nos. 19-23.

<sup>94</sup> Yukishima 1992, 93-94, figs. 9-10.

<sup>95</sup> Moorey 1980, 63, figs. 10.194-216.

<sup>96</sup> Broneer 1935, 114-15, fig. 4.

<sup>97</sup> Davidson 1952, 200, pl. 91. 1517-518.

<sup>98</sup> Blinkenberg 1931, 194-95, fig. 606.

<sup>99</sup> Prêtre 2016, 103, pl. 28. 746.

<sup>100</sup> Stronach 1978, 165, figs. a-b.

<sup>101</sup> Crowfoot et al. 1957, 451, fig. 110.3

<sup>102</sup> Petrie 1888, 77, pl. 39. 9.

<sup>103</sup> The diary reports of the Trench "Cultic Road-South", 2006, 23.

<sup>104</sup> Waldbaum 1983, 35.

<sup>105</sup> 132 arrowheads in total were discovered among this group; 47 were from Tumulus T6.

IB1a in terms of form. The main differences are that the body is longer in Type IB1b and, accordingly, the width of the blades is smaller.<sup>106</sup>

Like Type IB1b, Type IB1a was frequently found in deposits of the Middle Achaemenid Period (477-389 BC) in Daskyleion where building activity was intense around the Cultic Road and the trenches on the south. The discovery of this type of arrowheads in Tumulus T6 together with Type IB1b demonstrates that they were contemporaneous. Types IB1a and IB1b were also found together in other centres like Daskyleion.<sup>107</sup>

Type IB1c is a variation of this type wherein the height of Type IB1b is increased. In these examples, the height of the arrowhead is between 4,8 and 5,3 cm. The widths of their body range from 0,6 to 0,8 cm; their weights range from 3,46 to 4,41 gr. As observed in samples found in other centres and Daskyleion, this variation was used contemporaneously with Daskyleion Type IB1a.<sup>108</sup> A similar sample of these arrowheads was found in Lindos and dated to 490 BC.<sup>109</sup> A similar version was uncovered in Olympia,<sup>110</sup> Nemea<sup>111</sup> and Tanis.<sup>112</sup>

Type IB1d has a straight midrib. The blades of these arrowheads are trilobate. The body is triangular-shaped. Their height is between 3,5 and 4,7 cm, and the width is between 0,8 and 1,1 cm. Their weights range from 3,82 to 5,42 gr. This arrowhead type was unearthed in the same layer as Daskyleion Type IA2b. This type was also uncovered in other layers dated to the 4th century BC of the settlement. Therefore, this type was used in Daskyleion between the second half of the 5th century BC and the mid-4th century BC.

Type IB1e is among the trilobate arrowhead. A single sample in this type was unearthed at Daskyleion. Half of this sample consists of blades while the other half is socket. Its height is 3,4 cm, width is 0,7 cm, and weight is 3,20 gr.

## Type IB2

Arrowheads in this group struck directly on the skin and caused intense blood loss. Among these are examples spurred or barbed. In such cases, it is difficult to remove the arrow from the skin because the wound opens further. More blood loss then occurs that could cause death while trying to remove the arrow.<sup>113</sup>

Type IB2a was one of the bilobate Daskyleion arrowheads discovered both in the settlement and in Tumulus T6. Additionally, this type is the most frequent group found among the bilobate Daskyleion arrowheads.<sup>114</sup> The socket is long in samples of this group.<sup>115</sup> The midrib is conical, and the body oval-shaped. The heights of Type IB2a samples range from 3,3 to

<sup>106</sup> Among the samples of this type are arrowheads in which the width between the two blades reduces to 0,7 cm.

<sup>107</sup> For the Lindos samples, see Blinkenberg 1931, 606-8; Ivantchik 2016, cat. nos. 10-18; Crowfoot et al. 1957, 451, fig. 110.3, 5. For the Nemean sample, see Miller 1975, 154, pl. 37b.

<sup>108</sup> Blinkenberg 1931, 195, table 23, fig. 608.

<sup>109</sup> Blinkenberg 1931, 195, table 23, fig. 608.

<sup>110</sup> Curtius and Adler 1890, 178, pl. 64.1083.

<sup>111</sup> Miller 1975, 154, pl. 37b.

<sup>112</sup> Petrie 1888, 77, pl. 39.12.

<sup>113</sup> Davis 2013, 79; Delrue 2007, 246.

<sup>114</sup> 43 samples of this type have been discovered both in the settlement and in the tumulus.

<sup>115</sup> There is a sample whose socket depth reaches up to 1,9 cm.

3,8 cm. Their weights range from 2,45 to 5,70 gr. The width of the blade's midrib is around 1 cm. The height of a sample is 4,4 cm. In some samples, the rivet hole is preserved.

Arrowheads of this type were discovered during the excavations at Sardis.<sup>116</sup> It is one of the most common types among arrowheads. Waldbaum states that these samples were commonly used in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East from the 8th to the 4th centuries BC. She argues that this type found in Anatolian and Greek cities is a Lydo-Persian one and related with the Persian conquests.<sup>117</sup> The date proposed in Sardis for these arrowheads is 547 BC when Kyros was ravaging the palace.<sup>118</sup> Metropolis is another centre in which this type was found.<sup>119</sup> Other places where similar variations of this type have been observed are Troia,<sup>120</sup> Didyma,<sup>121</sup> Afyon Çavdarlı Höyük,<sup>122</sup> Kaman Kalehöyük,<sup>123</sup> Boğazköy,<sup>124</sup> Kerkenes,<sup>125</sup> Çavuştepe<sup>126</sup> and Olympia.<sup>127</sup>

This type of arrowheads, uncovered mainly in and around the Cultic Road in Daskyleion, is dated to the early 5th century BC based on the pottery found in the deposit.<sup>128</sup> Samples of this type were also found in Tumulus T6. This grave is dated between 470 and 420 BC according to vases found together with the arrowheads. After the samples of this arrowhead were discovered in the tumulus, no other similar sample was found in any dated deposit in any part of the site. This arrowhead type was probably used at Daskyleion during the 5th century BC. Earlier examples did not emerge at Daskyleion so far, although they are known from other settlements.<sup>129</sup>

20 bilobate Type IB2b arrowheads were found at Daskyleion. A typical form characteristic of this type is its large-surface blades and short socket. The midrib is spindle-shaped. The midrib narrows from the socket to the middle of the midrib and ends fusiform from the middle of the midrib onwards. The body is leaf-shaped. The blades of these arrowheads are bilobate. Their height ranges from 3,8 to 4,9 cm; their weight ranges from 3,59 to 6,87 gr. The calibres of the sockets average 0,7 cm.

<sup>116</sup> Cahill 2015, 420, fig. 6.

<sup>117</sup> Waldbaum 1983, 32. For the Sardis finds in 2013, see Cahill 2015, 415, fig. 6; cf. Hanfmann and Detweiler 1961, 4, fig. 4. Even though Daskyleian types IA1b and IA2c commonly found in Sardis are dated between the 6 and 4th centuries BC in Sardis, there is no data concerning the use of these samples in Daskyleion in the 6th century BC.

<sup>118</sup> Cahill 2010, fig. 3.

<sup>119</sup> Arslan et al. 2017, 58, table 1, fig. 1.

<sup>120</sup> Schliemann 1884, 247, no. 132.

<sup>121</sup> Lubos 2009, 406, table 1.7.

<sup>122</sup> Akok 1965, 10, fig. 51.

<sup>123</sup> Yukishima 1992, 90, 93, figs. 2.1, 4.

<sup>124</sup> Boehmer 1972, 109-10, table 30.888, 895A.

<sup>125</sup> Schmidt 1929, 248, 270, fig. 69 K73, K33.

<sup>126</sup> Erzen 1978, 52-56, fig. 38.4.

<sup>127</sup> Baitinger 2001, 109, pl. 6, figs. 152-54.

<sup>128</sup> The diary reports of Trench "Cultic Road-South", 2005, 6.

<sup>129</sup> Young 1953, 164-65, fig. 10, mentions similar samples found in and outside of a complex in Gordion and dated to mid-6th century BC; cf. Cleuziou 1977, 191, fig. 1, type E8; Hančar 1972, 4-6, table 1, II.4; Smirnov and Petrenko 1963, 51, table 12. 4-6; Yalçıklı 2016, 132, table 8, types IIB2a1, IIB2a2.



Several variations similar to this type emerge very often in the literature. Among the places where comparable samples were found are Troia,<sup>130</sup> Larisa,<sup>131</sup> Old Smyrna,<sup>132</sup> Karamattepe and Ballicaoluk,<sup>133</sup> Sardis,<sup>134</sup> Phokaia,<sup>135</sup> Alişar Höyük,<sup>136</sup> Gordion<sup>137</sup> and Boğazköy.<sup>138</sup>

Yalçıklı proposed a circulation time of this type between the late 7th and late 4th centuries BC based on the dates of the finds from other centers.<sup>139</sup>

In the case of Daskyleion among the samples of Type IB2b, there is only one which could be definitely dated. Its deposit has the pottery dated to the first half of the 5th century.<sup>140</sup> According to the deposits of similar samples, this type would have been used during the 5th century BC in Daskyleion.

Three samples of Type IB2c were uncovered in Acro-Daskyleion. The midrib is conical. The blades of these arrowheads are bilobate. A characteristic feature of this type is that the blades are barbed. The body is oval-shaped. The height is 4 cm; the width between the two blades is 1,2 cm. Their weight ranges from 2,79 to 5,16 gr. One of these arrowheads was found in Tumulus T6. Therefore, the arrowheads in this group were used in Daskyleion in the 5th century BC.

17 bilobate Type IB2d arrowheads were uncovered at Daskyleion. The common and most distinctive characteristic of these samples is that the socket is long and the midrib ends by narrowing from the socket to the tip. The blade of these arrowheads is bilobate. The body is triangular-shaped. The longest sample among this type is 4,4 cm long, while the shortest is 3,4 cm. The width between the two blades is between 1 to 1,5 cm. Their weight ranges from 3,34 to 6,05 gr.

The arrowhead discovered in the Gerar settlement in Palestine and dated to the 9th century BC is among the earliest samples similar to Type IB2d.<sup>141</sup> Later, similar samples dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC were found in Daphnai.<sup>142</sup> In studies conducted by Woolley in Al Mina, a similar sample of this type was discovered and dated to 650-550 BC.<sup>143</sup>

The earliest samples of this type in Greece were found in Olympia<sup>144</sup> and Sparta.<sup>145</sup> The date of these arrowheads varies from the 7th to the 5th centuries BC. Comparable variations

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<sup>130</sup> Dörpfeld 1902, 419, fig. 449.

<sup>131</sup> Boehlau and Schefold 1942, 50, tables 10.4, 10.36.

<sup>132</sup> Akurgal 1983, pl. N3.

<sup>133</sup> Baykan 2017a, 29, fig. 13.

<sup>134</sup> A similar arrowhead with Type AII was observed because of the examination carried out on the Sardis database in 2019 with the permission of Nicholas Cahill. We would like to express our gratitude to Prof. Cahill for this permission.

<sup>135</sup> Özyiğit 1994, 105, fig. 32.

<sup>136</sup> Schmidt and Krogman 1933, 66, fig. 89. A380.

<sup>137</sup> Young 1953, 164-65, fig. 10.

<sup>138</sup> Boehmer 1972, 109-10, table 30.896.

<sup>139</sup> Yalçıklı 2016, 122.

<sup>140</sup> Coşkun 2005, 240, III. Acb1: type I, cat. no: s 366.

<sup>141</sup> Petrie 1928, 15, pl. 29.8

<sup>142</sup> Petrie 1888, 77, table 39.16.

<sup>143</sup> Woolley 1938, 147, A3.

<sup>144</sup> Baitinger 2001.

<sup>145</sup> Dawkins 1929, 201, table 87h.

of this type were discovered in many centres in Anatolia as well. The main ones are Sardis,<sup>146</sup> Ephesos Artemision,<sup>147</sup> Gordion,<sup>148</sup> Kerkenes Mountain<sup>149</sup> and Tarsus Gözlükule.<sup>150</sup> This type unearthed in these sites are dated between the 6th and 4th centuries BC, depending on the deposits in which they were found. These arrowheads were found in several trenches on Acro-Daskyleion. Among them, five arrowheads could be dated between 440 and 310/300 BC, according to the deposits to which they belonged.

Samples in Type IB2e are spurred, and two of them were uncovered in Daskyleion. The midrib is straight; the body is oval. Their height is between 3,6 and 3,8 cm, and the width of both is 1 cm. Their weight ranges from 3,60 and 3,75 gr. A similar version of this arrowhead uncovered in Didyma is dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC.<sup>151</sup> Arrowheads with similar barbs as the Daskyleion sample were found in Didyma in the burnt layer related to the Persians and dated to 494 BC.<sup>152</sup> Unfortunately, samples of this type could not be found in dateable deposits in Daskyleion. Based on the fact that samples in other centres similar to this type are dated to the 7th and 5th centuries BC, comparable dates could be suggested for the two samples in Daskyleion from this group.

A single sample of Type IB2f was discovered at Daskyleion. The midrib is spindle-shaped. The blades are wide, and the midrib is narrow. The body is close to a leaf-shaped. The height is 4,9 cm; its width is 1,4 cm; and its weight is 3,95 gr. This arrowhead was found during the excavations in 2002 close to the Persian Wall. Comparable samples of this arrowhead were found in Pergamon,<sup>153</sup> Sardis<sup>154</sup> and Olynthos.<sup>155</sup> The height of similar samples ranges from 4,7 cm to 5 cm. However, the socket of the Daskyleion sample is longer than similar ones. Robinson states that this type of arrowhead form is similar to a spearhead. It was popular in the 5th century BC, and the circulation time of the Olynthos samples continued until the late 4th century BC.<sup>156</sup> A similar sample from Klaros was uncovered together with two Ephesos coins that are dated to the late 4th century BC.<sup>157</sup> When similar samples in the literature are considered, the dating of Daskyleion Type IB2f should be in the second half of the 4th century BC. Archaeological finds confirm this date in Daskyleion as well.

Type IB2g, the defining characteristic is that the socket is shallow. The midrib is conical. The blades of these arrowheads are bilobate; their body is triangular. The arrowheads are 4 cm long on average, and 1,3 cm in width. They weigh from 3,22 to 5,75 gr. The most important difference between this type and Daskyleion bilobate Type IB2g is that the midrib is not high and the socket is shallow. In Type IB2g samples, the socket depth reaches up to 1,4 cm. Similar arrowheads with Daskyleion Type IB2g were observed in the town of Midas.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Greenewalt 1997, 3, 7, fig. 5.

<sup>147</sup> Klebinder-Gauss 2007, cat. nos. 890-91.

<sup>148</sup> Young 1953, 164-65, fig. 10.

<sup>149</sup> Woolley 1938, 147, fig. 25 A.

<sup>150</sup> Goldman 1963, 373-74, fig. 174.29.

<sup>151</sup> Lubos 2009, table 1, fig. 9b.

<sup>152</sup> Bumke and Röver 2002, 95-97, fig. 15.

<sup>153</sup> Conze 1913, 252, fig. 8b.

<sup>154</sup> Waldbaum 1983, 35, pl. 58.1001.

<sup>155</sup> Robinson 1941, 381, pl. 120.1896.

<sup>156</sup> Robinson 1941, 380-81.

<sup>157</sup> Zunal 2017, 44, fig. 3.

<sup>158</sup> Haspels 1951, 42a.9.

Type IB2h is quite eroded. The midrib is conical, while the blades of this type are bilobate. The body is leaf-shaped. Its height is around 3,5 cm; the width is 1,7 cm; the weight is 5,24 gr. This sample was uncovered in the area where the Persian Terrace is located in Daskyleion.

Three samples of Type IB2i were uncovered in Acro-Daskyleion. The midrib is spindle-shaped, and the body triangular-shaped. The blades of these arrowheads are bilobate. The most distinctive characteristic of this type is that the blades edges, or shoulders, at the widest point of the two blades are angled. Moreover, a short socket is evident. The height of these heads is about 4 cm, and their width between the two blades is 1,3 and 1,9 cm. The socket size is 0,8 cm. Their weight ranges from 4,80 to 5,61 gr.

## Discussion

After the arrival of Persians in 547/6 to the region, the number of arrowheads increases relatively in Daskyleion. The most evident detail observed in this augmentation is that Daskyleion Type IB1a and IB1b constitute the largest group among the arrowheads. The most obvious detail noted in this increase is that arrowhead types become common in the sites which have either a Persian destruction layer or layers related to the Persians. Common types with Daskyleion arrowheads were detected consequently.<sup>159</sup> For example, types common with Sardis are IB1a, IB1b, IB1c, IB2a, IB2b and IB2f. The arrowheads in Sardis, similar to the Daskyleion samples, belong to layers related to the Persians or those that reflect the Lydian-Persian conflict. Similar types have been observed in the excavations at Karamattepe and Ballicaoluk where layers related to the Persians are located. Baykan stated that there was a Persian munition factory there and argued that iron and bronze arrowheads were discovered there in large numbers.<sup>160</sup> Bronze arrowheads with sockets similar to the Daskyleion samples are Nif (Karamattepe) Types 5, 6, 8 and 9.<sup>161</sup> Apart from these samples, a pyramidal-tanged iron arrowhead called Nif type 1 (Karamattepe and Ballicaoluk),<sup>162</sup> of which 296 were uncovered, also constitutes the largest group among Daskyleion iron arrowheads (fig. 11).<sup>163</sup> Another centre attacked by the Persians and displaying arrowheads similar to the Daskyleion samples is Kerkenes.<sup>164</sup> Samples similar to Daskyleion types IB1a, IB1b, IB2a and IB2e were uncovered there. Kelainai is also another centre in which arrowheads similar to the Daskyleion samples were found in layers related to the Persians.<sup>165</sup> Samples similar to Daskyleion types IB1a, IB1e and IB2d were reported there.

However, with the arrowheads found at Daskyleion until today, an incontestable attack has not been observed, as at Sardis, Gordion and Smyrna. During the excavations carried out in the downtown area of Gordion, a large number of bilobate arrowheads was found buried in a wall on the attack ramp built by the Persians to reach the town in 540 century BC.<sup>166</sup> In

<sup>159</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Nick Cahill for his kind permission for the study on the database of excavations at Sardis in 2019.

<sup>160</sup> Baykan 2017a, 29.

<sup>161</sup> Baykan 2017a, 29-32, fig. 3; 2017b, 125, fig. 9.

<sup>162</sup> Baykan 2017a, 24.

<sup>163</sup> In Daskyleion, among the well-preserved iron arrowheads, eight of this type were identified.

<sup>164</sup> Schmidt 1929, 237, 270, figs. 69, K59, K73, K33, K64, K87.

<sup>165</sup> Summerer 2011, 35, fig. 2.

<sup>166</sup> <https://www.penn.museum/sites/gordion/iron-age-gordion/> (accessed 21.04.2020).

a similar vein, arrowheads were also found in Sardis<sup>167</sup> and Old Smyrna<sup>168</sup> that are associated with attack and destruction. Deformations encountered on some of these arrowheads are among the most significant indicators that important constructions were preserved here. Additionally, a couple of bronze- and iron-scale armour found in Daskyleion demonstrate the existence of fully equipped soldiers there, at least for some time (fig. 12).<sup>169</sup> Based on this data in Daskyleion, at least some of the arrowheads were used as combat weapons.

The emergence of several scales of armour and deformations on the arrowheads at Daskyleion point to some historical events mentioned by ancient authors. There are two important events reported by historical sources about Daskyleion. The first is the expedition to Daskyleion by Agesilaos (396-395 BC). As was stated, during Bakır's excavations, a 50 cm-thick burnt layer was reported under the footing blocks of a construction shaped like a tower in Trench M-8. This fire has been associated with the destruction of the town by the Spartan king Agesilaos in 395 BC. However, Sankaya argues, based on her reading of the ancient sources, that Agesilaos could not besiege or conquer Daskyleion, which is contrary to the view of other modern scholars.<sup>170</sup>

The second event occurred when Alexander the Great's general Parmenion seized Daskyleion but then abandoned it after the Granikos War.<sup>171</sup> However, Bakır denies its abandonment after Granikos<sup>172</sup> and claims that Parmenion besieged Acro-Daskyleion and partly ruined the Persian Wall. Finally the Macedonians captured the site.

According to the density map of leaded bronze arrowheads, the largest number of arrowheads was reported in the area called the Hellenistic Tower on the Acropolis. These were found in the trenches around the Cultic Road and the buildings in Trench F. But they were never found *en masse*. Bakır's excavations uncovered partly burnt layers from the 4th century in front of the Persian wall (324 BC?) and in trenches around the Cultic Road (395 BC?) (fig. 13). The archaeological excavations confirmed that new large-scale reconstruction activity started on Acro-Daskyleion in the early and late 4th century BC. The main reason for this activity may be the damage done by the serious attacks. Interestingly, the samples dated to the 4th century are more than those dated to the 5th century BC at Daskyleion. The increase in the number of arrowheads in the 4th century BC at Daskyleion may be related to these political events.

## Conclusion

The typology defining bronze arrowheads in the finds of Daskyleion in this study also takes into consideration their morphology and composition and serves as a classification based on the function of the arrowhead. This classification makes it possible to differentiate the arrowheads used in Daskyleion for war and hunting. Trilobate arrowheads that may have targeted armor-like hard surfaces in warfare are in the majority. Some arrowheads at Daskyleion show

<sup>167</sup> Cahill 2010; Nicholls 1958-1959, 129-34; Cook 1958-1959, 24, table 6d.

<sup>168</sup> Tanniver et al. 2017, 98; Akar-Tanniver 2017, 88.

<sup>169</sup> Until today, seven scale armour in total have been discovered in Daskyleion. Three of these are rectangular and made of iron. The shape of the other four is fish scale and made of bronze. The fact that these scales were made of different materials demonstrates that they belonged to different pieces of armour.

<sup>170</sup> Sankaya 2015.

<sup>171</sup> Arr., *Anab.* 1.17.1; Strabo, *Geography* 16.776; Paus., *Description* 1.29.10.

<sup>172</sup> Bakır 2003, 8.

signs of bending and thereby support the premise that this type was probably used in war to pierce armour.

Zooarchaeological studies at Daskyleion have enlightened us that at least some species of large wild animals were hunted using wide arrowheads with cutting edges. Conversely, small arrowheads were used to hunt small animals.

According to pottery deposits, the circulation time of the leaded bronze arrowheads was the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The earliest samples among the Daskyleion arrowheads are IB2a from the bilobates. The types used longest in Daskyleion were IB1a and IB1b, which are both trilobates. These arrowhead types were also used in other sites during the 6th or even the 7th centuries BC. Some Daskyleion arrowhead types are common at sites that have either a Persian destruction layer or a layer related to the Persians. Different types of arrowheads were deposited together in the grave chamber of Tumulus T6. Thanks to the finds of T6, some types of arrowhead could be dated more precisely. Consequently, those arrowheads suggest which were used contemporaneously at Daskyleion as well. Obviously, they are Types IA1a and IB2a among the bilobates along with Types IB1a and IB1b among the trilobate samples. Daskyleion arrowheads consist of arrowhead types well-distributed around a wide geographical area from Mainland Greece to the Near East.

One may anticipate that the large diversity in the typology of Daskyleion arrowheads could be related with their function. On the other hand, this diversity could also be explained through the multicultural structure of society at Daskyleion.

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FIG. 1 Daskyleion and Tumulus T6.

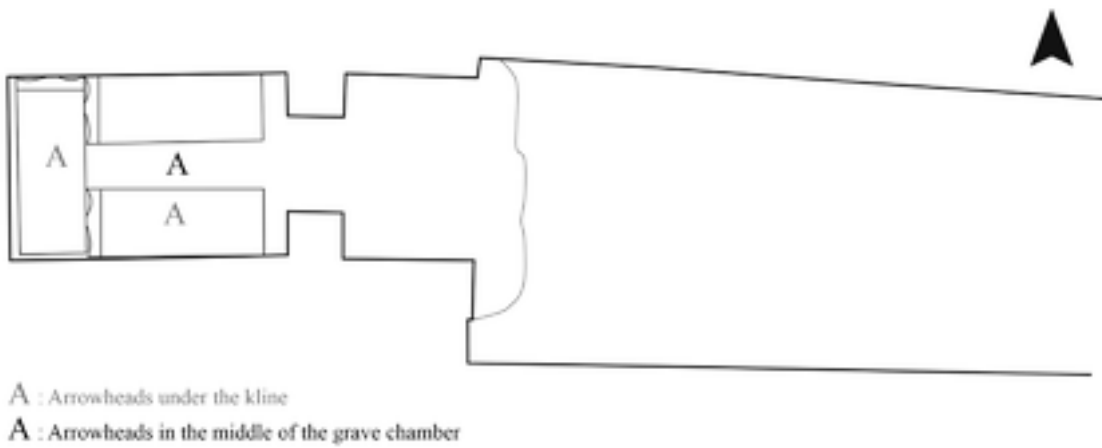


FIG. 2 Location of arrowheads in the grave chamber of Tumulus T6.



FIG. 3  
Bilobate and  
trilobate  
arrowheads from  
Tumulus T6.



FIG. 4  
Bronze ornament of  
a gorytos discovered  
in Tumulus T6.



FIG. 5  
Gorytos depicted  
on the relief.



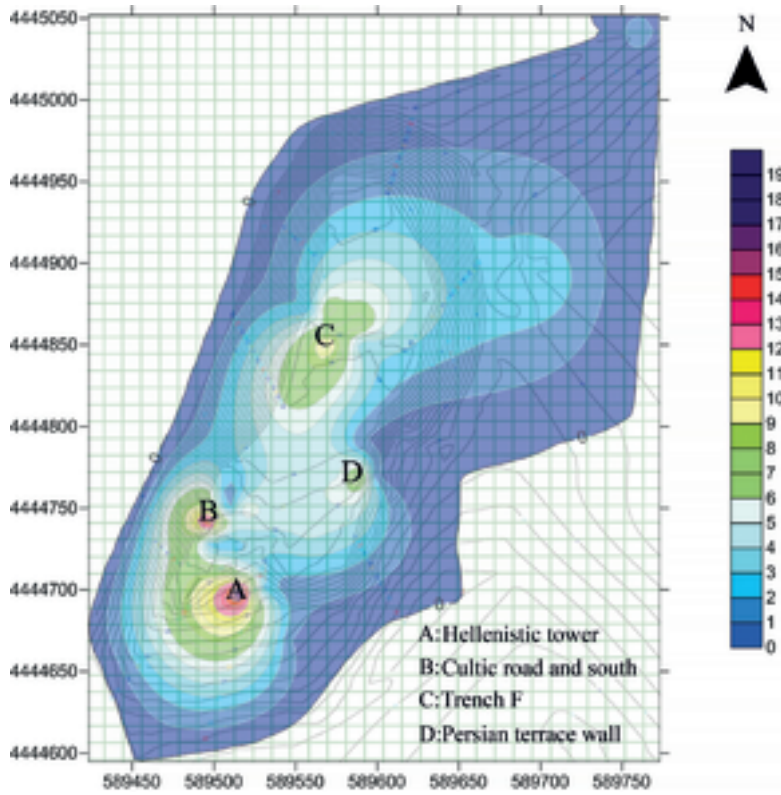


FIG. 6  
Map showing the density of leaded bronze arrowheads found in Daskyleion.



FIG. 7a-d  
Destruction and deformation observed on the arrowheads and a scale.

| TYPE I |                         |  |   |   |  |   |  |  |                              | TOTAL                           |    |
|--------|-------------------------|--|---|---|--|---|--|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----|
| A      | 1                       |  |   |   |  |   |  |  |                              |                                 |    |
|        | Amount                  | 19   |   |   |  |   |  |  |                              | 19                              |    |
|        | Compositional range (%) | Cu: 78,2-85,3<br>Sn: 4,1-6,9<br>Pb: 8,6-12,5 |   |   |  |   |  |  |                              |                                 |    |
| B      | 1                       |  |   |   |  |   |  |  |                              |                                 |    |
|        | Amount                  | 105  | 127   | 5   | 34   | 1   |  |  |                              | 272                             |    |
|        | Compositional range (%) | Cu: 75,2-88,5<br>Sn: 3,9-7,1<br>Pb: 1,8-11,4 | Cu: 64,6-91,2<br>Sn: 2,2-5,8<br>Pb: 2,6-22,7  | Cu: 59,3-76,2<br>Sn: 4,7-8,1<br>Pb: 18,1-30,5 | Cu: 69,1-88<br>Sn: 2,3-6,8<br>Pb: 6,2-21,8   | Cu: 84,6<br>Sn: 8,2<br>Pb: 1,6            |  |  |                              |                                 |    |
| B      | 2                       |  |   |   |  |   |  |  |                              |                                 |    |
|        | Amount                  | 43   | 20  | 3   | 17   | 2   | 1  | 3  | 1                            | 3                               | 93 |
|        | Compositional range (%) | Cu: 87-91,1<br>Sn: 5,4-6,1<br>Pb: 1,7-2,1    | Cu: 57,6-71,2<br>Sn: 2,8-5,4<br>Pb: 22,1-38,5 | Cu: 90,2-44,3<br>Sn: 1,7-8,4<br>Pb: 6,2-48    | Cu: 53,4-80,9<br>Sn: 4,1-9,8<br>Pb: 4,3-15,5 | Cu: 82,2-93,1<br>Sn: 3,4-7,5<br>Pb: 5,1-9 | Cu: 82,7-88,2<br>Sn: 4,2-5,1<br>Pb: 6,1-10,2 | Cu: 43,7-86,2<br>Sn: 3,9-9,4<br>Pb: 4,8-45,1 | Cu: 87,2<br>Sn: 5<br>Pb: 7,6 | Cu: 79,7<br>Sn: 4,6<br>Pb: 14,8 |    |
| TOTAL  | 179                     | 153  | 10  | 53  | 3  | 1   | 3  | 1  | 3                            | 406                             |    |

FIG. 8 Table of Daskyleion arrowhead typology.

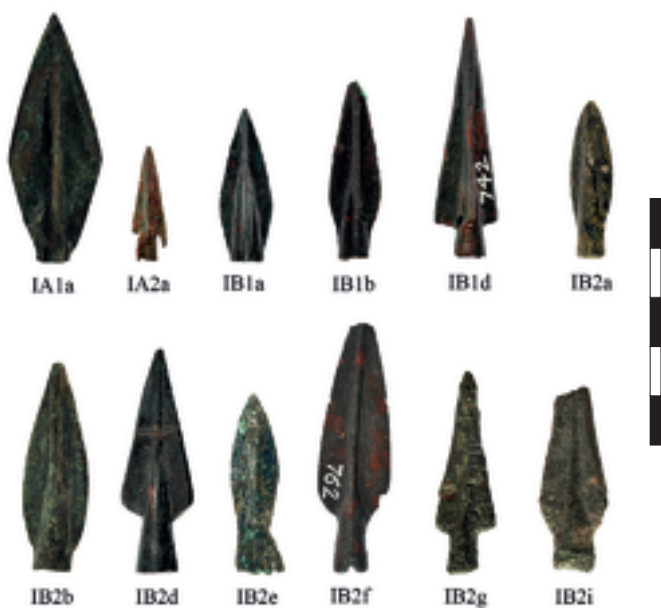


FIG. 9 Types of leaded bronze arrowheads.



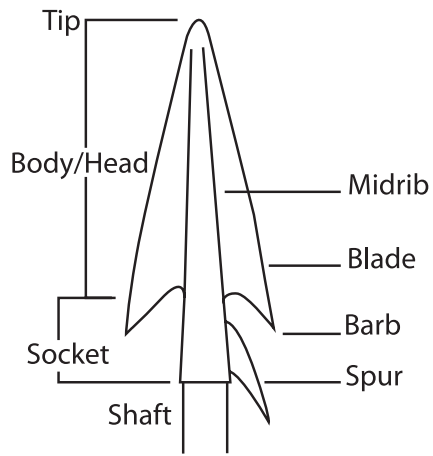


FIG. 10 Parts of the arrow.



FIG. 11 Iron arrowheads from Daskyleion.

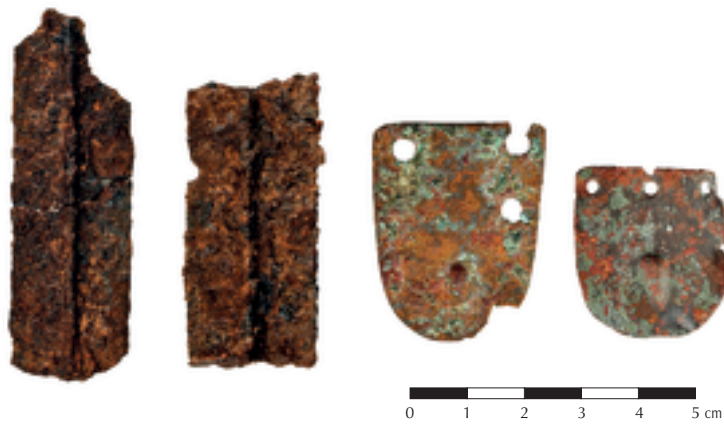


FIG. 12 Iron and bronze scale armor from Daskyleion.

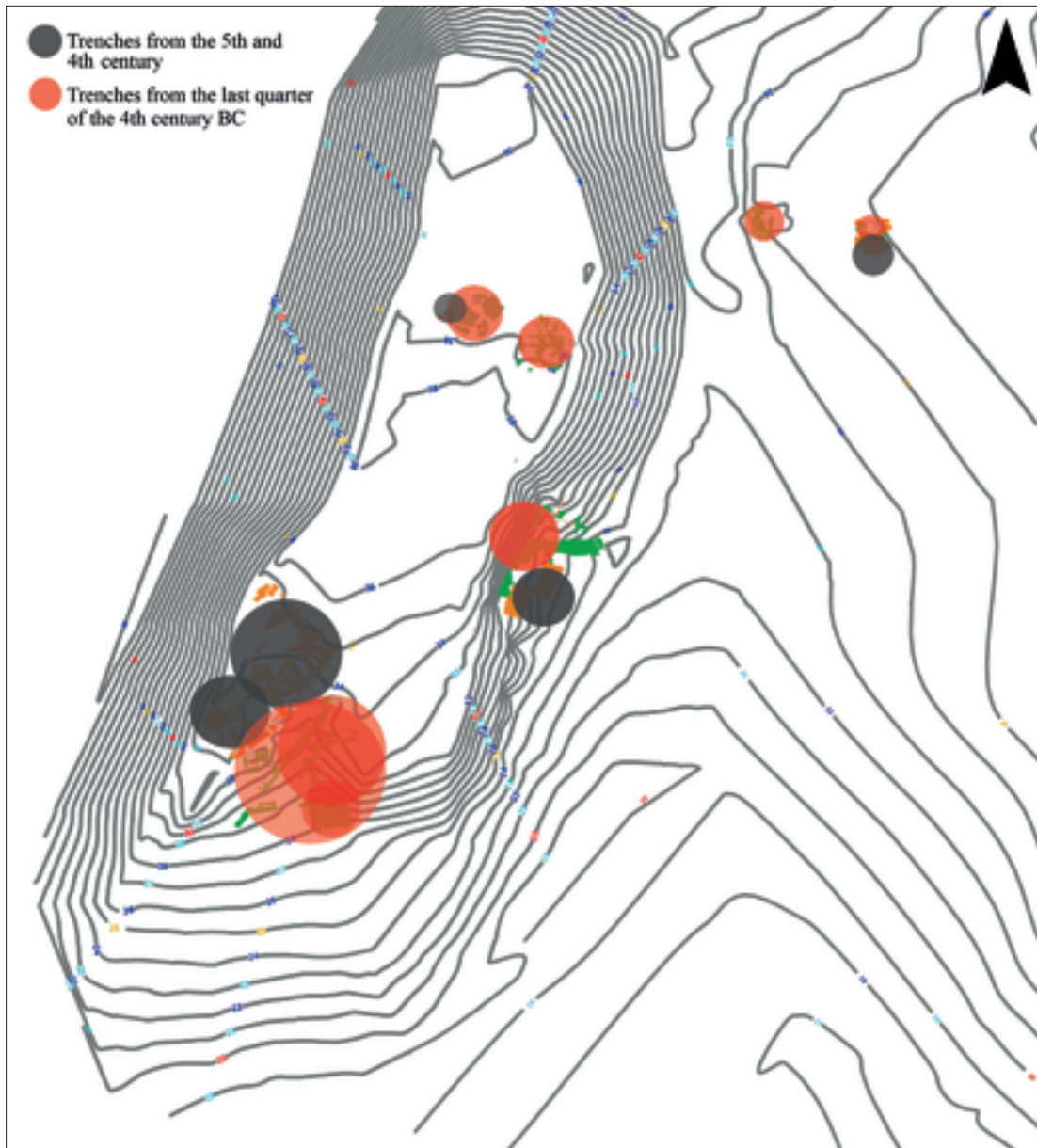


FIG. 13 5th and 4th centuries BC trenches at Daskyleion.

# An Elite Tomb from Soloi: New Evidence for the Funerary Archaeology of Cyprus

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## Abstract

This article focuses on a 4th century BC tomb from the necropolis of Soloi, an important ancient city in northwestern Cyprus. The tomb, together with five others, were revealed during a rescue excavation between 2005-2006. They supply us with evidence related to the Cypro-Classical period of Soloi. The specific tomb that will be evaluated is distinguished from its contemporaries, especially by its rich inventory of gold and silver jewelry and metal vessels. The tomb is characterized by three separate burial chambers that open to a rock-cut central courtyard (*prodomos*). It supplies us with valuable information related to the sociocultural structure, internal and external relations of Cypro-Classical Soloi as well as funerary beliefs and customs of its elite.

The article firstly gives a detailed structural and comparative analysis conducted to reveal both the spatial and architectural characteristics of the tomb. This will be followed by a superficial, yet still informative, analysis of all the burials and their rich inventories. Last but not least, the burials and their inventories will be contextualized within the setting of the 4th century BC Cypriot and Greek burial customs.

**Keywords:** Soloi, Late Classical period, jewelry, metal vessels, burial customs, funerary rites

## Öz

Bu çalışma kuzeybatı Kıbrıs'ta yer alan Soloi kentinin nekropolünden MÖ 4. yüzyıla tarihlenen bir mezar üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Kentin nekropolünde 2005-2006 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilmiş bir kurtarma kazısı kapsamında açığa çıkarılmış olan bahse konu mezar, beraber bulunduğu diğer beş çağdaşı ile Soloi'nin Klasik Dönemi için bilgi veren birkaç mezardan biridir. Mezar beraber bulunduğu diğer çağdaşlarından özellikle altın-gümüş takılar ve metal kaplar içeren zengin buluntuları nedeniyle ayrılmaktadır. Kayaya oyulmuş merkezi bir açıklığa (*prodomos*) bağlanan üç bağımsız odalı bu mezar yapısı, barındırdığı gömüler ile Soloi'nin Klasik Dönem'deki sosyokültürel yapısı, iç ve dış bağlantıları yanında soylu tabakasının ölü gömme adetleri hakkında da ilgi çekici bilgiler sunmaktadır.

Çalışma kapsamında, ilk olarak mezarın detaylı bir tanımı yapılarak hem mimari hem de konumsal önemi ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu değerlendirmeyi gömülerin ve zengin buluntu repertuarlarının yüzeysel ancak yeterli bir incelemesi takip edecektir. Son olarak ise mezar ve içeriği MÖ 4. yüzyıl Kıbrıs ve Yunan ölü gömme adetleri bünyesinde anlamlandırılmaya çalışılacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Soloi, Geç Klasik Dönem, takılar, metal kaplar, ölü gömme adetleri, cenaze törenleri

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## Introduction

Our archaeological knowledge of the funerary customs of ancient Cypriots is rather limited. This is more astonishing since the archaeology in Cyprus began with large-scale excavations in necropoleis. Travelogues and archaeologists of the 19th century opened many tombs with the hope of finding valuable and nice “objects”.<sup>1</sup> With the early 1920s, the funerary archaeology of Cyprus gradually developed thanks to the more systematic and scientific explorations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.<sup>2</sup> Their work and its results established the first and still recognized typology related to the sepulchral architecture of the island. However, the Swedes aimed to establish an island-wide chronology rather than putting specific effort into the study of the burial customs of ancient Cypriots. Since the 1950s in several necropoleis such as Salamis, Kourion, Kition, Paphos and elsewhere, excavations have been carried out mostly by Cypriot archaeologists.<sup>3</sup> These excavations have provided rich finds from various periods, especially from the Cypriot Iron Age (1050-310 BC).<sup>4</sup> The war in 1974 and the following partition of the island affected the balance in research. Excavations by Cypriot and foreign archaeological missions continued in the south without many setbacks, whereas archaeological fieldwork in the North came to a complete standstill. Funerary archaeology followed more or less a similar path on both sides, characterized mainly by rescue excavations.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the growing number of excavated tombs and their extensive publications, comparative analyses and synthetic studies on funerary customs of the Cypriot Iron Age are generally lacking.<sup>6</sup> The few exceptions, unfortunately, were limited to unpublished dissertations.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, some comparative studies on chronologically limited aspects of the funerary archaeology promise to shed new light on this matter.<sup>8</sup>

Soloi, the city that forms the setting of this article, was one of the most prominent political powers of the Cypriot Iron Age.<sup>9</sup> Its exploration by the University of Laval in Quebec came to a standstill following 1974.<sup>10</sup> Since then, the only fieldwork within the site has occurred in the necropolis in the manner of rescue excavations that were mostly urged by new construction or by looting.<sup>11</sup> The excavated finds are carefully recorded, stored and partly exhibited in

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<sup>1</sup> A quick survey of the *memoires* of the first travelogues and archaeologists in Cyprus, such as Cesnola, Hogarth and Ohnefalsch-Richter, reveals how often they mention tombs and their excavations; see Cesnola 1877; Hogarth 1889; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893.

<sup>2</sup> During their five years visit and work in Cyprus between 1927-1931 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition alone excavated more than 200 tombs.

<sup>3</sup> For some selective bibliography on Cypriot necropoleis, see Karageorghis 1970, 1973, 1978; Parks 1997, 1998; Hadjisavvas 2012, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> All dates and chronological identifications used in this article are based on the table from Gjerstad 1960.

<sup>5</sup> For some important cases, especially from the south that exemplify this situation, see Flourentzos 2007, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, none of the volumes on the necropolis of Salamis, with hundreds of pages on tomb architecture and inventories, has chapters on burial customs/rites longer than ten pages. This situation repeats itself in one of the last publications on the Phoenician-period necropolis of Kition by Hadjisavvas. His two-volume work (Hadjisavvas 2012, 2014) dedicates only fifteen pages to burial customs among a total of 450 pages.

<sup>7</sup> Parks 1999; Janes 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Blackwell 2010; Janes 2013.

<sup>9</sup> For a short history of the city, see des Gagniers 1975, 211-14.

<sup>10</sup> For pre-1974 excavations in the city and its necropolis, see des Gagniers et al. 1967; des Gagniers 1972, 46-48; 1975.

<sup>11</sup> After 1974 the Morphou/Güzelyurt branch of the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the TRNC conducted two large-scale rescue excavations within the necropolis of Soloi. The first excavation took place in 1991 and was directed by Mrs. Peyman Uzun. A total of 15 tombs dating from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic periods were

the museum of Güzelyurt/Morphou, but remained unpublished due to political concerns and scientific embargoes. One of those rescue excavations within the necropolis of the ancient city took place between late 2005 and early 2006. It brought to light six rock-cut chamber tombs from the Cypro-Classical Period (480-310 BC). One of these six tombs is significant in term of its size, multiple burials and rich inventories. Due to its undisturbed context, it is promising to shed light on the burial customs of Soloi, especially for the Classical Period.<sup>12</sup>

This article will focus on this tomb named “SKK Mezar 4” by its excavators (hereafter Tomb 4), including its rich assemblages. Although certain publications appeared on some isolated artefacts or find groups from this tomb,<sup>13</sup> a holistic presentation of it was still pending. Firstly, I will present the location and architectural structure, then describe each burial and their inventories. Stylistic and iconographic analyses will be drawn to contextualize the individual items in the wider region to trace social and trading connections of Soloi. A synthesis of the tomb assemblage will lead to an interpretation and reconstruction of the burial customs and rituals of the Solian elite. By doing so, it aims to shed light on this overlooked chapter of Cypriot funerary archaeology within the limited scope of Classical Soloi.

## Location

Tomb 4, together with the others, falls within the known limits of the necropolis of the ancient city. It is situated on the southeast side of the acropolis, known as *Pezoullia*. This location had been previously, and erroneously, been identified as the “*nécropole romaine*” of the city by the Canadian team.<sup>14</sup>

The landscape around Tomb 4 changed dramatically from the late 1970s to the early 1980s due to agricultural terracing. Particularly, the area around the tomb has been heavily disturbed. The tomb is situated at the edge of a ridge, which runs south to north on the hill where the acropolis once stood (fig. 1). Being first in the line of tombs, Tomb 4 is followed by the others numbered as 3, 6, 5, 1 and 2 towards the acropolis.

The location of Tomb 4 is prominent in comparison with the others in terms of its proximity to the citadel and easy accessibility from the plain. It may have had a tomb marker (*sema*) as usual at Cypriot tombs.<sup>15</sup> Thus, either marked by a stele or a mound, Tomb 4 must have been visible to those walking around the plain through the burial grounds of the ancient city. The locality chosen for Tomb 4 is surely no coincidence. Its proximity to the acropolis where the royal house of Soloi probably stood, and its location on a ridge dominating the plain, are clear indications of its owner's privileged position.

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excavated. The specific tomb for this article and the five others were excavated during the second long-lasting excavation between 2005-2006 under the directorship of Mrs. Emine Hilkat.

<sup>12</sup> This tomb, its context and importance for the Cypriot archaeology was evaluated within the doctoral study of the author together with other Classical tombs from Soloi. For the unpublished PhD thesis of the author, see Kaba 2015a.

<sup>13</sup> Kaba 2015b, 2015c, 2016.

<sup>14</sup> des Gagniers 1975, 217, fig. 1.

<sup>15</sup> For Cypriot examples that were marked by stelai, see Calvet 1993, 131. Another way of marking Cypriot tombs was by means of erecting mounds on them as indicated by Carstens 2006, 159-60.

## Tomb Architecture

Tomb 4 is entirely hewn into the bedrock, as is characteristic for most Cypriot tombs. Its roof lies approximately 1 m below the surface, whereas the floor level goes as deep as 3 m. The integrity of the tomb had been already profoundly affected due to agricultural terracing when it was first discovered. The roof of one of the chambers collapsed, while the second one was partially shrunken. However, the preserved architectural structure of the tomb still allows for a reconstruction of its plan as well as its typological classification.

Tomb 4 belongs to a well-known Cypriot chamber tomb type with a stepped dromos (fig. 2). The architectural design of the tomb with three separate chambers can be classified as a multi-chamber rock-cut tomb. All chambers are provided with a doorway (*stomion*) to a central courtyard (*prodomos*), which is accessible through a stepped dromos.<sup>16</sup> The dromos has a total length of 4 m, a width ranging from 1.50 to 2 m, and leads from the surface level to the *prodomos*. The *prodomos* at a depth of three meters from the surface measures 2 x 2 m. It serves as an open courtyard which leads to three separate burial chambers (fig. 3).

Excavators labeled the chambers in their excavation records as 4A, being the first followed by 4B and 4C. Chamber 4A is positioned on the southeast, while 4B lies opposite with a northwest orientation. Chamber 4C is situated between and accessible straight ahead from the dromos. The tomb is oriented in a central axis from southeast to northwest starting from the beginning of the dromos to the end of 4C. A second axial line stretches from northeast to southwest between Chambers 4A and 4B.

All three chambers are similarly designed but differ in size. Chamber 4A was found in a partially damaged condition as its roof completely collapsed. A slightly arched *stomion*, with a width of 1.25 m and a height of 0.60 m, leads to the chamber. The *stomion* was sealed by means of big stone slabs bonded by a muddy mortar preserved in its lowest row. The rectangular burial chamber has a flat floor and, as understood from the remaining portions, an arched roof. The relatively large dimensions of the burial chamber with a length of 4.60 m, a width of 3 m, and a height of 1.70 m can be regarded as a reflection of the social importance of its owners.

Chamber 4B differs slightly from Chamber 4A. This chamber was found in a better state of preservation since only one-third of its roof had collapsed. Its *stomion*, with a height of 0.90 m and a width of 1 m, is topped by a curved enlargement with a width of 0.80 m. This widening gives the entrance a dome-like shape. A combination of small slabs and some spolia was used to seal the entrance. Some of these spolia are decorated with mouldings. A question arises whether these spolia were brought from elsewhere or stem from an earlier tomb. However, due to rescue character of the excavations, we lack detailed observations which could provide an explanation. The chamber of 4B has also a rectangular shape, but is slightly smaller than 4A measuring 4.20 x 2.60 m. The chamber floor is lower than the level of the *prodomos* with a difference of 0.15 m. The arched roof stands 1.60 m high from the floor of the chamber.

Chamber 4C is situated directly opposite of the dromos and better preserved in comparison with the other two chambers. Its *stomion* also reflects the dome-like shape which was evident in the entrance of the 4B. The *stomion* of 4C has a square form measuring 0.90 x 0.90 m. It can be observed from the remaining stone slabs that the entrance of this chamber was closed in the same way as the others. The chamber floor is again slightly lower than the level of *prodomos*

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<sup>16</sup> Carstens 2006, 139, 149, 167.



with a difference of 0.15 m. The rectangular chamber measures 3.80 x 2 m. The well-preserved arched roof is the highest of all three chambers with a height of 1.80 m at its midpoint.

The layout of Tomb 4 finds close comparisons from nearby<sup>17</sup> or distant<sup>18</sup> localities on the island. Especially the structure of its *dromos* and burial chambers are common at rock-cut Cypriot tombs.<sup>19</sup> However, despite this general consistency, it is difficult to assign Tomb 4 to a previously defined type. Nevertheless, a tomb complex from the Classical necropolis of Kition (Tombs 59, 60) shows a similar architectural layout to Tomb 4.<sup>20</sup> This tomb complex, similarly identified as a family tomb, yields two separate burial chambers opening to the same *dromos*.<sup>21</sup> Despite the lack of a *prodomos*, the Kitian tomb is the sole example which resembles Tomb 4 of Soloi.

Nevertheless, Tomb 4 is not unique without any source of inspiration in Cyprus. A detailed comparative analysis of the development of tomb types from the Cypro-Achaic to the Hellenistic Periods is needed to trace the architectural traits. There is no doubt that with its layout and size, Tomb 4 follows the well-known monumental built tombs in both the Cypro-Achaic and Classical Periods.<sup>22</sup> The *prodomos* is a characteristic trait of Cypro-Achaic built tombs, as best evidenced at two monumental tombs from Tamassos (Tombs 5, 11).<sup>23</sup> This analogy can be multiplied with another built tomb in the Cypro-Achaic era from Trachonas.<sup>24</sup> The integration of the *prodomos* with the architecture of the tomb seems to be popular solely within the built tombs in the Cypro-Achaic Period with some exceptions from the necropolis of Salamis. The *Cellarka* burial ground from the necropolis of Salamis has some rock-cut Cypro-Classical exemplars, each with a *prodomos*. However, according to Anne-Marie Carstens, the workmanship of the *prodomoi* from the *Cellarka* tombs are rather simple compared to the *prodomoi* of the built exemplars.<sup>25</sup> Hence, we may assume that the utilization of a *prodomos* was first developed on the built tombs within Cypriot sepulchral architecture. Alongside the *Cellarka* tombs, Tomb 4 from Soloi presents a rare example of a rock-cut Classical tomb with a *prodomos*. Its *prodomos*, however, shows better workmanship and quality which is nearly equivalent to the built tombs of the Cypro-Achaic era.

The position of two additional burial chambers to the sides of the central axis is another trait in the design of Tomb 4 which can be paralleled with the so-called two-axial tomb typology of Hellenistic Cyprus.<sup>26</sup> Hellenistic two-axial tombs, however, develop around a central chamber but not a *prodomos*, as is the case at Tomb 4.

Resulting from this, Tomb 4 involves the *prodomos* of the Achaic built tombs and the two-axial layout of Hellenistic tombs, although this combination is not otherwise attested. It is hence a hitherto unique example as the latest representative of a *prodomos* tomb and a Late

<sup>17</sup> For exemplars originating from nearby Marion, see Gjerstad et al. 1937, figs. 167.8, 172.4, 179.3 and 6, 182.5.

<sup>18</sup> For exemplars originating from Tsambres and Aphendrika in Karpas, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1937, figs. 14, 28.

<sup>19</sup> For the *dromos* see especially Gjerstad et al. 1935, fig. 142.1. For chambers see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1937, fig. 27; Gjerstad et al. 1937, figs. 167.8, 172.4, 179.3 and 6, 182.5; Gjerstad 1948, 45.

<sup>20</sup> Hadjisavvas 2012, 193-98, fig. 115.

<sup>21</sup> Hadjisavvas 2012, 195.

<sup>22</sup> Gjerstad 1948, 47; Gjerstad et al. 1935, 461-66; Carstens 2006, 136-42. For the mention of a built tomb from Soloi which was unfortunately destroyed, see Westholm 1941, 49.

<sup>23</sup> Buchholz 1974, 578-98; 1973, 328.

<sup>24</sup> Gjerstad et al. 1935, 461-66, fig. 182.5-6.

<sup>25</sup> Carstens 2006, 142-43; Raptou 2019, 211-12.

<sup>26</sup> Carstens 2006, 149-50.



Classical forerunner for two-axial tombs of the Hellenistic Period.<sup>27</sup> At this point, the scholarly opinion on the origin of the two-axial tomb type deriving from the cross-shaped chamber tombs needs to be revisited.<sup>28</sup> It is reasonable to put forward that tombs similar to Tomb 4 probably inspired the model of two-axial tomb typology. Thus, by the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, Cypriots possibly turned the *prodomos* of such tombs like our example into the roofed chambers to form the two-axial typology. As Tomb 4 is the sole example of its kind, it is yet not possible to determine the role of Soloi and the northwestern part of the island in this aspect.<sup>29</sup>

To sum up, for the time being we can only state that Tomb 4 forges a sure link between the sepulchral architecture of the Cypro-Archaic and Hellenistic Periods. It does not just carry on the architectural traits of monumental tomb architecture of the Cypro-Archaic era, but also provides a source of inspiration for the two-axial types of the following Hellenistic Period.

## Burials and Assemblages

While the tomb chambers have yielded only a few human and animal bones, a total of 190 artefacts were found both in the *prodomos* and in the burial chambers of 4A and 4B. Since Chamber 4C was looted, it did not contain more than some scattered pottery sherds.

The inventory of Tomb 4 ranges from ceramics, lamps, statuettes, metal vessels, jewelry, weapons and nails alongside other miscellaneous artefacts.<sup>30</sup> Thanks to the accurate documentation of the excavators, the finds can be securely assigned either to the *prodomos* or to the respective chambers. In the following, these find assemblages will be presented under the headings of find groups and their associated chambers. Rather than striving for completeness by cataloguing every find, this article will focus on datable and significant items.

## Finds from the Prodomos

Excavations in the *prodomos* yielded only ceramic finds. Apart from two separate assemblages of storage vessels, the rest of the finds were all fragmentary. All ceramics were products of the local Cypriot ceramic industry.

Fragmentary ceramics found within the filling of the *prodomos* all belong to closed vessels used for storage and pouring purposes. Notably, no pottery with open forms such as plates or bowls are encountered. A rough estimation of the pottery fragments allows us to assign them to four main forms: the torpedo-shaped storage vessels, hydria, amphorae and juglets. It is not possible to reconstruct all the vessels due to their poor state of preservation. However, an inventory of three torpedo-shaped storage vessels, two amphorae, one hydria and five juglets could be identified from the present fragments. All vessels assigned to the Plain White Ware (referred to as PW hereafter) stem from the local Cypriot ceramic industry.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Carstens 2006, 149-50.

<sup>28</sup> Carstens 2006, 150.

<sup>29</sup> Carstens (2006, 150) believes that the two-axial tomb type must have originated somewhere in inland Cyprus since the sole representator and predecessor of this type were all found there. However, it is evident thanks to Tomb 4 that this interpretation is open to some update and discussion.

<sup>30</sup> Kaba 2015a, 73-100.

<sup>31</sup> All references to ceramic forms, types and Ware Groups are based on the well-established terminology of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Especially for the types and grouping of ceramic vessels within this article, see Gjerstad 1948, figs. LVIII-LXXI and related entries.

Two amphorae from the upper level of the fill soil were found close to the entrance of 4A (fig. 4.1-2). Both examples are attested to PW VII ware. The first of these two (h: 68 cm) can be assigned to Type 5a by its stretched body, sharp shoulder and long neck (fig. 5a). The other amphora (h: 50 cm) reflects a different typology. Its characteristic base, ovoid body, soft shoulder-neck angle, and horizontal handles allow us to determine it as an exemplar of Type 1b (fig. 5b).

The second group of intact or nearly intact vessels was found on the floor (fig. 4.3-4). Located between the entrance of 4A and mid-portion of the *prodomos*, this second group consists of an amphora and a torpedo-shaped storage vessel. The amphora (h: 89 cm) was found just in front of the stone blocks used to seal the entrance of the chamber. Especially the relatively short neck, the bulbous body, and the flaring base are the diagnostics of Type 5c of the PW VII (fig. 5c). The torpedo-shaped vessel (h: 71 cm) was found in the middle of the *prodomos* lying on the ground. Its biconical body, soft neck-shoulder angle, and single circular handle associates it with Type 4b of the PW VI (fig. 5d).

Other fragmentary ceramics were encountered especially close to the level of the floor. As indicated previously, these pottery sherds stem from different forms of local Cypriot juglets belonging to the PW VI group.

## Burials and Finds from Chamber 4A

Chamber 4A was richly furnished with various grave goods, which were mostly found in their *in situ* positions (fig. 6). Only some objects had shifted from their original positions due to the effect of a collapsing roof. The inventory of Chamber 4A comprises ceramics and lamps belonging to local Cypriot wares, one limestone and one terracotta statuette, eighteen pieces of gold and silver jewelry, a symposium set of sixteen metal vessels, two mirrors, two pigment rods, one metal candelabrum, three spearheads, a possible shield, two strigils, and some other miscellaneous finds. Copious remains of deteriorated wood accompanied by bronze nails point to the existence of wooden coffins, biers or *klinai* as well as boxes.

Towards the inner sides of the front portion of the chamber, a statuette was found at each corner. The ceramics together with lamps occupied the area close to the entrance, right after the *stomion*. Towards the left side of the *stomion* a diadem, two sets of bracelets, and a big mirror accompanied by two pigment rods are documented. All these artefacts were surrounded by nails and deteriorated wood, indicating that they were kept within wooden boxes. Approximately a half meter away from the entrance, in the middle of the chamber, a golden ivy wreath and a mouthpiece (*epistomion*) were found resting on the crushed cranial remains of their owner. Pieces from a necklace and a dress ornament were scattered around the wreath. The vessels forming a symposium set were piled respectfully in the center of the chamber, but closer to the eastern wall. From the location of the spearheads it can be reconstructed that three spears were laid adjacent to the eastern wall of the chamber. Candelabrum fragments were found scattered close to the western wall of the chamber towards its end.

Human remains found in small pieces and spread around can be assigned to an adult male, a female and an infant by the anthropological analyses.<sup>32</sup> This diversity in age and sex points

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<sup>32</sup> The anthropological analysis of the human remains was conducted by anthropologist S. Hoşşöz (M.A.) from the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus. The author wishes to thank her for her collaborative work related to these human remains.

to a family kinship of the deceased. The male occupant of the tomb was in his 50s at the time of his death. The female, presumably his wife, was around her mid-30s, whereas the child was a girl around 2-4 years old. Thus, 4A can be assigned to a wealthy family which lived and died in Soloi in the Late Classical period. In addition to human remains, 4A also yielded some animal bones which belong, according to analyses, to a sheep deposited at the rear wall of the chamber.

## Pottery

In comparison to the rich metal objects, Chamber 4A yielded a rather poor ceramic inventory. Four juglets, two jugs and four bowls were the only pottery finds (fig. 7). Most of these ceramic vessels were found fragmented, while only four are complete or nearly complete. The pottery finds will be carefully examined as they are significant to date the burial.

Two of the juglets belong to PW VI, while the other two can be attested to PW VII ware. The first of the PW VI juglets (preserved h: 12.5 cm) has been partially recovered; however, its mouth and handle are missing (fig. 7a). Its reddish-brown clay, concave neck and single spout suggest its assignment to Type 17. The second complete juglet also has only with fragments from its shoulder, neck, rim and handle (preserved h: 6 cm) (fig. 7b). It can be placed amongst the Type 6 examples of the same ware. For it shows the diagnostics of this group such as the globular body, ring-shaped mouth with ridges, and an elongated handle from neck to shoulder.

PW VII juglets are better preserved compared to the vessels of PW VI. The first example of this group (h: 11 cm) has a splaying rim, short and concave neck, a single handle from rim to shoulder, a bobbin-shaped body, and a base ring (fig. 7c). In the light of this typology, the first juglet of the PW VII ware can be placed amongst the examples of 9c Type. The second juglet (h: 11.4 cm) reflects traits similar to the example mentioned above. It varies, however, with its more elongated body (fig. 7d), which corresponds to Type 9b.

Two poorly preserved jugs, consisting only of fragments from the shoulder, neck, rim and handle, can be assigned to PW VI with traits of the Type 10 forms.

Bowls are the only examples representing the open forms. Apart from a single complete example, all bowls are fragmented. The complete bowl (fig. 7e) is typified with a shallow structure, curved sides and a plain rim (h: 3.5, d: 8 cm). It can be assigned to PW VI Type 1 forms. Other bowl fragments can be placed amongst the PW VI 4, PW VII 3 and PW VII 4 groups.

## Statuettes

Two statuettes from the chamber show different iconographies as well as different material and production techniques. The first is a mold-made small-sized terracotta (h: 13.3 cm, w: 4 cm). Its surface is heavily worn (fig. 8a). It represents a female figure standing on a base while her left leg is extended forward slightly. No *contrapposto* is recognizable; the weight of the figure seems to be distributed evenly on both feet. Her left arm drops down along the side, while the right arm is folded against the chest. The clenched fist suggests that the right hand is holding an attribute which is hardly recognizable on the worn surface. But it could be either a flower or a bird. The figure wears an ankle-length chiton and a himation, whereas the latter covers also the head. The long hair is styled to a bun which appears through the headcover. Striking is the necklace with acorn pendants. The terracotta, which is unmodeled at the back,

is a modest reproduction of a Classical figure type which originates from the Ionian *vogelkore* (Kore holding bird) of the Archaic period.<sup>33</sup> Similar examples known from other sites on the island are dated to the late 5th and 4th centuries BC respectively.<sup>34</sup> Referred to as “Cypriote type korai” in the literature, these statuettes are identified as votary figures.<sup>35</sup>

The second statuette sculptured from limestone attracts attention for its polychromy (h: 18.8 cm).<sup>36</sup> It represents a dressed female figure accompanied by a much smaller nude male figure both standing on a rectangular plinth (fig. 8b). The figure is depicted leaning against a pillar and holding an attribute that is lost. Her body weight rests on her left leg while the right leg is free so that her upper body is twisted off-axis of the lower body which corresponds to a fully developed *contrapposto*. The figure is clad in a pink-colored chiton and a richly pleated white himation with a broad pink border. A necklace with acorn pendants, similar to the one on the terracotta statuette, adorns the neckline of her garment. The head of the figure carries a *stephane*, whereas two bracelets adorn her wrists. All jewels are painted in yellow to indicate their gold fabric.

On the base of iconographic features like rich garments and jewelry and importantly the accompanying male figure most probably representing Eros, the female figure can be identified as a representation of Aphrodite. A close terracotta parallel from nearby Marion is dated to late 4th century BC and interpreted as the representation of Aphrodite with her son.<sup>37</sup> Another iconographical counterpart from Marion is equally sculptured of limestone and decorated with polychrome painting.<sup>38</sup> These analogies show that this type of Aphrodite was popular in the 4th century BC in northwestern Cyprus.<sup>39</sup> Despite its strong local traits evident in disproportions and coarse modeling, this statuette, like the other examples mentioned above, must be copied from a well-known statue of its time.<sup>40</sup>

## Metal Vessels

Metal vessels forming a symposium set comprise one of the most remarkable parts of the assemblage. We may suggest that the symposium equipment belonged to the male occupant of the tomb. The set consists of seventeen vessels produced from various kinds of metal. Two plates, one salt cellar, three basins, a partially fragmented situla, three oinochoai, two amphorae, three Achaemenid-type cups, a hemispherical bowl, and a kyathos constitute the set. Especially the three Achaemenid drinking cups are considerable for being made of silver, whereas the hemispherical bowl also has gold gilding. A silver kyathos also falls within the group of utensils made from precious metal.

<sup>33</sup> Işık 2000. Such statuettes of female figures bearing offerings are generally interpreted as representations of votaries. For Cypriot exemplars with such traits, see Ulbrich 2008, 49-63, pls. 6-7. Also more recently Ulbrich 2012, 186-90.

<sup>34</sup> Vandenaabeele 2007, 221.

<sup>35</sup> Hermary 2000, 91-101, nos. 596, 599; Vandenaabeele 2007, 221, fig. 15.

<sup>36</sup> For the publication of this statuette, see Kaba 2015b.

<sup>37</sup> Serwint 1993.

<sup>38</sup> Childs 1999, 228, fig. 5.1.

<sup>39</sup> This popularity can be enlarged towards southeast Cyprus thanks to parallels from the vicinity of Salamis: Monloup 1994, 51, no. 85, figs. 10, 57, 91-92, 120; Karageorghis 1973, 144, no. 106, pl. CLXXI:106; 151 no. 254, pl. CLXXII:254.

<sup>40</sup> The leaning posture and high pillar also bring to mind the lost statue of “Aphrodite in the Gardens” of Alcmenes as another candidate for the source of inspiration. In this case, the nude figure would represent not Eros but Hermaphrodite as described by Pausanias (1.19.2).

Two bronze plates, the salt cellar, and the drinking cups show formal affinities with well-known pottery types from Persian-period Asia Minor and Attica.<sup>41</sup> Two of the three oinochai correspond to Type IIB trefoil oinochoe and the chous type. However, unlike their ceramic counterparts, they yield elaborately decorated handles. The Type IIB oinochoe has a handle that ends with an ivy leaf attachment attested to workshops of the Peloponnese.<sup>42</sup> The handle of the chous-type oinochoe ends with a well-executed lion head on its upper finial, while the lower one is shaped as a Dionysos head. The lion head decorating the upper finial is unparallelled within the periphery of Greek toreutics, whereas the Dionysos head finds itself a single parallel.<sup>43</sup> The third oinochoe reflects a type well known in metal. This type with its carinated body, trefoil mouth and handle elaborately decorated with an acanthus shoot is widespread and known by the name *epichysis oinochoe*. The example from 4A is the first representative from Cyprus so far. Oinochoai from 4A parallels the finds especially from the inventories of elite burials from the 4th century BC in Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>44</sup>

Another specimen attested for the first time in Cyprus is a heavily fragmented situla.<sup>45</sup> Its partially preserved cast body decoration, a splendid vegetative motif emerging from an acanthus shoot, can be paralleled with the well-known mid-4th century BC exemplars of the so-called Vratsa Group.<sup>46</sup> The vessel itself once again finds its parallels in Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>47</sup>

Amongst the vessels, the amphorae with two sets of handles, of which the vertical ones are decorated with the heads of Silenoi, are of particular interest (fig. 9a). These amphorae exemplify a very rare form mostly assigned to Athenian toreuts.<sup>48</sup> In the literature only three silver examples of such amphorae are known: two originate from the so-called “Tomb of Philip” in Vergina (mid-4th century BC)<sup>49</sup> and the other from a private collection in Bulgaria (mid-5th century BC).<sup>50</sup> These exemplars, especially the one from Bulgaria, provide the best parallels to the 4A specimens. According to *communis opinio*, this vessel type was used to serve particularly rare wines or aromatized water during symposia.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the presence of this rare vessel type otherwise attested in a Macedonian “Royal Tomb” points to the elite character of the burial in 4A.

The hemispherical silver bowl also represents a rare toreutic vessel type for Cyprus (fig. 9b). With its elaborate workmanship and design, this piece must have been either a prestigious

<sup>41</sup> Kottaridi 2011, 118; Sparkes et al. 1970, 136.

<sup>42</sup> For the typology on bronze exemplars, see Weber 1983, 92-95, 105-15, 122-23. On the Peloponnesian origin of this type, see Sideris 2016, 128.

<sup>43</sup> Weber 1983, 346, no. II.E.5, pl. XIII

<sup>44</sup> For the best-known or recent exemplars, see the selective bibliography as Andronicos 1984, 209, fig. 172; Delemen 2004, 81-86, figs. 74-78; Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997, 35, pls. 4, 39; Teleaga 2008, 446, pls. 117, 119.2, 197.6; Sideris 2016, 241-44, cat. nos. 96-98.

<sup>45</sup> Kaba 2015a, 212-15, cat. no. Mk2, pls. 86-87.

<sup>46</sup> For the classification of metal situlae, see Shefton 1994; Barr-Sharrar 2000. For the most up-to-date classification, however, one must look at Sideris (forthcoming).

<sup>47</sup> For Thracian exemplars, see Detev 1971, 43-45, figs. 9-10; Teleaga 2008, 449, no. 997, pls. 80, 176.9; Torbov 2005, 82, 101, no 72, pl. 12.3. For Macedonian exemplars, see Rhomiopoulou 1989, 195-98, pls. 45-46a; Shefton 1994, 586, fig. 2.1.

<sup>48</sup> Sideris 2016, 118-19.

<sup>49</sup> Andronicos 1984, 153; Zimi 2011, 43-44, 188-89, nos. 17-18.

<sup>50</sup> Sideris 2016, 118-19.

<sup>51</sup> Andronicos 1984, 146; Sideris 2016, 120.

gift or a luxurious object in the symposium set.<sup>52</sup> The design with a fluted body and the cast base decoration corresponds to metal vessels known as Achaemenid or Achaemenid-inspired toreutics.<sup>53</sup> The gilded ivy branch around the rim, on the other hand, reflects a Greek decoration convention that is common on toreutics between the mid-5th and mid-4th centuries BC.<sup>54</sup> Workshops from Western Anatolia, a region known to have close relations with the island since the Archaic Period, are the leading candidates for the places of production for such vessels richly decorated both with oriental and Greek elements.<sup>55</sup>

## Jewelry

Gold and silver jewelry form the largest group from the inventory of 4A. They include a complete wreath, a diadem, a mouthpiece (*epistomion*), spiral, netted or hoop earrings, a pendulum necklace, armbands and bracelets ending with snake or Achaemenid-style ibex finials.<sup>56</sup> Nearly all the earrings, the necklace, armbands and the bracelets are attested in various Cypriot burial contexts.<sup>57</sup>

However, a rare specimen in this aspect is the golden ivy wreath - the first of its kind to be found on the island (fig. 10a). It is excellently preserved apart from some broken or lost ivy leaves. Its design with equally distributed ivy leaves and two fruits (*korymboi*) in the center can be paralleled with similar wreaths from the mid 4th century BC burials of Pappa Tumulus<sup>58</sup> and Nea Apollonia.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, the different technique that was utilized in forming the circumference of the 4A exemplar and stylistic rendering of the stems of its *korymboi* differs from Macedonian parallels.<sup>60</sup> Another exemplar originating from Thrace resembles the Soloi piece, especially in the use of ivy leaves around a golden circumference. However, the Thracian wreath reflects a different technique with the forming of its circumference and, most importantly, lacks the *korymboi*.<sup>61</sup> Similar wreaths produced in different techniques point to the possible existence of several workshops which may have manufactured them using a Macedonian prototype as a model probably.

Another important and unique piece of jewelry is a pair of gold earrings produced by the so-called netting technique. These earrings belong to a rarely exemplified type of Achaemenid jewelry.<sup>62</sup> A more elaborate parallel was found in a hidden “treasure” from the palace of Pasargadae and dated to the destruction of the palace around 336 BC.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>52</sup> For such vessels given as gifts, see Zoumatzi 2000; Sideris 2015, 80-84.

<sup>53</sup> For parallels with similar shape and body decoration, see Oliver 1977, 7; Pfrommer 1987, 248, pl. 48c, d. For similars to the cast base decoration additionally see Treister 2007, 71, fig. 2.4; 84, fig. 10.1; 86, fig. 12; 93, fig. 17.2; Treister 2010, 229, fig. 3.

<sup>54</sup> For 5th century BC exemplars especially, see Sideris 2016, 118, no. 51; 134, no. 58; 149, no. 62; 168, no. 66; 173, no. 67; 177, no. 68. For 4th century exemplars see Treister 2009.

<sup>55</sup> Treister 2007, 99-101; Boardman 2000, 186. This possibility is even suggested for many pure Achaemenid forms in metal; see Filow 1934, 202; Pfrommer 1990, 205, 208.

<sup>56</sup> For a detailed evaluation of the jewelry from Tomb 4, see Kaba 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Karageorghis 2000, 239, no. 388; Caubet et al. 1992, 163, no. 201; Williams and Ogden 1994, 237, no. 171; Rehm 1992, 370, pl. 25 A.77.

<sup>58</sup> Ignatiadou and Tsigarida 2011, no. 1.

<sup>59</sup> Ignatiadou and Tsigarida 2011, no. 2.

<sup>60</sup> For a comparison of techniques of these wreaths, see Kaba 2016, 226.

<sup>61</sup> Marazov 2011, 182-83, cat. no. 138.

<sup>62</sup> Kaba 2016, 227.

<sup>63</sup> Stronach 1978, 177, 201, no. 1, fig. 85.1.



## Utensils of Daily Life

The inventory of 4A consists of various items related to the daily life of the deceased. Two bronze mirrors of varying size and shape, two pigment rods, and a strigil are the equipment of body care, while a splendid candelabrum must have fulfilled the need for lighting. As scholarship has shown, no proper rules existed related to belongings, especially strigils and mirrors, among gender groups in antiquity. Nevertheless, both mirrors and pigment rods possibly belonged to the deceased female and her child, whereas the strigil belonged to the male, as attested from the contexts of other Cypro-Classical tombs.<sup>64</sup>

The candelabrum attracts attention due to its unique form and rich decoration. Although severely damaged by the collapsed roof, it could be reconstructed as complete as possible (fig. 11). As a decorative household element, it shows a multipart rich structure. It rises from an iron stand which has three legs ending in animal paws. Bronze appliques in the shape of palmettos decorate the joints of the three legs. The body of the candelabrum was joined to the stand by a bronze connecting piece in the shape of a Cypro-Ionic capital.<sup>65</sup> Rising from this capital, a column decorated with lateral sections supports a circular plate upon which a nude athlete stands. This youth notably shows Polykleitan traits.<sup>66</sup> From the head of the youth, another column rises to carry a second and smaller circular plate.

Considering the stylistic features of the Cypro-Ionic capital and the Polykleitan youth, the candelabrum can be dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.<sup>67</sup> Hence, it is older than many other items in the tomb assemblage.<sup>68</sup> It was possibly a valuable family heirloom. Although numerous metal candelabra decorated with figures in various iconographies are known,<sup>69</sup> none of them provide a close parallel to the 4A exemplar.<sup>70</sup>

## Burials and Assemblages from Chamber 4B

4B was found in largely disturbed conditions because of the collapsed roof. Its inventory includes mainly jewelry accompanied by local ceramics and lamps, as was the case in 4A. In comparison with 4A, the variety of artefacts from 4B is, however, less rich. Noteworthy is the absence of metal vessels as well as utensils of daily life. Besides, 4B differs from both other burial chambers due to use of a terracotta sarcophagus. 4B produced a scattered context in which all artefacts were found dispersed around the chamber. Consequently, it is difficult to reconstruct the exact placement of the artefacts, as was the case in 4A. An exception is an amphora that was found leaning on the northern wall of the chamber.

<sup>64</sup> For an detailed examination of the connection of mirrors and strigils, especially within the funerary context of Athens, see Houby-Nielsen 1997. For similar Cypriot cases with mirrors and strigils, see Gjerstad et al. 1937, 308, no. 46a-b, 317, no. 25, pls. CII and CV; Gjerstad et al. 1935, 222, no. 21, pl. XI; 272, no. 53, pl. XLIX; 295, no. 32, pl. LV; 315, no. 24, pl. LIX; 336, no. 20, pl. LXI; Karageorghis 1989, 804, fig. 48; Chavane 1990, 12-13, pl. XXI.79.

<sup>65</sup> Karageorghis 1962, 346, fig. 23.c; Karageorghis 2000, 234, no. 371.

<sup>66</sup> Borbein 1999, 66.

<sup>67</sup> Karageorghis 2000, 234; Kranz 1978, 211, 231, 239.

<sup>68</sup> This list of older items can be increased by amphorae and many others. For a detailed analysis on this trait of Tomb 4, see Kaba 2015a, 476-79.

<sup>69</sup> Hostetter 1986.

<sup>70</sup> For a similarly dressed female figurine adorning a candelabrum again from Cyprus, see Tatton-Brown 1989, 133.



The chest-like sarcophagus with a flat lid (fig. 12) can be assigned to a rare type for Cyprus<sup>71</sup> where sarcophagi are generally characterized with gabled lids.<sup>72</sup> The 4B specimen rather recalls the wooden coffins that were originally placed within the stone sarcophagi.<sup>73</sup>

Anthropological analyses on the human remains showed that this terracotta sarcophagus contained a middle-aged female and a girl aged 7-8. It was hence primarily a female burial which explains the notable lack of weapons or rich inventory of precious metal vessels among the assemblage, as was the case in 4A. Nevertheless, the gold jewelry in quality and quantity is not inferior to that in the assemblage of 4A. Chamber 4B also yielded the bones of a sheep found, as in 4A, close to the rear wall of the chamber. These may have been left behind from sacrificial rituals or meat offerings.

## Pottery

The pottery from 4B is constituted of relatively well-preserved but extremely fragmented vessels. The well-preserved exemplars are an amphora, six juglets and a single bowl, all belonging to the local Plain White Ware (fig. 13). The fragments, on the other hand, can be identified as bowls of PW as well as cooking pots and storage vessels. However, their state of preservation makes it difficult to determine their exact typology. As far as quantifiable, the pottery goods in the assemblage of 4B do not show the same rich variety of jewelry.

The amphora (h: 45 cm), with its bulbous body, two horizontal handles, mouth profile and ring base allow a determination as Type 1a forms of PW VI (fig. 14a). Of the six juglets, five fall within the PW VI group, whereas only a single specimen can be assigned to the PW VII group. One of the juglets with its cylindrical body and rounded base (h: 18 cm), belongs to PW VI of Type 5a (fig. 14b). Four other juglets with similar traits, especially visible within their body and rims, are examples of the PW VI group of Type 5b (fig. 14c-f). The last juglet (h: 15 cm), which differs from the others especially by its bulging body and prominent base, belongs to Type 1 of the PW VII group (fig. 14g). The only bowl from 4B (h: 3.5 cm, d: 18 cm) is heavily fragmented. Its body profile, base and rim allow its assignment to Type 8 of the PW VII group (fig. 14h).

## Jewelry

The jewelry can be assigned either to an adult female or a child by their size. The jewelry of the adult woman includes a wreath which was found heavily damaged, as well as three pairs of boat-shaped earrings, two necklaces, two pendants, four finger rings, and a set of dress ornaments. The child-sized jewelry pieces consist of only three pairs of earrings and a necklace. All jewelry from 4B belongs to types known from other Cypriot burial contexts. The boat-shaped earrings seem to have been particularly popular in Cyprus since they are frequently represented in burials.<sup>74</sup>

Among the jewelry from 4B, the intaglio gold ring attracts attention by its figurative decoration which is rarely attested on Cypriot jewelry. It depicts a female figure kneeling and

<sup>71</sup> Another exemplar from Karaolovounos in d'Anayia is the other specimen known to the author. For this terracotta sarcophagus, see Karageorghis 1972, 1022-24, fig. 30.

<sup>72</sup> For typical plain Cypriot sarcophagi with gabled lids, see Hermary 1987, 63-66, figs. 1-3; Yon and Callot 1987; Hadjisavvas 2014, 53-54.

<sup>73</sup> For an extremely well-preserved exemplar of such biers, see Yon and Callot 1987, fig. 7.

<sup>74</sup> Kaba 2016.

playing knucklebones (*astragaloi*) (fig. 14). She is clad with a chiton which slides over her left shoulder and uncovers her left breast. This motif is well attested in vase painting and on coins starting from the second half of the 4th century BC as well as in coroplastic and plastic arts of later eras.<sup>75</sup>

## Burials and Assemblages from Chamber 4C

Since 4C was looted, it did not contain more than some pottery sherds, fragments of clay lamps, and some metal objects.<sup>76</sup> Judging by the definable pottery sherds, this chamber must have been used approximately at the same time as the other two. A fragment from a strigil suggests that at least one of the deceased was a male.

## Dating

The date of the individual burial chambers and the tomb itself can be ascertained from the typological and stylistic examination of the finds. It would be, however, misleading to date the burials considering only the metal vessels and jewelry, since they could be handed down to the next generations as family heirlooms.<sup>77</sup> In the case of jewelry produced and used only for funerary purposes, such as the *epistomion* and dress ornaments, we may, however, suggest a contemporaneity between them and the date of the burial.

On the contrary the ceramics from the chambers and the *prodomos* are more reliable for dating. The pottery assemblages from 4A and 4B do not involve the ordinary variety of table and cooking ware, but are restricted to liquid containers and small bowls (fig. 15a). This may suggest that they do not stem from the household of the deceased, but were acquired prior to the funeral. Consequently, the ceramic repertoires of 4A and 4B provide more reliable data on dating, whereas 4C must be kept out of this consideration as it unfortunately lacks a secure context.

The ceramic inventory of 4A comprises of a high amount of PW VI forms that constitute 60% of the whole pottery inventory with six exemplars. Other ceramics of PW VII forms fill the remaining 40% with four exemplars. This ratio of 60% PW VI and 40% PW VII is sufficient to date the chamber of 4A around the Cypro-Classical IIA (hereafter CC IIA), according to Einar Gjerstad's chronological framework (fig. 15b).<sup>78</sup> This date can be narrowed by the ivy wreath, the latest dated metal vessels from the symposium set, and the limestone statuette, all which point towards the mid-4th century BC. The candelabrum, some of the metal vessels, and some jewelry that pre-date the burial can be best interpreted as family heirlooms since there are no indications for a prior use of the tomb.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> For its representations on ceramic, painting, plastic and coroplastic arts, see Dörig 1959. For its depiction on the coins of Tarsos and its connection with 4B exemplar additionally, see Kaba 2016, 231.

<sup>76</sup> The stomion of 4C was already stripped of its covering slabs with only its lowest row intact at the time of discovery.

<sup>77</sup> For the presence of objects with heirloom character from the chambers of Tomb 4, see Kaba 2015c, 476, 478 with notes 957, 515.

<sup>78</sup> Gjerstad 1948, 203.

<sup>79</sup> Such similar cases concerning the luxurious utensils of daily life or especially metal vases exist with many other elite burials. A well-known example of such cases is the tripod from Tomb II in Aigai. In the case of Aigai the tripod predates the single contexted burial in the chamber by nearly eighty years (Themelis 2000, 503). For an detailed evaluation of this and similar cases, see especially Sideris 2000, 28-29.

The ceramic inventory of 4B shows a more or less similar picture as in 4A, whereas some differences appear in ratios. The PW VI forms numbering 6 comprise 75% of the whole inventory, with PW VII forms constituting only 25% with two exemplars. The considerable domination of the PW VI group dates the burial in 4B earlier than the one in 4A. Consequently, a date falling to the very beginning of CC IIA, more precisely into the early years of the 4th century BC, seems to be reasonable. If this dating is accepted, Chamber 4B must have been sealed nearly fifty years earlier than 4A.

Ceramic assemblages from the *prodomos* also provide interesting results. The vessels found on the floor and belonging to PW VI and VII forms appear in close ratios (fig. 15a). Based on this result, the use of the *prodomos* can be assigned to a period spanning the whole of CC IIA (ca. 400-350 BC).

Two pottery assemblages from the *prodomos* can also be dated on a secure basis. The first assemblage is comprised of two vessels which belong to PW VI and VII respectively (fig. 15a). The appearance of both of these pottery types together is a clear indication of the period CC IIA (fig. 15b). The findspot of the first assemblage close to the *stomion* of 4A shows that it is contemporary with the burial from this chamber. This contemporaneity with 4A allows narrowing the date of the first assemblage towards the end of CC IIA, more precisely into the mid-4th century BC.

The second assemblage, on the other hand, is dominated by PW VII vessels that fall into CC IIB (ca. 350-310 BC) (fig. 15a). On this basis, it is consequent to assume that the second assemblage postdates all burials from Tomb 4 (fig. 15b). Thus, this assemblage must have been placed in the *prodomos* after the last burial in 4A took place around the mid-4th century BC. However, it is not possible to determine on secure grounds if this placement occurred right after the last burial in 4A, around 350 BC, or later towards 310 BC.

This tentative chronology allows us to suggest a scenario. Chamber 4B was most probably sealed at the beginning of the 4th century BC. A generation later, another branch of the same family might have been entombed within 4A. On the other hand, 4C can only be integrated into this scenario through a different perspective. Since Chamber 4C receives the dromos *en face*, it must have been the first chamber to be hewn and utilized.<sup>80</sup> Unfortunately, the lack of a well-preserved context from 4C prevents us from further developing this suggestion for determining the exact date of the burials made in it. However, with caution it can be still put forward that 4C most likely predated both other burials.

## Grave Goods and Funerary Practices

The chronological analyses point to a long period of use of the tomb that lasted nearly seventy-five years.<sup>81</sup> This long sequence complicates the reconstruction of funerary practices. Additionally, it makes a detailed and critical approach of this matter very vital. An interpretation of what may have happened before and after the funeral, and how the grave goods were involved during those processes, can be only hypothetical. But as Ian Morris stated, caution should be exercised regarding “naïve direct interpretations”.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> For this general rule of Cypriot Iron Age tombs, see Carstens 2006, 127-28.

<sup>81</sup> However, we must keep in mind that this time span is merely absolute since the dating of 4C relies solely on logical assumptions supported by unorthodox information.

<sup>82</sup> Morris 1992, 104. Using especially the example in David Macaulay's *Motel of the Mysteries*, Morris (1992, 105, fig. 53) warns of the possibility of false interpretation if the archaeological information from the burial is read too literally.

The two chambers of Tomb 4 were found intact, apart from the disturbance due to the collapsed roof. They do allow valuable observations as a first step for a reconstruction of what may have happened prior to the sealing of the tomb. As previously noted, the archaeological context of 4B was partially disturbed. Therefore, more focus should be given to 4A in which nearly all the finds were found and recorded in their *in situ* locations.

As suggested by Fredrik Fahlander,<sup>83</sup> it is helpful to divide the tomb inventory into “grave goods” and “grave gifts”,<sup>84</sup> although such a division cannot be conclusive. And some objects can be assigned to both groups in different contexts. In the case of 4A and 4B, an examination of the positions and the character of the artefacts generally suggests that those which were either on or close to the bodies of the deceased can be considered as personal belongings. Rings, bracelets, earrings and other jewelry were worn in the daily life of the deceased prior to their deposition in the tomb. This can be, however, excluded for the golden ivy wreath, the *epistomion* (fig. 10b) and the dress ornaments due to their fragile fabric and impractical design for daily use. Metal wreaths imitating certain plants were used as the jewelry of daily life, of religious ceremonies, or of social occasions as well as valuable gifts.<sup>85</sup> But they had more solid fabric. The funerary wreaths made of thin gold sheets were probably symbolic substitutes for the real ones. Their presence in burial contexts is generally related to two reasons: status objects indicating the high rank of the deceased or apotropaic objects related to the funerary rites.<sup>86</sup> The dress ornaments are extremely fragile and easy to lose due to their fastening by very thin thread, so were merely funerary adornments.

The gold *epistomion* is a well-known Cypriot funerary object<sup>87</sup> whose meaning is highly disputed. According to *communis opinio*, it is rather unlikely that these items were ever used as jewelry while the individual was alive. The main reason behind this is how it was fastened by two straps around the head and over the mouth.<sup>88</sup> *Epistomia* from Thrace are generally inscribed with Orphic texts written to secure passage to the other world and to introduce the dead to Persephone.<sup>89</sup> The 4A example is not inscribed but decorated with an imprint of a mouth, thus falls within the group of so-called “silent *epistomia*”.<sup>90</sup> This type is either attested as pseudo-*oboloi* or, as best expressed by Yannis Tzifopoulos, as “...unincised tokens of initiates for passage and transfer to a special place of the underworld”.<sup>91</sup> The *epistomion* from 4A with its unincised structure fits well to fulfil the meaning and the function perfectly described by Tzifopoulos.

<sup>83</sup> Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008, 7-8. However, as also stated within the same pages, different meanings can be given to similar objects in different burials.

<sup>84</sup> However, this division does not belong to Fahlander himself. It is rather a widely accepted method of classification within the concept of death and burial; see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 100-2; Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008, 7. For further recent research on the grouping of jewelry as grave goods and grave gifts in Cypriot burials of the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, see Summerer and Kaba (forthcoming).

<sup>85</sup> For the use of wreaths by the aristocracy in symposia, see Polyb. XV, 31.8. For their role within the cult of the Hellenistic kings, see Robert 1949, 5-29. For their use as wedding gifts, see Eur., *Med.* 984; Xen., *Cyr.* VIII.5.18-19, as rewards of contests see Pl., *Ion* 530 D; Diog. Laert., VII.11.

<sup>86</sup> Tsigarida 2010, 313-14. For a scene from an Attic louthrophoros depicting the use of head adornments during funerary rites, see Morris 1987, 51.

<sup>87</sup> For the background of mouth-pieces from Cyprus, see Graziadio 2013.

<sup>88</sup> Tweten 2015, 27.

<sup>89</sup> Graf and Johnston 2013, 46.

<sup>90</sup> This implication is born out from the fact that they were not inscribed. For brief information on this matter, see Tweten 2015, 23.

<sup>91</sup> Tzifopoulos 2013, 174.

The vast amount of remains of wood found together with nails suggests that the bodies were carried to the grave by biers or laid in coffins or on *klinai* made of wood. In the burial in 4B, on the other hand, a terracotta sarcophagus was used. Splinters of wood found in association with nails and fittings could also point to the use of wooden boxes which may have received precious grave goods.

It is difficult to distinguish the items from secondary residual depositions and from the objects given to the dead as parting gifts in the belief he or she would need them in the afterworld. For instance, lamps found in both chambers could have served a practical use by illuminating the trail of the funeral during the *ekphora* as well as during the entombment within the dark chamber.<sup>92</sup> But it is also possible that they had an eschatological meaning.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, pottery finds from the chambers consisting of mainly storage and pouring vessels were most probably the residues of funerary libations. But they could have been also intentionally deposited in the belief of nourishing the dead. Thus all these objects, after fulfilling their purpose, must have been deposited in the chamber either as residues of rituals or as parting gifts.

As noted previously, due to the collapsed roof, all skeletons were largely destroyed so the locations of the bodies can be hardly reconstructed. In the disturbed context of 4B, the terracotta sarcophagus could be reconstructed by the fragments scattered around the chamber. There is, however, no information which could indicate its original placement. The human remains of 4A consist of a few cranial fragments and some teeth. Although the placement of the bodies remains uncertain, one of the burials may have been situated in the middle and north-eastern front portion of the chamber where a few well-preserved artefact groups were found in clusters. A big mirror together with pigment rods, two sets of bracelets, and the diadem were located at the northeastern corner close to the *stomion* with a regular distance among them. The way that those artefacts were placed in the chamber indicates that they formed three different artefact groups. These groups were likewise associated with wood splinters and nails, which show that they were kept in wooden boxes. An interesting observation is the empty place between the find spots of the symposium set and the spearheads where a body easily could fit. Besides, this space yielded all the teeth which according to anthropological analyses belonged to a male adult. This evidence points to the placement of the male occupant along the eastern wall in between the spears and the symposium set.

We may suppose that the golden wreath found together with the gold *epistomion*, fragments of a necklace, and a dress ornament were worn by the female occupant. Consequently, she must have been laid at the right side of the male occupant with her head towards the *stomion*, and separated from the deceased male by the symposium set. The position of the girl - the third member of the family - is impossible to determine due to the lack of indicative data.

As stated above, both burials contained remains of a sheep found always at the rear wall of the chambers. Sheep bones in the chambers must have come from sacrifices or even intentionally deposited in the belief that the dead would need meat in his/her afterlife. Their full anatomic completeness and lack of chopping marks prove the correctness of these suppositions.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> On the obligation to carry out the procession and the burial before the sunrise, see Mirto 2012, 83 and additionally Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 144. For the role of the lamps within the procession and burial additionally, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 211.

<sup>93</sup> The appearance of multiple lamps in some Cypriot graves, especially in the Hellenistic period, is a particular phenomenon which could not be satisfactorily explained yet. For a recent study on this, see Şöföroğlu and Summerer 2016.

<sup>94</sup> On the sacrificial or consumption-oriented sacrifices which were occasionally boned and splitted, see Ekroth 2007, 250-56.

An overall study of the find assemblages show that the burial ritual was not only limited to the deposition of the bodies with their personal belongings and parting gifts left in the chambers, but they also included some post-funeral depositions. Amphorae, hydria, storage vessels and various jugs found in the *prodomos* may have been used for libations for the post-funeral nourishment of the dead (*choai*).<sup>95</sup> The fact that the lower part of these vessels is frequently missing suggests that they could have been shattered in consequence of a ritual breakage.<sup>96</sup>

The existence of two assemblages of vessels with different positions and levels within the *prodomos* points to another interesting use related to the rituals. The pottery group found on the floor of the *prodomos* just in front of the *stomion* of 4A was undoubtedly left there after the sealing of this very chamber. The second assemblage found on a higher level than the entrances to the chambers must have been placed there sometime after the sealing of all the burial chambers.<sup>97</sup> This observation is further confirmed by the dating of the second pottery assemblage to a period (ca. 350-310 BC) later than all other finds from the *prodomos* as well as from the tomb chambers.

During this last deposition, the filling of the dromos and the *prodomos* must have been partially excavated, presumably for creating an area within the limits of the tomb for libation ceremonies.<sup>98</sup> Vessels left behind from these post-funeral visits belong to PW VII, which are later in date around 350-310 BC (fig. 15b). Consequently, we may suggest that they are from a visit or visits after a certain time had passed since the last funeral.

## Concluding Remarks

This article has aimed at a general presentation of Tomb 4 from the necropolis of Soloi including its architecture and inventory. An in-depth typological analysis of individual object groups has been avoided since it would go beyond its scope. On the other hand, the focus rested on the chronology of the burials as well as on the archaeological context.

Tomb 4 follows the long-rooted custom of Cypriot chamber tombs, but also shows some new treatments. The combination of a *prodomos* with a two-axial layout is otherwise not attested in Cyprus. The rich inventory includes various object groups which provide valuable data for some considerations on social, cultural and political life in Soloi during the late Cypro-Classical Period. The quantity and quality of the finds point to the elite class of the deceased, who could invest vast amounts of wealth as their contemporaries did in Macedonia, Thracia and Anatolia. The symposium set and the jewelry, including both Greek and Achaemenid elements, suit well the multicultural character of the island.<sup>99</sup> Some unique jewels and metal vessels point to the possible exchange of gifts between different political media or trade of

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<sup>95</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 145.

<sup>96</sup> For specific works on this rite, see Fossey 1985 and Grinsell 1961. For a well-documented utilization of such rites from Metaponto especially, see Carter 1998, 121.

<sup>97</sup> Concerning the visits to the grave after the burial had taken place, see Mirto 2012, 90-91.

<sup>98</sup> Cypriot dromoi of varying sizes were generally preferred as areas for libation or sacrificial ceremonies together with funerary banquets that took place mostly after burying the dead. For a collective and detailed information on this issue, one must look to Carstens 2006, 160-63. Again, according to Carstens (2006, 167), some of these ceremonies (referred to as tomb cult) took place after a certain length of time following the sealing of the tomb.

<sup>99</sup> Similar find groups of combined multicultural elements is a widely known situation in Cyprus, also being found in many other contexts than tombs. A second similar find group from the 4th century BC, apart from the Soloi example, is a hidden cache of vessels, jewelry and coins found under the ruins of Vouni Palace. For this so called "Vouni Treasure", see Gjerstad et al. 1937, 238-49; Zournatzi 2010.



luxurious goods. In line with this interpretation, we may assume that the Solian elite played a role as agents of political and trade connections with other regions of the Mediterranean and Aegean.

The mostly Attic-inspired metal vessels and the statuette of Aphrodite confirm the previously expressed connection between Soloi and Athens.<sup>100</sup> The ivy wreath, otherwise not attested in Cyprus, paves a new path for scholarly discussions on connections of the island with the Kingdom of Macedon which was hitherto based on limited data from the third quarter of the 4th century BC.<sup>101</sup> The new evidence from Tomb 4, however, establishes now that the elite of both geographical areas were culturally aware of each other well before the time of Alexander the Great.<sup>102</sup>

The relatively well-preserved and documented context of Tomb 4 also contributes to our understanding of the burial customs and beliefs of the Solian elite. As understood from the material evidence, the members of the Solian elite utilized long-established funerary customs within the Cypriot community. The inventories of 4A and 4B generally follow the pan-island patterns of the Cypro-Classical period, with the exception with the jewelry and metal vessels. The deposition of jewelry, a luxurious symposium set, a candelabrum, weapons and many other objects from the chambers reflect the desire of bringing the symbols of high status into the afterlife as well. Especially the context of 4A allows several interpretations of how the funerary rituals could have been performed involving the artefacts before their deposition. Ceramic assemblages from the *prodomos*, on the other hand, are some of the rare find groups that shed light on post-funeral visits and related rituals.

This study has aimed to highlight the potential of the extant data gained from Tomb 4. It is hoped that future studies and scholarly discussions on this tomb will enrich our knowledge of the funerary archaeology of Cyprus.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Some locally produced grave stelai from the necropolis of Soloi with strong Attic influences has also been accepted as proof of a cultural relationship between Soloi and Athens by many archaeologists (Tatton-Brown 1986, 446; Vermeule 1976, 49).

<sup>101</sup> Hadjisavvas 1997.

<sup>102</sup> For a ceramic-based approach, which is unfortunately not a widely shared interpretation for the connections of two geographical areas, one must definitely see Trakatelli 2013.

<sup>103</sup> Publications related to the material are still ongoing together with conservation and restoration works. These results will be shared with the world of archaeology in a forthcoming monograph.



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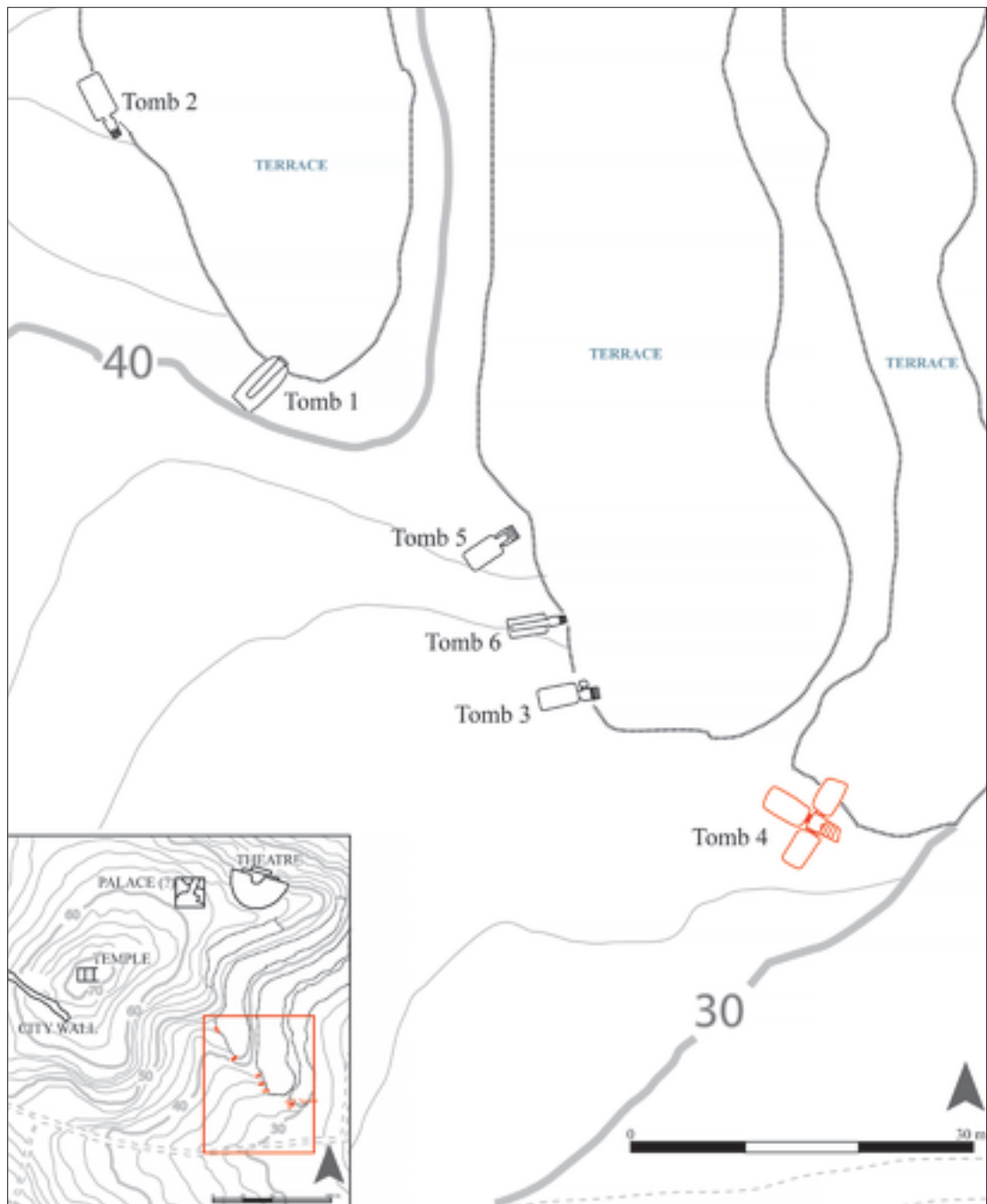


FIG. 1 The location of Tomb 4 within the necropolis of Soloi (Author).



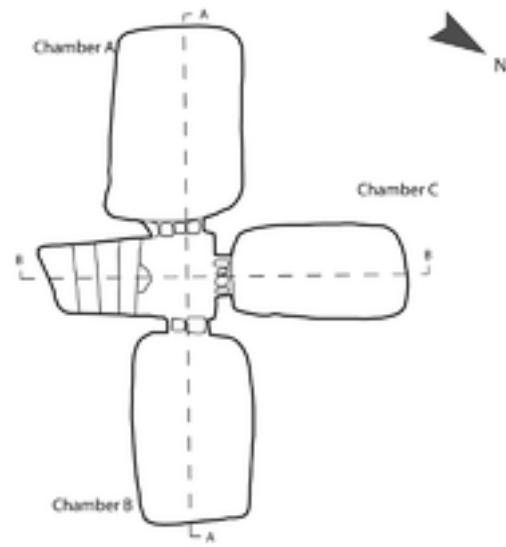
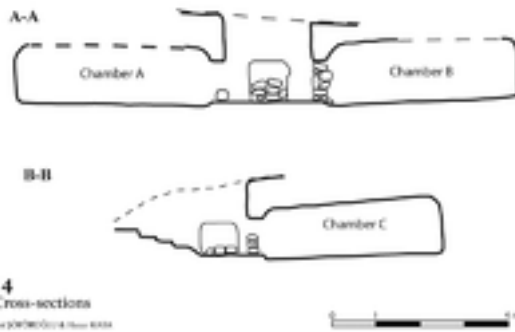


FIG. 2  
Plan and cross sections of Tomb 4 (Drawing by Mehmet Şöforoğlu and author).



**TOMB 4**  
Plan and Cross-sections  
Drawing by Mehmet Şöforoğlu and author 2014

FIG. 3  
View of the *prodomos* with entrances of 4B and 4C visible in the background (Courtesy of Department of Antiquities and Museums, TRNC).



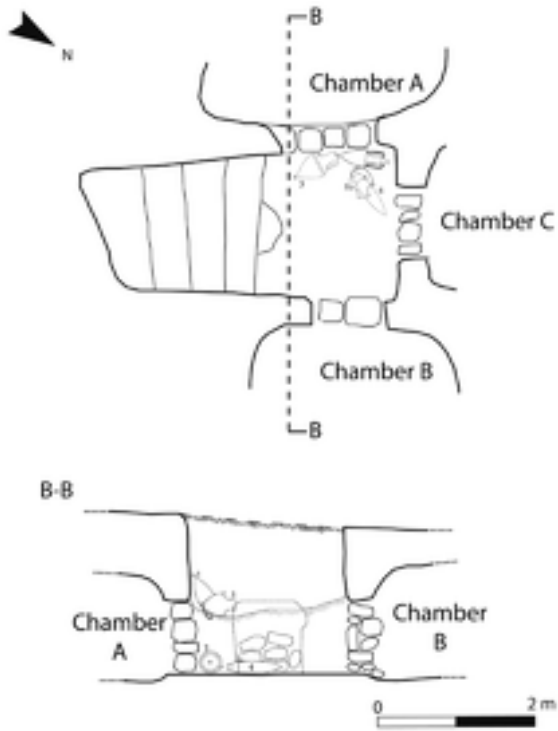


FIG. 4  
Plan and cross section  
of the *prodomos* with  
*in situ* find assemblages  
(Drawing by the author).

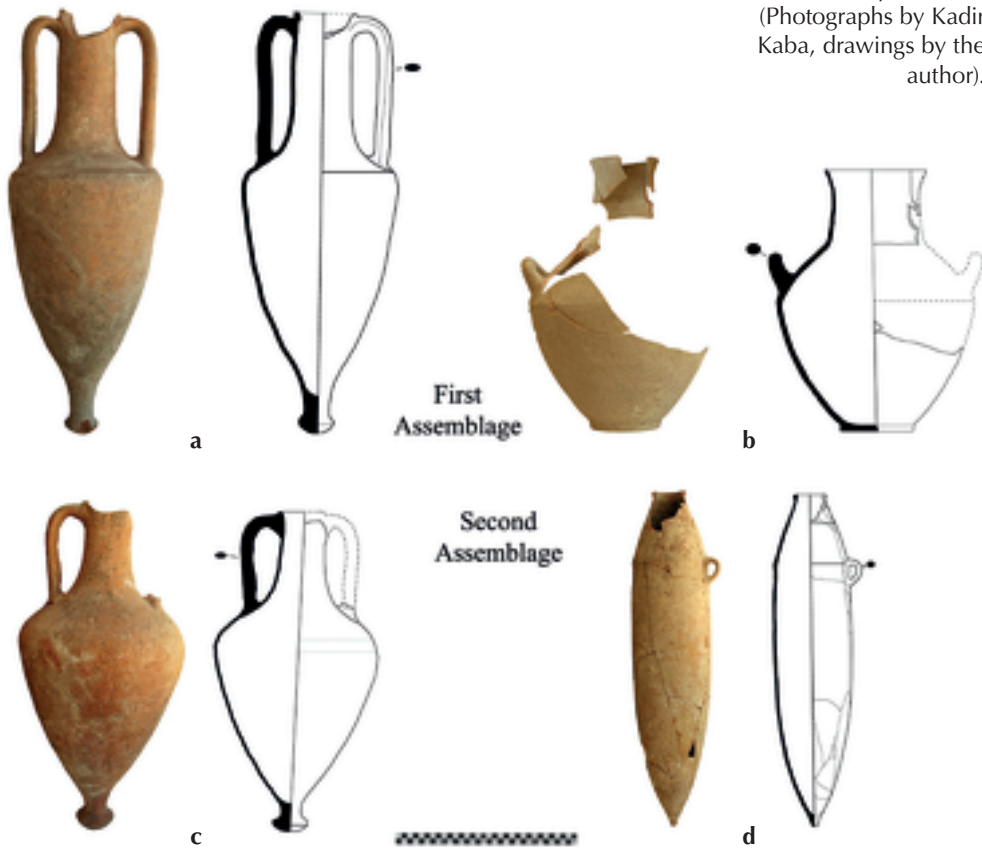


FIG. 5  
The first (a) and the  
second (b) assemblages  
from the *prodomos*  
(Photographs by Kadir  
Kaba, drawings by the  
author).



BURIAL CHAMBER 4A  
Location of the Finds

FIG. 6 Drawing of Chamber 4A showing the location of the finds (Author).



FIG. 7 Plain White Ware vessels from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba, drawings by Nalan Kaba).



FIG. 8 Terracotta (a) and limestone (b) statuettes from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba).

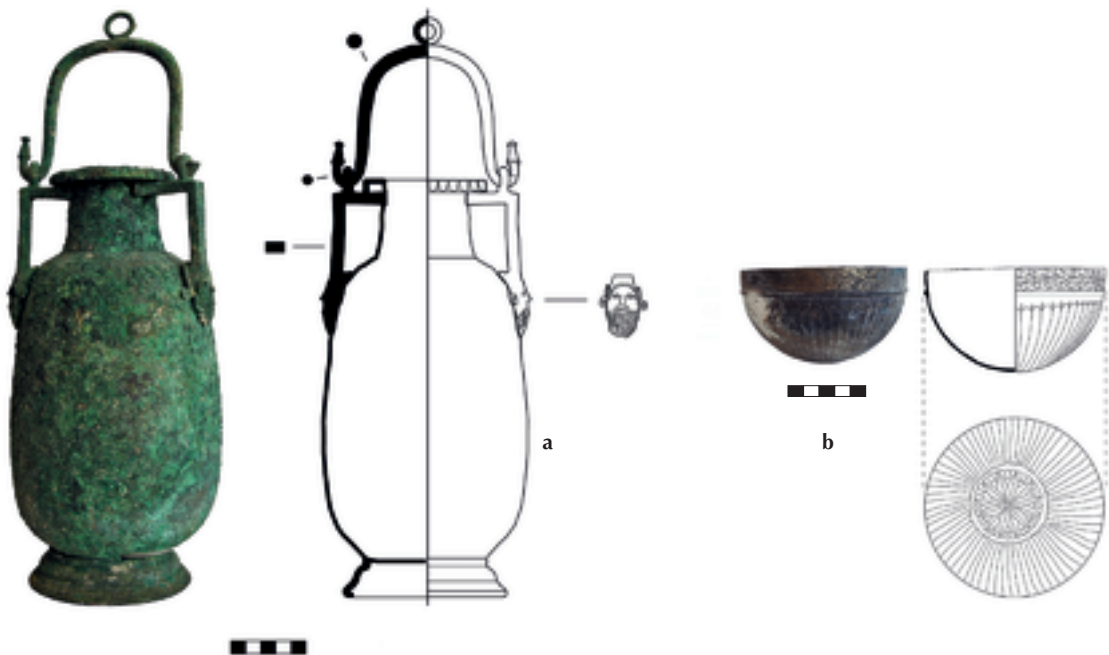


FIG. 9 Bronze amphora (a) and the hemispherical bowl (b) from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba, drawings by the author).

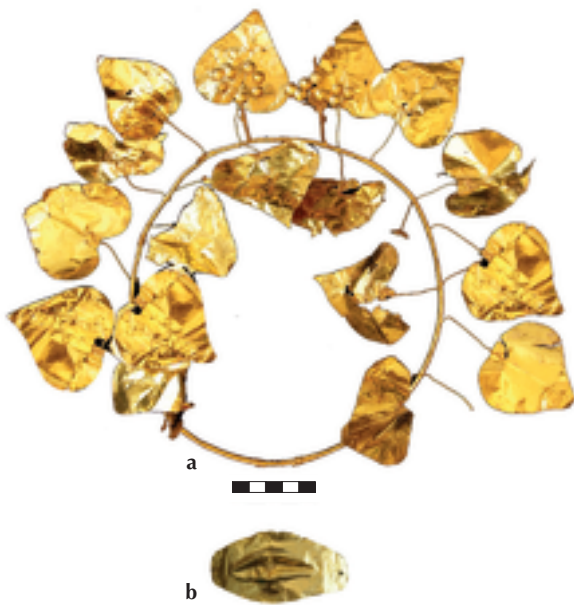


FIG. 10 Gold ivy wreath (a) and *epistomion* (b) from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba).

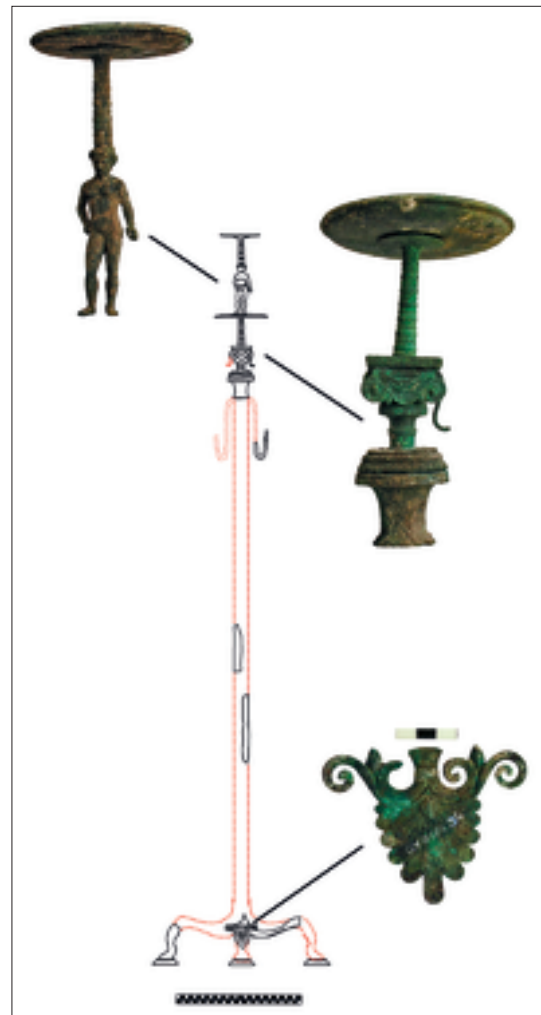


FIG. 11 Candelabrum from Chamber 4A (Photographs by Kadir Kaba, drawing by the author).

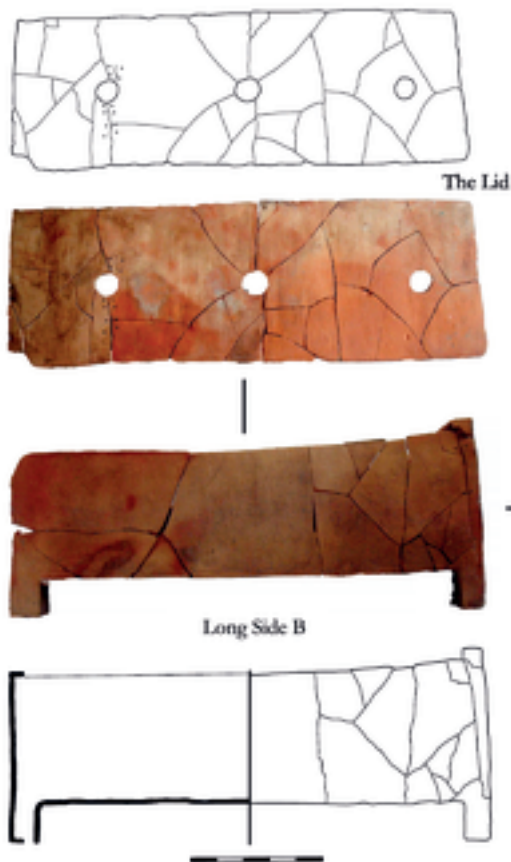


FIG. 12 Terracotta sarcophagus from Chamber 4B (Photographs and drawing by the author).



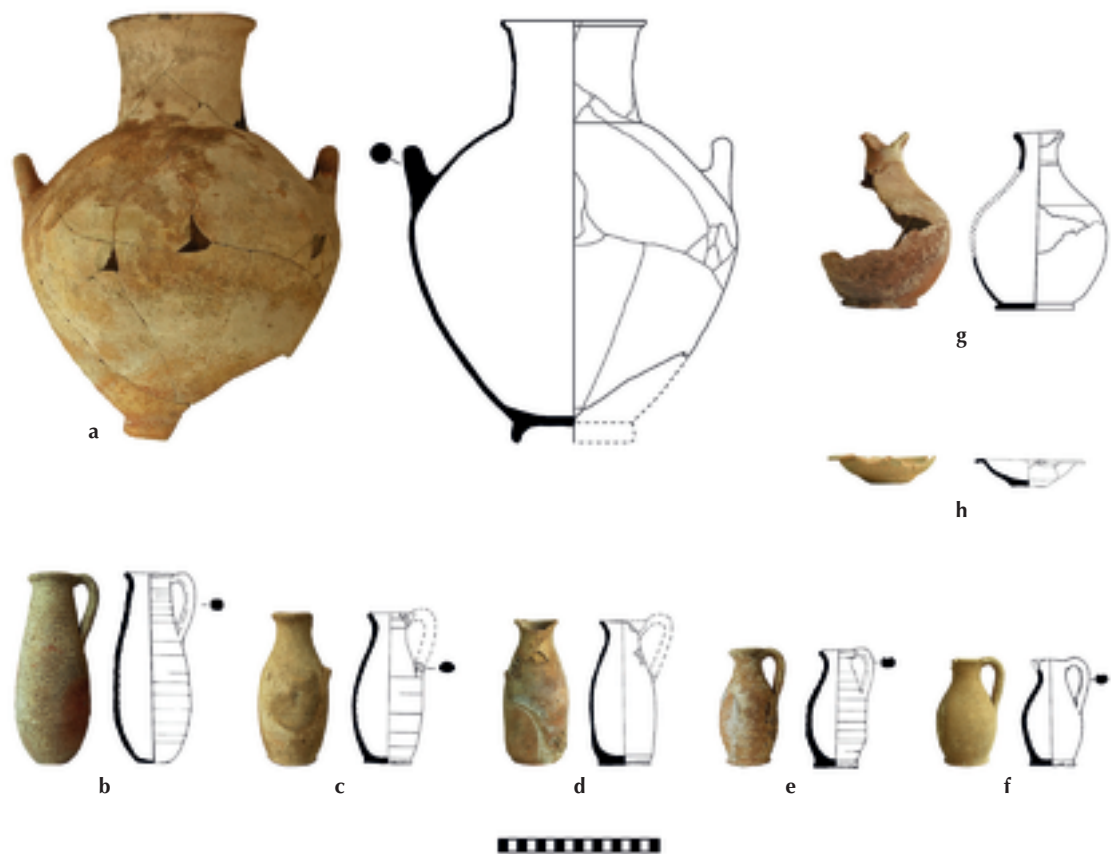


FIG. 13 Plain White Ware vessels from Chamber 4B (Photographs by Kadir Kaba, drawings by Nalan Kaba).

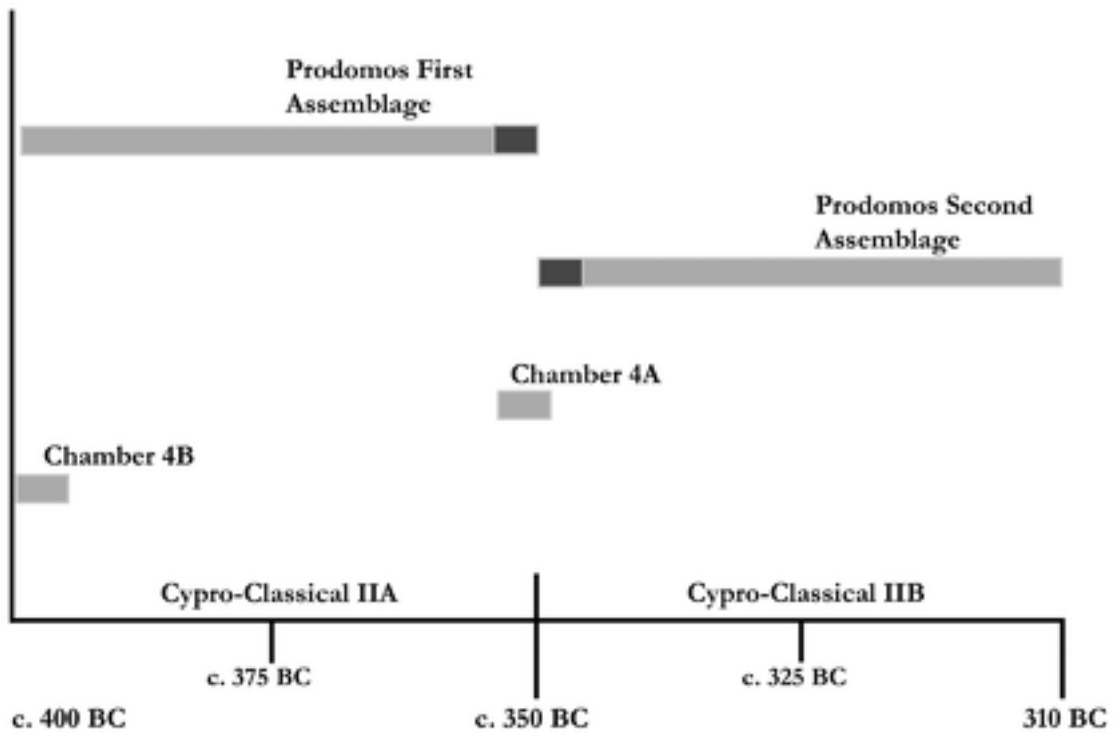


FIG. 14 Intaglio ring from Chamber 4B (Photograph by K. Kaba).

a

|                                   | Plain White VI |                      |                    | Plain White VII |   |                    | Date                |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---|--------------------|---------------------|
|                                   | Open forms     | Closed forms         | Total number/ratio | Open forms      | Closed forms                                | Total number/ratio |                     |
| <i>Prodomos</i>                   | -              | 1 hydria, 1 jug.     | 2 / %50            | -               | 1 torpedo shaped storage vessel, 1 amphora  | 2 / %50            | CC IIA              |
| <i>Prodomos First Assemblage</i>  | -              | 1 amphora            | 1 / %50            | -               | 1 amphora                                   | 1 / %50            | CC IIA              |
| <i>Prodomos Second Assemblage</i> | -              | -                    | -                  | -               | 1 amphora, 1 torpedo shaped storage vessel, | 2 / %100           | CC IIB              |
| Chamber 4A                        | 2 bowls        | 2 juglets, 2 jugs    | 6 / %60            | 2 bowls         | 2 juglets                                   | 4 / %40            | End of CC IIA       |
| Chamber 4B                        | -              | 1 amphora, 5 juglets | 6 / %75            | 1 bowl          | 1 juglet                                    | 2 / %25            | Beginning of CC IIA |

b



\* Dark indications on the chronological bars of the prodomos assemblages highlights their narrowed final date

FIG. 15 Table showing the distribution, ratios and dates (a) and the chart showing the chronological disperse (b) of the ceramic inventories from Tomb 4 (Author).





# The Gem Stamp on the Handle of a Mushroom-rimmed Amphora from Knidos: An Assessment of the Centauromachy in Terms of Stamps and Iconography

ERKAN ALKAÇ – ULUS TEPEBAŞ\*

## Abstract

In 1973 a fragment of a stamped amphora with a mushroom-shaped rim was found during archaeological excavations at the “West Harbour Byzantine Church E” in Knidos. The gem-shaped stamp on the handle of this amphora features a mythological scene of a battle between a Centaur and a Lapith. The figure on the right-hand side of the scene on the gem stamp is the Lapith while the half human-half horse figure on the left is the Centaur. The heads and faces of both figures have eroded. Nevertheless, it is possible to provide information about their compositions on the scene. The torso of the Lapith figure on the right is depicted frontally, while the left leg is depicted from the side and right leg from the front. Mushroom-rimmed amphorae were produced at numerous centers across the southern Aegean region including Samos, Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, Halikarnassos, Peparethos,

## Öz

1973 yılında Knidos’da “Batı Limanı Bizans E Kilisesi” kazı çalışmalarında mantar formlu ağız kenarına sahip mühürlü bir amphora parçası bulunmuştur. Bu amphoranın kulpunda bulunan gemme şeklindeki mühürde, Kentaur ile Lapith mücadelesini konu alan mitolojik bir sahne işlenmiştir. Gemme mühürdeki sahnenin sağındaki figür Lapith solundaki yarı insan yarı at betimli figür ise Kentaur’dur. Her iki figürün başları ve yüzleri aşınmıştır. Buna rağmen sahnedeki kompozisyonlarına dair bilgi vermek mümkündür. Sağdaki Lapith figürünün gövdesinin üst bölümü cepheden, sol bacağı profilden ve sağ bacağı cepheden verilmiştir. Mantar ağız formuna sahip amphoralar Güney Ege Bölgesi’nde Samos, Rhodos, Knidos, Kos, Halikarnassos, Peparethos, Klazomenai ve Phokaia gibi birçok merkezde üretilmiştir. Makaleye konu olan mantar ağızlı amphora, Ege Bölgesi’nde ya da bu coğrafyaya yakın

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This study was conducted with the Decision of the Council of Ministers with no. 2013/5387 on the date 30.09.2013 and was done with the permission of the Knidos Excavation Directorship in accordance with the scope of Knidos Excavation and Research carried out on behalf of Selçuk University and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. We are grateful to the Knidos excavation director, Prof. Dr. Ertekin M. Doksanaltı, for issuing the necessary permissions for us to study this fragment and for sharing his ideas on it. We would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Gonca Cankardeş Şenol and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erkan Dündar for sharing their ideas on the amphora’s shape and stamp, and Songül Sözel (MA) for drawing the amphora. The study of the Centauromachy iconography on the stamp was carried out by Dr. Ulus Tepebaş in 2019 in the AKMED library as an AKMED scholarship holder while participating in the Monetary History and Numismatics Summer School. We would like to thank the AKMED authorities for this opportunity.

Klazomenai and Phokaia. The mushroom-rimmed amphora, the subject of this article, must have been produced in the Aegean region or nearby. The production of mushroom-rimmed amphorae is regarded as a reflection of a regional perception. Although these amphorae generally abide by the same form, some differences in shape can be observed. Stamps are rarely found on mushroom-rimmed amphorae. The stamps on this shape often consist of monograms and ligatures, not mythological scenes like that of the Lapith and Centaur. The depiction of this battle on the Knidos find is a unique example. This mushroom-rimmed amphora should be dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE based on similar examples in terms of form.

**Keywords:** Knidos, mushroom-rimmed amphora, gem amphora stamp, Lapith, Centaur

bir noktada üretilmiş olmalıdır. Mantar ağızlı amphoraların üretimi bölgesel bir anlayışın yansıması olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu amphoralar, genel olarak aynı formda üretilmiş olsalar da, bazı form farklılıkları da gözlenmektedir. Mantar ağızlı amphoralarda nadiren mühürler görülmektedir. Bu formdaki mühürler, monogramlardan veya ligatürlerden oluşmaktadır ki Lapith ve Kentaur gibi mitolojik sahneler bulunmamaktadır. Knidos buluntusu üzerinde bu mücadelenin tasvir edilmesi, ünik bir örneği oluşturmaktadır. Bu mantar ağızlı amphora, form açısından yakın benzerlerinden dolayı, MÖ 4. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına tarihlenmelidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Knidos, mantar ağızlı amphora, gemme amphora mühürü, Lapith ve Kentauros

## Introduction

In 1973 a fragment of a stamped amphora with a mushroom-shaped rim was found during archaeological excavations at the “West Harbour Byzantine Church E” in Knidos<sup>1</sup> (figs. 1-2, cat. no. 1). The work is unique because the gem-shaped stamp on the handle of the amphora features a mythological scene of a battle between a Centaur and Lapith (fig. 3).

The stamps retrieved at the Knidos excavations between 1968 and 1977 were stored in the depot of the Bodrum Museum for many years. In 2018 these stamps were brought to the excavation house under the initiative of excavation director, Ertekin M. Doksanaltı. During the studies on amphora stamps carried out at Knidos, this piece stood out in terms of shape,<sup>2</sup> stamping and iconography. The aim of this article is to date the stamp, provide a suggestion on the origin of the amphora, determine its significance in terms of amphora stamping, and evaluate the iconography on the stamp.

Only one fragment comprising the rim, neck and handle of this mushroom-rimmed amphora from Knidos has survived (figs. 1-2). This amphora features a mushroom-shaped/out-turned rim with a triangular cross-section, a cylindrical neck, and an oval-sectioned handle which rises slightly before bending down towards the neck with a narrow curve. There is a projection underneath the exterior part of the triangular-sectioned rim, close to the neck. The clay composition of both the cross-section and the surface of the amphora includes a high concentration of lime, moderate amounts of sand, a small amount of chamotte, and a few stone particles, quartz and silver mica inclusions. The clay has a hard texture. Although darkening caused by firing can be seen both on the surface and cross-section, a red clay structure can be observed in the cross-section. Darkening on the amphora surface and section is caused by reduction firing (without extra air intake).

<sup>1</sup> Doksanaltı et al. 2019, 45-64; 2018, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Alkaç 2019.

## Mushroom-Rimmed Amphora Production in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands

Mushroom-rimmed amphorae found at the Solokha kurgan excavations were first introduced by Zeest as the “Solokha I Amphorae” in seven different typologies.<sup>3</sup> This amphora type usually features a mushroom-shaped rim, a short cylindrical neck that widens towards the shoulders, short handles with an oval cross-section that start immediately under the rim and extend down towards the shoulder, a broad-shouldered ovoidal body, and a knob-like toe which is hollow underneath.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest examples of mushroom-rimmed amphorae were found inside a deposit dated to the third quarter of the 5th century BCE at the Athenian Agora.<sup>5</sup> Mushroom-rimmed amphorae were quite common between the 5th and 3rd centuries BCE. Although there is no confirmation on their original place of production, this commercial form was quite popular as of the 4th century BCE.<sup>6</sup> This type of rim can also be observed on some amphora produced in the 2nd century BCE.<sup>7</sup>

The first examples of mushroom-rimmed amphora on the island of Kos were produced at the end of the 5th century BCE. Meropis is known as the first workshop to produce mushroom-rimmed amphorae on the island.<sup>8</sup> Another workshop which produced this type of amphora on the island was Kardamaina.<sup>9</sup> Mushroom-rimmed amphora produced on Kos have monofide and bifides handles.<sup>10</sup>

Samos is known as a production center for mushroom-rimmed amphorae; however, there is no proof that this form was actually produced on the island. It is argued that mushroom-rimmed amphorae were produced on the island during the 4th century BCE because this form featured the stamp with a lion’s head, Pan, Herakles, Eros and Siren, which is unique to Samos.<sup>11</sup>

Archaeological data obtained from surveys have revealed that mushroom-rimmed amphorae were also produced on the island of Peparethos. This group of amphorae classified as “Peparethos II” is dated to the second quarter and mid-4th century BCE. Mushroom-rimmed amphorae from Peparethos are similar to examples of Solokha I in terms of dimension and form. The clays of examples from Peparethos are yellow and orange-red. Grooves can be observed on the base and neck of some mushroom-rimmed amphorae from this island. Some of the stamps used on the amphorae bear letters in relief or englyphic letters (Δ, E, M, Φ, ΑΘ).<sup>12</sup>

Fragments of mushroom-rimmed amphorae, reminiscent of the Solokha I type, have been found in a pottery workshop at Klazomenai dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BCE.

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<sup>3</sup> Zeest 1960, 150-52, pl. 14-16.

<sup>4</sup> Dündar 2017, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Lawall 1995, 218.

<sup>6</sup> Özbay 2019, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2001, 106-7, nos. 9-11, figs. 9-11.

<sup>8</sup> Papuci-Władyka 1997, 48-49, fig. 1.1.

<sup>9</sup> Georgopoulou 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Kantzia 1994, 332-42, figs. 5-10, pls. 255-56, 260.

<sup>11</sup> Grace 1971, 67, pl. 15, no. 11; 91-92, nos. 57-61, pls. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Doulgéri-Intzessiloglou and Garlan 1990, 384, 386.

This indicates that Klazomenai was a production center for this shape.<sup>13</sup> It is likely that the mushroom-rimmed form was produced in Klazomenai even before this date because numerous mushroom-rimmed amphora fragments dated to the end of the 5th century BCE were discovered at Klazomenai's HBT Sector. This suggests that the form was produced at the workshops of Klazomenai since the form first emerged.<sup>14</sup>

Similar to all the centers across the Aegean, producers at Knidos had started making mushroom-rimmed, ovoidal-bodied and hollow and out-turned, high-based amphorae around the mid-4th century BCE.<sup>15</sup> The production of this form increased at Knidos parallel to the growing wine exports of the last quarter of the 4th century BCE.<sup>16</sup> Reşadiye has been identified as the center of mushroom-rimmed amphora production on the Datça Peninsula.<sup>17</sup> Archaeological excavations carried out at the production areas here have revealed pottery dumps for these types containing examples of surplus mushroom-rimmed amphorae. The amphora producers of Knidos created various types of mushroom-rimmed amphorae before developing a characteristic form of their own. Şenol categorizes these amphorae into three groups based on their rim forms.<sup>18</sup> Some mushroom-rimmed amphorae dated to the 4th century BCE, retrieved near Kiliseyanı Mevki in the village of Hızırşah and associated with this workshop, carry stamps consisting of the monograms/abbreviations ΑΡ(, ΣΙ( and ΠΑΘ(.<sup>19</sup> The majority of stamps with ship-prow symbols dated to ca. 325 - ca. 280 BCE were stamped on mushroom-rimmed amphorae.<sup>20</sup> Dating from the middle to the third quarter of the 4th century BCE, the earliest known example of mushroom-rimmed amphora produced in Knidos were found at the Burgaz excavations.<sup>21</sup>

It is believed that mushroom-rimmed amphorae were produced in Rhodes in the second half of the 4th century BCE.<sup>22</sup> The oval stamps on the handles of the mushroom-rimmed amphorae from Patara bear an amphora symbol as well as the letters Α and Ο or Α and Θ. The form of the amphora on the stamp is striking for its resemblance to actual examples with mushroom-shaped rims. These stamps are dated to the end of the 4th century BCE.<sup>23</sup>

Research carried out around Bybassos has proven that amphorae with cylindrical necks and mushroom-shaped rims were produced at the Rhodian Peraea in the Early Hellenistic Period.<sup>24</sup> It has been determined that band-rimmed and mushroom-rimmed amphorae were produced at a workshop identified at the Çamlı-Çınar region in the Peraea. The mushroom-rimmed amphorae produced at the Çamlı-Çınar workshop have been dated to the late 4th - early 3rd century BCE.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Doğer 1986, 470, fig. 18.

<sup>14</sup> Özbay 2019, 83; Hasdağlı 2012, 138.

<sup>15</sup> Şenol 2009, 126.

<sup>16</sup> Şenol and Aşkın 2007, 265.

<sup>17</sup> Tuna et al. 1987, 48.

<sup>18</sup> Şenol 1995, 1-2.

<sup>19</sup> Tuna 1990, 358-59, figs. 13-14; For the Knidian Mushroom-rimmed Amphora stamps, see also Jefremow 2013, 410.

<sup>20</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2015, 170.

<sup>21</sup> Sakarya 2016, 185, no. 45.

<sup>22</sup> Grace 1971, 67.

<sup>23</sup> Dündar 2017, 84-85, rh. 1-1.

<sup>24</sup> Şenol 2015b, 193-95.

<sup>25</sup> Doğer and Şenol 1996, 64-65.

Research carried out at Ampelas located in the northeast part of the island of Paros confirm that amphorae with mushroom-shaped rims were produced during the Hellenistic Period. The vases produced at this workshop had mushroom-rims with an outward angle, and the knob-shaped base was hollow.<sup>26</sup>

Amphorae that have stamps with the name Nikandros on their handles have been discovered at Delos.<sup>27</sup> These amphorae have sagging, small mushroom-shaped rims, long cylindrical necks, vertical handles which begin underneath the rim and attach to the slanting shoulders, a triangular body, and hollow knob-shaped bases.<sup>28</sup> The form characteristics of these amphorae, classified as the Nikandros Group, appear to have been influenced by South Aegean amphorae with mushroom-shaped rims.<sup>29</sup> Recent studies have confirmed that this amphora type was produced around Ephesus and Metropolis in Western Anatolia.<sup>30</sup> This amphora group has clay colors ranging from pale grey, pale brown to yellow-red and inclusions of lime, mica and chamotte.<sup>31</sup> Nikandros Group amphorae are generally dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the various clay compositions, this amphora type bears similarities in form which features a triangular-shaped rim with an outward angle and knob-shaped, hollow base. This amphora type was produced in several centers across the southern Aegean including Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, Paros, Peparethos, Halikarnassos, Phokaia and Klazomenai. Amphorae with mushroom-shaped rims were replaced by the canonical amphorae of the cities towards the end of the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.<sup>33</sup> There are hypotheses which advocate the existence of production centers of mushroom-rimmed amphorae other than the ones mentioned above. Although these amphorae have common features in terms of form, it is difficult to establish a clear account of the shape development as they were produced in multiple centers.<sup>34</sup> Amphorae with mushroom-shaped rims have issues on their chronology and workshop, so the production is regarded to reflect a regional perspective and offer an understanding on the development of “koine”. Minor differences observed on the rim of the basic custom form could be due to them being produced in different workshops/centers or typological and chronological development, but it could also be due to the potter’s craftsmanship during the fast production. Detailed studies and analyses on examples retrieved at production centers could help quicken the process of resolving issues concerning this amphora type.<sup>35</sup>

## An Assessment of the Centaur-Lapith Battle on the Gem Stamp in Terms of Iconography and Typology

This section will initially provide information on the composition and chronological iconography of the figures featured on the stamp. Then it will go on to provide a detailed account of

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<sup>26</sup> Empereur and Picon 1986, 504-5, fig. 9 a-c.

<sup>27</sup> Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 365.

<sup>28</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2006, 167, fig. 227.

<sup>29</sup> Şenol 2015b, 245.

<sup>30</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2006, 165.

<sup>31</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol 2010, 127.

<sup>32</sup> Lawall 2004a, 177-88.

<sup>33</sup> Şenol and Aşkın 2007, 265.

<sup>34</sup> Coşkun and Çevirici-Coşkun 2017, 238.

<sup>35</sup> Dündar 2017, 68, 72.

the use of this iconography in the geographical area where the stamp was found and why such iconography was found on a stamp.

There are two figures in relief standing opposite each other inside an elliptic area. The figure on the left is the Lapith while the half-human, half-horse figure on the right is the Centaur (fig. 3). The heads and faces of both figures have eroded. Nevertheless, it is possible to provide information about their compositions on the scene. The torso of the Lapith figure on the left is depicted frontally whereas the left leg is in profile and the right leg is frontal. The Lapith has his right arm pulled back and slightly bent from the elbow as if to prepare to attack; his left arm is extended towards the head of the figure opposite. The garment hanging from underneath both arms of the figure is thought to be a *chlamys*. The left leg of the Lapith is bent from the knee, tense under the weight with his left foot stepping on a horizontal area made to look like a surface. A step back, his right leg is straight and tense, fixed firmly. The torso of the Centaur on the right is from a semi-profile view while the horse-shaped lower body is shown in profile. The left arm is bent from the elbow in a right angle towards the head; he holds a branch with this hand.<sup>36</sup> The right arm of the Centaur is not visible in the scene. His front legs are eroded, but he maintains a position poised to attack his opponent, reared up like a horse. Straining under the full weight of his body, the hind legs are slightly bent from the knees. His “S” shaped tail, which thins out towards the tip, is well preserved. The figures featured in the scene as the Centaur and Lapith compose a scene from the Centauromachy, an account of the conflict and battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths, a popular story in antiquity.

In mythology, the half-horse, half-human Centaurs of double form<sup>37</sup> are generally portrayed as instinctive, wild, rude, barbaric creatures with a weakness for women and wine.<sup>38</sup> These mentioned characteristics are based on Eurytion’s behavior as portrayed in the well-known Centauromachy myth. Eurytion was invited to Peirithoos’ wedding, but after too much wine, he caused trouble for the bride and the guests. Here, Eurytion became the instigator of a war between the Centaurs and the Lapiths. It also marked the beginning of extended hostility and conflict between humans and the Centaurs.<sup>39</sup> The following is how the mythological story between the two creatures transpired: “Lapith Leader Peirithoos of Thessaly was to marry Hippodameia (=Laodameia). Among the invitees were Centaurs who were hosted inside a cave close to the wedding house. Intoxicated by wine, the Centaurs became insolent (*hybris*). While welcoming all the guests, the bride visited the Centaurs as well. However, the Centaur Eurytion attempted to abduct the bride, sparking a war. At first, the Lapiths outflank their opponents. However, they lose several warriors during the battle, but ultimately the Centaurs were defeated and ostracized from Thessaly”.<sup>40</sup>

Centaur representations are frequently found on almost every kind of archaeological material and conducting numerous functions.<sup>41</sup> Centaur representations are of Eastern origin. Their earliest examples have been found on prism stamps imported from Babylon (ca. 2500-2000 BCE) which were retrieved in Crete. Although their origin is Babylon, these examples carry a Hittite influence. On the other hand, figures of creatures resembling Centaurs were used as

<sup>36</sup> Beazley 1963.

<sup>37</sup> Apollodoros 1.2.

<sup>38</sup> Hölscher 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Homer *Il.* 2, 740; Homer *Odys.* 21, 295 and 303.

<sup>40</sup> Roscher 1890-1894, 1032.

<sup>41</sup> For these early examples also, see Padgett et al. 2003.



border stones by the Kassites who lived in East Babylon.<sup>42</sup> Early examples of Centaur representations have been discovered in Cyprus due its geographical location.<sup>43</sup>

The oldest known example from the ancient Greeks was retrieved as a tomb find at Lefkandi, Euboea, and dated to the 10th century BCE.<sup>44</sup> During the Archaic Period Centauromachy scenes were depicted in the painted metopae<sup>45</sup> of the Temple of Apollo Lykeios in Thermos in the 6th century BCE and the Athena Temple at Assos<sup>46</sup> in the mid-6th century BCE.

During the Classical Period, Greek victories against the Persians were frequently referred to in architecture based on the topic of the Centauromachy.<sup>47</sup> In chronological order, the following buildings include such depictions on the wall paintings of the Theseion at Athens (470-465 BCE),<sup>48</sup> the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (464-457 BCE),<sup>49</sup> the south metopae of the Parthenon (ca. 450 BCE),<sup>50</sup> the west friezes of the Temple of Hephaistos at Athens (460-449 BCE),<sup>51</sup> the friezes of the Temple of Poseidon at Cape Sounion (444-440 BCE),<sup>52</sup> and the interior friezes of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai (450-400 BCE).<sup>53</sup> In the 4th century BCE, the Battle of the Centaur and Lapith appears on the 380-360 BCE friezes of the Temple of Athena Pronaia.<sup>54</sup>

During the 4th century BCE, the subject of the Centauromachy frequently appears on architecture in cities across the Lycia region which was known to have close ties with Knidos. The first was discovered at the settlement of Trysa (Antalya/Demre/Gölbaşı) in central Lycia. A Centauromachy scene was depicted on the friezes of the south exterior wall and north interior wall of the Heroon.<sup>55</sup> The composition of the Centaur and Lapith scene, which begins immediately to the left of the entrance, is particularly similar to the depiction on the stamp. These similarities are seen at the moment where the Lapith extends his right arm towards the Centaur and the Centaur retracts his left arm.<sup>56</sup> Both figures portray a similar offensive against each other. The only difference is that, in the relief at Trysa, the Lapith swings the blade in his right hand and the Lapith retracts both arms. Considering dimensional differences between the stamp and the relief friezes, it is normal to see such adaptations and less stylistic detailing, especially regarding clothing. Such variations are inevitable because there are dimensional differences as well as the stamp being an impression and the relief being a carving. Similarities with the Trysa relief are the rock underneath the front legs of the Centaur and his rearing movement

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<sup>42</sup> Although some of these examples have been identified as Sagittarius, it is stressed in the relevant sources that they are not related to the zodiac or Sagittarius. For examples of early Centaur depictions, see Baur 1912, 2.

<sup>43</sup> Karageorghis 1966, 164-69.

<sup>44</sup> Desborough et al. 1970.

<sup>45</sup> Schiffler 1976, 163-64.

<sup>46</sup> Ridgway 1999, 151.

<sup>47</sup> Tarbell 1920, 227.

<sup>48</sup> Podlecki 1971.

<sup>49</sup> Ridgway 1999, 17. For more detailed information on the dating of the sculpture from the temple, see Patay-Horváth 2015, 9.

<sup>50</sup> Jenkins 2006, 74. For more detailed information on the dating of the sculpture from the temple, see Jenkins 2007.

<sup>51</sup> Morgan 1962, 222-23; Barringer 2009, 121-25.

<sup>52</sup> Delivorrias 1969; Dinsmoor 1975, 181-82; Felten and Hoffelner 1987.

<sup>53</sup> Jenkins 2006, 143-45.

<sup>54</sup> Ridgway 1999, 155.

<sup>55</sup> Childs 1978, 13-14.

<sup>56</sup> Ridgway 1999, 155. Benndorf and Niemann 1889, tables XXV B3, XXVII-XXVIII. Südwand Aussen B3. For information on the discussions on typology and similarities with the Trysa Gölbaşı Heroon, see Childs 1978.

with his torso depicted from a semi-profile angle. The Lapith folds his left leg from the knee and attacks with his right arm. Considering the close proximity of Knidos and Trysa as well as the similarities in composition, the scene on the stamp was inspired by the Trysa Gölbaşı Heroon<sup>57</sup> in the Late Classical Period.

The Centaur depiction on the stamp can be evaluated from a typological perspective (fig. 3). The striking aspect of early examples of Centaurs from ancient Greece is their physical characteristics with the upper body of a human and the lower body of a horse. P.V.C. Baur categorizes these early Centaur examples in three groups: The “A Group” examples have the front legs of a horse, “B Group” examples have human feet on the front legs, and “C Group” examples have hooves instead of feet. These details are unclear on the stamp. Nevertheless, the Centaur typology developed in the 4th century BCE. Problems concerning the merging of the human and horse bodies in particular were resolved on the metopae of the Parthenon. And the typological application here later became a template for future depictions. Moreover, the stamp with the Centauromachy scene retrieved at Knidos adopts Row VII of the south metope at the Parthenon<sup>58</sup> in terms of typology and composition and looks quite similar. Other heroons featuring the Centauromachy scene during the Hellenistic Period appear between the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE. These include the Belevi Mausoleum,<sup>59</sup> the Ptolemaion at Limyra,<sup>60</sup> and a frieze retrieved at Mylasa.<sup>61</sup> It has been suggested that Hellenistic examples of Centauromachy scenes in Asia Minor were influenced by the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos during the Hellenistic Period.<sup>62</sup>

## Conclusion

A comparison of similar amphora examples was made to determine the date of the mushroom-rimmed amphora recovered at the West Harbour Byzantine Church E in Knidos. The mushroom-rimmed amphora recovered at the Burgaz excavations on the Datça Peninsula and dated to between the middle and third quarter of the 4th century BCE bears resemblance in terms of form to this fragment - the subject of this article. The similar amphora from Burgaz has been classified as a “Mushroom-rimmed amphora from Knidos”.<sup>63</sup> A very similar version of the mushroom-rimmed amphora from Knidos, which is classified as “Knidos Variant 1-C”, was recovered at Geroevkai and dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BCE.<sup>64</sup> The example from the Preserve Museum amphorae collection, classified as “Knidos Variant 1-C” and dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BCE, is similar to the Knidos find in terms of form. However, unlike the Knidos find, the projection on the exterior of the mushroom-shaped rim of the Preserve example is located at the point where the rim joins the neck.<sup>65</sup> A similar version of the rim-neck and handle fragment recovered at Knidos from Klazomenai was classified as “Solokha I/mushroom-rimmed amphora” and included in the mid-4th century BCE group.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Benndorf and Niemann 1889.

<sup>58</sup> Lagerlöf 2000, 77-78, fig. 35.

<sup>59</sup> Ruggendorfer 2016, 71-72.

<sup>60</sup> Borchhardt and Stanzl 1990, 71-84.

<sup>61</sup> Mendel 1914, 44-45, no. 286.

<sup>62</sup> Ridgway 1999, 155.

<sup>63</sup> Sakarya 2016, 185, no. 45, pl. XIII.

<sup>64</sup> Monachov 1999, 162, fig. 3.1.

<sup>65</sup> Monakhov et al. 2017, 112, Kn. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Özbay 2019, 91, no. 19, dwg. 19.

A rim-neck fragment found among the examples from Patara, classified as “South Aegean mushroom-rimmed amphora”, is similar to the Knidos find in terms of form. This amphora from Patara has been dated to the late 4th century BCE.<sup>67</sup> Similar pieces from the Athenian Agora are dated to the late 4th century BCE.<sup>68</sup> Considering the close similarity in terms of form with the examples mentioned above, the mushroom-rimmed amphora fragment from Knidos could be dated to the second half of the 4th century BCE.

The main production places of amphorae with mushroom-shaped rims still remain a topic of dispute. It has been reported that this form was produced at numerous centers in the South Aegean region including Samos, Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, Halikarnassos, Peparethos, Klazomenai and Phokaia.<sup>69</sup> Currently it does not seem possible to clearly verify where this mushroom-rimmed amphora fragment from Knidos was produced. However, considering the form characteristics of this rim-neck fragment, it is clear that similar amphorae were produced in workshops across the southern Aegean. Based on the clay composition, this amphora fragment from Knidos was probably produced somewhere close to the Southern Aegean Region.

The composition of the Centaur-Lapith battle on the gem stamp on the handle of the mushroom-rimmed amphora from Knidos is significant in terms of the tradition of stamping amphorae. Stamps are not common in centers that produced mushroom-rimmed amphorae. Mushroom-rimmed amphorae produced in Knidos feature ligature and monogram stamps. However, there are no other known examples of stamps depicting a mythological subject on mushroom-rimmed amphorae. In this context, this amphora stamp, evaluated here in terms of shape, production place, and iconography, is a unique artefact for portraying a mythological story.

It should be questioned why the diversely used Centauromachy iconography has found a place on an amphora stamp. In ancient literature, and especially during the Hellenistic Period, Centaurs were depicted as creatures with an incorrigible desire for wine. Maybe the workshop that applied this amphora stamp preferred to use the scene semantically to demonstrate the quality and strength of their wine.

## Catalogue

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>Inventory No.</b>     | : KD73.HNBCE t 16 P 2470   |
| <b>Year Found</b>        | : 1973   |
| <b>Find Spot</b>         | : North Harbour Byzantine Church E - Trench 16   |
| <b>Clay Colour</b>       | : 7.5 YR 6/3 pale red  |
| <b>Slip Colour</b>       | : 7.5 YR 6/1 reddish grey  |
| <b>Inclusions</b>        | : A high concentration of lime, moderate amounts of sand, a small amount of chamotte and a few stone particles and quartz  |
| <b>Stamp Shape</b>       | : Oval   |
| <b>Stamp Dimension</b>   | : 1.9 x 1.3 cm   |
| <b>Stamp Description</b> | : Battle of Centaur and Lapith.  |
| <b>Shape Description</b> | : A mushroom-shaped/out turned rim with a triangular cross-section, a cylindrical neck and an oval-sectioned handle which rises slightly before bending down towards the neck with a narrow curve. |

<sup>67</sup> Dündar 2017, 467, no. MrA.9, pl. 17.

<sup>68</sup> Lawall 2004b, 451, pl. 451, nos. 19-20.

<sup>69</sup> Özbay 2019, 83.

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FIG. 1 Mushroom-rimmed amphora fragment from Knidos.

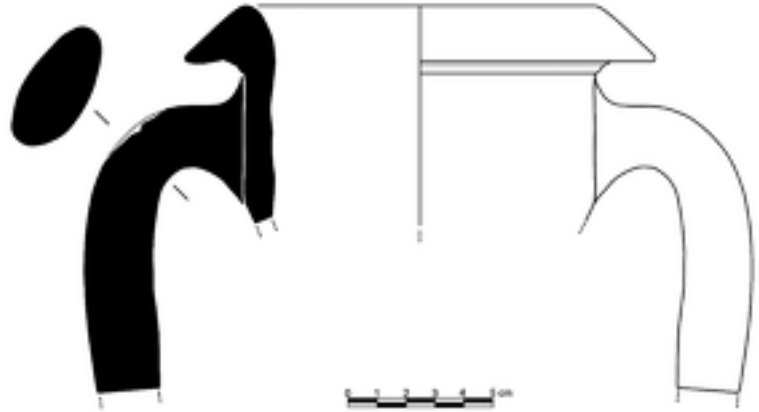


FIG. 2 Drawing of mushroom-rimmed amphora fragment from Knidos.



FIG. 3 Gem stamp with depiction of the Centaur-Lapith battle on the handle.

# Olympos in Lycia: A Novel Assessment of its History and Localization in Light of Recent Archaeological and Epigraphical Research

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## Abstract

Olympos is located on the eastern coast of Lycia, one of the ancient regions of Western Anatolia. It was one of the principal cities in the Lycian League, along with five others, and entitled to three votes. Archaeological excavations and surveys that started in 1998 and continued until today have unearthed much scientific data that illuminate the unknowns of the city and increase our knowledge of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods of Olympos. Particular examples of archaeological and epigraphic data, which will most contribute to the debate regarding the localization of Olympos in Lycia, will be discussed in this article.

**Keywords:** Lycia, Olympos, Corycus, Mount Musa

## Öz

Olympos, güneybatı Anadolu'nun antik bölgelerinden Lykia'nın doğu sahilinde yer alır. Antik Dönem'de Lykia Birliği'nin üç oy hakkına sahip altı büyük kentinden biridir. Burada 1998 yılında başlayan ve günümüze değin kesintisiz sürdürülen arkeolojik kazı ve araştırmalar kentin bilinmezlerini aydınlatan pek çok bilimsel veriyi gün yüzüne çıkarmıştır. Bu veriler Olympos'un Hellenistik, Roma ve Bizans dönemlerine ilişkin bilgilerimizin artmasını sağlar. Bunlar arasında Hellenistik ve Roma dönemlerini kapsayan arkeolojik ve epigrafik bulguların bazıları bu yazıda bilim dünyasının ilgisine sunulacaktır. Söz konusu veriler, bu makalenin temel konusu olan Lykia Olympos'unun lokalizasyonu tartışmalarına katkı sağlayacak niteliktedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lykia, Olympos, Korykos, Musa Dağı

Olympos is located on the eastern coast of Lycia, one of the ancient regions of Western Anatolia. It was one of the principal cities along with five others in the Lycian League and entitled to three votes. Archaeological excavations and surveys started in 1998 and have continued until today. They have unearthed much scientific data that illuminate the unknowns Olympos<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Dr. Bediâ Yelda Uçkan, a faculty member at Anadolu University, is the head of the Olympos excavations and surveys. A large team is involved in the ongoing studies. The outcome presented in this article is based on the results of the dedicated efforts of the whole team. Therefore, the proposal presented herein should be regarded as the work of all members of the Olympos team. We express our appreciation to our excavation director and fellow team members.

and have increased our knowledge of its Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. Particular examples of the archaeological and epigraphic data that will most contribute to the ongoing debates regarding the localization of Olympos of Lycia will be discussed herein.

The primary discussion centers on the location of Olympos. The discovery of the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* (*SP*) monument has led to a new discussion. Since the name Olympos was not included on the monument, an assumption has been made that the name Korykos refers to the settlement known today as Olympos due to the distances. This has sparked a vigorous academic debate.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the *SP*, this thesis was inspired by several literary texts and a border inscription in which Korykos was mentioned. Based on this data, it is claimed that Olympos was located on the peak of Mount Musa until the Roman Period. Further, it is argued that the ancient coastal settlement, thought to be Olympos throughout all periods and also known today by this name, is another city called Korykos in the Hellenistic Period. Accordingly, it is claimed that Olympos was moved to Korykos from the settlement on Mount Musa in the Roman Period and thus the coastal settlement, once called Korykos, started to be called Olympos during the Roman Period.

No detailed research has been carried out on Mount Musa until today. Neither the argument that Olympos was there in the Hellenistic Period nor the suggestion we will present relies on systematic and detailed scientific research regarding the settlement on Mount Musa. On the other hand, the research we carried out should be taken as observatory trips. Therefore, we accept in advance that these thoughts will be just provisional until detailed research can be conducted at the settlement on Mount Musa.

All arguments presented and to be presented on the subject should be evaluated cautiously. In light of the data yielded from the research conducted in the city, we would like to state that our intention is to open a new, yet not definite, window on the question of the location of Olympos. It should not be forgotten that the publications related to the localization and name of Olympos, which have continued until today, lack the information presented here. For this reason, our goal is not to highlight the inaccuracies of the ideas put forward in the cited publications. On the contrary, all other studies conducted so far have inspired the ideas on the localization of Olympos that will be presented below.

Two different periods will be discussed under two subheadings for the following reasons. The most important breaking point in the history of Olympos is the “Zeniketes event.” Zeniketes ruled the region by capturing Olympos, and as a response Rome sent Servilius Vatia to reclaim its territory in the region in 76 BC.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Rome imposed an interdiction, and the lands of Olympos were declared to be *ager publicus*. These events took place between 76 BC and AD 60 and are chronologically covered by two different periods - Hellenistic and Roman. The Hellenistic section will cover a period until Vespasian (AD 69-79) when the interdiction was annulled. In addition, the archaeological, epigraphical and historical data for the second half of the 1st century AD to the end of the 3rd century AD of the city has been increasing. Therefore, the data about the localization of the city in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods will be discussed separately. The premise that Olympos is the coastal settlement is

<sup>2</sup> Adak 2004; Şahin and Adak 2007, 275-77; 2014, 406-9.

<sup>3</sup> On the campaigns of Servilius against the pirates and Lycia, see Ormerod 1922; Magie 1950, 288-91; 1167 n. 17; Maróti 1989; Arslan 2003, 99-104; Öztürk 2006, 54-63; Baker and Thériault 2005, 363-64; La Penna and Funari 2015, 346.

widely accepted by academicians. The final section will be a new consideration on the location of Olympos in light of discussions on the subject to date.

## The Hellenistic Period

The earliest written record of Lycian Olympos is found in the *Geographika* by the renowned geographer Strabo.<sup>4</sup> Quoting Artemidoros, the geographer identifies Olympos as one of the powerful members of the Lycian League with three electoral votes.<sup>5</sup> While this was the city's status until the second half of the 2nd century BC, its name began to be mentioned because of piracy activities in the 1st century BC. The war between Zeniketes and Rome is the prominent incident in the written records of this period. Olympos was the stronghold of Zeniketes who seized the strategically important cities and fortified locations of Eastern Lycia and Pamphylia one by one and established a “kingdom(!)” in the coastal region from the Gulf of Gelidonia to Attaleia. It is not known exactly when and how Zeniketes captured the city. However, Attaleia must have been dominated by pirates led by Zeniketes in this period, at least from the beginning of the 1st century BC.<sup>6</sup>

The navy of the Lycian League must have battled the forces of Zeniketes several times. One of the inscriptions names Aichmon of Xanthos, an admiral of the Lycian League, and uses the phrase of ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ ἐναντία πραξάντων τῷ ἔθνει<sup>7</sup> (“about those who engage hostile activities against the public”). This most likely points to the cities of Olympos and Phaselis.<sup>8</sup> The Roman legions under the leadership of Servilius Vatia campaigned against the eastern Lycian cities and Pamphylia because of the inadequacy of the league's navy and the potential danger to the profits of Roman tradesmen in the region. So Servilius blockaded the fortress of Zeniketes. Realizing that he could no longer endure the attacks, Zeniketes set himself on fire with his family rather than falling alive into the hands of Servilius.<sup>9</sup>

After the fall of Olympos, Servilius Vatia captured all the settlements one by one that once belonged to Zeniketes or were involved in sedition. Those who aided and abetted Zeniketes were interdicted, and their lands declared as *ager publicus*. Olympos, being among those

<sup>4</sup> Strab. XIV 3, 3; XIV 3, 8; XIV 5, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Strab. XIV 3, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Öztürk 2006, 57. By looking at the coin issues, H.A. Troxell (1982, 92-94) maintains that Phaselis and Olympos were not members of the Lycian League after 104-100 BC and 81 BC respectively. E. Uğurlu (2007, 91), on the other hand, holds that Olympos had to leave the league in 104-100 BC when it also fell under the rule of Zeniketes. Another view suggested by M. Arslan (2003, 96) dates the rule of Zeniketes back to the years 94-79 BC.

<sup>7</sup> *OGIS* 553 = *TAM* II 265. To celebrate his victories, Aichmon had monuments erected in Xanthos in honor of Ares, Sarpedon and Glaukos. See *TAM* II 264, 319 = *OGIS* 552, 554 = *IGRR* III 607, 1516. On Aichmon and his campaigns see Magie 1950, 1167-168 n. 18; Arslan 2003, 95-97; Baker and Thériault 2005, 360-66.

<sup>8</sup> From the Hellenistic Era, the Lycian League was usually mentioned as Λυκίων τὸ κοινὸν or τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων, with occasional and more simplistic name variations such as οἱ Λύκιοι, expressing the league's organisation; see Behrwald 2000, 169. Artapates from Xanthos ἱππαρχίσι[α]ντα καὶ στρα[α]τηγ[ήσαντα] Λυκίων (*TAM* II 261) and Kallias [ἱερατεῦ]σαντα Λυκίων [θεᾶς Ῥώμης] were honored as such. For further reading see *TAM* II 155, 191, 200, 832, 905, 5 II 89. During the Imperial Period, in addition to the civil service of many people assuming responsibility in the Lycian League, as Behrwald thinks, the word ἔθνος was used instead of the expression τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων. This indicates that League was used as a synonym for Koinon (Behrwald 2000, 170-71). For instance, Neiketetes from Xanthos is described as ἱεροκίρυσξ τοῦ ἔθνους, i.e. “the messenger of the League”; see *TAM* II 366. For similar examples, see *TAM* II 496, 575. Therefore, as suggested above, what is meant by the expression “those who show hostility to the public” must be the people of such Lycian League cities as Olympos and Phaselis under the rule of pirates/bandits.

<sup>9</sup> Strab. XIV 5, 7.

settlements, was dropped from the League and not taken back until the 1st century AD.<sup>10</sup> Its neighbor Phaselis was evicted from the league, and a part of its land was declared as *ager publicus* as well. However, it was readmitted to the Lycian League prior to Olympos.<sup>11</sup>

This was a dark period though, except for a few written documents. In order to understand what truly happened in the city, it is necessary to look at the results of the archaeological and epigraphic research. Therefore, the earliest epigraphic and archaeological data will be presented below.

The inscription on a newly discovered sarcophagus in the area called the Acropolis Hill, located at the eastern end of the Northern City, is dated between the end of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 1st century AD due to its orthography (fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> The 8-line inscription on the side of the limestone sarcophagus with a lid probably faced the Hellenistic road leading up the hill. The dimensions of the sarcophagus are: H: 91 cm; W: 91.5 cm; D: 143.5 cm; LH: 3.5-4.8 cm.

Μενέμαχος Μηνοδότου  
κατεσκεύασεν τὸν τάφον <ἐαυτῶι>  
καὶ τῆ γυναικὶ Ἀρτεμιδώραι  
4 καὶ τὸ ὑποσόριον Σαραπάδι τῆ  
ἀπελευθέραι ἄλλωι δὲ μηθε-  
νὶ ἐξέστω ἐπενβαλεῖν εἰς τῆ-  
ν σορὸν καὶ ὑπόδικος ἔστω  
8 τῶι χρήζοντι.

2 <ἐαυτῶι> it must have been forgotten by the stonecutter.

#### Translation:

Menemachos, the son of Menodotos, had this tomb built (for himself) and for his wife Artemidora, and the (hyposorion) for his freedwoman Sarapas. No one else can bury their mortal remains (here), and it is to be held responsible for an oracle.

This is the earliest inscription found to date in the coastal settlement considered Olympos in all periods. The remarkable feature of the inscription is that it does not contain any ethnicon. The phrase Ὀλυμπηνός, Ὀλυμπηνή/Ὀλυμπηνοί, meaning “Olympian/Olympians” and found in other inscriptions from Olympos, does not appear on this one. It is common to specify the ethnicons in tomb inscriptions in the Lycian cities.<sup>13</sup> So it is noteworthy that this inscription with

<sup>10</sup> In place of Olympos, Limyra was probably made the new member of the Lycian League, with an electoral franchise of three votes; see *F.Xanibos* VII 176; Borchhardt 1999, 16; *TIB* VIII s.v. “Limyra”. For further reading about the reentry of Olympos to the League, see Pohl 1993, 261 n. 219; Syme 1995, 208; cf. Knoepfler 2013, 129.

<sup>11</sup> For more comprehensive information, see Troxell 1982, 90; Behrwald 2000, 108 n. 358; Mitchell 2005, 169, line 54.

<sup>12</sup> The inscription is similar in character to the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* found in Patara. Yet it is necessary to avoid dating the sarcophagus to the same period as the *SP*.

<sup>13</sup> See *TAM* II 1-3. Inscriptions numbering 943-1171 in *TAM* II belong to Olympos. Of the 228 inscriptions, 158 mention the Olympos ethnicon at least once. The remaining inscriptions consist of commendation, tomb inscriptions with ethnicon belonging to citizens of other cities, non-ethnicon tomb inscriptions, and fragments. Others published mention the Olympos ethnicon as follows: Atila and Çelgin 1991, 86; Adak and Atvur 1997, 18, no. 2; Adak and Tüner 2004a, 60-62, no. 4 (= Öztürk 2017, 231-33, no. 5 [*corrigendum et addendum*]); 63-65, no. 6; Öztürk 2017, 229-31, no. 2.

very good workmanship, dated to the end of the 1st century BC - middle of the 1st century AD, does not contain any ethnicon. Perhaps none of the tomb inscriptions contained an ethnicon, or it avoided mentioning one due to the imposition of interdiction against the city. However, another opinion is preferred here in accordance with other evidence: its omission was because Olympos became *ager publicus* after 76 BC, so that the city and its lands were declared Roman public property.

In addition to this sarcophagus built for Artemidoros and his freedman Sarapas, the finds obtained from the city walls during archaeological studies provide important information about the city's Hellenistic Period. The earliest architectural remains found in the city are the walls. They surround an area which is called the "South City."<sup>14</sup> Starting from the west side of the slope on which the theater rests, the fortification descends at a right angle to the river-side and turns east. Then it turns east and continues immediately behind the harbor and rises back to the slopes. Thus, it covers all 7.5 hectares of the southern side of the city suitable for settlement (fig. 2). The walls, whose lowest part reached 3.60 m., were built with polygonal stonemasonry (fig. 5). Excavations were conducted at the section where the walls cross the Roman bridge (Sector 6-VI, H1 trench). In addition, excavations were carried out in the entire area called "Bridge Street", understood to have been built during the Roman Imperial Period. Consequently, along with the stone masonry, archaeological data was obtained to date the walls. Accordingly, it was proven that the gate of the walls in this area was damaged during the construction of Bridge Street, and therefore the construction of the city walls was made before the Roman Imperial Period.<sup>15</sup> Considering the prohibited period after Zeniketes, the *terminus post quem* of its construction appears as 76 BC.

In addition to the city walls, the Olympos theater is another monumental architectural element in terms of historical readings for the Hellenistic Period. The theater was built on the slope of the north-facing hill on the western border of the Southern City that was surrounded by walls.<sup>16</sup> It has the architectural form of Roman theaters in terms of a characteristic plan.<sup>17</sup> However, meticulous analysis indicates that the structure is a renewed version of a Hellenistic forerunner. The structure's location within the city is the prominent data suggesting this opinion. The walls, clearly built during the Hellenistic Period, turn at the slope of the theater. And there is a narrow line that is not suitable for any other type of construction (fig. 2). This design indicates that the connection of the city walls and the theater was taken into consideration when the city plan was made. There are no other remains on the hill where the theater sits. The hill, after all, has a steep topography unsuitable for other structures. These things suggest that the theater was to be constructed at this very point during the first urban planning in the Hellenistic Period. The second piece of data is that the vaulted *parados* in the western wing of the theater was later added to the *analemma* wall. The transition corridor, not in the first construction phase, was built later. That this corridor is connected to the *skene* reveals that the theater had one or more stages of construction. The fact that the *parados* was added later appears similarly in the theater of neighboring Phaselis. This was done during the Roman Imperial

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<sup>14</sup> Olympos is split in two by a river that bears the same name as the city. To distinguish these two parts of the city, the excavation team uses the appellations "North City" and "South City".

<sup>15</sup> For further see Öncü 2017, 36-37.

<sup>16</sup> Resources are limited about the Olympos theatre; see Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 21; Bean 1997, 155; Sear 2006, 371.

<sup>17</sup> It is one of the few theaters built in the Roman period in Lycia and is similar to the theaters in Phaselis and Tlos; see Özbek 1991, 284; 1992, 9; İşler 2007, 303; Sear 2006, 373, 379-80.



Period, namely, during expansion work in the 2nd century AD.<sup>18</sup> All these data indicate that there was a theater here in the Hellenistic Period. Whether or not it was completed, at least its construction was started during this period.

In addition, the results of the epigraphical research on the localization of Olympos in the Hellenistic Period provide insightful information. Between 2004-2008 epigraphical and historical-geographical research have been carried out by a team, including Öztürk, under the leadership of B. İplikçioğlu in Lycia.<sup>19</sup> This research has yielded more than 50 inscriptions, of which some were *addendum* and *corrigendum*.<sup>20</sup> Nearly all the inscriptions identified in Olympos and its territory - both the ones found in the aforementioned research<sup>21</sup> and the 30 newly discovered inscriptions Öztürk recorded as the epigraphist of the Olympos excavation since 2013 - have the ethnicons of Ὀλυμπιός, Ὀλυμπιηνή and Ὀλυμπιηνοί. However, only one inscription mentions Korykos. It is a border inscription read as OKΩ that is ὄρος Κορυκίων.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the surveys conducted in the Kumluca and Kemer districts of Antalya province in 2004-2012 have not yielded any inscription identifying Korykos as a city.<sup>23</sup>

## Roman Period

The Roman archaeological and epigraphical finds do not leave any doubt that Olympos was the name of the coastal settlement during this period. The name Olympos is frequently read on many tomb, votive and acclamation inscriptions dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. It is also clear that major zoning activity took place in Olympos beginning in the second half of the 1st century AD. This must have been related to the annulment of the city's interdiction in the Vespasianic period (AD 69-79) at the latest because the bath, regarded as the earliest public building of the Roman Period, was built during the rule of this emperor.<sup>24</sup> However, studies conducted in recent years have found evidence that the interdiction was annulled or loosened before the Vespasianic Period. This includes two limestone votive/boundary inscriptions dated to the Augustan Period. These inscriptions were used as spolia and placed in the sub-basement of the southern wall of the Vespasian Bath (fig. 6).<sup>25</sup> "Of Augustus the Caesar God" appears on these inscriptions.<sup>26</sup> It is known that monuments<sup>27</sup> and votive/cult areas started to be built during the Pax Romana of the Augustan Period. Lycia has such inscriptions, though limited.

<sup>18</sup> Özdilek 2016, 176.

<sup>19</sup> The epigraphic work carried out by B. İplikçioğlu in Olympos was terminated by the Ministry of Culture in 2008 due to an excavation conducted by B.Y. Olcay-Uçkan from Anadolu University.

<sup>20</sup> For the short reports of İplikçioğlu regarding the inscriptions he recorded, see İplikçioğlu 2008, 357-59; İplikçioğlu 2010, 157. Only one of these reports was published so far: İplikçioğlu 2006.

<sup>21</sup> See n. 13.

<sup>22</sup> For further about this inscription, see Şahin and Adak 2014, 409.

<sup>23</sup> Şahin and Adak (2014, 410-12) offer a suggestion about the inscription found in Barsak Creek around Beycik/Fırıncık and read as ΠΟΡ | ΒΑΤ by L. Robert 1966, 40, 44. They read it as ΚΩΡ | ΦΑΚ - (ὄρος) Κορυκίων | Φασ(ηλειτῶν) - and claim that the borders of Korykos extended from Gagai to Phaselis.

<sup>24</sup> For inscriptions about the bath, see Adak and Tüner 2004a, 59-61, no. 3; İplikçioğlu 2006.

<sup>25</sup> The inscription may also be a border inscription on a cult area of Augustus. For similar ones in Lycia, see Akdoğu-Arca 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Καίσαρος | θεοῦ | Σεβαστοῦ. These two votive inscriptions are being prepared by us together with other inscriptions.

<sup>27</sup> Apollonia (*IGRR* III 694), Andriake (*IGRR* III 718-19), Arneai (*TAM* II 770), Arykanda (Wörle 1996), Kadyanda (*TAM* II 654); Xanthos/Letoon (*F.Xanthos* VII 18-19), Myra (*IGRR* III 722), Sidyma (*TAM* II 183; Takmer 2010, 115-17, no. 1), Tyberissos (Schuler 2007), Tlos (*TAM* II 556).



Examples from Kadyanda<sup>28</sup>, Nysa<sup>29</sup> and Tlos verify this. These inscriptions, which appeared in Olympos, reveal that at the beginning of the Roman Imperial Period, Olympos gave special importance to showing its loyalty to Augustus. Therefore, they had established a cult<sup>30</sup> for Augustus, as they did in Tlos.<sup>31</sup>

During the period between the campaign of Servilius Vatia and its regaining membership in the Lycian League during the Imperial Period, Olympos had expanded its territory and gained back its former glorious days. This is demonstrated by the boundary inscriptions found during epigraphical research. Evidently the northern border extended south of Tahtalı Mountain to Beycik/Gavurpazarı in Tekirova,<sup>32</sup> while the southern border extended to the ancient city of Gagai in Mavikent on the borders of the Kumluca district. Its western border extended to an unknown settlement in Erentepe, 6 km east of the city<sup>33</sup> (fig. 1).

The expansion of its borders can be explained by the fact that the city had become an important commercial center in the region due to its strategic location. As before the Zeniketes, the city had resumed its important role in maritime trade.<sup>34</sup> This is made explicit through the tomb inscriptions made for people who came from different places, settled in Olympos, and then died here. One of these is the famous epitaph of Captain Eudemos of Chalcedon.<sup>35</sup> Other tomb inscriptions mention people from Phaselis, Myra, Prynnessos, Melitene, Tlos, Kyaneai and from remote areas such as Pisidia, Phrygia and Bithynia.<sup>36</sup>

Because of its previous record of piracy and banditry, there were probably a considerable number of law enforcement officers on duty in Olympos who had been assigned by Rome. That such enforcement was in effect during the early period of the empire is solidly supported by the evidence, such as a fragmented stele in Latin unearthed in 2010.<sup>37</sup> The inscription appears to be a stele of [Gaius] Iulius Valerius, a veteran who had served 35 years. Although it is

<sup>28</sup> TAM II 654: Καί[σ]αρος θε[ο]ῦ Σε[β]α[σ]τ[ο]ῦ.

<sup>29</sup> Takmer and Oktan 2013, 65-67, no. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Another remarkable point in these two votive inscriptions is that while they are dated to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman Imperial Period, their characteristics are more 3rd century AD. Similar is the Artemis Kitaneurissa inscription found at Mount Musa and dated in the *editio princeps* to the 2nd-1st century BC, according to its letter characteristics. However, its orthography, particularly the square sigma suggests that this inscription should be dated to the 1st century AD. For this reason, there is need for a new study in Olympos on the dating of the inscriptions, most of which are dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

<sup>31</sup> For the cult in Tlos, see Reitzenstein 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Öztürk 2006, 58, 60. For further see Bayburtluoğlu 2004, 98-101; *TIB* VIII s.v. "Beycik". Öztürk considers that this site may have been abandoned at an early date, based on his observations during the 2005 survey of Gavurpazarı on the high slopes of Mount Solyma under the direction of B. İplikçioğlu. Öztürk claims that the city has nothing related to the Roman Period. This Hellenistic settlement in Gavurpazarı was probably dominated by Zeniketes, who ruled Olympos, and it formed the northern-northeastern border of the city. After the invasion by Servilius Vatia against Zeniketes, this city had to be abandoned by necessity and then must have come under the rule of Olympos during the Roman Imperial Period. For the sarcophagus in its vicinity that carries the Ὀλυμπηνός ethnicon dating to the Imperial Age, see TAM II 1215.

<sup>33</sup> Öztürk 2006, 58, 60; Şahin and Adak 2007, 277. For further see Adak and Güzelyurt 2003, 104. The only natural defense line that could withstand threats from the east against Olympos is here. Considering that the topography also determines the boundaries of ancient settlements, this boundary must have extended to the creek bed behind the vegetable market in Kumluca today. Numerous sarcophagi with the Ὀλυμπηνός ethnicon in the area extending from Mavikent to Erentepe also prove it; see Şahin and Adak 2007, 277.

<sup>34</sup> Öncü and Evcim 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Adak and Atvur 1997.

<sup>36</sup> TAM II 946, 977, 983-84, 990-91, 1102, 1147.

<sup>37</sup> The inscription was recorded by us with the inventory number of OLY1 and is still being studied for publication.

not known in which legion he had served due a fracture on the fragment, the *Iulius gens* born by Valerius leads one to think that he may be connected to the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Olympos' commitment to Rome in the first years of the empire resulted in several things: the annulling of its interdiction, the regaining of its reputation as an important Lycia city, and its resuming as a vital commercial port. Consequently, the safety of the roads around the city and its surrounding area was of special importance. Tomb inscriptions in the necropolis of many *beneficiarius*<sup>38</sup> responsible for road safety are important evidence in this regard. The tomb inscription of a *beneficiarius* named Iulius Solon (*TAM* II 987) demonstrates the presence of a military outpost in Olympos. Iulius Solon commanded the *stationarius* here and was the *beneficiarius consularis*, that is, the *beneficiarius* of the governor. According to L. Robert, this reference to Iulius Solon as *beneficiarius consularis* attests to the presence of an outpost of the provincial governor in Olympos.<sup>39</sup> That may be the reason for the presence of the *beneficiaries* in Olympos. Another *beneficiarius* is Aelius Telephus Isaurus. The inscription on the tomb of a woman named Theodora Numeriana mention that her husband, Aelius Telephus Isaurus, served as *beneficiarius* at an outpost in Olympos.<sup>40</sup> Another tomb inscription belonging to husband and wife declares that a fine of 2.500 denarius “should be paid to the polis station.”<sup>41</sup>

In addition to *beneficiarius*, *stationarius* ensured the safety of major intersections and roads, thus served in and around Olympos. Because of the inscription mentioning Martinus<sup>42</sup> the *stationarius* from Olympos who offered a votive to (God) Invictus, it is known that there was a *stationarius* outpost<sup>43</sup> in the city. *Stationarius* with a headquarters in Olympos must have secured the roads from Phaselis to Attaleia.<sup>44</sup>

Another officer known to be in the Roman army of the region is a regimental soldier. *Praetor* Aurelius Mucianus had made a tomb for himself and his wife in the 3rd century AD and offered a votive to (God) Invictus.<sup>45</sup> Invictus, associated with Mithras,<sup>46</sup> was worshipped in Olympos and its surrounding area in the 3rd century AD, as the inscription declares.

Along with these inscriptions, archaeological data also reveal that this was a significant city in the Roman Imperial Period. It was reconstructed under Roman rule with a regular planning approach.<sup>47</sup> In addition, important information about certain structures has been discovered

<sup>38</sup> The *beneficiarius* was among the lower-level officers in the Roman Imperial military hierarchy and commanded the gendarmes on the streets and roads, that is, the *stationarius*. For the presence of *statio* in Olympos, see Robert 1955, 172-77; Mitchell 1993, 122; Nelis-Clément 2000, 49-51.

<sup>39</sup> Robert 1955, 177.

<sup>40</sup> *TAM* II 1165.

<sup>41</sup> *TAM* II 953.

<sup>42</sup> Adak and Tüner 2004a, 62, no. 5A.

<sup>43</sup> *TAM* II 953, 1165.

<sup>44</sup> Sherk 1955, 402. The roads from Phaselis to Attaleia, see also Arslan 2018, 19-45.

<sup>45</sup> *TAM* II 949; Adak and Tüner 2004a, 62, no. 5B.

<sup>46</sup> The existence of the cult of Mithras in Olympos in the 1st century BC is conveyed through a passage of Plut. (*Vit. Pomp.* XXIV) where he gave interesting information about the beliefs of the pirates: “They offered strange sacrifices on Mount Musa and performed secret rituals. Among which those of Mithras that was first established by the pirates/bandits, which are widely accepted today. It is not surprising, though, that these unlawful people, who have nothing to do other than piracy / banditry and who are in danger of being killed at any time, worship such a cult with a belief of afterlife”. About the archaeological remains of the Mithras cult in Olympos, see Diler 1991; Atvur 1999, 15-17; Adak and Tüner 2004a, 62-64.

<sup>47</sup> Research concerning the urban fabric of Roman-Imperial Olympos has enabled us to understand that this place was built in accordance with a regular urban planning system. In the South City, the center of social life, streets extending in an east-west direction and steep, intersecting lanes and streets have been identified; see Öncü 2012,

through the research conducted in recent years. Prominent ones include the baths, temple, Bridge Street and the bridge. Data collected regarding these structures will follow a similar chronological order. Priority will be given to the baths in order to make an assessment.

In all the cities under Roman rule, large budgets were spent on the construction of at least one bath and more than one in large-scale cities because baths were an indispensable part of social life. All such activities served to improve civic commitment to the empire;<sup>48</sup> moreover, they became important representatives of Roman ideology.<sup>49</sup> Olympos, in particular, was provided funds by Rome for the construction of two baths - Vespasian and Harbor - starting from the early days of the empire. Such funding was given to elicit loyalty to its authority, probably because of the “Zeniketes event.”

The Vespasian Bath is located in the middle of the South City (S-VI/6), close to the Olympos Creek (figs. 2, 7). A building inscription reveals it was built in the Vespasianic Period.<sup>50</sup> The plan of the building reveals that its dimensions were large. The other bath is in the eastern part of the South City (S5-V), close to the harbor (figs. 2, 8). Its name, Harbor Bath, is not only important in terms of its location, but also because it emphasizes that the area it serves is likely to be a city harbor. There is no written document to date the building. The general history of bath structures in the Lycian cities can be taken into consideration,<sup>51</sup> and it can be assumed that the bath was built between the third quarter of the 1st century AD and the end of the 2nd century AD.

The excavations at the Roman Imperial temple (SVIII-7) carried out in recent years has provided significant data as well.<sup>52</sup> They reveal that the building was a monumental temple with six columns in a prostylos plan in the Ionic order (figs. 9-10). The characteristic decorative features of the temple’s architectural elements indicate that it was probably built in the first half of the 2nd century AD (probably the Hadrianic Period).<sup>53</sup> Fragments of a colossal Zeus or Asclepius found in the naos also support this date.<sup>54</sup> The pedestal of a statue that was dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, believed to have stood in the sacred stoa of the temple area, reveals

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2017. Recent research indicates that the urban fabric of the Roman Period continued without change into the Byzantine Period; see Olcay-Uçkan et al. 2017.

<sup>48</sup> DeLaine 1999a, 1999b.

<sup>49</sup> Nielsen 1990, 60-61.

<sup>50</sup> Found in dense vegetation, the inscription was at the section close to the walls that we assume to be the northeast wing of the bath. For the epigraphical evaluation, see Adak and Tüner 2004a, 59-60, no. 3; İplikçiöğlü 2006. Another example known to have been built in the Vespasianic Period in Lycia is the Great Bath of Patara; see Yegül 1995, 299. The earliest examples of the baths considered as noteworthy representatives of the Romanization of the Lycian Region are those dated to the Flavianic Period; see Farrington 1995, 118. The bath from the Vespasianic Period in Olympos is significant in terms of comprehending the Romanization process in Lycia in general and in Olympos in particular, since it is among the early examples of its kind.

<sup>51</sup> Farrington 1984, 119-20.

<sup>52</sup> For thoughts on this temple before its excavation, see Anabolu 1970, 43-44; Bean 1997, 155-56; Bayburtluoğlu 1982, 18; Diler 1988, 112; Serdaroğlu 2004, 80-81. All these researchers except Diler stated that this structure was a temple. Diler, on the other hand, claimed that this structure’s function was unknown.

<sup>53</sup> Studies are in progress on the architecture of the temple. However, it should be said that quite unique architectural arrangements are observed in its details. These include the arch span of the ante, the connection between the stoa that extends along the eastern and western sides of the temple facade, and the column.

<sup>54</sup> The leader of the Aphrodisias excavation, R.R.R. Smith, stated that the head could be either Zeus or Asclepius. We appreciate his valuable thoughts. In addition, during the preliminary investigation conducted during the 2019 excavation season, Smith shared with us his opinion that the fragments in this area belong to multiple sculptures. He will carry out detailed investigations on sculptural fragments during the 2020 excavation season. As a result of these constructive examinations, the statue and, ultimately, who the temple was dedicated to will hopefully become clear.

that the building was in use throughout the Pax Romana. (fig. 11).<sup>55</sup> The temple is believed to have been located in a large temenos or agora/forum (?). It is one of the most important monumental architectural elements that emphasizes the power of Roman domination in the city. If it is dedicated to the cult of Zeus, it is clear that it has an important relationship with the name Olympos.

## Evaluation

The localization of Olympos has generated a discussion that started with the discovery of the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* Monument and has continued to date. One theory has been inspired by a number of ancient texts and a border inscription describing a series of intertwined historical events. It advances two main considerations. First, the name Olympos is not mentioned on the *SP*. Second, since Korykos is mentioned on the *SP*, it is argued that it existed as a polis until the Roman Imperial Period at the very point where Olympos is located today.<sup>56</sup> This theory argues, based on the statements of the *SP* and Strabo, that during the Hellenistic period, Olympos was located in a fortified settlement at a height of 650 m, approximately at the peak of Mount Musa and 3,800 m as the crow flies to the modern settlement.<sup>57</sup> Olympos was dominated by Zeniketes and then destroyed by Rome in 78-77 BC, thus it is the settlement on Mount Musa. According to this view, after this settlement was taken by Servilius Vatia, the people were settled in Korykos on the edge of the Olympos River. The settlement, located where the river flows into the sea and today known as Olympos, was called Korykos until the Roman Imperial Period. However, under pressure from the settlers of Mount Musa, the name was altered to Olympos.

At this point, it is necessary to evaluate the settlement on Mount Musa that is at the center of the localization discussion. No comprehensive research has been conducted there to date. All assessments on the settlement, including ours, are based on observational studies. Built at the summit of Mount Musa, the settlement was surrounded by ramparts built with cut stone blocks whose style was isodomic but mostly polygonal. The walled area is smaller than the width of 13-14 hectares specified by Adak<sup>58</sup> and is approximately 7.7 hectares.<sup>59</sup> The central part of the walled area has a large open area surrounded by walls made of isodomic technique with regularly shaved block stones. A structure containing open space is aligned on one of its wings. This could be considered an agora (?). However, it is not possible to be clear about the function of the structure without comprehensive research. City walls and a structure complex with an open courtyard along with a few remains with similar masonry could be from the Hellenistic Period. However, apart from these architectural elements, building remains that could be clearly dated to the Hellenistic Period could not be observed by us. There is not a

<sup>55</sup> TAM II 943: Αὐτοκράτορα Καί|σαρα Μάρκον Αὐρή|λιον Ἀντωνεῖνον ||<sup>4</sup> Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενι|ακὸν Μηδικὸν Παρ|θητικὸν Γερμανικὸν ||<sup>8</sup> Ὀλυμπιῶν ἡ βουλή| καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐγ' δωρεᾶς Παν|ταγᾶθου δις.

<sup>56</sup> Adak 2004.

<sup>57</sup> Adak 2004. For discussions and suggestions on the localization of Korykos located between Olympos and Phaselis, see Beaufort 1817, 44; Keyser 1997; Işık et al. 2001, 46; *TIB* VIII s.v. “Korykos”; *SEG* LIV 1426; Şahin and Adak 2014, 406-9.

<sup>58</sup> Adak 2004, 35.

<sup>59</sup> The Olympos excavation team organizes educational trips to the settlement at the Mount Musa. The last one occurred in 2019. During this survey the area surrounded by the walls was measured using GPS. The fortification walls of the settlement surround an approximately rectangular area. The four corner coordinates in this form are: NW: N36° 21' 43.8" E30° 28' 31.0", SW: N36° 21' 33.1" E30° 28' 36.1", SE: N36° 21' 32.6" E30° 28' 42.4", NE: N36° 21' 46.8" E30° 28' 37.1". The area covered by these coordinates has a surface area of approximately 7.7 hectares.

theater at the settlement. In addition, the necropolis, mentioned by Adak as located northeast of the settlement,<sup>60</sup> could not be identified. Although extensive observations have repeatedly been made in this area, no architectural elements have been found except the remains of three one-roomed, square-like rectangular structures preserved at the base level. These structural remains do not provide enough data to specify their function. Even if we assume that these are chamber tombs, there are no graves other than these three structures.

If the settlement at Mount Musa was Olympos in the Hellenistic Period, how can one explain the absence of a theater in the city that was one of the six important members of the Lycian League and had been settled for a long time? This is significant given the finds shared previously that the coastal settlement had a theater in the Hellenistic Period. Since the settlement at the Mount Musa does not have a theater, it does not meet the definition of a city with the status of a polis.<sup>61</sup> At this point, the antithesis of other settlements (such as Gavurpazarı, Erentepe, Madamyssos and Pygela) without a theater in Lycia can be presented. These settlements have walls, a square, necropolis and only residential areas. Adak and Tüner made a suggestion for one of these settlements, Pygela, which is a settlement of Korydalla: “The settlement in question should be considered as a town-style demos rather than a big city. Although there are no central buildings such as agora or theater...<sup>62</sup> Although it can be argued that Patara did not have a theater in the Hellenistic Period,<sup>63</sup> none of the polis of Lycia had a theater in the relevant period. The same theory was applied to the theaters of Limyra and Myra until recently.<sup>64</sup> However, this theory has lost its validity with the discovery of the pre-Roman phases of the theaters of these cities, as has been emphasized for the example of Olympos.<sup>65</sup> A similar discovery may be waiting to be revealed for the Patara theater.

In addition, the fact that the settlement of Mount Musa does not have a necropolis is a greater point questioning its polis status. In contrast, the coastal settlement, which we believe is the Hellenistic Olympos,<sup>66</sup> has numerous different types of tombs, including monumental tombs, and many different types of necropolis areas that have survived to date. As a matter of fact, almost all of them are dated between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. However, the tomb of Menemachos and his wife, mentioned above, is an example proving that at least one of these necropolises was used during the Late Hellenistic - Early Roman Imperial Period.

There are four large, deep cisterns built during the Roman Period at the four corners of the open area (agora?) of the building complex surrounded by walls at the settlement on Mount

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<sup>60</sup> Adak 2004, 45.

<sup>61</sup> Ancient texts identify Olympos as a polis; see Strab. XIV 3, 8; Cic. *Verr.* II 1, 56; Eutr. VI 3. For a settlement in ancient times to have public buildings was a significant criterion to be identified as a polis. Of these, one of the most important was the theater. As a matter of fact, Vitruvius (*de arch.* I 3, 1; I 7, 1) emphasizes this point when he describes the Roman cities that were inspired by the Hellenic polis. For a view that dates the theaters of the Lycian settlements mostly from the Hellenistic Period, see Özdilek 2016, 140. This same researcher has argued that these theaters have roots in the Hellenistic Period in almost all of the Lycian cities. Özdilek (2016, 140) also claims that this region has the highest density of theaters in Anatolia with 32 theaters identified.

<sup>62</sup> Adak and Tüner 2004b, 47.

<sup>63</sup> Piesker and Ganzert 2012.

<sup>64</sup> Sear 2006, 371-80.

<sup>65</sup> Archaeological data from the Hellenistic building phase of the Myra theater has been discovered; see Çevik 2015, 370-72. The Limyra theater is dated to the 1st century BC according to the cavea and stage building. It is believed that the side *analemma* walls and vaulted gallery were added during expansion work after the 2nd century BC; see Özdilek 2016, 176.

<sup>66</sup> Of these tombs 16 are Lycian-type sarcophagi, which can be considered as representatives of the Roman Period of the Lycian tradition; see Uğurlu 2006, 46-48.

Musa. Thus, it is evident that the settlement needed the cisterns even in the Roman Period. However, how its water needs were met in the Hellenistic Period is a lacuna in terms of archaeological data for now. As a vital member of the Lycian League, Hellenistic Olympos must have had a significant population. While the cisterns offer a limited solution for the large population, the stream passing through the middle of the coastal settlement and numerous freshwater resources still active today are more suitable for a settlement with a growing population. This is another strong factor that makes us think that Olympos was founded on the coast.

Limited literary texts along with a border inscription referring to the name of Lycian Korykos form the basis for the suggestion that Olympos should be localized to the settlement at the summit of Mount Musa in the Hellenistic Period. While one of the literary texts and the border inscription mention Korykos as a polis, other written records show no clear evidence that Korykos was identified as a polis.<sup>67</sup> The document that mentions Korykos as a polis is the letter of Brutus. In his letter to the Lycians, Brutus lists Patara, Myra and Corycus among the cities that did not surrender. This letter is the second document in chronological order and was written in the 40s BC when the territory of Olympos was declared as *ager publicus* after the campaign of Servilius Vatia.<sup>68</sup>

Besides this letter, the maritime navigation guide - the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni (SMM)* written in the 2nd century AD - mentions Korykos, not Olympos, as the port between Phaselis and Phoinikus (the Genoisian port).<sup>69</sup> Şahin and Adak note that “pointing Korykos as a city can be attributed to the fact that for this study, a geography resource dated before the Claudius period was used.”<sup>70</sup> Additionally, as will be detailed below, the ancient name of the Çıralı coast was Korykos for centuries and could be the reason that this name was used in the 2nd century AD.<sup>71</sup> In addition to literary texts, there is only one inscription that demonstrates the existence of Korykos as a settlement.<sup>72</sup> There are no other epigraphical, archaeological or numismatic data about Korykos other than those specified here.

Other literary texts mentioning Korykos are as follows. The first written document citing the name Korykos is the work of Porphyry of Tyre.<sup>73</sup> This author listed Korykos among the cities

<sup>67</sup> In Strabo's work, the name Korykos is mentioned in several places. One of them describes a cave and mountain/hill (?) area in Cilicia (XIII 4, 6; XIV 5, 5-6; XIV 6, 3). Another one mentions it as a mountain in Ionia (XIV 1, 32-33). Strabo then writes about Lycian Korykos; “...next, there is the city of Olympos also named Phoenicus and a mountain of the same name. Then, one arrives to Korykos, a tract of sea-coast” (XIV 3, 8). “After that, Phaselis, a three-port city of note and a lake. ...” (XIV 3, 9). “On the ridges of the Tauros (in Lycia) lies the piratical castle of Zeniketes. I mean Olympos. All Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Milyas are visible from both the mountain and the castle. Nevertheless, when the mountain was captured by Isauricus, Zeniketes set himself on fire with his whole family. Korykos, Phaselis and many cities in Pamphylia were belonged to him; however, all of them were taken by Isauricus” (XIV 5, 7). “Then to the city of Attaleia, named after its founder Attalos Philadelphos; who also sent a colony to Korykos, a small neighbouring town (κατοικίαν) surrounded with a greater wall...” (XIV 4, 1). It is clear that Korykos was not identified as a polis in Strabo's work.

<sup>68</sup> Jones 2014, 219, 18 (27).

<sup>69</sup> *SMM* 227-28.

<sup>70</sup> Also see Şahin and Adak 2007, 277.

<sup>71</sup> The mention of Andriake, the port of Myra in the *SMM*, could be another example. “There are 60 stadia from Andriake to the Isios tower and 80 stadia from Andriake to Somena.” This is found within the list of ports in Central Lycia, which included Andriake as well (*SMM* 238-39). That Myra's name is not mentioned in the *SMM* does not mean that Myra did not exist. Just as Myra stood gloriously with its architectural elements and inscriptions in the 2nd century AD, Olympos was at its current location. Like the city of Myra, Olympos had a harbor called Korykos in the place called Deliktaş at the mouth of the Olympos River. For this reason, perhaps Korykos was mentioned in this guidebook for seafarers (*SMM* 227-28).

<sup>72</sup> For this inscription see also Şahin and Adak 2014, 409.

<sup>73</sup> *FGrHist* II B, 1224 (Frag. 46).



in Syria, Cilicia and Lycia that Antiochus III took from Ptolemy after 197 BC: “Aphrodisias, Soloe, Zephyrion, Mallos, Anemurium, Selinum, Coracesium, Coricus, Andriace, Limyra, Patara and Xanthos”. Nevertheless, certain points should be noted. Even though the cities appear to be listed in geographical order from the coast of Syria towards Western Anatolia, writing Andriake before Limyra is a mistake. This suggests that there might be an error in the geographical ordering. In other words, is the Korykos mentioned here really “the city”(!) claimed to be founded at the place of Olympos? Couldn't this Korykos be the one in Cilicia or right next to Attaleia?

Strabo the geographer twice provides information about Lycian Korykos. First, Korykos is “a tract of sea-coast. After that, Phaselis, a three-port city of note and a lake.”<sup>74</sup> The other information he conveys regards the settlements Zeniketes captured. Accordingly, along with his stronghold Olympos, he ruled Korykos, Phaselis and many cities in Pamphylia.<sup>75</sup> Similar geographical locations for Korykos are stated in both texts. If the “coastline” mentioned in the first description is taken as a reference, Korykos was a local name attributed to the long Çıralı coast.

At this point, the etymology of Korykos must be discussed. An article recently published on the meaning of *korykos* argues: “In the ancient sources the Korykoses are cited along with the cave/rocky areas, isthmus, mountain/hills, harbors and shores at the coastline and were identified with the same name.”<sup>76</sup> Indeed, it is clear that the Korykoses in Kilikia, Ionia, Pamphylia and Lycia in Strabo's work are similar places.<sup>77</sup>

These data suggest that Korykos is used as a toponym rather than a settlement name. Therefore, the Olympos-Korykos discussion needs a new window. Further data will deepen the issue: While Strabo uses *πόλις* for Olympos, he uses *ὁ αἰγιαλός* (“the coast”) for Korykos.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, Quintus Smyrnaeus identifies the place while describing Chimaira as “Korykos Reef”.<sup>79</sup> The Çıralı coast answers to both descriptions (fig. 3). Thus, it is more likely to consider that Corycus is a description of the long Çıralı coast with its steep reefs and numerous caves and caverns.

Another point suggesting Korykos was not a city is that there is no mention in ancient texts of any interdiction imposed on it. In them, only Olympos, Phaselis, Attaleia and Angeira in Pisidia are mentioned as *ager publicus*.<sup>80</sup> This can be explained by the fact that Korykos was already a place within Olympos. Moreover, while the lands of all settlements involved in piracy activities were declared *ager publicus*, it should be questioned why Korykos, claimed to be an important settlement for pirates between Olympos and Phaselis, was not confiscated. If there was an independent city called Korykos, it would inevitably be involved in acts of piracy.

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<sup>74</sup> Strab. XIV 3, 8-9.

<sup>75</sup> Strab. XIV 5, 7.

<sup>76</sup> Arslan and Tüner-Önen 2011, 196.

<sup>77</sup> A cave in Cilicia: Strab. XII 4, 6; XIV 5, 5. A mountain in Ionia and the identification of “Corycusians” attributed to pirates lived around this mountain: Strab. XIV 1, 32. A town near Attaleia: Strab. XIV 4, 1. A mountain in Attaleia: Strab. XIV 6, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Strab. XIV 3, 8. Based on this statement, some researchers position the Korykos mentioned in the *SP* to the Deliktaş locality at the mouth of the Olympos River; see Adak 2004; Şahin and Adak 2007, 276; Arslan and Tüner-Önen 2011, 198.

<sup>79</sup> Quint. Smyrn. XI 93-95.

<sup>80</sup> Cic. *leg. agr.* I 5; II 50; Sall. *hist.* I 1, 129-32; cf. La Penna and Funari 2015, 96-97, no. 123-26, with commentary 346-47. On Phaselis, see Atilla 2019.



Thus, Rome would confiscate the city by declaring its lands *ager publicus*. Based on this data, we believe that Korykos, derived from the toponym *korykos*, was used as the name of a place that defines the long Çıralı coastline of Olympos.

If Olympos was one of the six largest cities of Lycia, can it be thought that the name is not mentioned in the *SP*? Taking also the aforementioned data into consideration, it is not a convincing assumption that there were two different poleis, namely Korykos and Olympos, at the time the *SP* was written. There was no mention of Olympos since it was located on Mount Musa, which was a certain distance from the main roads listed in the *SP*.

Instead we offer the following hypothesis: Olympos was one of the six major cities of Lycia with three votes in the Hellenistic Period. In its current position, it is surrounded by walls, has a theater, necropolis, and abundant, clean water resources. Furthermore, it had a safe harbor, a long beach, and the cult center of Hephaistos, now called Yanartaş. The settlement at Mount Musa, also in its territorium, was likely the acropolis (?) of the coastal settlement. Thus, perhaps, it was the reason Zeniketes chose this point as his stronghold<sup>81</sup> so that he could observe from here all the ships transiting the sea route. After being involved in piracy, the lands of the city became *ager publicus* following the victories of the Rome in 76 BC and consequently, the official use of its name was prohibited. Even so, the tomb of Menemachos explicitly attests that there were inhabitants of the city in this relevant period. This population required a name, and for this reason, the name Korykos, which identifies the rocky areas and rock cavities on the Olympos coast, was noted in the official records. It is precisely at this time that Brutus calls the settlement Korykos in his letter. Nevertheless, no Korykos ethnicon was used except for a border inscription since the public still referred to themselves as Olympians. The Menemachos tomb inscription verifies this fact. While the name of Olympos came into use again after the annulling of the interdiction, the name Korykos, which defines the Çıralı Coast, was used at least until the 2nd century AD, as we understand from *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*. The interdiction was probably annulled during the reign of the Emperor Vespasian. The archaeological and epigraphical findings from the Roman Period reinforce the theory that the Hellenistic city was at the same location as the Roman-period city. Since it was one of the important cities in the Lycian League, making important investments and rapid completion of the development activities in the city was of significance. The expansion of the territory, keeping its security at the highest level, and the rapid completion of public reconstruction explicitly indicate that the Roman Empire attached special importance to the city. This can only be explained by the fact that the settlement has been a strong city since the Hellenistic Period.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> E. Uğurlu (2007, 97-98) argued that Olympos was a city that had two settlements - both in Mount Musa and at the sea coast. According to her, the settlement on Mount Musa became a pirate stronghold after Zeniketes' conquered it.

<sup>82</sup> For a similar view, see Uğurlu 2007, 97-98.

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FIG. 1  
Map of Olympos  
territorium.

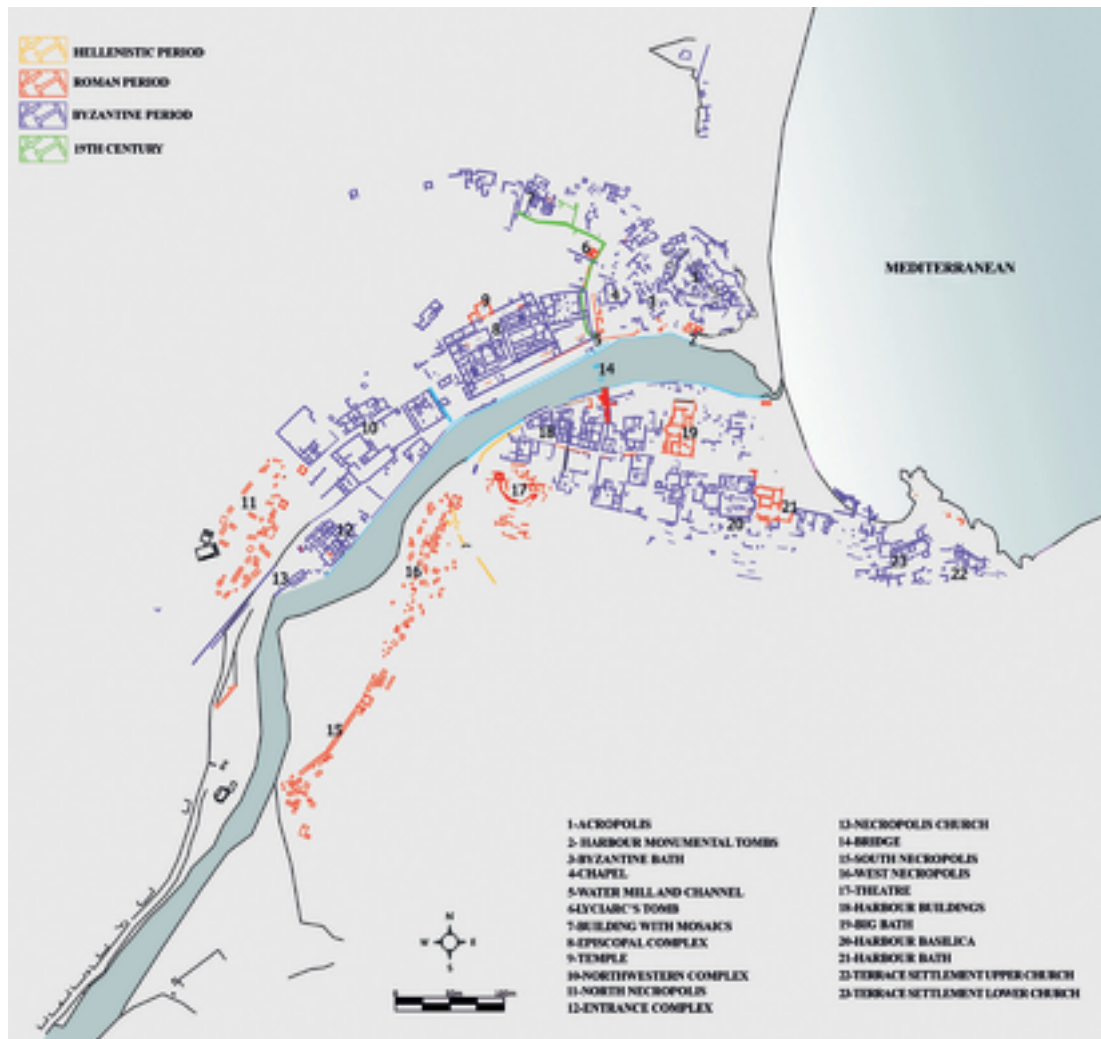


FIG. 2 Olympos city plan.





FIG. 3  
View of the  
Olympos seaside.

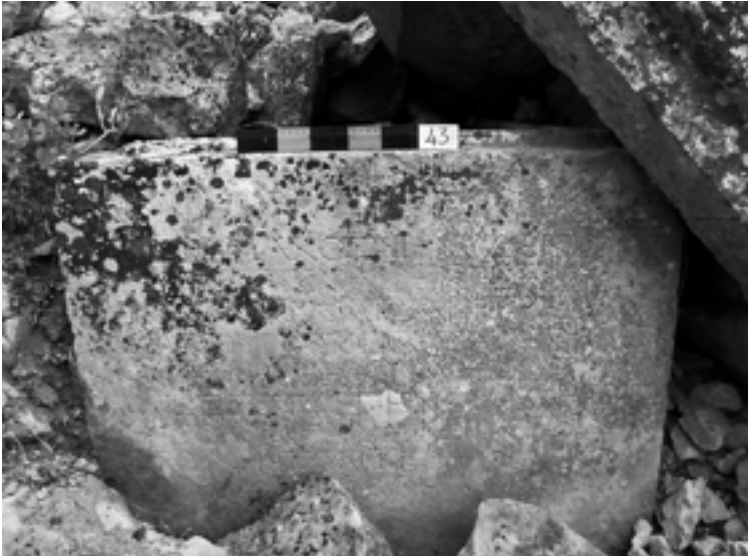


FIG. 4  
Epitaph of Menemachos'  
wife Artemidora.



FIG. 5  
Polygonal city walls.





FIG. 6 Sub-basement inscriptions of the Vespasian Bath.

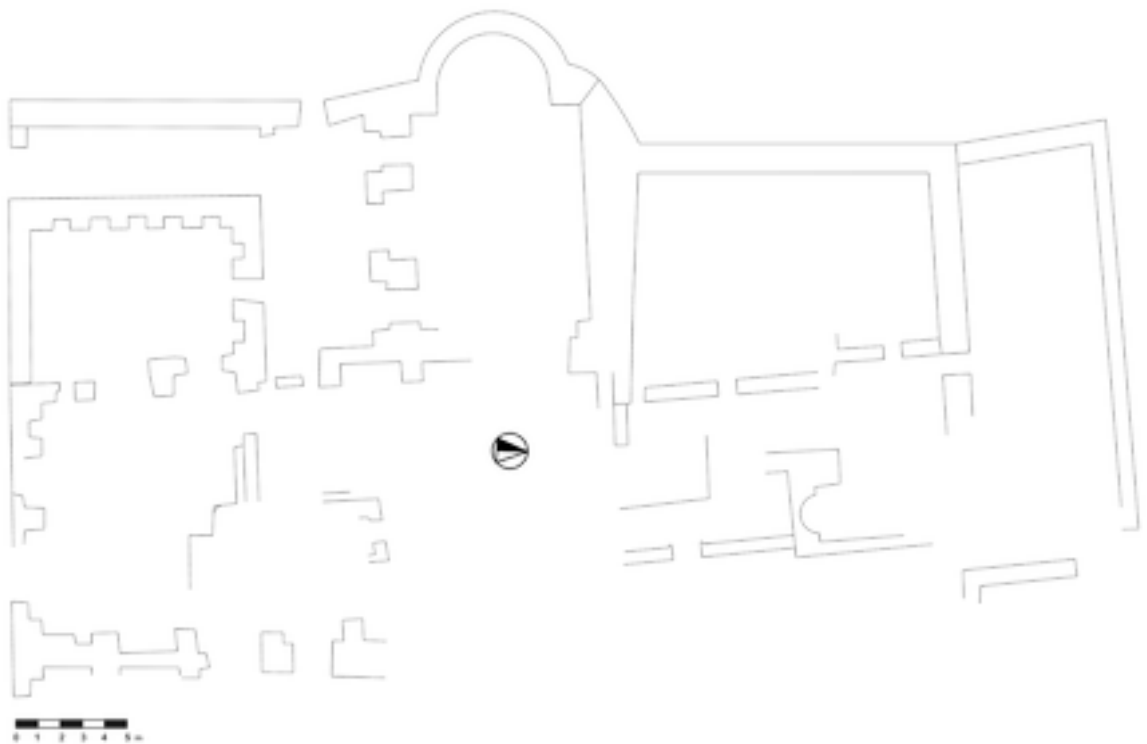


FIG. 7 Vespasian Bath plan.

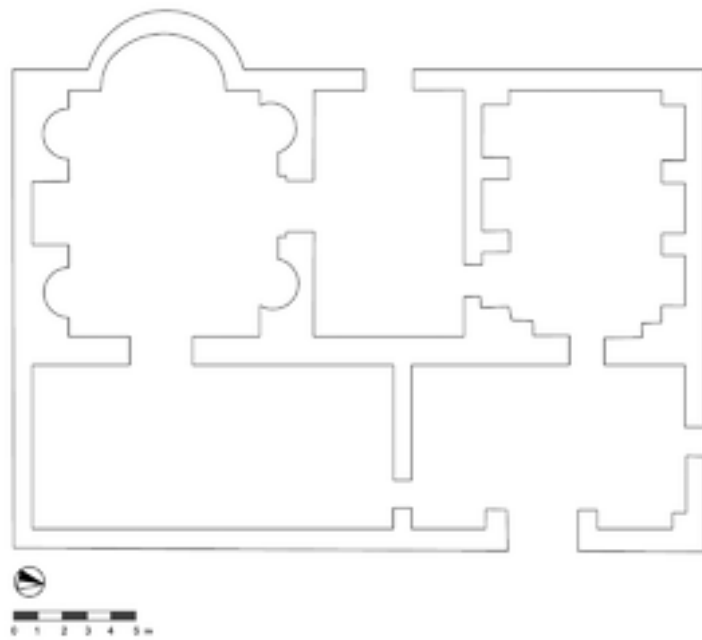


FIG. 8 Harbor Bath plan.

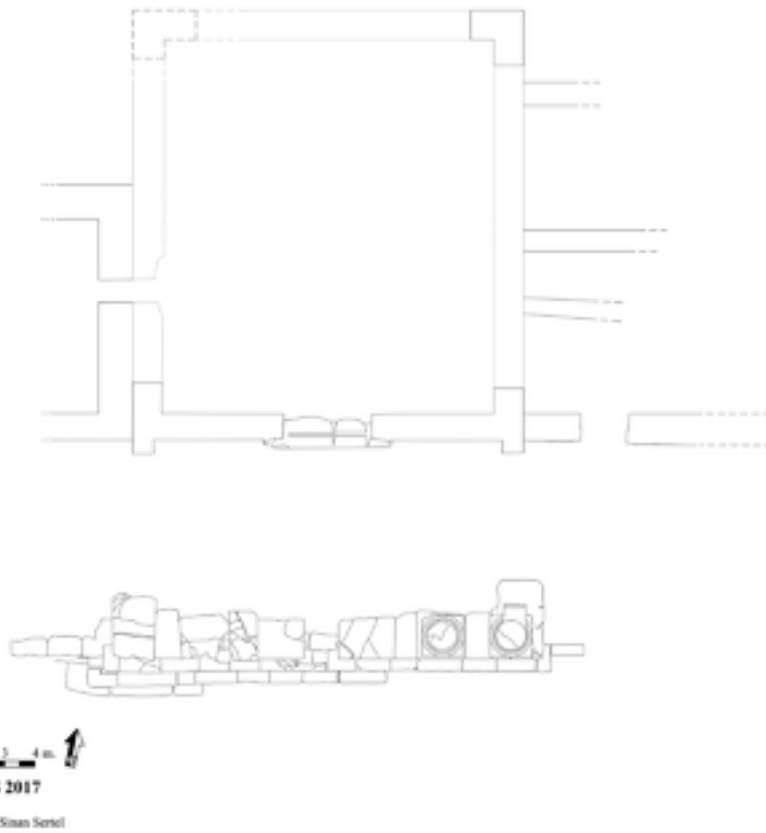


FIG. 9 Temple plan.



FIG. 10  
General view  
of the Temple.



FIG. 11  
Honorary inscription  
for Emperor  
Marcus Aurelius.



## Two New Inscriptions from the Claudian Period at Perge

NİHAL TÜNER ÖNEN\*

### Abstract

This article introduces two Greek inscriptions discovered in the city of Perge. They are related to the Roman Emperor Claudius who ruled from AD 41 to 54. The inscriptions regarding Claudius indicate that the construction activities adopted by the emperor as a general policy were also implemented in the city of Perge. The first inscription includes the dedications for the Emperor Claudius and the Demos by the gymnasiarch Tiberius Iulius Gemellus and his father Tiberius Iulius Anteros who was reported as a freedman of emperors. This inscription is important in that it is the only inscription to date that provides information on citizenship and emancipation obtained during the Tiberian period. Moreover, it introduces two new figures to Perge's prosopography. The privileges obtained during the Tiberian period probably continued into the Claudian period, and the father and son extend their thanks to the emperor as well as the people of Perge by building a structure. It can be asserted that they are related to a structure located on the west street due to its findspot. The other inscription, dated to AD 48, mentions the emperor's name in the nominativus casus. It is important in that it refers directly to a structure built by the emperor or to a letter written by him.

**Keywords:** Perge, Emperor Claudius, dedication inscription, Augustorum libertus

### Öz

Bu makalede, Perge kentinden ele geçmiş iki Hellence yazıt tanıtılmaktadır. Her iki yazıt da MS 41-54 yılları arasında hüküm süren Roma İmparatoru Claudius'a ilişkindir. İmparator Claudius'la alakalı söz konusu belgeler, İmparator'un genel politika olarak benimseydiği imarlaşma faaliyetlerinin Perge kentinde de uygulandığını gösterir. Burada tanıtılan ilk yazıt gymnasiarkhos Tiberius Iulius Gemellus ve babası olduğu anlaşılan, imparator(ların) azatlısı Tiberius Iulius Anteros'un İmparator Claudius ve Demos'a ilişkin ithaflarını içerir. Ayrıca Tiberius Dönemi'nde kazanılan vatandaşlık ve azat edilmeler konusunda bilgi veren kentten ele geçmiş -şu ana kadarki- tek yazıt olması açısından önem taşımaktadır. Aynı zamanda Perge prosopografisine de iki yeni kişi kazandırmaktadır. Olasılıkla Tiberius Dönemi'nde elde edilen ayrıcalıklar Claudius Dönemi'nde de devam etmektedir ve baba-oğul İmparator'a ve Perge halkına olan şükranlarını bir yapıyla sunmaktadır. Yazıtların buluntu yerinden dolayı söz konusu yapının Batı Caddede yer aldığı öne sürülebilir. MS 48 yılına tarihlendirilen ve İmparator'un adını nominativus casus'ta anan diğer yazıt ise doğrudan İmparator'un yaptığı/yaptırdığı bir yapıya ya da yazdığı bir mektuba işaret etmesi açısından önem kazanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Perge, İmparator Claudius, ithaf yazıtı, imparator azatlısı

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This article introduces two Greek inscriptions which were discovered in the city of Perge, where excavations have been carried out under the directorship of the Antalya Museum since 2012.<sup>1</sup> Both inscriptions are related to the Roman Emperor Claudius who ruled from AD 41 to 54. Claudius was declared emperor by his soldiers on 24 January 41 following the assassination of Caligula. He incorporated several new provinces into the empire during the thirteen years of his reign<sup>2</sup> and performed regulatory and reconstruction works in both new and existing provinces.<sup>3</sup> In almost every city in Asia Minor dedications were made, and statues were erected in honor of the emperor<sup>4</sup> for reasons such as obtaining Roman citizenship (*cives Romani*), emancipation (*liberti*), and priesthood in the imperial cult.<sup>5</sup> Dedication, honoring and building inscriptions related to the Emperor Claudius have also been recovered from the city of Perge.<sup>6</sup>

The first of the inscriptions discussed here contains the dedication of Tiberius Iulius Gemellus and Tiberius Iulius Anteros to the Emperor Claudius and the demos. The other inscription, although it cannot be clearly identified due to its missing parts, is believed to be a fragment of a building inscription or an emperor's letter.

## 1- Dedication Inscription for the Emperor Claudius and Demos

This inscription was carved on three blocks of limestone of varying widths. There are four lines of the inscription on each block. The first block has a deep longitudinal crack in the left center. The last line is carved in larger letters. The depth measurements of the blocks include the original dimensions. These blocks were discovered during the excavations of the western street in 2012-2013. The exact location is where the aqueduct meets the eastern wall of the Cornutus Palaestra, but outside of the palaestra. They are now located in an area called the German Barracks (figs. 1-2). Inventory numbers: JB.12.T65 and JB.13.T65.

A) H. 0.60 m; W. 1.13 m; D. 0.32 m; Lh. 0.05-0.07 m.

B) H. 0.60 m; W. 0.93 m; D. 0.32 m; Lh. 0.05-0.07 m.

C) H. 0.60 m; W. 0.37 m; D. 0.67 m; Lh. 0.05-0.06 m.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>Τιβεριῶι Κλαυδίωι Καί[σαρ]ι Σεβαστῶ Γερ ν.μα-<br/>νικῶ καὶ τῶ δημῶ γυμνασίαρχος Τιβέριος<br/>Ίούλιος Τιβερίου υἱὸς Γέμελλος, Τιβέ-<br/>ριος Ίούλιος Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύθερος Αντέρως.</p> | <p>Tiberius Iulius Gemellus, son of Tiberius,<br/>the gymnasiarch, (and) Tiberius Iulius Anteros,<br/>Augustorum libertus, dedicated this to Tiberius<br/>Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus and<br/>demos.</p> |
|--|--|

<sup>1</sup> For epigraphical research and recent publications concerning Perge, see Bru et al. 2016; Tüner-Önen 2018; Alten-Güler 2018; Alten-Güler and Kileci 2018; Tüner-Önen and Arslan 2019.

<sup>2</sup> During the Claudian period, the provinces of Mauretania [42/43], Britannia [43], Judaea [44], Thracia [44/45], Moesia [44/54], Noricum [46] and Alpes Graiae et Poeninae [47] were established in addition to adjacent Lycia [43].

<sup>3</sup> Concerning Claudius' reconstruction program, which he saw as a means of strengthening his position as the emperor and demonstrating his strength, see Osgood 2011, 174. Numerous milestones and inscriptions document that the Emperor Claudius carried out extensive road construction work in both the western and eastern provinces of the empire. On this subject, see Walser 1980; Levick 1990, 167-73; Şahin 2014, 21-22, 76-77.

<sup>4</sup> For detailed information concerning the statues erected in honor of the emperor, see Hildebrandt 2018. For the emperor statue depicting an emperor from the Julio-Claudian dynasty at the theater of Perge, see Akçay-Güven 2018.

<sup>5</sup> As the fourth emperor of Rome, Claudius seems to have been quite enthusiastic about granting Roman citizenship in comparison to other emperors, Cass. Dio LX 17.5; cf. Levick 1990, 164-65. For families granted citizenship during the Julio-Claudian dynasty at Perge, see Şahin 1999, 35, 58, 199, 232, 256, 277; Yılmaz 2016, 264-65, no. 3.

<sup>6</sup> On this subject, see Şahin 1999, 45-49, nos. 26-33; Özdizbay 2012, 178-86, nos. 4-17.

This four-line inscription is approximately two-and-a-half-meters long and probably refers to the dedication of a structure or part of a structure to the Emperor Claudius and the *demos*. Since the structure's name is not recorded in the inscription, it is difficult to say anything about the type of structure dedicated. It is not possible to give an exact date since there is no information as to the emperor's status of *tribunica potestas* or *consul*. Therefore, it is dated between AD 41-54 during the reign of Claudius.

Information about the dedicators is contained between the second and fourth lines of the inscription: Tiberius Iulius Gemellus, the son of Tiberius, was recorded as the gymnasiarch, and Tiberius Iulius Anteros was reported as the freedman of emperors. They probably have a father-son relationship: the son Gemellus and father Anteros.<sup>7</sup>

Both persons are not previously recognized. Tiberius Iulius Gemellus is referred to as the gymnasiarch. Epigraphically, it is known that there were three gymnasiums in Perge from the period of Domitian.<sup>8</sup> However, architecturally, two gymnasium structures can be identified in the city - the Northern Gymnasium / Cornutus Palaestra and the gymnasium integrated into the Southern Bath.<sup>9</sup> Tiberius Iulius Gemellus was probably the gymnasiarch of the Northern Gymnasium, which is dated to the Claudian / Neronian period from the inscriptions documented in the structure.<sup>10</sup>

Tiberius Iulius Anteros is referred to as an imperial freedman.<sup>11</sup> Here it is noteworthy that the "emperors" are indicated in the plural genitive case (Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύθερος / *Augustorum libertus*). The inscription is dedicated to the Emperor Claudius, but there were not two or more emperors ruling together in this period or earlier. Thus, it is not possible for Anteros to have been freed by at least two emperors under their joint rule.<sup>12</sup> There are some arguments that *Augustorum libertus*, which is seen until AD 161, was used to mean "successive" Augusti or "joint" Augustus and Augusta.<sup>13</sup> There is a high probability that Anteros was freed by the Emperor Tiberius and Germanicus Caesar, who was identified by Tiberius as his successor and entitled Caesar.<sup>14</sup> It is known that Germanicus Caesar traveled to the East with the authority of *imperium proconsulare maius* between AD 18-19, and Apollonios, son of Lysimachos, a citizen of Perge, accompanied the candidate emperor during this journey.<sup>15</sup> The *Iulius gens* and *Tiberius praenomen* carried by the father and son indicate that the father Anteros had also

<sup>7</sup> Anteros (Ἀντέροϛ), a combination of the words anti (ἀντι) and Eros (Ἔρωϛ), is not a name known from the city of Perge. For this name, which is documented mostly in Ionian, Karian and Phrygian cities in Anatolia, see *LGPV* VA 35; VB 29 and VC 32 s.v. Ἀντέροϛ. For the common slave-name Anteros, see Solin 1996, 191.

<sup>8</sup> Şahin 1999, 72-80, no. 56; For τριῶν γυμνασίων found in an inscription from the Flavian period, see 88-90, no. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Özdizbay 2012, 26.

<sup>10</sup> For the dating of the Northern Gymnasium to the Neronian period, see Şahin 1999, 51-53, nos. 36-38. For the dating to the Claudian period, see Eck 2000, 655-57; cf. Özdizbay 2012, 183-86, nos. 14-17. About the dating of the Southern Bath-Gymnasium complex to the earliest Vespasian period and documented to contain multiple phases both epigraphically and architecturally, see Özdizbay 2012, 40-42.

<sup>11</sup> For studies on *Augusti Liberti*, see Weaver 1972; Haensch 2006.

<sup>12</sup> For examples of Asia Minor known to be liberated by more than one emperor, cf. Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 28, no. 37; *MAMA* VII 524; Öztürk and Öztürk 2016, 236, no. 3.

<sup>13</sup> About the usage of *Augustorum libertus* (*Augg. lib.*), see Weaver 1972, 64-72; Chantraine 1975.

<sup>14</sup> About the emancipation of Publius Aelius Dionysos, known as Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύθεροϛ from Pergamon, by the Emperor Hadrian and his successor, cf. Meier 2009, 398-99, no. 3; cf. *AÉpigr* (2009) [2012] no. 1385; *SEG* LIX 1428.

<sup>15</sup> Kienast 1990, 79-82; Şahin 1995; 1999, 37-42, no. 23; Jones 1995, 29-33; Özdizbay 2012, 175-76, no. 3. While S. Şahin thinks that Germanicus Caesar might have visited Perge during this trip and presided over the *conventus* held at the Sebaste Agora, C.P. Jones (1995) is skeptical about these possibilities; cf. Özdizbay 2012, 126-27.



been granted citizenship during the Tiberian period.<sup>16</sup> The fact that Tiberius Iulius Gemellus, son of Tiberius, bears the name of the grandson of the Emperor Tiberius also supports this suggestion.<sup>17</sup> Both the liberation and the citizenship of Anteros were probably granted through Germanicus.<sup>18</sup>

The Roman physician Scribonius Largus, who lived in the first half of the 1st century AD and accompanied the Emperor Claudius on his expedition to Britannia in AD 43, describes the treatment of a person named Anteros in his *Compositiones*.<sup>19</sup> Anteros was a *libertus* of the Emperor Tiberius and suffered from prolonged joint pain. Although it is not possible to state with surety from the data presently available that the aforesaid Anteros is identical with the Anteros documented in Perge, the similarities are remarkable in terms of both period and name.

Although no other *Augusti liberti* from the Tiberian period are known from Perge, the freedmen of the emperor from the periods of the Emperor Claudius and Nero are documented. In two inscriptions, Tiberius Claudius Plocamus, known to have been emancipated by the Emperor Claudius, contributed to the establishment of the Imperial Cult in Perge together with C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus.<sup>20</sup> It is known from a building inscription carved on the architrave that a woman named Clara was emancipated by the Emperor Nero, and her husband Tiberius Claudius Atticus was emancipated by the Emperor Claudius.<sup>21</sup> In addition to the two inscriptions found in Perge, inscriptions obtained from the provinces indicate that the emperor's freedmen attained important positions and engaged in liturgical activities for their cities.<sup>22</sup> This inscription, which includes the dedications of Tiberius Iulius Anteros and his son Gemellus to the Emperor Claudius, probably belongs to the construction of a structure for which these people served as *euergesia*. In the city of Perge, the construction activities of the Early Imperial Period until the Emperor Claudius intensified at the intersection of the north-south and east-west streets (the Northern Gymnasium / Cornutus Palaestra, Demetrios-Apollonios Arch).

<sup>16</sup> About the possibility that a person freed by the emperor may have the right to Roman citizenship, like a freeborn, see Dig. II 4. 10, 3. It is known that Tiberius was in contact with many Hellenic and Asian cities during his eastern duties before becoming emperor and pursued their interests in Rome (Suet. *Tib.* VIII). He even tried to get Roman citizenship for some of them (Suet. *Aug.* XL. 3); cf. Bowersock 1965, 77; Holtheide 1983, 52; Dönmez-Öztürk 2010, 55. From Cass. Dio (LVI 33. 3-5), we learn that the Emperor Augustus emphasized in his advice regarding Tiberius and the public that slaves should not be given so much freedom and people should not be granted citizenship rights so as not to fill cities with mobs.

<sup>17</sup> One of the twin-born sons of Livilla and Nero Claudius Drusus, son of the Emperor Tiberius and Vipsania Agrippina, bears this name; cf. Kienast 1990, 83. For the use of the name Gemellus in Asia Minor, see *LGPN VA* 108; VB 89 and VC 96 s.v. Γέμελλος.

<sup>18</sup> About Germanicus Caesar having a cult in Patara (*TAM II* 420) and through him obtaining Roman citizenship (*Cives Romani*) in Lycia, cf. Dönmez-Öztürk 2010, 59; Reitzenstein 2011, 41.

<sup>19</sup> Scrib. *Comp.* 162: Ad utramlibet podagram torpedinem nigram vivam, cum accesserit dolor, subicere pedibus oportet stantibus in litore non sicco, sed quod alluit mare, donec sentiat torpere pedem totum et tibiam usque ad genua. hoc et in praesenti tollit dolorem et in futurum remediatur. hoc Anteros Tiberii Caesaris libertus supra hereditates remediatus est.

<sup>20</sup> Özdizbay 2008, 860-61; for addition, see Onur 2008; cf. Özdizbay 2012, 187-88, nos. 19-20. See also Bru et al. 2016, 71.

<sup>21</sup> Özdizbay 2012, 181, no. 11.

<sup>22</sup> For the liturgical activities of the emperor's freedmen, cf. Boulvert 1974, 216-22; about being charged as *procurator* in the emperor's lands and marble quarries, cf. Takmer 2018. About the construction of a columned hall dedicated to the emperor and the erection of Claudius' statue right in front of the Sebasteion (*TAM II* 177, 178 and 184) in the Lycian city of Sidyma, by Tiberius Claudius Epagathos, freedman and physician of the Emperor Claudius, and his son Tiberius Claudius Livianus, see Takmer 2010, 101-2. The inscriptions indicate kinship, political and religious relations between Perge and Synnada, famous for its marble quarries. About this subject, see Bru et al. 2016, 72-78.

Accordingly, the east-west oriented street where both structures are located constituted the main artery of the city in the 1st century AD with its eastern and western gates opening the city to the outside world.<sup>23</sup> Özdizbay believes that the Sebaste Agora, epigraphically dated to the first quarter of the 1st century AD, might be located to the north of the eastern part of this east-west directional street.<sup>24</sup> The three blocks related to the dedication inscription discussed here were not discovered *in situ*. Since their findspot is where the aqueduct meets the eastern wall of the Cornutus Palaestra, but outside of the palaestra, they are related to a structure located on the west street (maybe directly the Cornutus Palaestra). In case it is accepted as a building inscription related to the Cornutus Palaestra, the argument becomes stronger that the building was built in honor of Claudius, not Nero.<sup>25</sup>

## 2- Inscription Related to the Emperor Claudius

Inscribed pedestal fragment of limestone, broken on all four sides, carries six lines of inscription on the front face. It was found in the soil fill in the middle row of the first place in the portico, east of Septimus Severus / City Square, between the Hellenistic City Gate and the Roman Gate; now in the container number 8-9 (fig. 3).

H. 0.483 m; W. 0.30 m; D. 0.165 m; Lh. 0.04 m

|  |   |
|--|---|
| [Τιβέριος Κλαύ]διος Καί[σαρ]           | Tiberius Claudius Caesar                              |
| 2 [Σεβαστὸς Γε]ρμα[ν]ικὸς [ἄρ]-        | Augustus Germanicus,                                  |
| [χιερεὺς μέγ]ιστος, ὕπ[ατος τὸ δ']     | pontifex maximus, consul for the fourth time, saluted |
| 4 [αὐτοκράτ]ωρ τὸ ἑ[ξ] [δημαρ]-        | emperor for the fifteenth time,                       |
| [χικῆς ἐξουσίας] τὸ η' [πατήρ]         | holding the tribunician power for the eighth time,    |
| 6 [πατρίδος τε]ιμητή]ς <sup>vac.</sup> | father of the fatherland, and censor.                 |

The letters in the preserved central part of the inscribed block, broken on all four sides, indicate that the inscription here relates to the Emperor Claudius. The fact that the numbers regarding his official titles are partially preserved allows for a complete dating. Claudius' consulate for the fourth time, emperorship for the fifteenth time, and holder of tribunician power for the eighth time indicates the year AD 48.<sup>26</sup> In the ordering of the official titles given to emperors, the majority of examples have *pontifex maximus* before *tribunicia potestas*, which are followed by *consul* and *emperor*. In this inscription, it is documented that the order continues as *pontifex maximus - consul - emperor - tribunicia potestas*.<sup>27</sup> Inscriptions obtained from the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Şahin 1999, 25-32; Özdizbay 2012, 97-99.

<sup>24</sup> About the locations of the Sebaste Agora and Bouleuterion, which are documented epigraphically in this period, see Şahin 1999, 36, 171; Özdizbay 2012, 100-8, fig. 116.

<sup>25</sup> Inscriptions are found on the entrance of the gate and on two window lintels on the south side of the Cornutus Palaestra, as well in front of the monumental entrance on the west side of the structure. These document that this structure was built by G. Iulius Cornutus and his wife Caesia Tertulla, and it was dedicated to the emperor. S. Şahin (1999, 51-53, nos. 36-38.) thinks that the emperor mentioned in these inscriptions was Nero who succeeded Claudius, and therefore completes the missing parts of the inscriptions as Σεβαστῷ Νέρωνι. However, W. Eck (2000, 655-57) completes the phrase Σεβαστῷ NE-- as Σεβαστῷ νεῶι in the inscription (Şahin 1999, 52, no. 37) carved on the lintel of the south entrance gate and therefore considers the structure was dedicated to Claudius; cf. Özdizbay 2012, 183-86, nos. 14-17.

<sup>26</sup> Kienast 1990, 90-92.

<sup>27</sup> For examples of the aforesaid ordering, cf. *IGUR I* 28; *IG XII* 6.I. 397; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3269; *SEG XXIII* 675.

eastern provinces regarding the Emperor Claudius indicate that the use of the title Germanicus is prevalent.<sup>28</sup>

Since the emperor's name was indicated in the nominativus casus and the inscription is largely incomplete, it may contain either the emperor's letter or a building inscription. It is known that the Emperor Claudius wrote a letter to the sacred victors and performers of Dionysus at Miletus on the same date as the inscription discussed here.<sup>29</sup>

If the fragment belongs to some construction activity, the following section of the inscription may only contain information about the structure,<sup>30</sup> or the name of the *legatus Augusti*<sup>31</sup> or the *procurator*<sup>32</sup> of the Roman province of Galatia and Pamphylia in charge of the construction.

Epigraphic documents and archaeological evidence indicate that during the reign of the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty (AD 14-68) after Augustus, the urban reconstruction activities accelerated.<sup>33</sup> The inscriptions from the period of the Emperor Claudius are mostly

<sup>28</sup> Kneissl 1969, 34. For the titles of the emperor in the eastern provinces, see also Scramuzza 1940.

<sup>29</sup> *Milet* I.3, 156: [Τι]βέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμ[ανι]||[κ]ός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ η', ὕπατος τ[ὸ δ'] , | αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ιε', πατὴρ πατρίδος, τειμητής, | τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερoneϊκῆς καὶ τεχνεῖ||ταις χαίριν. μεμνημένους ὑμᾶς, ὃν παρεσχόμεν διαφυλάξας τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῆς συνκλήτου δεδομένα δίκαια, | ἀποδέχομαι καὶ πύρασμαι αὐξίν αὐτὰ εὐσεβῶς διακιμένον ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν οἶλλον. τοῦτο δέ μοι παρέστησεν Μάρκος Οὐάλεριος Ἰουλιανὸς οἰκιακὸς μου, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπήνεσα οὕτως διακιμένον πρὸς ὑμᾶς. vac. [ἔρρωσθε?]. See also the letter of AD 47/48 written by the emperor to the *boule* and *demos* of Kos in relation to a structure and festival probably built in his honor (*SEG* LVIII 855) and the letters to the Mytilenians (*IG* XII 2. 63) and to the Samians (*IG* XII 6. 1. 164).

<sup>30</sup> Compare the inscriptions documenting that Claudius had repaired the gymnasium and the temple of Dionysus which were damaged due to age and the earthquake in Samos in AD 47; (*IG* XII 6. 1. 482: *Ti(berius) Claudi(us) Caesar* | *Aug(ustus) Germanicus* | *pon(tifex maximus)* | *tribu(niciae) potestatis* || *VII imp(erator) XV co(n)s(ul) IIII* | *pater patriae censor*) | *gymn(asiu)m* - - - - - | *vetus(tate et terrae motu di) vrutum sumptibus suis restituit*. || [Τιβέριος]ς Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ | [Σεβαστ]ός Γερμανικός, | [ἀρχιερε]ύς vac. μέγιστος, | [δημαρχ]ικῆς ἐξουσία[ς] || [τὸ ἔβδο]μον, αὐτ[οκράτωρ] | [τὸ πεντε]κα[ιδέκατον], | [ὑπατος τὸ τέταρτον], | [πατὴρ πατρίδος, τειμητής] | - - - - -; Freis 1985 (cf. *IG* XII 6. 1. 483): Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος | Καίσαρ Σεβαστός | Γερμανικός ἀρχιερεὺς | μέγιστος δη[μαρχικῆς] || ἐξουσία[ς] τὸ ἔβδομον | αὐτοκρ[άτωρ] | τὸ πεντε[καιδέκατον] | ὕπατος [τὸ τέταρτον] | πατὴρ [πατρίδος] || τειμητής[ς, τὸν ναὸν] | τοῦ Διο[νύσου] | [ἀρχαιο]τήτι καί | [σεισμῶ] γενομένῳ | [κατεφθα]ρμένον || [ἀποκατέ]στησε].

<sup>31</sup> Since the inscription of Perge is dated to AD 48, it is possible that the governor of the Roman province of Pamphylia and Galatia on this date was mentioned here. However, there is no clear information about the governor(s) who served between T. Helvius Basila, known for certain to be the governor between the years AD 37-39, and M. Annius Afrinus, the governor between the years AD 49-54. On this subject, see Sherk 1980, 975-76; Rémy 1989, 140-41, 172.

<sup>32</sup> The inscription found in Attaleia, which states that the Emperor Claudius restored the roads in Pamphylia through his procurator M. Arruntius Aquila, constitutes a good example of this. (*IGRR* III 768: *Ti. Claudius Drusi(f)j Cae lsar Aug. Germ[an]i|cus, pontif(ex) maxim[us], | tr(ibunicia) po[ti](estate) X, | imp(erator) XIX, p(ater) p(atriciae), c(o)n(s)ul del[et]sig(atus) V, [p]er M. Ar[ru]ntium | Aquil[am] procur(atorem) suom [suum] | vias refecit. | Τι[βέ]ρι(ος) Κλαύδιος | Δρούσιου υἱὸς Καίσαρ || Σεβαστός Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μ[έ]γιστος, δημα[ρ]χικῆς ἐξουσίας [τ]ὸ | ι', αὐτοκράτω[ρ] τὸ η', || πατὴρ πατρίδ[ος], [ὑπατος] | [ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ ε'], | [διὰ Μ. Ἀρρουντίου Ἀκουίαν] | [τὸν ἐπίτροπον ἑαυτοῦ] | [ὁδοὺς ἀποκατέστησε]). For L. Pupius Praesens, who was honored in Perge as the *procurator* of the Emperors Claudius and Nero in the Roman Province of Galatia, see Şahin 1999, 43-44, no. 24; Abuagla 2012, 221-26.*

<sup>33</sup> Architrave fragments were recovered around the side street separating the 11th and 12th insulas of the north-south oriented colonnaded street. An inscription dedicated to the Emperor Tiberius and the inscription containing the name in nominativus casus of Titus Helvius Basila, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of the Roman province of Galatia, indicate two distinct structures close to the intersection of the north-south and east-west oriented streets. About the opinion of S. Şahin that these inscriptions were connected with the construction of the north-south oriented street and the Sebaste Agora, which he thinks opens onto this street, see Şahin 1999, 33-35, no. 21; 36, no. 22. For an opposite opinion, see Özdizbay 2012, 135-36. Another inscription dated to the Tiberian period, reused in the water channel 200 meters north of the Hellenistic Towers and in the center of the north-south oriented colonnaded street, also mentions the *Sebaste Agora* (Şahin 1995; 1999, 37-43, no. 23; Jones 1995). For the Neronian period structuring, see Özdizbay 2012, 138-39. The honoring in Perge of Sextus Afranius Burrus and Lucius Pupius Praesens, procurators of the *Provinciae Galatiae et Pamphyliae* in the Claudian and Neronian periods by Tiberius Claudius Plocamus, freedman of the Emperor Claudius and priest of the Imperial Cult (Onur 2008; Özdizbay 2012, 187-88, nos. 19-20), can be associated with the construction activities that increased during this period. Concerning

found on the architrave blocks, whose architectural structure cannot be determined. These blocks were mostly discovered to the south of the Hellenistic Towers. From this, S. Şahin suggested that the Hellenistic city wall on the southern side of the Hellenistic Towers was demolished to expand the urban area during the reign of the Emperor Claudius and to form a new city center.<sup>34</sup> Architrave fragments found in this area and evaluated by Şahin as related to the same monument, but determined to belong to archaeologically different structures,<sup>35</sup> are significant. For they indicate reconstruction activities in the Tiberian, Claudian or Neronian period. In addition to these architrave inscriptions, an inscription recorded by Lanckoroński, carved on four architrave blocks found near the Late City Gate but today lost, documented that the people of Perge honored the Emperor Claudius and built a structure in his honor.<sup>36</sup> Although not clearly identified, four inscriptions could be related to the Emperor Claudius and belong to the Northern Gymnasium-Cornutus Palaestra located on the northern edge of the colonnaded street extending east to west. Construction activities there during the 1st century AD are known both epigraphically and architecturally.

As a result, the two documents introduced add to our existing knowledge concerning the city of Perge during the Claudian Period. It is clearly documented epigraphically that the settlement area on the *acropolis* began to spread along a flat area extending towards the south, especially along the east-west columned street, from the first half of the 1st century A.D. The inscriptions regarding Claudius indicate that the construction activities adopted by the emperor as a general policy were also implemented in the city of Perge. The first inscription is important in that it is the only inscription to date that provides information on citizenship and emancipation obtained during the Tiberian period. Moreover, it introduces two new figures to Perge's prosopography. The privileges obtained during the Tiberian period probably continued in the Claudian period, and the father and son extend their thanks to the emperor as well as the people of Perge by building a structure. The other inscription which mentions the emperor's name in nominativus casus, is important in that it refers directly to a structure built by the emperor or to a letter written by him.

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the honoring of L. Papius Praesens by the *demos* and the *boule* in Iconium for his support in the reconstruction activities, see *CIG* 3991 (= *ILS* 8848 = *IGRR* III 263); cf. Şahin 1999, 43-44. Concerning the debate over Pamphylia's involvement in the province of Galatia until the reign of the Emperor Vespasian and the clarification of the issue through the two aforesaid inscriptions, see Özdizbay 2012, 16-19. For Perge's first neocorate title given by the Emperor Vespasian, see Baz 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Şahin 1999, 47-49, 116. Özdizbay (2012, 138) believes that these inscriptions were used as spolia in the city wall which was repaired and expanded against the Goths and Sassanian attacks in the 3rd century AD.

<sup>35</sup> Şahin 1999, 45-49, nos. 28-30; for the completion proposal, see no. 31. On the archaeological discrepancy in the architrave fragments in question, see Özdizbay 2012, 137.

<sup>36</sup> von Lanckoroński 2005, 165, no. 30; Şahin 1999, 48-49, no. 33. S. Şahin claimed the structure in question might have belonged to the Ornamental Gate between the Hellenistic Towers. However, S. Bulgurlu (1999, 67) proved archaeologically that this was not possible.

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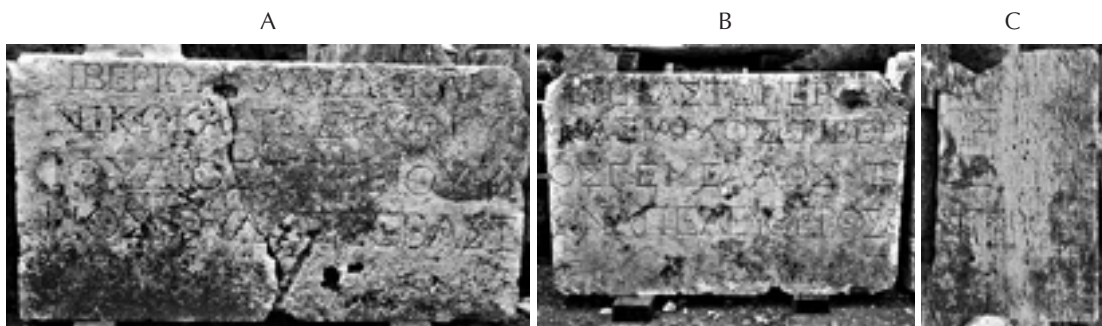


FIG. 1 Dedication inscription for the Emperor Claudius and the Demos.

|   |
|---|
| Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Καί[σαρ]η Σεβαστῶ Γερ ν.μα-<br>νικῶ καὶ τῶ δημῶ γυμνασίαρχος Τιβέριος<br>Ἰούλιος Τιβερίου υἱὸς Γέμελλος, Τιβέ-<br>ριος Ἰούλιος Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύθερος Αντέρως |
|---|

FIG. 2 Transcription of Inscription 1.



FIG. 3 Inscription related to the Emperor Claudius.



# A Unique Roman Folding Knife Handle with Eagle Ornament from Philadelphia in Cilicia

HANDEGÜL CANLI\*

## Abstract

Numerous artefacts were discovered inside a pit located in the necropolis of ancient Philadelphia, which belonged to Cilicia from time to time. This study suggests that the pit might be a votive deposit of some kind with objects placed within it in a planned sequence. The folding knife, which is one of the many metal finds discovered in this pit and the subject of this study, is a unique find never recorded before in Asia Minor. Its handle bears an eagle figure, which also makes it unique. Folding knives are found at Roman garrison sites in Germania and Britannia, and the figures depicted on their handles vary. The Philadelphia folding knife is associated with military iconography and also with the cult of the dead.

**Keywords:** Philadelphia, Gökçeseki, Roman Imperial period, metal object, folding knife, eagle

## Öz

Zaman zaman Cilicia sınırları içinde kalmış olan Philadelphia antik kenti nekropolisinde bulunan bir çukur içerisinde çok sayıda arkeolojik buluntu ele geçmiştir. Planlı bir şekilde yerleştirilmiş buluntularından dolayı bu çukurun bir tür adak çukuru olabileceğini düşünülmektedir. Bu çukur içerisindeki çok sayıdaki metal buluntudan biri olan ve bu çalışmanın konusu olan katlanır kesici, Küçük Asya sınırlarında daha önce yayınlanmış örneği bulunmayan ünik bir buluntudur. Bıçağın formunun yanı sıra sap üzerinde bulunan kartal figürü sebebiyle de üniktir. Katlanır kesicilerin benzerleri Germania ve Britannia'da bulunan Roma askeri yerleşimlerinden ele geçmiştir. Ama bunların saplarında bulunan figürler farklılık göstermektedir. Philadelphia katlanır kesicisinin sapında bulunan kartal figürü ise askeri ve ölü kültürü ile ilişkili bir ikonografiyle ilişkilidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Philadelphia, Gökçeseki, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi, metal buluntu, katlanır kesici, kartal

This study will focus on the typology and stylistic assessment of the folding knife found in a pit<sup>1</sup> at the necropolis of Philadelphia (Ermenek, Gökçeseki) in Cilicia.<sup>2</sup> It will also look into its significance as a unique object in Asia Minor.

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<sup>1</sup> Aşkın et al. 2015, 357.

<sup>2</sup> The remains of ancient Philadelphia are located in Cilicia at the time period in which the folding knife is dated, see Ramsay 1960, 414; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 378. The name Philadelphia is associated with Antiochus IV. In 38 BCE Caligula gave Antiochus IV, the king of Commagene, Cilicia Tracheia and parts of Lycaonia. Antiochus IV subsequently founded the city and named it after his wife Iotape Philadelphos.

Folding knives work on the same principle as the modern straight razor and feature decorative elements on the handle. They consist of a handle and a moveable blade. Hence the blade component can fold in and out. A pin is used to connect the handle with the blade. These are rare discoveries among Roman metal objects.

The handle of the Philadelphia example is complete, while the blade part is broken (figs. 1-2). The blade is made of iron and corroded so is fused in a folded position inside its slot in the handle. The bronze handle section features an eagle with folded wings perched on a column. It is so far the only known example with an eagle on these artefacts. The column underneath the eagle is twisted and separated from the eagle figure by the short base on which the eagle stands. The vertical component behind the column is decorated with circles that have dots in their center. There is a notch behind the eagle's head and at the tip of the column made to affix the iron component. The slot of the blade extends up to the back of the eagle's head. Fully unfolded, the blade must have been 19 cm long.<sup>3</sup>

The handle was produced by the casting technique, and polished and retouched after casting. The frontal eagle sitting on the twisted column and the frame adorned with circular grooves behind it have been schematically created with parallel lines on the wings and deep and cross-section lines on the body. The iris ring and pupil of the eagle's eye are indicated with deep circles.

## The Iconography of the Eagle Figurine

Firstly, an iconographic examination of the Philadelphia object will be carried out. The chapter on bird species in Pliny's book *Naturalis Historia* describes eagles as the most noble, powerful and striking of all in the bird kingdom.<sup>4</sup> This is probably why the eagle became one of the most significant attributes of the great god Zeus/Jupiter in the Greek and Roman pantheons.<sup>5</sup>

As the identifying symbol of Jupiter, eagle depictions are frequently found on votive and tomb stelai. In the Roman world, the eagle was regarded as the "symbol and emissary of the *apotheosis* after death."<sup>6</sup> In this context, eagles would be flown over the emperor's funerary fire as an element of the cult of the dead.<sup>7</sup> Besides those for the ruling class, eagles are also seen on depictions on the funerary altars of citizens.<sup>8</sup>

With control over a wide area in the air, it is evident why this bird is closely associated with Jupiter, god of the skies and the sky itself. Eagle depictions are seen frequently as the symbol of Jupiter, next to representations of deified emperors as well as a symbol related to the iconography of the cult of the dead.

During the Roman period, eagles were depicted solitarily with open or folded wings, often perched on spheres, on deer/bull/ram heads, or on columns/pedestals/podiums. Depictions of eagles perched on mountains are also found on *agalmas*.<sup>9</sup> The eagle statue at the summit of

<sup>3</sup> Its dimensions are - length: 9.6 cm, width: 3.1 cm; eagle length: 3.4 cm, width: 1.6 cm; pedestal length: 5.8 cm, width: 0.7 cm. Its weight is 75.10 gr.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 10.3.1.

<sup>5</sup> Toynbee 1973, 240.

<sup>6</sup> Hünemörder 1996, 115.

<sup>7</sup> Hünemörder 1996, 115 writes that "an eagle flies forth, soaring with the flames into the sky; the Romans believe that this eagle carries the soul of the emperor from the earth up to heaven..."

<sup>8</sup> Toynbee 1973, 242.

<sup>9</sup> Weiss 1985, 29, figs. 5, 8.

Mount Nemrud and the eagle statues positioned on the grand column protecting the Karakuş and Sesönk tumuli<sup>10</sup> in Commagene are some of the most well-known examples.

As for the connection between the eagle symbol and troops and legions, it is rather significant that a legion under the command of Caius Marius in 104 BCE adopted the eagle figure as their primary emblem.<sup>11</sup> Silver or gold in color, the legion's emblems portrayed eagles on a flash of lightning with arched wings.<sup>12</sup> Taking a closer look at Roman historic reliefs, the eagle depictions in the *signa* that dominate the background of imperial scenes like an *adventus*, *adlocutio* or *Rex Datus* reconfirm the significance of this symbol in the immortalization of victories.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, in association with Jupiter, the eagle has symbolic meaning in different contexts ranging from the sky to *apotheosis* and legion emblems.

### An Assessment of the Folding Knife with Reference to Similar Examples

Whether purchased or self-made, blades had personal value to their owners. Thus, it is highly possible that the depictions on the handles were chosen specifically. Handles feature various compositions including stylized animal depictions, erotic-themed human figures, gladiator duels, and male busts. However, the only known example of a folding knife with an eagle figure is this one from Philadelphia. It is argued that the three-dimensional figures seen on blade handles date back to the 1st century CE. However, there is still considerable debate on the subject.<sup>14</sup> L. Vass reports that the use of such blades continued up until the 4th century CE.<sup>15</sup>

In terms of form and mechanism, the only comparable examples of the Philadelphia folding knife have been discovered in Germania and Britannia. All similar examples of the form feature different figures on the blade handle, but none bears an eagle. The items discovered at the Roman settlement of Trier in Germania can be mentioned as examples of folding knives. Two specimens of folding knives found there feature erotic compositions on their handles. Like the Philadelphia example, there are cross-hatch lines which border the frame where the figures end. The Trier examples are dated to the Hadrianic period.<sup>16</sup> The folding knife featuring a stylized dog-head figure<sup>17</sup> and the folding knife handle featuring an animal figure found at Augusta Raurica in Germania originate from the military sector. They are dated to the mid-2nd century CE.<sup>18</sup> All of these examples have figured handles made of bronze and blades made of iron. It is known that ivory was also used for the figured section on this folding knife type. An ivory folding knife from the Roman settlement of Köngen in Germania features a figure in the form of an elderly, bearded male bust. It has been dated to the late 2nd century to early 3rd century CE based on contextual finds.<sup>19</sup> Considering the stylistic comparisons of the figure, it has been suggested that this could be the philosopher Chrysippus.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Blömer and Winter 2011, 198-200, 292-94.

<sup>11</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 10.5.16.

<sup>12</sup> Toynebee 1973, 241.

<sup>13</sup> Koeppel 1986, 66, 68-70, figs. 32, 36.

<sup>14</sup> Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Vass 2011, 298.

<sup>16</sup> Faust 2004, 190-91, cat. nos. 68-69.

<sup>17</sup> Riha 1986, 30, pl. 11, no. 87.

<sup>18</sup> Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 115, S213.

<sup>19</sup> Rüschi 1981, 542, fig. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Rüschi 1981, 543.

The figure of a hound hunting a rabbit is featured on a folding knife found in the Roman settlement of Upham in Hampshire, Britannia. There are no available suggestions about the date of this piece. However, the discussion of this object mentions the existence of a similar folding knife featuring a hound hunting a rabbit dated to the 4th century CE among the finds from Winchester.<sup>21</sup> Another solitary example from Britannia with a different composition was found at Venta Silurum. Contextually dated to the 3rd century CE, the handle of this folding knife portrays two gladiators in battle.<sup>22</sup> Another folding knife handle depicting a hound hunting a rabbit from Britannia was found in Springhead. Based on the motif featured on the handle of the folding knife from a Roman-period context, it has been suggested that this object was intended for cult practices.<sup>23</sup>

Considering the concentration of different examples of folding or fixed blades in the same region, it might be that these items were predominantly produced at or for the legionary and other military bases from Germania and Britannia.<sup>24</sup> Blade handles with similar forms have been identified in military strongholds in Germania and Britannia. However, there are no reported similar examples from Asia Minor. It might be, of course, that these items only seem to predominate in military regions because most detailed reports on such metal finds are for these very regions. Even so, the existence of this unique example from Asia Minor of a possibly military-related item found at Philadelphia raises some interesting possibilities. It is well-known that small Roman garrisons and units were deployed in mountainous areas and even into the hinterland of the Euphrates *limes*.<sup>25</sup> Could the find represent a military presence of a serving or retired soldier at Philadelphia?

## Context and Dating

The find was discovered inside a pit at the necropolis of Philadelphia along with several different objects.<sup>26</sup> Considering the entire context, the majority of these diverse finds date from the 1st to 3rd century CE.<sup>27</sup> The fact that the finds were arranged in an orderly fashion before refilling the pit could be related to the campaign of Shapur in 260 CE which caused tremendous destruction in the region.<sup>28</sup> Following the closure of the pit, the area was used as a necropolis for a long time, as is evidenced by the nearby rock tombs and sarcophagi.

In this context, in a historical evaluation of the area from which the aforementioned folding knife originated, the attachment of Isauria (including Philadelphia) and Lycaonia to the province of Cilicia stands out as a significant event.<sup>29</sup> As a matter of fact, Cilicia's significance grew especially around the middle to second half of the 2nd century CE. During and after this period it enjoyed a period of prosperity seen across the Empire.<sup>30</sup> The downfall of the region coincides with the campaign of Shapur in the second half of the 3rd century CE.

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<sup>21</sup> Worrell 2002, 91-92, fig. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Bartus and Grimm 2010, 323.

<sup>23</sup> Schuster et al. 2011, 258, cat. no. 242.

<sup>24</sup> Kauffmann-Heinimann 1998, 32.

<sup>25</sup> Kurt 2018, 818.

<sup>26</sup> These objects, which are studied in other publications, include various pottery forms, coins, bone objects and busts.

<sup>27</sup> Canlı 2019, 80.

<sup>28</sup> Dodgeon and Lieu 1994, 49-50.

<sup>29</sup> Ramsay 1960, 418.

<sup>30</sup> Ergin 2009, 21-22.

Consequently, with regards to both the analogical comparisons and the context assessment, it is possible to date the folding knife from Philadelphia to the 2nd-3rd century CE.

## Assessment and Conclusion

As a typical Roman object, opinions on the function of the folding knives with figured adornments are quite consistent. According to E. Riha, they were most often used as razors.<sup>31</sup> G. C. Boon names them as *cultellus tonsorius* (barber's small knife), suggesting that they were used as razors, or as *onychisterion lepton* (light nail trimmer). They should be regarded as small, multi-purpose pocketknives like their modern-day counterparts.<sup>32</sup> Considering their dimensions and fragility, they must have been used as razors or pocket knives. Besides everyday use, some scholars suggest that those examples with superior quality handles may have been used solely for cultic purposes.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, it is very likely that these finely crafted and fragile blades could have been used for specific rituals. The general class of examples, such as that from Philadelphia, is in fact associated with Roman troops and fits in with the form suggested for razors. However, it also bears features which seem suitable for cultic purposes.

A possible military origin for the Philadelphia folding knife should not be discounted. In fact, it is known that conflicts in the region continued, even in the period of prosperity in the 2nd century CE. There were further military interventions during this period. In any case, three of the limited number of legions - namely Legio I Isaura Sagittaria, Legio II Isaura and Legio III Isaura - were stationed along the imperial frontier during the Roman period, thus in the region which included Philadelphia. This confirms military activity in this area prior to the establishment of the legions.<sup>34</sup> If there was no obvious threat to the legion before the Diocletianic period, then there was no need for a permanent military presence there. It was usual for members of the Roman military, other than those stationed at the legionary bases and the forts along the frontier system, to be deployed and travel within the wider frontier zone. Although military equipment used at various locations along the imperial frontier featured local characteristics, there was a basic standard in production. This is shown from the recovery of similar examples in quite distant areas. A possible explanation for the discovery of such solitary military-related and personalized finds in unexpected places, that is, in a non-military context, is that they arrived with a serving or veteran soldier.

Future archaeological excavations could change our knowledge regarding the uniqueness of this example from Philadelphia and in Asia Minor as a whole. However, from a representational perspective, it is currently clear that the majority of similar examples originate from the western provinces of the empire, particularly Germania and Britannia. The interaction of these regions with Asia Minor is predominantly of a military nature.<sup>35</sup> The discovery and identification of this unique folding knife within its context is therefore an important find for its contribution to local archaeological research and studies on metal objects.

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<sup>31</sup> Riha 1986, 28.

<sup>32</sup> Boon 1991, 23.

<sup>33</sup> Vass 2011, 298.

<sup>34</sup> Kurt 2018, 819-20.

<sup>35</sup> For example, note the finds related to European military-related brooches - a cross-bow type and an Aucissa type - and other materials found at the Roman fort at Gordion; see Bennett and Goldman 2009, 36-37.



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FIG. 1  
Folding blade.

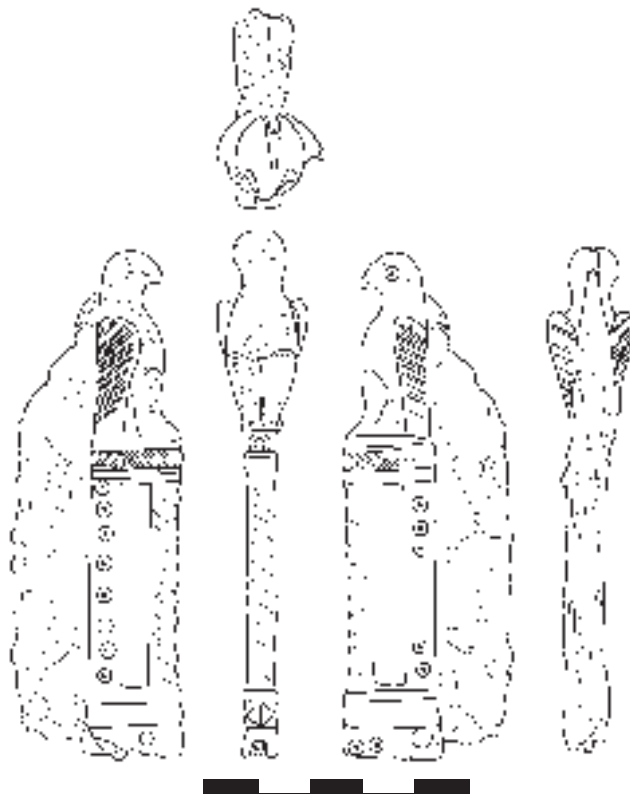


FIG. 2  
Drawing of folding blade  
(drawing by H. Canlı).

# A New Honorific Inscription from Blaundos: Tiberius Claudius Lucius, the Priest of Dionysos Kathegemon

ŞENKAL KİLEÇİ – BİROL CAN\*

## Abstract

This article introduces the Hellenic honorific inscription on a pedestal found in 2018 in the excavation of the ancient city of Blaundos, within the borders of the village of Sülümenli in the Ulubey district of Uşak province. The pedestal is carved with a border frame around it and was unearthed in the excavation of the main street of the city. It bears an inscription of thirty lines on its front face and a Ludus Duodecim (XII) Scriptorum on its back face, which is understood to have been made later. The inscription provides information about a man named Tiberius Claudius Lucius, a builder, patriot, and benefactor of the city as well as a priest of Dionysos Kathegemon. Further, it records significant information concerning the construction activities he undertook. The erection of the statue was supervised by his nephew Aurelius Claudius Alexandros, of equestrian rank, and the finalization of this task together with the various construction activities openly stated in the inscription were supervised by Aurelius Claudius Alexandros who has the same name as his father, the nephew of Lucius. This inscription is significant for recording information about both the military titles and construction activities in the city. It is dated after AD 212 because of the name Aurelius.

**Keywords:** Blaundos, Dionysos Kathegemon, horreum, eleaboleion, Ludus XII Scriptorum

## Öz

Bu makale Uşak ilinin Ulubey ilçesine bağlı Sülümenli köyü sınırları içinde yer alan Blaundos antik kenti kazılarında 2018 yılında bulunan bir heykel kaidesi üzerindeki Hellence onurlandırma yazıtını ele almaktadır. Dört tarafı bir çerçeveye işlenmiş olan kaide kentin ana caddesi üzerinde gerçekleştirilen kazılar sırasında açığa çıkarılmıştır. Ön yüzünde otuz satırlık yazıt, arka yüzünde ise daha sonradan yapıldığı anlaşılan Ludus Duodecim (XII) Scriptorum yer almaktadır. Yazıtta, *Dionysos Kathegemon* rahipliğini üstlenmesinin yanı sıra *ktistes*, vatansever ve kentin hayırhahı olarak unvanlandırılan Tiberius Claudius Lucius'un heykel dikimine ilişkin bilgilere ilaveten kentte sürdürdüğü inşaa faaliyetleri hakkında önemli bilgiler yer almaktadır. Söz konusu kişinin heykel dikiminin atlı sınıfı mensubu olan yeğeni Aurelius Claudius Alexandros tarafından üstlenildiği ve bu işin tamama kavuşturulması ile yazıtta açıkça belirtilen çeşitli inşaa faaliyetlerinin de yeğenin oğlu olan ve babasıyla aynı adı taşıyan *centurio* Aurelius Claudius Alexandros tarafından üstlenildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Yazıt gerek kentteki askeri unvanlara dair gerekse kent mimarisine ilişkin bilgiler içermesi açısından önem taşımakta olup Aurelius adından ötürü MS 212 sonrasına tarihlendirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Blaundos, Dionysos Kathegemon, horreum, eleaboleion, Ludus XII Scriptorum

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Blaundos is an ancient city (fig. 1) located in inner western Anatolia in the Ulubey district of Uşak province of Turkey. It is mentioned in the ancient sources and epigraphical materials with some orthographic differences. Diodorus Siculus (XIII.104.6) writes the name of the city as Βλαῦδα (Blauda), while Strabo (XII.5.2) as *Βλαῦδος* (Blaudos), Claudius Ptolemaios (V.2.25) as Βλέανδρος (Bleandros) and Stephanus Byzantinus as *Βλαῦδος* (Blaudos). An inscription found in Tralleis records the ethnic name as Μλανδέων,<sup>1</sup> in nominativo Μλανδεῖς, which suggests the name of the city as Μλαῦνδος (Mlaundos). According to Diodorus Siculus (XIII.104.6), Pharnabazos the satrap received the Milesian democrats who had fled from Miletus after the oligarchs overthrew the democracy. After giving each of them a gold stater, he settled them in Blauda, a fortress in Lydia.<sup>2</sup> This historical narrative carries the earliest date of ancient Blaundos to the 5th century BC. The city was used as a kleros-type settlement for Macedonian soldiers under the Seleucids, and its name began to be mentioned as ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ from the Hellenistic period onwards.<sup>3</sup> Both coins and inscriptions indicate that this title was used throughout the period of the Roman Empire. A. Filges conducted field surveys in 1999, 2000, and 2002 and found that inscriptions and archeological/architectural ruins indicate that the city experienced its brightest



FIG. 1 Blaundos general view (Excavation Archive, Photo by C. Boyoğlu).

<sup>1</sup> *SEG* XXXIX 1142. For the orthographic change between Βλα- and Μλα-, see Arkwright 1918, 56 n. 80; le Rider 1990, 697-98. For the other forms of the city's name see Filges 2006, 17-18; Can 2017, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Filges 2006, 17-18. See also Sankaya 2019, 241 n. 1039.

<sup>3</sup> Filges 2006, 333-34, no. 22.

era during the 1st century AD. The epigraphic data from this century record the names of important individuals and benefactors of the city.<sup>4</sup>

The inscribed blocks were not discovered *in situ*, since they were material gathered together for the construction of buildings in later periods.<sup>5</sup> They had been moved from their original locations and from buildings that had become ruins. However, a marble statue pedestal was recovered in the course of excavations initiated in 2018 on the main street, which extends nearly east-west through the city center. The statue pedestal provides important information, both from the content of the inscription itself and regarding the game board carved in its rear face indicating its secondary use.

### Front Face: Honorific Inscription of Tiberius Claudius Lucius

The four vertical surfaces of the marble pedestal are profiled. The vertical pedestal extends from top to bottom. Under the flat molding measuring 24 cm high, a recessed area and a frame with a *cyma reversa* profile with a height of 59 cm was carved. The area allocated for the inscription is within the frame and was designed to be approximately 109 cm high, with a space 3.24 cm wide at the top and 3.73 cm wide at the bottom. These measurements vary on the other surfaces. The inscription, which ends with an empty space before the inscription frame of 10 cm, consists of 30 lines. Lines 16 and 17 of the inscription, written in highly decorated characters, extend onto the frame (fig. 2). While all four surfaces of the block exhibit elaborate craftsmanship (although the upper and lower surfaces have relatively smooth edge surfaces), the central area was left slightly coarser. This may be defined as roughly processed *anathyrosis*. However, neither a dowel hole or drainage channel is found on the lower or upper surface (figs. 3, 4).



FIG. 2 Inscription overview (Excavation Archive).

<sup>4</sup> Filges 2006, 23-24, 321-50; Can 2017, 77.

<sup>5</sup> For the published inscriptions see Filges 2006, 321-50.





FIG. 3 Top of the pedestal block (Excavation Archive).



FIG. 4 Base of the pedestal block (Excavation Archive).

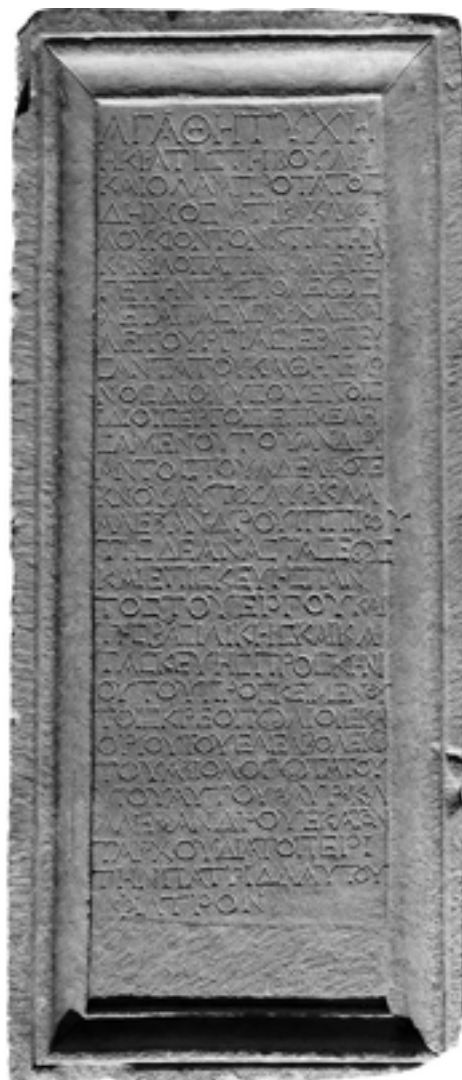
**Findspot:** Main Street

**Inventory No:** BL'18.AC.1

**Measurements:** H.: 129 cm; W.: 52 (upper) - 56 (lower) cm; D.: 49.5 cm; Lh.: 1-3.5 cm.

**Date:** After AD 212

- Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ·  
 ἢ κρατίστη βουλή  
 καὶ ὁ λαμπρότατος  
 δῆμος Τιβ(έριον) Κλαοῦ(διον)  
 5 Λούκιον τὸν κτίστην  
 καὶ φιλόπατριν καὶ εὐερ-  
 γέτην τῆς πόλεως  
 μετὰ πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ  
 λειτουργίας, ἱερατεύ-  
 10 σαντα τοῦ Καθηγεμό-  
 νος Διονύσου ἐν τοῖς  
 ἰδίοις ἔργοις, ἐπιμελη-  
 σαμένου τοῦ ἀνδρι-  
 άντος τοῦ ἀδελφοτέ-  
 15 κνου αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Κλα(υδίου)  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἰππικοῦ·  
 τῆς δὲ ἀναστάσεως  
 καὶ ἐπισκευῆς παντὸς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ  
 20 τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ κα-  
 τασκευῆς προσκηνί-  
 ου τοῦ προσκειμένου





τοῖς κρεοπωλίοις καὶ  
 ὀρίου τοῦ ἐλεαβολείου  
 τοῦ ἀξιολογώτατου  
 25 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Κλ(αυδίου)  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἑκατον-  
 τάρχου· διὰ τὸ περὶ  
 τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ  
 30 φίλτρον.

4-5: ΤΙΒ·ΚΛ·ΑΟΥ | ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝ *lapis*; 15-16: ΑΥΡ·ΚΛΑ | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ *lapis*; 25-26: ΑΥΡ·ΚΛ· | ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ *lapis*.

Translation: *To good fortune! The mightiest boule and magnificent demos (set up the statue of) Tiberius Claudius Lucius, because of his patriotism, in his own works, a builder, a patriot and a benefactor of the city, who, after having served in all the magistracies and services, served as the priest of Dionysos Kathegemon. His nephew Aurelius Claudius Alexandros, of equestrian rank, has supervised the erection of his statue. The erection and restoration of the entire work and the basilica, and the construction of the proscenium which is adjacent to the butcher shops, and the construction of the storeroom of the olives was supervised by his most esteemed son, the centurion Aurelius Claudius Alexandros.*

L. 4ff.: It is understood from the *nomen gentilicium* that Lucius' ancestral line acquired citizenship during the reign of the Emperor Tiberius Claudius (AD 41-54) or Nero (AD 54-68).<sup>6</sup> Neither Tiberius Claudius Lucius and his family nor any name of Lucius had been encountered before in the city and in the city's area of sovereignty. Lucius was honored by the *boule* and *demos*. Other than being identified as builder, patriot and *euergetes* of the city, he had served as a priest of Dionysos Kathegemon after fulfilling all the magistracies and his services (*leiturgiai*).<sup>7</sup> Because of the works he carried out in the city, he was deemed worthy of the title *ktistes*, which means here "builder/restorer" rather than "founder."<sup>8</sup> Even though all of the construction activities he performed in the city are not as yet completely known, the construction of *proscenium* in front of the butcher shops and the construction of the storeroom of the olives may be ranked among these works. However, the restoration of the basilica was carried out by the son of his nephew, as recorded in lines 18-23. The expression ἐν τοῖς | ἰδίοις ἔργοις between lines 11 and 12 provides information about the place where the statue(s) of Tiberius Claudius Lucius was erected. Therefore, his statue(s) should have been erected in "his own works/constructions," on that which he built or restored through his nephew's son, Aurelius Claudius Alexandros. Since there is insufficient information concerning him and his family, the question of why his nephew and his nephew's son took over these tasks is unclear. It could be that Lucius did not have any children, although this is only a possibility. Just as it is for Lucius, information concerning his nephew and his nephew's son Aurelius Claudius Alexandros is insufficient. However, records previously obtained from the city and its surrounding area record

<sup>6</sup> For more detail about having *civitas Romana* in Claudian and Neronian period, see Holtheide 1983, 55-57.

<sup>7</sup> For details see Quaß 1993, 334-46; Dmitriev 2005, 16-18.

<sup>8</sup> During and after the Hellenistic Period the title κτίστης (founder) was given as an honorific title; see Prehn 1922, 2083; Frateantonio and Eder 1999. During the Roman Imperial Period, however, this title was used mostly to mean builder/restorer, see Robert 1965, 213 n. 3; Kuhn 2017, 329 and n. 60.

the name Alexandros. Based upon two coins dated to AD 211 and between AD 211-217, it is understood that there was a ruler (ἄρχων) named Tiberius Claudius Alexandros.<sup>9</sup> Based on two other coins dated between AD 235-238, there was another ruler named Alexandros. From an inscription dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century AD found in the village of İnay almost 7 km north of Blaundos, it is known that a person named Tiberius Claudius Alexandros was the first ruler (...[τοῦ π]ρώτο[υ ἄρχων]τος).<sup>10</sup> In addition, another person with the name Alexandros is recorded from the village of Çirpıcılar, approximately 22 km north of the city.<sup>11</sup> The nephew and his son Alexandros mentioned in this inscription have two *nomen gentilicia*, Aurelius and Claudius. Citizens who were of senatorial or equestrian rank during the Principate had two *gentilicia*. While these came mostly from the mother of the mother or the father, there were no clear rules regarding this situation.<sup>12</sup> At this point, if it is assumed that Tiberius Claudius Lucius had a sister and that he married an Aurelius, this may indicate an explicable situation regarding both the family tree (fig. 5) and these two *nomen gentilicia*.<sup>13</sup>

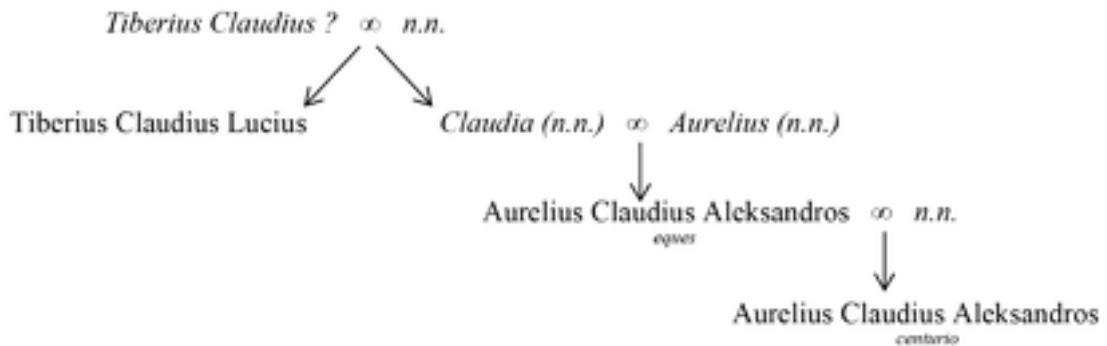


FIG. 5 A proposal for Lucius' family tree according to the inscription.

L. 9ff: The worship of Dionysus Kathegemon, presided over by Lucius, is here documented for the first time in the city. Dionysus Kathegemon was both among the patron gods of the Attalids and a family cult.<sup>14</sup> This cult, often associated with the theater, was also worshipped particularly as a god representing the ancestral lineage of the Attalids.<sup>15</sup> It spread from Pergamon and is found in those cities which were once under Pergamene rule.<sup>16</sup> For this reason, this

<sup>9</sup> Filges 2006, 300, nos. 69-70, 74-75.

<sup>10</sup> Filges 2006, 335, no. 24.

<sup>11</sup> Filges 2006, 349 C1.

<sup>12</sup> Bruun 2015, 802.

<sup>13</sup> My thanks to Prof. M. Adak for his help concerning the proposed family tree of Lucius.

<sup>14</sup> According to H. Müller (1898, 505, 508-15, 520), an epigram found in Pergamon dates this cult's existence back to the 3rd century BC, especially between 230-220 BC because of the historical background of the inscription. For the inscription cf. Lebek 1990. For more details on the cult of Dionysos Kathegemon in Pergamon see also von Prott 1902, 161-64; Adler 1919; Easterling and Hall 2002, 220; Üreten 2003, 93-9, 123; Michels 2011, 131.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the Dionysus Kathegemon cult among the Attalids of Pergamon, see also von Prott 1902; Hansen 1971, 451-52, 461; Üreten 2003, 93-99; Michels 2011, 114-30.

<sup>16</sup> Pergamon: *IVP* I. 221-22, 236, 248; II. 317-20, 384, 485, 486A; *SEG* XXXVII 120; XXIX 1264; *CIG* 6829; *AM* 24 (1899) 177, 27; *AM* 33 (1908) 407, 36; *AM* 35 (1910) 461, 43; Akmonia: *MAMA* VI 239; Attouda: *SEG* XXXI 1102; Hadrianoutherai: *SEG* LXIII 1092; Hierapolis: *SEG* XLI 1202; XLIII 1466; Philadelphia: *TAM* V.3 1462; 1497; Sebaste: *SEG* XL 1223; *CIG* 3068; *BCH* 1880, 169-70, no. 24; Thyateira: *TAM* V.2 976. See also Üreten 2003, 125; Miranda 2003; Güler 2015, 28; Parker 2017, 220, and also n. 75.

cult gained its place in Blaundos through the process that began with the transfer of the city to Pergamene rule after Peace of Apameia in 188 BC. Another inscription records the priest of Athena Nikephoros and Homonoia and likewise reflects the course of Blaundos under Pergamene rule.<sup>17</sup> It is also thought that Blaundos minted coins with the Pergamene cistophoros after coming under Attalid rule.<sup>18</sup> It is known that the city struck coins depicting Dionysos in the 2nd-3rd century AD.<sup>19</sup> The expression παντός τοῦ ἔργου (the entire work), seen in line 18 of the inscription, must be the process of erecting the statue, for the inscription does not mention any other work before this expression. The supervisor of the raising of this statue is mentioned earlier, between the lines 12-16, as his nephew Aurelius Claudius Alexandros, of equestrian rank. However, it is understood that the one who completed this task was the nephew's son, the *centurio*<sup>20</sup> Aurelius Claudius Alexandros. This may be explained by the fact that the nephew, who was a member of the equestrian class, had either left the city or passed away. But if there were any deaths, the indication of this in the inscription would be expected. The word ἐλεαβολεῖον in the expression ὀρίου τοῦ ἐλεαβολεῖου in line 23 is here recorded for the first time in the literature. This word is a combination of two different Greek words -ἐλαία [gen. -ας]<sup>21</sup> meaning “olive” and βολεῖον - the latter in *caso nominativo* produced by placing the suffix -ειον with the root βολ- and transformed from the verb βάλλω (“to throw, to put, to place”).<sup>22</sup> In this case this word should be perceived as ἐλαιαβολεῖον and signifies “a place for storing olives just as the word σιτοβολεῖον, means place for storing corn, granary.”<sup>23</sup> As for the word ὀρίου, at first sight it associates the ancient Greek word ὄριον (boundary), which is the *neutrum genetivus diminutivus* form of the word ὄρος. What is meant here is, in fact, the Latin word *horreum* (barn, storeroom, granary).<sup>24</sup> Although this word is used as ὄρειον in ancient Greek, it has been attested before in different forms such as ὄρρειον, ὄριον, ὄρεῖον, ὄρρειον, ὄριον, and ὄρριον.<sup>25</sup> In this case, the expression ὀρίου τοῦ ἐλεαβολεῖου signifies the construction of a storeroom for the olives, also called a horreum, to store the olives. It was supervised by the *centurio* Aurelius Claudius Alexandros.

<sup>17</sup> Filges 2006, 21, 321, no. 1.

<sup>18</sup> le Rider 1990, 696-98; Filges 2006, 21; Can 2017, 77.

<sup>19</sup> *SNG* Lydia 63-64; Mionnet 1835, 328-29, nos. 68, 71; *BMC* Lydia xl-xliii.

<sup>20</sup> For detailed information about the equestrian class and the *centurio*, see Dobson 1978; Mennen 2011, 135-92; Campbell 2003. For the role of the centurion in the Roman army, see Ward 2012.

<sup>21</sup> The diphthong /au/ interchanged into /ε/ is very common in ancient Greek; see Gignac 1976, 192, especially ἐλέου, ἐλεῶν, ἐλεών. See also *IPerge* 77 line 3: ὄρασμα[έν]α[ι] ἐλαιαί καὶ μοσχάδες ἐλεῶν τόπω Τριτῶν ἐλέαις. For the meanings of the word see *DGE* s.v. ἐλαία, -ας, ἡ; Liddell and Scott 1846, 431, ἙΛΑΙΑ, ας, ἡ; 1996, 527 s.v. ἐλαία and ἔλαιον, τό; Beekes 2010, 400 s.v. ἐλαία.

<sup>22</sup> Liddell and Scott 1996, 304 s.v. βάλλω.

<sup>23</sup> Liddell and Scott 1996, 1602 s.v. σιτοβολῶν; ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ s.v. σιτοβόλιον -ου, τό. This word can also be perceived as “a place for catching birds” because of the word ἐλεᾶς [gen. -ου or -ᾶ], see *DGE* s.v. ἐλεᾶς -ᾶ, ὁ; cf. Suda λ26 s.v. λαγωβολεῖον. As a result of personal discussions with A. Chaniotis, it was concluded that the word here is to be understood as referring to a structure rather than to an area, and the word *horreum* supports this.

<sup>24</sup> Simpson 1993, 279 s.v. horreum. G. Rickman 1971, 1, describes the horreum as “simply designated buildings where anything could be stored.” For detailed information concerning the Roman-period *horrea*, see Rickman 1971.

<sup>25</sup> Theoph. *Chron.* 589B; Suda ω177 s.v. Ὀρειον and n. 1-2; and μ131 s.v. Μανάιμ. *IGLSyr* 2 306: ὄριο<v>; *IGLSyr* 5 2081: ὄριων; Kumas 1826, 601 s.v. ὄρειον, τό, u. ὄρρειον, u. ὄριον; Ramshorn 1842, 690 s.v. ὄρειον, u. ὄρρειον; Liddle and Scott 1846, 1700 s.v. Ὀρειον, ου, τό, (ὄρα); 1996, 1256 s.v. ὄρριον and 2037 s.v. ὄρειον.

### Rear Face: Ludus Duodecim Scriptorum

Ludus Duodecim Scriptorum,<sup>26</sup> also known as XII Scripta, was an extremely popular and widespread game in antiquity. In addition to its placement on independent blocks in archaeological sites, the board of this game can be seen in many places, such as carved on stair steps, on slabs of street pavement, and on the pavement at temple entrances. These game boards are mostly carved into marble or limestone, and sometimes as drawings on a leather or even wood surface.<sup>27</sup> The board has sequences of square as well as round- and semicircular-shaped positions carved or incised in it. But it can also be designed with an inscription, the letters of which each correspond to one position.<sup>28</sup>

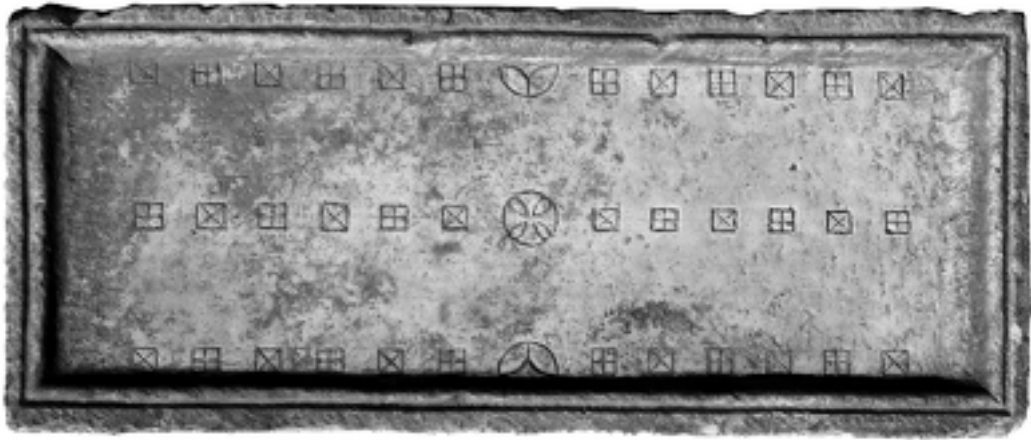


FIG. 6 Duodecim Scripta (Excavation Archive).

The rear face of the pedestal (fig. 6) was later used as a Ludus XII Scriptorum by trimming a portion of the profile. Traces of this can be seen on the surface and edges. With this trim work, the frame arranged for the game measures 115 cm long and 39-41 cm wide. Although there are occasional chips to the edges, it is possible to say that it is quite intact when compared to similar examples. 36 square checkers measuring 3-3.5 cm<sup>2</sup> are incised in 3 rows. The distance between the rows is approximately 14-15 cm. The squares are arranged at intervals of about 4-4.5 cm and ordered alternately so that one includes a plus (+) and the other a cross (x). The player areas were separated from each other by three markers across the middle of the game board. These markers are about 7 cm in diameter with the middle one incised in the form of a circle surrounding a Maltese Cross. Those to either side are different - semicircular with each semicircle containing two incised segments of 90 degrees.

This game is played by two players with three dice. Each player has fifteen checkers made of bone. The player who scores the highest number with one dice starts the game. The game starts from the middle row for each player and continues by following the middle row and then the top right, top left, bottom left and bottom right. It is also possible to hit the checkers. If one of the checkers is hit by the opponent, that checker starts again from the beginning. The player can form a door by putting two or more checkers on the top of the others of his own,

<sup>26</sup> For more information on XII Scripta and board games, see also Austin 1934; Schädler 1995; Hurschmann 2004; Schamber 2009.

<sup>27</sup> Arslan 2007, 37; Demirer 2015, 743.

<sup>28</sup> Schamber 2009, 8; Demirer 2015, 743-44.

which is called *ordinarii*. There are also *vagi* and *incerti*. The former has single checkers while the latter immovable ones.<sup>29</sup> The one who carries all checkers to the exit wins the game.

## Conclusion

This marble block recovered during the 2018 excavations from the main street of Blaundos was used in two different periods and served two different functions. Its first use associated with the 30-line inscription on it was probably during the first half of 3rd century AD, the year 212 being the earliest. The inscription honors Tiberius Claudius Lucius by the *boule* and *demos*, who was the priest of Dionysus Kathegemon, *ktistes*, patriot, and *euergetes*. According to the inscription in which his contribution to the construction of some structures of the city was recorded, the erection of the statue of Tiberius Claudius Lucius was initially supervised by his nephew Aurelius Claudius Alexandros, of equestrian rank. The completion of both this task and of the construction or completion of other facilities was undertaken by the *centurio* Aurelius Claudius Alexandros. He was the son of Lucius' nephew and bore the same name as his father. This inscription names three new people recorded as part of the demography of Blaundos. It is not yet possible to understand the original position of this honorific inscription. The statue of Tiberius Claudius Lucius or this inscribed pedestal may have been set in one/or all of the structures for which he was responsible. Or it may have been located on or near the main street of the city. In fact, in the area unearthed to date, two pedestals by the street have reached the present day *in situ* (fig. 7).



FIG. 7 *In situ* pedestals (Excavation Archive).

<sup>29</sup> For the rules of the game, see Arslan 2007, 37-38; Schamber 2009, 43.



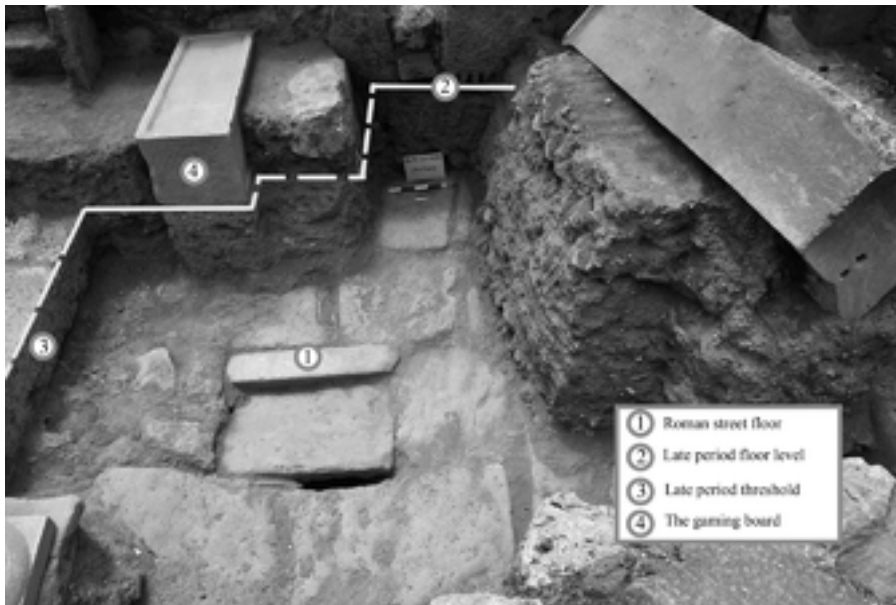


FIG. 8  
Gaming table marked to show the block *in situ* in its secondary use position, upper left and the two floor levels with the threshold from the Late Period (Excavation Archive).

Based on the fact that Tiberius Claudius Lucius is recorded as *euergetes* and *ktistes*, with the construction facilities mentioned in the inscription, it can be asserted that he was a leading person in the city or that he had bonds with a leading family. If the family relationship proposed above is correct, this may also be the case for his sister. However, at this point, what is known about Lucius and his family is inadequate, for example, his child/children and his wife. Why his nephew and his nephew's son had carried out these works is currently unknown. The fact that Lucius served as the priest of Dionysus Kathegemon shows that the city was once under Pergamene rule, as was suggested by Filges. Further, this inscription has importance in terms of recording some unexplored structures in the city, the existence of which were previously unknown. It also introduces a previously unrecorded ancient Greek term relating to a structure.

On the rear facade of the block is carved the board game, *Ludus XII Scriptorum*, which is commonly found in ancient cities. The state of the block gives an idea of its period of use, which was carved after the honorific inscription had lost its function and importance. The board game was the block's secondary function, and its rear position indicates the inscription at this time was not to be read, presumably because it had pagan associations. At that time the words of the inscription faced the ground. In the city center of Blaundos, the main street extends in a near east-west direction. Its floor was paved with large flat stones and covered with stones and earth-fill of the structures brought down after losing their function. The floor of the late structures, subsequently erected in this area, were constructed at the level of this earth filling, and almost 50 cm higher than the early-period street pavement. This block was discovered on this later floor and with the game table face up. It is also located next to the marble threshold door of one of these late structures<sup>30</sup> (fig. 8). In this state, it may be understood that this game board was contemporary with the Late Antique structures that had been constructed to serve as an atelier, a workshop, or a shop.

<sup>30</sup> The block was removed after the cleaning of the late period fill and placed on the pavement of the Roman-period street, just to the west side of propylon. This allowed passage from the street to the Temple of Ceres.

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# A Numismatic Riddle from Arykanda: The God of the Water Spring

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*Dedicated to the loving memory of Prof. Cevdet Bayburtluođlu who first excavated Arykanda and was a mentor and inspiration to many young students who worked there with him, including the present authors.*

## Abstract

Among the coin types minted for Arykanda under Emperor Gordianus III, there is a new reverse type depicting Kakasbos wearing military attire and a Thracian helmet. His club is lowered, and he is holding the reins of his horse which stands next to him. On Kakasbos's right the horse with its right front hoof is striking a rock from which water flows. The iconography is new for Kakasbos and has never been seen before. In fact, he is always shown riding his horse with his club raised to strike. This article explains why this is an image of Kakasbos and not some other deity. It uses other archaeological finds - epigraphic and iconographic - found during the excavations at Arykanda. The authors also identify the water source meant on the coin type and the cult area that existed next to it at Suyun Gözü, the main source of the Arykandos River.

**Keywords:** Kakasbos, Herakles, Dioskouroi, Helios, Nymphs, Arykanda, Lykia

## Öz

İmparator III. Gordianus döneminde Arykanda için basılan sikke tipleri arasında daha önce bilinmeyen, yeni bir tip bulunmaktadır. Bu arka yüz tipinde Kakasbos, askeri kıyafetlidir ve bir Trakya miğferi takmaktadır. Bir elindeki lobutunu aşağıya doğru, diğer eliyle atının dizginlerini tutmaktadır ve yanında durduğu atı sağ ön toynağı ile Kakasbos'un yanında duran bir kayaya vurmakta ve bu kayadan sular fışkırmaktadır. Bu tip, daha önce Kakasbos için hiç rastlanılmamış yeni bir tasvir tipidir; Kakasbos aslında hep atına binerken ve lobutunu vurmaya üzere havaya kaldırmış şekilde tasvir edilmiştir. Bu makalede Arykanda'da kazılar sırasında bulunan epigrafik ve ikonografik çeşitli arkeolojik buluntular yardımı ile, bu tasvirin neden başka bir tanrı imgesi değil de, Kakasbos olduğu tartışılmaktadır. Yazarlar aynı zamanda, Arykandos Irmağı'nın ana kaynağı olan "Suyun Gözü" kaynağında sikke üzerinde yer alan su kaynağını ve yanındaki kült alanını tespit etmektedirler.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kakasbos, Herakles, Dioskouroi, Helios, Nympheler, Arykanda, Lykia

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## Introduction

Twenty Lykian cities minted Roman provincial coinage only once - between AD 242-244 during the reign of Gordianus III. Although the minting was very brief, several cult-related types were employed for each minting city, and these coins provide a wealth of information on the “official cults”<sup>1</sup> of these cities in the 3rd century AD. Of this coinage, 342 known examples were compiled by Hans von Aulock in *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien* which was published in 1974. And even though 46 years have passed since it appeared, the book remains the main reference for this coinage.<sup>2</sup> Since then, several hitherto unknown types,<sup>3</sup> and for the existing types, new die variations or better-preserved examples that help with better identification, have been excavated or appeared on the market. All this new material adds more information on the Lykian cults represented on the coinage. While von Aulock worked on his book, archaeological excavations and surveys in Lykia were few in number. But since then excavations at Arykanda, Ksanthos, Letoon, Limyra, Myra, Andriake, Patara, Phaselis, Rhodiapolis and Tlos have progressed, and the results of extensive surveys at Balboura, Bubon, Kyaneai, Oinoanda, and Trebenna are now available. More importantly, a large number of new epigraphic discoveries made recently and other specific studies done on various topics in Lykia are constantly being published. All of these are increasing our knowledge immensely of Roman Lykia and its surrounding areas.

Arykanda was one of the most prolific mints among the 20 Lykian cities for issuing coinage under Gordianus III. Several different types employing different dies were minted for the city, and a large number of specimens have survived. For Arykanda, von Aulock listed 28 examples in his book.<sup>4</sup> More than 20 new examples have appeared on the market since then, and 30 more coins of the city were excavated at Arykanda itself between 1971-2019. The new material contains some new types and variations to this coinage. Among them is a new type represented by 6 specimens (5 for Gordianus III, 1 for Tranquillina), on which the reverse presents an enigma with regard to the identity of the deity and the subject matter. This can only be solved by examining some of the other types and other cult-related objects found at Arykanda and coins minted elsewhere in Lykia. On the reverses of these coins, a male figure wearing military attire and a Thracian-type helmet holds the reins of his horse and a club and stands next to a water source (figs. 1-6). On first examination, the dress, horse, and club used as attributes

<sup>1</sup> This means the types employed on the coinage would have been chosen by the cities themselves since they represent cults prevailing in these cities. They are sometimes also known from historical, epigraphic, and iconographic sources. We do not know how the mechanism worked, but one would imagine that the types were selected by city councils comprised of the civic elite. Thereby the coin iconography would have been an official testimony of the city for those years.

<sup>2</sup> Until the appearance of *RPC VII.2* which is in preparation by Marguerite Spoerri Butcher. She kindly informed us that the online version is expected to be available in 2020 at <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Serapis at Gagai (CNG 93, 829; Apollo Kitharedeus at Kandyba (CNG Triton XVI, 708; Zeus at Korydalla (Künker 20, 803); Apollo and Hermes in an oracle (?) scene at Kyaneai (GM 199, 606), discussed below (fig. 15); hero (?) with Artemis Eleuthera at Kyaneai (Naville 36, 234); Apollo Surios at Myra (CNG 88, 915), discussed below (fig. 9); Asklepios and Hygieia or Apollo and a nymph at Myra (GM 147, 1847) discussed below (fig. 10); Aphrodite (?) and Eros (?) at Myra (MM 12, 222); Eros at Patara (Roma Numismatics E-sale 40, 411); cult image of Demeter shown on a basis at Phellos (CNG 93, 833). Athena throws a pebble into an urn at Phaselis (CNG Mailbid sale 69, 1031), a scene which could be a likely reference to a sporting competition, as athletes are seen drawing their lots from a similar vessel on a coin of Prostanna (von Aulock 1979, 149, no. 1849, pl. 37). An agon called Παλλάδειος for Athena in the 3rd century AD is known from the city (Tüner-Önen 2015, 32). Or the type could be referring to delegate elections for the local boule or Lykian Koinon similar to the *Koinoboulion* figures present on coins of Tarsos and Anazarbos where the deity was also shown throwing a pebble into a vessel (see Ziegler 1999).

<sup>4</sup> von Aulock 1974, 58-60, nos. 26-53.

immediately bring to mind the figure of Kakasbos/Herakles. But the god is not named on the coin, and this type would present the god in a very unusual iconography that has not been encountered before. For this reason, all other possibilities of identification should be examined. The type clearly shows a local spring cult at Arykanda, and several similar cults are known from Lykia.<sup>5</sup> All of these spring cults are associated with a patron deity, and some were even oracle centres.

## Catalogue

### Gordianus III

Obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CEB; laurate, draped, and cuirassed bust r.

Rev: ΑΡΥΚΑΝ-ΔΕΩΝ; “Male deity” wearing Thracian helm, chlamys and cuirass standing facing, head turned right, holds club in left hand and leads horse with right. Horse’s right foreleg is raised to strike vessel (hydria?) or rock with water flowing from inside.

*Obv. same die with von Aulock 1974, no. 37, rev. same die with Tranquillina - no. 6 below*

- 1 (fig. 1) Æ; 26,3g; 34mm; 12h; Exc. Inv. ARY 1998-42 (from Upper Agora, Shop 1 - East) = Tek 2002, no. 965 = Bayburtluoğlu 2003, 25 = Bayburtluoğlu 2006, 65, fig. 1.
- 2 (fig. 2) Æ; 18.08g (broken); GM142, 1997.

Obv: ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CEB; laurate, draped, and cuirassed bust r.

Rev: ΑΡΥΚΑΝΔΕΩΝ; “Male deity” wearing Thracian helm, chlamys and cuirass standing facing, head turned right, holds club in left hand and leads horse with right. Horse’s right foreleg is raised to strike vessel (hydria?) or rock with water flowing from inside.

*No. 3 same die with von Aulock 1974, no. 31; nos. 4 and 5, obv. same die with von Aulock 1974, no. 28; nos. 3-5 rev. from same die.*

- 3 (fig. 3) Æ; 19,9g; 28/30mm; 10h; Exc. Inv. ARY 1990-146 (from rooms between Bouleuterion and Temple of Helios); Antalya Museum Inv: 7947 = Tek 2002, no. 968 = Sancaktar 2019, no. S9.
- 4 (fig. 4) Æ; 19,0g; 28/29mm; 12h; Exc. Inv. ARY 1989-202 (from acropolis, YE 3, room 2); Antalya Museum Inv: 7537 = Tek 2002, no. 967 = Bayburtluoğlu 2003, 60.
- 5 (fig. 5) Æ; 13,4g; 30/31mm; 12h; Exc. Inv. ARY 1979-135 (from Bouleuterion/Upper Agora); Antalya Museum Inv: 4402 = Tek 2002, no. 966.

### Tranquillina

Obv: CΑΒΕΙΝΙΑ ΤΡ-ΑΝΚΥΛΛΕΙΝΑ - [CE]; diademed and draped bust right set on crescent.

Rev: ΑΡΥΚΑΝ-ΔΕΩΝ; “Male deity” wearing Thracian helm, chlamys and cuirass standing facing, head turned right, holds club in left hand and leads horse with right. Horse’s right foreleg is raised to strike vessel (hydria?) or rock with water flowing from inside.

*Obv. same die with von Aulock 1974, no. 47; rev. same die with Gordianus III - nos. 1-2 above.*

- 6 (fig. 6) Æ; 22,11g; GM 152, 1801.

## River God Arykandos?

The water flowing from a rock or vessel on the right side of the figure should probably associate this deity with the Arykandos River.<sup>6</sup> In that case, could this be a representation of the

<sup>5</sup> See Onur 2002a and Tiryaki 2006 for a general evaluation of spring cults and oracles in Lykia.

<sup>6</sup> The Arykandos River (Akçay, Başgöz, Aykırıcay) is mentioned in Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, V.XXVIII.100, “...iuxta mare Limyra eum amne in quem Arycandus influit...”; Plinius is describing the point where the Arykandos and Limyros (Göksu/Saklısu) join (in modern Finike) and flow to the sea approximately 1500 m. away.

River God Arykandos? The answer would have to be negative since a quick survey<sup>7</sup> of known river gods illustrated on Roman provincial coinage shows that they fall into two consistent types: either a half-dressed reclining male figure, usually with a vessel under his arm from which the water flows, or a swimming nude figure, and most of the times they are specifically named on the coins. These river gods could be shown alone or with other gods or heroes or in a mythological scene. Of the known coins of the twenty cities minting under Gordianus III in Lykia, only Limyra has one such type with its river god Limyros<sup>8</sup> (fig. 7), shown in the usual manner reclining and with the river clearly named on the coin. It is surprising that rivers such as the Myros or the Ksanthos are not shown on these coins.<sup>9</sup> What makes the coin type from Arykanda more interesting is that, an additional figure of a traditional reclining river god could have been easily incorporated to the type, next to the deity/hero in association with the water and with this way “the river god Arykandos” could have been shown, if one such representation of the river was wanted. Maybe the emphasis desired was to focus on the source itself and not the river. The pronounced water-discharging vessels of the river gods found on Roman coinage (as in fig. 7) is in contrast to the unidentifiable, roundish blob seen on the Arykanda coin. This makes one question whether this is not a hydria or an amphora at all, but rather the rock itself from which the spring flows.

Although river gods did not have an important part on Gordianus III’s Lykian coinage, there are other coin types from various Lykian cities associated with water sources and various spring cults:

A coin type from Patara (fig. 8) depicts Dionysos on the left, holding his thyrsos and wearing a short chiton and a long chlamys and boots. On the right a nymph is sitting on rocks and supporting an urn on her knee; a goat (no horns visible so a baby goat or a lamb?) accompanies her.<sup>10</sup> If it is a goat, it may be understood as Amaltheia, whose milk fed the infant Zeus, and the goat usually is shown accompanied by Nymphs. Dionysos himself was changed into a baby goat and nursed by nymphs when he was an infant. They later joined his company as the first of the Bacchantes. Although no water is shown on the coin type, the urn, the nymph sitting on a rock, and the goat-like animal signify that the type depicts a spring.<sup>11</sup>

This could be the “Telephos Spring”, 7 stadia distant from Patara, mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion. He took his information from Menaikhmos, saying that the spring was named after Telephos who washed his wound there and that its waters were cloudy/dirty because of

<sup>7</sup> Imhoof-Blumer 1924; also the river gods catalogued at <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>.

<sup>8</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 7) is Savoca E-auc. 16, 389; type as von Aulock 1974, nos. 115-26; *SNG Lewis II*, no. 1668; for the ancient sources on Limyros, see Onur 2002a, 14, 53-56.

<sup>9</sup> Unless new types are discovered in the future; see Onur 2002a and 2002b for the hydrography of Lykia.

<sup>10</sup> von Aulock 1974, nos. 244-47; another unpublished example is in the Fethiye Museum collection (inv. no. 3984, 14.9g.). All known examples of this coin are very worn. The thyrsos is more visible on von Aulock 1974, pl. 13, no. 244. The example (Roma Numismatics E-sale 60, 556) illustrated here (fig. 8) belongs to a new and unrecorded coin hoard which the authors have noticed online. The hoard so far consists of 18 coins of Patara, all with similar patina. They were sold by the same company in various auctions during 2019, and all labelled as “from the inventory of a German dealer”. The actual contents, composition, and size of the hoard are unknown. Had the full contents of the hoard been known, it would have provided very important new information on coin circulation and usage in Lykia, as this would have been the first hoard (from Lykia?) known to have contained this coinage in significant numbers.

<sup>11</sup> Goats accompany nymphs on several other coin types from various cities, especially the nymph Adrasteia/Amaltheia (e.g., on coins of Dokimeon and Synnada in Phrygia, etc.). A coin of Aegae in Kilikia (*RPC IV.3*, no. 9547 temp.) shows another nymph that is very similar to the Patara type, sitting on the rocks accompanied by a goat with water flowing from an urn.



that.<sup>12</sup> Modern researchers associate the Telephos Spring with the modern Kokar Su, which contains sulphurous water that is still believed by local people to have healing powers.<sup>13</sup>

Obviously, one would expect Telephos himself to be depicted on a coin type that depicts a spring named after him. Therefore, the coin type may be referring to another spring and cult centre in the vicinity.<sup>14</sup> An inscription from Oinoanda mentions a “spring of Nymphs together with Dionysos”, which may be an oracle site of Apollo as understood from the rest of the inscription.<sup>15</sup> So, the Patara coin may refer to a similar spring in the city’s territory (maybe one related to the oracular cult of Apollo at Patara) which was thought to have belonged to Dionysos and a particular nymph or many nymphs. But the coin type and inscription bear no reference to an oracular cult.

Another city that had a famous water oracle is Myra, where at Sura there was an oracular centre. There the priests watched movements of sacred sea fish coming to feed from sticks with meat thrown in the water but were disturbed by the fresh water joining the sea in front of the oracle area.<sup>16</sup> No coins of Myra had previously been recognized as featuring Apollo, but actually two types do exist and one may also refer to a nymph.<sup>17</sup> The first coin (fig. 9) shows a statue of Apollo Propylaeus, using his bow, on a column with an elaborate capital on it. The statue is flanked by two laurel trees and in a space enclosed by a fence.<sup>18</sup> One of the authors of this article (Tek 2001) associated this image with the cult image of Apollo Surios on the basis that none of the ancient authors actually mention a “temple” of Apollo Surios. Instead “a sacred grove of Apollo,” from where the sea presumably would have been visible to the cult image, and the oracle happened at a place called “the Dinos/whirlpool.” The inscriptions found on the walls of the existing temple on the valley floor next to Sura refer to the cults of Sozon and Zeus Atabyrus, and not Apollo. The only inscriptions referring to Apollo are found at the “priest hall” on top of the hill, not in the valley. A statue placed on a high column would ensure the visibility of the sea, and the two trees seen on the coin may actually refer to the sacred grove. Therefore, a possible “open-air shrine” of Apollo should be sought on the hill

<sup>12</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ethnika*, 620.111: Τηλέφου κρήνη Λυκίας, Μέναιχος γάρ φησιν ὅτι ἀπὸ ἑπτὰ σταδίων Πατάρων Τηλέφου κρήνη δεικνύται, διὰ τὸ Τήλεφον ἀπονίψασθαι ἐκεῖ τὸ τραῦμα, θολερὰν δὲ εἶναι.

<sup>13</sup> Onur 2002b, 55-56; Tiryaki 2006, 39; Şahin 2009, 345; 2012, 17, figs. 9-10, although Tiryaki is the only one among these researchers who refers to coin types using material from von Aulock 1974 for other cities. Unfortunately, Tiryaki did not mention this coin type from Patara, which was catalogued as featuring a nymph by von Aulock and others before him referenced in von Aulock’s catalogue and in Frei 1990, 1818; also, an inscription from Patara refers to a priest of the nymphs, see TAM II.2, no. 416.

<sup>14</sup> Such an unknown spring is placed between Ksanthos and Patara where, according to Ploutarkhos, the waters suddenly burst out and brought to light a plaque with an oracle written on it that prophesied the end of the Persian Empire at the hands of the Greeks; see Plut. *Alex.* 17, 4-5: “ἔστι δὲ τῆς Λυκίας κρήνη περὶ τὴν Ξανθίων πόλιν, ἧς τότε λέγουσιν αὐτομάτως περιτραπίσεως καὶ ὑπερβαλοῦσης, ἐκ βυθοῦ δέλτον ἐκπεσεῖν χαλκίην, τύπους ἔχουσιν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἐδηλοῦτο παύσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων καταλυθεῖσαν.”

<sup>15</sup> Milner 2000, 141, 143-45.

<sup>16</sup> Borchhardt 1975, 76-79; Bryce 1986, 197-98; Frei 1990, 1762-764; Zimmermann 1992, 227-28. See Nollé 2006 for the most recent study on the oracle of Apollo Surios at Sura, which contains all the ancient references and related inscriptions recorded at the temple site in Sura together with references to other modern works.

<sup>17</sup> Examples of both types were published by von Aulock 1974, nos. 169 and 170, but the coins remained unidentified because of their poor condition.

<sup>18</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 9) is CNG 88, 915. Type as von Aulock 1974, no. 169; however, the figure there cannot be identified because of the condition of the coin. Another example of the coin was excavated in Arykanda and published in Tek 2001. A fourth and unpublished specimen exists in Ankara’s Museum of Anatolian Civilizations as noted in Tek 2001, 239. See also von Aulock 1974, no. 222-24, Patara, for another coin type with Apollo Propylaeus.

closer to the priest hall, which certainly had areas commanding the spring below and where the sea was (now silted), instead of on the valley floor.<sup>19</sup>

The other coin type from Myra (fig. 10) features, on the right, a semi-nude male figure (Apollo or Asklepios?) standing. He is leaning on a tree trunk with a snake coiled around it, and on his left there is a fully dressed female figure (nymph or Hygieia?) standing.<sup>20</sup> The male figure is very similar to the others on coins of Patara, where one type especially shows a similar tree trunk around which a snake is coiled. The figure's hair is long and with a laurel wreath (?), similar to the archaistic hair shown on Apollo Patroos types.<sup>21</sup> Apollo Patroos is fully clothed and his oracular powers are expressed by a raven sitting on an omphalos on one side and a snake coiled around a tripod on the other. The other type at Patara, on which a semi-nude Apollo feeds a snake from a patera, refers to another cult image. So if the figure on the right on the Myra coin is accepted as Apollo, then the female figure accompanying him must be a nymph referring to a spring.<sup>22</sup> This brings to mind the so-called "nymphaion" building between Andriake and Myra from which a spring flows.<sup>23</sup>

Two similar coin types from Limyra also depict an oracular spring (fig. 11).<sup>24</sup> On the coin types, a gazelle<sup>25</sup> on the left and a zebu<sup>26</sup> on the right are shown drinking (and in the second type only the gazelle is drinking while the zebu bellows) from presumably a spring shown as two wavy lines with XPHCMOC (χρησμός = oracle) written on the coins. This scene is probably mythological, explaining the founding of the oracle there. Maybe Zeus is depicted in bull form or with the bull as his mythological animal; the nymph of the water source (or Artemis) is

<sup>19</sup> Tek 2001, 240.

<sup>20</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 10) is GM 147, 1847; type as von Aulock 1974, no. 170 but there remained unidentified owing to the condition of the coin.

<sup>21</sup> von Aulock 1974, nos. 225-26, for a snake coiled around column; nos. 227-28, for a snake coiled around tree trunk; no. 193, pl. 12 is the best example where the archaistic long hair of Apollo Patroos is visible.

<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, nothing on the coin type suggests any water source, such as a vessel from which water flows or a rock, as on the Patara coin discussed above (fig. 8).

<sup>23</sup> For a brief description of the building, see Borchhardt 1975, 72-74. Since the harbour of Andriake is now silted up, it is harder to follow the ancient shoreline. But the "nymphaion" would have been across the ancient bay and not in Andriake. In fact, it was connected to the Sura acropolis by an ancient road still visible on the hill behind "the nymphaion" and closer to Sura than Myra, if the theatre signifies the ancient city centre. As a nymphaion, the building does not fit any usual Roman nymphaion architectural schema with an elaborately decorated high back wall and a pool in front. Instead the building has a square plan that looks as if it was a temple building, maybe with a Syrian-type pediment on its façade, where only the arch remains. The springs here, which form the Andriakos River, are thought to have healing powers by locals. One spring is called "Burguç", which is another word for "girdap" meaning "whirlpool". As the site is connected to the Sura acropolis and has a spring called "whirlpool", this could in fact be a better candidate for the location of the temple of Apollo Surios near a place called "Dinos/whirlpool", than the temple in the valley floor at Sura where no inscriptions mention Apollo. The authors hope that the ongoing excavations at Myra and Andriake directed by Nevzat Çevik will confirm this hypothesis.

<sup>24</sup> Type 1: von Aulock 1974, 109-11, both animals drinking water; type 2: von Aulock 1974, 112-13, gazelle drinking but zebu lifting its head up, possibly bellowing. Illustrated example (fig. 11) is von Aulock 1974, 111, and the coin is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (inv. 1972.859) and belongs to type 1.

<sup>25</sup> Although identified as a "dog" in von Aulock 1974, 109-13 and other references listed there, and by later researchers (e.g., Borchhardt 1999, 23 and Tiryaki 2006, 38), the animal is not a dog. It is in fact a *Gazella subgutturosa* (goitered or black-tailed gazelle). Its slender body, thin straight horns visible on the coin type, and uplifted tail are characteristics of this animal. This gazelle subtype still lives in Turkey and also has habitats in North Africa and West Asia. The breed probably originated in northwest Iran. Interestingly, this is an animal that is suited to steppes and arid environments, not humid river valleys or the Mediterranean coast. On the other hand, the artist may have simply meant a wild goat.

<sup>26</sup> The *Bos indicus* or *bos taurus indicus* (indicine cattle or humped cattle) originated from India and was brought through Iran and bred in Turkey in antiquity, especially on the Taurus Mountains. It is an animal that can live in high altitudes and rocky environments.

symbolized by the gazelle. Both have a part in the story. If that is the case, this story and cult may even have had an eastern, even Persian, origin with the choice of these particular animals that relate to Iran and beyond to the East. The wild mountain goat seen on the dynast Perikle's bronze coinage in the 4th century BC (fig. 12)<sup>27</sup> may have symbolized one of the springs, with the gazelle (or again a wild goat badly executed on the Roman coin) replacing the goat some 700 years later. The reason why this may be a mythological scene instead of the actual oracle is because of Plinius' description of the Limyra oracle as another fish oracle.<sup>28</sup>

The River Limyros, which has two different sources - the ancient names unknown, the modern ones are Zengerler Kaynağı and Göksu Kaynağı - both very close to each other and both inside Limyra, is where this oracle may have been situated. This presents another possible explanation for the coin type with the two animals symbolizing the names of the sources, similar to the way the Rivers Kapros and Lykos were shown sometimes on coins of Laodikeia in Phrygia as a boar and a wolf (fig. 13).<sup>29</sup> So the Zebu bull (βούς, or ταύρος if only the bull was meant) may signify a source name such as Βοός κρήνη or Ταύρου κρήνη and maybe the word δορκάς was used for gazelle. Then the source name might have been something like Δορκάδος κρήνη, or if the artist meant a goat, then maybe Αιγός κρήνη.

Kyaneai also has a coin type referring to an oracular source again with ΧΡΗΜΟC (χρησμός = oracle) written on the coin (fig. 14).<sup>30</sup> In the type, Apollo is shown nude, holding a lowered bow<sup>31</sup> in his left hand and a branch (or a laurel crown) with ribbons in his right. With it he seems to touch the summit of rocks on his left, maybe creating the oracular source.<sup>32</sup> A new coin type that appeared in the market probably shows another scene of this oracular spring (fig. 15).<sup>33</sup> On the coin's reverse, the word χρησμός is not present, but Apollo is seen standing on the right holding a laurel branch, an altar is in the middle, and Hermes is holding his kerykeion and reclining on the rocks on the left. This oracle is identified with the one mentioned by Pausanias belonging to Apollo Thyrskeus; the water may show whatever the onlooker wishes.<sup>34</sup> Its location may have been found during research conducted at the site.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 12), is Roma Numismatics E-sale 39, 289; type as *BMC Lyc.* nos. 163-64, where its reverse was identified as a "stag".

<sup>28</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XXXI.XVIII.22: item fluvii fons Limyrae transire solet in loca vicina portendens aliquid, mirumque quod cum piscibus transit. responsa ab his petunt incolae cibo, quem rapiunt adnuentes, si vero eventum negent, caudis abigunt.

<sup>29</sup> For example, *BMC Phr.* nos. 52, 11-113, 127-29, 235, 260-61; illustrated example (fig. 13) is CNG 87, 850.

<sup>30</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 14) is von Aulock 1974, no. 92; Robert 1977, 10, 13. The coin is now in Copenhagen, *SNG Cop. Suppl.*, no. 510.1

<sup>31</sup> It is clearly a bow, certainly not a water vessel (Wassergefäß) as claimed in Frei 1990, 1761.

<sup>32</sup> A. Thomsen and F. Kolb interpreted this coin type as Apollo making an offering to a rock-cut altar (or a fire altar) such as those found in the territory of Kyaneai and elsewhere in Lykia (Thomsen 1995, 47; Kolb 2007, 283-85). The coin types shown in figs. 14 and 15 certainly very much resemble the rock-cut altars, but the oracle in Kyaneai is described as a water oracle. So one expects a coin that actually has "oracle" written on it to have something to do with the water. Hence, the interpretation presented here is the creation of a spring that would flow from the rocks. The ribbon-like object under the laurel branch or wreath could be water bursting or as suggested previously by Tiryaki 2004, 25-26, a snake, which would also have been fitting for an oracular scene dealing with Apollo. A detailed examination of the coin itself may resolve what the object is.

<sup>33</sup> GM 199, 606.

<sup>34</sup> Paus. VII.21.13 (Akhaia): τούτω μὲν τῷ ὕδατι ἐς τοσοῦτο μέτεστιν ἀληθείας, Κυανέων δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λυκία πλησιαιτάτα χρηστήριον Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Θυρξέως· παρέχεται δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κυανέαις ἔσω ἐνιδόντα τινὰ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν ὁμοίως πάντα ὅποσα θέλει θεάσασθαι.

<sup>35</sup> Kolb 1991, 201-3; Thomsen 1995; Öner 1998, 272-77; Kolb 2007, 283-85; Wurzer 2015, 89-92.

Finally, a coin type from Arneai (fig. 16) depicts a nude nymph and Pan, and may also be another type that has connections with a local water source although the only relation of the type to water is the presence of the nymph.<sup>36</sup> The type, according to J. Nollé, makes a pun on the city name Arneai with the Greek verb *ἀρνέομαι* (to deny, to refuse), that is, the nymph saying no to the advances of Pan.<sup>37</sup>

Many other Lykian cities had sacred sources and related water cults, especially in Letoon, but these were not referred to on any known coin types. Such cult centres, and especially steles for the cult of Nymphs, have been discovered at several sites in Lykia.<sup>38</sup> A stele excavated at Arykanda<sup>39</sup> (fig. 17) shows that a cult of Nymphs also existed here. But as discussed above, a single nymph or multiple nymphs were not used on the coin types of the town. This triad of nymphs on the stele, executed differently from others from Lykia, may be referring to the nymphs of the three different sources from which the town received its water.

To draw a general conclusion from the Lykian coin types discussed above, the water sources/springs apparently were considered more important than the rivers themselves. Some of these shown on these coins are oracular springs and always under the patronage of a god who may have played a role in the creation of the water source. Thereby, the coin types are more concerned with the mythological creation of the water source rather than of its flowing water. In fact, the Arykanda type is the only one besides the Limyros River type where the water is shown flowing. In conclusion, the Arykanda coin type does not show the image of a river god of the Arykandos River but instead the creation myth of the spring itself under a god's act of patronage.

### A Hero or Ktistes?

As another option, the Arykanda coin type could be taken as illustrating a local hero (maybe a *ktistes*) in a mythological scene in connection with the founding of the city. Fortunately, two other coin types from Arykanda depict the actual *ktistoi* and the foundation oracle of the settlement. Therefore, a hero or a *ktistes* should be eliminated among the options to identify our subject matter type as they exist for Arykanda with their own specific coin type.

A coin sold in the market and now in the British Museum<sup>40</sup> shows two figures wearing *piloi* and holding spears and the bridles of their horses and inscribed APYAC and ΚΑΝΔΟC on the reverse (fig. 18). The iconography obviously copies that of the Dioskouroi, but the names leave no doubt that these are the local *ktistoi* named Aryas and Kandos after whom

<sup>36</sup> von Aulock 1974, no. 23. Purchased from H. von Aulock, the coin is now in the British Museum inv. 1978, 1021.3. L. Robert connected this type to the cults of Apollo and Tobaloas or Artemis Kombikes; see Robert 1955, 215-19. This type may be a reference to the source of Tokluca Çayı which passes near the city; see Nollé 2009, 21-28 for an extensive study of this type. For the origins of the pantheon of Arneai, see Lebrun and Raimond 2015, 91 n. 70.

<sup>37</sup> Nollé 2009, 27.

<sup>38</sup> Robert 1955, 217-19; Naour 1976, no. 20; 1980, no. 42; Frei 1990, 1816-820; Milner 2000. The most recent study on the nymph steles and reliefs in Lykia is Dağlı 2011. Her catalogue contains a large group of nymph reliefs from Idebessos very close to Arykanda. One example, Dağlı 2011, no. 16, is a very well-preserved stele now in the Antalya Museum. It was acquired from Finike but might have come from Idebessos as well. The stele depicts nine female figures, and their attributes are visible. Some of them hold musical instruments like aulā, syrinx, lyra, and flute. This shows that the Muses of Apollo were understood as nymphs in Idebessos and elsewhere in Lykia. See also Tiryaki 2018 for a newly discovered site near Elmalı where a rock relief situated on a water source shows Apollo and the "9 nymphs".

<sup>39</sup> Bayburtluoğlu 2003, 177.

<sup>40</sup> 37.15g., 6h; Leu 52, 238=British Museum, inv. 1991,0619.1.

the town was named. G. Neumann, who was the first to study and publish this coin, proposed that the original name of the city would have been Aruw-ak-anda meaning “the settlement in high rock” in Luwian/Lykian. This would fit the geography of the settlement on the slopes of a high mountain. He compared the names of Aryas and Kandos to other known eponym founders from Lykia like Tloos for Tlos and Pataros for Patara.<sup>41</sup> All of these, and especially that of Arykanda, were probably made-up hero names to serve in made-up foundation stories created during Late Hellenistic and Roman times. For most examples, and probably for Arykanda as well, these names have nothing to do with the actual meaning of the place names in Luwian/Lykian/Milyan, whose meanings would have been lost with the death of these languages.

Another coin type minted for Arykanda should be examined in this context. The reverse shows an eagle standing on a wild boar’s head (fig. 19).<sup>42</sup> Such scenes are recognized as the main decisive moment of the foundation oracle with Zeus helping the founders by indicating the location for the settlement with his eagle.<sup>43</sup> Nollé, who has recently collected and examined such stories from ancient sources and coin types from several cities in Asia Minor, states that “an eagle sent by Zeus swoops down from heaven, robs some sacrificial meat or bones burning on an altar and carries its prey away to a place, where Zeus wants a city to be founded by the very man who is offering the sacrifice”.<sup>44</sup> He presented the possible foundation story of Arykanda that would have been something like this: “the two eponymous heroes Aryas and Kandos succeeded in taking a boar. When the two heroes were offering its head as a sacrifice, an eagle stole it and took it to the place where these two warriors founded Arykanda and named it after themselves”.<sup>45</sup>

Even though the imagery of the founders in Figure 18 copies that of the Dioskouroi, there was in fact an actual cult of the real Dioskouroi in Arykanda. This cult was also very common at its other Milyas neighbours. But among the Lykian coins minted under Gordianus III, only on coins of Akalissos, another close neighbour of Arykanda, were the Dioskouroi shown. They were accompanied by an unidentified female goddess standing in the middle.<sup>46</sup> Although reliefs and steles with the same triad are sometimes inscribed and name the Dioskouroi (sometimes as Soter) on them, the female goddess is almost never

<sup>41</sup> Neumann 1991.

<sup>42</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 19) is Auctiones A.G. 29, 361.

<sup>43</sup> Nollé 2001, 46, 51-52; 2015, 46-47.

<sup>44</sup> Nollé 2015, 78.

<sup>45</sup> Nollé 2015, 46-47, 79, fig. 18a-18c.

<sup>46</sup> von Aulock 1974, no. 1-2 identified her as Helena. The Dioskouroi accompanying a female deity were very common as a rural cult in southwest Asia Minor, but rarely shown on coinage, as noted by Horsley 1999, 272. Dioskouroi in Pisidia with Selene (?) or Artemis (?) wearing a crescent on her head are found at Isinda (von Aulock 1977, no. 796); at Kodrula (*RPC* IV.3, 3499 temp, 7306 temp, 7310 temp; von Aulock 1977, no. 1003, 1021) and at Termessos (*SNG* Pfps. Pisidien, no. 531). Usually at other Pisidian cities (e.g., Adada, Amblada, Ariassos, Konana, Pednelissos, Prostanna, Sagalassos, Verbe) where the Dioskouroi appear, the moon aspect was simply shown as a crescent between them. But similar iconography of the Dioskouroi with a female deity appears elsewhere too: at Tripolis in Phoenicia with turreted Astarte (*RPC* IV.3, 10138 (temp); at Alexandria with Demeter? wearing a kalathos (*RPC* III, 4217) and Selene(?) wearing a crescent on her head (*RPC* III, 4290, 4378) or a male deity, Ares at Metropolis in Ionia (*RPC* IV.2, 2686 [templ] and Serapis at Alexandria (*RPC* IV.4, 14776 [templ] and etc.). For the rock sanctuaries, inscriptions and reliefs of the cult of the Dioskouroi with a female deity in Lykia, Milyas, Kabalia and Pisidia, see Chapouthier 1935; Robert 1983, 563-65, 567; Frei 1990, 1784-786; Milner and Smith 1994; Delemen 1995; Smith 1997; Kearsley 2002; Özsait 2004; Özsait et al. 2004; Delemen 2011; Smith 2011, 138-40; İplikçioglu and Schuler 2012; Renberg 2014, 112-16.

named.<sup>47</sup> These reliefs are usually found in association with open-air, rock-cut shrines in the countryside.

In contrast, several reliefs found at Arykanda come from inside the city and were excavated in the inhabited acropolis that was covered with houses and small sanctuaries. The reliefs were found separately from each other but in close proximity. This may indicate they came from a single, but yet unfound sanctuary, or maybe they were kept in house shrines. Almost all of the steles are fragmentary and weathered. But one stele is in an excellent state of preservation but, unfortunately its dedication inscription was chiseled away (fig. 20). Unlike the Aryas and Kandos coin where the heroes stand next to their horses, the Dioskouroi on the stele are shown riding theirs.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, they wear military attire, hold spears, and wearing *piloi*. The goddess in the middle probably had a projecting attribute at the top of her head. Now lost, it may have been a crescent on a kalathos or a polos, or simply a crescent on the veil.<sup>49</sup>

Another very interesting Dioskouroi cult item excavated at Arykanda is a very small golden medallion, unfortunately very much bent and battered (fig. 21). The Dioskouroi are here shown again riding with two stars above them to signify their cosmic roles. On this artefact, the triad is shown on a rectangular pedestal, like a statuary group. The middle figure, the female deity, wears a long kalathos without a crescent. The existing distance from the head of the deity to the upper side of the stele, discussed above (fig. 20), suggests that such a long kalathos may have also been present there too. The identity of the goddess still remains unknown from this new Arykanda evidence, but some candidates can be suggested with the help of evidence gathered from other finds.

At Arykanda, several altars to various cults of Artemis had been found, sometimes in close proximity with the Dioskouroi steles. The inscriptions name Artemis with no epithets as well as Artemis Lagbene, Artemis Kombike, Artemis Eleuthera, and Artemis Tharsenike.<sup>50</sup> Although the first three epithets all belonged to the other cities of Lagbe, Komba, and Myra, the fourth may be local to Arykanda. It perhaps belongs to a countryside shrine as the epithet seems to name a toponym. Although not shown on the coinage, Artemis seems to have held a prestigious place among the cults practiced at Arykanda, as several vows and dedications were offered to her according to these altars and steles. The unnamed goddess on the Dioskouroi steles may be Artemis, but there are other female deity candidates at Arykanda. A new, unpublished dedicatory inscription mentions Demeter, and an altar to Nemesis is also known from the site.<sup>51</sup>

It is not possible to guess how the Arykandeans identified their Dioskouroi shown on the steles discovered here. Were they considered as Kastor and Polydeukes, or as Aryas and Kandos? But the absence of the goddess on the coin type seems to differentiate the two

<sup>47</sup> She is named only on two examples. One is on an inscription from Bozhüyük near Elmalı where she seems to be named “Helena”; see İplikçiöğlü and Schuler 2012. The second is at Macunasanı where she is named “Artemis”; see Robert 1983, 560, no. 10. Helena was the female part of this triad cult in Greece (Larson 2007, 189-92), but the visible mother goddess features on some of the steles, reliefs, and coin types from southwest Asia Minor seem to suggest that Helena here was mostly replaced by a local fertility/nature deity; see Delemen 2005, 162 n. 4. For the Dioskouroi as Soter, see, for example, Milner and Smith 1994, 71; Delemen 2005, 161-62, no. DT 1, fig. 15.

<sup>48</sup> As Delemen 1995, 298, type 1; but there also exists Type 2 where the Dioskouroi stand in front of their horses with the goddess in the middle.

<sup>49</sup> Crescent on kalathos as Delemen 1995, nos. 2, 6, 8, 23, 32; crescent on polos as Delemen 1995, nos. 5, 31.

<sup>50</sup> Şahin 1994, no. 85 (Kombike), no. 86 (Tharsenike and Thersenike), no. 87 (only Artemis); Bayburtluoğlu 2006, 63; Sancaktar 2019, 133-34 (four altars for Eleuthera), 134 (2 new altars for Kombike), 143 (two altars with inscriptions broken, but Artemis shown as Potnia Theron and Artemis Lagbene).

<sup>51</sup> Şahin 1994, no. 84.



iconographies and therefore creates a barrier and distinction between them. Anyhow, the iconography of the Dioskouroi on the steles found at Arykanda and the *ktistoi* on the coin type in Figure 18 are very different from the water-source deity seen on the Arykanda coins in figs. 1-6. Therefore, the water deity is not a hero or *ktistes* but must be someone else.

### Kakasbos as the Source Deity?

By eliminating all other possible candidates for the Arykanda coin type, only one is left. Kakasbos is the identity of the deity in connection with the water source, unless some new evidence is excavated that contradicts this identification. Yet, the iconography shown on the coin type is entirely new to Kakasbos and has never been seen before. As the coin does not name the deity and no inscriptional evidence is available from the excavated city limits or the territory of Arykanda in connection with this god, care is needed before such an identification is accepted. Kakasbos was merely one of the rider gods in southwest Asia Minor and several other candidates could be available. But the iconographic differences and geographical spread of these cults are helpful in determining the identity.

A Lykian funerary inscription from the period of the dynast Perikle of Zēmuri (Limyra) and later ruler of Lykia (ca. 380-360 BC), recorded at Kızılca, north of the Elmalı Plain, is probably the oldest document where Kakasbos is epigraphically attested.<sup>52</sup> The inscription contains the following phrase: “anybody who disgraces the tomb will be struck by Xaxakba”. The name “Xaxakba”<sup>53</sup> has long been accepted as the Lykian name of Kakasbos. Quite possibly its roots contain the Anatolian etymon “hahatwa-” (to strike) and the Lykian word “asba-” (horse).<sup>54</sup> Although the god began to be considered as a Lykian deity from this document written in Lykian script,<sup>55</sup> the name is not encountered on any other inscriptions elsewhere in Lykia. The distribution of the rock cult sanctuaries and steles with good provenances points to the Milyas region both in north Lykia and southwest Pisidia for the origins and spread of this cult.<sup>56</sup> The city of Khoma in Lykian Milyas, in whose territory Kızılca lay, seems to be a major centre of the cult as the city employed Kakasbos as a coin type during the Late Hellenistic period (fig. 34) and among the Gordianus III’s Lykian coinage (fig. 35). Both will be examined below.

During the Late Hellenistic - Early Roman times, Kakasbos seems to be associated with Herakles because of the club attribute.<sup>57</sup> On inscribed steles, rider gods holding clubs are

<sup>52</sup> Bean 1971, 22-23, no. 38; Frei 1990, 1808; Zinko 2002, 232; Talloen 2015, 71.

<sup>53</sup> R. Lebrun suggested that the reading should be transcribed as “Xaxasba”. If true, the name Kakasbos preserved its original form; see Lebrun and Raimond 2015, 91 n. 72.

<sup>54</sup> Lebrun 1998, 150-51; Locatelli 2015, 103-5; Lebrun and Raimond 2015, 84.

<sup>55</sup> Horsley 1999, 37.

<sup>56</sup> Talloen 2006, 749.

<sup>57</sup> The most recent general work that contains an updated catalogue of Kakasbos and Herakles steles and reliefs is Drouin 2014. Numbers 1-46, all inscribed and dedicated to Herakles, have few known find places, disregarding doubtful examples reported to be from Rhodes and Miletos. Of the 46, the 8 known find places are at Pogla, Isinda, Uylupınar, Ali Fahrettin, Dereköy and Kemer near Tefenni, and 2 from Olbasa. If the provenances are considered indicative, this implies that the Herakles dedications mostly come from southwest Pisidia. Those inscribed with Kakasbos (also Kakasbas, Kakaob, Kakathibos, Trikasbos) are listed in Drouin 2014, nos. 47-92. 26 of the 45 have known provenances, disregarding unlikely provenances at Rhodes and Halikarnassos. Of the known find places, 3 are from Seki, 10 from north of Oinoanda, 1 from inside Oinoanda, 1 from Araksa, 1 from Çobanisa in the Elmalı Plain, Çavdır, Nebiler, Karaköy (near Fethiye), 5 from Fethiye, Yuva south of Tefenni, and Söğüt near Balbura. These provenances show that the cult of Kakasbos existed in western Lykia, Kabalia and Milyas, both in the Elmalı Plain and southwest Pisidia. Arykanda, merely 25 kilometers away from Kızılca where the earliest



sometimes identified as Herakles, who also is named on the steles and also shown as a rider with a club. However, on some examples, iconographic differences between the two deities help to differentiate them. Herakles is usually nude and bearded and sometimes holds his club on his shoulder or upper arm, whereas Kakasbos is usually dressed in military gear and the club is always raised as if to strike.<sup>58</sup> On the reverse of a recently published coin type of Sagalassos by H. Köker, a nude rider without a helmet holds a club raised to strike. The rider is identified as Herakles, not Kakasbos, because of the similar iconographic differences, especially to the rider figure on the Hellenistic Khoma coin type (fig. 34) discussed below. This new evidence pushes the date of this rider cult and its iconography in Pisidia well into the Hellenistic period, when the coin is dated.<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand, at Arykanda Herakles was probably never considered a rider god and was very clearly defined in his more usual Greek form as a coin type (fig. 22).<sup>60</sup> At the site several works of art have a similar typology. Full-sized statue fragments, metal and bone statuettes, and marble sarcophagi with scenes of the twelve labours have been found.<sup>61</sup> Here he was also worshipped as the gymnasium god together with Hermes. An inscription from the Heroon of Hermaios has an agonistic relief (fig. 23) that shows, starting from left, a nude standing Herakles (for heavy sports), a herm (Hermes for light sports), a tripod with a cauldron, a column with two vessels on it (maybe money bags?), a one-handled vessel for oil or lot drawing, another column with the object it was carrying broken away, and a further unidentified object (maybe a quiver?).<sup>62</sup> In the inscription, it mentions that during Hermaios's term as gymnasiarch he dedicated agons to these gods. The evidence from Arykanda shows that there was no confusion here between the identities of Kakasbos and Herakles.

Why would Arykandean not use a regular Kakasbos image on their coins that would have been easily understood? The answer lies with what they have done with the iconography of (and maybe the whole cult of) their chief deity Helios.<sup>63</sup> At some point, maybe in the early 3rd century AD, the entire iconography of Helios was changed into a rider god, borrowing all the iconographic features from Kakasbos. So, when one was needed for the actual Kakasbos, the standard iconography was already taken and a new one had to be created.

Arykanda joined the Lykian League only after the end of Mithridatic War between 88-84 BC, perhaps in 81 BC.<sup>64</sup> Prior to the entrance of the city into the League, it had an autonomous

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Kakasbos name form was recorded as "Xaxakba", seems to lie in the area that uses the name Kakasbos and not Herakles. See also Candaş 2006 for an analysis of the cult.

<sup>58</sup> Delemen 1999, 7. Dressed examples are fewer (Drouin 2014, nos. 2-4, maybe 9, 17-22, 43, 45), but there are cuirassed examples as well (Drouin 2014, nos. 22, 35, 39, 42).

<sup>59</sup> Köker 2019, 470-71, 475, fig. 1.

<sup>60</sup> von Aulock 1974, nos. 38-40; illustrated example (fig. 22) is a new specimen excavated in Arykanda.

<sup>61</sup> Bayburtluoğlu 2006, 63-64, fig. 5.

<sup>62</sup> Şahin 1994, no. 162.

<sup>63</sup> See Sancaktar 2019 for a detailed study on the cult of Helios at Arykanda, an architectural examination of the excavated temple, and various archaeological finds made at the temenos and related to the cult of Helios from other points in the site.

<sup>64</sup> The Roman general Sulla, after winning the Mithridatic war, followed a policy of punishing the cities that had allied themselves with Mithridates, while rewarding Roman allies. When Sulla returned to Rome, he left Lucius Licinius Murena as his Legatus in Asia Minor. Murena probably was ordered to follow Sulla's policy, so between 84-82 BC he punished and abolished the Tetrapolis headed by Kibyra. Kibyra was attached to the province of Asia; Balboura and Bubon (and Oinoanda/Termessos Minor?) were given to the Lykian League (Strabo 13.4.17). See Magie 1950, 241-42; Mitchell 2005, 229; Kokkinia 2008, 18. In 81 BC, the Lykian League as a Roman ally during the Mithridatic War was rewarded by Rome; see Mitchell 2005, 231-32; Santangelo 2007, 122 n. 62. Rome probably formalized the

coinage that included three different types, with all obverses depicting a head of Helios (fig. 24).<sup>65</sup> This obverse type has been mistakenly described as “Sozon” in the literature, understandable in the light of similar busts employed on coinage elsewhere that are actually inscribed  $\text{C}\Omega\text{Z}\Omega\text{N}$  (fig. 25).<sup>66</sup> But, while no inscriptions exist naming Sozon in Arykanda, the obverse type of the coinage was in fact copied from that of Helios on the coins of Rhodos (fig. 26).<sup>67</sup> The similarities of the cult were recognized by the Rhodians. An anonymous follower of Pindaros described in an epigram, perhaps composed between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, the cult of Helios and its temple at Arykanda in the Hellenistic period.<sup>68</sup> The temple was discovered and excavated by Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu in 1990 and dated to the 4th century BC. The identification was made possible by a number of altars found inside the temple and in its vicinity that named and portrayed the god (figs. 27-28).<sup>69</sup> The temple seems to have been destroyed in the 2nd century AD, perhaps by the earthquake of AD 141/142 or some later, local calamity in the same century. The cult preserved its original nature up to this point as seen by the portrayal of the god on the altars (as in fig. 28) in a recognizable version of Helios similar to Hellenistic coins (fig. 24).<sup>70</sup>

When the cult was reorganized possibly in the early 3rd century AD, a radical change was made regarding the god’s image and possibly to the entire cult, syncretizing it with other cults.<sup>71</sup> The new image shows Helios as a rider god, with his portrayal entirely copied from that of Kakasbos. He is raising a club to strike and wearing military attire, with the only difference

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new territory given to the Lykian League, perhaps with the addition of further land towards the east, possibly parts of Milyas including Arykanda. A fragmentary inscription recorded at Korma (*TAM* II.3, no. 899), which is very near Arykanda, includes a *Senatus Consultum* with Sulla’s name. Had it been complete, it would have been possible to understand how the Lykian League was rewarded. If the absence of Arykanda among the period I and II phases of Lykian League coinage and the fact that the inscription at Korma would probably had been a document that affected that community in particular are considered together, it can be presumed that Podalia, Arykanda, Idebessos, Akalissos, and Korma were probably included in the new territory given to the Lykian League. This would have strengthened the northeast border of the Lykian League both against Termessos Major and against the cities on the eastern coast of Lykia that had recently left the League and started cooperating with pirates. The entrance of Podalia into the Lykian League has also recently been discussed in more detail in Tek 2020 and in connection to other cities of the Lykian Milyas including Arykanda.

<sup>65</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 24) is *Auctiones A.G.* 29, 360; type as Tek 2006, 776-77, nos. 50-51. A detailed study of the coinage of Arykanda is in preparation.

<sup>66</sup> Sometimes as Sozon (?), for example, Head 1911, 694; Weinreich 1927, 1250; Frei 1990, 1827; Efendioğlu 2010, 74. This disregards the fact that all images of Sozon on coinage and steles (cf. Delemen 1999, nos. 286-91) are from Roman Imperial times, while the Arykanda coins discussed are Hellenistic. Although the cult of Sozon exists in Lykia at Kitanaura and Sura (cf. Frei 1990, 1826-827; Efendioğlu 2010, 74-78), no inscriptions recovered at Arykanda mention Sozon at all. Illustrated example (fig. 25) is a coin of Themisonium, Naumann 44, 723.

<sup>67</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 26) is CNG EA. 266, 163 (19.10.2011)

<sup>68</sup> Schol. Pind. *Ol.* VII 35b: δύναται καὶ ἑτέρως ἐρμηνεύεσθαι τὸ πέλας ἐμβόλω ναίοντα. ἡ γὰρ Ῥόδος ἀντικρὺ μὲν κεῖται τῆς Λυκίας καὶ πλησίον· ἐν Λυκίᾳ δὲ ἐστὶ πόλις Ἀρύκανδα λεγομένη, ἧς πλησίον ἱερὸν τι χωρίον, ὃ πρότερον μὲν Ἐμβολοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ χωρίου· ἐκ γὰρ πολλῶν καὶ πλατέων τῶν παρακειμένων πετρῶν εἰς ὄξυ λήγει μέρος ἡ χώρα· νῦν δὲ προσονομάζεται Τριήρης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, ἐπεὶ ὡσπερ πλοῖον προσέουκεν ἡ θέσις τοῦ τόπου. ἐπεὶ οὖν μάλιστα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ θρησκευτήριόν ἐστιν Ἡλίου, Ῥόδιοι δὲ ἐξ Ἡλίου, διὰ τοῦτο ὡς οἰκειότερον καὶ προσφόρου μέμνηται τοῦ τόπου. δύναται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ μέρους περιφράσεως νοεῖσθαι τῆ τῆς Λυκίας πλησίον ὑπαρχούσῃ. σημειῶσαι ὅτι εἰς Ῥόδον τόπος ἐστὶν ἀποτεινῶν εἰς ὄξυ κατὰ Λυκίαν ἐμβόλω παραπλήσιος.

<sup>69</sup> Bayburtluoğlu 1991, 229-30; 1992, 412. See Sancaktar 2019, 24-55, 63-79, 121-30, 132-33, 143 for a detailed description of the cult and the finds.

<sup>70</sup> Sancaktar 2019, 143, pl. 72. The authors admit that it is almost impossible to date such local art, but these show the older version of the portrayal of the god and therefore should be earlier.

<sup>71</sup> Zeus and maybe Apollo may have been included in the cult earlier. It is unclear who else was added in the 3rd century modifications. Mithras could be an option as there was a cult of Helios-Mithras in Oinoanda; see the dedication inscription, together with one for Hermes, one for Zeus, and one for the Dioskouroi (cf. Milner and Smith 1994, 71-72).

being the rays spreading from his Thracian-type helmet. This is the image used as the most common coin type of Arykanda under Gordianus III (fig. 29).<sup>72</sup> This rider image was also commonly confused and labelled as Sozon. But as Delemen pointed out in her extensive study of the rider gods, the Sozon rider images on steles hold diverse attributes such as a spear, double axe, or phiale but never a club. This was a feature of Kakasbos/Herakles/Maseis.<sup>73</sup> The confusion in the identity of Arykanda's solar rider as Sozon was also noted by L. Robert, who instead pointed out the similarities of the type to Kakasbos.<sup>74</sup>

If the rider figure in Figure 29 is inspected closely, the deity is wearing a double chiton under his cuirass, with rider pants and boots underneath. These characteristics are also seen on a bronze rider figure found at the Temple of Helios (fig. 30) that portrays the god exactly as on the coin type. Although his horse and right arm are missing, the socket and the posture of the body shows that the arm was raised just as on the coin type. He was probably holding a club to strike while holding the reins in his left hand.

Did this new form of the god carry a different local name or epithet? The most important evidence identifying the new image of the god is a stele (fig. 31) excavated next to this bronze figure from the Temple of Helios. It is inscribed [...] ANEΣTHΣEN / [...] HAION ΣEΛENHN (“dedicated by X, to [the gods x and] Helios and Selene”). The name Selene is written just under her figure, easily recognizable from her female form and the crescent on her shoulders. The name Helios is written under a standing figure who wears a double chiton, rider pants, and possibly boots while holding an empty horse's bridle in his hand. Therefore, the rider image on Arykanda coins (fig. 29) was in fact the town's chief deity Helios. Even though the new iconography for the god is syncretic, there was no change to the name of the god and no epithet was added.<sup>75</sup>

As seen on the stele in Figure 31, the surviving fragment shows at least three figures (there may have been five figures) with the names surviving for two. The figure in the middle can be identified as Zeus because of another coin type from Arykanda<sup>76</sup> (fig. 32). Helios is seen on the

<sup>72</sup> The most numerous specimens known from Arykanda under Gordianus III belong to this type, minted with several different dies. This indicates that the deity shown was the most important one here; see von Aulock 1974, nos. 29-37, 48-50. Illustrated example (fig. 29) is CNG 93, 824.

<sup>73</sup> Delemen 1999, 39 and nos. 286-91; also see Labarre et al. 2006, 104.

<sup>74</sup> Robert 1946, 64-66 n. 1 on p. 66, which may have led Efendioglu (2010, 83-84) to believe that the Arykanda coin type is showing Kakasbos. Efendioglu (2008, 83, 92-93) also included in her Kakasbos catalogue coins of Alakissos, Korydalla, and Kyaneai (riders with spears), possibly missing Delemen's warning that “club” is the distinctive feature of Kakasbos. Riders with spears, such as those also seen on coins of Magnesia on the Maeander (Leukippos) or Kibyra (Kibyras) etc., should in fact be associated with eponymous founder heroes.

<sup>75</sup> Syncretic names such as “Helios Zeus Mithras” or one of the names of the Anatolian rider gods with a solar aspect such as Sozon. Epithets might have been “victorious”, “unbeaten”, or simply “Arykandean” etc.

<sup>76</sup> Illustrated example (fig. 32) is a new coin type excavated at Arykanda. This version of the type is unpublished in von Aulock 1974, but no. 47 in the catalogue is another version where the gods have changed places with Helios on the right and Zeus on the left. This is described by von Aulock wrongly as: “Gordian und Tranquillina? oder Sozon und Wagenlenker”. Helios alone as a charioteer is a common image known from various artwork from antiquity. But Zeus accompanying him would be unique to Arykanda. Zeus could well be the third figure featured on the stele (fig. 31). If *BMC Lyc.*, Arycanda, no. 3 truly belongs to Arykanda and not Ariassos, then he is another chief deity shown on the Hellenistic autonomous coinage of the town. A cult of “Zeus Nikator in the city” is named on an inscription from Kilepe near Arykanda (Wörrle 1996). S. Şahin (1994, 82) suggested that another epithet of Zeus at Arykanda could be Somende(us?) (μεγίστω ἐπικόφ θεῶ Σομενδε[.]). This could be the name of the mountain next to Arykanda and just like Zeus Solymos of Termessos. Şahin with Adak (2007, 202) further suggested that a summit at Akdağ, for example Kızlar Sivrisi, could have been named Somenda. But finds from Bonda Hill near Limyra have proven that the name of the deity is Sumendis. His main cult center was probably here where several steles, altars, and pillars were erected for this god; see Marksteiner et al. 2007. Perhaps the person mentioned on the altar found at Arykanda (M. Aur. Heliodoros) had made a vow there and erected an altar at Arykanda for this god.

left wearing a radiate Thracian helm, double chiton, and riding pants. His right hand is raised holding a club? (torch?) as if to strike, similar to his riding images above. On the right Zeus sits in a chariot holding a sceptre with his left hand, and a thunderbolt with his right. Both gods seem to be armed and ready to join a mythological battle.

Returning to the water deity on the coins (figs. 1-6) being discussed, while every aspect of this deity is very similar to Helios as rider discussed above (club, double chiton, rider pants, Thracian helmet), it can be seen that the main difference is the lack of rays on his helmet. Therefore, he cannot be Helios. We established above that he must have been Kakasbos and, as Kakasbos lost his typical rider image with club raised to strike to Helios, the Arykandean had to invent a new iconography for the god on their coins. It was different from the traditional pose that had existed for him before. Obviously, they knew very well how Kakasbos should look, since they were very close to the centre of this cult.

A bronze figurine excavated at Arykanda (fig. 33) shows the god exactly as he is known from steles and rock reliefs: riding a (now missing) horse, right hand raised to strike, holding a (now missing) club, and wearing a cuirass and Thracian helmet. This bronze figurine is very similar to a Khoma coin type minted under Gordianus III (fig. 35). On the Hellenistic coinage of Khoma, which should be dated prior to 46 BC when the town was incorporated into the Lykian League,<sup>77</sup> the major type has a head of Zeus on its obverses. On the reverses a rider figure holds a club, raised as if to strike, in his right hand, while he holds the reins of his horse with his left. He is wearing a chlamys, cuirass, and crested Corinthian helmet (fig. 34). On the reverses of the smaller unit, the club itself becomes the main type inside a wreath.<sup>78</sup> There are some changes to the iconography on the Gordianus III coins of Khoma.<sup>79</sup> While the pose of the rider remains the same, the figure now wears a Thracian helmet, riding pants, and boots, exactly like the Arykanda examples (fig. 35).

The helmet seems to be especially particular to this part of Milyas in Asia Minor.<sup>80</sup> This is not a Phrygian cap, but certainly a helmet with a brim/visor. Its back is visible on coins (figs. 1-6, 29, 32, 35) and on both bronze figures of Helios and Kakasbos (figs. 30 and 33). These helmets are very similar to the actual Thracian-type helmets excavated in Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, and Greece - ancient Thrace and Macedonia (fig. 36).<sup>81</sup> This fascination with a cultural element easily identified as “Thracian” used for two chief deities at Arykanda - Helios and Kakasbos - may well be related to the fact that the Arykandean identified themselves as Thracians or of Thracian descent.<sup>82</sup>

The coin type in figs. 1-6 emphasizes the horse’s right front leg, which is shown longer, lifted, and touching the water source. The horse is in fact striking the rock and creating the

<sup>77</sup> Mitchell 2005, 169, line 54.

<sup>78</sup> See Tek 2006, 777, nos. 56-57, figs. 30-32 for the types and dating of the Hellenistic coinage of Khoma.

<sup>79</sup> von Aulock 1974, no. 54. Apart from the new coin excavated at Arykanda (Tek 2002, no. 974) illustrated here (fig. 35), two more examples of this rare coin have appeared on the market: CNG 93, 826 and Paul-Francis Jacquier 38, 215.

<sup>80</sup> Possibly also at Idebessos. See Delemen 1996 for similar bronze Kakasbos figurines from Idebessos.

<sup>81</sup> For example, such as those in Schröder 1912; Andronicos 1979; Fol and Inkova 1998; Dimitrov 2002-2003; Juhel and Sanev 2011. This type is classified as “tiaraartige helm (tiara like helm)” in Dintsis 1986, 23-56.

<sup>82</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, V.95: “a latere autem eius super Pamphylia veniunt Thracum suboles Milyae, quorum Arycanda oppidum”. But this Thracian element is not particular to Arykanda, but also common to the rest of the Milyas cities. For example, the people of Arykanda’s northern neighbour Podalia were called Thracian: Steph. Byz. *Ethnika* 530.10, Ποδάλεια, πόλις Λυκίας πλησίον Λιμύρων. ὁ πολίτης Ποδαλεώτης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ποδάργης ἔθνος Θράκης. See Hall 1986, 152-54, for the rest of the evidence on Thracians in Milyas.

spring. This recalls Pegasus creating the source called Hippokrene on Mount Helikon by striking the rock there.<sup>83</sup> By this aspect, Pegasus was regarded as the horse of the Muses, perhaps more celebrated as such in modern times than antiquity. The Hippokrene source was an “inspiring well/source of the Muses”.<sup>84</sup> The Lykians would have been very familiar with the stories of Bellerophon and Pegasus. Arykandians, once again being creative, adopted these Pegasus myths on the creation of Hippokrene and elsewhere to their water source and to the horse of their god Kakasbos. But there is no evidence about what the sacred waters of the Arykanda source were supposed to do, such as inspiring, giving oracles, or healing.<sup>85</sup> So, to sum up, Kakasbos was the protector of the source at Arykanda, and it was his horse that actually created it.<sup>86</sup>

One needs to go no further than Suyun Gözü, the main water source at Arykanda, to discover what the coin type meant as this sacred spring. Was it called another Hippokrene or possibly, in Arykanda’s case, Kakasboukrene? The water source here is situated on the west side of the city, and the area also marks the starting point of the earlier necropolis (figs. 39-40). Here most of the Lykian-type rock tombs exist, although none are inscribed in Lykian.<sup>87</sup> The rock façade forming the southeast side of the water source was carved with several rectangular slots<sup>88</sup> for the placement of steles, all now missing (fig. 40). Photographs of the area taken in 1892 (fig. 37)<sup>89</sup> and in 1954<sup>90</sup> (fig. 38) show that this rock sanctuary was higher than the road (seen in fig. 37) and majestically visible to travellers. Unfortunately, the whole area in front of the sanctuary is now filled in to a height of several meters by modern road construction and by the creation of a modern market area. But the rock sanctuary and the water source are still visible behind the market stalls.

Today it takes a lot of effort to understand the diverse and fascinating types employed on Arykanda’s coinage and why the civic cults were represented in such a complicated way. But these images were well known and easily recognized by the local population for whom the coins were minted. For one moment between AD 242-244 when these coins were minted, we delve into the “official testimony” of the cults in the city via types selected by the city elite who decided what was to be minted. The picture we see is a complex transformation, very different

<sup>83</sup> Aratus *Phaen.*, 205-25; Strabon 8. 6. 20; Paus. 9. 31. 3; Ant. Lib. *Met.*, 9; Hyginus *Astronomica*, 2. 18; Ovid. *Fasti* 3.449-58; Ovid. *Met.*, 5.254-56; Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, XLIV. 6-9. There were other water sources and wells believed to have been created by Pegasus at Trozene (Paus. 2.31.9) and Peirene in Corinth (Statius *Thebaid*, IV.60).

<sup>84</sup> This raises the question of how the 9 figures seen on steles in Lykia were understood - as plain nymphs or as inspiring Muses? Possibly, many “inspiring” sources like Hippokrene existed in Lykia. On the 10 reliefs and steles known from Lykia with 7 or more figures (cf. Dağlı 2011, no. 8-18), the female figures usually hold musical instruments like Muses. In Naour (1976, no. 20=Dağlı 2011, no. 9, there are ten figures with the larger one on the extreme right holding a kithara. So he is Apollo seemingly with his nine Muses. Apollo is also next to nine female figures at the Yukarıovacık relief (cf. Tiryaki 2018). On the other hand, out of these 10 representations (cf. Dağlı 2011, nos. 13, 15, 17-18), the present inscriptions clearly name them as nymphs. In that case, the sources they were connected to may have been “inspiring” ones that copy the Hippokrene.

<sup>85</sup> R. Lebrun and É. Raimond (2015, 98) considered the cult of Kakasbos as an oracular one.

<sup>86</sup> Kakasbos was also connected to a spring at Yankınar in Balboura’s territory; see Smith 1997, 18.

<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, some of the rock tombs closest to the water source were damaged and destroyed when the Elmali-Finike highway was constructed in the 1960s. The construction enlarged and filled in the sides of the ancient road that existed here.

<sup>88</sup> Four stele slots still exist, and their measurements from south to north are: (1) h. 92 x w. 65 cm; (2) h. 110 x w. 59 cm; (3) h. 134 x w. 102 cm; and (4) h. 151 x w. 113 cm.

<sup>89</sup> Krickl 2005, 127, no. II.28

<sup>90</sup> Onat 1954.

from what was shown on Hellenistic examples. At Arykanda, the excavations have provided more clues for numismatics, such as steles, inscriptions, and sculpture, to identify who and what was meant on the coin types. It makes one wonder how many more clues are waiting to be discovered for other unexplored mints where no such evidence is (as yet) available and the researcher is left only with the coin types.



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#### Auction Firms Mentioned in the Text:

Auctiones A.G.

Leu=Bank Leu Ltd., Zurich

CNG=Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

Künker=Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG

GM=Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH.

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Naville=Naville Numismatics

Naumann=Numismatik Naumann

Paul-Francis Jacquer

Roma Numismatics=Roma Numismatics Ltd.

Savoca=Savoca Numismatic





FIG. 1 Arykanda Cat. no. 1.



FIG. 2 Arykanda Cat. no. 2.



FIG. 3 Arykanda Cat. no. 3.



FIG. 4 Arykanda Cat. no. 4.



FIG. 5 Arykanda Cat. no. 5.



FIG. 6 Arykanda Cat. no. 6.



FIG. 7 AE, 9.95g, 24mm;  
Limyra, Gordian III, reverse with River God  
Limyros (Savoca EA 16, 389)  
(25.06.2017).



FIG. 8 AE, 17.12g, 27mm; 12h; Patara, Gordian III,  
reverse with, on right, a Nymph sitting on rocks  
supporting an urn on her knee, with a goat (or  
lamb?) and, on left, Dionysos holding his Thyrsos  
(Roma Numismatics, e-sale 60, 556) (01.08.2019).



FIG. 9 AE, 19.24g, 31mm, 12h, Myra,  
Gordian III, reverse with a statue of Apollo  
Propylaeus drawing his bow, on a column with  
elaborate capital, flanked by two laurel trees  
in a space enclosed by a fence (CNG 88, 915)  
(14.09.2011).



FIG. 10 AE, 22.61g; Myra, Gordian III, reverse  
with, on right, a standing semi-nude male figure  
(Apollo or Asklepios?) leaning to a tree trunk with  
snake coiled around it and, on left, a standing  
fully-dressed female figure (Nymph or Hygieia?)  
(GM 147, 1847) (07.03.2006).



FIG. 11 AE, 20.04g, 29mm, 12; Limyra, Gordian III, reverse with gazelle (or goat?) and zebu drinking water from oracular source. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 1972.859 (Photo: <https://www.mfa.org/>).



FIG. 12 AE, 0.96g, 11mm, Dynast Perikle (c. 380-360 BC). Obv. forepart of goat right. Rev. Triskeles with Perikle's name in Lykian (Roma Numismatics, E-sale 39, 289) (26.08.2017).



FIG. 13 AE, 8.20g, 27mm, 6h, Laodikeia (Phrygia), Philip II as Caesar, reverse with two facing animals symbolizing the rivers Lykos (wolf) and Kapros (boar) (CNG 87, 850) (18.05.2011).



FIG. 14 AE, 18.29g; Kyaneai, Gordian III, reverse with Apollo Thyrsos, holding a bow in his left hand and a branch (or laurel crown) with ribbons in his right which he seems to place on the rocks at left (von Aulock 1974, no. 92, pl. 6).



FIG. 15 AE, 23.74g; Kyaneai, Tranquillina, reverse with, on left, Hermes holding Kerykeion, reclining on rocks, and, on right, Apollo Thyrsos, holding a branch over an altar at centre (GM 199, 606) (10.10.2011).



FIG. 16 AE, 18.74g, Arneai, Gordian III, reverse with Nymph and Pan. British Museum Inv. 1978.1021.3 (Photo: A.T. Tek).





FIG. 17 Limestone stele from Arykanda excavated in 1997 and now in the Antalya Museum, showing a triad of Nymphs (Photo: H. Sancaktar).



FIG. 18 AE, 37.15g, 6h, Arykanda, Gordian III, reverse with Aryas and Kandos, the eponym founders of Arykanda, named above and below figures with attributes of the Dioskouroi. British Museum Inv. 1991,0619.1 (Photo: A.T. Tek).



FIG. 19 AE, 18.25g, Arykanda, Tranquillina, reverse with scene of an eagle sitting on top of a wild boar's head, possibly referring to the oracle on the foundation of Arykanda (Auctiones A.G. 29, 361) (12.06.2003).



FIG. 20 Limestone stele from Arykanda excavated in 2012 and now in the Antalya Museum, showing the triad of Dioskouroi with a female deity (Photo: H. Sancaktar).



FIG. 21 AV medallion (?) from Arykanda excavated in 1992 and now in the Antalya Museum, showing the Dioskouroi flanking a female deity (Photo: H. Sancaktar).



FIG. 22 AE, 15.55g, 30 mm; 12h; Arykanda, Gordian III, reverse with Herakles. Excavated on the Arykanda Acropolis in 2018 and now in the Antalya Museum (Photo: H. Sancaktar).



FIG. 23 Limestone inscription with relief from Arykanda, Heroon of Hermaios excavated in 1984, showing Herakles on the left with other Agon related items (Şahin 1994, no. 162, pl. 29).



FIG. 24 AE, 4.73g, Arykanda, 2nd-1st century BC (Before 81 BC). Obv. radiate bust of Helios right. Rev. Apollo Daphneus, standing holding bow and leaning on pillar (Auctiones A.G. 29, 360) (12.06.2003).



FIG. 25 AE, 5.89g, 22mm; Themisionium (Phrygia), Late 2nd-mid 3rd century AD. Obv. radiate and draped bust of Sozon named CQZQN in legend (Naumann, 44, 723) (07.08.2016).



FIG. 26 AR, 3.00g, 15mm; 12h; Rhodes, c. 188-170 BC. Obv. radiate head of Helios (CNG EA 266, 163) (19.10.2011).



FIG. 27 Limestone altar excavated at the Temple of Helios in 1990, inscribed HΛIOΥ (of Helios) and now in the Antalya Museum (Sancaktar 2019, Cat. no. Y6).



FIG. 28 Limestone altar excavated at the Temple of Helios in 1990, with radiate and draped bust of Helios facing, now in the Antalya Museum (Sancaktar 2019, Cat. no. AS1).



FIG. 29 AE, 23.51g, 32mm, 12h; Arykanda, Gordian III, reverse with syncretic Helios riding (CNG 93, 824) (22.05.2013).



FIG. 30 Bronze figurine from Arykanda depicting syncretic Helios riding a horse (now missing), with right hand (now missing) holding club raised to strike, and with left holding the reins. Excavated at the Temple of Helios in 2002 and now in the Antalya Museum (Sancaktar 2019, Cat. no. F1).

FIG. 31  
Fragmentary limestone relief with inscription from Arykanda, excavated from the Temple of Helios in 2002. The inscription says “dedicated by X, to (the gods X or more) Helios and Selene”. Present fragment shows three figures, Helios in the middle named under dressed in rider attire and holding the bridle of his horse, Selene, also named under, standing facing with crescent on her shoulders and a bull’s head beside her feet. Now in Elmalı Museum (Sancaktar 2019, Cat. no. Y16).







FIG. 32 AE, 17.71g, 28/29mm, 6h, Arykanda, Gordian III, reverse with Helios wearing rayed Thracian helmet, holding club in raised right hand and reins in left, seated on left; and Zeus, holding thunderbolt in right hand and scepter in left, seated on right in a quadriga going right. Excavated from Arykanda in 1989 and now in the Antalya Museum (Photo: A.T. Tek).



FIG. 33 Bronze figure excavated in Arykanda, depicting Kakasbos, riding horse (now missing), in right hand holding club (now missing) raised to strike, and in left holding the reins (Photo: H. Sancaktar).



FIG. 34 AE, 3.75g, 15mm; Khoma, 1st century BC (Before 46 BC).  
Obv. laureate head of Zeus right.  
Rev. Kakasbos wearing crested Corinthian helmet, chlamys and cuirass, riding his horse right with right hand raised holding club. Between the horse's legs XΩ (Savoca Blue 10, 710) (29.09.2018).



FIG. 35 AE, 15.35g, 29/31mm, 12h; Khoma, Gordian III, reverse with Kakasbos wearing Thracian helmet, chlamys and cuirass, riding his horse right with right hand raised holding club. Excavated from Arykanda in 1990 and now in the Antalya Museum, Inv. 7946 (Tek 2002, no. 974) (Photo: A.T. Tek).



FIG. 36 Thracian-type helmet excavated from Sashova Tumulus at Kazanlak in Thrace, Bulgaria, National Museum, Sofia.

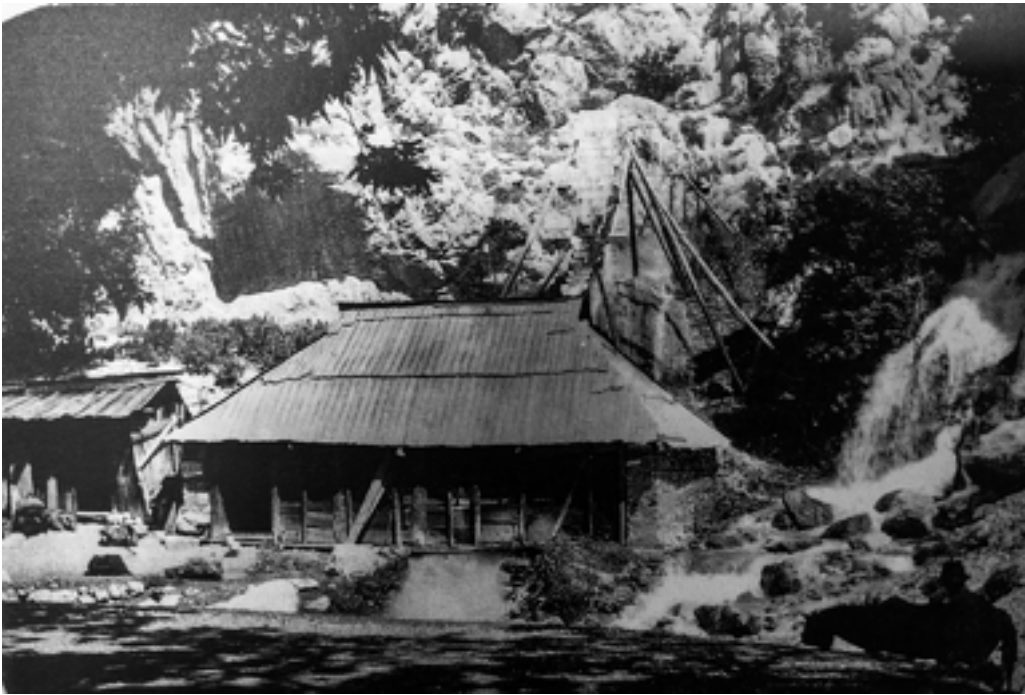


FIG. 37 Water mill and road at Suyun Gözü as photographed in 1892. The water source and the first stele set on the rocks are visible on the right (E. Krickl, 1892).

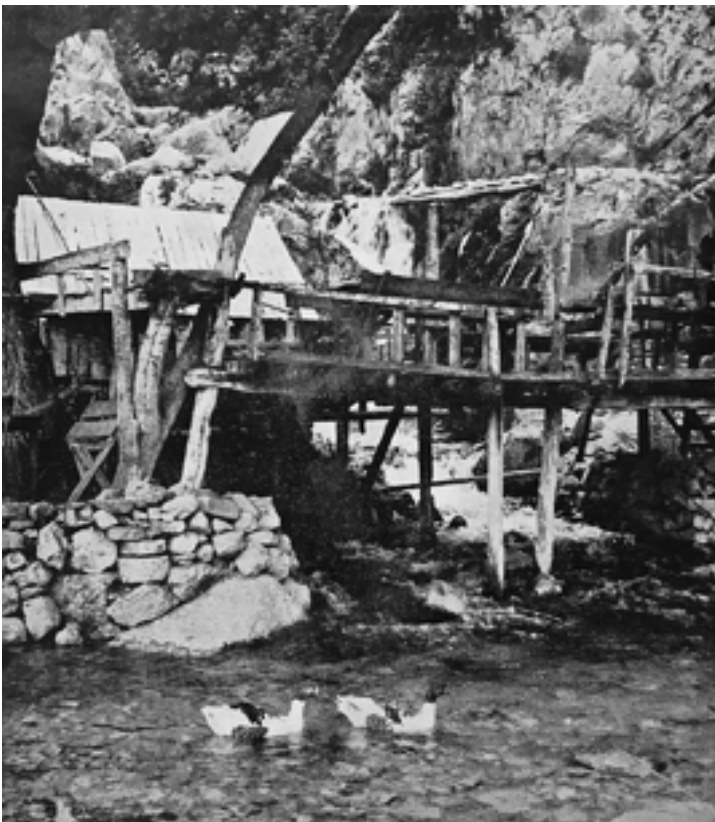


FIG. 38 Water mill and coffee house at Suyun Gözü as photographed in 1950 before the area was filled in for the new road. Rock with stele setting is visible on the right towards top (Onat 1964).



FIG. 39 Water source and rock sanctuary at Suyun Gözü as photographed in 2006  
(Photo: A.T. Tek).



FIG. 40 Stele slots on the face of the rock sanctuary at Suyun Gözü in 2006  
(Photo: A.T. Tek, 2006).





# The Discovery of a Menorah in Attalia (Kaleiçi, Antalya) and its Significance for Jewish Communities in Pamphylia

MARK WILSON\*

## Abstract

The presence of Jews in the region of Pamphylia in Asia Minor is documented in ancient literary and epigraphical texts. However, little archaeological realia have been found documenting their existence. Therefore, the discovery of a marble colonette fragment with a menorah during a rescue excavation in ancient Attalia, the old city Kaleiçi of Antalya, is significant. This article first discusses the textual and epigraphical evidence for Jews in Pamphylia. It next recounts how the Attalia menorah was discovered, then discusses details of the colonette and its menorah. A review of menorah comparanda follows with suggested interpretations for the function of the colonette and its menorah. The article concludes by setting the menorah and its discovery in the larger historical narrative of Jews in southern Asia Minor.

**Keywords:** Attalia, Pamphylia, Menorah, Jewish community

## Öz

Küçük Asya'da Pamphylia bölgesindeki Yahudilerin varlığı, antik edebi ve epigrafik metinlerde tespit edilebilmektedir. Buna karşın, bu varlığı belgeleyecek arkeolojik kanıtlar sayıca azdır. Bu nedenle, Antalya'nın (antik Attaleia) eski yerleşimi olan Kaleiçi semtindeki bir kurtarma kazısı sırasında üzerinde bir menora tasvirinin yer aldığı küçük bir mermer sütun parçasının bulunması önemlidir. Bu makalede, önce, Pamphylia'daki Yahudilerin varlığına ilişkin edebi ve epigrafik kanıtlardan bahsedilmektedir. Daha sonra, Attaleia menorası'nın keşfi ve ardından da menora tasvirli mermer bloğun kendisi ele alınmaktadır. Menoraların bilinen başka örneklerle karşılaştırılmasıyla, burada ele alınan mermer blok ve üzerindeki menoranın işlevine ilişkin yorum ve önerilerde bulunmaktadır. Makale, menora ve keşfinin, Küçük Asya'nın güneyindeki Yahudilerin geniş bir tarihsel öyküsü kapsamında değerlendirilmesiyle sona ermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Attaleia, Pamphylia, Menora, Yahudiler

## Introduction

The presence of Jews in Asia Minor during the Roman and Late Antique periods is known from ancient literary texts.<sup>1</sup> The material culture of these communities is evidenced in the long-known of synagogues at Sardis and Priene as well as the recently discovered synagogue in Lycia at Andriake, the port of Myra.<sup>2</sup> The identification of these structures was secured by the

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography see Trebilco 1991, 264-300, and more recently Van der Horst 2015 in his chapters, "The Jews of Ancient Phrygia" and "Judaism in Asia Minor," 134-60.

<sup>2</sup> These synagogues are well documented: for Sardis see Seager and Kraabel 1983; for Priene see Burkhardt and Wilson 2013; for Andriake see Çevik et al. 2010. For an updated overview see Wilson 2019b, 122-31.

menoroth –the seven-armed candlestick– found at all three synagogues. Individual menorahs have also been discovered in numerous other ancient sites in Turkey in various contexts, such as at Sebastopolis and the necropolis at Hierapolis.<sup>3</sup> However, in Mediterranean Turkey, Çevik has observed that “there is a paucity of information regarding the Jews in the Roman province of Lycia and Pamphylia.”<sup>4</sup> Pamphylia is the coastal plain situated below the Taurus Mountains with Pisidia bordering to the north, Lycia to the west,<sup>5</sup> and Rough Cilicia to the east. Of its main cities Attalia and Side were situated on the coast, while Perge, Sillyon, and Aspendos were located inland along a road that connected all the cities.<sup>6</sup> Pisidia is directly linked to the cities of Pamphylia by roads and tracks, most notably the Via Sebaste built by Augustus in 6 BC.<sup>7</sup>

Applebaum suggests that in Pamphylia “a considerable part of the Jewish population in the region was rural, and unattached to city communities.”<sup>8</sup> If Applebaum’s point is to highlight the non-urban situation of Jews in the region, the claim is unrealistic. A look at Grainger’s suggested boundaries for the *chorai* of the cities of Pamphylia shows that only a short distance separated them.<sup>9</sup> The longest distance is between Aspendos and Side –approximately 30 kilometers. Thus any “rural” Jew living in Pamphylia would be within a few hour’s walk of a major Pamphylian city. And given the relationship of Hellenistic cities to the *chorai*, it is inconceivable that these areas around the cities would be “unattached to city communities.” Thus Applebaum’s point is lost amidst Pamphylia’s geographical realities.

## Jews in Pamphylia and Southern Pisidia

### Textual Evidence

Much textual evidence exists to document the presence of Jews in southern Asia Minor. Pamphylia and Side are among the places mentioned by the Roman consul Lucius in 139 BC. In his circular letter written at the behest of the Roman Senate, he admonished rulers, countries, and cities to be friendly to the Jews.<sup>10</sup> Herod I, in his letter to Gaius Caligula, mentioned Pamphylia among the places in Asia Minor where a Jewish community existed.<sup>11</sup> Jews from Pamphylia were among the Diaspora communities gathered in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost described by Luke in Acts 2:10.

Paul and Barnabas arrived in and departed from Pamphylia on their first journey dated around AD 46–48. Paul’s *modus operandi* was first to visit the local synagogue, if one existed. On the first journey he spoke in synagogues at Salamis (Acts 13:5), Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:14–15, 32), and Iconium (Acts 14:1). On their return Paul preached at Perga, although where

<sup>3</sup> For Sebastopolis see Le Guen-Pollet and Rémy 1991; for Hierapolis see Miranda 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Çevik et al. 2010, 345.

<sup>5</sup> For a review of Jewish communities in Lycia, see Wilson 2019a, 11–17.

<sup>6</sup> Phaselis and Korakesion are sometimes reckoned as Pamphylian cities; however, here they are regarded in Lycia and Rough Cilicia respectively; see Grainger 2009, xi–xiii and passim.

<sup>7</sup> These routes to the interior are discussed in Wilson 2009, 472–83.

<sup>8</sup> Applebaum 1974, 486.

<sup>9</sup> Grainger 2009, 35, map 2.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Maccabees 15:23. Williams 1998, 2, notes that the date and authenticity of this letter are disputed. Nevertheless, “the picture that it gives of the Diaspora in the first decades of the 1st century BC, the period when 1 Maccabees is thought to have been written, is entirely consistent with other evidence for the extent of the Diaspora at that time.”

<sup>11</sup> Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 36. Williams 1998, 3, again notes that, while the speech is largely or wholly an invention of Philo, “the situation it describes is entirely plausible....” She points to Acts 2:5–11 as supporting Philo’s description.

this took place is unmentioned (Acts 14:24-25). Carroll writes that “it is likely that there were Jews in the city of Perga during Paul’s missionary activities there,”<sup>12</sup> with Gasque positing there was “presumably a synagogue.”<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, no archaeological evidence for such a structure in Perga has yet been discovered. The Western text of Acts 14:25 states that Paul also preached in Attalia. As Metzger states, this reading suggests “that the apostles conducted a preaching mission there before sailing for Antioch.”<sup>14</sup> If synagogues did exist in first-century Perga and Attalia, Paul’s *modus operandi* of ministry suggests he would have preached in them.<sup>15</sup>

A remarkable martyrdom account, coming from Magydus the port of Perga, dates around AD 250 during the persecution under Decius.<sup>16</sup> A gardener (*bortulanus*) named Conon was working on an imperial estate there and questioned in court about his background.<sup>17</sup> He replied, “I am of the city of Nazareth in Galilee, I am of the family (*συγγένεια*) of Jesus, whose worship I have inherited from my ancestors, and whom I recognize as God over all things.”<sup>18</sup> Conon was therefore among those relatives of Jesus whom Julius Africanus called *δεσπότες*, meaning “those who belong to the Master or Sovereign (*δεσπότης*).”<sup>19</sup> To inform the governor of Pamphylia about Conon’s background, the local Jewish community is said to have produced “records” telling about Jesus, his family, his works in Judea, and his violent death as a criminal.<sup>20</sup> At the time Nazareth was a Jewish city. Although much of the account dates to a later period and may be fictional, Bauckham nevertheless argues that “the sheer unexpectedness of a record of a member of the family of Jesus in Pamphylia at a time when, to judge by extant Christian literature of the period, the church at large had lost all interest in the living members of that family, argues for the authenticity of at least this part of the account.”<sup>21</sup> Conon’s martyrdom was commemorated on 5 March in the pre-Byzantine Palestinian liturgical calendar and in the 4th-century Catholic Church. The account does point to the presence of a Jewish community near Attalia in the Late Imperial period.

## Inscriptional Evidence

Inscriptional evidence exists from the Late Antique period as well. From the necropolis at Beth She’arim in Israel comes a funerary stele dating to the 3rd to 4th century AD that mentions an *archibisnagogos* named Iakos of Caesarea who was originally from Pamphylia.<sup>22</sup> Early evidence of Jews in Perga is a dedicatory inscription at Aphrodisias on Face II (Reynolds call this Face a) that mentions Samuel, an elder from Perga (*Σαμουηλ πρεσβύτερος Πέργεος*). Reynolds and Tannenbaum write that “the only explanation we can suggest is that this is a form of the ethnic

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<sup>12</sup> Carroll 1992, 138.

<sup>13</sup> Gasque 1992.

<sup>14</sup> Metzger 1975, 425.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson 2018, 355.

<sup>16</sup> See Bauckham 2004, 121-25.

<sup>17</sup> A marble block now in the Side Museum portrays a standing, robed figure with outstretched arms. The name KONON is inscribed above it. Whether this figure is connected with the Conon of Magydus is still debated; see Elam 2011, 438, 447, fig. 21 for a photo of the figure and inscription.

<sup>18</sup> *Martyrdom of Conon* 4.2

<sup>19</sup> Eusebius *Church History* 1.7.14.

<sup>20</sup> Fox 1986, 483.

<sup>21</sup> Bauckham 2004, 122.

<sup>22</sup> Ameling 2004, no. 217.

for the city of Perge in Pamphylia, for which the attested form is Πέργαϊος.<sup>23</sup> They prefer to interpret Samuel's appellation as indicating he is the "older" one to distinguish him among others in the community, since Samuel is a common name. Fairchild interprets this as a designation for an officeholder in the synagogue and that Samuel was most likely serving as an envoy from Perge to Aphrodisias.<sup>24</sup> Reynolds and Tannenbaum regard such a suggestion as "highly speculative."<sup>25</sup> Chaniotis has convincingly argued for a date for this inscription after AD 350 and probably in the early 5th century.<sup>26</sup>

Two Jewish inscriptions have been found at Side. One,<sup>27</sup> likely dating to the 4th century, mentions a "first synagogue" (πρώτης συναγωγῆς) whose administrator was a man named Isaac. He completed some projects for the building including the cleaning of two seven-armed lampstands (*heptamyxion*). A second inscription,<sup>28</sup> dated variously from the 4th to 6th century, mentions a presbyter and weight-checker named Leontios, son a weight-checker named Jacob. Leontios supervised the installation of a fountain (κρήνη) in the inner court probably of a synagogue. An incomplete title for Jacob - ἄρχ - has been variously interpreted as *archidiakonos*, *archipresbyteros*, *archontos*, or *archisynagogos*.<sup>29</sup> The inscriptions point to the presence of a synagogue in Side during the Late Antique period.

An inscription from Choma (Sarılar), published by Bean and Harrison,<sup>30</sup> is thought to suggest a Jewish community in Perge. Fairchild believes that it "indicates a Jewish presence among Perge's artisan community."<sup>31</sup> The dedicator, Osses son of Osabimis, sponsored the carving of emblems of war - a shield, spear, sword, and helmet - on the tomb of his grandfather Osses and his great-grandfather Manossas. He hired a stone artisan from Perge named Paion, son of Mousaios, to carve these emblems.<sup>32</sup> Fairchild claims that Mousaios and Manossas are Hellenized Jewish names for Moses and Manasseh, and that Paeon's family came from Perge; his involvement with sculpture "may indicate that some Jewish artisans migrated the short distance from Perge to Choma."<sup>33</sup> This deduction is unlikely for several reasons. First, this inscription is an example of a verse epitaph for Hellenistic soldiers, according to Barbantani, who dates the inscription to the 4th-3rd century BC.<sup>34</sup> Second, Manossas and Mousaios are not of the same family but relatives of the dedicator and the artisan. Regarding these names, Bean and Harrison note that Osses and Manossas are Lycian names while "Paion of Perge has

<sup>23</sup> Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, 42.

<sup>24</sup> Fairchild 2013, 55, 57.

<sup>25</sup> Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, 42.

<sup>26</sup> Chaniotis 2010, 39, 77 n. 4; 2002, 218.

<sup>27</sup> Nollé 2001, 191.

<sup>28</sup> Nollé 2001, 190.

<sup>29</sup> See Ameling 2004, 462-69, nos. 219-20, for a discussion and bibliography of these inscriptions.

<sup>30</sup> Bean and Harrison 1967, 43-44; 40, pl. V.1-2. The inscription can also be viewed on the Packard Humanities Epigraphy website (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/regions/1367>) under ΠΑΙΩΝ in Pamphylia.

<sup>31</sup> Fairchild 2013, 58.

<sup>32</sup> The words ΠΑΙΩΝ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΟΥ are visible on the left side of the inscription on the third line from the bottom. A photograph and squeeze of the inscription can be found in Bean and Harrison 1967, 40, pl. V.1-2. A photograph of its lower left lines can be seen at "Sarılar, Turkey," *Bryn Mawr Collections*, (<http://brynmawrcollections.org/home/items/show/9091>).

<sup>33</sup> Fairchild 2013, 58.

<sup>34</sup> Barbantani 2014, 319. This is much earlier than Fairchild who follows Bean and Harrison for a late Hellenistic/early Roman date.

a good Pamphylian name, occurring several times at Side.”<sup>35</sup> In his index of Jewish personal names in Asia Minor, Ameling does not list anyone named Manossas.<sup>36</sup> However, he does give one example of a Moses - a priest from Ephesus named Marcus Moussios.<sup>37</sup> An inscription found in Sebastopolis (Sulusaray) names a Mouses (Μουσης) as *archisynagogos*. With its depiction of a menorah, it incontrovertibly links the name to a Jewish context there.<sup>38</sup> Ilan notes that a “Moses” was possibly at Termessos but admits that, since most of the name is missing, the “editor suggested this reading.”<sup>39</sup> She notes further that “many times scholars identified similar looking names as Moses and then as Jews, but this is a circular argument.”<sup>40</sup> This appears to be the case with Fairchild’s identification, so it is tenuous to argue for a Jewish presence in Perge based on this inscription from Choma.

Pednelissos was located just north of Sillyon in the foothills of the Taurus Mountains. Fairchild discusses an inscription found there from the Trajanic period whose dedicatee was Salmon. He concludes that since Salmon (Solomon) is a Jewish name, the inscription “may suggest a Jewish presence at Pednelissos in this early period.”<sup>41</sup> However, Salmon is not among Ameling’s list of Jewish personal names found in Asia Minor.<sup>42</sup> Importantly, Salmon is also not listed by Ilan as a Jewish name found in the western Diaspora.<sup>43</sup> Among Pisidian cities with known Jewish inscriptions only Sidibunda and Termessos are listed in Ameling’s corpus. An appeal to this inscription for a Jewish community in Pednelissos is thus problematic.

At Termessos, just northwest of Attalia, a funerary inscription for Aurelia Artemis was found in the necropolis.<sup>44</sup> In the epitaph, dated to the 3rd century AD, she is identified as an Ἰουδαία. Ilan notes that such isolated use of the term *Ioudaios* in this context “was a way of marking a Jewish tomb within a non-Jewish cemetery.”<sup>45</sup> Since the epitaph of her uncle, Markos Aurelius Moles, makes a customary reference to Zeus Solymeis,<sup>46</sup> Aurelia’s family was undoubtedly pagan. Her father Markos Aurelius Hermaios had either married a Jewish woman or, as Williams suggests, “both the separateness of her burial, as well as the omission from her epitaph of the customary reference to Zeus Solymeis, points more strongly towards her having been a proselyte.”<sup>47</sup> Whichever interpretation is adopted, there must have been a Jewish community nearby, either in Attalia or Perge, where Aurelia might worship in a synagogue or be instructed in Judaism.

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<sup>35</sup> Bean and Harrison 1967, 43.

<sup>36</sup> Ameling 2004, 591, 592. Ilan 2008, 136, does not cite this as a form of Manaseh either.

<sup>37</sup> Ameling 2004, 157-58, no. 33. Williams 2002 does not cite this inscription among the six examples of Jewish usage of Moses as a personal name. This expands her 1997b article on the Jewish use of Moses as a personal name. She is countering Derda 1997, 1999, who contends that only Christians used the name of Moses until the 9th century AD. Williams 2013, 337 concludes that Jews “did on occasion use Moses as a personal name.”

<sup>38</sup> Ful and Sorensen 2014.

<sup>39</sup> Ilan 2008, 137 no. 13; 138 no. 40. Ameling 2004, 455 n. 27 is referenced as her source.

<sup>40</sup> Ilan 2008, 137 n. 1. The immediate context is the articles by Williams 1997a, 1997b and Derda 1997, 1999.

<sup>41</sup> Fairchild 2013, 58.

<sup>42</sup> Ameling 2004, 594.

<sup>43</sup> Ilan 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Ameling 2004, 453-55, no. 216.

<sup>45</sup> Ilan 2006, 73.

<sup>46</sup> TAM III 1, 612.

<sup>47</sup> Williams 1997a, 262; see also Ameling 2004, 453-55, no. 216.

At Pisidian Melli (Milyas) a house with a west-facing apsed sanctuary has been identified which, according to Mitchell, “recalls the position of early Christian churches or the smaller synagogues of the Jewish diaspora, which were integrated into the housing area of communities.”<sup>48</sup> He concludes that this sanctuary was probably designed for monotheistic worship of *theos hypsistos* in a form of “soft monotheism.”<sup>49</sup> Citing Mitchell, Fairchild suggests that this apsed chapel “may have been a synagogue or a church”<sup>50</sup> and that “the presence of this cult seems to testify to the existence of Jewish or Christian congregations in the area.”<sup>51</sup> However, Mitchell makes no such inference other than to observe that the sanctuary’s location “recalls” that of smaller Diaspora synagogues. This structure in Melli is not a Jewish synagogue nor does it provide any evidence for a Jewish community in the area.

In conclusion, the textual and inscriptional evidence clearly indicates that Jews lived in and around Pamphylia during the Roman and Late Antique periods. Yet as late as 2009 Türkoğlu could observe that “it is worth noting that the recent salvage excavations at Kaleiçi and especially at the necropolis at Halk Pazarı and Doğu Garajı, have unfortunately not shed light onto the origins of the Jewish presence in the city of Antalya.”<sup>52</sup>

## The Discovery of the Colonnade Fragment in Antalya

That situation changed in 2013 during another rescue excavation carried out under the auspices of the Antalya Museum and its archaeologists F. Büyükyörük, Ç. Ulutaş, M. Değer, and museum assistant/researcher Ö. Şen. The discovery occurred in Kaleiçi, an urban and third-degree archaeological site in Antalya. This historic walled “Old City” is situated over the remains of Greco-Roman Attalia founded around 167 CE by Attalus II.<sup>53</sup> This excavation at Insula 124, Lot 13 on a private lot at Müze Sokak, no. 14, was prompted by a new construction project beginning there. After the demolition of an illegal building in the lot measuring 125 m<sup>2</sup>, four sondages were dug. Based on the remains found in them, Sondages 2, 3, and 4 were joined into a single trench (fig. 1).<sup>54</sup>

Sondage 1 was evaluated separately. In this sondage, bedrock was reached at 2.80 m, and no architectural remains, apart from three featureless blocks or small finds such as the usual glazed and unglazed potsherds, were found. In the combined Sondages 2-4, a doorway atop two large blocks, one with a round locking hole, was found. Connected to its west side was a stone-paved room measuring 5.20 x 4.70 m. Installed beneath the doorway and floor were terracotta pipes 20 cm in diameter, one of which ran into a round terracotta basin about

<sup>48</sup> Mitchell 2003, 154.

<sup>49</sup> The structure in Melli also contained an inscription related to the Clarian Apollo, of which nine copies of the Latin version have been published. Mitchell 2003, 155, suggests that the placement of the oracle in the sanctuary “provided reassurance that this brand of monotheism...did not in this instance entail complete denial of the traditional deities.”

<sup>50</sup> Fairchild 2013, 59.

<sup>51</sup> Fairchild 2013, 59; 84 n. 6.

<sup>52</sup> Türkoğlu 2012, 489.

<sup>53</sup> For more on the history of Attalia, see Wilson 2020a, 71-73.

<sup>54</sup> Two excavation reports, both entitled “Rapor Müze Müdürlüğü’ne Antalya,” were submitted on 23 December 2013 and 17 January 2014 respectively. The first report of eighteen pages included a plan and fifty-five photographs. Among the finds were: “mermer 1 adet menorah tasvirli sütunçe parçası (Foto. 50)” (“1 marble colonnette piece with a menorah depicted”). The second report, eight pages long, also contained a plan plus twenty photographs. However, the colonnette fragment is not mentioned in this second report. I wish to thank museum archaeologist Ferhan Büyükyörük for sharing these reports with me.



1 m in diameter. A second water system was found above that dates to the 4th-5th century. Comprised of five terracotta pipes 24 cm in diameter, it reached the stone-paved room via an amphora that was refunctioned to distribute water. Stone plugs were used to close off the holes in the pipes.

The rubble deposit removed from the eastern corner of the lot contained a fragment of a Byzantine ambo with double columns and a fragment of a tomb stele depicting two dressed women of the Roman period. Both fragments are marble but poorly preserved. Beneath the rubble were walls built of finely-dressed stones, perhaps belonging to another building. Four phases were identified: 1) a stone-paved room and doorway built on a mortar bed on bedrock with the 20 cm pipes beneath; 2) a round basin identified as a hearth because of burnt traces inside; 3) the 24 cm pipes uncovered above the hearth remains with rainwater drainage channels by the doorway and basins; and 4) a channel with two late Ottoman coins and connecting basin uncovered 1 m below the surface. As Büyükyörük states about the earlier phases, “These remains constitute an important example of Late Roman-Byzantine construction that reflects the urban development.”<sup>55</sup> Among the small finds were Roman pottery and glass fragments as well as various roof tiles and flooring pieces. A final small find was a marble colonette fragment inscribed with a partial menorah. It was discovered above the stone-paved room in fill material dated to the 4th-5th century (fig. 2).<sup>56</sup>

### The Colonette Fragment with a Menorah<sup>57</sup>

The colonette fragment (fig. 3) has a height of 11.5 cm and a diameter of 9.3 cm. In its bottom is a hole 1.3 cm in diameter and 3.8 cm deep (fig. 4). This suggests that the menorah was held upright by a shaft inserted into its center. On the cylinder to the right rear of the menorah is a single hole about 6.5 cm from its top (fig. 5a). On the cylinder to the left rear of the menorah are two holes 5.5 cm from the top, therefore situated 1 cm higher than the single hole (fig. 5b). The diameter and depth of all the holes are approximately 1 cm. These side holes were apparently sockets for some type of rods used to stabilize the colonette. However, why one side should require two holes is unknown.

The bottom of the single hole is at the level of the top of the arms of the menorah. The menorah is typical with seven arms;<sup>58</sup> however, its bottom half is broken. Where arms 1, 2, and 7 merge with the central stem is not visible; only the connection with arms 3, 5, and 6 can be seen. The remainder of the central stem no. 4 is 4 cm high.<sup>59</sup> The distance along the curved arms, partial and complete, from the central stem to their tip is as follows: 1) 3 cm, 2) 3.5 cm,

<sup>55</sup> This summary is based on the published report by Büyükyörük 2014; quotation at 271. A plan of the excavation is included in the report as well as six photographs including the menorah (p. 271, fig. 7). The description of the menorah find in Turkish is: “menorah tasvirli mermer küçük sütun parçası kayda değer bir diğer buluntudur.”

<sup>56</sup> F. Büyükyörük writes: “Taş döşemeli mekanın üzerindeki dolgunun içinde bulunmuştu” (personal correspondence 30 April 2020).

<sup>57</sup> With the permission of the Turkish Museum of Culture and Tourism granted under number 64298988-155.02-E.233959, the colonette fragment with menorah was measured on 26 December 2017 at the Antalya Archaeology Museum. I wish to thank museum director, Mustafa Demirel, and his staff for their helpfulness in examining the fragment now stored in its depot. I also want to thank F. Büyükyörük for discussing this find from the rescue excavation, and for Emel Yilgör for her assistance in translating documents and conversations.

<sup>58</sup> Hachlilil 2018, 2, prefers to use “arm” instead of “branch,” but because of common usage uses the terms interchangeably. In this article the term “arm” is used exclusively.

<sup>59</sup> Hachlilil was informed of the discovery of the Attalia menorah, which she included in her 2018 corpus. It is no. D5.24 on p. 217.



3) 3 cm, 5) 3 cm, 6) 4.9 cm, and 7) 4.6 cm. From the tip of the central stem to arm 1 is 3.8 cm; from the central stem's tip to arm 7 is 3.6 cm. Above each arm there is a flame shaped like an L slanted to the left. The base of each is .08 cm; however, the vertical part varies in length: 1) 1.0 cm, 2) 1.0 cm, 3) 1.2 cm, 4) 1.8 cm, 5) 1.6 cm, 6) 1.5 cm, 7) 1.5 cm.

The menorah was one of the ritual pieces of furniture that formerly stood in the temple in Jerusalem.<sup>60</sup> During the Second Temple period the menorah was depicted on coins, graffiti, and stone reliefs.<sup>61</sup> The temple menorah was brought as booty to Rome after the temple's destruction in AD 70 and is famously represented on the southern frieze inside the Arch of Titus at the eastern end of the Roman Forum.<sup>62</sup> In the Roman and Late Antique periods the menorah became the predominant symbol of Judaism, created as a national symbol "which satisfied the Jews' need for self-identity while living among Christians and pagans."<sup>63</sup> In Asia Minor the menorah has likewise been found on tombs and lamps as well as inscribed as graffiti on steps. Decoration on chancel screens and wall plaques is seen at the synagogues in Sardis, Priene, and Andriake.<sup>64</sup>

Regarding the form of menoroth, Hachlili has identified three main components: 1) the base, 2) the arms in many varieties, and 3) the light fittings atop the arms.<sup>65</sup> The Attalia menorah is broken where the second arm joins the stem, so the form of the base is lost. It was undoubtedly a simple tripod similar to those depicted in Hachlili's charts of menorah base forms from the Diaspora.<sup>66</sup> The arms conform to the most common style, which is round and upward curving. They are simple and unornamented. Regarding the light fittings, there is no solid crossbar on top of the arms. Beneath each of the seven left-leaning flames<sup>67</sup> is a rough incision that seems to represent a light fitting. However, these notches do not rest atop each arm but are above a space that is suggestive of a horizontal crossbar. The style of the flames most closely resembles those on the Laodicea column menorah and on an unprovenanced plaque from Asia Minor.<sup>68</sup> Because of its fragmentary nature, it is difficult to place the Attalia menorah in one of Hachlili's types. Nevertheless, it seems to conform most closely to her Type II. She dates this type to the 3rd-4th century, conceding: "Some simple menoroth from Diaspora synagogues at Apamea, Sardis, and Stobi...are also of this type although they might date to a later period."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Wilson 2020b.

<sup>61</sup> Hachlili 2001, 22-25.

<sup>62</sup> Fine et al. 2017.

<sup>63</sup> Hachlili 2018, 20.

<sup>64</sup> For Sardis see Seager and Kraabel 1983, 171, figs. 249-50, 268, 277; for Priene see Burkhardt and Wilson 2013, 169, 177-78, figs. 18a-b, 19; for Andriake see Çevik et al. 2010, 341, figs. 27-29. The chancel screens found in secondary use at Limyra suggest the presence of a synagogue nearby; see Seyer 2014, 145, figs. 1-2, pls. 6.1-2, 7.1-2.

<sup>65</sup> Hachlili 2018, 80.C

<sup>66</sup> Hachlili 2001, 136-37, figs. III-11, III-12.

<sup>67</sup> Fine 2015a, 39-40, notes regarding the flames that their orientation toward the central flame was "a detail noted by Palestinian rabbis who claimed to have seen this configuration on the menorah in Rome and on menorah images from Palestine to Asia Minor to Rome." However, there are a number of examples of menoroth, including the Attalia menorah, where the flames are not oriented toward the central flame. The flames on three plaques from Asia Minor instead depict flames that are upright and not slanted; for these see Fine 1996, 44, fig. 2.19.a-c.

<sup>68</sup> Hachlili 2018, 94, fig. 3.24.b-c.

<sup>69</sup> Hachlili 2001, 164.

## Menorah Comparanda in Southern Asia Minor

This review of menorah comparanda must be geographically limited given the extensive corpus found in Asia Minor.<sup>70</sup> The only other example of a menorah known in Pamphylia comes from Side. This small menorah is carved into an ashlar block and now situated upside down in secondary usage high in a city wall south of the archaeology museum. Because of its location, it is not possible to measure. This nicely inscribed menorah has a crossbar but no flames or base (fig. 6).

At the Pisidian city of Sia just north of Attalia, Fairchild describes a relief (fig. 7) carved on a doorpost there as a “box (perhaps representing a building) containing an individual carrying a staff. Above the relief is another object that is weatherbeaten and indistinct. A close look at it, however, indicates it is a menorah.”<sup>71</sup> He further suggests the relief may represent someone in a synagogue and concludes that this relief is evidence of a Jewish presence in the city. In their discussion of Sia, Horsley and Mitchell depict this same carved stone. Although Fairchild does not identify its findspot, Horsley and Mitchell do: it is from an agora with three temples facing a structure shaped like a Sebasteion. Low podia surrounding the temple supported stone benches. These benches supported altar-shaped statue bases as well as the relief, which they call a column. Horsley and Mitchell do not see a menorah, but state it “is decorated with a relief of a male figure and a tree (Apollo and Daphne?).”<sup>72</sup> Talloen briefly mentions the relief in his discussion of cults in Pisidia: “Based on the iconography of the Apollo (Sideton) relief at Pednelissos Mitchell and Horsley suggested Apollo holding a laurel tree (daphne). Although the two reliefs are obviously not identical they may have a point, especially when you consider that the deity was also present at nearby Melli and thus seems to have been a popular figure in the southern part of Pisidia.”<sup>73</sup> Işın, discussing the Apollo sanctuaries of southern Pisidia, describes the Apollo figure at Pednelissos as wearing “a short thin chiton and a thick chlamys, holds a *patera* in his right hand and grasps a laurel branch in his left hand.”<sup>74</sup> The bundle above the Melli relief appears to resemble the leaf cluster that is clearly seen atop the laurel branch in the Pednelissos relief. Given its findspot in Melli’s agora and the frequency of Apollo reliefs in southern Pisidia, this relief should not be identified as Jewish and displaying a menorah, as Fairchild has done.

An oil lamp with a menorah was found during excavations in 2002 at the Pisidian city of Sagalassos.<sup>75</sup> However, the excavators do not think this is a Jewish object but a Christian one because of the cross-like symbol on the base. Van der Horst though believes that this Christian identification “is in fact quite uncertain.”<sup>76</sup> Oil lamps with a menorah are common, and their

<sup>70</sup> For a list of menorah finds in ten other cities in Asia Minor, see Collar 2013, 190.

<sup>71</sup> Fairchild 2013, 59.

<sup>72</sup> Horsley and Mitchell 2000, 144; 145, fig. 54 for a drawing of the Roman agora. Their photograph of the figure and tree (pl. 87) is much clearer than can be taken today (fig. 6). Nevertheless, the object above the box does not resemble any known menorah.

<sup>73</sup> P. Talloen (personal communication 29 June 2017. L. Vandeput, director of the BIAA and who for many years has surveyed urban and rural sites in Pisidia, similarly commented: “As for the identification of the relief, I would rather go with the interpretation of Horsley and Mitchell. I have not seen other examples like this one, but - as you know - there are quite a number of rural reliefs around” (personal communication 29 June 2015).

<sup>74</sup> Işın 2014, 89. On page 90 she discusses the relief of Apollo at Melli to which she attributes stylistic features similar to the one in Pednelissos.

<sup>75</sup> For the lamp’s publication see Talloen 2003, no. 192; Waelkens and Poblome 2011, 18.

<sup>76</sup> Van der Horst 2015, 12 n. 50.

Jewishness seems certain.<sup>77</sup> In her corpus of menoroth found on oil lamps in the Diaspora, Hachlili includes only one from Asia Minor - a discus lamp from Sardis.<sup>78</sup> However, another lamp with menorah, this one with an Ephesian provenance, is displayed in the Ephesos Museum of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.<sup>79</sup>

The synagogue discovery at Andriake, the port of Myra in Lycia, yielded three whole or partial chancel screens with menoroth. Since these more formalistic menorah depictions on such screens are not the type of comparanda being examined, our interest is in the small menorah depicted in the upper left corner of the complete screen (fig. 8). Why a second, simpler menorah was placed to the left of the inscription is unknown. This diminutive menorah stands on a typical tripod base with a crossbar atop its arms. There are bowls or flames atop its arms. A lulav with connected ethrog is found at its left; a shofar rests midway to its right.<sup>80</sup> The excavators date the synagogue to the 5th century AD.

A broken column with a menorah was discovered in Phrygian Laodicea (fig. 9). Discovered as fill in the nymphaeum along the Syrian Street, its original context has been lost. The column has been reerected in Laodicea's north agora. To the left of the menorah is a lulav, to the right a shofar. Double flames emanate from bowls resting on the crossbar. A lower column fragment, now been joined to the upper one, shows a tripod base and to its left is the lower half of an ethrog. A unique feature was that a Byzantine cross was later inscribed atop the upper part of the menorah.<sup>81</sup> The depth and type of incision shows clearly that the two iconic symbols date from different periods. Although Fairchild claims that the cross does not damage the menorah, its globus has destroyed the menorah's central stem. His interpretation that the melding of these symbols shows the religious tolerance of the Late Antique period appears incongruent with the evidence.<sup>82</sup> Fine, on the other hand, views the superimposition of the cross over the menorah as evidence of the ever-increasing intolerance of theological supercessionism, perhaps growing out of the Council of Laodicea (ca. AD 364) and that began to characterize Byzantine Christianity.<sup>83</sup> In this author's view, the cross above the menorah appears more hostile than irenic, obliterating rather than completing the Jewish symbol.

## The Interpretation of the Attalia Menorah

The nonformalistic style of Attalia's inscribed menorah places it in the category of similarly etched menoroth such as found in Laodicea and Priene. Both of these are likewise found on columns, albeit much larger. In the Priene synagogue a menorah with ethrog was chiseled on the western pillar (fig. 10). Its tripod stand can be seen on the lower broken fragment.

<sup>77</sup> For a similar lamp with menorah, unprovenanced but suggested as Asia Minor, see Bussi re and Wohl 2017, 384-85, no. 525. This is tentatively dated to the 3rd-4th century A.D. However, the menorah faces the handle not the spout, as on the Sagalassos example.

<sup>78</sup> Hachlili 2018, 239, 260-61, L4.18. For an illustration of the lamp with accompanying lulav, shofar, and ethrog, see Greenewalt et al. 1988, 62, fig. 7.

<sup>79</sup> The museum's caption for this lamp from Ephesus (Inv.-Nr. V 2523) dates it to the 4th century AD.

<sup>80</sup>  evik et al. 2010, 341-42, figs. 24, 27. On p. 344 they wrote that "no archaeological evidence regarding Jewish presence has been uncovered at Limyra in the course of excavations for over 40 years." Only four years later such evidence was discovered in Limyra; see Seyer 2014. Hopefully this is a harbinger that more Jewish realia will emerge in future excavations in Antalya and other sites in Mediterranean Turkey.

<sup>81</sup>  im ek 2006.

<sup>82</sup> Fairchild 2017, 36.

<sup>83</sup> Fine 2012, 34, 50.

The menorah's location at eye level ensured it was seen by those entering the synagogue.<sup>84</sup> Because the Attalia colonette is broken, it is not known whether a lulav, shofar, or ethrog appeared below the menorah, although the appearance of one or more is likely. Although the menoroth found on the Priene and Laodicea columns are commonly classified as graffiti, their size, placement, and purpose is very different from menorah graffiti found on columns at Aphrodisias.<sup>85</sup> Differing from White's assessment that the Priene menorah is a "rough graffito," Burkhardt and Wilson observe that "its placement on the pillar at the entrance suggests that the menorah was an intentional piece of decoration."<sup>86</sup> At Priene the menorah was a clear indicator to attendees that they were entering the sacred space of a synagogue. The column with menorah found at Laodicea presumably functioned similarly, although that synagogue is yet to be found. Likewise, the colonette with menorah found in Attalia probably marked the sacred space of a synagogue.

The first building phase of the synagogue at Priene dates to the late 4th century, and the menorah at its entrance is dated to that phase.<sup>87</sup> The menorah at the entrance should be dated contemporaneously. From its form, the Laodicea menorah could be dated within a similar time frame. Dating for the Attalia menorah is estimated to be in the Byzantine period. Since it was discovered among fill material dating to the 4th-5th century, this date is a reasonable estimate.<sup>88</sup>

There are several possible interpretations of this colonette fragment. Its size would fit a table leg or support for some other type of furnishing. Menorahs are found on the square legs of the funerary table of Hesychios and Judas from Lydian Philadelphia.<sup>89</sup> Could it be part of a post for a baldachin? Its diameter is smaller than the columns for the aediculae in Sardis, yet the Attalia fragment has dowel holes like one of Sardis' shrine columns that helped to support a veil or curtain to hide the scroll in the Holy of Holies.<sup>90</sup> An unprovenanced plaque from Asia Minor depicts a menorah within an aedicula supported by columns on each side.<sup>91</sup> However, the scale of the columns is impossible to determine. Ness describes a synagogue in Aleppo, later turned into al-Hayyat Mosque, that had eleven colonettes to support a bema from which scripture and/or sermons were read.<sup>92</sup> The previously mentioned inscription from Side stated that Isaac, besides cleaning two lampstands, also cleaned the two chief pillars (*kionocephala*) in the synagogue. Such pillars would not be for architectural support (too small and why clean supporting pillars?), but most probably flanked the aedicula in the synagogue. Ameling disputes the suggestion by Chaviara that these columns bore the menoroth but does note: "Säulen flankierten häufig den Torah-Schrein."<sup>93</sup> In light of this, could the colonette fragment also be one of the chief pillars for the Attalia synagogue? Barag reports on an unprovenanced colonette found in Israel with similar dimensions: ca. 12.5 cm in diameter, 8.5 cm high, and

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<sup>84</sup> Burkhardt and Wilson 2013, 169. A drawing of the restored pillar with menorah is found on p. 193, fig. 7.

<sup>85</sup> Chaniotis 2010, 34, 36.

<sup>86</sup> Burkhardt and Wilson 2013, 169 n. 10.

<sup>87</sup> Burkhardt and Wilson 2013, 169, 174.

<sup>88</sup> For some reason the English translation failed to provide this suggested dating, which in the Turkish version reads: "Bizans Dönemi'ne ait"; see Büyükyörük 2014, 271.

<sup>89</sup> Ameling 2004, 207, no. 50; 569, figs. 11-12. For an excellent illustration of one of the legs, see Cimok 2010, 37.

<sup>90</sup> Hachlili 1998, 70.

<sup>91</sup> Fine 1996, 44, fig. 2.19.c, 162, no. 26; cf. Hachlili 2018, 219 D6.46, 288 CFIG. 11.

<sup>92</sup> Ness 2016, 84. On p. 223, fig. 4.18 is a drawing of the bema with colonettes; an old photograph of the object is found on p. 224, fig. 4.19. The dimensions of the colonettes are not given unfortunately.

<sup>93</sup> Ameling 2004, 465-66.

6.8 cm thick. It was inscribed with a four-line donor inscription in Aramaic. About its function he writes, "It comes, undoubtedly, from a synagogue. The small diameter of the colonette probably precluded its use as a structural part of the building. One may assume therefore that it formed part of the Ark of the Law."<sup>94</sup> Finally, a small colonette fragment seemingly with a rod projecting from its center was also found in the Andriake synagogue.<sup>95</sup> Unfortunately, its dimensions are not known. Because of the fragmentary nature of the Attalia menorah, it is difficult to choose which interpretation best fits its function. However, it was clearly one of the ritual appurtenances of Jewish worship in Attalia.

## Conclusion

The discovery of the menorah in Attalia is significant for our understanding of ancient Judaism in Pamphylia. As Fine observes, the menorah was "the most successful and widespread Jewish branding icon in the ancient world."<sup>96</sup> From the fourth century AD onward, according to Fine, the menorah "became ubiquitous in Jewish visual culture as a cipher for Judaism and Jewish culture"; such menorahs "were placed there as markers of Jewish identity."<sup>97</sup> Brilliant likewise calls the menorah and its related markers "symbols of identity, symbols of connection, repositories of faith and hope."<sup>98</sup> By inscribing a menorah on a marble colonette in this Mediterranean city over 1500 years ago, one member of Attalia's Jewish community indeed left a visual marker of his faith. For this individual the menorah would symbolize light for illumination, provide a recognizable iconic shape, motivate sacred ritual functions in the synagogue, and invite memory of the golden lampstand that once stood in the Jerusalem temple.<sup>99</sup> The serendipitous discovery of this colonette during a rescue excavation has opened a fresh window into that community and provided us with further insight into Pamphylia's Jewish history.

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<sup>94</sup> Barag 1981, 835. In n. 6 he refers to a fragmentary colonette. Barag concludes that if the colonette did form part of the Ark of the Law, it could not be dated before the 4th century AD. This dating is based on the fact that the Ark, which became a common structural element during the Byzantine period, does not appear in synagogues in Palestine before this time.

<sup>95</sup> Çevik et al. 2010, 364, fig. 32 where it is grouped with chancel screen elements. A menorah next to an inscription stating "the altar" (*to thusiastērion*) was also found on a chancel screen element in Ephesus; see Ameling 2004, 153, no. 31.

<sup>96</sup> Fine 2015b, 132. The significance of the menorah is seen in the exhibition recently organized by the Vatican Museum and the Jewish Museum of Rome entitled "The Menorah: Cult, History and Myth." A 375-page catalog presents essays and illustrations related to the exhibition; see Leone 2017.

<sup>97</sup> Fine 2015a, 39.

<sup>98</sup> Brilliant 1989, 73.

<sup>99</sup> Hachlili 2018, 19, identifies these four symbolic aspects of the menorah's significance for Jewish communities.

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FIG. 1 Kaleiçi rescue excavation (Author's photo).



FIG. 2 Excavation plan with findspot in red (Courtesy Ferhan Büyükyörük).



FIG. 3  
Attalia Menorah  
(Author's photo).



FIG. 4  
Colonette base  
hole (Author's  
photo).



FIG. 5a  
Colonette side  
hole (Author's  
photo).



FIG. 5b  
Colonette sides  
hole (Author's  
photo).



FIG. 6  
Side Menorah  
(Author's photo).





FIG. 8  
Andriake Menorah (Author's photo).

FIG. 7  
Sia relief (Author's photo).



FIG. 10  
Priene Column with Menorah  
(Author's photo).

FIG. 9  
Laodicea Column with  
Menorah (Author's photo).

## A North African Plate Unearthed in the Andriake Excavations

ÖZGÜ ÇÖMEZOĞLU UZBEK\*

### Abstract

Twelve fragments constitute the subject of this article, one of which is part of a body and eleven are parts of borders.

Six fragments (figs. 2, 4/a-f, 5) belong to the longer border of a rectangular plate. A corner fragment shows a bearded, nude figure with open arms standing inside a kantharos. Along the border is a running lion figure. The remaining section shows a standing figure (Lazarus) wrapped inside an aedicula with a triangular pediment. Six different fragments (figs. 3/g-l, 6, 7) are distinguished by their clay composition but represent the same decorative motifs. Behind a lion there appears part of a triangular pediment. Additionally, a section of a lion's mane, the body of a running lion, and the lower part of a kantharos are discernible. A small fragment shows a part of a horse's head and body along with an inscription. The central decoration must be a depiction of the Dioscuri.

These fragments belong to plates manufactured in North Africa. This type is dated between the years AD 360 and 430. However, the dating could be extended to the late 5th century up to early 6th century AD. We can propose a period between the second half of the 4th century and the early 6th century AD.

**Keywords:** Andriake, Lycia, Late Roman ceramics, North African ceramics

### Öz

Bu makalenin konusunu oluşturan toplam 12 parçadan biri gövde, on biri kenar fragmanıdır. Hamur ve astar kalitelerine bakıldığında belki bir değil, aynı kalıbın kullanıldığı iki tabak olabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Birleşen altı parça (fig. 2, 4/a-f, 5) dikdörtgen bir tabağın uzun kenarına aittir. Köşeye gelen kısımda, kantharos içinde çıplak tasvir edilmiş sakallı, kollarını iki yana açmış bir figür bulunmaktadır. Bordürün devamında koşan bir arslan figürü; geri kalan kısmındaysa üçgen alınlıklı aedicula içinde kumaşa sarınmış ayakta duran bir figür (Lazarus) bulunmaktadır. Farklı altı parça ise (fig. 3/g-l, fig. 6, 7) hamur yapılarıyla ayrılır ancak aynı bezeme motiflerini içerirler. Bir arslanın arkasına denk gelen kısımda bir üçgen alınlık parçası görülmektedir. Ayrıca arslan yelesine ait bir bölüm; koşan bir arslanın gövdesi; bir kantharos'un alt kısmı tanımlanabilmektedir. Orta tablanın küçük parçasındaysa, bir atın kısmen baş ve gövdesi ile başının üzerindeki yazıta ait bölüm görülebilmektedir. Andriake'deki tabakla aynı konuya sahip benzerleri incelendiğinde, merkezdeki bezemenin Dioskurlar tasviri olduğu öne sürülebilmektedir.

Parçalar, Kuzey Afrika'da üretilen tabakların Andriake'ye ulaşmış örneklerine ait olmalıdır. En bilinen sınıflamayla Hayes form 56 grubunun örnekleridir. Bu tip MS 360 ile 430 yılları arasında tarihlendirilse de, bu tarihleme MS 5. yüzyıl sonlarıyla 6. yüzyıl başlarına kadar esneyebilmektedir. Buluntularımız için MS 4. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı ile en geç 6. yüzyılın başları arasında bir tarih önerilebilmekteyiz.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Andriake, Lykia, Geç Roma seramikleri, Kuzey Afrika seramikleri

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## Introduction

A group of ceramic plate fragments with striking form and decorative characteristics was unearthed during the Andriake excavations in 2018. The fragments were the pieces of one or two rectangular plates with flat bases. A total of 12 fragments were found in the excavation site to the north of Church A in the southern settlement of the port of Andriake in a separate context from the structure (fig. 1).

The ceramics discussed in the article are the fragments of rectangular plates that were manufactured in North African workshops and then arrived in Andriake. They feature a part of a symbolic expression of the Dioscuri in the center, accompanied by depictions from Christianity and common motifs of the era on their rims. This type of ceramic plates was made not for daily use but custom-made for the owner. Very few comparanda have been identified in terms of subject matter and decorative elements. Rectangular ceramic plates with similar central depictions include comparanda at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the Athens Benaki Museum, findings from Algeria/El Hadjeb (currently missing), and Algeria/Tiddis. Also, it is known that various subjects are addressed on North African plates. Fragments of this red slip ware from Andriake are among specific examples known as new findings.

The trays decorated on their center or on the rim are called *lanx*, Latin for “dish”. Among the examples of the *lanx* there are oval, square, rectangular and polygonal forms. This is a vessel type to be used for the cult or to serve food.<sup>1</sup> D. Buckton has distinguished a silver tray with the same term due to its form.<sup>2</sup> Clay vessels like those found at Andriake have symbolic representations on both their center area and rim. As will be discussed below, these vessels were special gifts to high-level bureaucrats. The vessels are often distinguished as “plates” in the literature.

## Port of Andriake

Andriake is a port settlement located 4.7 kilometers southwest of Myra in Demre, Antalya. The port was divided into northern and southern parts.

The earliest material data from Andriake are the ceramics dated to the 4th century BC. As one of the important ports of Lycia, Andriake must have been affected by the historical events of the area. In 333 BC Lycia was conquered by Alexander the Great. Following this, Ptolemaic domination started in Lycia after 306 BC. Andriake is mentioned among the cities that the Seleucid king, Antiochus III, occupied in 197 BC.<sup>3</sup> In the following period Lycia came under Rhodian rule and later became independent in 167 BC. The existence of the Lycian Federation is reckoned from this date. At around 100 BC, Myra was one of the most important harbor cities of the Federation. At the same time it was a metropolis.<sup>4</sup>

Numismatic and architectural data indicates that the city was active from the Hellenistic period onwards. The towers and fortifications at the southern part indicates that the entrance to the harbor was controlled during the Hellenistic period. In the following period, an inscription of the customs law dated to AD 60-63 was erected during the reign of Emperor Nero.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Delemen and Çokay Kepçe 2009, 15; Akkurnaz 2016, 135-35.

<sup>2</sup> Buckton 1994, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Çevik and Bulut 2010, 26; Magie 1950, 524.

<sup>4</sup> Magie 1950, 519-20, 524, 528; Çevik and Bulut 2010, 26-27; Çevik et al. 2014, 233-34.

<sup>5</sup> For the detailed examination of the inscription, see Takmer 2007.

During his captivity journey in AD 60-61 Saint Paul transshipped to an Alexandrian ship in Andriake on his way to Rome.<sup>6</sup> In the following years Christians began to have a significant influence in Lycia, particularly after Christianity was legalized in the early 4th century.<sup>7</sup> Saint Nicholas, the bishop of Myra, lived and died here in the 4th century, which made the city an important religious center. Myra was declared capital city of Lycia during the reign of Theodosius II (AD 408-450) and became the regional metropolis. Marine transportation was a chief factor in the development and significance of Andriake. The port of Andriake cannot be considered independent from Myra, the regional metropolis. Also, the fact that it is situated on an important trade route on the southwestern coast of Anatolia shows the importance of its location.

After an earthquake in AD 529, Emperor Justinian ordered a large-scale reconstruction in Myra. Also, the excavations at the Andriake churches have yielded data indicative of these repairs. The outbreak of a plague in AD 542 must have affected the city; however, the port was still active in the 6th century. The biography of Saint Nicholas of Sion, who died in AD 564, says that he used the port of Andriake for his journey to Jerusalem.<sup>8</sup> Coins found in Andriake indicate a rejuvenation of the port city from the 4th century onwards, and the largest group of coin findings is from the 4th century.<sup>9</sup>

From the mid-7th century onwards Lycia, along with other parts of Anatolia, was targeted by Arab attacks. The church of Saint Nicholas in Myra remained active until the 13th century, but it was buried by alluvium after the great flood in the middle of the 13th century. Myra was excluded from the episcopacy list in the 15th century. However, the excavations at Andriake found that the port became virtually inactive between the late 7th century and the early 8th century. There is limited data from the subsequent periods. Except for a coin from the 11th century, the latest coin found in Andriake was dated to the middle of the 7th century (Constans II, AD 641-668). Although it is believed that the port of Andriake was still in use in the 10th-11th century, findings and numismatic data both support the hypothesis that the port was no longer heavily used after the late 7th or early 8th century.<sup>10</sup>

An agora and a granarium were built in Andriake during the reign of Emperor Hadrian. During his visit to Lycia, the emperor ordered granaries to be built at Andriake and Patara.<sup>11</sup> The granarium was used until the early 7th century at least. The agora was transformed into a murex dye workshop in the first half of the 5th century and used until the 7th century. A wine workshop, active between the 4th and 6th centuries, was identified in front of the granarium. Shops built along the coast in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries were used with annexes until the end of the 6th century. There were two bathhouses in the southern part, which had dockyards in the west. There was a synagogue, dated to the 5th-6th centuries, also in the southern settlement.<sup>12</sup> There were a total of six churches in Andriake. Four of these churches were located in the southern settlement (Churches A, B, C and F), while the other two were

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<sup>6</sup> Çevik et al. 2014, 227-28.

<sup>7</sup> Tekinalp 2001, 505, 507 n. 102.

<sup>8</sup> Çevik and Bulut 2010, 28-29; Çevik et al. 2014, 228-29; Akyürek 2016, 469-70.

<sup>9</sup> Bulut and Şengül 2010, 120; Aygün 2018, 164.

<sup>10</sup> Çevik and Bulut 2010, 29; Bulut and Şengül 2010, 120-21; Çevik et al. 2014, 230.

<sup>11</sup> Magie 1950, 620.

<sup>12</sup> Çevik et al. 2010; Akyürek 2016, 474-75; Aygün 2018, 165-71. A master's thesis on murex dye workshops was prepared and published as a book; see Aygün 2016.



in the northern settlement (Churches D and E). Except for church F, all churches have a three-apsed basilica layout.<sup>13</sup> M. Tekinalp groups these among 5th-6th century churches by their dimensions and architectural arrangements, and proposes a date in the 5th century for the initial phases of the Andriake churches.<sup>14</sup> It is also believed that outbuildings were put up for the churches in the 9th centuries and the 11th-12th centuries.<sup>15</sup> The fact that there were six churches suggest that Andriake also provided services for pilgrims who came by sea to visit the grave of Saint Nicholas in Myra.<sup>16</sup>

## The Andriake Fragments and North African Plates

The fragments mentioned in the introduction are examples from the group Hayes Form 56, according to the best-known classification. One fragment belongs to the base, and eleven are from the rim. The plate has a profiled rim and a flat center area (figs. 5, 7). No foot fragments were found. Clay and slip characteristics of the rim fragments suggest that they come from two plates made in the same mold rather than one plate. The orange/red clay contains a small amount of fine sand, has a slip of the same color, and very few pores. Six rim fragments can be assembled (figs. 2, 4, 5; fragments a-f). Assembled fragments give information on decorations on the rim. Those fragments are understood to have come from the longer side of a rectangular plate. A naked and bearded figure depicted inside a kantharos appears on the corner. The figure, in frontal view, spread his arms to each side. There is also a running lion figure on the border. The lion's mane, fur and body were decorated with linear lines. The remaining part of the border has a standing figure wrapped in cloth inside an aedicule with a triangular pediment. Two steps under the aedicule were decorated with a vegetative and geometric arrangement.

Clay of the other six examples has a softer texture, which suggests that these examples could have been fired separately from the other six mentioned above (fig. 3, fragments g-l, figs. 6, 7). The border, uniform with the first group, was decorated with the same theme. When assembled, two fragments create another running lion figure with characteristics identical to the lion of the first group (fig. 6, fragments g, h). A piece of a triangular pediment appears behind the lion. Among the fragments (figs. 3, 6, fragments i, j, k) one has a part of a lion's mane, another has the body of a running lion, and the last one shows the lower part of a kantharos.

Among these, a fragment from the base area gives important information about the central decorations of the plate (figs. 3, 6, fragment l). This small fragment shows part of a horse's head and body, a part of an inscription above the head. Written in dual lines, the letters DOM can be discerned; however, the entire word is not legible. Based on another example with the same decoration,<sup>17</sup> a depiction of the Dioscuri appears in the center. This comparison also yields information on the contents of the inscription of the Andriake plate.

According to the analysis of all of the fragments, it can be argued that they might have come from two separate plates if all of the lion figures with identical characteristics are from the longer borders. Based on the comparisons, it is possible to suggest that a long border has

<sup>13</sup> For the churches' layout, see Tekinalp 2001.

<sup>14</sup> Tekinalp 2000, 291-313; The researcher gives information on the previous datings of the churches; see Tekinalp 2001, 495; Tekinalp 2000, 289-90.

<sup>15</sup> For proposals on the phases of church repairs, see Tekinalp 2001, 511-13.

<sup>16</sup> Akyürek 2016, 477; Aygün 2018, 177-80.

<sup>17</sup> For the example at the Benaki Museum, see Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, no. 285.

two lion figures running in different directions. However, three lion figures running in the same direction indicate three longer borders rather than two. Considering the difference in firing quality, it can be proposed that there are two plates made in the same mold.

The plates of similar types are vessels made in two-part molds with a foot added later.<sup>18</sup> Many vessels of this type appear to have come from the same mold, but secondary motifs in some of them indicate the presence of secondary molds associated with them. There are longer and shorter versions based on the length of the rim in the same mold. This shows that the same series had variations.<sup>19</sup>

It is known that plaster or ceramic was used to make the positive models for motif molds. Analogs include plaster models and molds prepared for a plate with a depiction of Achilles' life and another with a depiction of Pegasus. In these models, rims rise in line with the angle of the plate. Also, these molds and models give information on the width of the square base.<sup>20</sup>

In Hayes Form 56 examples, base decorations are relief while rim border decorations are relief or applique.<sup>21</sup> The same type was named African Sigillata groups C and D in different previous studies. Group C was decorated with relief and mold, and group D was decorated with mold.<sup>22</sup>

Similar to the Andriake plate, a plate found in Algeria/El Hadjeb (Mouzaiville) has depictions of 12 saints or apostles on the border, which indicates that plates with the same contents on the base can have different decorations on the rim border.<sup>23</sup>

The area of Tunisia and Carthage are included among the main production and distribution centers of African red slip ware (ARS). It is known that certain types of products were made in central and southern Tunisia.<sup>24</sup> Salomonson proposes a production region in North Africa and Egypt based on the higher number of examples found in the area.<sup>25</sup> The words "Mauritania" and "Africa" appear in the inscriptions on some vessels of the type, which is presumably indicative of their place of production. Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt are the most frequent findspots. Like the examples found in Spain, Italy and Austria, a number of examples from unknown places of production are included in the collections of museums in Germany and the Netherlands.<sup>26</sup>

One example found at Hadrianopolis (Albania) was analyzed and discovered to be a local production. Imitations of wide-rimmed African plates from the AD 4th to 6th centuries were found here.<sup>27</sup>

A period between AD 360 and 430 has been proposed for the rectangular plates with wide rim borders found in Carthage. But there are also other examples found in the context of the

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<sup>18</sup> Hayes 1972, 293; Πουλου-Παπαδημητριου 1994, 273.

<sup>19</sup> Hayes 1972, 293.

<sup>20</sup> Garbsch 1989, 243-45.

<sup>21</sup> Hayes 1972, 83-84.

<sup>22</sup> Carandini and Tortorici 1981, 160.

<sup>23</sup> Hayes 1972, 84, form 56d, no. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Fulford and Peacock 1984, 111-12.

<sup>25</sup> Salomonson 1969, 67.

<sup>26</sup> Carandini and Tortorici 1981, 160-61.

<sup>27</sup> Perna et al. 2010, 732, figs. 6-7.

6th century.<sup>28</sup> Hayes and Bailey mention the same period (AD 360-430) for the dating of such plates.<sup>29</sup> Salomonson proposes the period between the last quarter of the 4th century AD and 430, when North Africa was conquered by the Vandals.<sup>30</sup> Allais studied a plate of this type with a Pegasus depiction found in Djemila (el-Djem, Tunisia). A comparison between the medallions and coins on the rim showed that the plate could not be dated before the 4th century AD. Analysis of an analog with the same subject matter found in Tiddis in terms of the clothes and style of figure point to the same century.<sup>31</sup>

Mackensen proposes Sidi Marzouk in central Tunisia as the production center of these plates.<sup>32</sup> The author proposes that the vessels with depictions from Christianity with applique and mold decorations can also be dated after AD 430, in the second half of the 5th century and even later.<sup>33</sup>

A fragment among the examples found in Nicotera (Italy) has the depiction of a figure holding a spear. Also, a figure depicted in a kantharos on a border fragment has identical characteristics with the Andriake decorations (figs. 2, 4, fragments a, b). These examples found in Nicotera were compared to the type dated between AD 300 and 430.<sup>34</sup>

Few examples of plates with Dioscuri depictions, like the ones found in Andriake, have been discovered so far.

A horse with rider and a partial inscription are seen on one of the two examples at the Benaki Museum with Dioscuri depictions. The other example from the same museum shows Castor and Pollux with their horses in the center, with a kantharos between them. The inscription above reads: ORATIONIBVS SANTORVM PE/RDVUCET DOMINVS. A running lion, an aedicule with a figure in front of it, and a kantharos appear on the longer border of the rim. Only the top section of the central composition has survived.<sup>35</sup> However, a fragment at the Berlin Staatliche Museum illuminated the missing part of these vessels at the Benaki Museum, and enabled a restoration. On the base, two figures in eastern garb (decorated tunics, slim and long pants, and a cape tied over the right shoulder) stand in front of their horses, facing each other. They hold the leads of their horses and have spears on their other hand. They have Phrygian caps, and there is a two-handled kantharos between them<sup>36</sup> (fig. 8). There is a figure in front of an aedicule on the longer border of the rim.<sup>37</sup> There are two lions facing different directions on the sides of the aedicule with one kantharos on each corner. Two panthers run in different directions on the short sides of the plate.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Fulford and Peacock 1984, 80, 83.

<sup>29</sup> Hayes 1972, 91; Bailey 1998, 2-3.

<sup>30</sup> Salomonson 1962, 88; 1969, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Allais 1959, 49-51.

<sup>32</sup> Mackensen 2015, 198.

<sup>33</sup> Mackensen 2004, 792, 804.

<sup>34</sup> Cuteri et al. 2014, fig. 14.3a-3b, 4.

<sup>35</sup> For the two examples at the Benaki Museum, see Salomonson 1962, pl. XXI.1, 2. Hayes also mentions the two examples at the Benaki Museum, and describes the extant plate with its rim borders; see Hayes 1972, 84-85, form 56d/no. 10. Also see Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, 162, no. 285.

<sup>36</sup> For the fragment in Berlin, see Salomonson 1962, pl. XXI.3. For the proposed restoration with these fragments, see Salomonson 1962, 68, fig. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Garbsch designates the figure as a statue of Venus or a description of Lazarus, but Lazarus is likelier based on the figure's costume; see Garbsch 1980, 192.

<sup>38</sup> Garbsch 1980, 192, fig. 21.

Plate fragments found in Andriake could have a composition similar to the plates described above. However, the Andriake plate also has discernible figures inside the corner kantharos and a figure in front of the aedicule.

While another example found in El Hadjeb, Algeria, has the same depiction in the center, the figures on the rim, as mentioned above, are believed to be 12 saints or apostles.<sup>39</sup> This example has the same inscription as the one on the Benaki Museum plate. A similar inscription is partially visible on a fragment found in Tiddis and Algeria too.<sup>40</sup> Its content was obtained based on comparisons with the prayers read during rituals: “At the intersection of the Saints, the Lord will lead us (you) to the eternal joys of heaven.”

Salomonson mentions that a kantharos is a symbol of happiness, and notes that the figures on both sides of the central kantharos are the Dioscuri. He also states that this depiction of Castor and Pollux with Phrygian caps is not unusual in the late Roman period.<sup>41</sup>

The Dioscuri symbolize day and night, life and death, in pagan belief. They were regarded as the personification of eternity and heaven, and entered Christian depictions as the symbol of eternity. For instance, there are depictions of the Dioscuri on two sides of a cross in the center of a round vessel in Marseille. The Dioscuri can be depicted in or out of a pagan context.<sup>42</sup> The Dioscuri is the name given to Castor and Pollux, the twins of Zeus and Leda. Castor is mortal while Pollux is immortal. According to the myth, however, when Castor dies and Pollux is wounded, Zeus does not want to separate them and places both of them among the stars.<sup>43</sup> The Dioscuri are depicted with their horses, and they survived the propagation of Christianity. They accompany scenes like the 12 Apostles, the arrest of Saint Peter, and the raising of Lazarus. They have been identified with pairs of saints, such as Peter and Paul or Cosmas and Damian, although the church rejects their immortality.<sup>44</sup> Two eastern saints named Nearchus and Polyeuctus are known to replace Castor and Pollux. Around the Bosphorus, Pollux of the Dioscuri was identified with archangel Michael.<sup>45</sup>

Subject matters vary on the round or rectangular plates with wide rims made in North Africa, and they display similarities in decorative elements as well as their style. Mythological scenes, competitions at the hippodrome, hunting scenes, historical events, depictions of Christianity, and the Old and New Testaments are addressed.<sup>46</sup> Also, the personifications of Carthage, Mauritania and Africa are seen on the bases of these plates made in North Africa.<sup>47</sup> The running lion figure on the rim of a plate from Alexandria has similarities with the Andriake examples in terms of decoration. On an example with a Pegasus depiction found at Carnuntum, the work on wings of the Pegasus have quite similar details to the style on fragments of the plate

<sup>39</sup> Hayes 1972, 84, form 56d, no. 11.

<sup>40</sup> Salomonson 1962, 69-70. The transcription of the inscription on the El Hadjeb find, currently missing in the figure: “At the intersection of the Saints, the Lord will lead us (you) to the eternal joys of heaven.”

<sup>41</sup> Salomonson 1962, 70.

<sup>42</sup> Salomonson 1962, 71.

<sup>43</sup> Erhat 1989, 104-5.

<sup>44</sup> Kazdhan and Talbot 1991, 633.

<sup>45</sup> Harris 1906, 55-56, 131-34. Castor and Pollux are featured in the Argonaut story. The archangel Michael was identified with the eagle-like sacred entity that appears during the fight between Amycus, the king of Bebryces, and Pollux. This later led to the identification of Pollux with Michael. Churches devoted to the archangel are known to have existed on both sides of the strait; see Harris 1906, 131-34.

<sup>46</sup> Πουλου-Παπαδημητριου 1994, 274; Cuteri et al. 2014, 71. For variations of the type. see Salomonson 1962; Hayes 1972, 83-91.

<sup>47</sup> Salomonson 1969, 6-7 n. 7.

with the Dioscuri depiction found in Andriake.<sup>48</sup> Another plate with a Pegasus depiction, also found in Djemila (el-Djem, Tunisia), has vines extending upward from a kantharos in the central decoration. This kantharos has similarities with the plate with the Dioscuri depiction found in Andriake. Allais points out that analogs of the kantharos are seen in churches with mosaics from the 4th-5th centuries.<sup>49</sup> A similar depiction of lion figures is seen on another Pegasus plate in Cairo. An analogous lion depiction appears on a plate from Egypt in Heidelberg too.<sup>50</sup>

Border lengths and base dimensions of the plates found in Andriake are unknown. However, it is important to consider the information available on the dimensions of similar plates in order to gain insight on the sizes of these plates. A similar plate found in El Hadjeb, Algeria is 45 x 37 cm in dimension.<sup>51</sup> It has been reported that a plate with depictions of Achilles' life, currently in Munich, measures 44 x 34.5 x 4.5-5.5 cm. The example with Dioscuri depiction at the Benaki Museum in Athens is 46.5 x 36.5 cm in size.<sup>52</sup> Another model with Achilles depictions had a 31 x 23 cm central base area, and a model with Pegasus depictions had a 30.3 x 22.5 cm central base.<sup>53</sup> Another plate found in Djemila (el-Djem, Tunisia) with a central Pegasus depiction is 48 x 40 cm in size.<sup>54</sup>

### The Function and Origins of the Type

These ceramic plates have similarities with silver plates made in the 4th-5th centuries. Salomonson points out the similarity between this type with relief decorations of consular diptychs in terms of decorative characteristics. He also draws a comparison with the silver plates given as gifts to high-level bureaucrats in the 4th-5th centuries in terms of technique, craftsmanship and form. He argues that ceramic examples were made as cheaper versions of these works.<sup>55</sup> Garbsch mentions the similarities between metal and ceramic examples. However, there are differences in the dimensions and choices of figures depending on the vessel size. He points out that the clay Achilleus plate at Munich has close similarities with the silver Achilleus plate from the Kaiseraugst treasure.<sup>56</sup> In particular, the silver Ariadne tablet and the Achilleus plate from the collection have many resemblances with the clay ones in shape and decoration. These silver plates are considered to be the ceremonial plates given as gifts to high-ranking officials.<sup>57</sup> An oblong silver tray - the Corbridge lanx from the British Museum - has the representation of the shrine of Apollo on Delos. This object is similar to the clay plates in terms of its relief decoration and rectangular form.<sup>58</sup>

A consul with a mappa and a staff in his hands found in Carthage might have been copied from an ivory diptych dated to AD 428.<sup>59</sup> It is suggested that these plates, which show

<sup>48</sup> For the example at the Alexandria Graeco-Roman Museum, see Bailey 1998, pl. 2. For the plate found in Carnuntum and analogs, see Mackensen 2015, 198-99, 201, fig. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Allais 1959, 51.

<sup>50</sup> Salomonson 1962, 58, pls. XIII.1, XV.3, XXIII.1-2.

<sup>51</sup> Salomonson 1962, 69.

<sup>52</sup> Garbsch 1980, 155, fig. 21.

<sup>53</sup> Garbsch 1989, 243-44.

<sup>54</sup> Allais 1959, 44.

<sup>55</sup> Allais 1959, 55.

<sup>56</sup> Garbsch 1980, 158-59.

<sup>57</sup> Guggisberg 2003, 300, nos. 61, 63.

<sup>58</sup> For detailed description of the lanx, see Buckton 1994, 36-38.

<sup>59</sup> Mackensen 2004, 793.

similarities with ivory diptychs and silver plates, were also inspired by them in terms of their subject matter.

According to the comparisons between diptychs and silver plates, it has been put forth that some of the plates could be objects presented on special days. Repair holes on ceramic versions indicate that they were important for the owners, who wanted to preserve these objects.<sup>60</sup> Although made in mass production, the use of relief on interior surfaces show that they were not made for daily use so had a symbolic value.

## Conclusion

As mentioned above, analogs of the plates found in Andriake in terms of iconography and style have been dated between AD 360 and 430. This period can be extended to the late 5th century or even to the early 6th century AD. Our findings indicate a period between the second half of the 4th century and the early 6th century AD at the latest. Although they were found in an excavation site that contains late antique findings, their context does not give any more distinguishing clues regarding their date. Like their analogs found in other sites, these plates are understood to have been made in North Africa.

On the center of the long border, a figure stands in front of an aedicule with two steps. In both sides of this figure, lions are running in opposite directions. This standing figure in front of the aedicule is reminiscent of the diagram known from the scenes of the raising of Lazarus.<sup>61</sup> On the edge of this border is a naked figure with hands raised inside a kantharos. This scene could be symmetrically placed on both corners. The example at the Benaki Museum has partially distinguishable running lions on both sides of the aedicule, and a kantharos in front of them.<sup>62</sup> A symmetrical arrangement was proposed in a restoration based on the examples at the Benaki Museum and a fragment in Berlin (fig. 8).<sup>63</sup> However, the figure inside the kantharos is not visible in this restoration. Depiction of a figure in a kantharos survived on another fragment found in Nicotera, like the one in Andriake.<sup>64</sup> We are unable propose a decoration for the shorter borders of the Andriake plate. Provided that longer borders had symmetrical decorations, an approximate length of 47-48 cm can be proposed for a longer border of the Andriake plates. Based on their analogs and the inscription, it can be suggested that the central decoration on the Andriake plate was a depiction of the Dioscuri.

As Christianity spread around the area where these vessels were produced, Christian buildings as well as pagan structures, such as those related to the cult of Bacchus, were located near each other.<sup>65</sup> So it may be possible to observe Christian concepts together with pagan traditions and decorative elements on these productions. The Andriake fragments came from a North African workshop as a gift for a special occasion, like other ivory and silver plates of the era.

<sup>60</sup> Salomonson 1962, 89; 1969, 11; Πουλου-Παπαδημητρίου 1994, 279.

<sup>61</sup> Saggi and Tortorici 1981, 175.

<sup>62</sup> Salomonson 1962, pl. XXI.1; Fotopoulos and Delivorrias 1997, no. 285.

<sup>63</sup> Salomonson 1962, fig. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Cuteri et al. 2014, fig. 14.3b.

<sup>65</sup> Allais points out that similar kantharos and vine depictions are seen in pagan depictions as well as church mosaics during the same period. In an evaluation of the decorative elements on the Pegasus-depicted plate found in Djemila, he considers that it could be in reference to the belief in Bacchus or a reflection of the concept behind the Christian decorations (Allais 1959, 51, 58).



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FIG. 1 General view of Andriake (Myra-Andriake Excavation archives).



FIG. 2 Fragments, a-f.

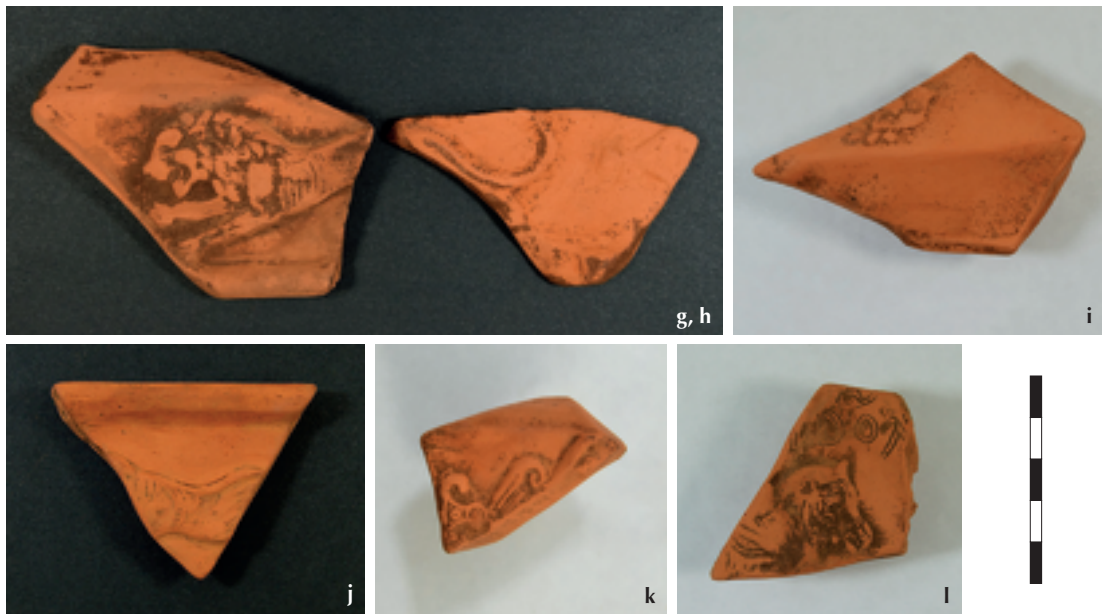


FIG. 3 Fragments, g-l.

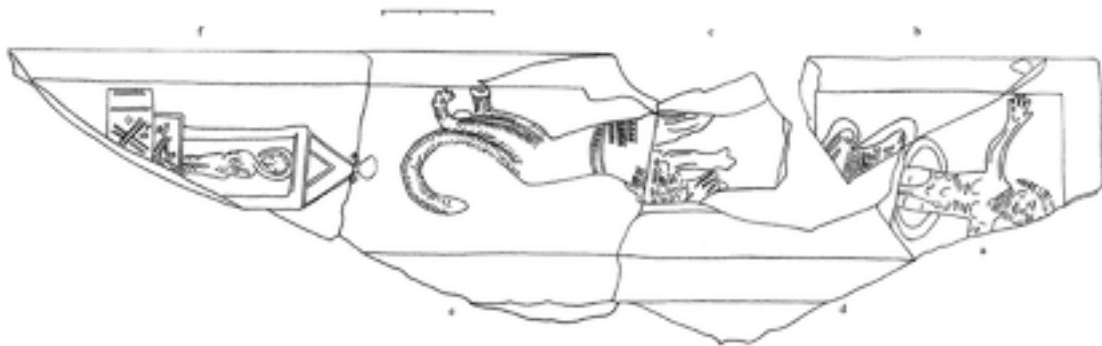


FIG. 4 Fragments, a-f.



FIG. 5 Fragments, a-f (cross section).

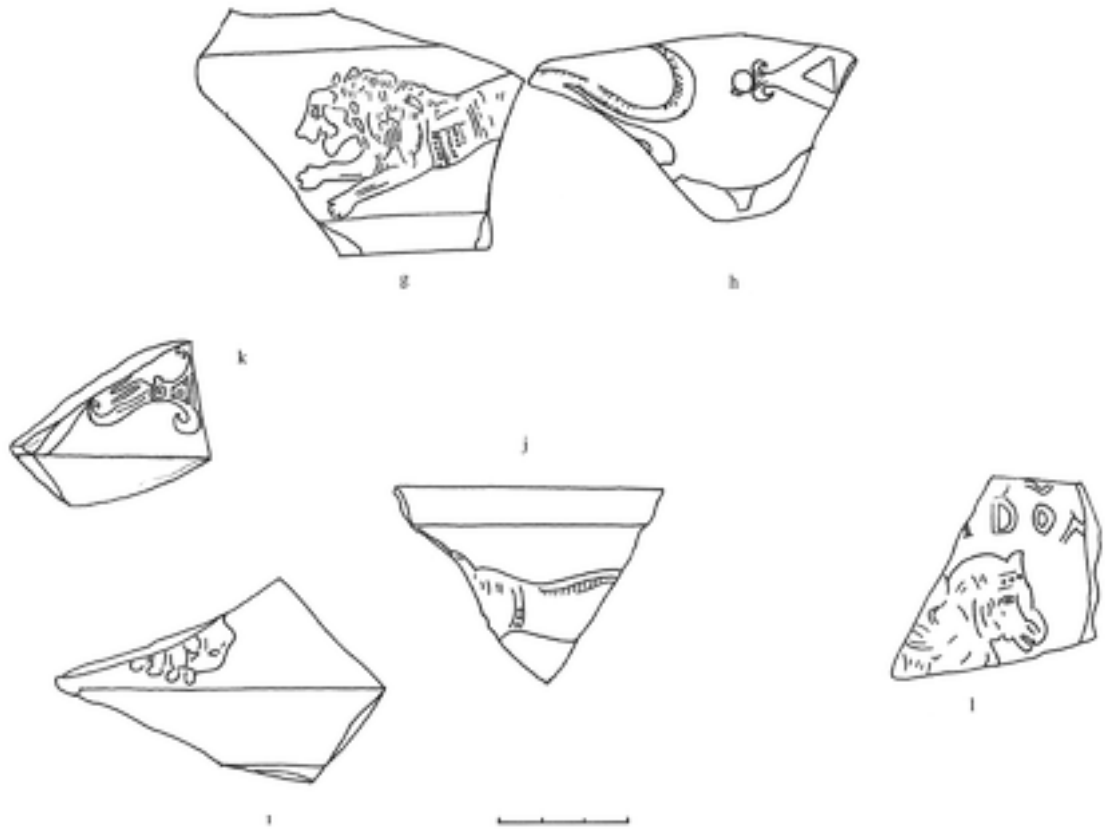


FIG. 6 Fragments, g-l.



FIG. 7 Fragments, g-l (cross-section).

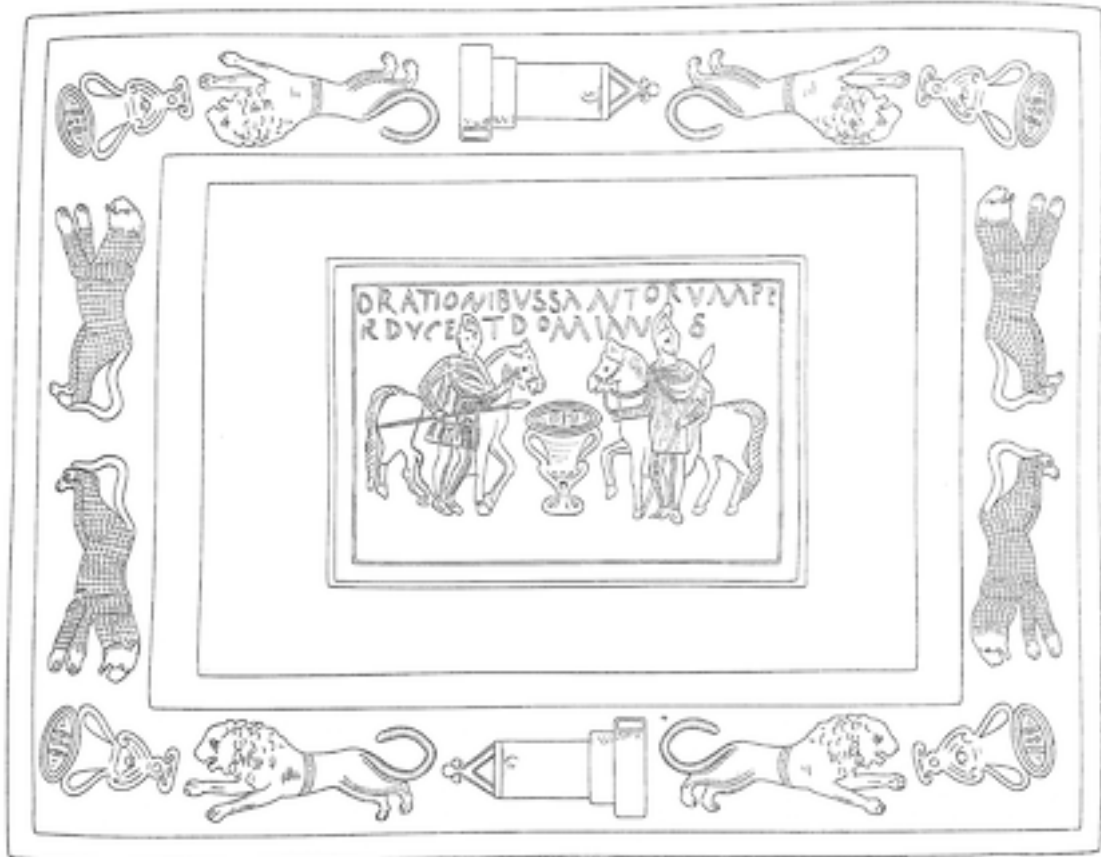


FIG. 8 Salomonson 1962, fig. 4.





## Early Byzantine Pottery from Limyra's West and East Gate Excavations

PHILIP BES\*

### Abstract

This article presents and discusses Early Byzantine pottery that was excavated at and around Limyra's East and West Gates in 2011 and 2012. Not all excavated contexts were relevant to the aim of the study, which focuses on the Early Byzantine period. Pottery that pre- and post-dates this period also occurred frequently. The pottery from selected contexts was sorted and quantified using fabric, shape and surface treatment as classificatory principles. It is noteworthy that pottery datable between the 2nd century BCE and the 3rd, perhaps the 4th century CE was not found in stratigraphic context: it was only identified in the form of residual fragments. Early Byzantine pottery occurs in large numbers, and especially around the West Gate there is a strong signal for contexts datable to the 5th and early/first half of the 6th century CE. All amphorae were imported, mostly from various parts of the Eastern Mediterranean; small quantities originated in the Western Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Most cooking vessels and part of the utilitarian and tableware repertoire, however, was obtained from local/regional workshops, pottery now partly better understood in terms of fabric and typological repertoire.

**Keywords:** Limyra, ancient Lycia, Roman pottery, Late Roman amphorae, lyciennes kaolinitiques, ancient urbanism

### Öz

Bu makalede, Limyra kentinin Doğu ve Batı Kapıları'nda, 2011 ve 2012 yıllarında gerçekleştirilen kazı çalışmaları sonucu ele geçen Erken Bizans Dönemi keramiği tanıtılmaktadır. Yoğun biçimde Roma öncesi ve sonrası keramikleri sunan kontekstler, çalışma kapsamının dışında bırakılmıştır. Seçilmiş kontekstlere ait keramikler, üretim özelliği, form ve yüzey işleniş kriterleri göz önünde tutularak tasnif edilmiş ve incelenmiştir. Stratigrafik kontekst içerisinde, diğer tabakalardan karıştığı düşünülen birkaç örnek haricinde, MÖ 2.-3. yüzyıl ve olasılıkla MS 4. yüzyıl keramiklerinin yer almayışı dikkat çekici bir husustur. Malzeme içerisinde, Erken Bizans Dönemi'ne ait çok sayıda keramik ele geçmiş olup, özellikle Batı Kapısı çevresinde MS 5. ve 6. yüzyıl başına/ilk yarısına tarihlenebilen kontekstlere rastlanılmıştır. Tüm ithal olan amphoraların önemli bölümü Doğu Akdeniz'in çeşitli merkezlerine; geriye kalan az sayıdaki örnek ise Batı Akdeniz ve Karadeniz'deki atölyelere aittir. Bu çalışma, pişirme kaplarının önemli bölümünün ve yerel/bölgesel atölyelere ait günlük kullanım kapları ve sofraya kapları repertuarının bir kısmının hamur özellikleri ve tipolojileri açısından daha iyi anlaşılmasını mümkün kılmaktadır.\*\*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Limyra, antik Lykia, Roma Dönemi keramiği, Geç Roma Dönemi amphoraları, lyciennes kaolinitiques, antik şehircilik

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## Background

Limyra was an urban center in southeast Lycia from Classical to Byzantine times.<sup>1</sup> Its ruins, concentrated at the foot of the Toçak Dağı massif, are located ca. six km north-northeast from modern Finike (ancient Phoinix).<sup>2</sup> Archaeological and other research<sup>3</sup> has revealed, amongst others, remains of a number of Hellenistic, Roman Imperial and Early Byzantine public and private monuments that testify to a once large and monumental urban center.<sup>4</sup> In the late 5th to early 6th century,<sup>5</sup> the city was divided into a Western and an Eastern City by means of two fortification walls. Towers incorporated into segments of both enceintes indicate their defensive purpose.<sup>6</sup> The builders of both enceintes made ample use of spolia that were either already available, or derive from (monumental) buildings that were spoliated to this end, which could partly explain the paucity of standing monumental remains (e.g., temples, stoas) in contemporary Limyra.<sup>7</sup>

In 2011 and 2012, stratigraphic excavations were carried out at and around the East and West Gates, located in the Eastern and Western city walls respectively. At the East Gate, or Osttor (OT hereafter) (fig. 1), excavations were supervised by Helmut Lotz.<sup>8</sup> Two artefacts of cultural and religious interest drew scholarly attention: two fragmentary stone slabs - presumably screens - each carrying the partly preserved depiction of a menorah.<sup>9</sup> The excavations at the West Gate - or Westtor (WT hereafter) - were supervised by Ulrike Schuh.<sup>10</sup> The large trench that was eventually opened comprised three zones: (1) the actual gate passage; (2) a zone parallel to and inside of the wall; and (3) a zone near-perpendicular to this wall that exposed a substantial portion of a paved street running southeast (presumably one of Roman Limyra's monumental streets), a stretch of Hellenistic city wall, and an adjacent area to its west (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> This contribution aims to (1) highlight the chronological dimensions of the studied pottery<sup>12</sup> from these excavations; and (2) share observations based on that data that help contextualize Limyra within a regional and supra-regional setting of Early Byzantine (ca. 350-625/650) ceramic production and exchange.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All dates are CE unless noted. Early Byzantine is now preferred over Late Roman (see Dolea, forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 806-9.

<sup>3</sup> This has been carried out under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute and Frankfurt University from 1969-1983, Vienna University from 1984-2001, and the Austrian Archaeological Institute since 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 686-90; Seyer 2019; Seyer et al. 2019. Among the most spectacular monuments are the Ptolemaion (Stanzl 2012, 2017) and the Cenotaph of C. Caesar (Ganzert 1984; Borchhardt 2002).

<sup>5</sup> Seyer (forthcoming); Dolea (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> For the date of the walls see Peschlow 2006. For further background see Foss 1994, especially 2-3, 37-42; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 686-90; Marksteiner 2012.

<sup>7</sup> Cavalier 2012; 2015, 247-48. Research by Laurence Cavalier and Emilie Cayre (University of Bordeaux) concerning the spolia is ongoing.

<sup>8</sup> IKAnt, Institut für Kulturgeschichte der Antike (Austrian Academy of Sciences); see Seyer 2013, 59-61, figs. 11-12; Seyer and Lotz 2013a, 2013b; also see Peloschek et al. 2017, 263, fig. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Seyer and Lotz 2013c, 2014; Weiss 2014; Pülz 2014.

<sup>10</sup> OREA, Institut für Orientalische und Europäische Archäologie (Austrian Academy of Sciences); see Seyer and Schuh 2013; Seyer 2013, 61-63, figs. 14-16.

<sup>11</sup> Seyer 2019.

<sup>12</sup> This is stored in the excavation depots located on site.

<sup>13</sup> For a selection of recent literature on Roman and Byzantine pottery from Limyra, see Yener-Marksteiner 2007, 2009, 2012, 2016a-b, 2019; Vroom 2004, 2005, 2007; Eisenmenger 2003; Bes 2019.

## The Ceramic Data: Methodology, Preservation, Quality

The pottery presented here has been briefly reported upon in recent years.<sup>14</sup> A cursory scan of each Fundnummer (representing a stratigraphic unit and its finds, specified per material category; FN hereafter, singular and plural) took place in 2013-2014. This resulted in a shortlist of FN reserved for detailed study and quantification, whose analysis was completed in 2018.<sup>15</sup> FN omitted from this shortlist contained no Roman or Early Byzantine pottery, or pottery that was chronologically too strongly mixed making further interpretation inherently unreliable. These were nevertheless looked at, with the aim of obtaining a more comprehensive picture and expanding our existing knowledge regarding the repertoire of shapes/typology and fabrics. The pottery from each FN that was shortlisted was sorted and classified according to fabric, shape and surface treatment (e.g., slip, glaze, ribbing), and subsequently fully quantified by count and weight (taking fresh breaks into account), per functional category (tablewares, amphorae, etc.),<sup>16</sup> and per kind of fragment (rims, bases, handles and body sherds).<sup>17</sup> The pottery from most studied FN present a rather homogeneous picture, with a predominance of amphorae, kitchen/cooking wares, utilitarian wares (mostly basins and jars), and tablewares, and with, for example, small but relevant quantities of oil lamps.<sup>18</sup>

Residual and intrusive fragments were marked as such, but otherwise classified with the pottery from a FN. Only one intrusive fragment (a glazed sherd) was spotted due to the rigid selection of FN (cf. *supra*). Small quantities of residual fragments, on the other hand, were identified in nearly all studied FN, urging some caution regarding stratigraphic and chronological interpretation. Much of the residual pottery comprises recurring categories - some known from other publications concerning Limyra<sup>19</sup> - that include Classical and Hellenistic black slip (sometimes of very fine quality), Eastern Sigillata A, B and D, African Red Slip Ware (ARSW henceforth), various amphora types (e.g., Dressel 2-4 from Kos, Agora M239, a few Western types), and one fragment of a Pompeian Red Ware dish that was manufactured somewhere around the Bay of Naples. We think that additional residual and possibly also intrusive fragments went unnoticed (e.g., body sherds, unidentified categories). This residual pottery attests to previous occupation/activities at or near the OT and WT. Yet it is noteworthy that no stratigraphy datable to the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods was encountered. The excavations at the OT did not go deep enough to reach these periods because of the high water

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<sup>14</sup> Bes 2014, 2015, 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Standard literature is used for the classification and study of amphorae and tablewares: Robinson 1959; Keay 1984; Peacock and Williams 1986; Bonifay 2004; Pieri 2005; Kassab Tezgör 2009; Reynolds 2010; Bezeczky 2013; Southampton 2014; tablewares: Hayes 1972, 2008; Meyza 2007.

<sup>16</sup> Bes and Poblome 2017, 318, table 12.1. This functional-classificatory approach carries an inherently artificial aspect: obviously an oil lamp was not used for beverage consumption, nor an amphora for lighting. We further presume that to certain extents, and in ways possibly partly like us, the way people in the past (re)used their (ceramic) material culture reflected one's social, cultural and economic environment.

<sup>17</sup> Poblome and Bes 2018.

<sup>18</sup> Nearly all lamps conform to type Bailey Q3339 (Vroom 2004, 304-5, fig. 8; Yener-Marksteiner 2009, 233-34, 241, pl. 15, fig. 7, nos. 55-57, though not no. 54, an oinophoros) and are thought to have been manufactured in Lycia (Yener-Marksteiner 2009, 234). One specimen has been identified at Sagalassos, possibly in the same fabric (personal observation). This type is reminiscent of lamps dated to the late 6th and early 7th century thought to have been manufactured on Kos (Poulou-Papadimitriou and Didjoumi 2010, 742, 747, fig. 6e), yet the angle of the nozzle's lip differs. A small quantity of lamp fragments is residual: some are molded and occur in a pale beige fabric reminiscent of Corinthian lamps, though their source probably should be sought elsewhere.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Yener-Marksteiner 2012.

table.<sup>20</sup> Some trenches at the WT, on the other hand, reached a depth of over 2 m (from the current ground level), and Classical and Early Hellenistic stratigraphy was found sporadically. A similar picture has begun to emerge from the more recent excavations (2016, 2018-2019) in the Western City somewhat to the east of the WT.<sup>21</sup> Here no stratigraphy datable to the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods has been encountered thus far, even if pottery belonging to those periods is identified in residual form.

Preservation and weathering – rarely taken into consideration as a rule – of the pottery are somewhat heterogeneous, and the residual fragments alone testify to this. Fragmentation ranged from very small pieces to sometimes very large fragments, so some vessels could be partly and, occasionally, fully restored.<sup>22</sup> Of note in this respect are fragments found in different FN that either join or very likely belong to a single vessel (cf. *infra*). Also, many fragments from the OT had been waterlogged for a considerable amount of time, resulting in weathered edges and powdery surfaces. This made their study more difficult, though not to such an extent as to impede proper identification. It is likely that more recent activities also disturbed (part of) the stratigraphy: for example, substantial parts of the Western City were used for agricultural activities certainly until the early 1970s.<sup>23</sup> Ceramic Building Material (CBM) as an artefact category is studied separately and omitted here.<sup>24</sup> Obviously residual and intrusive fragments as well as sherds that are very worn or “tiny” (smaller than the nail of the little finger) are omitted from all quantities and percentages given below. Such worn/tiny sherds, occurring in small quantities in nearly all FN, were counted and weighed separately and also recorded with the other pottery from a FN. Certainly they are part of a unique archaeological context, and thus also reflect how that context came about. Yet their presence frustrates the aims of the present article: the interpretation of patterns and trends. Omitting them is thus done for good reason.

## The Ceramic Data: Quantities and Chronologies

That small quantities of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Imperial pottery (ca. 400 BCE-350 CE) were identified has already been mentioned. Most pottery, however, belongs to the Early Byzantine period (ca. 350-625/650). Table 2 shows all FN that were studied, and for each FN it lists count, weight, proposed date range, and the presence/absence of the more significant fabrics and types supporting that date range. What follows first is a summary of the pottery studied from the OT and WT.

### OT<sup>25</sup>

Two FN from one stratigraphic unit (Schichtseinheit 27, or SE 27) were singled out for detailed study. All pottery was heavily waterlogged. FN 1036 contains 319 fragments collectively weighing ca. 10.7 kg. Most pottery dates to the late 5th century at the earliest, and the absence of late forms of Cypriot Red Slip Ware or Late Roman D (CRSW and LRD hereafter respectively)

<sup>20</sup> Rantitsch et al. 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Seyer et al. 2019. Several loci from the 2018 excavations are dated preliminarily to the 3rd and 4th centuries.

<sup>22</sup> Bes 2014, 79, fig. 6; 2015, 79, fig. 7; 2016, 83, fig. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Ganzert 1984, table 14.45.

<sup>24</sup> A few fragments of roof tiles and spacer pins have been analyzed (Peloschek et al. 2017). Spacer pins also figure in a recent discussion concerning the Südthermen (Sewing 2015); see also Schuh 2012, 162-63, 167, fig. 5. For preliminary results concerning the CBM from the recent excavations, see Dolea 2017.

<sup>25</sup> The author is very grateful to Helmut Lotz for sharing information and insights regarding the OT excavations.

tentatively suggests a terminus ante quem of the mid-6th century. FN 1039 (located below 1036) contains 1,896 fragments (weight ca. 53.5 kg), and the pottery is slightly younger, arguably the later 6th and first half of the 7th century, supported in part by late forms of CRSW/LRD.<sup>26</sup> Stratigraphic interpretation, fragmentation of the pottery, absence of younger fabrics and types,<sup>27</sup> and the larger quantity in FN 1039 suggest that FN 1036 and 1039 together date to ca. 575-650. SE 27 was interpreted as a waste dump and stratigraphically abutted the south-east wall of the north tower, the semicircular wall, as well as the short stretch of wall that runs parallel with the tower. It also covered this latter wall (fig. 1, bottom right). The preservation and relative degree of chronological homogeneity suggests that this pottery did not have a long and complex depositional history when it was dumped here - even if no vessels could be restored - and arguably came from (a space) nearby. Its functional composition has a domestic character; this interpretation, however, remains tentative. It is worth noting that no coins were retrieved from SE 27, despite the considerable volume of this stratigraphic unit. This makes it plausible that the contents from which SE 27 came were searched for valuables before being moved/dumped.

## WT

The pottery from the WT presents a partly different chronological picture. A total of 10,829 fragments weighing ca. 210.4 kg (figs. 3-4) were examined. Late CRSW/LRD forms (Hayes Forms 9, 10 and derivatives) are present but rare; the scarcity or absence of other categories of late pottery is equally significant. Moreover, the presence of several large fragments and partly restored Pontic - mostly Sinopean - carrot-type amphorae strengthen the idea that at least part of the stratigraphy around the WT dates to ca. 500 at the (very) latest. Occupation/activity, however, did not end after ca. 500 as pottery from other FN indicates. The excavations at and around the WT encompass a large area, and not all FN were studied (cf. *supra*). Trench WT7 is the one exception, however, and the focus in the remainder of this section. Excavations in WT7 reached a depth of over 2 m below the current surface, and the monumental remains found at that depth were interpreted as podium blocks for a temple datable to the Hellenistic period.<sup>28</sup> Some of the pottery is rather well-preserved, one such vessel being a partly restored Cypriot LRD Hayes Form 11 (fig. 5a), of which joining fragments were found in FN 105, 105A and 106. It concerns an earlier variant indicated by the thick rectangular and undercut rim. In Beirut these appear to predate the mid-6th century.<sup>29</sup> This specific vessel is comparatively deep, which possibly explains why it was chosen to hold (wet) plaster (fig. 5b). Perhaps the plaster had begun to dry out (or had already done so), rendering the vessel unusable, upon which it was discarded.

During the study of the pottery from WT7, fragments of (at least) 15 vessels were attested in two or more FN. This strengthens the notion that at least part of the stratigraphy represents a limited number of dumping or filling activities over a relatively short period of time (if not one event) instead of a series of individual and distinct events. One or more of the upper layers, however, may have been disturbed at a later point (cf. *infra*). A number of FN from the

<sup>26</sup> Meyza 2007; Poblome and Firat 2011; Reynolds 2011.

<sup>27</sup> See Seyer et al. 2019, 237-39, fig. 4. Pottery from unstudied FN indicates that the area of the OT was occupied after the Early Byzantine period.

<sup>28</sup> Seyer 2013, 63.

<sup>29</sup> E.g., Reynolds 2011, 209, 211, 213, figs. 1.16, 3.35-39, 5.72-73.

WT have a terminus ante quem of ca. 500 based on the pottery. Pottery from WT7 presents a somewhat different picture. While it does not represent a primary and thus chronologically homogeneous collection, the many joins throughout part of the stratigraphy encourage viewing it in its entirety. Some of the main dating criteria are supplied by a handful of specimens of CRSW/LRD Hayes Forms 9 and 10, originally dated between 550 and the late 7th century. Meyza, however, recently proposed a slightly earlier starting date of 530. Further chronological information is supplied by single examples of ARSW Hayes 104C (550-625/650) and 107 (600-650). Several of these vessels were found in FN 85 (from an upper layer) that was considered to have been (recently) disturbed, which finds corroboration in an Ottoman coin<sup>30</sup> from FN 85. More of these were found in FN 65 and 70 (similarly high up in the stratigraphy) in which also post-Early Byzantine pottery was identified. Single fragments of CRSW/LRD Hayes Forms 9 and 10 were, however, also found in two FN deeper down in the stratigraphy of WT7. This tentatively suggests that much of this stratigraphy did not derive from before ca. 525-550. None of the coins from WT7 date to the 6th or 7th century,<sup>31</sup> which at the very least does not contradict this current chronological interpretation and may in fact hint at different depositional patterns between the pottery and the coins. One coin from FN 105, found further down the stratigraphy, however, has been tentatively dated to the Ottoman period and potentially indicates that also lower down the stratigraphy was more recently disturbed. Alternatively, an “easier” explanation is that it slid down. Since it has only been tentatively identified, coupled with the absence of post-Early Byzantine pottery in all except three of the upper FN, the idea of a deposition date (not too long) after ca. 525-550 may be entertained. The substantial quantity of data from WT7 also helps to make observations, particularly concerning proportions and provenance of Early Byzantine amphorae at Limyra (cf. *infra*).

## Thoughts and Observations

The quantity and variety of the pottery studied has some bearing on regional and supra-regional ceramic manufacture and exchange concerning Early Byzantine Limyra, with regards to two aspects. First, two ceramic categories very likely originate from southeast Lycia. Though no primary evidence (e.g., workshops, kilns, wasters, tools) has been found to date, this hypothesis is strengthened by secondary, archaeological arguments. The data on long-distance imported amphorae will be discussed further below.

## Regional Manufacture - Cooking and Related Vessels

One group common in all FN is a macroscopically heterogeneous group that comprises a functionally and especially morphologically broad repertoire of cooking and serving vessels. Originally noted by Vroom, it was formalized to some extent by Yener-Marksteiner who classified the majority as Scherbentyp (ST) 1 and 2, the distinction based on an absence/presence of small reddish grits.<sup>32</sup> When present, their quantity nevertheless varies from one vessel to the next. ST1 and ST2 were part of an in-depth regional typological and archaeometric study wherein these categories were coined “lyciennes kaolinitiques”.<sup>33</sup> They are considered to have

<sup>30</sup> The author is grateful to Joachim Gorecki who most kindly permitted me to refer to this numismatic evidence.

<sup>31</sup> The youngest is attributed to the emperor Zeno and dated to 476-491.

<sup>32</sup> Lemaître et al. 2013, 193: “nodules ferrugineux brun-rouge de taille variée (de 0,5 à 1 mm de diamètre)”.

<sup>33</sup> Waksman and Lemaître 2010, 782-83; Arqué et al. 2012, 143; Lemaître et al. 2013.

their origin in southern Lycia, if not from near Limyra.<sup>34</sup> The extremely common occurrence and broad typological repertoire of vessels in ST1 and ST2 in Limyra - where these already occur in the Roman Imperial period<sup>35</sup> - indeed support the hypothesis of a fabric (group) that has its origins in the region, if not the vicinity of Limyra proper. It occurs in western (Xanthos, Letoon) and central (Andriake) Lycia where it appears to be less common, except perhaps for Rhodiapolis near Limyra.<sup>36</sup> The thin walls (at times not more than a few mm) and gritty composition are attributes that almost certainly promote a higher rate of breakage compared to, for example, certain red slip tablewares, and presumably cause an overrepresentation in the quantified data.<sup>37</sup>

There is no need to reiterate the characteristics of “lyciennes kaolinitiques” in detail, though it is useful to summarize its macroscopic and decorative characteristics to help gain a better understanding of its regional distribution.<sup>38</sup> The color of fresh breaks (fig. 6) and surfaces can be off-white, pale yellow, pale pink, (very) pale brown or light red. Part of the exterior surface on a number of vessels carries an orange, reddish, (dark) brown or greyish wash that is usually mottled and appears to have been applied by wiping or smearing (e.g., with a cloth). A faint metallic sheen of this wash is not uncommon and presumably hints at relatively high firing temperatures, or perhaps (combined with) the use of a certain fuel. Vessel profiles are well-made and well-finished, with sharp edges and angles (in terms of, e.g., ridging, lip profiles). Some shapes are quite elaborately profiled. Some vessels (and lids?) carry painted motifs that often can best be seen as stylized palmettes, trees or shrubs (fig. 7). Some deep cooking pots (chytrai), “filter” jugs,<sup>39</sup> and one-handed semi-ovoid pans occur in a somewhat advanced stage of sintering if not an early stage of vitrification. This is indicated by their reduced appearance and clingy sound when ticked. The consistency of sintering across vessel types suggests that it was desired and deliberate; such vessels were perhaps fired separately. One reason for this consistency could be that these pots had to have a much-reduced porosity that rendered them ideal for one or more purposes that nevertheless elude us.<sup>40</sup>

The “lyciennes kaolinitiques” group contains a broad morphological-functional repertoire. Common in Early Byzantine times is a deep, closed cooking pot (chytra) with a triangular rim profile.<sup>41</sup> A pan with a horizontal and usually pointed handle (fig. 8)<sup>42</sup> also regularly appears in Early Byzantine contexts.<sup>43</sup> Less common are fragments of (deep) closed cooking pots with various rim profiles that, according to current insights, are partly residual. Some deep

<sup>34</sup> Vroom 2004, 297, 300; Yener-Marksteiner 2007, 265 n. 273; Lemaître et al. 2013, 195-96.

<sup>35</sup> Yener-Marksteiner 2007, 265; Lemaître et al. 2013, 196; Banu Yener-Marksteiner, pers. comm.

<sup>36</sup> Pellegrino 2007a, 662; Lemaître et al. 2013, 195, 199-200, figs. 5, 8, 10; Çömezoğlu 2014, 665-66, 671, fig. 2.

<sup>37</sup> This aspect also prompted the use of a different method of quantification (cf. *infra*, n. 59).

<sup>38</sup> Vessels in ST1 or ST2 are occasionally identified at Sagalassos, and include a jug, the lid of a lidded jug, and a partly preserved large, deep cooking bowl with strongly profiled rim, horizontal handles, and painted circles on its exterior wall. The author has not yet observed this shape at Limyra. Very small quantities of Sagalassos Red Slip Ware, manufactured in Sagalassos (Poblome and Bes 2018, 734), have been identified in Limyra.

<sup>39</sup> The term “filter jug” may not fully suit the original purpose(s). The pierced disc inside the neck - attached where the neck meets the shoulder - could have had the purpose of keeping insects out, among others, in turn hinting at use/content. For a fuller discussion see Rocheron and Blanco 2014, 686-88, 692, nos. 10-15 (no. 14 is a lidded jug with such a “filter”) in “lyciennes kaolinitiques”; see also Rotroff 1997, 181.

<sup>40</sup> Rice 2015, 113-14, 314-19.

<sup>41</sup> Yener-Marksteiner 2007, 265, 267, fig. 21 (form 4); Lemaître et al. 2013, 196.

<sup>42</sup> Vroom 2004, 297-98, fig. 4.

<sup>43</sup> The basic shape is reminiscent of examples in Brittle Ware; see Vokaer 2007, 702, 708-9, figs. 2.7, 3.7.



cooking pots were equipped with a spout, and a small number of fragments of closed vessels have a lime layer on the interior (that does not extend onto the break). This suggests that such vessels were used for boiling or storing water, in turn hinting at a fairly strict separation in use. Shallow vessels in the *lopas* tradition occur now and then (fig. 9). Lids were presumably used (also) with these, yet lids are rarely noted (see fig. 4i-j for possible lids). Other functional categories that regularly occur are jugs with and without a “filter”. Some of the jugs are *Kleeblattkrügen* (i.e., the rim has a pinched mouth). One notable product of the workshops are lidded jugs or pitchers whose main popularity is dated to the 7th century. These were equipped with a second, small ring handle - which ran from the main handle to the lip (fig. 10) - onto which a convex lid was attached. Naturally this was assembled before firing. The lid was usually decorated with painted red lines that were visible when the lid closed the mouth of the jug.<sup>44</sup> Similar vessels in metal, thought to have inspired their ceramic equivalents, are known from various places in the Eastern Mediterranean. These are dated to the 6th to 8th centuries and thought to have experienced a heightened popularity or distribution during the 7th century.<sup>45</sup> Their lid was fixed by means of a short metal chain, which would be highly impractical in clay. It seems that potters who made lidded jugs adapted the (metal) concept to match the properties or possibilities offered by clay, yet retained the nicely shaped rounded handles in profile. Their appearance somewhat recalls modern German-style beer mugs that are also equipped with a lid. With them, however, the lid is lifted with the thumb by means of a small lever.

#### Regional Manufacture - Utilitarian Vessels (including Household and Kitchen Vessels)

A second ceramic ware, now labelled Fabric 2 in the *Limyra* fabric classification, is also common in all studied FN. It also occurs commonly in the 2016, 2018, and 2019 excavations in the Western City<sup>46</sup> and comes in a variety of functional shapes. For various reasons, Fabric 2 is an easily spotted ware. First, quite coarsely shaped brown shiny grits are present. While never many, these easily stand out, especially when a fragment is held in direct sunlight. Second, exterior surfaces quite often have a greenish tinge, sometimes with black stripes, presumably resulting from a carelessly applied slip. The feel, especially on the exterior, suggests a rather dense and compact matrix. Fragments also often produce a cling when ticked with a fingernail. Whereas Fabric 2 generally is hard fired, this partial overfiring might be an unintentional side effect of conditions that the potters, or those responsible for firing the kiln(s), were not able to fully control. On the other hand, given the typological-functional repertoire of Fabric 2 - largely utilitarian: *mortaria*,<sup>47</sup> basins, pithoi, pithoi lids, large jugs (“*einhenkelige Kannen*”)<sup>48</sup> and other closed shapes (e.g., *amphorae*) - it is plausible that this partial overfiring was in fact intentional. It equipped vessels with a denser outer layer to reduce porosity. It would also lend the vessels additional strength. Part of the repertoire of Fabric 2 (e.g., *mortaria*) indeed suggests that

<sup>44</sup> Vroom 2004, 297, 299-300, fig. 5; Fedoseev et al. 2010, 86-87, fig. 31.1 (with bibliography), for a well-preserved example from *Pantikapeion* (Kerch, Eastern Crimea). The macroscopic description recalls that of ST1. The absence of painted motifs on the lid, however, makes this identification unlikely. Moreover, in the absence of broader research, the possibility, if not likelihood, of two or more places of manufacture should be considered.

<sup>45</sup> Pitarakis 2005.

<sup>46</sup> Supervised by Dr. Alexandra Dolea; Seyer et al. 2017, 2019.

<sup>47</sup> Imported *mortaria* are rare; one *Ras al-Bassit* *mortarium* was identified in FN 54. See Çokay-Kepçe 2013.

<sup>48</sup> Yener-Marksteiner 2009, 232, fig. 12, table 7.51. The handles and manner in which these are attached to the rim of some of the “*amphorae*” found at *Rhodiapolis* (Çömezoğlu 2014, 675, fig. 9) resemble “*einhenkelige Kannen*” found at *Limyra* and *might* in fact be such vessels.



a certain sturdiness or strength was required. These considerations do not explain, however, why only some were partially overfired.

Magnification (40 times) of a fresh break shows a dense clay matrix that is usually bichrome and littered with tiny whitish specks. Pores usually concern micropores, slightly larger elongated pores are sometimes spotted, and a few angular quartz bits can be noted. Most characteristic, however, are coarsely shaped, rust-colored grits - some appear to contain tiny rounded quartz (?) - that noticeably reflect direct sunlight. These make Fabric 2 characteristic (fig. 11). This macroscopic description is intended for those working in the region to help identify it, since recent archaeometrical analyses included several samples that suggest that Fabric 2 - and other petrofabrics - originates to the east and southeast of Limyra.<sup>49</sup> The quantity and typological-functional repertoire of Fabric 2 strongly support a regional origin. Ultimately only archaeological and geological evidence - workshops, kilns, wasters and/or the clay beds from whence this and perhaps other (related) clays/fabrics were quarried - can confirm this hypothesis.

Noteworthy is the lower wall and button toe of an amphora in Fabric 2 (fig. 12) found in FN 35 (trench WT4), the pottery from which was dated to ca. 450-500/525. Its profile does not offer unequivocal clues as to its date. Such buttoned toes may be more of a pre-Roman feature, though whether Fabric 2 was already in use prior to the Roman Imperial period is not yet known. A Roman or Early Byzantine date cannot be excluded, however, when some amphora types were equipped with such or similar toes. No rims or handles were recognized in the studied FN that can be associated with amphorae in Fabric 2, which strengthens the notion that this fragment is residual.<sup>50</sup> On another level the date of this fragment is less important. A case was recently made for the manufacture of amphorae in Late Classical Lycia.<sup>51</sup> The fragment from FN 35 forms a small albeit intriguing clue that amphorae were possibly manufactured in the region of Limyra, possibly to its east-southeast. It was thus part of a bigger jigsaw puzzle of ceramic production in Lycia, in which Patara,<sup>52</sup> Xanthos,<sup>53</sup> Rhodiapolis,<sup>54</sup> Myra, Tlos,<sup>55</sup> and Kibyra north of Lycia<sup>56</sup> are known to have played a role.

### Long-Distance Imported Amphorae

The amphora fragment discussed above, even if residual, is the only fragment among the studied pottery from the OT and WT to be of regional manufacture. Consequently, all other amphorae fragments are either of known provenance or otherwise suspected to have been imported from outside Lycia. This should not lead to the immediate conclusion that Limyra was entirely dependent on an external supply of agricultural products, or at least so during the

<sup>49</sup> Peloschek et al. 2017, 250, 252-53, 263, 266, figs. 5, 9, for three related petrofabrics characterized by the presence of diorite. At the time of publication, the moniker Fabric 2 was not yet being used. Samples that *macroscopically* would now be classified as Fabric 2 are nos. 5-7, 14, 17 and presumably also 10 (Peloschek et al. 2017, 266, fig. 9).

<sup>50</sup> Vroom 2004, 294: "I have not yet identified any locally produced amphorae of the late antique period".

<sup>51</sup> Dündar 2013, 47-50, figs. 6-11; 2016a, 512, 514, fig. 11 (with bibliography).

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g., Dündar 2015, 204-5, 217-23, figs. 14-27.

<sup>53</sup> Pellegrino 2007b.

<sup>54</sup> Çetintaş 2018. During a visit to Limyra, Mr. E. Çetintaş very kindly shared information regarding ceramic wasters from Rhodiapolis that included tableware forms that might well be classified as LRD. These provide further evidence for the manufacture of Early Byzantine tablewares in Lycia.

<sup>55</sup> Summarized in Dündar 2016a, 514-17.

<sup>56</sup> Özüdoğru and Dündar 2007; Uygun and Dökü 2008; Japp 2009; Kugler 2018, 484-87. Published evidence suggests that Lycia is perhaps best characterized as a patchwork in which a number of sites were active in terms of *regional* manufacture and distribution.

Early Byzantine period. It is plausible that agricultural products (and other goods) from the territory were transported in ceramic containers that traditionally we do not identify as transport vessels *stricto sensu*,<sup>57</sup> or in media other than pottery (e.g., barrels, baskets, sacks).<sup>58</sup>

In Limyra, amphorae form a considerable component in any Early Byzantine context. Concerning the OT, 622 fragments (weighing ca. 19.6 kg) were identified as amphorae out of a total of 2,215 sherds (28.1% by RBHS count, 30.6% by RBHS weight). From all pottery fragments from the WT that were studied (n=10,829), 3,104 sherds (weighing 78.8 kg) are classified as amphorae (28.7% by RBHS count, 37.5% by RBHS weight).<sup>59</sup> Table 1 shows absolute and relative quantities for all amphorae, organized by provenance and type, from the OT and WT.<sup>60</sup> As indicated, an additional (small) percentage is potentially residual. Yet this consideration is again less relevant when we focus on provenance. The majority originates from eastern sources and is largely represented by Late Roman Amphora 1 (LRA1 hereafter; fig. 13) (OT: 32.2%; WT: 41.2%), Late Roman Amphora 4 (LRA4 henceforth) (OT: 12.1%; WT: 15.9%), and Late Roman Amphora 5 (LRA5 hereafter) (OT: 17.4%; WT: 1.7%).<sup>61</sup> Smaller quantities derive from various other sources elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean (e.g., Samos Cistern Type, fig. 14),<sup>62</sup> the Black Sea (fig. 15), and the Western Mediterranean (e.g., Tunisia). The flow of amphorae to Limyra thus appears to have been predominantly eastern and tied to exchange lines with a general east-west direction. The amphorae from a number of FN from the WT present a somewhat wider typological spectrum, which ties in with the argument for a slightly older date range for some of these FN. A few differences are noteworthy. First, there is a small but notable percentage of Pontic carrot-type amphorae, most of the Kassab Tezgör type-variant C Snp III-1.<sup>63</sup> Most are of Sinopean manufacture (fig. 16), though at least one specimen was presumably manufactured at Herakleia Pontike (fig. 17).<sup>64</sup> Second, note the much lower percentage of LRA5 in the WT (1.7%) in comparison to the OT (17.4%) and that average weight indicates that the latter is much less fragmented.

A chronological comparison between FN that are dated to ca. 450-550 and those to ca. 550-650 (table 3) presents some interesting differences.<sup>65</sup> Attributed to ca. 450-550 are FN 15, 17, 35, 44, 54, 65, 90-91, 95, 99, 105-7, 111-12, 114, 116, 125 and 133 (all from the WT). To ca. 550-650 are attributed FN 1036 and 1039 (from the OT), 3-4, 7, 39, 85 and 138-39 (from the WT).

<sup>57</sup> A possible example is Sagalassos where amphorae were likely manufactured in the Ağlasun Valley. Analyses have pointed out that the clays, classified as Fabric 4, were quarried there (Neyt et al. 2012) and only appear by (the second half of) the 4th century (Poblome et al. 2008, 1002). One- and two-handled closed vessels (jars, amphorae) in Fabric 1, quarried at Çanaklı some eight km from Sagalassos, were manufactured since Augustan times. No archaeological evidence for their manufacture has been found in Eastern Suburbium (previously the Potters' Quarter). One scenario is that closed vessels in Fabric 1 were manufactured elsewhere outside the city, and that (part of) these were used to bring agricultural produce to Sagalassos.

<sup>58</sup> Peña 1998.

<sup>59</sup> In 2018, the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNI) method of quantification was introduced (Orton and Hughes 2013, 203-18, and 206-7 for criticism concerning full sherd-count quantification). See our contribution for *Anatolia Antiqua* (in preparation).

<sup>60</sup> For other quantified data see Vroom (2005, 249-50, figs. 1, 3 (presumably RBH)), with notable differences between both datasets (e.g., regarding LRA2, LRA5, LRA7), see Vroom 2004, 292, tables 1A-D.

<sup>61</sup> LRA1 and LRA4 dominate in sondages SO 30/36/37 (Western City); see Yener-Marksteiner 2009, 235.

<sup>62</sup> Pieri 2005, 132-37, especially 135, fig. 91.

<sup>63</sup> Kassab Tezgör 2009, 130-34, pl. 19.5-7.

<sup>64</sup> Bes 2020a.

<sup>65</sup> FN that do not "nicely" fall in either of these periods are not considered here, hence table 3 contains only counts and weight for the FN mentioned here.

LRA1, LRA4 and LRA5 are best represented (cf. *supra*), yet a few interesting differences are observed. First, there is a more limited repertoire during the second period. According to current knowledge, some categories, for example, Agora M273, presumably no longer circulated other than as residual fragments after around 500. Second, LRA1 (having similar average sherd weight for both periods) shows a slight but noticeable increase in the second period. Third, Pontic (mostly Sinopean) carrot-type amphorae presumably also no longer circulated after 500. The onset of Vandal rule and their presence in the Western Mediterranean, even if it were less disruptive than once thought, may have had an encouraging effect elsewhere. Perhaps Pontic amphorae began to play a relatively greater role in Pontic-Eastern Mediterranean exchange toward/around the mid-5th century. Sinopean amphorae in *pâte claire* (Kassab Tezgör type-group D Snp I-III) began to circulate just before 500. So far, these latter amphorae do not seem to have made any real impact in Limyra. Quantified data from other sites in the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g., Beirut, Zeugma), however, suggest that Sinopean amphorae in *pâte claire* played a significant role in long-distance exchange.<sup>66</sup> Fourth, and arguably most significant, is a substantial increase in amphorae from the southern Levant. Whereas the percentage of LRA4 decreases somewhat, LRA5 and Agora M334 combined increases from 2.1% to 12.3%. Quantified data using MNI from the 2018 excavations in the Western City also show a strong increase of southern Levantine amphorae in the 6th century.<sup>67</sup> Preliminary observations concerning inland Sagalassos also suggest that LRA5 might be somewhat more common during the 6th and into the 7th century. Regarding imported amphorae, Sagalassos more generally shows similar relative trends with Limyra.<sup>68</sup> This possibly also echoes Reynolds' observation that in the 6th century (and into the 7th?) both type-groups appeared more commonly at western ports.<sup>69</sup> Methodological and hence interpretive caution is required given Reynolds' use of RBH and that of RBHS here. Leaving out body sherds, however, would mean that some type- and provenance-identifications disappear.

### Summary

The pottery discussed above helps to refine and understand better the typological and chronological classification of regional (e.g., Fabric 2) and supra-regional (e.g., Black Sea amphorae) groups. It also attempts to make a contribution concerning Limyra's urban development during the 5th to 7th centuries.<sup>70</sup> The pottery from the WT generally indicates a continuation of occupation/activity. One of the conclusions concerning the pottery from the WT was that a considerable portion is not younger than ca. 500, which pottery from the excavations of 2016, 2018 and 2019 also echoes. It will therefore be interesting to see how the stratigraphical and architectural interpretation of these recent excavations relate with those from 2011 and 2012 within the framework of urban development. The original construction of the fortification wall in the late 5th to early 6th century that thus "created" the Western City must have had profound consequences both for the existing urban fabric as well as for life within the new wall. Moreover, construction work on the Western City's fortification wall in the 7th century - presumably in relation to tumultuous times caused in particular by the Arab territorial conquests - seems to signify a more fundamental transformation. This is also indicated by marked changes in the

<sup>66</sup> Bes 2020a, fig. 21.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 60.

<sup>68</sup> Bes 2020b.

<sup>69</sup> Reynolds 2010, 100.

<sup>70</sup> Dolea (forthcoming); Seyer (forthcoming).

ceramic repertoire.<sup>71</sup> The stratigraphical unit (SE 27) from the OT that was studied abutted the north tower and the semicircular wall. That the pottery from it was dated to ca. 575-650 appears to point to a terminus ante quem of ca. 575-650 for the construction of tower and wall. While more research is naturally required, this might suggest that the tower and wall - note that these need not have been built contemporaneously - were built during or prior to ca. 575-650, and in light of the overall assessment of the pottery perhaps not too long before ca. 575.

Regional workshops catered for most cooking and utilitarian vessels. In particular the workshops that manufactured the repertoire of cooking and related vessels provided for nearly all the inhabitants' requirements. The utilitarian vessels present a slightly more varied picture, since these were partly also imported from sources elsewhere. This, in fact, also applies to the tablewares. In addition to small quantities from Tunisia and western Turkey, the majority was manufactured on Cyprus and/or within central-southern Asia Minor - defined as the LRD *koinè*<sup>72</sup> - perhaps in one or more regional centers (e.g., Rhodiapolis?). In contrast, thus far all amphorae appear to have been imported almost certainly via the sea from beyond Lycia, and from predominantly Cilician, Levantine and Aegean sources. This general pattern is also partly recognizable elsewhere in Lycia, for instance, the dominance of LRA1 at Patara and Andriake.<sup>73</sup> Whilst the commonly attested categories suggest that Limyra was primarily located on exchange routes with an east-west orientation, amphorae from various Western sources (e.g., Tunisia, also identified at Patara)<sup>74</sup> and the Black Sea emphasize the complexity of Early Byzantine sea-borne exchange. For example, a summary of contexts dated to between ca. 450-550 and between ca. 550-650 suggests that certain changes occurred in the proportional supply of amphorae, most notably amphorae from the southern Levant (LRA5, Agora M334). Whereas the applied quantification method urges some caution in the interpretation and comparison of these results, the data as such offers clues that may well echo changes that took place elsewhere in the Early Byzantine (Eastern) Mediterranean. Such clues are more clearly observed in loci that have been excavated in the Western City in 2016, 2018 and 2019. In fact, the ongoing study of the pottery from these excavations - with a revised methodological approach - will document the changes in the repertoire of regionally manufactured cooking vessels as well as the proportions of imported amphorae between the 3rd and 8th centuries in further detail.

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<sup>71</sup> Bes 2019.

<sup>72</sup> Meyza 2007; Yener-Marksteiner 2007, 252, 258; 2009, 227, 229; Poblome and Firat 2011.

<sup>73</sup> Patara: Dündar 2016b, 99; 2018, 170-71; Andriake: Yener-Marksteiner 2013, 232.

<sup>74</sup> Yıldırım 2012, 153-55, 160-61, 168, fig. 1.

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FIG. 1 Overview photograph of the OT after the excavations in 2012 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Pascal Brandstätter).





FIG. 2 Overview photograph of the WT after the excavations in 2012 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).



FIG. 3  
 Selection of well-preserved vessels found at the WT:  
 (a) partly restored "einhenkelige Kanne" from FN 114A  
 (a concentration in FN 114) in a regional fabric;  
 (b) partly restored jug from the same FN;  
 (c) heavily used oil lamp from FN 114;  
 (d) a lid for a small storage vessel from FN 99;  
 (e) partly restored transport/storage vessel with broad,  
 painted spirals from FN 99 presumably in a regional  
 fabric; (f) fragments of ARSW from FN 85; and  
 (g) fragment of an oinophoros from FN 7  
 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).

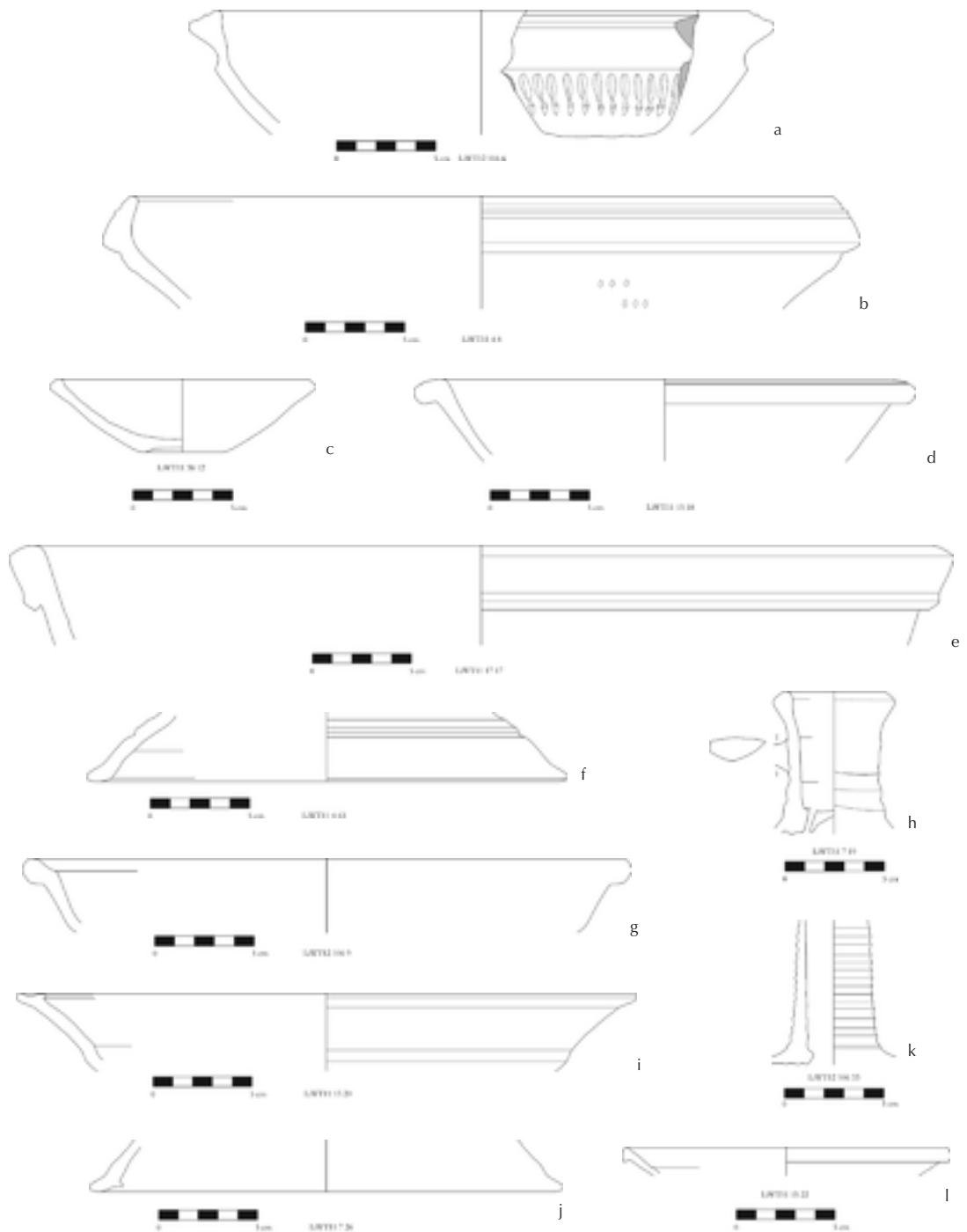


FIG. 4 Selection of tablewares and cooking wares from the WT: (a) Cypriot(?) LRD Hayes Form 7 from FN 116; (b) Cypriot(?) LRD Hayes Form 10A(?) from FN 4; (c) LRD Hayes Form 1 or Meyza Form 3C from FN 35; (d) LRD Hayes Form 8A from FN 15; (e) LRD Hayes Form 11 from FN 17; (f) LRD lid or bowl from FN 4; (g) pan in "lyciennes kaolinitiques" from FN 106; (h) "filter" jug in "lyciennes kaolinitiques" from FN 7; (i) lid or bowl in "lyciennes kaolinitiques" from FN 15; (j) lid(?) in "lyciennes kaolinitiques" from FN 7; (k) jug(?) in "lyciennes kaolinitiques" from FN 106; and (l) ARSW Hayes Form 68(?) from FN 15  
 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Nicola Math).





FIG. 5b  
Lump of plaster inside the vessel shown  
in fig. 5a (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).

FIG. 5a  
Partly restored Cypriot(?) LRD Hayes  
Form 11 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).

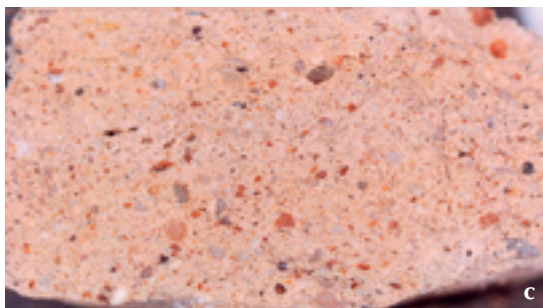
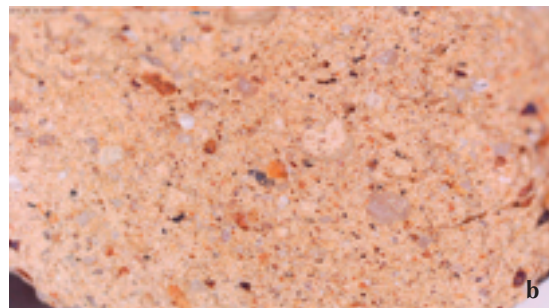
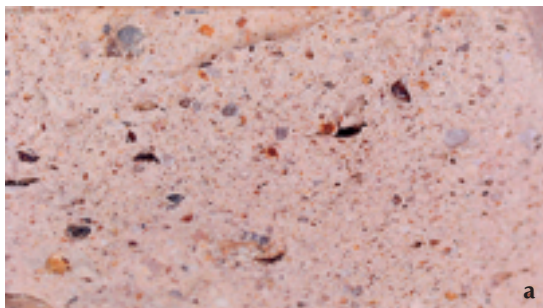


FIG. 6 Microscope photographs (magnified ca. 40 times) of fresh breaks of vessels in “lyciennes kaolinitiques”: (a) pan from context 5013 (2016 excavations, Western City); (b) chytra/stew pot (cf. Yener-Marksteiner 2007, 267-68, table 21, C62) from the same context; (c) pan or lid from context 5011 (2016 excavations, Western City); and (d) lopas from FN 13 (2011 excavations, WT), otherwise not included in this study (© Philip Bes).

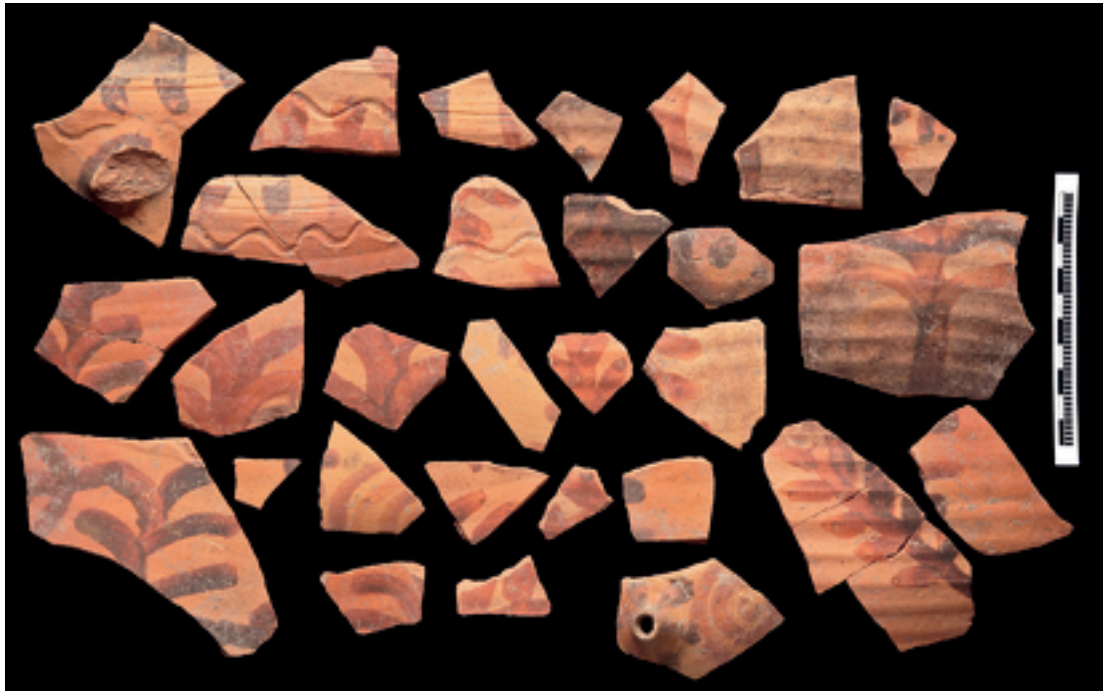


FIG. 7  
Two vessels in “lyciennes kaolinitiques” with painted designs: (a) fragments of a spouted vessel from FN 85, 105, 107 and 125; and (b) partly restored bowl or lid, with holes or notches cut out before firing, from FN 105 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).



FIG. 8 Semi-ovoid pan in “lyciennes kaolinitiques” with “steel pan”-like handle from FN 91 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).



FIG. 9 Carinated casseroles or lopas in "lyciennes kaolinitiques" from FN 118 (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).



FIG. 10 Part of the stripe-painted handle of a lidded jug (from FN 28, otherwise not included in this study), onto which a small ring handle was attached that held the lid proper (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).

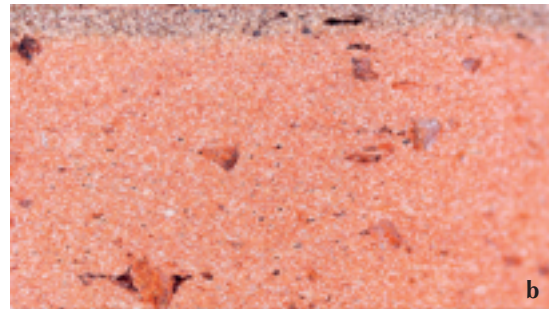


FIG. 11 Microscope photographs (magnified ca. 40 times) of vessels in Fabric 2: (a) amphora toe from FN 35 (see fig. 12); and (b) pithos rim from context 5013 (2016 excavations, Western City) (© Philip Bes).

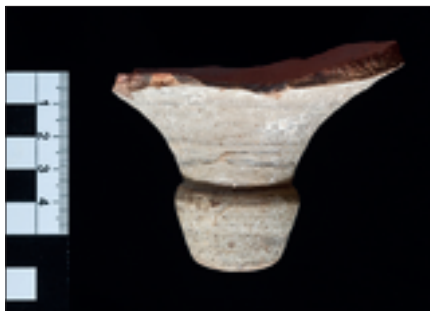


FIG. 12 Amphora toe in Fabric 2 from FN 35 (see fig. 11a) (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).



FIG. 13 Restored top of a LRA1B, variant 1, from FN 115 with a partly preserved dipinto (© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).





FIG. 14  
Fragments of a  
Samos Cistern  
Type from FN 115  
(© ÖAW-ÖAI/  
Regina Hügli).



FIG. 15  
Handle fragments of  
Sinopean amphorae in  
*pâte claire*, cf. Kassab  
Tezgör type-group D  
Snp I-III, from FN 1039  
(© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina  
Hügli).



FIG. 16  
Fragments of Sinopean  
carrot-type amphorae:  
(a) lower segment, cf.  
Kassab Tezgör type-variant  
C Snp III-1 from FN 114;  
and (b) restored top, cf.  
Kassab Tezgör type-variant  
C Snp III-1b from FN 125  
(© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).



FIG. 17  
Restored top of a Pontic  
carrot-type amphora from FN 114A  
(a concentration in FN 114),  
cf. Kassab Tezgör type-variant  
C Snp III-1 similis, possibly  
manufactured at Herakleia Pontike  
(© ÖAW-ÖAI/Regina Hügli).

TABLE 1 Overview of attested amphorae from the studied contexts from the OT and WT, organized by provenance and type (© Philip Bes/ÖAW-ÖAI).

|           | Region                        | Typological Category             | OT      |         |          |          | WT      |         |          |          |
|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------|---------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|----------|
|           |                               |                                  | Count n | Count % | Weight n | Weight % | Count n | Count % | Weight n | Weight % |
| EastMed   | Cilicia Pedias/<br>Cyprus     | LRA1                             | 200     | 32,2    | 7690     | 39,2     | 1279    | 41,2    | 33269    | 42,2     |
|           | Gaza-Negev                    | LRA4                             | 75      | 12,1    | 2905     | 14,8     | 495     | 15,9    | 13767    | 17,5     |
|           | Caesarea-Akko                 | LRA5                             | 108     | 17,4    | 2672     | 13,6     | 54      | 1,7     | 743      | 0,9      |
|           |                               | LRA5/Agora M334                  | -       | -       | -        | -        | 13      | 0,4     | 183      | 0,2      |
|           | Akko region                   | Agora M334                       | 21      | 3,4     | 484      | 2,5      | 26      | 0,8     | 314      | 0,4      |
|           | Scythopolis                   | LRA6                             | -       | -       | -        | -        | 6       | 0,2     | 59       | 0,1      |
|           | Southern Levant               | -                                | -       | -       | -        | 2        | 0,1     | 80      | 0,1      |          |
|           | Aegean                        | Agora M273                       | -       | -       | -        | -        | 11      | 0,4     | 865      | 1,1      |
|           |                               | LRA2                             | 2       | 0,3     | 60       | 0,3      | 8       | 0,3     | 835      | 1,1      |
|           |                               | Agora M273/Samos<br>Cistern Type | 4       | 0,6     | 158      | 0,8      | 10      | 0,3     | 628      | 0,8      |
|           |                               | Samos Cistern Type               | -       | -       | -        | -        | 22      | 0,7     | 1011     | 1,3      |
|           | Cretan(?)                     | -                                | 1       | 0,2     | 15       | 0,1      | 29      | 0,9     | 777      | 1,0      |
|           | Maeander                      | LRA3                             | 19      | 3,1     | 425      | 2,2      | 89      | 2,9     | 996      | 1,3      |
|           |                               | -                                | -       | -       | -        | -        | 32      | 1,0     | 547      | 0,7      |
|           | Maeander/<br>Southwest Turkey | -                                | -       | -       | -        | -        | 1       | 0,0     | 15       | 0,0      |
| Egypt     | LRA7                          | 4                                | 0,6     | 197     | 1,0      | 8        | 0,3     | 170     | 0,2      |          |
| EastMed   | -                             | 54                               | 8,7     | 755     | 3,8      | 41       | 1,3     | 1200    | 1,5      |          |
| Black Sea | Sinope                        | C Snp I-III                      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 4       | 0,1     | 210      | 0,3      |
|           |                               | C Snp II-III                     | -       | -       | -        | -        | 6       | 0,2     | 1770     | 2,2      |
|           |                               | D Snp I-III                      | 5       | 0,8     | 329      | 1,7      | 2       | 0,1     | 55       | 0,1      |
|           | Sinope(?)                     | -                                | 4       | 0,6     | 270      | 1,4      | 3       | 0,1     | 135      | 0,2      |
|           | Herakleia<br>Pontike?         | C Snp III-1 similis              | -       | -       | -        | -        | 1       | 0,0     | 910      | 1,2      |
|           |                               | C Snp III-2                      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 2       | 0,1     | 15       | 0,0      |
|           |                               | C Snp II-III                     | -       | -       | -        | -        | 3       | 0,1     | 185      | 0,2      |
|           | Pontic                        | -                                | -       | -       | -        | 1        | 0,0     | 60      | 0,1      |          |
| Pontic(?) | -                             | -                                | -       | -       | 17       | 0,5      | 382     | 0,5     |          |          |
| WestMed   | Southern Italy/<br>Sicily     | Keay 52                          | -       | -       | -        | -        | 2       | 0,1     | 100      | 0,1      |
|           | Tunisia                       | Spatheion                        | 2       | 0,3     | 55       | 0,3      | 5       | 0,2     | 160      | 0,2      |
|           | Tunisia/<br>Tripolitania      | -                                | 5       | 0,8     | 385      | 2,0      | 36      | 1,2     | 1392     | 1,8      |
|           | WestMed                       | -                                | 1       | 0,2     | 30       | 0,2      | 1       | 0,0     | 120      | 0,2      |
|           | Unidentified                  | -                                | 117     | 18,8    | 3206     | 16,3     | 895     | 28,8    | 17854    | 22,7     |
|           |                               |                                  | 622     | 35,0    | 19636    | 30,0     | 3104    | 39,6    | 78807    | 38,6     |

TABLE 2 Summary table of all FN from the OT and WT excavations that were studied in detail; einhKan=einhenkelige Kannen (large, one-handed jugs), lyckaol=lyciennes kaolinitiques (cooking and related vessels from southeast Lycia) (© Philip Bes/ÖAW-ÖAI).

| Year  | Trench     | FN       | Total Count | Count minus Residual and '?' | Weight (gr) | Weight minus Residual and '?' | Ceramic Date (CE and ca.)  |
|-------|------------|----------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2012  | OT (SE 27) | 1036     | 327         | 319                          | 11085       | 10734                         | 475–550                    |
|       |            | 1039     | 1913        | 1896                         | 54289       | 53531                         | 575–650                    |
| 2011  | WT3        | 3        | 28          | 27                           | 574         | 571                           | 550+                       |
|       |            | 4        | 59          | 59                           | 3527        | 3527                          | 540+                       |
|       |            | 7        | 406         | 393                          | 7758        | 7583                          | 550+                       |
|       |            | 9        | 123         | 122                          | 4700        | 4690                          | 650–700/750?               |
|       |            | 15       | 99          | 95                           | 2180        | 1828                          | <525/550?                  |
|       |            | 17       | 73          | 72                           | 2616        | 2611                          | 500–550, up to 575?        |
|       |            | 39       | 223         | 218                          | 3641        | 3586                          | 575+                       |
|       | WT3/2      | 54       | 560         | 539                          | 9721        | 9506                          | 450–500, into early sixth? |
|       | WT4        | 35       | 835         | 716                          | 14680       | 12940                         | 450–500, into early sixth? |
| WT5   | 44         | 198      | 194         | 4697                         | 4675        | 450–500, into early sixth?    |                            |
| 2012  | WT6        | 118      | 22          | 22                           | 381         | 381                           | Early Byzantine            |
|       | WT7        | 65       | 2           | 2                            | 275         | 275                           | early/first half sixth?    |
|       |            | 85       | 3001        | 2969                         | 32748       | 32461                         | 600–625/650                |
|       |            | 90       | 46          | 46                           | 645         | 645                           | early/first half sixth?    |
|       |            | 91       | 443         | 421                          | 8575        | 8259                          | 500–525/550                |
|       |            | 95       | 57          | 55                           | 1903        | 1883                          | early/first half sixth?    |
|       |            | 99       | 966         | 943                          | 25589       | 24873                         | 500–525/550                |
|       |            | 105+105A | 594         | 583                          | 12568       | 12543                         | 500–525/550                |
|       |            | 106      | 516         | 506                          | 10842       | 10676                         | 500–525/550                |
|       |            | 107      | 339         | 315                          | 6829        | 6526                          | 475–525/550? (to 575/600?) |
|       |            | 115      | 892         | 880                          | 21825       | 21517                         | 500–525/550 (to 575/600?)  |
|       |            | 116+116A | 212         | 208                          | 5698        | 5662                          | 475–550?                   |
|       |            | 117      | 65          | 65                           | 1470        | 1470                          | Early Byzantine            |
|       |            | 119      | 49          | 46                           | 1381        | 1360                          | Early Byzantine            |
|       |            | 120      | 21          | 21                           | 328         | 328                           | Early Byzantine            |
|       |            | 122      | 55          | 47                           | 1113        | 1080                          | Early Byzantine            |
|       | 125        | 481      | 464         | 7906                         | 7619        | 475–525/550                   |                            |
|       | 133        | 60       | 52          | 788                          | 703         | early/first half sixth?       |                            |
|       | 138        | 113      | 105         | 1815                         | 1720        | Later sixth into seventh      |                            |
|       | 139        | 86       | 84          | 1554                         | 1524        | 550–625/650                   |                            |
|       | 141        | 10       | 8           | 314                          | 184         | Early Byzantine               |                            |
|       | 142        | 142      | 141         | 4577                         | 4573        | Early Byzantine               |                            |
| WT8   | 111        | 74       | 71          | 1814                         | 1789        | 450–500/525                   |                            |
|       | 114+114A   | 360      | 239         | 9603                         | 7641        | (First half?) fifth century   |                            |
| WT9   | 132        | 6        | 6           | 80                           | 80          | Early Byzantine               |                            |
| WT10  | 112        | 95       | 95          | 3074                         | 3074        | 475–525/550                   |                            |
| Total |            |          | 13551       | 13044                        | 283163      | 274628                        |                            |



| Main Ceramic Dating Criteria  |
|---|
| CRSW/LRD H2, H3, H8, H11; einhKan; LRA1 and LRA4 variants; Sinopean <i>pâte claire</i>  |
| CRSW/LRD, including well preserved H9; PhLRC H10A; LRA1 and LRA4 variants; late LRA5; Sinopean <i>pâte claire</i>   |
| Late version of CRSW H11  |
| Hayes 9C  |
| Late version of CRSW H11; LRA1B(2?)   |
| Early Byzantine cooking pots (cf. Polis West excavations 2016) and a pithos: perhaps intrusive?   |
| CRSW/LRD H1, H8A; ARSW H68?; LRA1A, including Pieri's transitional type?  |
| Early and late CRSW H11; LRA1B(2?)  |
| Spathaeion 3; PhLRC H3F, H3H; Cypriot LRD H11; various regional wares, including einhKan  |
| CRSW/LRD H1, H11; PhLRC pre-500; ARSW H71A, Fabric D1; LRA1A; Agora M273; LRA4A2/B1; quite some LRA3; Ras al-Bassit mortarium; various regional wares   |
| CRSW/LRD H1 and H11; Meyza H1/3C; LRA1A; LRA3 hollow foot; LRA4A2; LR Aegean Micaceous  |
| CRSW/LRD H1; Cypriot LRD H11; LRA1A; einhKan  |
| Well-preserved carinated pan (lyckaol)  |
| Tunisian amphora: join with body sherd from 90, other fragments in 91, 95 and 99  |
| ARSW H107, various CRSW/LRD H9 and H10  |
| einhKan; Tunisian amphora, which also occurs in 91, 95 and 99; LRA1 that also occurs in 91  |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H7, H11; PhLRC H1D?, H3B?; einhKan; LRA1B; LRA4B1; micaceous amphora (West Cilicia?) that also occurs in 105; Tunisian amphora that also occurs in 90, 95 and 99; LRA1 that also occurs in 90  |
| Well-preserved CRSW/LRD H11 (also H1); Tunisian amphora, other fragments in 65, 90-91 and 99  |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H7, H11; einhKan; LRA4A1-A2, A1-B2, B1-B2, B2-B3; Samos Cistern Type; LRA1B; Pontic carrot-type amphorae; pale green LRA1 (fragments also occur in 105-7, 115, 125, 129, 133, 139); Tunisian amphora, which also occurs in 90-91 and 95  |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H11; PhLRC H3D(F), H3F; LRA1 (Pieri P2?); einhKan; Sinopean <i>pâte claire</i> , presumed joining fragments with 106: LRA1 (MNI=2; 1xPieri P2?), micaceous amphora (West Cilicia?); CRSW/LRD H2 joins to fragment from 106; pale green LRA1 (fragments also occur in 99, 106-7, 115, 125, 129, 133, 139) |
| CRSW H2, H11; LRA4B1, B1-B2, B1-B3; einhKan; presumed joins with fabric if not vessel from 105: pan, tableware, LRA1 (MNI=2; 1xPieri P2?), micaceous amphora (West Cilicia?); CRSW/LRD H2 joins to fragment from 105; pale green LRA1 (fragments also occur in 99, 105, 107, 115, 125, 129, 133, 139)                 |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H11; LRA4B1-B2; Samos Cistern Type, possibly the same vessel as in 115 and 125; pale green LRA1 (fragments also occur in 99, 105-6, 115, 125, 129, 133, 139)   |
| CRSW/LRD H1, H2, H11; PhLRC H3F; LRA1B1; LRA4A1-B2, B1-B2, B1-B3; LRA3 Pieri 2005, fig. 59d; Samos Cistern Type joins to fragments from 125, and possibly 107   |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H7, H11; PhLRC H2A; einhKan; oinophoros fragments, possibly from the same vessel as in 117; bowl fragment, possibly from the same vessel as in 142 (knife-cut)   |
| CRSW/LRD H11; oinophoros fragments, possibly from the same vessel as that in 117  |
| Nothing very diagnostic   |
| Various LR amphorae, otherwise few diagnostic fragments   |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H11; einhKan   |
| CRSW/LRD H1, H2, H11; PhLRC H3H; einhKan; Samos Cistern Type; Pontic carrot amphorae; Spathaeion 1?; pale green LRA1 (fragments also occur in 99, 105-7, 115, 129, 133, 139); Samos Cistern Type joins to fragments from 115, and possibly 107  |
| Carrot amphora (Sinope?); einhKan; pale green LRA1 (fragments also occur in e.g. 99, 105-7, 115, 125, 129, 139)   |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H9B, H11; einhKan  |
| CRSW/LRD H9-10, H11; einhKan; pale green LRA1 (fragments also occur in e.g. 99, 105-7, 115, 125, 129, 133)  |
| CRSW/LRD H7; einhKan  |
| CRSW/LRD H2, H11; einhKan; Samos Cistern Type; bowl fragment, possibly the same vessel as in 142 (knife-cut)  |
| CRSW/LRD; LRA1; einhKan; Agora M273 (similar/same fragments in 112, 114)  |
| ARSW Fabric C3-5?; ARSW H50(B?); carrot amphora (Sinopean?); Agora M273 (similar/same fragments in 111-2); LRA1A; 114A: well-preserved Sinopean carrot-type amphora; well-preserved einhKan; well-preserved wide-mouthed jug  |
| CRSW H2; Form 4 (lyckaol)   |
| CRSW/LRD H11; einhKan; LRA1; LRA4B1; Agora M273 (similar/same fragments in 111, 114)  |

TABLE 3 Summary table comparing amphorae data between deposits that are dated respectively to ca. 450-550 and ca. 550-650 (© Philip Bes/ÖAW-ÖAI).

|           | Region                    | Typological Category          | 450–550 |         |
|-----------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---------|
|           |                           |                               | Count n | Count % |
| EastMed   | Cilicia Pedias/Cyprus     | LRA1                          | 694     | 39,2    |
|           | Gaza-Negev                | LRA4                          | 235     | 13,3    |
|           | Caesarea-Akko             | LRA5                          | 22      | 1,2     |
|           |                           | LRA5/Agora M334               | 11      | 0,6     |
|           | Akko region               | Agora M334                    | 5       | 0,3     |
|           | Scythopolis               | LRA6                          | 5       | 0,3     |
|           | Southern Levant           | -                             | 2       | 0,1     |
|           | Aegean                    | Agora M273                    | 8       | 0,5     |
|           |                           | LRA2                          | 6       | 0,3     |
|           |                           | Agora M273/Samos Cistern Type | 9       | 0,5     |
|           |                           | Samos Cistern Type            | 11      | 0,6     |
|           | Cretan                    | -                             | 27      | 1,5     |
|           | Maeander                  | LRA3                          | 64      | 3,6     |
|           |                           | -                             | 23      | 1,3     |
|           | Maeander/Southwest Turkey | -                             | 1       | 0,1     |
| Egypt     | LRA7                      | 7                             | 0,4     |         |
| EastMed   | -                         | 28                            | 1,6     |         |
| Black Sea | Sinope                    | C Snp I–III                   | 4       | 0,2     |
|           |                           | C Snp II–III                  | 4       | 0,2     |
|           |                           | D Snp I–III                   | 2       | 0,1     |
|           | Sinope(?)                 | -                             | 3       | 0,2     |
|           | Herakleia Pontike(?)      | C Snp III–1 similis           | 1       | 0,1     |
|           |                           | C Snp III–2                   | 2       | 0,1     |
|           |                           | C Snp II–III                  | 3       | 0,2     |
|           | Pontic                    | -                             | 1       | 0,1     |
| Pontic(?) | -                         | 13                            | 0,7     |         |
| WestMed   | Southern Italy/Sicily     | Keay 52                       | 1       | 0,1     |
|           | Tunisia                   | Spatheion 1                   | 1       | 0,1     |
|           | Tunisia/Tripolitania      | -                             | 32      | 1,8     |
|           | WestMed                   | -                             | 1       | 0,1     |
|           | Unidentified              | -                             | 543     | 30,7    |
|           | Total                     |                               | 1769    | 100,0   |

| 450-550  |          | 550-650 |         |          |          | 450-550 | 550-650 |
|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|----------|---------|---------|
| Weight n | Weight % | Count n | Count % | Weight n | Weight % | Count % | Count % |
| 19603    | 40,0     | 589     | 43,0    | 14934    | 47,2     | 39,2    | 43,0    |
| 6420     | 13,1     | 132     | 9,6     | 4574     | 14,5     | 13,3    | 9,6     |
| 273      | 0,6      | 125     | 9,1     | 2577     | 8,1      | 1,2     | 9,1     |
| 201      | 0,4      | 2       | 0,1     | 13       | 0,0      | 0,6     | 0,1     |
| 139      | 0,3      | 42      | 3,1     | 659      | 2,1      | 0,3     | 3,1     |
| 50       | 0,1      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,3     | -       |
| 80       | 0,2      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,1     | -       |
| 580      | 1,2      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,5     | -       |
| 770      | 1,6      | 2       | 0,1     | 60       | 0,2      | 0,3     | 0,1     |
| 624      | 1,3      | 3       | 0,2     | 150      | 0,5      | 0,5     | 0,2     |
| 539      | 1,1      | 1       | 0,1     | 6        | 0,0      | 0,6     | 0,1     |
| 742      | 1,5      | 1       | 0,1     | 15       | 0,0      | 1,5     | 0,1     |
| 783      | 1,6      | 41      | 3,0     | 593      | 1,9      | 3,6     | 3,0     |
| 460      | 0,9      | 5       | 0,4     | 57       | 0,2      | 1,3     | 0,4     |
| 15       | 0,0      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,1     | -       |
| 140      | 0,3      | 4       | 0,3     | 197      | 0,6      | 0,4     | 0,3     |
| 604      | 1,2      | 42      | 3,1     | 754      | 2,4      | 1,6     | 3,1     |
| 210      | 0,4      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,2     | -       |
| 1625     | 3,3      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,2     | -       |
| 55       | 0,1      | 4       | 0,3     | 325      | 1,0      | 0,1     | 0,3     |
| 135      | 0,3      | 2       | 0,1     | 170      | 0,5      | 0,2     | 0,1     |
| 910      | 1,9      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,1     | -       |
| 15       | 0,0      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,1     | -       |
| 185      | 0,4      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,2     | -       |
| 60       | 0,1      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,1     | -       |
| 329      | 0,7      | 1       | 0,1     | 15       | 0,0      | 0,7     | 0,1     |
| 35       | 0,1      | 1       | 0,1     | 65       | 0,2      | 0,1     | 0,1     |
| 130      | 0,3      | 6       | 0,4     | 85       | 0,3      | 0,1     | 0,4     |
| 1312     | 2,7      | 5       | 0,4     | 254      | 0,8      | 1,8     | 0,4     |
| 120      | 0,2      | -       | -       | -        | -        | 0,1     | -       |
| 11828    | 24,2     | 361     | 26,4    | 6145     | 19,4     | 30,7    | 26,4    |
| 48972    | 100,0    | 1369    | 100,0   | 31648    | 100,0    | 100,0   | 100,0   |



## Ecclesiastical Personages of Side (Σίδη) of Pamphylia according to Literary and Sphragistic Data

NİLGÜN ELAM\*

### Abstract

Combining the hagiographic and historiographic data with sigillographic evidence, this article aims to contribute to our understanding of the ecclesiastical personages once active in Side of Pamphylia. It derives from my ongoing work on Byzantine seals, for which I received funding for my on-site and library research project on the “History of Byzantine Side of Pamphylia in the Light of Sigillographic Sources (4th-14th centuries) from the Anadolu University Scientific Research Projects Commission under grant no: E1105E98 (2011). Using old and new sigillographic evidence, duly complemented by relevant references in literary and hagiographic sources, prosopographic lists of the Byzantine officials, courtly and ecclesiastical figures are compiled and presented.

**Keywords:** Side, Pamphylia, Byzantine sigillography, Byzantine lead seals, metropolitan, bishop

### Öz

Bu makalenin amacı, hagiografik ve historiografik kaynakların verilerini sigillografik delillerle birleştirerek Bizans Dönemi’nde Pamphylia’nın Side kentinde aktif görevde bulunan ekle-siyastik şahsiyetler konusundaki bilgilerimize katkıda bulunmaktır. Bu makale, Anadolu Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma Projeleri Komisyonu (proje no: E1105E98) (2011) tarafından desteklenmiş olan “Sigillografik Kaynaklar Işığında Side (Pamphylia)’nin Bizans Dönemi Tarihi (4-14. Yüzyıllar)” konulu proje kapsamında saha ve kütüphane araştırmaları sırasında Bizans mühürleri üzerine yaptığım araştırmaların sonuçlarına dayanmaktadır. Yazılı ve hagiografik kaynaklardaki ilgili referanslarla desteklenen eski ve yeni sigillografik kanıtları kullanarak, Bizans Dönemi’nde sarayda ve Side metropolitliğinde görev yapmış ekle-siyastik figürlerle ilgili prosopografik listeleri ortaya koymaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Side, Pamphylia, Bizans sigillografisi, Bizans kurşun mühürleri, metropolit, piskopos

### Introduction

As metropolis of Pamphylia Prima, Byzantine Side was the seat of many metropolitans who can be traced by literary sources and sigillographic material preserved in several collections all over the world. There are five episcopal seals in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (Washington, DC), three seals in the Vienna Museum, two seals in the Institute Française des Études Byzantines (IFEB/Paris), one seal in the Numismatic Museum at Athens, and one seal in the Fogg Museum at Harvard University. These have already been published by scholars. One other seal from the Side Museum, found during excavations carried out in 2010 in the city, also was probably of a

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bishop of Side. I have recently identified in the Alanya Museum and the Amasya Museum two unpublished lead seals which formerly belonged to Ioannes, metropolitan of Side (11th cent.). The aim of this article is to make a prosopographical contribution to the episcopal personnel of Byzantine Side through this unpublished sigillographical material and to present them along with those already attested by published material as well as by Byzantine historiography. In the course of this research I am grateful to receive the valuable support of the academic and administrative staff of the Anadolu University as well as the museum directors, the archaeologists who are responsible for the sigillographic inventory at the museums, and a number of colleagues and friends.<sup>1</sup>

Side is located approximately 60 km east of Attaleia (modern Antalya). The city was situated in Roman Pamphylia. After the administrative reform under Emperor Diocletian (284-305), the large territory of the diocese of Asia, or Asiana, was subordinated to the Prefecture of the East, which covered the richest part of Asia Minor. The Prefecture was divided into seven provinces: Asia, Hellespontos, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, some Aegean islands, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, and Phrygia Salutaria. As a part of the Diocletianic reform the administration of Lycia and Pamphylia was united under a Praeses (ἡγεμῶν, ἄρχων).<sup>2</sup> The capital of Pamphylia was probably Perge<sup>3</sup> while that of Lycia was Myra.<sup>4</sup> After 312 the Constantinian administrative

<sup>1</sup> I own many thanks to personnel of these institutions without whose permission I could not have conducted my research project. First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the Anadolu University Project Office for financing my research project. Their support made it possible for me to visit the museums named below to examine their seal collections. I wish to thank Mr. Güner Kozdere, Director of the Side Museum, Ms. Seher Türkmen, the Director of the Alanya Museum and Mr. Celal Özdemir, the Director of Amasya Museum, for kindly permitting me to work in their seal collections. I would also like to thank Ms. Gülcan Demir, Mr. Süleyman Atalay and Mr. Melih Kılıncı respectively for their friendly assistance as archaeologists of the Numismatic Departments in these museums. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Alanyalı, former director of the excavations at Side, and Prof. Dr. Feriştah Soykal Alanyalı, current director of the archaeological team, for encouraging me to include the seals found during the excavations in my project. I owe many thanks to Dr. Georgios Kakavas, director of the Numismatic Museum at Athens, and Ms. Giorga Nikolaou, for permitting me to examine only lead seal of Side in the museum collection. I thank Mr. Panagiotis Sotiropoulos for helping me to measure the only piece while I was taking its photographs. I express my gratitude to Ms. Anna Stavrakopoulou, Program Director of Byzantine Studies, Ms. Carla Galfano, Registrar and Collections Manager, and Mr. Jonathan Shea, Associate Curator of Coins and Seals, all at the Dumbarton Oaks Institute, for kindly providing photographic material of the seals of Sidetan bishops along with permission to include them in this article. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Jean Claude Cheynet and Mme Vassa Kountoumas Conticello, Presidente de l'Association de l'Institut Français d'Études Byzantines (IFEB) for providing the photographic material of two seals from the collections of the IFEB (Paris) and giving me permission to publish them along with the other material of Side. I owe many thanks to Mr. Michael Alram, Director of the Vienna Museum, who generously provided the photographic data of two seals and gave me permission to publish them. Prof. Jean Claude Cheynet has kindly and generously helped with his suggestions based on many years of experience in Byzantine Sigillography. Attendance at Prof. Cheynet's conferences on Byzantine sigillography (Pera Museum, Istanbul, 2008) and seminars during the summer schools organized by Prof. Dr. Basileios Katsaros from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH) and Prof. Dr. Paolo Odorico from the EHESS (Serres-Thessaloniki, Greece, 2011, 2012) led me to work in this extremely interesting area. Prof. Werner Seibt has also made a significant contribution to my work with his professional opinions from the moment that I met him at the Vienna Dialogues: Conversation and Cooperation: Byzantine Research in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, held in the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies in April 2013 and on. I am also thankful to Associate Prof. Dr. Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt for her mentorship and sharing her precious scholarly expertise from the beginning of my quest for the ecclesiastical seals of Side in more than forty Turkish museums. I am very grateful to Father John (Ioakeim) Cotsonis for his esteemed suggestions on iconographic matters. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Olga Karagiorgou and Dr. Pantelis Charalampakis for their suggestions and help on sigillographic matters, and of course for their friendship. Finally, I am very thankful to Dr. Suna Çağaptay and Dr. Günder Varinlioğlu who were very kind and patient with me to discuss on Byzantine architectural matters.

<sup>2</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 109 n. 167, 403-4, Appendix A in Appendix C.

<sup>3</sup> Hierocles 1939, 6; Chrysos 1966, 100; Roueché 1989, 216; Nollé 1993a, 315; 1993b, 135; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 109 n. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Hierocles 1939, 684.2; Ioannes Malalas 2000, 286; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 109 n. 168.



reform divided again the double province of Lycia and Pamphylia when the two different ethnic groups of the Lycians and Pamphylians jointly petitioned the emperor Maximinus Daia and Eusebius, Praeses of Lycia and Pamphylia.<sup>5</sup> This new status quo was also reflected to the ecclesiastical administration. At the first Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 325, Pamphylia was represented independently first time.<sup>6</sup>

According to the *Notitia Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, at the end of the 3rd century two Metropolitan<sup>7</sup> sees were created in Pamphylia. The Metropolis of Side was head of sixteen Eastern Pamphylian dioceses, while Perge of eighteen Western Pamphylian dioceses.<sup>8</sup> The famous competition that flared up between the two cities in Antiquity continued in the 4th century. This competition was evident in the religious leadership as well.<sup>9</sup> This is indicated by this unusual ecclesiastical organization of the newly created province of Pamphylia at the beginning of the 4th century.<sup>10</sup> This double-headed organization was unusual since, according to the 4th Canon of the First Council (Nicaea, 325), each province should have only one metropolitan with full authority.<sup>11</sup> However, in the list of participating ecclesiastical leaders at the second Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 381, Perge and Side were still represented in the rank of metropolis.<sup>12</sup>

According to Nollé, “such legislation was a temporary solution, since there should only be an ecclesiastical metropolis in each province, which usually coincides with the secular metropolis, i.e. the ‘capital-city’ of the province.”<sup>13</sup> If, however, several metropolitan seats emerged in a secular province, as Nollé emphasizes, the province of Bithynia which had three metropolitan seats should be remembered. These cities were Chalcedon (Kadıköy) and the two traditionally hostile cities of Nikomedeia (Izmit) and Nicaea (Iznik) which had constant competition and violent disputes.<sup>14</sup> The Council of Nicaea had already determined in its 4th canon that there should be only one metropolitan with full authority in each province.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 109 n. 163.

<sup>6</sup> Honigsmann 1935, 47-48; Ruggieri 1993, 340; Brandt 1992, 169; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 109; Brandt and Kolb 2005, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Metropolitan (μητροπολίτης): authority and title. Metropolitans were the ecclesiastical administrators of Byzantine provinces. The metropolitan resided in a metropolis (capital of the province). As head of the diocese (the region under his authority) or bishopric, he had the authority to approve the election of the bishops. The *ἀρχιεπίσκοποι* (archbishops) of some cities such as Thessaloniki, the second city of the Empire in importance, used to be mentioned with this title; see Papadakis 1991a.

<sup>8</sup> Darrouzès 1981, no. 1.15: ἡ *ἐπαρχία Παμφυλίας ὁ Σίδης* (“The 10th eparchy of Pamphylia, the [the metropolitan] of Side”) n. 30: *κε’ ἐπαρχία Παμφυλίας ὁ Πέργης (ἦτοι Συλαίου)* (“25th eparchy of Pamphylia the [metropolitan] of Perge [that is of Syllaion]”). For the details of the ecclesiastical division and conjectures about the date of its establishment. cf. Ramsay 1890, 415 n. 101; Ruge 1949, 375-78; Nollé 1993a, 313-14.

<sup>9</sup> Roueché 1989, 205-28. Ramsay 1890, 415; Nollé 1993a, 313-14. Pekman 1973, 98, claims that the dispute between Perge and Side was not settled after the establishment of two metropolitan seats.

<sup>10</sup> For the time of the separation of Pamphylia and Lycia see Nollé 1986, 202 n. 24 (with the older literature).

<sup>11</sup> *ACO II*, 1: τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων διοίσει καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ ἐπισκόπῳ (“The confirmation of the modification [episcopal election and ordination] should be the responsibility of the metropolitan in every eparchy”). Generally, for the expansion of the Metropolitan Constitution at this council see Beck 1959, 29 n. 104.

<sup>12</sup> Turner 1913, 170; Michel le Syrien 1899, 318; Ruggieri 1993, 349; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 142.

<sup>13</sup> See Lübeck 1901, 38-45; Beck 1959, 27-32; Herrmann 1980, 56-57; Nollé 1993a, 314.

<sup>14</sup> The dispute was dealt with at the Council of Chalcedon (451); The conciliar documents (*ACO II*, 1) are compiled by Şahin and Merkelbach 1987, 37-41, T 26; Nollé 1993a, 314 n. 105.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. n. 11; Nollé 1993a, 314 n. 106.

Thus, the double-headed ecclesiastical organization of Pamphylia was still in valid in the forthcoming councils. In the episcopal lists of the councils held in Ephesos in 431 and in Chalcedon in 451, the mention of Side before Perge indicates that the city probably was the true metropolis of Pamphylia.<sup>16</sup> At the Council of Ephesos (431) Eustathios appears as “metropolitan” (of Pamphylia).<sup>17</sup> A bishop represented Side at the councils in Ephesos and Chalcedon along with five suffragan bishops.<sup>18</sup>

The provision of the 4th Canon of Nicaea, which accepted the rule “one metropolitan with full authority in each province,” was again impressed at the Council of Chalcedon (451).<sup>19</sup> It stated that the other metropolitans would have only his title (ὄνομα) and full rights (τιμή).<sup>20</sup> In 458 the rank of Side is attested higher than Perge in a letter written by the ecclesiastical leaders to Emperor Leo I (457-474). In this, the metropolitan of Perge seems to have signed the letter along with the fourteen bishops attached to his metropolis.<sup>21</sup> The Synekdemos of Hierokles also states that in the 4th and 5th centuries all the neighboring cities depended on the metropolis of Side.<sup>22</sup>

This status quo seems to have changed in the 6th century. As attested by the Ekthesis of Epiphanius, a revision of an earlier Notitia Episcopatum probably compiled by Patriarch Epiphanius (520-535) under Justinian I (527-565), Pamphylia was divided into two ecclesiastical dioceses within the province of politically undivided Pamphylia. Side became the “metropolitan” center of Pamphylia Prima, and Perge became the center of Pamphylia Secunda. Also, the number of dependant bishoprics of Side seems to have had risen to sixteen.<sup>23</sup>

In the council of 536 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Πέργης appears in the 20th row and ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Σίδης in the 24th.<sup>24</sup> However, in the episcopal list of the council in 553, the episkopos of Perge appears in the 36th row and his Sidetan colleague in the 14th row. This information confirms the idea that Perge had lost its leading position to Side.<sup>25</sup>

Side was represented at all the councils of the 7th and 8th centuries.<sup>26</sup> But when the Persian occupation started early in the 7th century, which was followed by Arab invasions, Side faded like all the Pamphylian cities. Earthquakes and epidemics accelerated its decline.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Chrysos 1966, 162-165; Nollé 1993a, 315 nn. 113-14.

<sup>17</sup> ACO I, 1.7, 8, 123-24 and I.5, 536; Schultze 1926, 211-12; Disdier 1931, 148-49; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 142 n. 45.

<sup>18</sup> Honigmann 1942-1943, 50 nn. 400-3.

<sup>19</sup> ACO II, 1: ὁ κανὼν οὕτως διαγορεύει ὥστε ἐν μίαι ἐκάστη τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὸ κῆρος ἔχειν τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως καὶ αὐτὸν καθιστᾶν πάντα τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπαρχίαν ὄντας ἐπισκόπους (The canon thus declares that in each of the provinces the power belongs to the head of the metropolis, who presides over all the bishops of the province.)

<sup>20</sup> Smyrna (modern Izmir) was also one of the honorary metropolitans of Lydia, which had been in continuous competition with Ephesos. The constant rivalry between Hieropolis and the neighboring city of Laodikeia in Phrygia Pacatiana also was well-known. See Feissel 1989, 810-11; Nollé 1993a, 314 n. 108.

<sup>21</sup> ACO II, 5, 60; Amphilochios 1864, 1515; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 142 n. 48, 145 n. 73.

<sup>22</sup> Hierocles 1939, 29, 30; Papadopoulos 1963, 448; Darrouzès 1977, 506-7; Le Quien 1740, 995-1002; Ruge 1923, 2208-209; Schultze 1926, 215-17; Laurent 1963, 293-97; 1972, 78-79.

<sup>23</sup> Darrouzès 1981, 417.26 (Notitia 20): ὁ Συλαίου, ὃς καὶ Πέργης λέγεται, δευτέρως Παμφυλίας (“[The bishop of] Syllion who is called also as of Perge, of Pamphylia Secunda”); Gelzer 1900, 538, nos. 190-205; Ruge 1949, 377.

<sup>24</sup> Mansel 1963, 24-25; Foss 1977, 169-70; Nollé 1993b, 88-91; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 142 n. 47.

<sup>25</sup> Chrysos 1966, 162; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 143 n. 44.

<sup>26</sup> Mansi 1765, 380D, 689C; 1767, 381B; cf. Darrouzès 1975, 62-76; Brandes 1989, 128 n. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Brandes 1989, 179-88; Ruggieri and Nethercott 1986, 143.

At the end of the late 7th century, the Metropolitan of Perge moved to mountainous Sillyon, which kept a certain importance until the Turkish period.<sup>28</sup> Like other mountainous cities, Selge left the ecclesiastical federation led by the metropolitan of Side and became an independent bishopric (autokephale diocese).<sup>29</sup> Finally, the population of Side decreased and was forced to restrict the urban area. In that period, the eastern part of the Episkopeion was abandoned. As the ecclesiastical metropolis of Pamphylia Prima and Secunda, Attaleia succeeded Perge/Syllaion and Side.<sup>30</sup>

### A) Side as a City of Christian Martyrs

The hagiographic tradition dedicated to the holy martyrs consists of the most ancient sources testifying to the existence of the Christian community in Side. The hagiographical sources attest that Side was the home of several saints with the Christian community being created there in the 3rd century. More martyrdoms in Side and other Pamphylian cities like Attaleia, Magydos and Perge are testified under the emperors Decius (249-251), Aurelian (270-275), Diocletian (284-305) and Maximian (286-305). The conversion of the population in the Pamphylian cities and villages is attributed to St. Lucian of Antioch († 312 Nicomedia).<sup>31</sup>

Tension in the relationship between the Roman civic religion and Christianity is reflected in an inscription dated to 312. From the inscription, it is understood that the pagans complained to the emperor Maximinus Daia (308-313) about the insanity of Christians, who insisted on their “illness” until that time, and requested them finally to be stopped.<sup>32</sup>

In the reign of Decius (249-251) St. Konon Hortulanus (“the gardener”) (Κόνων ὁ Κηπουρός) was from Side. It is understood that he was living in Magydos but may have also been affiliated with Side. In the Synaxarium his memory is commemorated on 5 March.<sup>33</sup> However, the “Nine Martyrs” - Leontios, Attes, Alexander, Kindaios, Mnesitheos, Kyriakos, Minnaios and Katunes - are very likely to be a part of the hagiographic tradition of Side and Perge. A short version of their martyrion has been affiliated erroneously only with Perge, despite indications about the Sidetan origin of some of these saints.<sup>34</sup> In any case, in his martyrion the homeland of presbyter Kindaios is located in Talmenia,<sup>35</sup> which was one of the villages of Side. According to hagiographic tradition, the saints were executed in the theater, and their memory is commemorated on 1 August.<sup>36</sup> In the Synaxarion and the Passio SS. Severi, Memnonis et Aliorum, Severus suffered martyrdom with Memnon in Bizye of Thrace in 308. Severus was half Thracian from his paternal side and half Sidetan from his maternal side: Σευῆρος δὲ ἅγιος πρὸς μὲν πατρός ἦν Θραξ, πρὸς δὲ μητρός Σιδήτης ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πετρόνιος, ἡ δὲ μητὴρ Μυθδονία.... When the persecution started against Christians, he was forced to leave Side and

<sup>28</sup> Yetkin 1974, 861-62; Ruggieri and Nethercott 1986, 132-56; Brandt 1992, 170-71; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 142, 362; see also 139-51 for the ecclesiastical history of Pamphylia.

<sup>29</sup> Foss 1991, 1980; Nollé and Schindler 1991, 39 n. 51, T17, 29-35 n. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Flemming 1964, 17-27; Nollé 1993a, 316; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 151 n. 136.

<sup>31</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 140 nn. 29, 30.

<sup>32</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 140 n. 33; For a critics on the complaint of the pagans and the responde of the emperor see Wilson 2018, 21-23.

<sup>33</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1898, 388-89; von Gebhardt 1902, 133; Delehaye 1902a, 511-12; Halkin 1935, 369-74; 1969, 49; 1985, 5-34; 1987, 264; ACO III, 115.24; Zanetti 1998, 345; Musurillo 1972, 186-92; Nollé 2001, 505.

<sup>34</sup> Delehaye 1902a, 860-92; Nollé 1993b, 131, 190-94; Haensch 1997, 293.

<sup>35</sup> Delehaye 1902a, 814; Nollé 1993b, 131, 192-93. For Talmenia see Zgusta 1984, 1288.

<sup>36</sup> Delehaye 1902a, 860-92; 1912a, 288; Nollé 1993b, 131, 190-91; Haensch 1997, 293.

move to Thrace. St. Severus and Memnon's feast day is 24 August.<sup>37</sup> Probos was also a Sidetan, who was martyred in Anazarbos of Cilicia with his companions Tarachus and Andronicus during the reign of Diocletian (284-305). Their feast day is 12 October.<sup>38</sup> The martyria and chapels in the theater of Side are considered as proof for the creation of a martyr cult in the city in the 4th-5th centuries. Although no epigraphical material has been found in the theater excavations, two small structures, dated to the 5th-6th centuries and described as martyria, can be associated with the nine martyrs who had attacked the Temple of Artemis in the territory of Side and destroyed its statues.<sup>39</sup> The hagiographical works, or the Lives of the Saints, reveal that the efforts of the clergy played a role in the development of a martyr culture in the city. Even Hilarion, a 12th century metropolitan in Side, writes that high-ranking priests were still conducting religious ceremonies in this area.<sup>40</sup>

## B) Side as an Ecclesiastical Seat

The earliest evidence about the existence of Christian leaders of Side can be traced to the hagiographic tradition. The information about the ecclesiastical leaders of the Christian population is also based on epistles as well as council records. From the 10th century, the main information comes from sigillographic material belonging to Sidetan bishops which is scattered in the museums and collections all over the world. The aim of this section is to gather information of written sources about ecclesiastical personnel who functioned in Side between the 3rd and 10th centuries.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ. Xenophon lived during the Diocletianic period (284-305) and is the first bishop of Side mentioned in Byzantine hagiography.<sup>41</sup>

ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΟΣ. Epidauros attended the Homoousian synod of Ankyra in 314. His attendance is attested by his signature as Epidauros Pisidensis Pamphyliae or, more correctly, Epidauros Sidensis Pamphyliae.<sup>42</sup>

ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΣ. The late Arif Müfit Mansel, who directed the archaeological excavations in this Pamphylian city between 1947-1966, stated that "in the 4th century Side was impoverished and it became quite insignificant, but still showed a portrait of a Christian city. Therefore, Side was

<sup>37</sup> Migne 1894a, 593A; Delehaye 1902a, 909, 920-22; Sauget 1968, 1005; Delehaye 1912b, 192-94; Nollé 1993b, 193.

<sup>38</sup> Delehaye 1902b, 131-32; Schultze 1926, 216; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 8-9; Nollé 1993b, 131, 194.

<sup>39</sup> These small structures constructed on the orchestra level at both ends of the lower cavea are located in the north and south of the theater. Though described as chapels by Mansel 1962, 54, they are apparently martyria, which may have been built during the architectural changes in the 5th-6th centuries when the theater started to be used as an open-air church. See Mansel 1978, 210-11, figs. 238-39; cf. also figs. 21-22 in the Appendix. It is not possible to define these structures as chapels because of the absence of an apse, niche, and other liturgical elements in those areas; one might suggest that these small structures were transformed to martyria during the above-mentioned period. For the necessary elements of church/chapel see Koch 2007, 69-70, 88-89; this hypothesis seems conceivable when combined with data from hagiographic texts narrating that at the end of 3rd century many Christians fell victim to the persecutions of the Roman emperors. The place of martyrdom of the nine martyrs is noted as Perge in the *Martyrologium Romanum*; cf. Delehaye 1940, 317-18 n. 7, and as Pamphylia in the *Menologium Basilianum* 1894b, 568; Delehaye 1902a, 860-62; Schultze 1926, 216. According to Nollé, this mention is consistent with Side, a city significant for the cult of Artemis. A temple of Artemis is attested in the territory of Side, located nine stadia east of the mouth of Melas (Manavgat çayı). It is reasonable to think that the Christian zeal of the nine martyrs, eight of whom were peasants, directed them against the rural sanctuary. For hagiographic texts and their critics, see Nollé 1993b, 15-23, 190-93.

<sup>40</sup> Halkin 1975, 287-311; Nollé 1993b, 186 n. 170.

<sup>41</sup> Delehaye 1912b, 192; Nollé 1993b, 193 n. 189; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 375.

<sup>42</sup> Le Quien 1740, 997; Turner 1907, 32. Ruggieri and Hellenkemper and Hild, based upon Mansi's edition, claimed that Epidauros served as the first bishop of Perge as attested in the synod of Ankara (314); cf. Mansi 1759, 528, 534; Ruggieri 1993, 351; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 141.

not represented in the first Ecumenical Council".<sup>43</sup> However, the council held in Nicaea in 325 was most probably presided over by Eustathios, the bishop of Antioch.<sup>44</sup>

Eustathios was born in Side (ca. 280)<sup>45</sup> and thanks to his charismatic personality, his education, his eloquence, and his dedication to the institutions of the church became one of the greatest faces of the Eastern Church in the 4th century.<sup>46</sup> The statements of prominent church leaders praising Eustathios reveal his abilities. St. Athanasios of Alexandria described Eustathios as ἀνὴρ ὁμολογητῆς καὶ πίστην εὐσεβῆς ("a person tortured and martyred because of his faith") and ὁμολογητῆς καὶ ὀρθόδοξος ("Confessor and Orthodox").<sup>47</sup> Ioannes Chrysostomos wrote an encomium for Eustathios describing him as a wise man (σοφός τις ἀνὴρ).<sup>48</sup>

Eustathios was assigned as bishop of Beroea (modern Aleppo)<sup>49</sup> at some point (ca. 311/312)<sup>50</sup> before the outbreak of the Arian controversy. He was transferred to the bishopric of Antioch, perhaps at the Synod of Antioch in 324/325.<sup>51</sup> As a great defender of Orthodoxy, Eustathios condemned Arius and his followers during the sessions of the Council of Nicaea in 325. After Nicaea, he produced extensive anti-subordinationist polemic writings in which Eusebios of Caesarea was among his major opponents. Despite having worked hard to spread Orthodox doctrine, he was deposed in 327-328 in circumstances related to the emperor Constantine I's change of mind in favor of the Eusebian party. He was declared a heretic by his enemies at the Council of Antioch in 330 and exiled to Bizye of Thrace

<sup>43</sup> Mansel 1978, 16.

<sup>44</sup> Concerning Eustathios' position in the Council of Nicaea, modern scholarship is divided into two groups. The first group relies on the account of Theodoret of Cyrus 1864, 920C-921C, who describes Eustathios as the only one who took the presidency of the Council: τὴν προεδρείαν λαχόν. The second group, citing a phrase in *Vita Constantini* written by Eusebios of Caesarea 1857, 1069B: παρεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς τῆς συνόδου προέδροις, think that Eustathios was one of the presidents of the Synod but not the only one. For example, Tanner 1990, 2, unsure about Eustathios' presidency, assumes that archbishop of Antioch or Athanasios of Alexandria presided over the sessions. According to Φειδάς, Eusebios, the pro-Arian bishop of Caesarea, had personal reasons not to mention the name of his opponent Eustathios as president. In this logic, Eustathios as the first archbishop of Syria was undoubtedly the "main figure" at Nicaea, and the "first one" who addressed to the emperor, as testified by Theodoret of Cyrus. An independent source strengthens this point of view. A letter of Pope Felix III (483-492) to the Emperor Zenon, in which Eustathios is described as the president of the Council of Nicaea, should be also taken into consideration. For all these reasons, Eustathios seem to have been in the primary position as the "speaker" towards the emperor on behalf of the synod. This means that he chaired the sessions, so he was the first prelate to sign the conciliar decisions. For the discussions on the presidency of the Council, see Φειδάς 2002, 437-39.

<sup>45</sup> Jerome 1895, 85: "Eustathius, genere Pamphylus Sidetes, primum Veria Syriae, deinde Antiochiae episcopus (Eustathius from a Sidetan family of Pamphylia, first [bishop] Veria of Syria and then bishop of Antioch)."

<sup>46</sup> Sozomenos 1960, 76.6-10: Εὐστάθιος ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, καὶ ἐπὶ εὐγλωττία δικαίως θαυμαζόμενος ὡς ἐκ τῶν φερομένων αὐτοῦ λόγων συνιδεῖν ἐστίν, ἀρχαίωτη φράσεως καὶ σωφροσύνη νοημάτων, καὶ ὀνομάτων κάλλει καὶ χάριτι ἀπαγγελίας εὐδοκιμούντων (Eustathios was in general a handsome and good man, and deservedly admired for his eloquence as one may judge from the verses attributed to him, the archaic style of his speech and his prudence, as well as the beauty of the words he uses and the grace of his orations. As hinted by Sozomenos, the style in his writings points out Eustathios' level of education since he was familiar with the works of Plato, Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Demosthenes and other ancient writers. Therefore, it is not excluded that he studied in the School of Antioch. He was known as a good rhetor and mature scholar in his circle. Eustathios' continuous zeal for writing produced many works. He was apparently not educated only in theology, but also in ancient philology and philosophy; see Παπαδόπουλος 1951, 634.

<sup>47</sup> Athanasios 1857a, 697D-698A; 1857b, 648B; Sozomenos 1960, 76.7.

<sup>48</sup> Ioannes Chrysostomos 1862, 601C, describe him as martyr (Οὗτος ὁ μάρτυς [μάρτυρα γὰρ ἦμιν]). In his letter addressed to the emperor Zenon, Pope Felix III (483-492) describes Eustathios as homologetes. See Pope Felix 1862, 920; Delehaye 1933, 96-97.

<sup>49</sup> Athanasios 1857b, 648C; Devreesse 1945, 163.

<sup>50</sup> Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus 1863, 1053C; Devreesse 1945, 115, κορυφαίος.

<sup>51</sup> In 320, Alexander of Alexandria sent letters to bishops, including Eustathios, informing them of the appearance of the heresy of Arius, and warning them about Arianist teaching. See Theodoret of Cyrus 1864, 921C.



(modern Vize).<sup>52</sup> He was canonized not long after his death (sometime between 337 and 380),<sup>53</sup> and his epiphany date is February 21.<sup>54</sup>

Another important ecclesiastical personage related to Side is Amphilochios, bishop of Iconium and metropolitan of Lycaonia. He was Cappadocian and lived in retirement at Ozizalis in Cappadocia. He was assigned to the seat of Iconium in Lycaonia, or Pisidia Secunda in 373/374. He was a cousin of Gregory of Nazianzos and had a friendship with Basil of Caesarea, who wrote an epistle related to his assignment.<sup>55</sup> He chose Side to convene twenty-five Lycaonian and Pisidian bishops for a synod around 390 against the Messalian heretics, who were then active in Pamphylia and neighboring regions. As reported in Photios's *Bibliotheca*, the synod at Side condemned the Messalians.<sup>56</sup>

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ (1st). The prelate is the first one among his namesake successors. In his *Historia Ecclesiae*, Socrates Scholasticus (ca. 380–450) mentions a Ioannes as the bishop of Side, who is described as a pen master: τὰ πολλὰ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰωάννῃ σὼκῳ, ἐφιλονεῖκει καὶ περὶ λόγους.<sup>57</sup>

ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΙΟΣ. Amphilochios participated in the Council of Ephesus in 431 which condemned Nestorios. He was also present at the Council of Chalcedon (Καδικὸς) in 451. His name is mentioned in the conciliar records as episcopus Sidae and καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίου του εὐλαβεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Σίδης (“the most revered bishop of Side”). Side was represented as metropolis of Pamphylia Prima in the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and in the conciliar lists it is mentioned before Perge.<sup>58</sup>

ΚΟΝΩΝ. From the acts of the synod held in Constantinople in 536, we meet the signature of a Sidetan bishop, namely Conon Sidae (Κόνων ἐπίσκοπος Σίδης). Konon is the 24th on the list of bishops who attended the council: Κόνων ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Σιδητῶν μητροπόλεως διὰ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπιστὰς ὀρίσας ὑπεσημάνην.<sup>59</sup> In this council the rank of Perge seems to have been elevated.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Le Quien 1740, 998; Sozomenos 1960, 255.1-2; Jülicher 1907, no. 9, 1448-449. For the ecclesiastical discussions during the Council of Nicaea see Migne 1837, 613-74. For the fate of Eustathios, see Socrates Scholasticus 1995, (council of 359) 154.7; 169.8; 47.27; 70.7, 70.15-71.20; 98.17-19; 244.11-12; 244.22, 334.14; Gwatkin 1882, 76-77. For discussions on Eustathios's deposition see Chadwick 1948, 27-35; Barnes 1978, 53-75; Hanson 1984, 171-79; 1988, 210; Burgess 1999, 191-96; 2000, 150-60; Parvis 2006a, 89-95; 2006b, 101-7; Cartwright 2013, 465-66.

<sup>53</sup> The date of Eustathios' death is problematic. The silence of the sources caused a confusing chronology for his death, thus prompting scholars to place it in various years between 330-380. See Atiya 1967, 175; Τσάμης 1992, 153; Χρήστου 1984, 331; Kelly 1968, 281; Neale 1873, 89; Παπαβασιλείου 2004, 61; Μπαλάνου 1942, 156; Παπαδόπουλου 1951, 437, 28.

<sup>54</sup> Delehaye 1902a, 480-81 n. 2; Ελευθεριάδης 1959, 96; Mandouze 1987, 25.

<sup>55</sup> Smith 1844, 150.

<sup>56</sup> Amphilochios of Iconium 1863, 9-10; Migne 1864, 1515; Photios 1959, 36-38; cf. Ficker 1906, 266-68; Tillemont 1713, 798 n. 2; Dörries 1964, 78-94; Stewart 1989, 243-49; Nollé 1993b, 139-40, 170-71.

<sup>57</sup> Le Quien 1740, 997-98, and Socrates Scholasticus 1995, 376.3-7, mentions other ecclesiastical personages related to Side. For example, a Philippus Sidenses is a deacon, then a presbyter (priest). For the text concerning Philippus see also Socrates 1859, 800-1: Περί Φιλίππου πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ ἀπὸ Σίδης. Φίλιππος Σιδίτης μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, Σίδη δὲ πόλις τῆς Παμφυλίας, ἀφ' ἧς ὄρμητο καὶ Τρώϊλος ὁ σοφιστής, οὗ καὶ συγγενῆ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἐσεμνύετο. Διάκονος δὲ ἦν, ἐπεὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰωάννῃ συνῆν (About Philippus, the presbyteros from Side. Philippus was a Sidetan by origin, and Side is a city in Pamphylia, from where Troilos the sophist also originated; and he (Philippus) was proud to be his (Troilos) relative. He was a deacon when many things happened to Bishop Ioannes. For Philippus' Christian History see Photios 1860, nos. 35, 67-68; Nollé 1993b, 140; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 376-77.

<sup>58</sup> ACO I, I.7, 112; I, 1, 2, 4, no. 19; I, 1, 7, 85, no. 21; II, 3, 2, 50, no. 22; II, 1, 3, 4, no. 21; Le Quien 1740, 998; Photios 1959, Epistle no. 52, 37-38.4-5: ... ἐν Παμφυλία ἐπισκόποις ... and 386-87: ... αὐτὸς καὶ πρὸς Ἀμφιλόχιος τὸν Σίδης ...; Grumel 1972, 34, nos. 46, 47, 49; Laurent 1971, nos. 47, 49; Nollé 1993b, 172; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 144-45, 374-75.

<sup>59</sup> ACO III, 115, 183, nos. 22 and 24; Le Quien 1740, 999; Fedalto 1988, 239; Nollé 1993b, 172.

<sup>60</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 374-75.



ΠΕΤΡΟΣ. In council in Chalcedon in 553 (for the second time) another bishop of Side is called Petrus: *episcopus Sidetorum metropoleos Pamphyliae*.<sup>61</sup> In this council Perge is also mentioned before Side. However, in later councils Side appears to have taken a higher rank than Perge.<sup>62</sup>

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ (2nd). Ioannes represented Side at the 6th Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 680/681 and signed the acts as *Ioannes episcopus metropolis Sidae provinciae Pamphyliae* (Ἰωάννης ἐλέω Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος Σιδητῶν μητροπόλεως τῆς Παμφύλων ἐπαρχίας). He was also present at the Quinisext Council held in 692 at Constantinople.<sup>63</sup> This is Ioannes II<sup>64</sup> who is considered to be identical to the metropolitan of Side whose name is depicted on a lead seal as Ἰωάννης μητροπολίτης Σ(ι)δης.<sup>65</sup>

During the excavations in Side A.M. Mansel found a monogram (fig. 1) located on a long horizontal marble (architrave) of the sanctuary's gate in the episkopeion chapel, separating the naos from the bema. It has been discussed by many scholars who have tried to date the episkopeion.<sup>66</sup> Ruggieri readed it as ΙΩΑΝΝΟV and thought it indicated one of the Sidetan bishops named Ioannes who served in the mid to late 6th century. He considered that "the letters indicate the period of Justinian I (527-565), or immediately after, and this coincides with the use and location of the monogram."<sup>67</sup> I assume that Bishop Ioannes who participated in the 6th Ecumenical Council can be identified with the person mentioned by the monogram (fig. 1).

<sup>61</sup> ACO IV, 1, 226, no. 40; IV 1, 4, no. 42; IV 1, 21, no. 42; IV 1, 33, no. 42; IV 1, 40, no. 42; IV 1, 204, no. 42; Nollé 1993b, 173; Le Quien 1740, 999; Fedalto 1988, 252.

<sup>62</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 374-75.

<sup>63</sup> Mansi 1765, 669, 989; Le Quien 1740, 999; Fedalto 1988, 252.

<sup>64</sup> *PmbZ*, no. 2727; Ohme 1990, 274.

<sup>65</sup> Zacos and Veglery 1972, no. 2030; *PmbZ*, no. 2880.

<sup>66</sup> Situated in the episkopeion complex in Side, this chapel (room no. VI) has generated much discussion among scholars. They have examined its construction technique and related small finds, and suggested a range of dates varying from the Early Christian to the Middle Byzantine periods. Some scholars have considered the chapel as a natural part of the design of the building complex and proposed suggestions on dating, ignoring features of its plan. Others, based on the argument that the plan features should be a determining factor in dating, have stated that it was added at a later period into the main complex. Mansel 1978, 277-84 made an initial assessment on the structure claiming that Room VI was the bishop's private chapel. In her study on the episkopeia of Anatolia, Ceylan 2007, 175 follows Mansel's proposal. Mansel also thinks that the structure of the chapel had two phases of construction. He dated the first phase to the same period as the episkopeion complex, that is, the 5th-6th centuries. He suggested that Room VI, described as a private episcopal chapel, might have taken its final version in the 9th-10th centuries without stating anything on its probable shape in the first stage. Feld 1977, 165 dates the construction to the 5th-6th centuries, observing that four supported domed structures such as in this chapel began to appear in that period. Müller-Wiener 1989, 683, follows Mansel's view, suggesting also that the entire episkopeion complex designed and built at once, and the chapel could be dated only to the early Middle Ages. Foss 1996, 41, compares the chapel with the domed basilicas of the 5th-6th century, especially those of the Justinian era (527-565). Apart from the architectural data, a monogram engraved on the templon architrave is another important material which may give an clue to dating; cf. Mansel 1978, 275-76, photo no. 309 (not interpreted). The monogram is now exhibited in the garden of the Side museum. Foss, because of this monogram, dates the chapel between the mid-6th and mid-7th centuries. He suggests that a reasonable dating for the entire episkopeion complex could be made through the chapel. It reads ΙΩΑΝΝΟV (of Ioannes) which indicates a bishop Ioannes whose seat was Side. Ruggieri 1995, 112, dates the monogram back to the 6th-7th centuries and suggests that Ioannes could be the founder of the structure. He also notes that the period in which Ioannes participated in the council of 680-681 is not compatible with the plan of the chapel. Gliwitzky 2005, 371 thinks that the monogram may have belonged to the 8th-9th centuries. Buchwald 1984, 199-204, 227 n. 94 proposed a later chronology underlining that the use of spolia in the chapel was a 9th-century inclination to the ancient period. Ruggieri 1991, 140, suggests the 9th century, so he disagrees with Mansel who claims that the chapel belongs to the same period as the episkopeion. Ruggieri underscores that it also has important differences, such as there are no apses in its corner rooms and it resembles the basilical planned churches.

<sup>67</sup> Ruggieri 1995, 98, see map 9, Room VI.

The cruciform monograms presenting the name, title and/or office of their owner are quite common during the 7th century and up to the end of the 8th century. The old-fashioned alpha (Α) is also characteristic mostly of the 7th and 8th centuries. The use, however, of the genitive case indicates a date within the 7th century, possibly its second half.<sup>68</sup>

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ. The information about the existence of the bishop Georgios is based on a monogram (fig. 2) (size 23 to 18 cm), located on a reused large slab made of gray tuff. It now functions as the lintel of the door (fig. 3) leading into Room VIb in the episkopeion of Side. Ruggieri paid attention to the monogram for the first time and read it - albeit erroneously - as Theodoros. The correct reading must be Georgios.<sup>69</sup> I agree with Ruggieri's chronology which dated the monogram to the 7th century.



FIG. 2 Monogram ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩΣ  
(of Georgios, dated to the 7th cent.).



FIG. 1 Monogram ΙΩΑΝΝΩΣ  
(of Ioannes, dated to between 550-650,  
photo: N. Elam, 2012).



FIG. 3 Episkopeion, Chapel, Room VIb,  
West Gate (Photo: N. Elam, 2012).

<sup>68</sup> Taking into consideration the dating suggestions of Zacos and Veglery 1972, nos. 356, 360-64, 367-68, 374-79, 384-86, 388-89, 399, pl. 236, no. 249, that are based on architectural data and on the monogram similar to those on many lead seals dated to 550-650, the production of the architrave with monogram may be put into the second half of the 7th century, especially 670-690. Therefore, the Ioannes on the monogram is identical to the prelate who participated in the council of 680/681 and is the founder of the chapel. Metcalf 2004, XV, places seal legends in the genitive before ca. 725. For the dating of monogrammatic seals, see also Seibt 2016, 1-14; Seibt 1999, 590-616. Ruggieri 1995, 98, see map 9, Room VI.

<sup>69</sup> Mansel 1978, 277, 280, did not pay any attention to this monogram ("ve başka semboller"), and photo 314; cf. Ruggieri 1995, 98 and picture no. 32. I believe that the letter on the left of the cruciform monogram is Γ; on the right E; above P and V and below (possibly) an Ω. See Zacos and Veglery 1972, pl. 231, no. 73.

During the reign of Constantine V (741-775), the metropolitan seat of Side remained empty for undetermined period because a Leon, an ek prosopos of the metropolitan, existed.<sup>70</sup>

ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ. This anonymous individual attended the council held in Nicaea in 787.<sup>71</sup>

ΘΩΜΑΣ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΤΗΣ. Thomas Homologites (Confessor) is also attested as bishop of Side and attended the 2nd council of Nicaea (787). He may have replaced his anonymous forerunner and represented Side in the last session of the council held in Constantinople in October 787. The prelate held the seat until the years of 813-814. Only one text (scholion) has survived about him. He also participated in the synods summoned by the patriarch Nikephoros I (806-815).<sup>72</sup>

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ. Markos was a participant of the Photian council in 867. The council accused Pope Nicholas I (858-867) of being a tyrant and excommunicated him. The pope was blamed for the crisis caused by the activities of Catholic missionaries in Bulgaria. The Sidetan bishop signed the acts as Marcus Sides in Latin and Μάρκος Σίδης in Greek.<sup>73</sup>

ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΣ. Eustathios lived in the 10th century. His name is not included neither in the list of Le Quien nor of Fedalto. Ruggieri mentions that he relied on the correspondance between Eustathios and Aretas of Caesarea (860-932). Eustathios of Side asked Arethas of Caesarea for a transfer to another bishopric. The exact reason for the request remains unknown. It is suggested that “his diocese may have not offered to him a sufficient subsistence.” Although the letters do not reveal more details about Eustathios’s life, they may be considered as evidence of his canonical residence of Side, although it is not stressed in the text.<sup>74</sup> Ruggieri thinks that during the period Eustathios resided in Constantinople, he was a member of the permanent synod, because Alexander of Nicaea addressed him in the same period.<sup>75</sup>

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (2nd). In 10th century in the time of Patriarch Photios (858-867, 877-886) a Theodoros, homonymous and uncle of the bishop of Sebastia, is mentioned by Byzantine historian Georgios Kedrenos as Θεόδωρος ὁ Σίδης, καὶ ὁ τοῦτου ὁ ὁμώνυμος and Θεόδωρος ὁ τοῦ Σίδης ... καὶ ὁ τοῦτου ἀνεπιὸς καὶ ὁμώνυμος ὁ τῆς ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ.<sup>76</sup>

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ. Constantine appears as metropolitan of Side in the Synods which were held in 1027, 1028 and 1029 under Patriarch Alexios Studites (1025-1043). He signed the synodal acts as Κωνσταντῖνος Σίδης, and during the last synod he defended the Orthodox party against the Bogomils.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Le Quien 1740, 999-1000: Λέων πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θρόνου τῶν Σιδητῶν μητροπόλεως.

<sup>71</sup> Mansi 1767, 381.

<sup>72</sup> *PmbZ*, no. 8466; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 375.

<sup>73</sup> Le Quien 1740, 1000; Mansi 1772, 373; see also for Markos *PmbZ*, no. 24994.

<sup>74</sup> Comperness 1935, 87-125; Darrouzès 1960, 89-93; Laurent 1971, 1240; Ruggieri 1995, 98-99; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 377 n. 73.

<sup>75</sup> Darrouzès 1960, 89-93; Gautier 1971, 262; Ruggieri 1995, 99.

<sup>76</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes 1973, 4.28; Georgios Kedrenos 1838-1839, 4.9; Le Quien 1740, 1000. Fedalto 1988, 239 mentions this prelate without giving a date; cf. Ruggieri 1995, 98 n. 11 and map 9; for Theodoros see also *PmbZ*, no. 27814.

<sup>77</sup> Le Quien 1740, 1000; Ficker 1911, 19.16; Πάλλης and Ποτλής 1855, 5.24, 5.32: μητροπολιτῶν... Σίδης; Zepos 1962, 434, 519; Grumel 1989, nos. 833, 835, 850.

ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ. In his *Synopsis Historiarum*, Ioannes Skylitzes mentions a bishop of Side, whose name remains anonymous, in his narration of the events of the 1030s.<sup>78</sup>

ΑΝΘΙΜΟΣ. Metropolitan Anthimos was present in the schismatic synod of 1054 held in Constantinople. He signed the acts as Ἀνθίμου Σίδης. As known, the synod was summoned by Patriarch Michael Cerularios (1043-1059), and its decisions were cursed by Pope Leo IX (1049-1054).<sup>79</sup>

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (2nd). Georgios Kedrenos, who compiled his *Historia* in the midst of the 11th century, mentions Theodoros as Θεόδωρος ὁ τῆς Σίδης ἡγουμένος πρόεδρος.<sup>80</sup>

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ (3rd). During difficult times the Sidetan metropolitans resided in Constantinople. For example, Ioannes III was protosyncellos of the patriarchs of Constantinople in the second half of the 11th century. At the same time, he functioned as counselor of Emperor Michael VII Dukas (1071-1078). According to Michael Attaliates and Ioannes Zonaras, Ioannes, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Σίδης, maintained his position under Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078-1081).<sup>81</sup> An imperial chrysobull dated to 1079 confirms Attaliates' information.<sup>82</sup> Michael Psellos, who was the consultant of the Emperor Michael VII Dukas, also talks about him as metropolitan of Side.<sup>83</sup> Ioannes was present for the trial at which Ioannes Italikos was condemned as a heretic in 1082.<sup>84</sup>

Michael Attaliates describes him as a great personality with extraordinary rank. Thus he enjoyed in 1071 the title of protopredros of protosyncelloi.<sup>85</sup> In 1079 the title hypertimos was given to him. Ioannes was the victim of the eunuch Nikephoritzes' intrigues under Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) and dismissed from his position in 1081.<sup>86</sup>

Ioannes appears as metropolitan of Side during the synod of 1094.<sup>87</sup> Byzantine historians Michael Glykas, Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus, and *Zonaras* mention him as metropolitan of Side.<sup>88</sup> He is attested as metropolitan of Side in a semeioma (note) on Leon of Chalcedon, who opposed the appropriation of church treasures by Alexios I Komnenos between 1081 and 1091.<sup>89</sup> As metropolitan of Side, Ioannes is attested in a letter of Theophylactus of Ohrid (written actually as speech) addressed to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118).<sup>90</sup>

ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΣ. An order (praxis) from Lucas Chrysoberges, Patriarch of Constantinople (1156-1169), testifies to the existence of Theodosios. In the document dated to 1147 Niketas, the next μητροπολίτης Σίδης, when appointed to his position, asked about the works of his

<sup>78</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes 1973, 401.69: ὁ τῆς Σίδης.

<sup>79</sup> Le Quien 1740, 1000-1; Grumel 1989, no. 869; Will 1861, 156.5.

<sup>80</sup> Georgios Kedrenos 1838-1839, 4, 6; Le Quien 1740, 1000; Lamberz 2008, 43 (B12, C13, D13, E13, F12); cf. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Le Quien 1740, 1001; Michael Attaliates 1853, 180.6-14; Ioannes Zonaras 1897, 725.1.

<sup>82</sup> Gouillard 1959-1960, 30.1.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Psellos 1876, 83.321.

<sup>84</sup> Gouillard 1985, 133-69, esp. 141.69.

<sup>85</sup> For the prelate's seal see Laurent 1972, no. 1720; 1963, 407-8.

<sup>86</sup> Michael Attaliates 1853, 180.6-17; Ioannes Skylitzes 1839, 705.16-706.4; Le Quien 1740, 1001; Oikonomidès 1960, 69, no. 8; For the Ioannes's seals see Laurent 1963, 295-97, no. 407-8; 1972, no. 1720; Gouillard 1959-1960, 30.

<sup>87</sup> Gautier 1971, 218.

<sup>88</sup> Michael Glykas 1836, 613.5; Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus 1968, 155.8; Ioannes Zonaras 1897, 707.8; 708.3.

<sup>89</sup> Sakellion 1878, especially 127.6-7; Ruggieri 1995, 99 is suspicious of the Ioannes's very powerful and influential character.

<sup>90</sup> Gautier 1986, 519.7: ...τοῦ ἱερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Σίδης.

forerunner Theodosios (μητροπολίτης Σίδης Θεοδώσιος) who died in the time of the same praxis.<sup>91</sup> A second order dated to 1166 also mentions Theodosios. This patriarchal order reveals that kouropalates Basileios Pekules is expected to make a decision on the appeal of a lawsuit brought by the new metropolitan of Side, Niketas, for donations by the late Metropolitan Theodosios.<sup>92</sup>

ΝΙΚΗΤΑΣ. In the *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, the synodical text of 1147 mentioned above, Niketas is called μητροπολίτης Σίδης. Niketas, when assigned to this position, asked about the work of his metropolitan forerunner. A patriarchal order dated to 1166 testifies to his existence in Side as well. According to this document, Niketas, the new metropolitan of Side and successor of Theodosios, appealed three times to complain to the patriarchal court concerning donations made during the period of his predecessor. This is evidence of a property of immovable estate (and proasteia) from the part of the episcopal church of Side. It also testifies that during the second half of the 12th century there was a Christian community in Side, albeit in trouble.<sup>93</sup>

ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ. An anonymous metropolitan of Side is mentioned on the title of an epistle written by Ioannes Tzetzes, the Byzantine poet and grammarian who lived at Constantinople during the 12th century.<sup>94</sup> The metropolitan is considered to have had been in charge between the late 11th to the mid 12th century. In the 12th century, the Arab geographer Idrisī, who visited Side in 548 of the Hegira (AD 1154), gives some brief information about the conditions of Side. He states that in that time few people lived in the ruined city. Most of its inhabitants had already been settled on a hill in “New Adalia”.<sup>95</sup>

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ (4th). A council, summoned in 1156/1157 under the presidency of Lucas Chrysoberges (1156-1169), deposed Soterichos Panteugenos. In the meetings held in the Blachernai palace, the patriarch of Jerusalem was present as well as Ioannes, metropolitan of Side, mentioned as Ioannes Sidae.<sup>96</sup>

ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΣ. An epistle written by an unknown metropolitan of Side in the early to mid 12th century was sent to Georgios and Dēmētrios Tornikes. It indicates the existence of a Christian community as well as an ecclesiastical authority in charge.<sup>97</sup> The aforementioned anonymous metropolitan and this individual seem to be identical.

ΙΛΑΡΙΩΝ. A manuscript of the 12th century attributed to a Hilarion and mentioning the martyrion of Saints Eustathios, Thespesios and Anatolios of Nicaea under Diocletian is the evidence of this prelate as metropolitan of Side.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Le Quien 1740, 1002; Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897, 108-9, no. 32; Πάλλης and Ποτλής 1852, 206; Grumel 1989, no. 1058; Migne 1881, col. 901D-904A; Dölger and Wirth 1995, no. 1464a/1484 (ca. 1164/early 1167); *PmbZ*, no. 1464a/1484; Ruggieri 1995, 99; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 378; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>92</sup> Le Quien 1740, 1002; Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897, 108-9, no. 32; Grumel 1989, no. 1058; Dölger and Wirth 1995, no. 1464a/1484 (ca. 1164/early 1167); *PmbZ*, no. 1464a/1484; Fedalto 1988, 252; Ruggieri 1995, 99; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 378; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. nn. 91, 92.

<sup>94</sup> Ioannes Tzetzes 1972, 1-4: τοῦ Σίδης.

<sup>95</sup> Idrisī 1975, 134.

<sup>96</sup> Le Quien 1740, 1002; Fedalto 1988, 239; Grumel 1989, no. 1043; Niketas Choniates 1887, 180: τοῦ Σίδης Ἰωάννου; Σάκκος 1966, 149, 155; Sakellion 1890, 317: τοῦ Σίδης.

<sup>97</sup> Darrouzès 1970, 211.1: ὁ Σίδης.

<sup>98</sup> Halkin 1975, 287-311; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 375.



After the Seljuk conquest of Kalon Oros in 1221 together with the coastal area, Side came under Turkish control. Consequently, the metropolitan seat was left temporarily empty.<sup>99</sup>

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ. Towards the end of the 13th century (1285), Nicholas, Metropolitan of Monemvasia and Exarchos of whole Peloponnese, obtained the episcopal throne of Side.<sup>100</sup>

In 1298 by the chrysobull from the Emperor Andronikos II Palaeologos (1282-1328), Nicholas received the honorary title of metropolitan and the throne of Side (= τὸν τόπον ἔχων τοῦ Σίδης).<sup>101</sup> It means “he got only the rank of the metropolitan of Side in the hierarchy” but was not full metropolitan of Side. In 1300 the ecclesiastical presidency (προεδρεία) of Side was entrusted to Nicholas, the metropolitan of Monembasia. In 1313 the Pamphylian metropolitan see still seems under the control of the Peloponnesian metropolis. Nicholas did not receive the tops of Side until 1302. This regulation was cancelled in 1328 when the names of the territories of all the ecclesiastical dioceses were renewed.<sup>102</sup>

In the records of July-September 1315, the Christians in Side together with Syllyon/Syllaion were described as without a shepherd. Most likely when the patriarch and the synod decided to appoint the bishop of Sinope to Side as metropolitan, it was more like its neighbor Myra, which was governed by the metropolitan of Attaleia. The neighboring metropolitan city Syllaion (or Perge) and the archbishopric of Leontopolis (Alaçam of Pontus) were also to be included in the metropolitan city of Side. The first document of July-September 1315<sup>103</sup> indicates that the bishop of Sinope, after being expelled from his see,<sup>104</sup> was assigned in terms of performance (κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδόσεως) as metropolitan of Side and Syllaion as well as archbishop of Leontopolis.<sup>105</sup> He seems obviously to receive these sees for reasons of financial support. But Side and Syllaion were in Pamphylia, while Leontopolis was in Pontus.<sup>106</sup> However, in December 1315 Gregorios, the metropolitan of Pisidia, reclaimed two Pamphylian metropolitan sees. A patriarchal synod separated the bishop of Sinope from the archbishopric of Leontopolis, which underlines the distance and the offensiveness of the foreigners (i.e., Turks). It also recognizes the bigger difficulty for him to reach the churches of Side and Syllaion, and the extreme hardship of doing his duty as bishop “over the people of the Lord (i.e., Christians)” in Leontopolis.<sup>107</sup> After that, the patriarch and the synod agreed to bestow upon the metropolitan of Pisidia, whose diocese (Antioch of Pisidia)<sup>108</sup> bordered those

<sup>99</sup> Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 379.

<sup>100</sup> Laurent 1927, 145, no. 8 (Synode of Blachernes held in 1285); *PLP*, no. 20491; Ruggieri 1995, 100, no. 17.

<sup>101</sup> Laurent 1933, 318 (= Miklosich and Müller 1887, 155-61); Binon 1938, 308-9; Grumel 1948, 182; Ruggieri 1995, 100 n. 18.

<sup>102</sup> Laurent 1971, no. 1580; Darrouzès 1977, no. 2016 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 403.7-8): Κῦρ Νικόλαε, χαρτοφύλαξ τῆς ἀγιοτάτης μητροπόλεως Σίδης... and Miklosich and Müller 1860, 403.18: ...τὸν κύριον Νικόλαον, τὸν χαρτοφύλακα (τῆς Σίδης)... For the dating of the document see Darrouzès 1977, no. 2413, ca. 1359 (-1361) (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 405-7). For Nicholas, chartophylax of Side, see *PLP*, no. 20421 (ca. 1360).

<sup>103</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2034, 25; Hunger and Kresten 1981, nos. 6, 24; Vryonis 1971, 315; Korobeinikov 2005, 7 n. 75.

<sup>104</sup> Darrouzès 1979, 146-51 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 34). The bishop of Sinope was Meletios in 1302 in the Synaxarion of Sougdaia (Suroz). It is not evident if he was alive in 1315; cf. Νυσταζοπούλου 1965, no. 115, 128; Korobeinikov 2005, 7 n. 76.

<sup>105</sup> Bar Hebraeus 1976, 377, 1.74, 455-56. See Darrouzès 1977, no. 2034 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 39-41). Leontopolis was given the rank of autocephalous archbishopric at the end of the 12th-beginning of the 13th centuries; cf. Korobeinikov 2005, 7 nn. 14, 77.

<sup>106</sup> Bryer and Wienfield 1985, 89-90; Korobeinikov 2005, 7 n. 78.

<sup>107</sup> Hunger and Kresten 1981, no. 24, 238; 1995, nos. 20-25; Korobeinikov 2005, 7 n. 79; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>108</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2051, 38; Hunger and Kresten 1981, no. 24; Korobeinikov 2005, 7 n. 80; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.



of Side and Syllaion, the supervision over Side and Syllaion as well as the archbishopric of Leontopolis.<sup>109</sup>

ΚΥΡΙΑΛΟΣ. A patriarchal act of 1338 assigned Kyrillos as metropolitan (ἀρχιερέυς) of Side. He probably started his pastoral duty towards the end of 1339. The patriarch ordered him to remain in Side and not to leave the city for Constantinople.<sup>110</sup> The prelate seems to have had been in charge on his seat for three years, because in 1342 he appears in Constantinople to take part in the patriarchal synod.<sup>111</sup> In April of 1343 Kyrillos was still in the Byzantine capital city where he participated in another synod.<sup>112</sup>

Kyrillos probably returned to his seat in 1343 and for unknown reasons left for Cyprus in 1355. As for the political situation of that period in Pamphylia, in 1316/1317 Attaleia was already conquered by Dündar Beg, the Turkish ruler of the Hamidoğullari who had donated the city to his brother, Yunus Beg. Yunus was the first ruler of the Tekeogullari who controlled the Attaleia<sup>113</sup> - Side - Kalon Oros<sup>114</sup> axis. Kyrillos may have left because of his inability to cope with the conditions of the new status quo.<sup>115</sup> I think rather than Turkish attacks on his diocese, Kyrillos may have left Side because of the lack of attention from the Christian community. The Arab geographer Idrisî, who visited Side in 1154, informs us that most of the Christian community of the city had already been moved to Attaleia.<sup>116</sup>

After Byzantine rule ended and at least until the first quarter of the 14th century, a small Christian community may have continued to exist in Side, which no longer looked like a city. Similarly, Ruggieri also calls attention to an expression (“living with pagans”) in the patriarchal texts (already mentioned above) that reveals the conditions in the city.<sup>117</sup> The statements of the

<sup>109</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2034 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 39-41); Hunger and Kresten 1981, no. 24, 236-41. The document does not explain why the bishop of Sinope did not manage to stay in his see. However, at that time the ruler of Sinop, Gazi Çelebi, waged war against the Empire of Trebizond and could have easily expelled the bishop of Sinope from his see. In the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, it was a common Ottoman practice to oust the bishop or metropolitan from his see during conflicts with the Byzantine Empire. No bishop of Sinope is mentioned in the documents of the Patriarchate; see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 379; Korobeinikov 2005, 7 nn. 81-83; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>110</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2184 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 182); Ruggieri 1995, 100 n. 20; Hunger and Kresten 1995, no. 115; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408; For Kyrillos see also *PLP*, no. 14044.

<sup>111</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2227 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 226-27); Hunger and Kresten 1995, no. 136; Ruggieri 1995, 100 n. 22.

<sup>112</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2243 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 235-37); Hunger and Kresten 1995, no. 131; Ruggieri 1995, 100 n. 22.

<sup>113</sup> For the Turkish attacks towards the region and Turkish rule, first the Hamidoğullari and afterwards the Tekeogullari, see Planthol 1986, 132-33; Kofoğlu 1997, 471-76, esp. 472. For the Tekeogullari see Leiser 2000, 412-13; Kofoğlu 2011, 348-49.

<sup>114</sup> Kalon Oros (today Alanya) was conquered by the Seljuks in 1221. In 1293, Karamanoğlu Mece al-din Mahmud Bey seized Kalon Oros. El Ömerî (Al Umarî) 1991, 202-3 reports that the city was subjected to Ermenek, capital city of the Turkish emirate Karamanoğullari. Ibn Battuta 1939, 123-24, who traveled to the city in 1333, notes that the Turkomans were settled in Kalon Oros which was under the administration of the Karamanoğlu, Yusuf Beg. See Bostan 1989, 339-41; Taeschner 1986, 354-55; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 379.

<sup>115</sup> This included all the coastal region between Side and Kalon Oros after the Turkish conquest of the latter; cf. Vryonis 1971, 315. As a result, the metropolitan seat was temporarily left empty. Until 1315, no bishop was appointed to Side again. When the newly appointed bishop of Side came to the city, he also took over the administration of Syllaion and Leontopolis, due to the bad economic situation; cf. nn. 97-103 in this article. See also Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>116</sup> Idrisî 1975, 134, writes that Idrisî found Side in a ruined and devastated state where few people lived, and the people of the city already settled on a hill in “New Attaleia/Antalya”.

<sup>117</sup> Ruggieri 1995, 102.

ecclesiastical documents, even if they express discontent, show that the new and old inhabitants of Side, though coming from different traditions and religious affiliations, had managed to adapt to the new conditions and were able to create a symbiosis.

In 1359-1361 the metropolitan had some doctrinal problems with the patriarch Kallistos I (1350-1355; 1354-1363). In 1359/60, when he was still in Cyprus, Kyrillos deposed the cleric of the Metropolis Side, Sabbas, and sent a antipalamite letter (which was later considered a forgery) his chartophylax,<sup>118</sup> named Nicholas.<sup>119</sup> Kyrillos tried to clarify his doctrinal position, as evidenced by a document dated to around 1359 (-1361). From the same document it is understood that Kallistos threatened to depose Kyrillos and issued an anathema against him in 1359-1360.<sup>120</sup> This patriarchal document immediately is followed by another addressed to the clerics and believers in Side, beginning: οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ μητροπόλει Σίδης εὐρισκομένοι κληρικοί, ἱερωμένοι καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ἅπας χριστῶνυμος τοῦ Κυρίου λαός. The patriarch asked the parish of Side to expel Kyrillos because of his strange ideas and threatened him with excommunication.<sup>121</sup> At the end of 1364 or the beginning of 1365, Kyrillos was rehabilitated, and perhaps died in 1365. Until the end of this year the Pamphylian metropolitan was managed by Heracleia Pontica.<sup>122</sup> The eventful story of Kyrillos illustrates the presence of a Christian community still resident in the city - clerics, people and a treasurer (oikonomos). Especially the document dated to 1359-1361, in which a man called Manuel is said to be oikonomos in the metropolis of Side, is evidence of the presence of ecclesiastical authorities functioning under a metropolitan as well as of an active church organization in Side.

<sup>118</sup> The chartophylax (pl. *χαρτοφύλακες*) was an ecclesiastical official in Constantinople and the provinces. From the 6th century the chartophylax was usually a deacon who was responsible for archival and notarial duties. By the 10th century the chartophylax was head of the office (chartophylakeion) where he functioned as the principal assistant of the patriarch. The importance of his functions increased and far exceeded his rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the 11th century, the chartophylax was of the fourth rank. Except for his archival and secretarial duties, the chartophylax acted in an intermediary role between the patriarch and clergy, introducing clerics in the presence of the patriarch and in conciliar meetings. He received letters, sent to the patriarch, examined the candidates for priesthood and prepared testimonials for them; see Ραλλῆς and Ποτλῆς 1853, 440-44; Ραλλῆς and Πότλης 1852, 587. The chartophylax replaced the patriarch in his absence by presiding over the synod. In the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), a prostagma dated to 1094 confirms the right of chartophylax to this position. This indicates that it was not a new privilege but a controversial one disputed by the bishops of the synod; see Zepos 1931, 649-50. The functions and rights of the protekdikos and chartophylax were asserted by Theodoros Balsamon in his treatise. The chartophylax had judicial competence and presided over a court; see Ραλλῆς and Ποτλῆς 1854, 530-41. According to Kazhdan, "this claim appears to have more to do with Balsamon's need to bolster the office that he held than with the actual functions of the chartophylax". From the reign of Andronicus I Komnenos (1183-1185), the title was transformed to that of megas chartophylax. Among the officials of some monasteries chartophylakes or chartophylakisses appeared. These were monks or nuns who were responsible for the security and conservation of monastic records, and kept track of borrowed documents; see Darrouzès 1970, 334-53, 508-25; Macrides 1991.

<sup>119</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2417 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 404.17-18); Kresten 2000, 25-28; Hunger and Kresten 2001, no. 245; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408; For Sabbas see *PLP*, no. 24590.

<sup>120</sup> Darrouzès 1977, nos. 2413, 2014, 2417 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 405-7, 409-10, 404.7-10); Kresten 2000, 25-28; Koder et al. 2001, no. 246-47; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>121</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2414 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 409-10). Koder et al. 2001, nos. 245, 248, 250; In this document a certain Manuel is mentioned as oikonomos (accountant) in the metropolitan office of Side (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 403.32-33: ... κὺρ Μανουῆλ, τὸν οἰκονόμον ...). This in fact indicates the presence of a Christian community living in Side; see Ruggieri 1995, 100, no. 23; Kresten 2000, 25-28, claimed that this letter is a forgery; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408. For Manuel see *PmbZ*, no. 16717; *PLP*, no. 17717; Darrouzès 1977, no. 2184 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 182-83); Hunger and Kresten 1995, no. 115; Koder et al. 2001, nos. 248, 250.

<sup>122</sup> Darrouzès 1977, nos. 2469-470 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 404); Koder et al. 2001, nos. 246, 247; Ruggieri 1995, 101 n. 26.

At the beginning of 1366 a Metropolitan seems to have been appointed to Side, according to a synodal act dated to December of 1369. The Metropolitan of Side (ἔξαρχος πάσης Παμφυλίας) was granted to the metropolis of Rhodes together with all that depended on it, and the Cyclades.<sup>123</sup> Two years later in 1371, the episcopal authority in Larissa, Greece, seems to have governed Side for an unknown duration. All this information shows that in that period there was no one elected or appointed to Side as a full metropolitan authority. Neilos, who was metropolitan of Larissa (1371-1388) as indicated on an inscription, is attested also as proedros of Side (1371-1381 or 1382) as indicated on another inscription.<sup>124</sup> In June and August of 1372, the metropolitan of Side, whose name remains unknown (but might be Neilos), was present in two synods held in the capital.<sup>125</sup> In the same year the rank of metropolitan of Side seems to have been transferred to the Metropolitan of Sozopolis of Pisidia.<sup>126</sup>

On March 1397 a synodical act disengaged Side from the jurisdiction of Myra and was subjugated to the metropolitan see of Attaleia. Hieronymus Theophylaktos was ordained as metropolitan of Attaleia and proedros of Side. At the same time the union of two metropolitan sees was declared. The patriarch was to watch over the needs of the Christians, particularly those who lived “among the pagans” (ἔθνεσι). Thus, the patriarch identified the poverty in Side, and how much spiritual teaching (πνευματική διδασκαλία) remained for the few Christians who lived there.<sup>127</sup>

In 1400 the Metropolitan of Perge and Attalia was at the same time the administrator of Side.<sup>128</sup> At the Council of Ferrara in Florence (1438-1448), Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Mitylene held the *topos* of Side.<sup>129</sup> Side reappears in an ulterior act of 1570, which depended on Macarios, metropolitan of Monemvasia.<sup>130</sup>

In the absence the metropolitan there were still ecclesiastical officials in this office, and they continued their activities. Herrin points out that whatever the nominal control of the civil officials (like megas dux) and their claims, the ecclesiastical administration was probably the most efficient in the provinces. As Constantinople’s grasp over the outlying regions of the empire diminished through the 12th century, churchmen increasingly took over the difficult task of maintaining imperial authority. This evaluation, made especially for the cities of Greece, is also valid for regions like Pamphylia, which was likewise far enough away from Constantinople.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2565; Vryonis 1971, 334, 338; Ruggieri 1995, 101 n. 27; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>124</sup> Darrouzès 1977, no. 2630 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 587-88): Ἐπεὶ ὁ ιερώτατος μητροπολίτης Λαρίσσης, ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἔξαρχος δευτέρας Θεσσαλίας καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπέχων τῆς Σίδης... This means that Neilos obtained the rank of the metropolitan of Side in the hierarchy but was not the full metropolitan of Side; cf. Preger 1899, 486; Papachryssanthou 1967, 484. For Neilos see *PmbZ*, no. 20043.

<sup>125</sup> Darrouzès 1977, nos. 2652, 2654. Neilos, metropolitan of Larissa, was proedros of Side from 1371 to 1381; cf. *PLP*, no. 20043; Ruggieri 1995, 101 n. 28.

<sup>126</sup> Darrouzès 1977, nos. 2565, 2649, 2652, 2654; (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 511 [unedited], 593-94, 367-68); Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 380; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>127</sup> Darrouzès 1979, nos. 2940, 3042, 3043 (= Miklosich and Müller 1862, 276-77, 285); also in *PLP*, no. 2350. For Theophylaktos see also *PLP*, no. 7665; Ruggieri 1995, 101; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 380.

<sup>128</sup> Darrouzès 1979, no. 3132 (= Miklosich and Müller 1887, 175-77); cf. Vryonis 1971, 294-95, 315; Ruggieri 1995, 101 n. 29; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 380; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>129</sup> Darrouzès 1979, no. 3373 (= Miklosich and Müller 1860, 276-77, 285-86); *PLP*, no. 5929; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 380.

<sup>130</sup> Miklosich and Müller 1887, 175-77; cf. Vryonis 1971, 294-95, 315; Ruggieri 1995, 101 n. 29; Preiser-Kapeller 2008, 408.

<sup>131</sup> Herrin 2013, 67.

## C) Published Sigillographic Evidence

**1) Anastasios I, Metropolitan of Side (2nd half of 10th Cent.)**

Dumbarton Oaks (ex DO 58.106/59) no. BZS.1958.106.58.D2012 D: 28 x 21 mm. W: 11.25 gr. Cracked along channel. No parallel. Ed(s): Laurent 1963, no. 406; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.1. According to Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, 178, this seal, which illustrated the plate volume of Laurent's corpus, is incorrectly ascribed to the Vienna Museum. Although Laurent mentioned that this piece was in the collection of Vienna Museum (MK248), I have been informed by the director, Mr. Michael Alram, that it is not in the Vienna collection. Werner Seibt and Alexandra Wassiliou-Seibt informed me that this was a mistake made by Laurent. It is possible, however, that it was included in the Zacos Collection if it was a seal of the former Diamantis Collection. Diamantis was a Viennese who emigrated to Istanbul in the 1930s and started only there to collect seals, so his collection was never in Vienna. I owe many thanks to W. Seibt and A. Wassiliou-Seibt for this information.

Obv: Bust of a beardless saint, or of the Archangel Michael,<sup>132</sup> surrounded by a circle of dots, around which circular inscription:

..ROHΘEITΩCΩΔONΛΩ: [+K(ύρι)ε] βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. A border of pellets within two concentric circles of dots.

Rev: Inscription of four lines. Border of pellets within two concentric circles of dots.

ΑΝΔΑΤ | ΑCΙΩΜΗΤ | ΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗ | CΙΔΗC

Ἀναστασίῳ μητροπολίτη Σίδης.

Theotokos (Mother of God), aid your servant Anastasios, metropolitan of Side!



FIG. 4 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1958.106.58.

On the obverse of this seal (fig. 4) what is depicted in the inner circle of the outline cannot be discerned. I am grateful to A. Wassiliou-Seibt for her kind help to get all this updated information.

Oikonomides believed the seal published by Laurent belonged to a different Anastasios and was struck in a later period than this seal preserved at Dumbarton Oaks. Pursuing the point of view of Nesbitt and Oikonomides, I also think that an unknown Anastasios, different from the owner of no. 2, may be added to the list of known metropolitans of Side, which begins with

<sup>132</sup> Alexandra Wassiliou Seibt thinks that the figure on the obverse is bust of a beardless saint, or of the Archangel Michael. Nesbitt and Oikonomides suggested for the representation of the Virgin or St. Michael.

Xenophon (4th cent.) and ends with Kyrillos (14th cent.). These two Anastasioi then had followed each other holding the episcopal scepter in Side.

## 2) Anastasios II, Metropolitan of Side (1030-1060)

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien MK248. D: 23 mm. Field: 20 mm. W: 6,83 gr. Fine example slightly trimmed on the circumference of the left side; lower edge is bulged. No parallel. Ed. Laurent 1963, no. 405.

Obv: Bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, wearing imperial robe, holding in his right hand a balled scepter brought back in front of the chest and a globus (without cross) in his left hand (raised in front of his chest). Border of dots.

Sigla: On the left I, at top of M, on the right A at top X: Μι(χαήλ) ἀ(ρ)χ(άγγελος). Between the acronyms I.

Rev: Inscription of four lines: + ΑΝΑC|ΤΑΑCΙΟΜΗ|ΤΡΟΠΟΛ,Τ,|CΙΔΗC| - ∴ -

Ἀναστασί(ω) μητροπολι(ι)τ(η) Σίδης

Michael Archangel/Anastasios metropolitan of Side



FIG. 5 Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien MK248.

Vitalien Laurent had claimed that Anastasios, owner of this seal (fig. 5), was already known.<sup>133</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonomides pointed out that the two Anastasioi who appeared on the DO seal (fig. 4) and on the Vienna seal (fig. 5) are different persons who served in Side as metropolitans at different times. Following Nesbitt and Oikonomides and considering the criteria based on their iconographic and epigraphic characteristics, it is clear that these seals came from different bulloteria. So one may reasonably add a second Anastasios to the name lists of Sidetan bishops. Consequently, the first Anastasios functioned in the city at the end of the 10th century and his namesake at the beginning of the 11th century.

## 3) (Ioannes) Protoproedros of (Protosynkelloi and Metropolitan of) Side (1071-before 1079)

a) Numismatic Museum Athens, no. 143<sup>a</sup>. D: 23,5 mm. W: 9,8 gr. Parallel(s): Fogg 1334; (ex DO 55.1.4993); (ex. DO 58.106.194); IFEB 213A and 213B (two copies); formerly Zacos (photo in Vienna). Ed(s): (except the last two pieces) Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, no. 1334; Laurent 1963, no. 407; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1996, no. 78.3; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, no. 1688, mentions one parallel seal from the Thierry collection and another from former Zacos collection.

<sup>133</sup> Laurent 1963, 294.

Obv: Corroded. The figure and the other details can be discerned thanks to parallel seals. Bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, holding the labarum (r. hand) with a long pole and the globus (l. hand) without cross. On either side the inscription: Μ | Ι on left and Χ | Α on the right: Μι(χαήλ) ἄ(ρ)χ(άγγελος): Archangel Michael. Border of dots between two linear borders.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Border of dots.

+ ΟΡΑ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙ | ΔΑΠΡΩΤΟ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡ | ΣΙΔΗΣ | - · -

+ Ὅρα σφραγίδα πρωτοπροέδρου Σίδης

Behold the seal of the protoproedros of Side!



FIG. 6 Athens Numismatic Museum 143<sup>a</sup>.

The legend does not contain the name of the owner of the seal (fig. 6), but only the title protoproedros of Side. The owner of the seal must be Ioannes of Side who, under Michael VII Dukas (1071-1078) and Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081), held a key position in the state and church, as the protoproedros of the protosynkelloi<sup>134</sup> and metropolitan of Side in 1071.<sup>135</sup> In December 1079, Ioannes is attested with the higher ranking title of hypertimos. A seal with great stylistic similarity to the seal type above cites an Ioannes metropolitan of Side and protosynkelloi. It has evoked various hypotheses regarding his assignment.<sup>136</sup> Ioannes should have used this seal in a bit earlier period than the others mentioned below. This Ioannes must be identified to the prelate mentioned below (no. 4c).<sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Synkellos (σύγκελλος) was a title referring to a monastic cellmate of a bishop and who served him. Over time, however, as with many such titles from the Byzantine Empire, it shifted from referring explicitly to literal roles and became associated with clerical rank, sometimes including an office. A cellmate of the bishop (who may often be a monk) is styled the protos (first) among the synkelloi. Protosynkellos (πρωτοσυγκελλος, first cellmate) was a honorific title given by the bishop to a high-ranking cleric in a diocese, usually a priest. This so-titled person was often the most highly ranked cleric in the diocese after the bishop. Sometimes only persons who had the most seniority attained it, but it probably also was a post, a chancellor, a chief bishop's chaplain or a episcopal vicar. Protosynkelloi still exist and often act as a chancellor to the bishop or simply are the highest in seniority. For the title protoproedros protosynkelloi, see Savaville 1930, 420-22; Ioannes Skylitzes 1839, 705. For synkellos see Papadakis 1991b,

<sup>135</sup> Michael Attaleiates 1853, 180.11; Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus 1968, 139.15-16; Oikonomides 1960, 69-70, A.8; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.5.

<sup>136</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.5.

<sup>137</sup> Oikonomides 1960, 69, no. 8 and 70; For the city of Side see the corresponding lemma at Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 373-94; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, 130-31.



b) (ex DO 51.31.3.1333) BZS.1951.31.5.1333. D: 21 mm. W: 7.71 gr. Parallel(s): BZS.1958.106.194 and BZS.1955.1.4993; Thierry collection no. 30; former Zacos collection (photo in Vienna). Eds.: (except the last two pieces) Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, no. 1334; Laurent 1963, no. 407, along with three specimens from outside the Dumbarton Oaks collection, one from the Numismatic Museum at Athens (143<sup>a</sup>); and two from the IFEB collection (213A and 213B); Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.3(a); Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, no. 1688 (mistakenly numbered as Fogg 1334), refers to one parallel seal from the Thierry collection and another from former Zacos collection.

Obv: Bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, holding the labarum (r. hand) with a long pole and the globus (l. hand) without cross. On either side the inscription: Μ | Ι on left and Χ | Α on the right: Μι(χαήλ) ἄ(ρ)χ(άγγελος): Archangel Michael. Border of dots between two linear borders.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Dodekasyllabic. A decoration below. Border of dots between two linear borders.

+ ΟΡΑ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙ | ΔΑΠΡΩΤΟ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΗ | ΣΙΔΗΣ | - · -

+ Ὅρα σφραγίδα πρωτοπροέδρου Σίδης

Behold the seal of the protoproedros of Side.



FIG. 7 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1951.31.5.1333.

c) (ex DO 58.106.194) BZS.1958.106.194. D2012. D: 24 mm. Field: 19 mm. W: 11.66 gr. Cracked along canal. Parallel(s): BZS.1955.1.4993; BZS.1951.31.5.1333; Thierry collection no. 30; former Zacos collection (photo in Vienna). Ed(s): (Except the last two seals) Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, no. 1334; Laurent 1963, no. 407, mentions, along with three specimens from outside the Dumbarton Oaks collection, one from the Numismatic Museum at Athens (143<sup>a</sup>) and two from the IFEB collection (213A and 213B); Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.3b. Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, no. 1688, refers to one parallel seal from the Thierry collection and another from former Zacos collection.

Obv: Bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, holding the labarum (r. hand) with a long pole and the globus (l. hand) without cross. On either side the inscription: Μ | Ι on left and Χ | Α on the right: Μι(χαήλ) ἄ(ρ)χ(άγγελος): Archangel Michael. Border of dots between two linear borders.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Dodekasyllabic. A decoration below. Border of dots between two linear borders.

+ ΟΡΑ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙ | ΔΑΠΡΩΤΟ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΗ | ΣΙΔΗΣ | - · [-]

+ Ὅρα σφραγίδα πρωτοπροέδρου Σίδης

Behold the seal of the protoproedros of Side!



FIG. 8 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1958.106.194.

d) (ex DO 58.106.4993) BZS.1951.1.4993. D2012. D: 18 x 18 mm. Field: 18 mm. W: 5.50 gr. Parallel(s): BZS.1958.106.194; BZS.1951.31.5.1333; Thierry collection no. 30; former Zacos collection (photo in Vienna). Ed(s): (except from the last two seals) Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, no. 1334. Laurent 1963, no. 407, mentions along with three specimens from outside the Dumbarton Oaks collection, one from the Athens Numismatic Museum (143<sup>a</sup>) and two from the IFEB collection (213A and 213B); Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.3c. Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, no. 1688, mentions one parallel seal from the Thierry collection and another from former Zacos collection.

Obv: Corroded. On its parallel or similar pieces: bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, wearing imperial robe, the labarum (r. hand) with a long pole and the globus (l. hand) without cross. On either side the inscription: Μ | Ι on left and Χ | Α on the right: Μι(χαήλ) ἄ(ρ)χ(άγγελος): Archangel Michael. Border of dots between two linear borders.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Dodekasyllabic. A decoration below. Border of dots between two linear borders.

... | ΣΦΡΑΓΙ | ΔΑΠΡΩΤΟ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΗ | ΣΙΔΗΣ | - · -

+ [Ὅρα] σφραγίδα πρωτοπροέδρου Σίδης

Behold the seal of the protoproedros of Side!



FIG. 9 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1951.1.4993.

According to Nesbitt and Oikonomides, all three of these Dumbarton Oaks seals (figs. 7-9) seem to come from the same bouleterion, which was retooled before striking the specimen and are edited jointly. They suggested that Ioannes of Side, who is represented as protoproedros of the protosynkelloi on this seal, received this title in 1071. They considered that “it was not necessary for him to spell out his name because he was the only protoproedros of the protosynkelloi”.<sup>138</sup> The identical features of the Athens seal (fig. 6) as compared to three Dumbarton Oaks seals (figs. 7-9) indicate that they all come from the same bullotereion and would have been used by the metropolitan of Side in the same period.

e) IFEB 213A. Parallel(s): IFEB 213B; Numismatic Museum at Athens (143<sup>a</sup>); BSZ.1958.106.194; BZS.1951.31.5.1333; Thierry collection no. 30; Thierry collection no. 30; former Zacos collection (photo in Vienna). Ed(s).: (except the last two pieces) Κωνσταντόπουλος 1917, no. 1334. Laurent 1963, no. 407, mentions, along with three specimens from outside the Dumbarton Oaks collection, one from the Numismatic Museum in Athens (143<sup>a</sup>) and one more from the IFEB collection (213B). Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, no. 1688, mentions one parallel seal from the Thierry collection and another from the former Zacos collection; cf. Oikonomides 1960, 69, no. 8 and 70.

Obv: Corroded. On its parallel or similar pieces: bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, wearing imperial robe, holding the labarum (r. hand) with a long pole and the globus (l. hand) without cross. On either side the inscription: Μ - Ι on left and Χ - Α on the right: Μι(χαήλ) ἀ(ρ)χ(άγγελος). Border of dots between two linear borders.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Dodekasyllabic. A decoration below. Border of dots between two linear borders.

+ ΟΡΑ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙ | ΔΑΠΡΩΤΟ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΗ | ΣΙΔΗΣ | - · -

+ Ὅρα σφραγίδα πρωτοπροέδρου Σίδης.

Behold the seal of the protoproedros of Side!



FIG. 10 Collection of Institut Français d'Études Byzantines (IFEB), IFEB 213A.

f) IFEB 213B. D: 19 mm. Parallel(s): BZS.1951.31.5.1333; BSZ.1958.106.194; BZS.1955.1.4993; Thierry collection no. 30; former Zacos collection (photo in Vienna). Eds.: (except the last five pieces) Konstantopoulos 1917, no. 1334. Laurent 1963, no. 407, mentions, along with three specimens from outside the Dumbarton Oaks collection, one from the Athens Numismatic

<sup>138</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, 178-79.

Museum (143<sup>a</sup>), and one more from the IFEB collection (213A) (fig.10). Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, no. 1688, mentions one parallel seal from the Thierry collection and another from former Zacos collection; cf. Oikonomides 1960, 69, no. 8 and 70.

Obv.: Corroded. On its parallel or similar pieces: bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, wearing imperial robe, holding the labarum (r. hand) with a long pole and the globus (l. hand) without cross. Sigla: M - I (invisible) on left and X - A on the right: Μι(χαήλ) ἄ(ρ)χ(άγγελος).

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Dodecasyllabic. A decoration below. Border of dots between two linear borders. Dodecasyllabic.

+ ΟΡΑ | ΣΦΡΑΓΙ | ΔΑΠΡΩΤΟ | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟ | ΣΙΔΗΣ | - · -

+ Ὅρα σφραγίδα πρωτοπροέδρου Σίδης.

Behold the seal of the protoproedros of Side!



FIG. 11 Collection of Institut Français d'Études Byzantines (IFEB), IFEB 213B.

The term protoproedros, which appears on the reverse of the above-mentioned seals (figs. 6-11) separate from the competing title of civil titlature,<sup>139</sup> appears here as the poetic equivalent of metropolitan.<sup>140</sup> He had used it on the occasion in the sense of a single abbot of the monastery.<sup>141</sup> Here it is something else, having been honored with the most significant title of protoproedros of the protosynkelloi (πρωτοπρόεδρος των πρωτοσυγκέλλων). According to Skylitzes, this title was given in 1071 to Ioannes, metropolitan of Side, who was once a prominent political and religious figure.<sup>142</sup> This prelate was promoted to be an imperial minister but, not being content with this distinguished honor, aspired to a higher one, that is, hypertimos. Ioannes of Side seems to have been the first bishop honored with this title, as attested by the sigillography.

#### 4) (Ioannes), Proedros (= Metropolitan) of Side and Hypertimos (ca. 1079)

a) (ex DO 58.106.1149). BZS.1958.106.1149. D. 22 mm. Field 19 mm. W. 8.29 gr. Lead of deep gray color. Parallel(s): BSZ.1958.106.3647; Vienna MK249; Hermitage (= Pančenko 1903, no. 63) (incomplete); Eds.: Pančenko 1903, no. 63, dates it to 12th/13th cent.; Laurent 1963, no: 408; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.4a; Date ca. 1079/1082; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, no. 2779.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Diehl 1924, 105-17.

<sup>140</sup> On this meaning see Savaville 1930, 420-22.

<sup>141</sup> For an example see Laurent 1932, no. 264.

<sup>142</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes 1839, 705.16-17.

Obv: Bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, holding the labarum (r. hand) and the globus (l. hand). On either side the inscription: Μ | Ι - Χ | : Μιχα(ήλ). Border of dots between a linear border.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Dodecasyllabic. A decoration above. Border of dots between a linear border.

- · - | + CΦΡΑ|ΓΙCΠΡΟΕ|ΔΡΥΤΗC C I | ΔΗC V ΠΕΡ | ΤΙΜΘ

+ Σφραγίς προέδρου τῆς Σίδης ὑπερτίμου

Seal of the proedros of Side (and) hypertimos.



FIG. 12 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1958.106.1149.

b) (ex DO 58.106 3647) BZS.1958.106.3647. D: 24 mm. Field: 19 mm (obv.), 20 mm (rev.). W: 8.58 gr. Lead of whitish color. Parallel(s): BZS.1958.106.1149; Vienna MK249. Ed(s): Laurent 1963, no. 408, edited two similar specimens issued by the same man, one in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien MK249 (fig. 14), the other in the Hermitage Museum (= Pančenko 1903, no. 63 Ioannes, metropolitan of Side and hypertimos); Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.4b; Wassiliou-Seibt 2016, 2779.

Obv: Bust of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, holding the labarum (r. hand) and the globus (l. hand) without cross. On either side the inscription: Μ | Ι - Χ | : Μιχα(ήλ). Border of dots between a linear border.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Dodecasyllabic. A decoration above. Border of dots between a linear border.

- · - | + CΦΡΑ|ΓΙCΠΡΟΕ| . . ΥΤΗC C I | ΔΗC V ΠΕΡ | ΤΙΜΘ

+ Σφραγίς προέδρου τῆς Σίδης ὑπερτίμου.

Seal of the proedros of Side (and) hypertimos.



FIG. 13 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1958.106.3647.

Nesbitt and Oikonomides point out that both seals (figs. 12-13) had been struck by the same bouleterion and are edited jointly. Their blanks come from the same mold but have been cast with lead of a completely different quality. A similar piece, preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien (fig. 14) and published by Laurent (no. 408), was issued by the same prelate. Another piece is preserved in the Hermitage Museum and published by Pančenko (no. 63) who mistakenly attributed it to Sebaste instead of Side. Laurent completed its reading and correctly considered that it is parallel to the other seals and that the owner of these seals is the same as Ioannes of Side. Once again he was the only hypertimos and did not need to spell out his name. Ioannes used here the title proedros within the meaning of metropolitan and preferred not to give his name. Ioannes used here the title proedros within the meaning of metropolitan and preferred not to give his name. Wassiliou-Seibt thinks that because he was also honored as hypertimos, a title generally given to very few people, the seal should be attributed to the notorious Ioannes, the metropolitan of Side. He held a key position in the Byzantine church and its administration until his dismissal in 1082 under Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118). Ioannes is mentioned with this title in December 1079.<sup>143</sup>

c) Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien MK249 D. 19 mm. W. 8,50 gr. Similar(s): BZS.1958.106.1149; BZS.1958.106.3647. Ed(s): Laurent 1963, no. 408; Pančenko 1903, no. 63 (photo pl. 3, no. 8).<sup>144</sup>

Obv: Bust of Archangel, facing, winged, holding the labarum (r. hand) and the globus (l. hand). On either side the inscription: On the left M-I and on the right X-A: Μιχα(ήλ). Border of dots between a linear border.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. Border of dots.

- · - | + ΣΦΡΑ|ΓΙΣΠΡΟΕ|ΔΡΥΤΗC|ΔΗCΝΠΕΡ|ΤΙΜΥ

+ Σφραγίς προέδρου τῆς Σίδης ὑπερτίμου

Seal of the proedros of Side (and) hypertimos.



FIG. 14 Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien MK249.

<sup>143</sup> Oikonomides 1960, 69-70, A.8; For the commentary see Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.5. See also seals nos 3a-f, also without a name, with the title *πρωτοπρόεδρος* (i.e. *τῶν πρωτοσυγκέλλων*). Father Laurent has already corrected the incomplete reading of the former piece in Pančenko 1903, no. 63.

<sup>144</sup> Laurent 1963, no. 262.



Russian sigillographer Pančenko read the end of the third line on the inscription of a parallel seal from the Hermitage Museum as **CE** and supposed, starting from this syllable, that it could be Sebaste there. Papadopoulos-Kerameus conjectured: **Σε[ρρῶν]**.<sup>145</sup> According to Laurent, the most evident feature of the inscription is the presence of the title “hypertimos”. Grumel’s previous article did not reveal any employment/usage of this title (which can be dated to an earlier period than 1173) as for its collation to the members of the high-ranking clergy (bishop or higher ones).<sup>146</sup> One could find the date assigned by Laurent to this seal as too late, if a recently published document did not reveal its true owner. In a time when the honorary title of hypertimos was carried by statesmen such as Michael Psellos,<sup>147</sup> it might seem surprising that their successor in imperial favor, Ioannes the metropolitan of Side, would not have been granted it. Thanks to a discovery,<sup>148</sup> one fact is now certain: the aforementioned prelate, full-power Minister of Nikephoros III Botaniates (1078-1081), had the benefit of it in December 1079. There is therefore every chance for the seal presented here to have belonged to same Ioannes. Moreover, the prelate is also Ioannes, whereas he was the only protoproedros of the protosynkellos,<sup>149</sup> which must be restored to the preceding pieces (figs. 6-11). The similarity of the metric legends of an unusual turn clearly invites it, no less than the choice of the same iconographic features - Archangel Michael, facing, holding, in addition to a globe (without cross), the labarum instead of the traditional scepter. The striking of these three seals (figs. 12-14) must also be dated to a period before the accession of the Komnenian dynasty in 1081, which terminated Ioannes’s authority. He continued to be the minister under the Emperor Nikephoros III Botaniates. The pieces (figs. 6-11), on which he is honored as protoproedros, had to be engraved during the reign of Michael VII (1071-1078). The second type of his seal (figs. 12-14), on which Ioannes appears with the title hypertimos, had to be struck later, i.e. during the reign of Nikephoros III (1078-1081).<sup>150</sup>

### 5) Ioannes, Metropolitan of Side and Protosynkellos (2nd half of 11th Cent.)

(ex DO 55.1 4845) BZS.1951.1.4845.D2012. D: 21 mm. W: 8.51 gr. No parallel. Ed(s): Laurent 1972, no. 1720; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.5.

Obv: Half-length representation of Archangel Michael, facing, winged, in imperial robe with the fringes of loros, crossed on the chest, holding the trilobe scepter (r. hand) and globus (l. hand) (without cross). On either side the inscription: **M - X : M(ι)χ(α)ῆλ**. Border of dots between a linear border.

Rev: Inscription of five lines, a decoration above. Border of dots between a linear border.

- · [-] | **+ΚΕΡ,Θ,|ΙΩΜΡΟΠΟ|ΛΙΤ,ΣΙΔ,Σ | ἌΣΥΓΚΕ | ΛΛΩ**

+ Κύριε βοήθει Ἰω(άννη) μ(ητ)ροπολίτ(η) Σίδ(ης) (καί) (πρωτο)συγκέλλω.

Lord, aid Ioannes metropolitan of Side and of the protosynkellos!

<sup>145</sup> Pančenko 1903, no. 63 (photo pl. 3, no. 8) = Papadopoulos and Kerameus 1907, 509-10, no. 85.

<sup>146</sup> Grumel 1948, 163.

<sup>147</sup> Michael Attaliates 1853, 296.20-22: καὶ Μιχαὴλ μοναχὸς ὁ ὑπέριμος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων προστάς, τὸ γένος ἔλκων Νικομηδείας ... (and monk Michael, the hypertimos, a man who was in charge of political affairs, and originated from Nikomedeia). The title of hypertimos was established for Psellos, namely when he returned from Bithynia as a monk, but again took over political duties as a monk. He was called by Theodora (1055-1056). See also Karpozilos 2009, 73

<sup>148</sup> Gouillard 1959-1960, 30, no. 1.

<sup>149</sup> Grumel 1945, 105.

<sup>150</sup> Laurent 1963, 296-97.



FIG. 15 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1951.1.4845.

According to Laurent, the signatory of this seal had been presented as the owner of the anonymous seals (figs. 6-11) or referred to by his rank of proedros and of protoproedros.<sup>151</sup> This piece (fig. 15), where the name is added to the honor, dignity fully gives reason to the attribution made to the prelate-minister of those just been mentioned or questioned.<sup>152</sup> Here, as there, the title of protoproedros, eminently ecclesiastical, must be understood as protoproedros of the protosynkelloi, as Ioannes had already done in 1071.<sup>153</sup> In December 1079, Ioannes had been honored by the more significant title of hypertimos.<sup>154</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonomides claim that the person mentioned on this seal may be Ioannes of Side, a powerful minister of Nikephoros Botaniates. He was protoproedros of the protosynkelloi in 1071<sup>155</sup> and then, before December 1079, he was honored by the title of hypertimos.<sup>156</sup> By the enthronement of Alexios Komnenos in 1081, he had lost his administrative seat. Since the title protosynkellos is inferior to the other two, this seal (fig. 15) is considered to have been made prior to 1071. In the *History* of Georgios Kedrenos, one Ioannes titled protosynkellos, is mentioned as metropolitan of Side. He also appeared in the patriarchal synod of March 1082. Guillard supported the idea that this was the same person. Nesbitt and Oikonomides proposed that he may have been a homonymous successor of the minister of Botaniates.<sup>157</sup> By comparing their weights, Nesbitt and Oikonomides considered that “the blanks used for the seals of hypertimos (ca. 1079-1081)<sup>158</sup> come from the same mold as the present one (fig. 15) whereas the protoproedros seals<sup>159</sup> come from different molds.”<sup>160</sup> Thus they related this specimen to Ioannes of Side of 1082 who, they think, could be the same person as the hypertimos, after having been demoted.

<sup>151</sup> Laurent 1963, no. 408; Laurent 1963, no. 407.

<sup>152</sup> Laurent 1963, 295.

<sup>153</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes 1839, 705.16-17.

<sup>154</sup> Gouillard 1959-1960, 29-30, esp. 30, 38-41.

<sup>155</sup> Michael Attaliates 1853, 180.11; Le Quien 1740, 1001. Also Ioannes Skylitzes 1839, 705, mentions an Ioannes with the title of protoproedros of the protosynkelloi in 1071. See also Oikonomides 1960, 76.

<sup>156</sup> Gouillard 1959-1960, 30.

<sup>157</sup> Grumel 1945, 111. One may wonder if this person was not the same as the previous one. The reason we distinguish these two persons is that the second person has a lower rank than the first. It is difficult to admit that a person who was protoproedros of protosynkelloi in 1071 would become in 1082 a simple protosynkellos; cf. Laurent 1972, 78-79; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, 179-80.

<sup>158</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.4.

<sup>159</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.3.

<sup>160</sup> Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, 179-80.

**6) Basileios, Metropolitan of Side (2nd half of the 12th Cent.)**

(ex DO 58.106.366) BZS.1958.106.366.D2012. D: 17 mm. W: 4.06 gr. Chipped along circumference. Poor craftsmanship. The inscription is dodecasyllabic. The first word, σφραγῆς, is an error for γραφῆς. No parallel(s). Eds.: Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 78.2.

Obv: Inscription of three lines. **CFPA | ΓICCΦP, | ΡΙΖΩ**. Border of dots.

Rev: Inscription of three lines. **ΤΗCI | ΔHCRA | CΙΛΗΘ**. Border of dots.

Σφραγῆς σφραφίζω τοῦ Σίδης Βασιλ(ε)ίου.

I seal the letters of Basileios (metropolitan) of Side.



FIG. 16 Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZS.1958.106.366.

Nesbitt and Oikonomides read the word σφραγῆς as σφραγῆς, apparently wrongly, as stated by Wassiliou-Seibt, who believes that the second letter in the second line of the obverse is a pressed Iota, not an Alpha.<sup>161</sup>

**D) Unpublished Sigillographic Evidence****7) Ioannes Metropolitan of Side and Synkellos (ca. 1055-1070)**

Alanya Museum 2006.22A. D: 22 mm. H: 3 mm. W: 9.25 gr. Provenance: Alanya, Byzantine Korakesion or Kalon Oros.<sup>162</sup> Parallel(s): Amasya A75.35.25. Unpublished.

Obv: Bust of Archangel Michael, in profile turned to left, winged, holding a trefoil scepter (r. hand) and globus (l. hand.). Invisible inscription. Border of dots between linear border.

Rev: Inscription of five lines. - \* - | † ΚΕΡ,Θ, | ..Μ̄ΡΟΠΟ | ...CΙΔ,Σ | ..ΓΚΞΛ | Λ, - Border of dots.

+ | Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Ἰω(άννη) μητροπολίτη Σίδ(η)ς <καὶ> [συγκέλλ.]φ

Lord, aid Ioannes, metropolitan of Side and [synkellos]!

<sup>161</sup> Wassiliou-Seibt 2011, no. 2916.

<sup>162</sup> Alanya is located 65 km east of Side. The city was named Korakesion in ancient times. In his *De Thematibus*, Konstantinos Porphyrogennitos (913-959) identifies the city as Kalon Oros, a supply port for the fleet of the naval theme of Kibyrraiotai, and also as Kalliston Oros between Selge and Anemourion (modern Anamur). See Konstantinos Porphyrogennitos 1829, 659; Konstantinos Porphyrogennitos 1952, 79; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 587 n. 21.

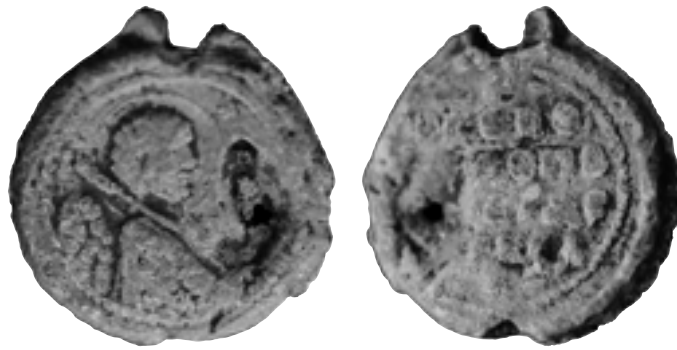


FIG. 17 Alanya Museum 2006.22A (photo: N. Elam).

This seal may have belonged to the same person as Ioannes, metropolitan of Side, and was apparently identical to the owner of the next seal. Ioannes apparently used this seal when he was only *synkellos*, that is before he promoted as *hypertimos*. I think that the provenance of the seal (the castle of Byzantine Kalon Oros) may be evidence of his residence in his post as well as his correspondence activity with the neighboring Pamphylian cities.

On one hand, the different iconographic and epigraphic characteristics of the seal from others (of later period) on which Ioannes appears with higher titles than *synkellos*, indicates that the prelate may have used this type of seal in a period before having become *hypertimos*. On the other hand the bust of archangel Michael on the obverse of the Alanya seal follows exactly the type of the others on which Ioannes appears as *hypertimos*. If it is the same Ioannes, it may indicate that he used this seal in a period before he promoted as *hypertimos* or in a period after he downgraded (after 1081, the year of the accession of Alexios I Komnenos), but was allowed to remain metropolitan of Side. It is not impossible that Ioannes who mentioned on the seals as *protosynkellos* may have been his name-sake successor.

### 8) Ioannes, Metropolitan of Side and Synkellos (ca. 1055-1070)

Amasya Museum. A75.35.25. D: 22 mm. Kal: 3 mm. W: 9.30 gr. Provenance: Alanya 2006.22A. Parallel(s): Alanya Museum no: 2006.22A. Unpublished.

Obv: Bust of Archangel Michael, in profile turned to left, winged, holding on his right hand a trilobe labarum on his right shoulder and the globus (without cross) in his left hand (raised in front of his chest). Border of dots. On either side the inscription: On the left I, at top of M, on the right A at top X: Μιχα(ῆ)λ).



FIG. 18 Amasya Museum A75.35.25 (photo: N. Elam).

Rev: Inscription of five lines. - \* -|+ΚΕΡ,Θ,|ΙΩΜΡΟΠΟ|ΛΙΤ,ΣΙΔ,Σ|CVΓΚΕΛ|-Λ,-

+ Κ(ύρι)ε β(οήθει) Ἰω(άννη) μητροπο(λίτη) Σίδ(η)ς <καὶ> συγκέλλω

Lord, aid Ioannes metropolitan of Side and synkellos!

This seal seems to have belonged to the same person as Ioannes, metropolitan of Side, and was apparently identical to the owner of the previous seal. Ioannes apparently used this seal when he was only synkellos, that is, before he was promoted as hypertimos. The provenance of the seal may indicate his connections with Byzantine Amaseia and its surroundings. In other words, that the seal was found around modern Amasya shows that the prelate had a correspondent in the Pontic city. Unfortunately, in the literary sources, I could not find any clue to whom Ioannes's letter may have been addressed in Amaseia. Depending especially on the different iconographic and epigraphic characteristics of the seal from others (of later period) on which he is mentioned with higher titles than synkellos, one may assume that the prelate used this different type of seal in a period before having been promoted as hypertimos.

That the bust of the Archangel Michael follows exactly the type as hypertimos may indicate that Ioannes used this seal in the period before he was promoted as hypertimos or in the period after he was downgraded (after 1081) but still allowed to remain metropolitan of Pamphylia city. A possibility cannot be excluded that Ioannes, who is mentioned on the seals as protosynkellos, may have been his name-sake successor.

### 9) Abundantios or Abundios or Bodianos or Danoubios, Bardanios or Obodianos (1st half to last 3rd of 7th Cent.)

Side Museum no: 1229. Provenance: Side. D: 21 mm. Field: 21 mm. W: 8.3 gr. Chipped at the top and the bottom. No parallel. Unpublished.

Obv: Bust of the Theotokos with bust of Christ, between crosses.

Rev: Cruciform monogram: Α-Β-Δ-Ν-Θ-Ω-Υ. The monogram can be in the dative or genitive. In the genitive it could be Bodianou, if the first O is written as Omega. But we have the name only in omicron on a seal. It could be a name and a title or office, perhaps Ἰωάννου βαιουλου. In the dative it could be Danoubios, a name attested in Zacos,<sup>163</sup> or



FIG. 19 Side Museum 1555 (photo: N. Elam).

<sup>163</sup> Zacos 1972, no. 1845: "Danoubios comes."

Aboundios attested in Mansi.<sup>164</sup> The feast day of the martyr St. Abundantios or Aboundios, is commemorated on 27 February.<sup>165</sup> If it is in the genitive, which would be better for the type, I prefer the first half of the 7th century. If it is in the dative, not impossible, then it would date to the final third of the 7th century. Obodianos is the name of an individual who was from a famous blood-line from Syria. The first Obodianos is attested as an Antiochan ambassador who went to Constantinople in 360.<sup>166</sup> The Sidetan prelate may have been called Abundantios or Abundios, Bodianos or Danoubios, Bardianos or Obodianos.

One may assume that the owner of this seal may be a metropolitan who chose Abundantios or Aboundios (or the other possible ones) as his cleric name after his assignment to the Sidetan see.

## Conclusion

The metropolis of Side declined after the 7th century and was seemingly abandoned in the 11th century because of the Arab invasions, probably in favor of Attaleia which was promoted from a bishopric to a metropolitan seat in 1084 and only "titular" metropolitans of Side continued to be appointed. The sigillographic data of Dumbarton Oaks, Numismatic Museum of Athens, Institut Français des Études Byzantines and Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien collections show that there was still a bishop on duty in Side until the 80s of the 11th century. The presence of Side as the location of function on their reverses indicates that these seals had been used for documents addressed to their recipients in Constantinople. It can be assumed that particularly the seals from the collections of Dumbarton Oaks and the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien had probably been found in Istanbul, since all the titles of the owners are mentioned on the seals. Depending on two new seals, discovered in Alanya Museum and Amasya Museum, which are examined in this study, the presence of the metropolitans in Side in the second half of the 10th century is attested. These two seals, which apparently coming from the same bullotereion, should have been used by famous metropolitan Ioannes, who was all-powerful minister of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078-1081), in a period before he promoted as hypertimos (before December 1079) or in a period after he demoted, but he was allowed to remain metropolitan. According to another possibility, the owner (Ioannes) of the seals on which he appears as protosynkellos may have been his name-sake successor.

Another new seal whose provenance is Side, was probably belonged to a prelate, who preferred to use a monogrammatic seal, which accompanied a document, whose addressee may have had been functioning in the Pamphylian city between a period from 1st half to last 3rd of 7th century. That is why his owner may have not use a seal holding all his titles, especially in Pamphylia, in a region he was very well-known person. The last Dumbarton Oaks seal, belonged to Basileios reveals that there may have been still ecclesiastical officials in charge in Side as head of an -albeit decreased- Christian community even in the 12th century.

<sup>164</sup> Mansi 1761, 143-44, no. 21: "Abundantius Episcopus Ecclesia Comensis." I owe many thanks to Professor Werner Seibt for sharing this information as well as his opinion on the possible names of the prelate.

<sup>165</sup> AASS III, 676-77.

<sup>166</sup> Cabouret 2006, 352-57.



## Appendix

### Two martyria in the theater of Side



FIG. 20 Side Theater Martyrion 1  
(The photographic archive of the  
Side excavations).



FIG. 21 Side Theater Martyrion 2  
(The photographic archive of the  
Side excavations).

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# Window Glass from the Excavations in the Seljuk Palace at Alanya

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## Abstract

This article concerns a small group of crown glass fragments recovered in the excavations of the Palace built inside the inner citadel of Alanya, Turkey. It was constructed during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I around 1221-1223 and used until 1246. This makes the dates for the utilization of the glass known, if not the date of their production. The studied glass was recovered during the first period of the excavations conducted by Prof. Dr. Oluş Arık and his team between 1985-1992.\*\* Fragments of glass for everyday use, glass with prunts, and a few fragments from the so-called luxury glass enameled beakers, all recovered in the same context, were published by the author in two earlier papers.\*\*\* This group of glass was possibly used for the windows of the private chambers of the elite. Reference is also made to three archaeometry studies that helped in establishing the material properties of the glass finds.

**Keywords:** Seljuk Palace, Citadel of Alanya, window glass, Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I

## Öz

Makalede Alanya İç Kalesi'nde Selçuklu Sultanı I. Alaaddin Keykubat'ın inşa ettirdiği Saray'ın kazıları kapsamında bulunan pencere camları değerlendirilmektedir. Saray, yaklaşık 1221-1223 tarihleri arasında inşa edilmiş, 1246 yılına kadar kullanılmıştır. Bu iki tarih sözü edilen camların kullanıldıkları zaman dilimini belirtirken, üretim tarihlerini açıklamamaktadır. Camlar, kazıların 1985-1992 yılları arasında, Prof. Dr. Oluş Arık ve ekibi tarafından gerçekleştirilen ilk dönemi sırasında çıkarılmıştır. Kazıda, aynı mekânlarda bulunan düğümlü camlar ve lüks cam olarak tanınan mineli camlardan oluşan günlük kullanım grubu, iki ayrı makalede yazar tarafından yayımlanmıştır. Bu yazıda ele alınan pencere camları, büyük olasılıkla, seçkinlerin kişisel odalarının pencereleğinde yer alıyordu. Yazıda, camları arkeometrik yöntemlerle çalışan ve değerlendiren iki yüksek lisans tezine ve bilimsel bir rapora da atıf yapılmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Selçuklu Sarayı, Alanya Kalesi, pencere camı, I. Alaaddin Keykubat

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\*\* The glass mentioned in this article covers those studied between 2002-2005 when I participated in the excavations of the Alanya Seljuk Palace. During the period between 1985-1992, this group of glass, *in situ* or fragmentary, together with wall tiles, frescoes, ceramics and metal were also recovered from different spaces which were documented and studied by other members of the excavation. Some restitution practises of the original plan and the preserved state of the Palace were also made. The excavations by Arık continued until 2009 in other spaces around the Palace grounds, and new glass fragments were recovered. But these were not studied either by the author or anyone else. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. O. Arık for giving me the opportunity and consent to study the glass finds and publish my reports. My special thanks are to Prof. Dr. Kenan Bilici, Asst. Prof. Dr. Leyla Yılmaz, and Asst. Prof. Dr. Sema Bilici for their hospitality during my several study visits to Alanya and the excavation.

\*\*\* Bakirer 2009, 2014.

## Introduction

Alanya was a small fortified port town on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey situated at the edge of the gradually descending southern slopes of the Taurus Mountains. It is east of Antalya, the larger and better known port of this region since early times. Before its conquest by the Seljuks, Alanya changed hands several times over the centuries, and this is reflected in the changes made to its name. It was first known in Latin as *Coracesium* or in Greek as *Korakesion* (“point/protruding city”). Sailors called this mountaneous port *Kalonoros* (“beautiful mountain”), which was also used under Byzantine rule. This name continued in a variety of formats like Candelor, Scandelore and Galanorum among the Venetians, Genoese and Cypriot sailors.<sup>1</sup> When the town was conquered by the Seljuks during the reign of Sultan ‘Alā’-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (1219-1237) in 1220, the sultan renamed it as *Alā’iyya* after his own name, in commemoration of his first conquest after becoming the Seljuk Sultan.<sup>2</sup>

The history of Alanya is sometimes obscure but at other times lively and exciting. The earliest narratives concerning its history go back to Hellenistic times. In the 2nd century BC when the city suffered from attacks coming from different directions, a defensive city wall was constructed in the middle sector.<sup>3</sup> In the years that followed until the Middle Ages, this wall was restored several times and/or additions were made. According to Redford, “remains of Hellenistic fortifications are evident on the crest of the castle rock and they survive along the eastern, northern and western sides enough to indicate that the entire top of the castle rock was fortified then, with a land-ward citadel erected at the site of the present day Ehmedek. The date of these fortifications could be between the late 4th and the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.”<sup>4</sup> During the excavations of 1985 and 1986, Hellenistic and Roman occupation levels were confirmed on the citadel area by the discovery of coins and ceramics from these periods.<sup>5</sup>

Like many Mediterranean towns during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., Roman rule brought prosperity to Alanya. During this period the city must have been embellished with monumental buildings built with local limestone, which were used for religious and official functions. Few examples of these constructions have survived, but there are fragmental remains both in the museum and inserted on buildings of later centuries where they are reused as spolia.<sup>6</sup>

The Byzantine era that followed was not as productive as the previous one. Excavations have revealed that there was a larger, three-aisled basilica inside the inner citadel, possibly dated to the 5th-6th centuries. However, after the shrinking of the settlement because of the Arab and Persian wars in the post-Justinianic period and the decline in trade, the earlier large

<sup>1</sup> Korakesion is first mentioned in the 4th century BC by the ancient geographer Scylax. In this period the region was under the rule of the Persian Empire, which occupied a large portion of Anatolia. Later, writers as Strabo, Piri Reis, Seyyep, Ibn-i Battuta and Evliya Çelebi visited the region and wrote brief descriptions. See Anık 1986, esp. 335-36.

<sup>2</sup> During the antique period, it was named *Korakesion* (*Coracesium*), a settlement on the rock bed with a strong natural defense. The early history and foundation of Alanya is obscure. Byzantine *Kalonoros* is also largely unknown. According to Bilici, the inner citadel was used as an acropolis from the Hellenistic period onward. However, the area which now houses the small chapel, the so-called Church of Saint George, was the most notable locality during the Byzantine period (6th-10th cent.). Bilici unpublished report, 6-7. See also Lloyd and Rice 1958, 1-3; Anık 1986; Konyalı 1946, 16; Baykara 1988; Redford 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Excavation finds have shown that this wall was constructed with large blocks of stone without mortar; see Lloyd and Rice 1958, 3-4; Anık 1986, 336-37.

<sup>4</sup> Redford 2000, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Anık 1987, 368-70; 1988a; Bilici unpublished report, 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> Marble capitals, sarcophagi, granite column shafts in the museum, carved stones reused on later buildings, and the remains of irrigation systems are cited as evidence of Roman rule; see Redford 2000, 8-11.



basilica was replaced by the small domed chapel, the so-called Church of Saint George, in the 11th century. The area was the most notable locality during the Byzantine period, between the 6th and the 10th centuries. It is assumed that the walls with the circular towers, which extend in an east-west direction and divide the settlement into two sections, were possibly constructed during the Byzantine period to defend the town which had lost its population during the Arab and Persian raids.<sup>7</sup>

In the early 13th century, when 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I (1220-1237) became sultan of the Seljuks, the aim of his military campaign was to extend Seljuk dominion to the south along the Mediterranean coast. Around 1199 Alanya was ruled by Kir Varte, a Greek or Armenian local ruler, mentioned as the prince of Kalonoros, the grandson of the greatest Armenian Lord of the kingdom, Sire Adam.<sup>8</sup> Over two decades later, after several attempts and negotiations, in 1221 Kir Varte surrendered to Seljuk Sultan Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, married his daughter to him, and joined the Seljuk hierarchy by accepting an appanage at Akşehir near Konya.<sup>9</sup> Kay-Qubād renamed the city as *Alā'iyya* after himself in honor of his first conquest as Sultan. His vision was "to remake Alanya a fortified port by linking the fortresses on the top of the castle rock to the harbour below, by means of walls extending to or very near to the sea, along the entire eastern slope of the castle rock".<sup>10</sup> Kay-Qubād gave orders to his emirs for the reconstruction of the town and to construct a palace on the southeast corner of the inner citadel.

### Construction History of the Palace (figs. 1, 2)

As the construction of the Palace was ordered immediately after the conquest, the initial date for the start of building activities is accepted as 1221.<sup>11</sup> For the location, the southeastern side of the inner citadel was chosen, an area which contained debris left from earlier buildings constructed on the same spot but that had collapsed over time.<sup>12</sup> Excavations have revealed that, perhaps to complete the construction in a short time, building materials were taken from this debris and reused. The date of the palace is supported by an inscription written on a wall tile recovered in small fragments during the 1986 excavation campaign.<sup>13</sup> The fragments were collected from the foundations of a room identified as the throne room, once located on the XI, XJ, XII, XIJ excavation grids, together with fragments of luster painted and plain blue wall tiles. The shards were restored as an eight-pointed star with an inscription within a circle at the center. The excavators assumed that this star-shaped tile was inserted on the southeast

<sup>7</sup> Anık 1986, 335-37 and Redford 2000, 13-15, mention the shrinking of the settlement, its causes, and the replacement of the earlier large basilica with the small domed church in the 11th century; see Bilici unpublished report, 6-7.

<sup>8</sup> Cahen 1968, 133; Baykara 1988, 10.

<sup>9</sup> Anık 1986, 336; Lloyd and Rice 1958, 4-6; Konyalı 1946, 65; Cahen 1968, 133; Redford 2000, 22-23.

<sup>10</sup> Redford 2000, 26. Although 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I is said to have actively taken part in the development and renewal of nineteen cities during his reign, this is the only one that carries his name. It is assumed that the reason is because Alanya is the first city conquered after he became the Rum Seljuk Sultan. The city walls were built as part of a conscious design to go through Ehmedek, İnce Kale, Adam Atacağı, Cilvarda Cape, Arap Evliyası Bastion, and East Bastion, down to Tophane and Tersane, and ending in Kızılkuale. The inner citadel has 83 towers and 140 bastions. To provide water for the city, which was contained within the city walls during the Middle Ages, about 400 cisterns were built. The Arsenal, and Red Tower made Alanya an important seaport for western Mediterranean trade, particularly with Ayyubid Egypt and the Italian city-states. Seljuk rule saw the golden age of the city Alanya as a winter capital; see Şahbaz 2018, 81-92; Baykara, 1988, 10; Lloyd and Rice 1958, 4-6, fig. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Turan 1960, 298; Anık 1986, 337; 1993; Bilici 1997.

<sup>12</sup> Anık 1987.

<sup>13</sup> Bilici 1997.

wall of the rectangular room identified as the throne room and used in a composition together with the luster painted and blue tiles.<sup>14</sup> The titles of the sultan mentioned in this inscription read as follows: “Burhanu’s-sultan’l muazzam Şahenşâhu’l âzam Ala’ud-dunyâ ve’d-dîn ebûl-feth Keykubad bin Keyhüsrev”. According to Bilici, these attributes point to a certain time - 1219-1220 - during the reign of ‘Alâ’-al-Dîn Kay-Qubâd I when he used these titles.<sup>15</sup> It is well known that the Anatolian Seljuk Sultans used certain honorary and glorifying titles like “Burhan” or “Kasım” at certain instances during their reign. These titles are found both on dated and undated building inscriptions, and the dated ones help in dating the undated ones. Strong evidence for this assumption are the inscriptions on the north wall of the Alaaddin Mosque in Konya where Kay-Qubâd is praised with the same titles as Burhan es-Sultan. The date given is 1219-1220.<sup>16</sup> Thus, depending on the inscription on the tile, Bilici dates the initial phase of the palace construction, Rooms X-XV in Section A, and all the archaeological finds like wall tiles, ceramics, glass and others recovered in these rooms between 1221 as the starting date and 1223 as the terminus.<sup>17</sup>

According to the 13th-century Seljuk historian Ibn Bibi, ‘Alâ’-al-Dîn Kay-Qubâd I used the Alanya Palace as a winter residence and stayed there for short periods during the winter months.<sup>18</sup> He mentions several instances when the Sultan travelled from the Keykubadiye Palace near Kayseri to Antalya where he stayed for a month and then continued to the Alanya Palace, where he stayed for another month or more. The same writer remarks on the visit of a foreign envoy of Khwarizm emirs in 1229 and comments on how astonished they were at the grandeur and richness of the palace and “the sultan receiving them, seated on a throne, studded with precious jewels, they then bowed with respect”.<sup>19</sup> After the construction of his better known Kubadabad Palace near the southwest shores of Lake Beyşehir, the routine was slightly altered, and Kay-Qubâd I left Alanya in the spring and travelled to Kubadabad for the summer months.<sup>20</sup> The palace at Kubadabad is also undated, but depending on an inscription and on dendrochronological investigations, it is assigned between 1231-1235.<sup>21</sup> Evaluating and comparing the style of the wall tiles, Öney gives the same succession for the construction of Kay-Qubâd’s several palaces and claims that the small pavilion in front of the Alaaddin Mosque in Konya (Konya Köşkü) was the first one. The palace at Akşehir, which is close to the Konya palace, was built as a hunting lodge. Following this, the winter palaces in Antalya and Alanya were constructed and finally the Kubadabad Palace, the summer palace in Beyşehir with all its grandeur, glorifying the power of the Sultan with the magnificent tiles on the walls.<sup>22</sup>

After the sudden death of Kay Qubâd I in 1237, Ghiyâth ad-Din Khūsraw II, his eldest son in line but not the one chosen first in succession, ascended the Seljuk throne. He did this

<sup>14</sup> Arık 1987, gives detailed information for the wall tiles recovered during the 1986 and 1987 seasons. Also see Yılmaz 2000, 2001; Öney 1978, 102; Arık 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Bilici 1997.

<sup>16</sup> For the inscription on the north wall of the Alaaddin Mosque in Konya, see Duran 2006; 2001, 22, 43, no. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Bilici 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Bibi, *Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, 81; Ibn Bibi, *Anadolu Selçukî Devleti*, 194-95.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Bibi, *Evamirü’l-Ala’iye*, 81.

<sup>20</sup> Otto-Dorn and Önder 1966; Otto-Dorn 1969, figs. 1-3.

<sup>21</sup> The inscription inserted on the mosque located in nearby Pınarbaşı village gives the date H. 633/AD 1235-1236. This date is supported by dendrochronological investigations; see Kuniholm 2000, 127, no. 43. Dating depends on thirteen juniper pilings that came from the north end of the building.

<sup>22</sup> Arık 2000; Öney 2005.

instead of his brother Kılıç Aslan with the help of the local emirs and the Khwarizm emirs.<sup>23</sup> Khūsraw ruled between 1237 and 1246 and, like his father, made use of both the Alanya and Kubadabad palaces. He is considered responsible for the additions or renewals on the north side of the palace complex, identified in this study as Section B (fig. 2). The open courtyard and the rooms lined on its sides - Rooms III to V on the west wing and Rooms VI to VIII on the east wing - are attributed to the refurbishment of his time between 1237-1247.<sup>24</sup> Mention is made that especially after the Mongol invasion of 1243, Kay Khūsraw II spent most of his time until his death in this palace. The Alanya Palace was abandoned, perhaps not immediately after the Mongol attacks, but definitely after his death in 1246. Thus the glass finds unearthed in the rooms on the east wing of Section B must have been in use during the reign of Kay Khūsraw II.

The Seljuk Empire suffered from the first Mongol attack in 1243, which was followed by a second one that ended with invasion in 1271.<sup>25</sup> Small principalities were established, and in 1293 Alanya fell under the control of the Karamanid principality. About 200 years later, the Karamanids sold Alanya to the Mamlūk sultan for 5000 gold pieces. Until the Ottoman conquest it was ruled by the local Alaiyye princes in the name of the Mamlūk Sultans. The Ottoman sultan Mehmed II conquered Alanya in 1471. Bilici, referring to 15th-17th century sources and Portolan maps as evidence, claims that in later centuries certain sections of the palace were perhaps still in use. However, the inner citadel and the palace no longer exhibited their enchanting 13th-century splendor and had started to fall into ruins.<sup>26</sup>

### Excavations and Glass Finds at Alanya Palace: 1985-1992

As mentioned above, the first excavation activities at the Alanya Palace were conducted by Oluş Arık and his team between 1985 and 1992. During the 2002-2005 summer campaigns, I participated in the excavation and studied the limited number of selected glass fragments that were documented earlier, with brief catalogue entries and drawings done by the members of the excavation team.<sup>27</sup> These were close to a hundred fragments comprising a group from vessels, like bottles, drinking glass and beakers, a group from window panes, and a few bracelets and beads for personal adornment.<sup>28</sup> The rest of the fragments, those not documented, were only photographed in groups. Therefore an in-depth statistical study on number, type and other attributes was not made.

At the beginning of the excavations in 1985, the palace was found to be in a bad state of preservation, making it hard to define the stratigraphic layers. During the Mongol attacks starting in 1243, the palace began to fall into ruins. The upper levels of the living spaces had collapsed. Small finds were broken into minute pieces, scattered, mixed or covered with debris. What was excavated, after the removal of the debris, brought to light the original remains of the 13th-century context. The original bricks, wall paintings, wall tiles, glazed ceramic ware, and glass were all dispersed in diverse rooms and levels. During the 1985 season, the present

<sup>23</sup> Turan 1955, 620; Cahen 1968, 130; Kaymaz 2009, 25-38.

<sup>24</sup> Bilici unpublished report, 6-7.

<sup>25</sup> Eser 1998, mentions of this date as 1245.

<sup>26</sup> Arık, 1986, 335-37; Konyalı 1946, 65; Bilici unpublished report, 6-7.

<sup>27</sup> This preliminary documentation was made by the then three young members of the Department of Art History in Ankara University, Dr. Z. Kenan Bilici, Dr. Rüstem Bozer and Dr. Bozkurt Ersoy.

<sup>28</sup> Bakırer 2009, 2014. Only the few beads and bracelets were not studied.

state of preservation with the foundations and remaining walls were interpreted and original plan was restituted (figs. 1-2).<sup>29</sup> In the 1986, 1987 and 1988 campaigns the recovery of the architectural remains and the discovery of more finds helped in the recognition of the possible functions of the rooms.

According to the plan, the palace is located behind the main entrance of the Inner Citadel, with a north-south orientation on a rectangular layout. The entrance was placed on the short, north side. It measures around 50 meters in length; 20 meters in width on the north end, 30 meters on the south end. This irregularity is because the building is composed of two sections built in two different construction phases. To follow the descriptions easier in this study, these two sections are marked as A and B on the plan and will be referred to in the same manner below (fig. 2).

Section A on the south end measures around 40x30 meters and appears more destroyed from the collapse. There are only a few identified spaces on the east and south wings, and only vague remains of the foundations on the west wing. The excavation team suggested some hypothetical restorations for Section A: an open courtyard, surrounding arcade on three sides, and rooms opening to the arcade. The space jutting out from the center of the east wall, Room X, has been identified as a tower that was part of the earlier, Byzantine-period citadel wall that surrounds the palace on the south (fig. 1).

Arık and Bilici claimed that the tower, Room X, was remodeled by Kay-Qubād I, but they could not estimate its new function after the remodeling. Rooms XI and XII are claimed to be for water storage, as there was a scarcity of water on top of the hill. After these three spaces, namely X, XI, XII, the east wall meets another tower, now Room XIII, at the southeast corner of the citadel wall. Bilici assigns the date of these renewals to the first building period, 1221-1223, using as evidence the inscribed wall tile found in one of the palace rooms.<sup>30</sup> Adjacent to Room XIII on the north wall are two more small spaces, Rooms XIV and XV.<sup>31</sup>

Room XIII (fig. 2) is identified as a tower of the Byzantine fortifications. It is claimed that this room was refunctioned for the personal use of Kay-Qubād I. The window opening on the joint wall with the adjacent Room XIV was enlarged as a door, which made it possible to refunction Room XIV as a service space attached to the private chamber of the Sultan. The excavators have assumed that there was also an elevated kiosk - an upper level on Room XIII - perhaps constructed with lighter materials like timber and top windows with colored glass insets. During the collapse, this elevated room fell over Rooms XIII and XIV below. All the contents were turned upside down, therefore fragments from window panes were recovered in both rooms, even though Room XIV, as a service space, may not have had glazed windows. The renovation date, 1221-1223, can be taken as evidence for the date when the finds like wall tiles, pottery, window glass and functional glass began to be used, following the completion of the construction. The fragments from the window panes recovered in Room XIII consist of both rim and center pieces with their estimated diameters as follows:

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<sup>29</sup> Arık 1986, plans 3-4; 1987, fig. 1; 1993, plan 1. The glass mentioned in this article comes from this first period of the excavations; see Arık 1993.

<sup>30</sup> Bilici 1997, 87.

<sup>31</sup> Bilici unpublished report, 6, mentions the necessity for further excavation and research in order to determine the relation of the rooms to the small finds.

Rim fragments:

Cat. no. R8, 87-XIII-362: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 17.9 cm.

Cat. no. R9, 87-XIII-409a: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 17 cm.

Below two joining rim fragments:

Cat. no. R10a, 87-XIII-407a: dark purple, est. dia. 12-13 cm.

Cat. no. R10b, 87-XIII-407b: dark purple, est. dia. 12-13 cm.

Center fragments:

Cat. no. C4, 87-XIII-475: light purple, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C5, 87-XIII-433: honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C6, 87-XIII-408: honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C7, 87-XIII-387: dark turquoise blue, est. dia.?

In Room XIV rim fragments, center fragments, both rim and center fragments:

Rim fragments:

Cat. no. R11, 87-XIV-42: light purple, est. dia. 17.9 cm.

Cat. no. R12, 87-XIV-42b: dark green? est. dia. 15.9 cm.

Cat. no. R13, 87-XIV-165: light honey yellow, est. dia. 23-24 cm.

Center fragment:

Cat. no. C8, 87-XIV-129: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

Rim & Center fragment: below three joining fragments, same pane:

Cat. no. R & C1a, 87-XIV-121: light green? est. dia. 20-21cm.

Cat. no. R & C1b, 87-XIV-124: light green? est. dia. 20-21cm.

Cat. no. R & C1c, 87-XIV-164: light green? est. dia. 20-21cm.

Below two joining fragments, same pane:

Cat. no. R & C2a, 87-XIV-125a: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 23-24 cm.

Cat. no. R & C2b, 87-XIV-125b: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 23-24 cm.

Section B, on the north wing, is a smaller rectangle than Section A, measuring around 15x20 m. (fig. 2). It is entered from the north wall where, in the original, there may have been an elaborate portal arrangement. Yet nothing is left today. This entrance gives access to a centrally placed open courtyard which is identified as a ceremonial hall with rooms lining both its west and east sides. The remaining foundations of these rooms have been named by the excavators as Rooms III to V on the west and Rooms VI to VIII on the east. Bilici, depending on the construction seam noticed on the exterior face of the east wall, dates these spaces to the addition and renovation project made for Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kay Khūsraw II (1237-1246), after his ascension to the throne. Rooms VII and VIII were remodeled and refurnished for his private use, which he used until his death.<sup>32</sup> Arık believes that Room VIII - with the remains of frescoes on its walls, the finely laid bricks on the floor, and the remains of a small pond at the center - may

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<sup>32</sup> Bilici unpublished report, 10-12.

have been designed as a private chamber for Kay Khūsraw II. This was again topped by an elevated kiosk constructed with lighter materials.<sup>33</sup> The adjacent Room VI has been identified as a service space and Room VII as a storage area. Rooms VII and VIII have yielded the largest number of fragments from functional glass and window panes. Thus it is possible to make a similar assumption and claim that, like in Section A during the collapse, the kiosk fell over the lower rooms and dislocated the glass finds.

The rim and center fragments recovered in Room VIII are as follows:

Rim fragments:

Cat. no. R1, 87-VIII-51: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 14.5 cm.

Cat. no. R2, 89-VIII-1: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 16-17 cm.

Cat. no. R3, 89-VIII-2: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 16-17 cm.

Cat. no. R4, 89-VIII-3: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 16-17 cm.

Cat. no. R5, 95-VIII-1: dark purple, est. dia. 16-17 cm.

Cat. no. R6, 95-VIII-2: light honey yellow, est. dia. 19-20 cm.

Cat. no. R7, 95-VIII-3: light purple, est. dia. 19 cm.

Center fragments: 7 joining fragments from one pane and with honeycomb-patterned surface

Cat. no. C2a, 88-VIII-a: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C2b, 88-VIII-b: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C2c, 88-VIII-c: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C2d, 88-VIII-d: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C2e, 88-VIII-e: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C2f, 88-VIII-f: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C2g, 88-VIII-g: dark honey yellow, est. dia.?

2 joining fragments from a second pane with honeycomb-patterned surface

Cat. no. C3a, 92-VIII-a: dark turquoise blue, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C3b, 92-VIII-b: dark turquoise blue, est. dia.?

From the adjacent Room VII two joining fragments were recovered. These are perhaps remains from a single top window, or the rest were broken into such small pieces that they could not be recovered from the debris.

Center fragments:

Cat. no. C1a, 89-VII-213a: light honey yellow, est. dia.?

Cat. no. C1b, 89-VII-213b: light honey yellow, est. dia.?

One last location where fragments of crown glass were recovered is not associated with a living space. This is Grid XI-J in the courtyard in front Room XV, which is the space identified as the throne room. It is possible that the fragments recovered in this location were carried out from one of the living spaces during the collapse. The fragments are as follows:

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<sup>33</sup> Anik 1988b, 137-38; 1993, 17.



Cat. no. R15, 87-XI-J-257a: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 13-14 cm.

Cat. no. R16, 87-XI-J-257b: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 13-14 cm.

Cat. no. R17, 87-XI-J-86: dark honey yellow, est. dia. 17-18 cm.

Cat. no. R16, 87-XI-J-87: dark turquoise blue, est. dia. 13-14 cm.

## Glass: Form and Size

The physical handicaps, like the dilapidated state of the palace grounds and rooms, do not give an accurate picture of the embellished medieval construction with its windows decorated by colored glass panes and the functional glass utilized in the same spaces. In addition, the physical condition of the glass fragments are also not so helpful to make attributions for the type, color and quality of the material. Misuse, neglect and weathering have affected the material properties and surface condition of the glass, which was at times damaged and at other times almost completely vanished due to standing in a humid atmosphere for centuries.

In the above-mentioned rooms, altogether only 33 small glass fragments were documented from window panes. Although as mentioned earlier, many more must have been retrieved from the debris that covered the floors but were not documented. This was perhaps because their size and shape did not give enough data to record. A considerable number of those recovered are single fragments, while a few are two adjoining fragments like: Cat. nos. R10a, R10b; Cat. nos. R&C2a, R&C2b; Cat. no. C1a, 1b; Cat. no. C3a, 3b; Cat. nos. RXI J-257a, RXI J-257b. There is one example with three adjoining fragments like: Cat. nos. R&C1a, R&C1b, R&C1c, and one example with seven fragments from the same pane like: Cat. nos. C2a-C2g. All fragments are from circular panes produced in the crown technique.<sup>34</sup> Crown glass was common during the Medieval period, and it was also recovered in other Byzantine and Seljuk-period excavations in Anatolia. As will be discussed below, the closest parallels to those from Alanya are from the Kubadabad Palace, and contemporaneous examples are from the middle Byzantine settlements like Sardis, Amorium, Demre and Kuşadası/Anaia.

In this study, the window glass fragments are classified in three groups: 1) Rim fragments, small shards from the flat or turned-over edge; 2) Center fragments, larger and thicker ones close to the center around the bull's eye; and 3) Rim & Center fragments which contain data both for the shape of the rim and the center.

Rim fragments are usually very small pieces from the edge of the crown but still make it possible to determine their diameters and to distinguish differences in the fold of the edge (figs. 4-7) (Cat. nos. R1-R15). Two different types are distinguished:

- 1) Rims with folded edge, the fold is tubular and hollow, the edge has a rounded profile. The edge of the fold is lightly pressed with a tool, to close its end. The width of the fold is mostly 0.6-0.7 cm., rarely narrower 0.5 cm (fig. 5).
- 2) Rims with folded edge, the fold is tightly pressed with a tool, edge has flat profile. The width is around 0.5-0.6 cm.

<sup>34</sup> Crown glass was an early type of window glass. In this process, glass was first blown into a hollow globe; the globe was then revolved in the same direction and reheated. By reheating and spinning, the diameter was enlarged. The hollow globe was then transferred from the blowpipe to a noble and spun to form a large, nearly flat circular disc. If not spun too much, a thick area was left at the center where the pontil left a mark - the bull's eye. The thinnest glass was the rim at the edge of the disk, with the glass becoming thicker and more opaque toward the center. See Harden 1939, 91; 1971, 82-83.

Although small, the rim fragments may give some indication for the diameters of the crown glass units. Accordingly, the estimated average diameters vary between 12-17 cm., with 23-24 cm. the largest.

Center fragments are only 14 (Cat. nos. C1-C7). Cat. no. C1 comprises 7 adjoining small fragments, and C2 has two adjoining fragments, the rest are single. These are usually larger sized shards in comparison to the rim fragments and vary in their sizes like: 8.2 x 8.7; 5.4 x 3.2; 4.6 x 4.7; 3.5 x 5.2; 2.5-3.0 cm. Their thicknesses vary between 0.1-0.4 cm close to the rim and between 0.3-0.6-0.8 cm. close to the center, where the bull's eye is seldom left in place. This difference in thickness might be one of the reasons why the crown glass units are broken into separate rim and center pieces, and only rarely a fragment might still contain both. Even though in some fragments the spinning lines are deep since the rim is missing, it is still not possible to estimate the diameter of the original crown (figs. 3, 8-11).

The Rim & Center group has only 5 fragments, from two crown units where both part of the rim and the center are attached: Cat. no. R&C1 and Cat. no. R&C2. Cat. no. R&C1 has three adjoining fragments, one close to the center and two from the rim which altogether give the estimated diameter as 20-21 cm. This also makes it possible to estimate the form of the crown unit. R&C 2 has two adjoining fragments, and therefore here too the diameter of the crown can be estimated as 23-24 cm.

A comparative study can be made with other medieval sites in Anatolia where window glass was excavated to see the place of the Alanya finds. The forms and sizes can be compared, first with those recovered in the Kubadabad Palace, the second palace of 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, constructed a decade later and the closest example to the Alanya finds. In Kubadabad among the collection of window glass fragments, the largest number are shards from crown glass units. The diameters of these fragments are estimated by Uysal between 17.7-24.2 cm., with the most common between 20-22 cm. They are classified in four groups according to the forms of their rims, as folded hollow, rounded, upturned and straight.<sup>35</sup> From among the medieval Byzantine sites in Anatolia, the first excavation where medieval window glass was reported was Sardis. There they were recovered in the Byzantine shops, confirming that they were regular objects purchased in the market. A. von Saldern has considered these as local productions and assigned their date to the middle Byzantine period, the 13th century.<sup>36</sup>

Several parallels can be pointed out from other Byzantine excavations, most of which were recovered close to the foundations of churches. This suggests that glazing was perhaps a customary practice in religious buildings, not only in Istanbul (Constantinople) but also in the provinces.<sup>37</sup> The finds at Amorium, dated between the 9th-13th centuries, show a variety at their rims. They are classified by Gill as: folded hollow, folded tubular, folded and compressed, broad compressed fold, narrow fold and return.<sup>38</sup> Their estimated diameters are between 10-24 cm, more commonly 18-20 cm. At another Byzantine site - the Basilica of St. Nicholas at Demre dated between the 9th and 13th centuries - a large collection of window glass fragments produced in different techniques were recovered.<sup>39</sup> Among them, crown glass predominates in

<sup>35</sup> Uysal 2013, 127-28.

<sup>36</sup> von Saldern 1962. No data is recorded for the shape and sizes of the crown glass recovered in the Byzantine shops.

<sup>37</sup> Meyer 1989.

<sup>38</sup> Gill 2002, 101-3, 225-28, figs. 1/32, 2/41, 2/42, 2/43.

<sup>39</sup> Olcay 1997, 359-485; 2000; Acara and Olcay 1997; Çömezoğlu 2007, 145-54, 225-85; Olcay Uçkan and Çömezoğlu Uzbek 2018.

two varieties, both with folded rims. Some are almost flat cylindrical paraisons; others are not flat and the bullion at the center is not completely opened by spinning. Therefore the crown unit is thicker and has a bowl shape. The diameters of both types vary between 15-22 cm. The crown glass fragments recovered at another Byzantine site - Kadıkalesi/Anaia near Kuşadası, İzmir - have a larger diameter. Their estimated sizes are between 17-27 cm., and the most common is 22-26 cm.<sup>40</sup>

These above-mentioned sites, although few, may be evaluated as evidence that in medieval Anatolia there is a relationship in the sizes of the crown glass units recovered at different sites.

Considering the sizes of the Alanya fragments, two questions are involved. One is the wide range of their diameters estimated according to rim finds: small ones 12-13 cm. and two largest ones 23-24 cm. Although the diameters show a variety, these fragments were recovered only in four spaces. Therefore one wonders where and how they were used. I assume that they were used for the windows, but Bilici supports a different hypothesis that depends on the moulded stucco fragments recovered in Rooms XIII and XIV, which he classified in three groups. However, only one group of the stucco fragments concern us here. According to Bilici:

“In the first group, stucco fragments are narrow bands that make 90° turns at the corners, suggesting that they may belong to a square panel, measuring 23x23 cm. and 2.7 cm. in thickness. There is a circular openings at the center. The inner boundary of this circle has a groove which could hold a crown glass unit, perhaps one with a diameter of 14 cm. With the repetition of this process several panels with glass insets were produced. The remains of mortar at the rear face of the stucco bands indicates that they were once attached on the wall. Perhaps the wall surface was covered with tiles in the star and cross composition and the panels with the glass were used on the top register as a border”.<sup>41</sup>

This assumption concerns only the units with a 14 cm. diameter, in which case they were set in a stucco frame placed as a dado over the tile revetment. To the best of my knowledge, this description does not correspond to any known example in Seljuk architecture. Therefore, I believe this assumption is pending for the moment, awaiting more examples to come, if any.

The variety in the diameters of the crowns brings to mind a second question: In what type of windows were they installed? We do not know the forms of the windows, but the upper windows in Seljuk architecture had an arched form which is proposed by Uysal for the windows in the palace of Kubadabad. In later examples, especially in Ottoman architecture, the top windows with arched profiles had round crown glass units installed.<sup>42</sup> However, in these there is no variety in the sizes; all are uniform. Therefore the variety in the sizes, which is also noticed in Kubadabad, Amorium and Demre, cannot be explained.

Another question is: How were they installed inside the windows? Did they use stone, metal or stucco frames? In previous years it was not possible to conjecture, but excavations in medieval sites, both Byzantine and Seljuk, have revealed that they were inserted in stone or stucco frames with square or circular openings. In the Kubadabad Palace, there is evidence coming from both the Great and the Small Palaces where broken fragments of stucco frames were recovered. These carried small rim fragments still attached to the grooved channels

<sup>40</sup> Coşkun 2013, esp. 201-2.

<sup>41</sup> Bilici 2010.

<sup>42</sup> Uysal 2013, 119, figs. 108-9; Bakırer 1990.

inside the circumference of the circular openings (fig. 2, XII).<sup>43</sup> We can now assume that in the Alanya Palace a similar technique was used, and crown glass units were organized in stucco frames with arched tops and installed inside the windows.<sup>44</sup>

In relation to the use of moulded stucco frames with glass insets, there is one example – the small masjid of Hoca Hasan in Konya, an early 13th century building. Fragments of a stucco frame were recovered during restorations in 1991 and restored as a top window with glass insets. This is an elaborate, arched window in moulded stucco. Its surface is arranged in an hexagonal network, and the centers of each hexagon have circular openings with carved channels inside the circumference for placing glass. Only a small piece of glass has survived *in situ* inside the channel of one of these openings, but it is enough as an evidence for their use.<sup>45</sup>

### Glass: Colors and Material Properties

No applied decoration or painting can be noticed on the surfaces of the crown glass units except the honeycomb texture observed on a few Center fragments (Cat. nos. C1-C3). The production of these must have been in two steps: first, mould-blown into a mould with honeycomb patterns in reverse and then free-blown (figs. 10-11). Comparative examples could not be recorded in other sites mentioned earlier.

The surfaces of the fragments are covered with a thick layer of iridescence, which makes it difficult to distinguish the colors as well as the spinning lines. The colors could be identified from areas where there was less iridescence on the glass. The colors of the crown glass panes have a limited range. The most common color is honey yellow with a greenish tinge. It has both light and dark hues, and altogether there are 24 fragments in this color: dark green (Munsell, 2.5Y 8/4-8.5/2; light green: Munsell, 10Y 8/2-8.5/2). It is interesting to note that in Rooms XIII and XIV from the 1221-1223 construction of 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād, this color predominates. In Room XIII, there are 11 fragments in honey yellow; 5 are dark honey yellow (Cat. nos. R8, R9, C8); 2 are medium honey yellow (Cat. nos. C5 and C6); the rest light. In Room XIV there are three fragments in dark honey yellow (Cat. nos. C8 and R&C 2a and 2b), and one in light honey yellow (R13). The rest of the 13 honey yellow fragments are from Rooms VIII and VII, the two spaces renovated in 1237 for Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Khūsraw II. There are 11 dark honey fragments (Cat. nos. R1-R5, C2a-C2g), and two light honey (Cat. nos. C1a, C1b) fragments in Room VII. The increase in the number of honey yellow fragments in Khūsraw II's room could be only a coincidence. But it is also possible that it points to a preference or availability of materials. Another group of the honey yellow shards that have a greenish tinge show a difference in their material properties. The surfaces reveal black spots and air bubbles, which suggest that inside the batch there were impurities that caused the black spots and the glass batch was not mixed thoroughly to discharge the air bubbles. The surfaces of the fragments in honey yellow have a thick layer of iridescence, but the same is not noticed so severely with

<sup>43</sup> The 1965 Kubadabad Palace excavation reports merely mention that fragments of stucco frames were recovered with small pieces of colored glass insets. Uysal and Açıoğlu have studied these fragments and have associated them with the glass finds recovered during the excavations after 1980. Both writers were able to propose that, in the original stucco frames with crown glass, insets were used in the windows of the palace. See Uysal 2013, 119; Açıoğlu 2014, fig. 8. Two shards from stucco window frames with remains of glass pieces were still inserted inside the circular openings. I am indebted to Açıoğlu for allowing me to publish his figure.

<sup>44</sup> Bilici 2010, gives detailed descriptions of the stucco fragments. However, he assigns these fragments to wall panels and cupboards and compares them with those found at Kubadabad Palace.

<sup>45</sup> Önge 1992; Bakırer 1999, figs. 1-4.

the turquoise blue and purple-colored fragments. This peculiarity might be related to the main compositional materials used for the batch or to the coloring agents.

The next color is purple for which there is one light purple and two dark purple fragments (Munsell, 2.5 RP 2/8). Dark purple fragments come from Room XIII; light purple from Room VIII. In Room XIII there are two; in Room VIII one turquoise blue; and in the square XI-J there is one turquoise blue fragment (Munsell, 10B 4/10-5/10). All 4 of the green fragments come from Room XIV. The three light green ones (Cat. nos. C1a-C1c) all belong to a single crown pane while one is dark green (Cat. no. R12). Purple, turquoise blue and green are colors that were popular also in Seljuk pottery and wall tiles, where they were used for painted decoration in underglaze colors or in glazes.

A wider and more varied color scheme is reported for the Kubadabad fragments. Different hues of purple, dark and light rose petal pink, blue, turquoise blue and navy blue, along with different hues of green, honey yellow and brown were recorded.<sup>46</sup> This variety has an association with the variety of colors used on the wall tiles that were recovered. Could we assume that the artisans who produced the tiles and those who produced the window glass were in contact and perhaps exchanged raw materials, especially the coloring oxides? At Kadikalesi/Anaia, the recorded color range of the window glass is also varied with light and dark green, olive green, yellow-green, light blue, dark pinkish-purple, dark brown and red-brown.<sup>47</sup> However, at Amorium the color palette is not so varied; only yellowish green, bluish green and colorless fragments predominate.<sup>48</sup>

The material properties of the Alanya Palace glass finds were studied by two archaeometry students, U.B. Aksoy<sup>49</sup> and E. Beşer,<sup>50</sup> as their MSc Thesis at Middle East Technical University, Department of Archaeometry. A third study is the report presented to the Archaeometry seminar and published by Demirci and Bakırer in 2009.<sup>51</sup> These studies are comprised of analytical research conducted on a select number of fragments to identify the material properties of the glass. The results of these analytical studies are especially valuable in two respects. First, the glass studied turned out to be soda-lime-silica glass (Na<sub>2</sub>O: CaO: SiO<sub>2</sub>) of the type made with plant-ash as the source of alkali. Soda-lime-silica glass is mentioned as a common glass type in medieval Anatolia. Second, several of the analyzed fragments contained elevated levels of boron, another fingerprint in Anatolian glass. These properties were repeated with slight variations on the fragments studied, which point to common sources for the materials. In the other medieval Byzantine and Selçuk sites mentioned above, analytical studies on the materials have not been reported, thus comparisons could not be made.

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<sup>46</sup> Uysal 2013, 122-26, figs. 115-27.

<sup>47</sup> Coşkun 2013, 202.

<sup>48</sup> Gill 2002, 101-3, 225-28.

<sup>49</sup> Aksoy 2006: "The XRF and ICP-OES data reflect the typical composition of a soda-lime-silica glass with the average values of: 12.9% (Na<sub>2</sub>O); 7.7% (CaO); and 65.5% (SiO<sub>2</sub>). Samples were grouped by color as green, blue and purple. Color producing elements are Fe, Mn, Cu and Co". Elemental analysis of the samples were made using two methods: X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (XRF) and Inductively Coupled Plasma Optical Emission Spectrometry (ICP-OES) to determine major, minor and some trace elements.

<sup>50</sup> Beşer 2009.

<sup>51</sup> Demirci and Bakırer 2009. The composition of the silica-lime sofa glass is as follows: 63.0-65.3% SiO<sub>2</sub>; 8.5-13.2% Na<sub>2</sub>O; 1.3-2.2% K<sub>2</sub>O; and 5.6-8.8% CaO; 2% K<sub>2</sub>O and 1% MgO determine the use of plant ash. Coloring agents are the metallic oxides like Fe, Mn, Cu, Co, Ni and Cr. For general information, see Brill 2001, 35.

## Evaluation and Conclusion

This article has focused on the small collection of window glass fragments recovered during the excavations between 1985-1992 in the Seljuk Palace at Alanya. This 13th-century palace was constructed and then renovated within a short period of time. However, there is no stylistic or material difference in the vessel and the window glass recovered in the rooms of the elite. The study introduced the distinctive features of the crown glass fragments and discussed possible associations with similar glass recovered in other Byzantine and Seljuk sites of the same period. This assessment has revealed that the fragments have certain parallels in size and color to the crown glass fragments recovered in all these medieval sites. This was more so at Kubadabad, the second and slightly later palace of 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I. Especially the color assortment noticed in the window glass from Kubadabad is repeated here only in a modest range. The comparative study has made me assume that the Alanya fragments are not only few in number but also second best besides the Kubadabad ones.

However, the existence of the Alanya fragments is significant as they indicate an interest in window glass in the early 13th-century Seljuk palace architecture. To the best of my knowledge, in Seljuk Anatolia glazing the windows of official or domestic buildings, whether for need or for decorative reasons, was not a customary practice. The two palaces - first Alanya, then Kubadabad - present rare opportunities as the earliest royal examples. Is it possible to associate this trend with a special interest of the owners, Kay Qubād I and Khūsraw II? I am assuming this possibility because glass fragments were recovered in spaces identified as the private chambers of father and son (in chronological order: Rooms XIII, XIV, VIII, VII), and the service spaces adjacent to them. These rooms used by the two Sultans are also the spaces where fragments from special glass for everyday use like pruned and enameled beakers were recovered.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, the long discussion mentioning the findspots of the glass fragments may be taken as evidence for the interest of the owners in glasswork. We could mention a similar interest and preference for the Kubadabad palace, constructed by 'Alā'-al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I and also used by Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kay Khūsraw II, where all the rooms were glazed.<sup>53</sup>

In the Alanya Palace, the fragments from pruned and enamelled beakers recovered in the same rooms, and definitely utilized by the Sultans are in line with the luxury glass used for special occasions. These could be gifts presented to them. There is not much evidence whether the father received any glass objects as presents. However, for the son some indications make me assume that he was interested in enameled luxury glass. Perhaps on special occasions he received glass, especially enameled glass objects from neighboring countries. One of these special presents was the well-known "Kubadabad plate" already discussed elsewhere.<sup>54</sup>

The only other issue, not discussed above, is provenance. For the manufacture of the window glass, a workshop and furnace at one corner of the inner citadel might be a possibility. At Kubadabad, the discovery of some remains from foundations, along with a few tools associated with glass working, glass waste and scraps, have made the excavators consider "a glass workshop with a furnace, located close to the Little Palace".<sup>55</sup> At Alanya none of these were recovered, and the limited number of the finds, both window and vessel fragments, make me consider a place of manufacture outside the palace grounds, but where?

<sup>52</sup> I have discussed these beakers and their associations in my earlier publications; see Bakırer 2009, 2014.

<sup>53</sup> Uysal 2013, 152-53.

<sup>54</sup> Bakırer and Redford 2017. This plate may have been presented to Ghiyāth-al-Dīn Kay Khūsraw II as a wedding present in 1236.

<sup>55</sup> Uysal 2013, 152-53.



## Catalogue of the Window Glass

### Abbreviations

pre: preservation

est: estimated

L: length

W: width

Th: thickness

dia: diameter

### Rim Fragments

#### **Cat. No. R1**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 89-VIII-51

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: pre: Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.6 cm., pre: dia: 14.5 cm.

Description: four adjoining rim fragments, from the edge of the crown, they complete the circular folded rim, with the exception of a small section missing, ca. 1/5th of the rim. Folded hollow rim, dark honey yellow (Munsell: 5 Y 7/6). Free blown, turned, edge of rim pressed by tool.

Preservation: black spots, bubbles, shiny.

Date: medieval

#### **Cat. No. R2**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 89-VIII-1

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 4 cm., W: 2.4 cm., Th: 0.1 cm., fold: 0.6 cm., est dia: 17 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, dark honey yellow (Munsell: 2.5Y 7/12). Free blown, turned, edge of folded rim pressed by tool.

Preservation: bubbles, black spots, weathering, dull.

Date: medieval

#### **Cat. No. R3**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 89-VIII-2

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 2.3 cm., W: 1.2 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.6 cm., est dia: 16.5 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, edge of fold pressed by tool, rounded, dark green (Munsell: B5 6/3). Free blown, turned, tool worked.

Preservation: spinning lines, bubbles, black spots.

Date: medieval

#### **Cat. No. R4**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 89-VIII-3

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 2.8 cm., W: 0.9 cm., Th: 0.1 cm., fold: 0.7 cm., est dia: 16.5 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, rounded, edge of fold pressed by tool, dark turquoise blue (Munsell: 5B 6/3). Free blown, turned, tool worked.

Preservation: spinning lines, bubbles, black spots.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R5**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 95-VIII-1

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 4 cm., W: 2.4 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.6 cm., est dia: 17.3 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, edge of fold pressed by tool, dark purple (Munsell: 5P 8/2). Free blown, turned and tooled.

Preservation: spinning lines, bubbles, black spots, weathering, dull.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R6**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 95-VIII-2

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 2.3 cm., W: 1.4 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.5 cm., est dia: 19-20 cm.

Description: rim fragment, folded rim, edge of folded rim pressed by tool, pale honey yellow, green tinted (Munsell: 7.5Y 7/10, 5Y 7/6). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: spinning lines, bubbles, black spots, iridescence.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R7**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 95-VIII-3

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 5.7 cm., W: 2.2 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.6 cm., est dia: 19 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded, edge of fold pressed by tool, light purple (Munsell: 2.5RP 2/8). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: spinning lines, bubbles, black spots, light iridescence.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R8**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIII-362

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 4.8 cm., W: 1.5 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.6 cm., est dia: 17.3 cm.

Description: Rim fragment, hollow folded rim, edge of fold pressed by tool, dark honey yellow (Munsell: 5Y 7/10). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: spinning lines, bubbles, black spots, light iridescence.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R9**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIII-409

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 3 cm., W: 1.5 cm., Th: 0.1-0.2 cm., fold: 0.7 cm., est dia: 17 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, edge of fold pressed by tool dark, honey yellow (Munsell: 5Y 5/10 5/6). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, black spots, weathering.

Date: medieval

**Cat. Nos. R10a and R10b**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIII-407a and 407b

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIII

Dimensions: 407a: pre: L: 4.5 cm., W: 2.3 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.7 cm., 407b: pre: L: 1.5 cm., W: 1.7 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.7 cm., est dia: 12-13 cm.

Description: two rim fragments, folded rim, pressed by tool, dark purple (Munsell: 5P 8/2). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, black spots, thin layer of iridescence.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R11**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIV-42

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIV

Dimensions: pre: L: 3.4 cm., W: 1.2 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.5 cm., est dia: 17.9 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, light purple (Munsell: 2.5 RP 2/8). Free blown, edge of fold pressed by tool.

Preservation: heavy weathering, spinning lines and color barely identified.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R12**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIV-42b

Sector: Rm: XIV

Dimensions: pre: L: 4.4 cm., W: 1.6 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.5 cm., est dia: 15.6 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, dark green? hardly visible due to iridescence. Free blown, edge of fold pressed by tool.

Preservation: deep spinning lines? heavy weathering, color hardly identified.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R13**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIV-165

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIV

Dimensions: pre: L: 4.6 cm., W: 1.3 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.9 cm., est dia: 23-24 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, rounded, light honey yellow-greenish tint (Munsell: 7.5 Y 7/10, 5Y 7/6).

Preservation: spinning lines hardly visible, thick weathering, dull.

Date: medieval

**Cat. Nos. R14a and 14b**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XI J-257a and 257b

Sector: Courtyard, square XI J

Dimensions: 257a: pre: L: 4.6 cm., W: 2.3 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.7 cm., 257b: pre: L: 3.5cm., W: 1.3 cm., Th: 0.1 cm., fold: 0.7 cm., est dia: 13-14 cm.

Description: two adjoining rim fragments, hollow folded rim, edge of folded rim pressed by tool, dark navy blue (Munsell: 5PB 8/2 10/3). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: spinning lines, iridescence, dull.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R15**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XI J-86

Sector: Palace Courtyard, square XI J

Dimensions: pre: L: 2.4 cm., W: 1.3 cm., fold: 0.6 cm., est dia: 17-18 cm.

Description: rim fragment hollow folded rim, edge of folded rim pressed by tool, dark navy blue (Munsell: 5PB 8/2 10/3). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: spinning lines, iridescence, dull.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. R16**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XI J-87

Sector: Palace: Courtyard, square XI J

Dimensions: pre: L: 4.8 cm., W: 1.6 cm., Th: 0.1-0.3 cm., fold: 0.7 cm., est dia: 14.5 cm.

Description: rim fragment, hollow folded rim, edge of folded rim pressed by tool, dark blue (Munsell: 5B 6/3). Free blown, turned, tooled.

Preservation: spinning lines, thin iridescence layer, dull.

Date: medieval

### Center Fragments, with Honeycomb Surface Pattern

**Cat. Nos. C1a and C1b**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 89-VII-213a, 213b

Sector: Palace, Rm: VII

Dimensions: 213a: pre: L: 3.5 cm., W: 5.2 cm., Th: 0.1-0.2 cm., 213b: pre: L: 3.7 cm., W: 2.3 cm., Th: 0.1-0.2 cm., dia: cannot be estimated.

Description: two adjoining fragments, close to center, bull's eye, pontil mark, front face has honeycomb pattern in low relief. Light honey yellow, greenish tint (Munsell: 7.5 Y 7/10). Mould blown into a mould with honeycomb pattern, then free blown into a bubble and turned.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, weathering.

Date: medieval

**Cat. Nos. C2a, C2b, C2c, C2d, C2e, C2f, C2g**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 88-VIII a-g

Sector: Palace, Rm: VIII

Dimensions: a : pre: L: 5.4 cm., W: 5.9 cm., Th: 0.3-0.6 cm.

b : pre: L: 5.7 cm., W: 2.8 cm., Th: 0.2-0.6 cm.

c : pre: L: 3.9 cm., W: 3.0 cm., Th: 0.3-0.6 cm.

d : pre: L: 3.1 cm., W: 2.5 cm., Th: 0.3-0.6 cm.

e : pre: L: 3.0 cm., W: 1.1 cm., Th: 0.3-0.6 cm.

f : pre: L: 5.5 cm., W: 3.8 cm., Th: 0.2-0.5 cm.

g : pre: L: 3.0 cm., W: 2.2 cm., Th: 0.3-0.6 cm.

dia: unknown?

Description: seven fragments close to center, none of them is close to edge, therefore diameter cannot be estimated. Surface has honeycomb pattern, bull's eye, pontil mark, light honey yellow (Munsell: 2.5 Y 7/8). Mould-blown into a mould with honeycomb pattern, then free blown into a bubble and turned.

Preservation: spinning lines hardly visible, weathering, dull.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. C3**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIII-475

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 7.4 cm., W: 8.3 cm., Th: 0.3-0.4 cm., dia: unknown.

Description: fragment from center with part of bull's eye, pontil mark, honey yellow (Munsell: 5 Y 4/6-6/10). Free blown.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, light iridescence.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. C4**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIII-433

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 4.6 cm., W: 4.7 cm., Th: 0.2-0.5 cm., dia: unknown.

Description: fragment from center with part of bull's eye, pontil mark, honey yellow (Munsell: 2.5 Y 7/10). Free blown.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, weathering.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. C5**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIII-408

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 3.5 cm., W: 5.2 cm., Th: 0.2-0.4 cm., dia: unknown.

Description: fragment from center with part of bull's eye, pontil mark, honey yellow (Munsell: 2.5 Y 7/10). Free blown.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, weathering.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. C6**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIII-387

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIII

Dimensions: pre: L: 2.2 cm., W: 3.2 cm., Th: 0.3-0.6 cm., dia: unknown.

Description: fragment from center with part of bull's eye, pontil mark, dark turquoise blue opaque (Munsell: 5b 6/3). Free blown.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, weathering.

Date: medieval

**Cat. No. C7**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIV-129

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIV

Dimensions: pre: L: 2.6 cm., W: 4.8 cm., Th: 0.1-0.6 cm, dia: unknown.

Description: fragment from center with part of bull's eye, pontil mark, dark honey yellow (Munsell: 2.5 Y 7/8 6/10). Free blown.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, light weathering, dull.

Date: medieval

## Rim and Center Fragments

### **Cat. Nos. R & C1a, R & C1b and R & 1c**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 89-XIV-121, 124, 164

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIV

Dimensions: 121: pre: L: 5.4 cm., W: 3.2 cm., Th: 0.3-0.5 cm., fold: 0.4 cm.

124: pre: L: 7.1 cm., W: 3.8 cm., Th: 0.3-0.8 cm.

164: pre: L: 8.7 cm., W: 8.2 cm., Th: 0.3 cm., fold: 0.4 cm., est dia: 20-21 cm.

Description: three adjoining fragments, 124 close to center, bull's eye, pontil mark; 121 and 164 close to rim with folded rim, light green, hard to identify because of thick heavy weathering layer.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, iridescence.

Date: medieval

### **Cat. Nos. R & C2a, R & C2b**

Inv. No.: Alanya Palace, 87-XIV-125a and 125b

Sector: Palace, Rm: XIV

Dimensions: 125a pre: L: 5.1 cm., W: 2.1 cm., Th: 0.1-0.2 cm.

125b pre: L: 5.8 cm., W: 1.8 cm., Th: 0.1-0.6 cm., fold: 0.9 cm., est dia: 23-24 cm.

Description: 2 fragments from the same pane, 125a close to center with part of bull's eye, pontil mark, 125b has part of rim, edge pressed by tool, dark honey yellow (Munsell: 2.5 Y 7/8 6/10). Free blown and tooled.

Preservation: deep spinning lines, bubbles, light weathering, dull.

Date: medieval



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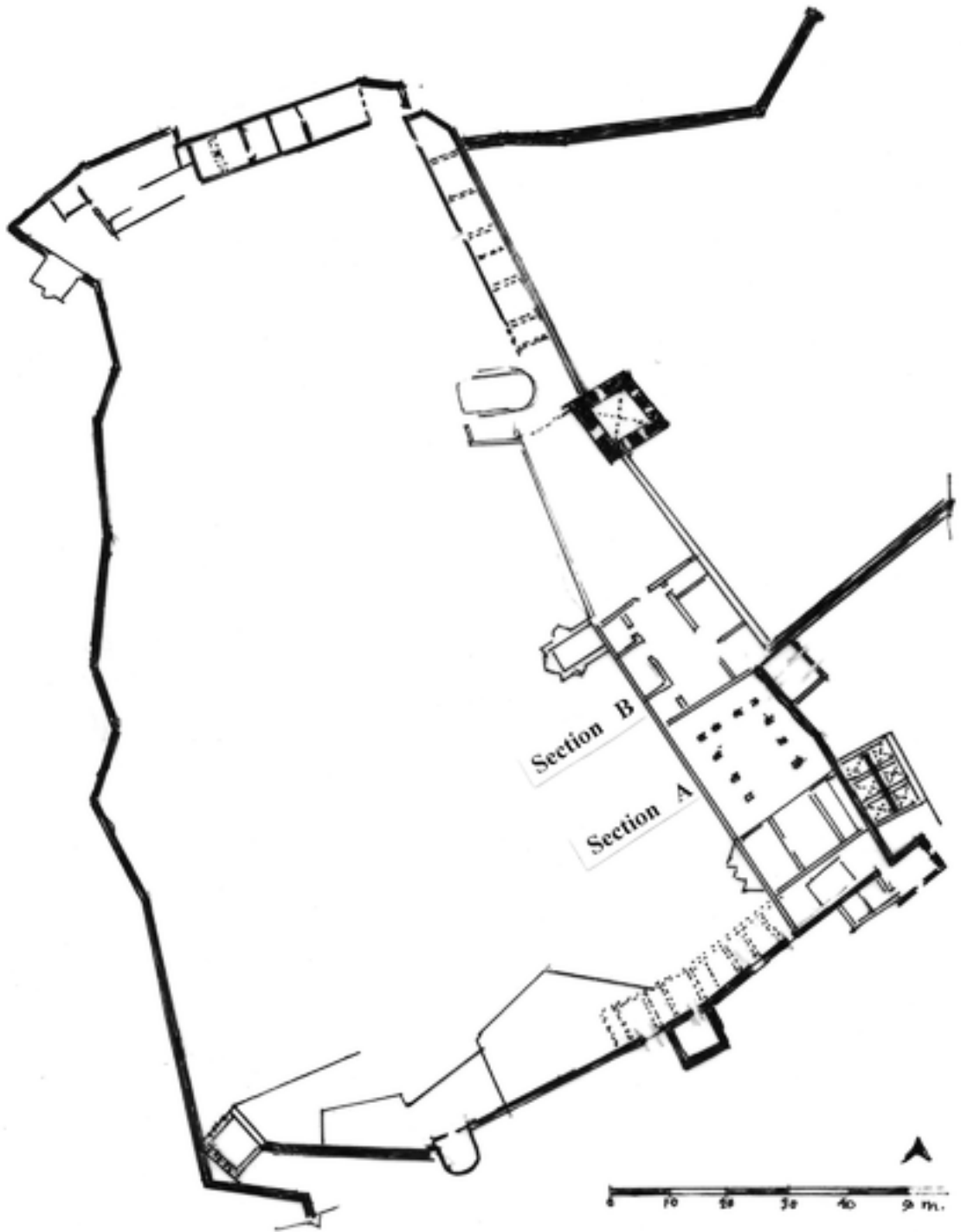


FIG. 1 Alanya, inner citadel, general plan  
(Redrawn by Ö. Bakırer, from Arık 1986, plan 3).

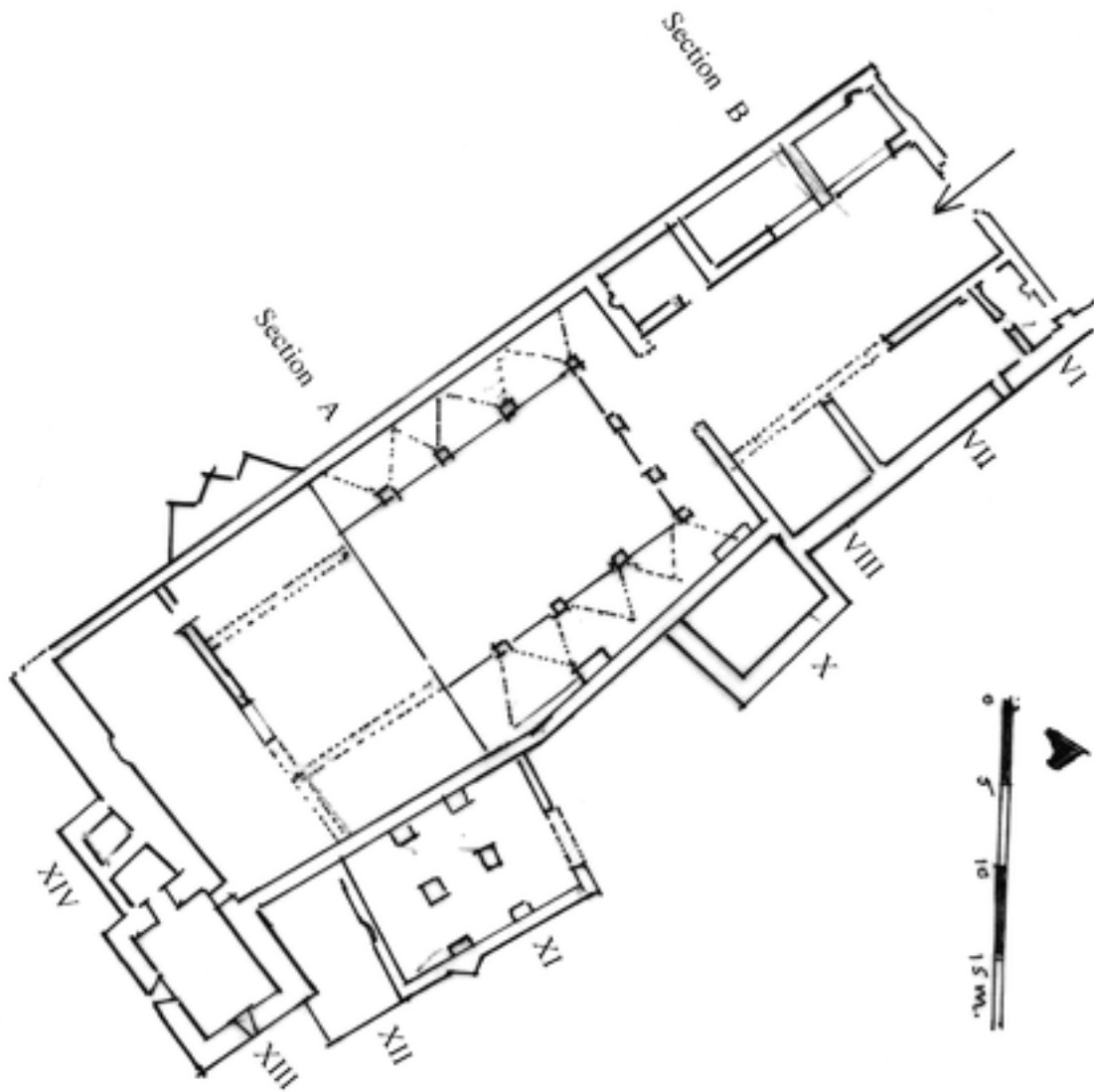


FIG. 2 Alanya, inner citadel, the Palace, plan (Redrawn Ö. Bakırer, from Arık 1986, plan 4).

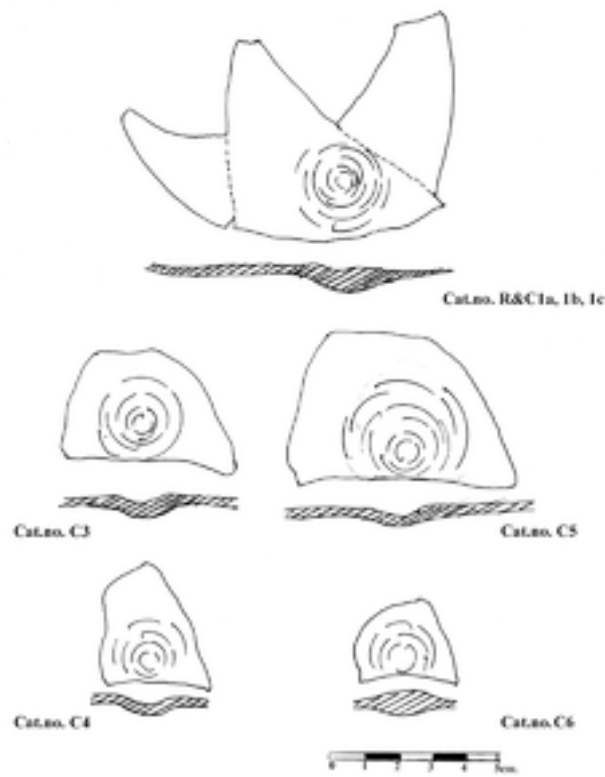


FIG. 3  
Window glass, drawing  
of some center fragments  
(Cat. nos. R&C1 a, b, c; C3-C6).

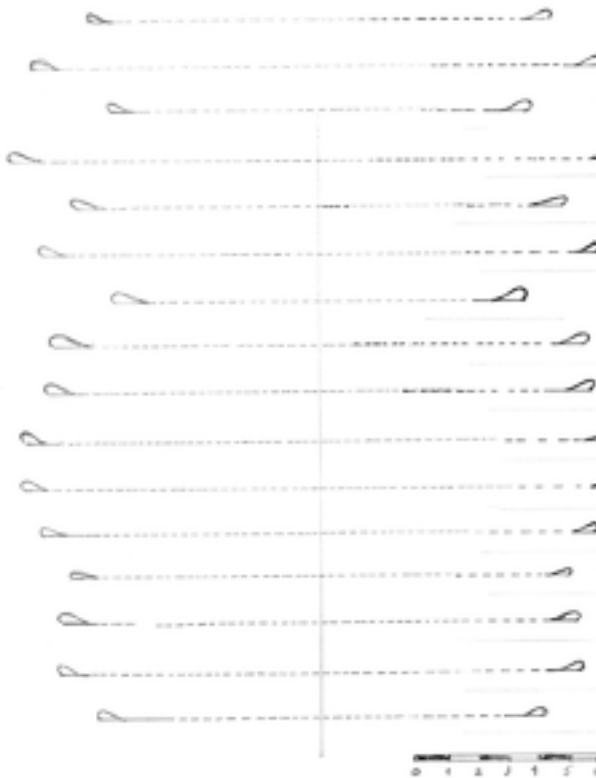


FIG. 4  
Window glass, drawing of all  
rim fragments (Cat. no. R2-17).





FIG. 5 Window glass, single rim restituted, dark honey yellow (Cat. no. R1).



FIG. 6 Window glass, single rim, dark purple (Cat. no. R10a).

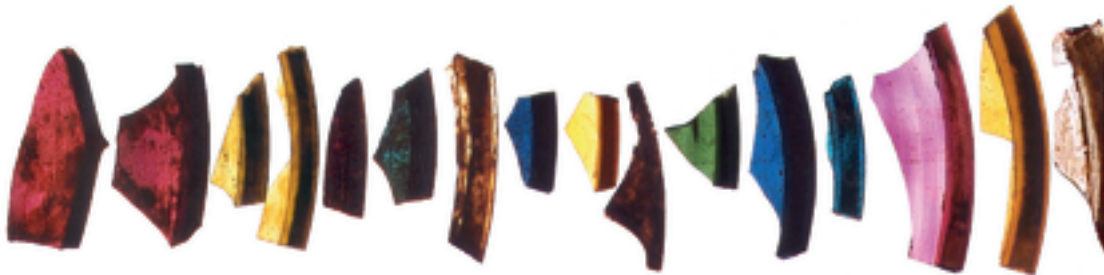


FIG. 7 Window glass, group of rims (Cat. no. R1-16).

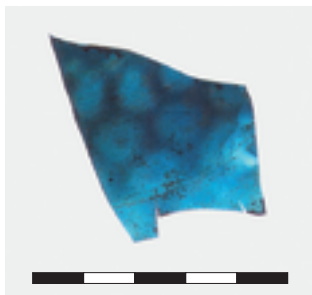


FIG. 8 Window glass two center fragments with honeycomb pattern, dark turquoise blue (Cat. no. C1a).

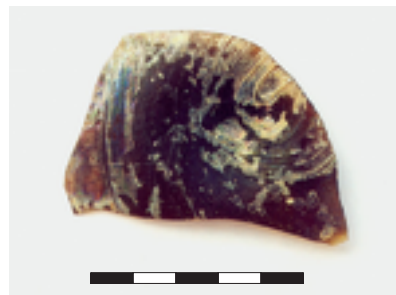


FIG. 9 Window glass single center fragment, dark honey yellow (Cat. no. C3).



FIG. 10 Window glass, single center fragment, dark honey yellow, surface has honeycomb pattern (Cat. no. C7).

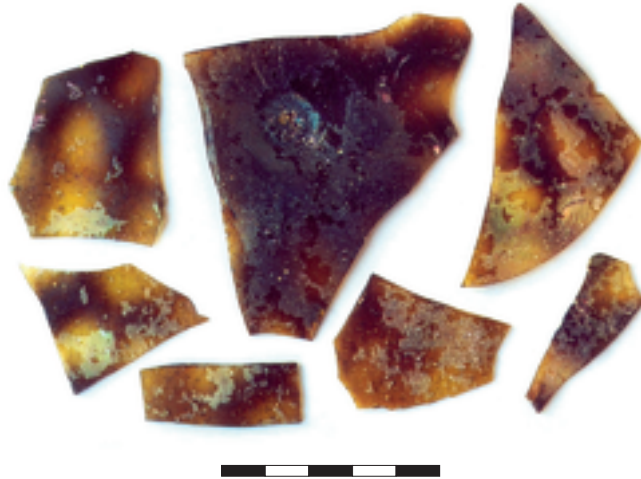


FIG. 11 Window glass, group of center fragments (Cat. no. C2a-g).

# Observations and Assessments of Some Epigraphic Graffiti Found on Entrances in Kaleiçi/Antalya

MAHMUT DEMİR – TERRANCE MICHAEL PATRICK DUGGAN – ERKAN KURUL\*

## Abstract

Antalya has a long memory, home to buildings dating from Antiquity and the Medieval periods. Many of these have been studied within the scope of various disciplines, especially over the course of the last century. However, there still remain surprising remains and traces that are unrecorded/unpublished, and doubtless much still remains to be discovered, recovered, reinterpreted and further understood. In this study some graffiti, previously undocumented on some buildings in Kaleiçi/Antalya, are introduced and analyzed. These are examples in Arabic from the portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, one of the important buildings dating from the Seljuk Period. In addition, some Rumi and Osmanlıca examples of graffiti on the Alaeddin Camii (formerly the Panaya Church) and the Yeni Kapı hamam-bathroom are introduced and analyzed. After providing some basic information on the buildings on which these graffiti are found, the graffiti on each is examined with their characteristic features-calligraphic style, morphological properties and measurements-then evaluated and commented upon.

**Keywords:** Antalya, Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, Alaeddin Mosque, Yenikapı Bath, graffiti

## Öz

Antalya, Antik Çağ ve Orta Çağ'dan günümüze ulaşmış ve birçoğu özellikle geride bıraktığımız yüzyıl boyunca çeşitli disiplinler kapsamında inceleme altına alınmış tarihsel yapılara ev sahipliği yapan kadim bir kent kimliğine sahiptir. Bu doğrultuda, kent ve çevresinde gerçekleştirilen araştırmalar sırasında hâlâ kayıt altına alınmamış/yayımlanmamış şaşırtıcı materyal kültür kalıntılarıyla karşılaşmak mümkündür. Söz konusu bu materyal kültür kalıntıları günümüzde halen keşfedilmeyi, kayıt altına alınmayı, korunmayı, yorumlanmayı veya daha fazla irdelenmeyi beklemektedir. Bu çalışmada da, Kaleiçi/Antalya'daki bazı tarihi yapılarda daha önce belgelenmemiş bazı grafitiler tanıtılmakta ve analiz edilmektedir. Bunların bir kısmı, Selçuklu Dönemi'nden kalma önemli yapılardan biri olan Atabey Armağanşah Medresesi portalındaki Arapça örneklerden mütevellittir. Çalışmanın diğer bir kısmıysa Alaeddin Camii (eski adıyla Panaya Kilisesi) ve Yeni Kapı Hamamı binaları bünyesindeki bazı Rumca ve Osmanlıca grafiti örneklerini içermektedir. İlgili çalışma dâhilinde genel olarak grafitilere ev sahipliği yapan tarihi binalar hakkında temel bilgiler sunulduktan sonra, bu binaların her biri üzerindeki grafitiler incelenmektedir. Akabinde bu grafitilerin kaligrafik stilleri, morfolojik özellikleri ve stilistik ölçümleri de değerlendirilmekte ve yorumlanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Antalya, Atabey Armağanşah Medresesi, Alaeddin Camii, Yenikapı Hamamı, grafiti

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## Graffiti

In addition to mason marks, graffiti are a noteworthy feature of ancient, medieval and more modern constructions.<sup>1</sup> These may be applied at the time of construction, or subsequently over the course of the centuries and, in some cases, millennia. They are frequently of a non-epigraphic character, sometimes painted, or in charcoal, pencil, and today spray-paint, but more often surviving from pre-modern times as incised into the stone employed in construction, or into its plaster or stucco surfacing and paintwork, or scratched or cut into woodwork. Devotional, votive, magical and other, they are found in places where prayers are offered such as temples, churches, stations on a pilgrimage, turbés, tekes, mosques and graveyards. Such graffiti often served as a marker and evidence of a visit - a visitor's card with a name - like some of the graffiti on Egyptian temples incised and carved over the centuries as evidence of visitation; with those dating from antiquity were written in Greek and Latin; graffiti dating into the 19th century were written in French, English and Italian, etc.<sup>2</sup> Both the epigraphic and the non-epigraphic types of graffiti may be of a standard form - a cross, a dove, a hand, a crescent, a geometric shape, triangle, square, cube, circle or zigzag. Or they may depict a hunting or fighting event; a church, mosque, ship; a chi-rho; the words Christos, Allah, Muhammad; a prayer, an exclamation, the profession of faith; or a personal name and date. The marker was usually done through the painting or incising of signs-letters-numbers, symbols and images that addressed through these marks a real or imagined public or the Almighty. They were not semi- or sub-conscious doodling. Often such graffiti provide the only known record left by a person. The words, expressions, signs, depictions and quality of expression may be limited, but nonetheless are strongly expressive of presence and the moment. Graffiti are also frequently found in places where people served in relative isolation or confinement for long periods. Extensive collections of graffiti have been found on prison and fortification walls. When Evliya Çelebi was on Rhodes in 1671, he recorded some of the Ottoman graffiti on the walls of the former dungeon of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem dating before 1522. It included "*I suffered and prayed here for forty years*",<sup>3</sup> the expression "forty years" presumably meaning a long time. There is also graffiti on the entrance and interior walls of the eastern tower of the Yedikule fortress, "The Tower of the Ambassadors," where foreign envoys to the Ottoman Sultanate were at times imprisoned with some graffiti bearing their names. Graffiti in Latin, Arabic and Ottoman and in Greek characters, as well as depictions of ships, birds, flowers and people, are found on the walls of prison cells and in the prison courtyard of the Inquisitor's Palace in Birgu, Malta.<sup>4</sup> The palace was employed for the confinement of heretics and various others from the 1570s to the end of the 18th century.

<sup>1</sup> Bailey 1730, "Scratch-work," s.v., provides this definition: "Graffito, pl. Graffiti from the Italian, graffio, a scratch, first used in English in 1851, meaning, "A drawing or writing scratched on a wall or other surface, as at Pompeii or Rome." Said to derive from the Greek word γράφειν [= graphein] meaning: to make a sign or to write, from the same etymological root as the word, epigraphy. In terms of 18th c. art it was a technical process termed Scratch-Work [/grafitti, Ital.] a Method of Painting Fresco, by preparing a black Ground, on which was laid a white plaster, which being taken off with an iron bodkin, the black appearing through the holes, and served for shadows." The distinction between painted and incised/scratched graffiti is at times recorded, such as painted dipinti or incised graffiti/*pintadas e incisions*, as in petroglyphs and pictographs, However, today both incised and painted-spray painted are generally termed graffiti. Both form additions to the surface and are not part of the original or planned decoration.

<sup>2</sup> On this see Mairs 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Dankoff 2004, 139.

<sup>4</sup> Wettinger 2002, fig. 54.

Graffiti can, in certain circumstances, provide important and otherwise unrecorded information.<sup>5</sup> Examples include the Arabic graffiti recording religious texts dating from the 7th-8th century found at Mediterranean coastal sites, such as Iasos, Didyma, and Knidos, as well as also on Rhodes and Kos-Istanköy.<sup>6</sup> Some were presumably inscribed by members of the forces of Muhammad and Abdallah b. Qays who overwintered at Smyrna, Cilicia and Lycia in 673-674<sup>7</sup> for the siege of Constantinople. Likewise, dated graffiti from some chapels in Cappadocia show their continued use for Christian worship into the 12th century.<sup>8</sup>

There is also written record of graffiti, no longer surviving, such as that recorded on the inside of a toilet door of the main mosque in Yozgat in 1895. It read, "*Turks open your eyes! Be prepared for the beginning of next month!*" This was reported to the Vali of Ankara by the Mutasarrıf, and the Vali replied, such graffiti often appeared "on walls of inns, or carved on large trees, or in public toilets and this was a common practice in Anatolia".<sup>9</sup> There is also record of the ca. 1070 boast in graffiti on the fortification walls of Samarkand made by the 'ayyyaran, the local bandits, that said: "*We are like an onion: the more we are cut, the more we grow*". This graffiti received the reply on the same fortification walls, also in graffiti, from Ibrahim Tamghach Bughra, the ruler of Samarkand. His audience was both the 'ayyyaran and the local population: "*I stand here like a gardener. However much you grow I will uproot you*".<sup>10</sup> The maker of graffiti was usually addressing a specific public through the painting or incising of signs-letters, words and symbols.

To determine the date of graffiti of undated non-epigraphic character - for example, the hundreds of thousands of ship graffiti carved or incised into plaster and in stonework of fortifications and on building walls all around the Mediterranean - is often exceedingly difficult.<sup>11</sup> How accurate is it? Does the graffiti depict a specific ship type, or is it a generic depiction? When was it incised on the stone: in the quarry prior to construction, during construction, or subsequently? Was the block or slab carrying the graffiti itself reused? The attempt to date non-epigraphic graffiti with any degree of accuracy on the basis of style and content alone is unreliable. Often a *terminus post quem* can be suggested on the basis of a hair style, a specific weapon, or a ship type.<sup>12</sup> However, graffiti depicting 17th century ships have been found together with state-of-the-art dreadnoughts in an early 20th century context. Both date from the early 20th century, with the graffiti being made by someone with an interest in depicting maritime affairs. Likewise, votive graffiti can repeat a model ex-voto or are of an apotropaic type employed for centuries or millennia. A collection of undated ship graffiti that can reasonably be dated are those carved into the exterior walls of the unrestored Chapel of Our Lady of

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Crone and Moreh 2000; Champion 2015; Pritchard 1967; and Safran 2014, particularly the section entitled "incising identity" in chapter 6, 140-75. See also for a survey of the range and intent of graffiti in Keegan 2017; Lovata and Olton 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Love 1970, 153, pl. 40, fig. 20; Özgümüş 1992, 12, figs. 14-15; Ruggieri 1992; Imbert 2013. Higgins 1990, writes that "there are the partially excavated remains of a Byzantine basilica (probably of the sixth century A.D.) bearing Arabic graffiti on the floor".

<sup>7</sup> On this see Jankowiak 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Wharton 1988, 17. For some Arabic graffiti in Caria, see Serin 2004, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Deringil 2012, 211.

<sup>10</sup> Starr 2013, 330.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, those termed "uncertain ship graffiti" in Demesticha et al. 2017, 351-52.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Muscat 1999; Thomov 2014. Likewise are examples from the Hagia Sophia where the Viking names *Halfdan* and *Are* were carved in Runic script as graffiti in the 9th century on a parapet in its southern gallery; see Piller 2016, 25.

the Visitation in Wied Qirda (Wied Milord), Zebbug, Malta. The upper sections of the exterior walls still retain areas of yellow paintwork over a layer of lime plaster which had protected the façade of this chapel into the 20th century. When the construction of the chapel was completed, these layers of surfacing had covered the ship graffiti carved into the north wall during the course of its construction. This is known because some of the ship graffiti cross the joints between the stone blocks employed in its construction. The levels of the graffiti on the façade correspond to the scaffolding levels employed in the construction of the church. The inscription records the completion of this chapel in 1675. Therefore the ship graffiti carved on this exterior wall date from 1674-1675, before the newly constructed bare stone wall was covered in layers of lime plaster and colored in a yellow ochre lime-wash. This lime-wash was renewed over the years, since yellow ochre was the color employed by the Catholic Church on the exterior of churches and chapels on Malta. Likewise, the medieval paintwork and graffiti on the interior walls of English medieval churches and chapels were ordered lime-washed over in the Reformation. This provides a 16th century *terminus ante quem* for the graffiti and the paintwork lying beneath this layer of lime-wash.<sup>13</sup>

In an effort to date graffiti on stone, it is also of note that spolia from a ruined structure, sometimes with graffiti, may have been reused in a later building or for a building repair.<sup>14</sup> This makes the *terminus post quem* for a piece date sometimes much earlier than the piece or building itself in which this block bearing graffiti is today found. Or, for example, the graffiti has been applied only after the building was itself abandoned. Such examples are found at Kargı Han beside the Kargı Çayı, inland from Manavgat, Antalya, in part, constructed during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II.<sup>15</sup> There are numerous graffiti on the *kible* wall of the masjid, as noted by S. Redford who writes, “Even though it is impossible exactly to date these graffiti, the body of evidence points to a Seljuk or Beylik date for them”.<sup>16</sup> However, the “body of evidence” presented seems insufficient to indicate a Seljuk or Beylik date. For the graffiti scratched into the plaster covering the *kible* wall of Kargı Han, not least, because it has been reasonably suggested this mihrab niche formed a part of the Ottoman reconstruction work conducted in this han.<sup>17</sup> Therefore the graffiti applied to the plaster on this *kible* wall is of Ottoman, and some rather of Republican date. Thus they are not of either Seljuk or Beylik date. There seems to be no possibility that there was graffiti of animals and human figures on this wall when the mihrab served its purpose of providing indication for Muslims of the direction for prayer. It seems reasonable to suggest that this graffiti was incised into the long dried plaster only after the official use of the building by personnel during the Seljuk, Beylik and Ottoman periods had terminated and when it stood abandoned. Numerous examples of mason marks are found on 12th and 13th century Seljuk stone blocks,<sup>18</sup> presumably identifying the work of various teams of masons at work on a single construction site.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, there are also the published examples of both Great Seljuk<sup>20</sup> and Rūm Seljuk graffiti, including incised

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Champion 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Bakırer 1999, 45.

<sup>15</sup> Bilici 2013, where from the *in situ* remains a total of three periods of construction - two in the 13th century and one an Ottoman period construction/restoration - are suggested.

<sup>16</sup> Redford 2007.

<sup>17</sup> See on this Bilici 2013, 75-77.

<sup>18</sup> For some examples see Erdmann and Erdmann 1961; also Sönmez 1995, 15-20; Binan 2001; Binan and Binan 2009.

<sup>19</sup> Atıl 1980, 76 writes: “However, the marks prove that masons were organized and that they often identified the stone blocks they carved”.

<sup>20</sup> For two examples of Seljuk figures in graffiti in the 12th century stucco, see Herrmann et al. 1999, 17, who write:



architectural designs - “working drawings” - like those employed by architects-master masons in Roman times.<sup>21</sup> Two of these were found at the Great Mosque at Divriği, one at Ani,<sup>22</sup> and the find in 1968 of a plaster slab of graffiti bearing the ca. 1270 working architectural design of the ground projection of a quarter muqarnas vault from the Ilkhanid Palace of Abaqa Khan at Takht-i Sulayman, Iran.<sup>23</sup>

The tradition of writing graffiti consisting of prayers, poems and notes on door jambs/door frames, as in the examples from Antalya described below, was common practice. It was also written on voussoirs, particularly, although not exclusively, those of tombs, as also in the *son cemaat* area of mosques in the Ottoman period. Evliya Çelebi, for example, refers to the graffiti he left on the tombs he visited, including those of Abdal Musa and Seyyid Gazi.<sup>24</sup> Zeynep Yürekli writes: “Graffiti appears to have been an important component of the ritual of ziyâret for a certain stratum of literate visitors. Illiterate visitors could mark the experience of their visitation on door jambs and walls of vestibules with carved pictures of birds, dervish bowls, ships, the sword zülfikar, the hand of Fatima and the curious image of a big fish swallowing smaller fish”.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, John Curry writes concerning graffiti on the doorway to the 16th century Benli Sultan’s tomb complex at a remote mountain village south of Kastamonu: “Graffiti inscribed on the doorway to the complex, and the remnants of a cemetery indicate that the complex remained active into the thirteenth/nineteenth century”.<sup>26</sup> The prevalence of Ottoman graffiti is clearly addressed in the 1663 foundation deed of the Yeni Cami Mosque in Istanbul. It records the employment of a person whose sole occupation entailed cleaning graffiti (*nakış*) from the walls of this building complex, presumably graffiti that had been painted and incised, day after day.<sup>27</sup> But still, as Lucienne Thys-Şenocak notes, “In addition to the officially selected epigraphic program in the courtyard of the Yeni Valide Mosque, Ottoman graffiti can be found scratched into the soft lead bands that surround the bases of the columns in the *son cemaat*. Many are informal calligraphic renditions of Turhan Sultan’s name and must have been carved shortly after the completion of the mosque while she was still valide. Others date to later eras and are general requests from members of the congregation like the graffiti prayer which requests the reader to pray for Abdullah from the central Anatolian town of Bolu so that his spirit may rejoice”.<sup>28</sup>

Likewise, graffiti was left by Christians on the door jambs of Orthodox churches, like the graffiti incised on the door frames as elsewhere on and in the Hagia Sophia, Constantinople-Istanbul.<sup>29</sup> Other examples include the Greek, Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian and Syriac graffiti on the columns of the medieval porch of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem.<sup>30</sup> Similarly,

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“Two graffiti figures were also found scratched into the stucco on the southern wall. These seemed to depict robed skirted figures”.

<sup>21</sup> See Demirer and Baytak 2019 for an example from Kibyra and references therein.

<sup>22</sup> Bakırer 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Dold-Samplonius and Hamsen 2005, 88-89.

<sup>24</sup> Yürekli 2016, 148.

<sup>25</sup> Yürekli 2016, 148.

<sup>26</sup> Curry 2010, 148 n. 8.

<sup>27</sup> Aygen 2013, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Thys-Senocak 2016, 268.

<sup>29</sup> Mango 1951, 59.

<sup>30</sup> For twenty-two Syriac examples, see Brock et al. 2007, largely of the formula, “Remember, O Lord, your servant...”.

medieval coats of arms are carved both outside and inside the door frame and the inner and outer frames of the window of the Old Refectory of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai. Also, there are the graffiti dated 1446 and 1450 on the frames of the northern and southern doors of the Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa in Cyprus.<sup>31</sup> In this context it has been recently noted that textual graffiti in Greek on Cyprus became more popular during the 18th and 19th centuries. These inscriptions are found on the sacred surfaces in the churches, close to or on wall paintings of saints and in the sanctuary and suggested as an attempt to establish an intimate relationship with the sacred. They are mainly commemorative and quite explicit, stating not only the author's name, but also the date, title or provenance. Latin epigraphic graffiti indicated the intention to affirm presence at the monument<sup>32</sup> by expressing a different kind of relationship, a visitor's mark. However, it seems possible that this distinction drawn from the 18th and 19th century graffiti on Cyprus, between Greek intimacy and Latin visiting, from the locations of the respective graffiti, may perhaps rather reflect a change in the Orthodox attitude towards sacred images. The Orthodox art of the icon declined from the 18th into the early 20th centuries due to the powerful influence of the Italian Renaissance influencing examples of religious art produced on Cyprus.<sup>33</sup>

### Some Graffiti in Kaleiçi, Antalya

Many buildings within the walled city of Antalya constructed in different periods have been studied within the scope of a variety of disciplines including history, architecture and art history. However, there are unsurprisingly some details that have not been considered in previous studies and which have remained to date unpublished. In this article we focus on some examples of Arabic, Greek and Ottoman epigraphic graffiti of both letters and numbers, that were kindly brought to our attention by Professor Burhan Varkıvaç. These graffiti are today all visible on the exterior of stone door jambs/door frames/portals or proximate to them, on historic buildings in Kaleiçi/Antalya, on the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, the Alaeddin Mosque, and on the Yenikapı Hamam/Bathhouse. Some incised in these doorway locations to mark a visit or ziyâret.

### The Graffiti on the Portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa

The Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa is one of the important historical structures of Antalya. It was constructed by Mübarizzeddin Armağanşah, a high official under both the Seljuk Sultan 'Ala al-din Kayqubad I (1220-1237) and his successor, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (1237-1246).<sup>34</sup>

To date, various projects and studies on the remains of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa have been carried out, and various comments have been made about its formal features and construction style. According to one of these,<sup>35</sup> after the construction of the madrasa began, its patron Atabey Armağanşah was killed in the course of the Babaî rebellion against Seljuk rule and so its construction was not completed.<sup>36</sup> This was not necessarily the case, given that the registering of the Vakıf for the madrasa was itself preceded by its construction. Its inscription

<sup>31</sup> Carr and Nicolaidés 2012, 29.

<sup>32</sup> Demesticha et al. 2017, 374.

<sup>33</sup> On this see Kotkavaara 1999.

<sup>34</sup> For the life and political activities of Atabey Armağanşah, see Turan 2014.

<sup>35</sup> See also Ibn Bîbî II. 51 for Atabey Armağanşah's struggle for the Babaî rebels.

<sup>36</sup> Contra Yılmaz and Tuzcu 2010, 179.

records the foundation of a “blessed Madrasa” and the date of 637 h. (1239-1240) that this work began. Arguably, this was from the point the title of the land was established and the foundation inscription raised when the construction work would have been completed, and the vakıf independent of its patron.<sup>37</sup> Only the portal of this building has survived to the present day. Considering the total space behind the portal, it is thought that it was a small madrasa, certainly not a very large one, given the site’s space limitations.<sup>38</sup> There remains some Islamic epigraphic graffiti which has not been recorded or published to date on the surviving portal of the madrasa. These Islamic graffiti are all incised on the back of the portal and only on its left block. On other parts of the portal, no significant epigraphic graffiti were found, but some figures were detected.

The Yivli Minaret, the Yivli Minaret Mosque, and the Imaret Madrasa, which all stand very close to this portal, have no visible traces of graffiti. In our opinion, this indicates this portal may have been deliberately chosen as a place for incising graffiti.<sup>39</sup> The first Arabic graffiti of this group found on the madrasa portal is the graffiti recording the Name **الله** (= *Allab*). When the whole of the remaining structure is examined, the name *Allab* is incised only once, and the characters are 3 cm in size. The other graffiti carry the Islamic sentence, termed *Kelime-i Tevbid*, and can be read as **لا اله الا الله** (= *Lâ ilabe illallah*) (fig. 1). This graffiti was incised on the portal in very small letters, measuring in total 2 cm in length. This graffiti, which is lightly drawn on this stone block of the portal, can hardly be seen with the unaided eye. Another Islamic sentence, a fuller version of the *Kelime-i Tevbid*, **لا اله الا الله مُحَمَّدُ الرَّسُولُ اللهُ** (= *Lâ ilabe illallah Muhammeden Rasullullah*), can also be seen incised on this stone block of the portal in tiny letters. These are approximately 1 cm in size (fig. 2). The calligraphic style employed for this graffiti is almost perfect. From the hand employed and its style of writing in Arabic, it seems this Muslim profession of belief was incised by a master of Islamic calligraphy.

Another epigraphic graffiti is the incised name Muhammed (“محمد”), the Prophet of Islam. Muhammed’s name, as far as could be identified, was incised twelve times on the portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa. These graffiti are of different sizes in different hands. The largest of the graffiti recording Muhammed’s name is in letters about 10 cm in height; the smallest is 2 cm. Some have been deeply incised while others have been only superficially incised. Both the size and the style of lettering employed in these graffiti of the Prophet’s name differ. It is clear that these were incised with a variety of metal instruments by different persons at different times. Two examples of the graffiti of the name Muhammed are enclosed within a semi-circle.<sup>40</sup> Other epigraphic Arabic graffiti are incised in an unorganized fashion orientated in different directions on the portal stone. Two **لا** (= Lamelif/La) characters are also found on the portal, in sections with other graffiti. These two letters together were probably engraved for the sentence of the *Kelime-i Tevbid*, but they were not completed. Or, more probably, the combination of these two letters were considered sufficient to remind of the whole.


<sup>37</sup> On this see, for example, Rogers 1976, 72-73, where the inscription is raised on the completion of the building, but the date records the start of construction.


<sup>38</sup> See Riefstahl 1941, 36; Turfan 1997, card no. 36; Kuran 1969, 107; Kırmızı 1986, 39; Durukan 1988, 28; Yılmaz 2002, 53-55; Sönmez 2009, 187-89; Yılmaz and Tuzcu 2010, 178-79.

<sup>39</sup> For a reference to the practice of leaving graffiti on door frames that “mark the experience of their visitation on door jambs”, see Yürekli 2016, 148.

<sup>40</sup> For this graffiti see also Varkıvanç 2015, 80-81.

It is noteworthy that none of the graffiti in Arabic recorded above was mentioned in the several publications concerning the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa. Travelers who visited the city and experts who examined the building do not mention them. It seems probable that, because these graffiti were incised on the inside of the portal, they would not been noticed by travelers experts as Riefstahl's photograph in 1929 shows this portal at that time had an eave and a closed wooden door. It seems certain that these graffiti were incised on this portal before the wooden door was installed, when there was easy access to the rear of the portal after the destruction of the madrasa's walls. This suggests these graffiti were incised on the portal of the madrasa in the Ottoman period, most probably during the course of the 19th century to mark the individual's visit, possibly evidence of a hajji's (pilgrim's)-ziyāret.

In addition to the epigraphic graffiti in Arabic given above, there is a further graffiti of a figural type which resembles a zigzag design () This can also be read as the combination of the Arabic numerals 7 and 8 which, added together, give 15 and summed gives 6 - the numerical equivalent of the Arabic letter *waw*, meaning "and" as in "and Allah".<sup>41</sup> This readable design, the "zigzag", is also to be found carved on the portal of the madrasa (fig. 3).

In examining the portal of Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa, there are numerous mason marks similar to many Seljuk buildings in Antalya and elsewhere. There is a -shaped mason's mark carved on the inner face of the middle stone block of the portal, where the graffiti are concentrated (fig. 4). This mason's mark is also found on the Seljuk-carved stonework of Hatun Han,<sup>42</sup> Emdir Han<sup>43</sup> and Alara Han.<sup>44</sup> Emdir Han is dated to the reign of Sultan Izz al-din Kayka'us I (1212-1220); Alara Han to the reign of Sultan 'Ala al-din Kayqubad I (1220-1237), and Hatun Han to the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (1237-1246). Apart from these buildings, the same mason's mark is also found on other Seljuk-period buildings such as the Kayseri Giyasiye Madrasa, Çardak Han, Hekim Han and Horozlu Han.<sup>45</sup> It has frequently been assumed that a mason's mark carries the same meaning as a signature and, therefore, the same stonemasons or groups of stonemasons employing the same mark participated in the construction of all these Seljuk buildings that carry the same mason's mark dating from the first half of the 13th century. But such is, of course, not necessarily the case. There is simply no proof that the marks employed by a particular mason or group of masons were not site/construction specific. When a mason moved to a different site, he may have used a different mark. Certainly two teams of masons working on the same site could not use the same mark. It is doubtless the case that if all the Seljuk-period carved blocks from all of the building constructed in the first half of the 13th century in Anatolia were found and those that remain *in situ* disassembled and the various mason marks recorded, the sheer number of carved blocks that carry the same form of mason's mark would indicate that different masons used the same mason's mark at different construction sites. The use of a mason's mark was simply to show, for quality control and payment purposes at a particular site, which team was responsible for carving a particular block. At times it indicated how a carved block was to be positioned in the course of the construction of a building.<sup>46</sup> On completion of a building any visible mason

<sup>41</sup> For further on the meanings carried by this design within the cultural-religious context of Islam, see Duggan 2019.

<sup>42</sup> Erdmann and Erdmann 1961, 138; Sönmez 1995, 17.

<sup>43</sup> Erdmann and Erdmann 1961, 177; Sönmez 1995, 15.

<sup>44</sup> Erdmann and Erdmann 1961, 186; Sönmez 1995, 16.

<sup>45</sup> Çayırdağ 1982, 86.

<sup>46</sup> For further on this, see Duggan 2008, 327-28 and nn. 38-40.

marks would have been concealed beneath the surfacing applied to the interior and exterior facades.<sup>47</sup> The mason's marks formed no part of the carefully designed appearance of these buildings in the 13th century.

### Alaeddin Mosque, formerly the Panaya Church, and its Graffiti

A group of the graffiti in Rumi are incised on a massive stone block of the door jamb of the garden gate of the Alaeddin Mosque, formerly the Panaya Church. There is little information concerning the foundation of this building, more from the start of the 20th century onwards. There is no information on when the building was built, but until 1922 this building was known to be the most important church of the Rum inhabitants of Antalya. After the battle of the Büyük Taarruz (26-31 August 1922) and the defeat of the invading Greek army, a new era began for the church. After this defeat, as in many Anatolian cities, the Rum population of Antalya began to leave the city, and as a result the Panaya Church became deserted.<sup>48</sup>

Kemal Turfan, who examined the historical buildings in Antalya in 1955, stated the construction of the building was in 1864 and that the building was formerly an Orthodox church.<sup>49</sup> According to the *Antalya Cultural Inventory*, this building on Zafer Sokak in Kılıçarslan Mahallesi dates from the Byzantine period. From its plan, the building was of the three-nave basilica type.<sup>50</sup>

The old Panaya Church is today the Alaeddin Mosque and open to worship. There are some Rum graffiti that have survived to the present day on the door frame of the rear garden gate next to the mosque's minaret constructed in 1958. These examples of epigraphic graffiti were apparently made by the Rum of Antalya and incised to the right and left sides of the exterior face in the massive stone blocks of the door frame of the rear entrance to the church.

On the block on the left side of the rear door of the mosque, there is a graffiti of Greek letters which could be read as *νκετος* (= *nketos*) together with Arabic numerals indicating the date 1910. This graffiti does not record any phrase or sentence. The first two incised characters, *N* (= *v*: *nü*) and *K* (= *k*: *kappa*), of this graffiti are thought to be the abbreviation of the name or names of a person who visited the church with the Arabic numerals recording the year 1910, when this visit took place. Through combining the word *ΕΤΟΣ* (= *étos* [etos]: year) with the abbreviation of a person name(s) and the Arabic numerals 1910 attached to this word, this graffiti was created. As result, suggestions for the analysis and translation of this graffiti are as follows (fig. 5):

<sup>47</sup> Duggan 2008.

<sup>48</sup> For the historical background of the building and its reuse for various purposes during different periods, see Riefstahl 1941, 42; Sarihan 2007; Güçlü 2015.

<sup>49</sup> Turfan 1997, card no. 55.

<sup>50</sup> Antalya Valiliği 2004, 38.

|                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <b>Findspot</b>                   | : Alaeddin Mosque (Old Panaya Church)   Kaleiçi, Antalya  |
| <b>Description</b>                | : Graffiti on a block of the left side of the backyard door frame consisting of Greek letters and Arabic numerals |
| <b>Sizes of the characters</b>    | : 1,7 - 2,3 cm  |
| <b>Language of the graffiti</b>   | : Greek   |
| <b>Characters of the graffiti</b> | : NKETOΣ   1910   |
| <b>Transcription</b>              | : N. K. έτοç?   1910  |
| <b>Translation</b>                | : N. K. year?   1910  |
| <b>Fig. graph</b>                 | : Erkan Kurul   |

In addition to this incised graffiti, there are different examples of graffiti on the left block of the backyard door of the Alaeddin Mosque. However, these Greek graffiti do not indicate any meaningful words, nor do they have a numerical content. In the context of one of these graffiti, only the combination of letters in the form of *NΔΔ* (νδδ [= ndd]) written in graphite could be read. Other examples about 20-35 cm below this graphite are further graffiti that combine different letters in the form *ET* (ετ [= et]) and *NT* (ντ [= nt]). The upper letter T is likened to the Christian cross. Between these graffiti are found some Arabic numerals, which most probably indicate the date 1909 (fig. 6).

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>Findspot:</b> Alaeddin Mosque (Old Panaya Church)   Kaleiçi, Antalya                                | <b>Findspot:</b> Alaeddin Mosque (Old Panaya Church)   Kaleiçi, Antalya   |
| <b>Description:</b> Graffiti in Greek letters on the left block of the backyard door                   | <b>Description:</b> Graffiti on the left block of the backyard door consisting of Greek letters and Arabic numerals                           |
| <b>Sizes of the characters:</b> about 2 cm   | <b>Sizes of the characters:</b> about 1,5 cm  |
| <b>Language of the graffiti:</b> Greek   | <b>Language of the graffiti:</b> Greek and Arabic numerals  |
| <b>Characters of the graffiti:</b> <i>N</i> (= ν: nü) and two examples of <i>Δ</i> (= δ: delta) letter | <b>Characters of the graffiti:</b> <i>E</i> (= ε: epsilon); <i>N</i> (= ν: nü) and <i>T</i> (= τ: tau) letters. 1, 9, 0 and 9 Arabic numerals |
| <b>Transcription:</b> <i>NΔΔ</i> (νδδ [= ndd]) as a combination of Greek letters                       | <b>Transcription:</b> <i>ET</i> (= ετ) and <i>NT</i> (= ντ) as combination of Greek letters and Arabic numerals which record the date 1909    |
| <b>Fig. graph:</b> Erkan Kurul   | <b>Fig. graph:</b> Erkan Kurul  |

On the right side on the exterior of the backyard doorframe of the Alaeddin Mosque on a stone block are further examples of graffiti in Greek characters. However, these examples do not have a meaningful word structure, unlike those on the block on the left of this rear entrance, and have the status of individual letters and Arabic numerals.

The Greek characters identified from a top-down ordered examination of the above group of graffiti are as follows: *N* (= ν: nü), *N* (= ν: nü), *Σ* (= σ: sigma), *M* (= μ: mü), *K* (= κ: kappa), *K* (= κ: kappa), *Π* (= π: pi), *N* (= ν: nü), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *T* (= τ: tau), *X* (= χ: khi), *A* (= α: alpha), *A* (= α: alpha), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *T* (= τ: tau), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *X* (= χ: khi), *E* (= ε: epsilon), *Γ* (= γ: gamma), *Γ* (= γ: gamma) and *K* (= κ: kappa). Following this group of letters, there are Arabic numerals incised in the lower right part of this group of graffiti, probably recording the year 1901. Above this, incised in a different hand are the numerals 19 and then a larger size 0, perhaps indicating another date, but a clear numerical content cannot be understood. It can be concluded that the date refers to the 20th century with reference only



to the combination of the first two digits 1 and 9. Lastly, one further numerical graffiti, recording the year 1867, can be seen on the right block of the courtyard doorframe of the mosque (fig. 7).

### Ottoman Counting Records on the Stone Door Frame of the Yenikapı Bathhouse

On the stone door frame of the entrance to the Yenikapı Hamamı/Bathhouse, No. 29 on Yeni Kapı Sokak, Kılıçaslan Mahallesi, an Ottoman-period building, there are several graffiti containing Arabic numerals as Ottoman counting records. These counting records, which were written on the right side of the stone door frame in graphite pencil, are scattered randomly over the surface of the stone. Beginning at a height of 166 cm above ground level, with the highest at 191 cm, it seems most probable these calculations were written by an adult. Those of the Ottoman Turkish account records on the left door jamb are between 178 cm and 186 cm above ground level. Those on the inner face of the right door jamb are 191 cm high. Three of the records on the front of the right door jamb are 166 cm high, while others are at a height of 181 cm (fig. 8). Among the surviving records, the following could be read and, in some part, understood:

$$١٢+١=١٣ (12 + 1 = 13)$$

$$١٥ ? ٨ = ١٤٦ (15 ? 8 = 146)$$

$$٤+١٨=٢٢ ... ١٤ = ١٢٢ (4 + 18 = 22 ? 14 = 122)$$

$$١٦ ? ١٢ = ٤٨ (16 ? 12 = 48)$$

$$٢١ ? ٢٤ ? ٢ ? ٧ = ٢٠٠ (21 ? 24 ? 2 ? 7 = 200)$$

In addition to these counting records, there are also several different numeral/figures that cannot deciphered or understood completely (fig. 9). These are:

“١ (1)”, “٦ (6)”, “٧ (7)”, “١٢ (12)”, “١٧ (17)”, “١٨ (18)”, “٢٥ (25)”

These separated numeral figures can be seen in scattered positions on the stone door-frame block of the bath entrance. The sum provided in these records of calculations, which include additions, appear sometimes correct and sometimes incorrect, or the actual calculation undertaken is not determined. For it is unclear if all these calculations involved addition or multiplication, or some other practice of calculus. These graffiti date from the Late Ottoman or Early Republican periods.

### Conclusions

These graffiti were inscribed by members of the literate population of the city and by visitors and hajji/pilgrims on stone-carved portals and door frames. Although they are not official or commissioned epigraphic documents, they are personal expressions and are nonetheless important in terms of providing us with indications of the local history and cultural fabric of the city. In particular, the Rum graffiti in Greek letters on the garden gate of the old Panaya Church, today's Alaeddin Mosque, are noteworthy. They are traces that remain from a century ago of inhabitants who then left Antalya through the agreed exchange of populations between the states of Greece and Turkey. Further, some of the Arabic graffiti on the portal of the Atabey Armağanşah Madrasa is characteristic of the type of graffiti left by Muslim hajji, reminding us

that today's yacht harbor was into the early 20th century thronged at certain times of the year with Muslim hajji. These pilgrims were coming to the port city from places as distant as the Balkans and Taşkent to await passage on boats sailing to Egypt for onward travel to the Holy Cities. They left incised on this portal not the record of their own names, which were not of any consequence in this respect, but recorded evidence of their presence through inscribed indications of belief. These surviving graffiti, and there are doubtless further examples within the walled city, provide us today with traces, fragments, expressions and some record from the past of the literate cosmopolitan/multicultural city of Antalya, worthy of attention, study and record.

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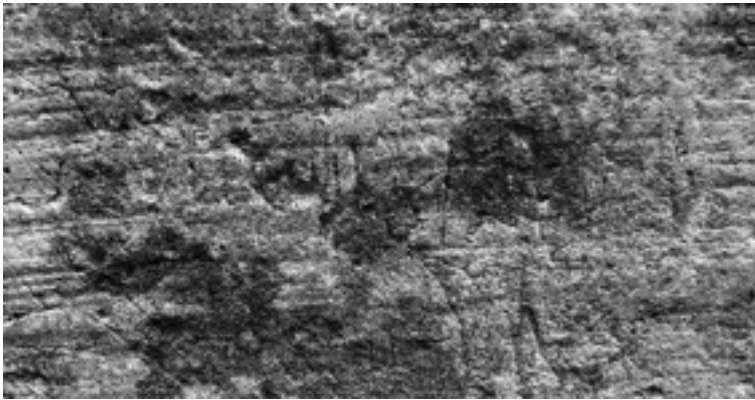


FIG. 1  
Islamic phrase in Arabic  
letters on the left side  
front of the portal -  
*La ilahe illallah.*



FIG. 2  
In the middle face of the left  
side front of the portal -  
The Islamic phrase in Arabic  
letters - *La ilahe illallah*  
*Muhammeden Rasulallah.*

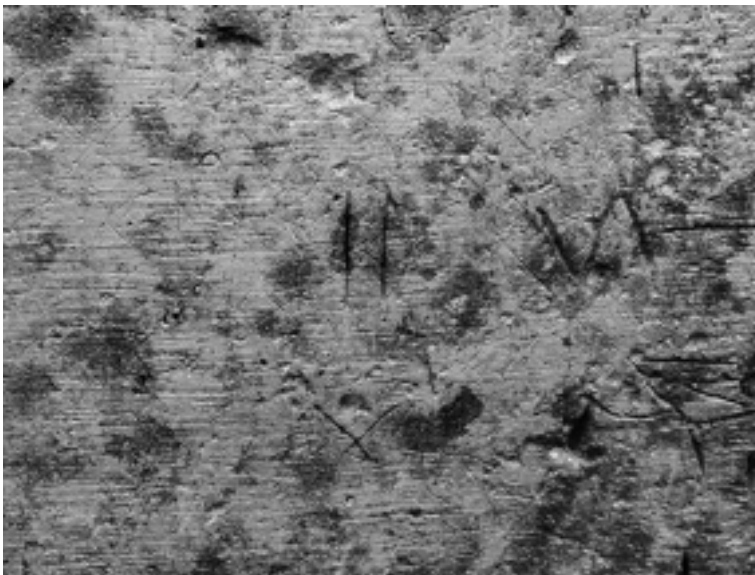


FIG. 3  
Ascending phrases and  
figures Incised on the left  
inner side of the portal -  
The word, *Muhammad*, the  
letters *La* in Arabic letters  
and the legible zigzag design.





FIG. 4 Inscriptions and figures in the middle of the left inner side of the portal - A stone mason's mark and the words, *Allah* and *Muhammad* in Arabic letters.



FIG. 6 Graffiti on the Alaeddin Mosque - NΔΔ & ET & NT as Greek Letter Combinations and Arabic Numerals Indicating the Year 1909.



FIG. 5 Graffiti on the exterior of the Alaeddin Mosque - NKETOΣ | 1910.



FIG. 7 Graffiti on the Alaeddin Mosque - miscellaneous Greek letters and Arabic numerals.



FIG. 8 Records written in Ottoman Turkish on the front face of the right side of the door frame of the entrance to the Yenikapı Hamamı (Bathhouse).



FIG. 9 Records written in Ottoman Turkish on the front face of the left side of the door frame of the entrance to the Yenikapı Hamamı (Bathhouse).

# A Traveller in One's Homeland: Local Interest in Archaeology and Travel Writing in the Ottoman Greek World in 19th Century Anatolia

AYŞE OZİL\*

## Abstract

This article examines local scholarly interest in archaeology and travel writing in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. It concentrates on the work of an Ottoman Greek intellectual from the provinces, i.e. a travelogue entitled *Periegesis eis tin Pamphylian* ("Travels in Pamphylia") written by Dimitri E. Danieloğlu, who belonged to one of the leading Greek families of Antalya in southern Anatolia. By examining this work and focusing on the profile of an Ottoman Greek writer in the provinces, this essay explores the practical meanings and outcomes of modernization, intertwined with a civilizational discourse and modes of local Orientalism. Particularly, the essay dwells on what was possibly local and Greek in this story and aims to situate *Periegesis* in a broader historical context. It discusses the connection of *Periegesis* to the European travelogue genre, the emergence of an investigative attention to ancient remains and contemporary society among the educated classes of the empire, and developments in the Ottoman Greek intellectual milieu in the 19th century.

**Keywords:** Ottoman Empire, 19th century travel writing, archaeology, Greek, Anatolia

## Öz

Bu makale, 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı ileri gelenleri ve okumuş kesimleri arasında arkeolojiye yönelik ilginin neden ve nasıl doğduğunu ve bu kesimlerden bazı kişilerin seyahatname yazmalarına nasıl yöneldiğini incelemekte ve bu ilgiyi tarihsel bağlamına yerleştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Söz konusu gelişme, 1850 yılında Dimitri E. Danieloğlu tarafından Antalya'da kaleme alınmış olan *Bir Pamfilya Seyabati* adlı çalışma üzerinden takip edilerek hem devlet dışı hem de İstanbul dışı, yerel ve toplumsal bir aktör üzerinden araştırılacaktır. Batılı seyyahların kaleminden çıkan çalışmaların tipik özelliklerini taşıyan bu seyahatname aynı zamanda yerel özelliklere vurgu yapmasıyla dikkat çekmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak bu makalede bir yandan Batılılık, yerellik ve bu iki konum arasındaki ilişki ele alınırken diğer yandan da bu konumların arka planında yer alan modernleşme meseleleri üzerinde durulacak, seyahatname özellikle uygarlaşma, bilimsellik ve sınıfsal ayrımların kesişim noktasında incelenecektir. Ayrıca Danieloğlu'nun bir Osmanlı Rum olması ve seyahatnamenin İstanbul'da dönemin etkin bir Rum matbaası olan Anadolu'de basılması da değerlendirilecek ve çalışma bir yandan Osmanlı Rum entelektüel dünyası içine yerleştirilirken diğer yandan da yine modernleşme ile ilgili gelişmelere bağlanacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, 19. yüzyıl seyahatnameleri, arkeoloji, Rum, Anadolu

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## Introduction

This article examines local scholarly interest in archaeology and travel writing in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19th century. It will trace how an investigative attention to ancient remains and contemporary society began to take shape among the educated classes of the empire at this time. It will follow this development by examining a travelogue entitled *Periegesis eis tin Pamphylian* (“Travels in Pamphylia”) written by Dimitri E. Danieloğlu,<sup>1</sup> who belonged to one of the leading Greek families of Antalya. By examining this work and focusing on the profile of an Ottoman Greek writer in the provinces, this essay explores the practical meanings and outcomes of modernization, intertwined with modes of local Orientalism. It discusses the development of a modern scientific interest in the production of social and human knowledge coupled with a focus on the ancient heritage.

The relationship between archaeology and travel writing has not always been obvious. It is rather a product of the 19th century when archaeology emerged as a distinct academic discipline.<sup>2</sup> While provincial societies throughout the centuries forged various forms of connections to ancient remains and frequently made use of them in different ways,<sup>3</sup> the evolution of scholarly interest in the ancient legacy combined with an attention to the contemporary situation of ancient lands was a phenomenon of the late Ottoman world. A number of scholars have contributed to an understanding of this development and delineated diverse aspects of late Ottoman perceptions and practices in relation to the ancient past, antiquities, and archaeology.<sup>4</sup> This body of work reflects an engagement with wider issues, such as the relationship between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, Orientalism, and self-Orientalism.<sup>5</sup>

Local scholarly interest in ancient remains and the lands and people of the Ottoman territories followed on much older European patterns of travel and interaction with the Ottomans which were connected to colonialism and Orientalism. European interest in the empire as it was shaped in the early modern and modern eras has to be viewed within the context of the dynamics of European domination of the eastern lands. Analogously, the emergence of local scholarly interest in the Ottoman world can also be discussed in terms of Ottoman or local forms of colonialism and Orientalism,<sup>6</sup> as they were shaped primarily in the capital city of Istanbul towards the eastern regions of the empire.

In the 19th century, the simultaneous presence of European and Ottoman scholarly interest in the same archaeological remains and travel writing with a focus on the same lands

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<sup>1</sup> Danieloglou 1855. A Turkish edition of the book was published with my translation in 2010. I would like to thank Kayhan Dörtlük, the founding director of AKMED for drawing my attention to this volume and for his insightful editorship. We were able to locate two copies of this work, one in the Gotha Research Library at the University of Erfurt and the other in the Gennadius Library at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. In this article, references are to the Greek edition of the book (1855) unless otherwise indicated; the English translations of the quotations are mine. Regarding the personal and family names which appear in the main body of the article, I mostly use the versions of these names which do not include Greek declensions. I also use the Turkish versions of names which have Turkish origins or endings such as Danieloğlu. With regard to names from AKMS, I mostly follow the Greek orthography as it appears in this archive to make the references easily accessible to researchers.

<sup>2</sup> Bahrani et al. 2011, 16-22; Hamilakis 2011, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilakis 2011; Anderson 2015, 450-60.

<sup>4</sup> Ogan 1943; Arık 1953; Çal 1997; Şimşek and Dinç 2009; Muşmal 2009; Eldem 2011a; Çelik 2011, 2016; TTK 2013; Uslu 2017, ch. 2; Yaşayanlar 2018, among others.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of Orientalism and self-Orientalism, see particularly Eldem 2011b; Çelik 2011, 2016. For a discussion of Orientalism and self-Orientalism regarding the Ottoman Greek elite in particular, see Exertzoğlu 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Makdisi 2002; Deringil 1998, 2003.

created a multi-layered reality in the empire.<sup>7</sup> The emergence of modern, educated Muslim scholars (or, more precisely, scholars from the Muslim world)<sup>8</sup> and the growth of parallel modes of Orientalism or the injection of local forms in the institutionalization of the preservation of ancient remains<sup>9</sup> were key components of this multi-dimensionality and demonstrate the challenges associated with a pattern of thinking in terms of a clearly defined East-West binary.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, for historians such dichotomies are no longer useful tools in understanding the 19th century Ottoman world, regardless of whether certain local scholars or administrators at the time adopted or professed to emulate and embrace “Western” ways in the “East”.<sup>11</sup> The worlds in which they ultimately lived and which they shaped went beyond this binary.

The case of Danieloğlu, the subject of this study, provides a window into these issues, but also reveals additional layers and specificity to this already complex 19th-century phenomenon. First of all, Danieloğlu takes us away from the state-centered figures often studied in scholarship<sup>12</sup> and conveys experience from society itself. His case extends the discussion in terms of what the provincial context meant at this time and the relationship of local scholars to the wider empire and beyond. Furthermore, Danieloğlu's profile as an Ottoman Greek complicates the simple binary of the Western Christian and the local Muslim traveller/scholar. Yet, without presupposing that he should be any different, it is worth inquiring whether and, if so, in what ways being Greek mattered.

In addition to complicating the relationship between Ottomans and Europeans and showing its multi-dimensionality as lived, practiced, and understood by a local Greek writer in the late Ottoman period, this article also demonstrates how these dimensions attained their meaning within the contexts and circumstances specific to the 19th century. Of particular significance is the development of modern institutional and social forms, including the rise of schooling and literacy, the increasing use of the printing press, the evolution of national languages, and the proliferation of intra-imperial and international intellectual connections in the Ottoman world in general and the Ottoman Greek world in particular.

## Danieloğlu, his Excursion, and the World of Travellers

Dimitri Efraim Danieloğlu, or Hacı Dimitri Ağa Efraim Danieloğlu, belonged to a large land-owning family from Antalya. The family business, which concentrated on agriculture, was lucrative, and the Danieloğlus acquired considerable wealth over time. The business was established by Dimitri Danieloğlu, the grandfather and the namesake of the author, and his brother Kiryako Danieloğlu when they migrated to Antalya from the Dodecanese Islands in the late 18th century.<sup>13</sup> Dimitri Danieloğlu acquired large agricultural estates in the Düden area at this time, and his son Hacı Evren Ağa, the father of the author, inherited and improved the business and extended it into forestry and the timber trade. Hacı Evren Ağa, along with his cousin

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<sup>7</sup> For the Ottoman Empire as both an object and an active player in the world of archaeology, see Bahrani et al. 2011, 13, 16, 28, 32, 35.

<sup>8</sup> With regard to travel writing, see Motika and Herzog 2000. For a specific example, see Kayra 2001. With regard to the interest in ancient civilizations, see Uslu 2017, ch. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Shaw 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Eldem 2011b; Çelik 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Findley 1999.

<sup>12</sup> The major and dominating example is Osman Hamdi; see Rona 1993; Cezar 1995; Eldem 2011b. For other members of the Ottoman state elite, see Çelik 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:131, 134, 136.

Hacı Strati Ağa (the son of Kiryako Danieloğlu), became prominent landowners in the town.<sup>14</sup> In due course the estate passed on to his sons, the author and his brother Pantel Ağa.<sup>15</sup>

The historical trajectory of the Danieloğlu family is a good example of the wealth-owning and modernizing classes which emerged in the 19th century, particularly among non-Muslims in the empire. Starting out among a wave of middle-class migration from provincial settings to port towns, which was common among the Greek-speaking population of the Ottoman Empire from the late 18th century onwards,<sup>16</sup> the Danieloğlus became one of the leading families of the Antalya district in southern Anatolia. Members of what may be termed an Ottoman bourgeoisie,<sup>17</sup> these families became leading forces in the late Ottoman economy and society.

True to form, some of the members of these families were also engaged in a variety of intellectual endeavours, which encompassed a number of areas in the emerging social sciences and humanities including history and archaeology.<sup>18</sup> Dimitri Efraim Danieloğlu was one of these individuals who, upon leaving the family business to his brother, devoted himself to the study of letters, specifically the investigation of the recent and ancient past of the Antalya region.<sup>19</sup> This investigative interest was accompanied by a literary drive which eventually resulted in the compilation of a book of travel writing - *Travels in Pamphylia*.<sup>20</sup> The book narrates an excursion undertaken by Danieloğlu and his companions in the Antalya region including visits to the ancient sites of Perge, Selge, and Aspendos. It presents archaeological observations from these ancient sites combined with a firsthand experience of the condition of contemporary society. The book has a sizeable appendix which includes a piece on the description and characteristics of the current town of Antalya drawn from Danieloğlu's research on different topics from agriculture and commerce to administration, religion, and culture.<sup>21</sup>

At the beginning of the book, the author relates how he and his friends decided to visit some of the most renowned ancient cities of the area<sup>22</sup> and, in fact, of Anatolia more broadly. They lament their ignorance of the classical cities and feel embarrassed that they have to learn about such neighboring places from British and French scholars "who travelled all the way" from Europe to visit and study the remains.<sup>23</sup> Such self-criticisms were not uncommon among

<sup>14</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:132, 134, 136.

<sup>15</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:135.

<sup>16</sup> Zarifis 2002, chs. 1 and 2. Anagnostopoulou 1998, 107-20; Dinç 2017, 458, 461.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of this term, see Exertzoglou 1999; Eldem 2014.

<sup>18</sup> A good example of this interest can be found in the activities of one of the largest and most influential educational and cultural associations of the late Ottoman period, the Greek Literary Society (Ellinikos Philologikos Syllogos) which was active from 1861 to 1922. For the involvement of the leading figures of the late Ottoman world in the Society, see the minutes of their meetings in the periodical of the Society, *Ellinikos Philologikos Syllogos* 1864, no. 7, 45-46, no. 8-9, 102-3. Their interest in historical and archaeological studies informs, among others, a tract on Roman history by K.A. Karatheodoris, *Ellinikos Philologikos Syllogos* 1865, nos. 10-11, 149-71. See also the tracts on Byzantine land walls, the inscriptions on the walls, and the gates of the walls, *Ellinikos Philologikos Syllogos* 1865, nos. 10-11, 171-221.

<sup>19</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:135.

<sup>20</sup> He also published another book in 1865 entitled *Prodromoi tis Anagenniseos ton Grammaton en ti Anatoli* ["Forerunners of Enlightenment in Anatolia"] which was about Serapheim of Antalya who later became the metropolitan bishop of Ankara; see Pehlivanidis 1989, 1:140-41. Serapheim was known for translating Greek works into Turkish with Greek characters; see Gedeon 1932, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 147-89.

<sup>22</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 1-2.



Ottoman and Greek intellectuals of the time.<sup>24</sup> In fact, the idea of lagging behind in comparison to the “civilized” countries of Europe led to a variety of modes of writing which debated diverse aspects of the matter. While this outlook is mostly expressed in essays, tracts, newspaper articles, and similar types of writing, Danieloğlu rather exceptionally strove to identify some remedy to this shortcoming by producing a travelogue.

The book early on positions itself in the world of European travellers. The introduction to the book begins by addressing William Henry Waddington, the British-French politician and archaeologist who researched and published inscriptions and numismatic material from Anatolia.<sup>25</sup> Here Danieloğlu writes about his encounter with Waddington when the latter travelled to Anatolia, and how they remained in contact during the following four years, mostly exchanging information about ancient remains. By setting the tone of his book with this reference, Danieloğlu declares how deeply he was inspired by Waddington to undertake his travels in Pamphylia and how he wishes for Waddington not to forget him.<sup>26</sup>

The author emphasizes Western connections throughout the text. In addition to Waddington, there are many references to Charles Fellows and Colonel Leake,<sup>27</sup> who were among the leading travellers in the region. In the travelogue Danieloğlu and his fellow travellers visit the sites of Pamphylia with European travelogues in hand<sup>28</sup> and engage in discussions with European travellers, comparing and contrasting information.<sup>29</sup> On a more symbolic and identity-making level, engagement with European scholarship serves to present the author and his companions as members of the European community of travellers. The practice of visiting ancient sites using other travelogues and conversing with their authors is itself a well-established pattern of European travel writing<sup>30</sup> and furthers the goal of positioning the book in the same genre. Danieloğlu also makes sure to include words and phrases that derive from European languages and punctuates his text with italics.<sup>31</sup> With regard to certain practical matters, he incorporates further European references including the binoculars he bought in Paris and a modern tent, among others.<sup>32</sup> Finally, the Danieloğlu company follows the practice of European travellers by reenacting scenes from Greek mythology as they gather in the evenings.<sup>33</sup>

Danieloğlu not only followed the pattern of European travel writing by entering into a conversation with other travelogues, but more importantly, he opted to frame the text in the European travelogue genre. Each chapter is about a particular district and an ancient site. The content of each chapter is duly provided at the opening of the chapter in a detailed manner, highlighting not only the sites visited but also other points of interest, including the main events and individuals encountered in that part of the excursion.<sup>34</sup> When describing ancient

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<sup>24</sup> Hanioglu 1995, ch. 2; Exertzoglou 2015, ch. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Danieloğlu 1855 [2010], 3.

<sup>26</sup> Danieloglou 1855, Introduction.

<sup>27</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 9; Leake 1824, chs. 4-5; Fellows 1839, ch. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 9, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 9, 90-92, 109.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Leake referring to Captain Beaufort; see Leake 1824, 171.

<sup>31</sup> For example, he refers to the tent they use as “comfortable” (Danieloglou 1855, 90); to one of their suppers with the local people as “un plaisir absolu” (Danieloglou 1855, 61); and he gives a quotation from Lamartine (Danieloglou 1855, 26).

<sup>32</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 77.

<sup>33</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 40-41.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, Ainsworth 1842.

sites, Danieloğlu is careful to tell us how they were reached, i.e. through the establishment of necessary contacts and the presentation of references to the landlords or the headmen of the districts they visited.<sup>35</sup> According to form, the travellers also copy ancient inscriptions, and Danieloğlu includes them in the book.<sup>36</sup> In addition to quoting from ancient Greek literature like Homer,<sup>37</sup> he also refers to a group of villagers as Achillesees and Nestors based on the characteristics of these individuals<sup>38</sup> and uses the ancient name Byzantion instead of Constantinople.<sup>39</sup>

While an association with ancient Greece, regardless of the question of its accuracy for modern Greeks, might be the broader motive underlying his interest in antiquities in the first place, the text itself does not provide many explicit indications to support this view. Other than some references such as “our Strabon”, there is no substantial evidence of a special link to Antiquity.<sup>40</sup> Danieloğlu’s attention to the classical Greek civilization seems more to be the corollary of his Westernist stance and the desire to be part of the current leading civilization.

In response to a letter criticizing his book, Danieloğlu himself underlines that he is following the format of the European travel writing genre. As it emerges that this reader was not fond of the (rather unnecessary and redundant) embellishments that the author uses in the text,<sup>41</sup> Danieloğlu in his defense says that all travellers do so.<sup>42</sup> Indeed European travel writing regularly includes interesting anecdotes and entertaining scenes, often narrated in an engaging language.<sup>43</sup> These books were compiled not only for the archaeological and other scientific observations that they make, but also to provide good reading.

Danieloğlu not only writes but also acts as if he were a European traveller. This is apparent from the early pages of the book when he and his fellow travellers visit the Düden waterfalls, located very close to their native Antalya. When they hear a roaring sound, the author asks “What is this noise that we are hearing?”<sup>44</sup> It is unlikely that he would not have known about the waterfalls, particularly since the agricultural estates of the Danieloğlu family were in that district.<sup>45</sup> Yet their encounter with the Düden falls progresses as if they were seeing them for the first time. This dissociation of the self from the local environment that Danieloğlu attempts is also suggestive of a desire to keep a distance or to be “objective” in scientific endeavours. He clearly differentiates his scientific knowledge from the villagers’ interpretations of ancient sites and objects.<sup>46</sup> For example, when the coin sellers in Manavgat offer him historical information, he criticizes but refrains from ridiculing them, viewing the scene with an

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<sup>35</sup> See, for example, Danieloğlu 1855, 97.

<sup>36</sup> Danieloğlu 1855, 136.

<sup>37</sup> Danieloğlu 1855, 67, 92.

<sup>38</sup> Danieloğlu 1855, 78.

<sup>39</sup> Danieloğlu 1855, 148.

<sup>40</sup> For a parallel suggestion for Theodor Makridi also, see Eldem 2017, 163.

<sup>41</sup> For further details on this reader, see below the section “Greek Intellectual Networks”.

<sup>42</sup> Danieloğlu 1855, 149.

<sup>43</sup> From the Ottoman world, Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyabatname* is a good example of the entertainment component; see İnalçık 2009, 14-15.

<sup>44</sup> Danieloğlu 1855, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:137.

<sup>46</sup> See below the section “The Turkish-speaking Orthodox people, a rift in social class, and the civilizational drive”; Anderson 2015, 453.

anthropological gaze.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, when he encounters the astrologer of Side, he remarks to himself how unscientific the astrologer's knowledge is. At the same time, he endeavours not to disregard local sensitivities, and Danieloğlu finds a middle ground by proposing a scientific explanation for the role of the astrologer's prophecies in political and social life.<sup>48</sup>

## Danieloğlu and the Local World

While Danieloğlu situates himself in the world of European travellers and prioritizes ancient remains, the travelogue is animated by interest in and sensitivity to the local world. Indeed, while the general discourse in the book is about acting like a European in the East, a closer analysis of the text reveals elements of a local connection. This connection can be observed in tangible terms. As the group travels in the Selge region, the author mentions that he knows and admires the head of one of the villages they visit; likewise, he encounters his acquaintances in another village.<sup>49</sup> On another occasion, as the group approaches the Side region, they worry about producing passports which they do not have. What they have, though, is a local connection through the people they know and whom they aim to consult in place of presenting identity papers.<sup>50</sup> The administrator at the group's destination in Side had business connections with the author's father and so their meeting was set up by the author himself.<sup>51</sup> On another occasion, Danieloğlu recounts the characteristics of the Aksu River which the group passes on their way to an ancient site. As he provides information about the seasonal cycles and yearly changes of the river, he states that by visiting the site and seeing it for themselves they corroborated the local information that they had.<sup>52</sup>

While references to contemporary society are not uncommon in European travelogues, Danieloğlu's text draws on a more direct and engaged description of local society. Of particular interest are the issues of migration, the heterogeneity of the population, and the Greek connection of the region which Danieloğlu is keen to describe on various occasions throughout the text. For example, once in a *yörük* village<sup>53</sup> they are served by a man from Kos who was a fugitive from the Ottoman military, and who worked as a shepherd and a laborer and, occasionally, as an imam in the villages.<sup>54</sup> Since the man was from a Greek-speaking island, the author describes him as someone who "knows our language very well" and posits a connection between the travellers and the villager due to the commonality of their language.<sup>55</sup>

This and other encounters highlight a significant characteristic of the region in terms of attracting migrants/refugees. An early instance of migration for this time period was after the Napoleonic invasions of Egypt at the turn of the 19th century when migrants from North Africa arrived in Antalya.<sup>56</sup> The fact that Egypt was a trading partner of Antalya<sup>57</sup> might have played a

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<sup>47</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 140-41.

<sup>48</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 128-29.

<sup>49</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 75.

<sup>50</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 113.

<sup>51</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 120.

<sup>52</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 71-72.

<sup>53</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 11-12.

<sup>54</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 16-17.

<sup>55</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 16.

<sup>56</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 154, 165.

<sup>57</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 175.

role in the choice of destination, even though Antalya was not the only place which received migration at this time. A few decades later, when the Greek War of Independence in 1821 created a Muslim exodus from the Peloponnese, Antalya once again received a large number of refugees/migrants.<sup>58</sup> The Greek revolution also produced Greek slaves who were captives of Ottomans and who later found their way to Antalya. One of these people was a man from the island of Chios who converted to Islam and served as the clerk of the headman of Side.<sup>59</sup> Likewise, there were other migrants who ended up in Antalya for economic and other reasons.<sup>60</sup>

While Danieloğlu's descriptions of Antalya involve various population groups, an attentiveness to the Greek connections to the region is also noticeable. A close interest in contemporary society with a focus on its Greek community is likewise reflected in the appendices to the book, where Danieloğlu incorporates the findings of research that he carried out on the characteristics of the town of Antalya in general and of its local Greek community in particular. This last part of the book, which is essentially separate research juxtaposed with the text, provides basic information about the economic, social, cultural, etc. features of the region.<sup>61</sup> Such local histories would turn into a genre produced by the Greek-educated elite in both the late Ottoman period and the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish Population Exchange of 1923, and demonstrate a strong local and communal connection to Greek homelands in Anatolia.<sup>62</sup>

While these local effects are significant, they do not belie Danieloğlu's Westernizing tendencies. There are a number of instances in the text when the "local" and the "more global" overlap. For example, Danieloğlu is often familiar with the village heads and has acquaintances throughout the region. Yet he does not refrain from producing a letter of recommendation, in the style of European travelogues, when he does not directly know the people there.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, he describes the Muslim judgeship (*kadıkh*) as if this were a totally foreign institution to him,<sup>64</sup> while we learn that one of the *kadis* they visited knew his father personally, and that the latter had previously visited the *kadı* on one of the Muslim feasts.<sup>65</sup>

## Greek Intellectual Networks

*Travels in Pamphylia* is written in Greek. Greek was not necessarily the natural or the most obvious language one could use, speak, or write in for Orthodox Christians in Anatolia at this time. Turkish was the mother tongue of many Orthodox Christian communities, and there was

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<sup>58</sup> Dayar 2018, 24-33.

<sup>59</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 126.

<sup>60</sup> AKMS, Oral Archives, Pamphylia, Attaleia, PM1. Among the inhabitants of Antalya, Evanthia Konstantinidou's father-in-law was Morean (Biographical account of E. Konstantinidou, n.d.). The parents of Pantelis Arappantelis, who was born in 1900 in Antalya, came from Haifa as migrants (Biographical account of P. Arappantelis, n.d.). Antonios Paslis, who was born in 1878 in Antalya, stated that his grandfather was Cypriot (Biographical account of A. Paslis, 1948). According to the oral account of Eustratios Toustzoglou (28/1/1964), there were a number of Greeks who migrated to Antalya from Cyprus after the latter's occupation by the British.

<sup>61</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 147-89.

<sup>62</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, quoted in this article, is a good example of this genre. For other Greek connections in the book, see the references to Kos and Chios in nn. 54 and 59 respectively.

<sup>63</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 95.

<sup>64</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 115-16.

<sup>65</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 117.

a particular written form of it known as Karamanlidika.<sup>66</sup> The fact that the book was composed in Greek is reflective of a number of characteristics about the position of the book and the ambitions of its author in the intellectual and social landscape of his time. While available evidence does not provide much information about the life and upbringing of the author, the use of the Greek language seems to be compatible with his profile as a member of the local educated elite. As far as we can discern from *Travels in Pamphylia*, he acknowledged and supported the dissemination of the Greek language and the elite culture that formed around it. The use of the Greek language is also intertwined with the Western-oriented composition and structure of the work and the ways in which the author envisions the book in relation to the influential European travel writing genre. The perception of Greek as a language of civilization at this time and the concomitant use of it as the basis of the new scientific language might explain why it is employed in the book. More generally, since Greek civilization, which includes not only the language but also the ancient civilization that Danieloğlu investigates, was seen in European intellectual circles as a core component of European culture, it would make sense for him to compose the travelogue in Greek.

The promotion of the Greek language can also be regarded as a response, or a remedy, to the self-Orientalizing tendencies generated around the book. Danieloğlu expressly mentions that he intends the book to be a guide in Greek.<sup>67</sup> By this statement, not only does he imply that he conceives of the book as a Greek specimen of (European) travelogues, but also he suggests that writing the book in Greek addresses the concern that local intellectuals did not bother to study their own lands and that there was a deficiency of self-generated knowledge about globally significant local sites. As such, the travelogue in Greek was designed to be both a part of European scholarship and a national tract.

Indeed, what makes this book of further historical interest is that its target audience seems to have been the Greek intellectual milieu and that it was written at a time when this milieu, or rather the educated classes, were expanding and diversifying. This was the time period when learned Greek society extended beyond their usual confines of the upper clergy and the narrow intellectual circles. Along with the landowning bourgeois class and business circles, the newly emerging professional groups of medical doctors, lawyers, teachers, architects, etc. were increasingly participating in this educated community, while a proliferation of cultural and educational associations contributed to its creation and development.<sup>68</sup>

One of the main actors who contributed to the formation of this intellectual circle was Evangelinos Misailidis (1820-1890) who published *Travels in Pamphylia* at Anatoli, his influential and prolific publishing house. Indeed, the publication and dissemination of *Travels in Pamphylia* would not have been possible without the presence and concomitant growth of the publishing industry in Istanbul and other major cities of the empire. Misailidis contributed immensely to the development of the publishing industry in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>69</sup> He first began working in Izmir for the leading Greek paper *Amaltheia*. Then in the mid-19th century he moved to Istanbul where he ran a successful publishing house for about forty years until his death.<sup>70</sup> In Istanbul he established himself as the owner of a series of influential newspapers

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<sup>66</sup> See below the section "The Turkish-speaking Orthodox people, a rift in social class, and the civilizational drive".

<sup>67</sup> Danieloğlu 1855, 147.

<sup>68</sup> For an examination of this educated class, see Exertzoglou 1996.

<sup>69</sup> Tarinas 1996.

<sup>70</sup> Gedeon 1932, 13.

such as *Anatoli*,<sup>71</sup> where Danieloğlu published articles about the history of Antalya, Byzantine mosaics, and other subjects.<sup>72</sup> At *Anatoli*, Misailidis collaborated with Manouil Gedeon, who served as the editor of the paper. Gedeon was the patriarchal *chartophylax* [chancellor and archivist] and one of the leading intellectuals of the Ottoman Greek world in the late period.<sup>73</sup> The paper *Anatoli* could be found in Antalya, among other important newspapers of the time, which were published in Ottoman Turkish, Greek, and English, which suggested close intellectual interaction.<sup>74</sup>

Before entering the publishing world, Misailidis served as a teacher in the newly established Greek secondary school of Isparta, working for the Turkish-speaking Christian children of the town.<sup>75</sup> Like Danieloğlu, he was also interested in travelling during his youth. He accompanied the French archaeologist Philippe le Bas (1794-1860) during the latter's travels on the southern coasts of Anatolia, including Antalya and its hinterlands where they visited Kula, Misailidis's birthplace.<sup>76</sup> Overall, Misailidis was a highly significant figure for the education of Orthodox Christians and the development of letters in the Ottoman Greek world. As part of his activities in the publishing world, Misailidis worked on Karamanlidika novels among other literary and educational production.<sup>77</sup> He was particularly influential in the acculturation of the Turkish-speaking Orthodox masses through his publications in Karamanlidika and his other efforts for linguistic and cultural Hellenization.<sup>78</sup>

As for Danieloğlu, his *Travels in Pamphylia* was the product of a researcher who aspired to be a part of this educated community. In its appendices, the book refers to one of its readers in Istanbul. This gentleman, who had read the book, engages in a conversation with Danieloğlu about the content of the *Travels*,<sup>79</sup> which implies an intellectual exchange concerning the work. Danieloğlu mentions that this person received a copy through an acquaintance of Danieloğlu,<sup>80</sup> which suggests the involvement of a number of individuals as the audience of the book.

## The Turkish-Speaking Orthodox People, a Rift in Social Class, and the Civilizational Drive

While Danieloğlu's contribution to the development of modern Greek letters was a significant project in itself, there was also an educational reason for composing the *Travels*. In Misailidis's foreword to the travelogue, he argues for the need to illuminate the people. He begins by depicting a "wall of ignorance" facing the Greek people that denigrates them and deprives them of the capacity to differentiate right from wrong.<sup>81</sup> The remedy, according to him, is to

<sup>71</sup> Balta 2010, part 2; Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2014a; Tarinas 2007, 34-35.

<sup>72</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 144, 154, 164.

<sup>73</sup> Gedeon 1932, 12-13.

<sup>74</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 181.

<sup>75</sup> Misailidis 1983, 1-2.

<sup>76</sup> Gedeon 1932, 12, 14; Misailidis 1983, 1-2; Balta 2009.

<sup>77</sup> Kut 1987; Anhegger 1988a; Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2014b.

<sup>78</sup> Gedeon 1932, 14; Anhegger 1988b.

<sup>79</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 148-49.

<sup>80</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 148.

<sup>81</sup> Danieloglou 1855, "Preface by E. Misailidis", i.



follow the model of Europe by keeping up with developments in the sciences and investing in research that will allow them to tackle problems in education. In this scheme, Danieloğlu emerges as a figure whose role is to contribute to the mission of enlightening the Greek nation.<sup>82</sup> This outlook is corroborated by a piece of information provided in the appendices to the book, where Danieloğlu presents a letter that congratulates him and the publisher as they herald the emergence of a new generation of “enlightened writers/leaders”.<sup>83</sup> The letter also underlines the necessity and significance of taking up the task of transmitting education, civilization, and culture, particularly to the inner provinces.

Indeed, this depiction of Danieloğlu raises the issue of the education of the masses, more specifically of the largely provincial Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian people and peasantry who inhabited the inner and/or most of the non-western parts of Anatolia.<sup>84</sup> The presence of large concentrations of Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christian populations had already led to the birth of a highly specialized publishing field in the Turkish language written with Greek characters (*Karamanlidika*).<sup>85</sup> Publications in *Karamanlidika* emerged mostly as religious instruction in the early modern period. Only scattered examples exist from before the 19th century when there was a proliferation and diversification in religious and secular writing, and various kinds of educational and fictional texts began to emerge.<sup>86</sup> Misailidis was a leading actor in this field. Not only did he himself compose works in *Karamanlidika*, but his publishing house also sponsored the production of a great number of publications in this language. This meant that they reached the masses in their mother tongue, which was Turkish, while encouraging the use of the Greek alphabet.<sup>87</sup>

Even though the aforementioned review congratulates Danieloğlu on his services towards the enlightenment of the provinces, Danieloğlu did not do this in the Turkish language, the mother tongue of his fellow townsmen in Antalya. Danieloğlu wrote in Greek in a Turcophone town.<sup>88</sup> There thus seems to be a rift between the local scholar and the place where he wrote his book. The audience of the *Travels* was not the common people of Antalya but the educated Greek-speaking people in the area. And it encouraged those who were not well versed in Greek to develop their language skills and to contribute more broadly to modern schooling in Antalya.

At the time the book was compiled, Antalya had a considerable Orthodox population concentrated in the eastern and southern parts of the town.<sup>89</sup> While Muslims formed the majority of the town's total population of about 8,500, the Greek Orthodox community numbered

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<sup>82</sup> Misailidis also refers to the role of the Greek language in this educational drive and the importance of carrying the language from the past to the future. He also emphasizes that the Greek nation inhabits the eastern lands, Danieloglou 1855, “Preface by E. Misailidis”, i-iii.

<sup>83</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 148.

<sup>84</sup> For the education of *Karamanlis*, see Benlisoy 2010, 2019.

<sup>85</sup> This language is named after the Karaman region owing to the well-known Turcophone communities there that used this language, even though Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians inhabited large parts of Anatolia.

<sup>86</sup> Balta 2010, 2015, are among her other works on *Karamanlis*.

<sup>87</sup> Gedeon 1932, 14.

<sup>88</sup> Joseph Wolff on Turcophone Christians in Antalya in 1831, quoted in Sönmez 2013, 235; AKMS, PM1. According to the oral account of E. Toustzoglou (28/1/1964), the mother tongue of the Orthodox Christian inhabitants of Antalya was Turkish. For individual members of this population, see AKMS, PM1. According to the biographical information (28/1/1964) on E. Toustzoglou (b. 1888), his family was Turkish speaking. According to the biographical information (27/5/1968) on Anastasios Hatzikonstantinou (b. 1877), he was Turkish speaking.

<sup>89</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, Map of Antalya, n.p.

around 2,500 people, making them 28-30% of the total population.<sup>90</sup> As an active port town trading with the major regions in the eastern Mediterranean,<sup>91</sup> Antalya attracted in-migration which contributed to the growth of its Orthodox population throughout the 19th century.<sup>92</sup> Similar to most of the towns of the southern Anatolian coast,<sup>93</sup> let alone the inner regions, Antalya's Greek Christians were Turkish-speaking. One can cite many examples showing that the inhabitants of the town were unfamiliar with the Greek language. Danieloğlu, for example, refers to women of the town who, because they were Turcophone, were not fond of priests who recited the Bible in Greek.<sup>94</sup> Ioannis Bourgontzoglou, a musician, was illiterate and knew very little Greek, while his wife did not speak the language at all.<sup>95</sup> Likewise, Antonios Paslis, a bricklayer, spoke only Turkish.<sup>96</sup> Anastasios Hatzikonstantinou, born in 1877, never went to school and had almost no knowledge of the Greek language.<sup>97</sup> While it was not only the lower classes whose mother tongue was Turkish,<sup>98</sup> the development of Greek-language modern formal education began to produce a differentiation in social class, or (at least) generated a gap between the educated and the uneducated classes.

Throughout his *Travels*, Danieloğlu provides ample evidence of his opinion of villagers. He clearly portrays himself and his fellow travellers as endowed with scientific knowledge about ancient sites, while lamenting the state of ignorance among the people who inhabited those sites and were in contact with the monuments on a daily basis. Yet he does not differentiate or privilege Greeks or any particular community. For him, the difference was between the educated and the uneducated. In Perge, for example, he writes that a Greek stone mason had removed and destroyed an ancient statue of a woman,<sup>99</sup> while the region was full of treasure hunters in search of ancient valuables.<sup>100</sup> Likewise, the ancient theater and the forum had become a site for grazing animals,<sup>101</sup> and the hippodrome had become a field where the locals grew barley.<sup>102</sup> The acropolis, as a secure area, was also being used for agriculture and animal husbandry.<sup>103</sup> Drawing a sharp contrast between the ancient civilizations that inhabited the site

<sup>90</sup> Dinç 2017, 458-63. Kechriotis 2010. Available information on population from the later decades suggests that these percentages were maintained throughout the decades. See Baykara 2007, 12-15; Çimrin 2018, 9; AKMS, PM1. According to the oral account of E. Toustzoglou, Antalya had 12.000 Orthodox Christian and 20.000 Muslim inhabitants in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire (28/1/1964).

<sup>91</sup> AKMS, PM1, the oral account of E. Toustzoglou (28/1/1964).

<sup>92</sup> See above the section "Danieloğlu and the Local World".

<sup>93</sup> AKMS; see for example Anamur (KL10, Ch. Konstantinidis, 24/10/1962), Silifke (KL8, A. Etzeoglou, 17/4/1963), Alanya (PM2-3, P. Sarafidis, 13/2/1964).

<sup>94</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 169. It is significant that Danieloglou mentions women since some, though not all, of the men of the town - who had more contact with the outside world and had a better chance of getting an education - knew some more languages in addition to the mother tongue of the town.

<sup>95</sup> AKMS, PM1, biographical information on Ioannis Bourgontzoglou (n.d.). See also biographical information on Anna Vaseiliou (n.d.).

<sup>96</sup> AKMS, PM1, biographical information on Antonis Paslis (1948).

<sup>97</sup> AKMS, PM1, biographical information on Anastasios Hatzikonstantinou (27/5/1968).

<sup>98</sup> As knowledge of a second language was a question of need, those who were not directly engaged with Greek networks did not speak the language. Yankos Karadenizli, for example, an important merchant and landowner who ran grocery stores and inns and was engaged in animal husbandry, knew little Greek; AKMS, PM1, Biographical Information on Yankos Karadenizli (n.d.).

<sup>99</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 29.

<sup>100</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 45.

<sup>101</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 20.

<sup>102</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 31.

<sup>103</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 48, 51.

with the contemporary setting, at one moment in the book Danieloğlu sits on the steps of the ruined theater and imagines the ancient Greek tragedies that would have played there.<sup>104</sup>

When he directly encounters the villagers of Selge and Aspendos, he differentiates himself from them by portraying himself as an educated townsman or urban dweller. He finds it difficult to bear the various stories that the villagers have made up about the history of the site,<sup>105</sup> even though the existence of these stories is itself a sign of interest, however unscientific, on the part of the locals. Danieloğlu does, however, find a person who speaks his scientific language - the (Muslim) landlord of Side.<sup>106</sup> Referring to him as a "light in the desert",<sup>107</sup> he sits down to teach the landlord and his retinue, upon their demand, how to calculate the correspondence between the Islamic and Christian calendars. While he does occasionally discover such people with whom he can converse, they are rather exceptional figures.

Danieloğlu's attitude to the practice of religion, whether Christian or Muslim, parallels his civilizational outlook. He is critical of Muslim judges who, in his view, are ignorant and uncritically follow orders.<sup>108</sup> Likewise, he disapproves of Orthodox priests who are accustomed to abuse the religious sentiment of the people and collect money from them.<sup>109</sup> The civilizing emphasis seems to override communal differences. In the above example about the Greek-speaking Muslim from the island of Kos, Danieloğlu is concerned about the future prospects of this promising man and is perplexed by his choice to remain in the mountains.<sup>110</sup>

The discursive and ideological nature of this attitude becomes more apparent when viewed in contrast with certain features in the local description of Antalya located in the appendices. While in the main body of the book he is critical of the practice of religion and the position of women, the local information about his hometown outside the confines of the travelogue is suggestive of a milder and more accepting view. Even though his discursive attitude towards religion is in line with the enlightenment discourse, he depicts religion in a more favorable light as a feature of respectable people.<sup>111</sup> With regard to the situation of the women, in contrast to his ideological attitude towards women's position, he writes approvingly of how local practice deemed it inappropriate for ladies to come into close proximity with guests, and how a family was considered fortunate if their house had separate quarters for men and women.<sup>112</sup>

### Charity: Civilizational Drive in Practice

Outside the text, Danieloğlu was more directly engaged in responding to what he saw as the ignorance of the lower classes, to whom he related through charity. Because of his economic position, he was highly influential in the local social and cultural milieu, particularly through philanthropic work. The Danieloğlu family, more broadly, can be regarded as one of the chief drivers of the changes in charity and patterns of social engagement in Antalya in the modern period.

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<sup>104</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 52.

<sup>105</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 94, 101, 107.

<sup>106</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 125.

<sup>107</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 142.

<sup>108</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 115-16.

<sup>109</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 169.

<sup>110</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 16.

<sup>111</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 169.

<sup>112</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 174.

The family's philanthropic activities began with Dimitri Danieloğlu, the grandfather of the author and founder of the family estate. Dimitri supported the Greek community of Antalya by making donations for churches, schools, and philanthropic institutions.<sup>113</sup> His son Hacı Strati, the author's uncle, was the benefactor of, among others, the church of Agios Panteleimonas and the school for boys, which had seven classes in the primary and secondary levels.<sup>114</sup> The author, Dimitri, followed in his family's tradition by contributing to the fund for the establishment of the Church of Agios Alipios in 1844.<sup>115</sup>

While charity was an old tradition, the way in which it developed at this time in the Ottoman Empire exhibited certain modern developments. It emerged not only as a mechanism for the social and cultural expression of the new well-to-do and educated classes, but as part of a broader civilizational and mobilizational discourse. This discourse underlined and reproduced differences in socio-economic status. It also aimed to transform the lower and lower-middle classes into a modern community with unified social and cultural characteristics.<sup>116</sup> All communal institutions - local churches, schools, and philanthropic associations - emerged, each in their own way, as key actors in this discourse.

Secularization was a salient aspect of the civilizational discourse, and local churches became a part of modern transformations, mainly through the involvement of laymen in the management of communal institutions. Church organizations of the 19th century increasingly included lay leaders in their decision-making and administrative systems. The Danieloğlu family was involved in this transformation, as they filled many administrative positions in the management of communal affairs.<sup>117</sup> Danieloğlu and his father were members of the Greek communal administration of Antalya,<sup>118</sup> while his brother Pantel Ağa also served at the Ottoman town council and was in charge of the collection of state taxes from his community.<sup>119</sup> As secularization evolved into a central ingredient of the civilizational discourse, it emerged in local reality through tangible administrative change.

A critical characteristic of the civilizational discourse and, more specifically, the secularizing and nationalizing agenda was education in general and the school system in particular. The modern school, which Danieloğlu supported and - when it did not function - lamented, was also closely linked to the dissemination of Greek language and culture. Danieloğlu believed that people would learn things if they were guided and instructed properly.<sup>120</sup> Along with his efforts to promote the Greek language with his book, which he labeled a travel guide to the province in the Greek language, the main pillar of this project was a school system where the language of instruction was Greek.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:134.

<sup>114</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:132. Danieloglou 1855, 170. AKMS, PM1, the oral account of Pantelis Arappantelis (18/2/1964).

<sup>115</sup> See the inscription at the gate of the Agios Alipios Church, which is written in Greek and Karamanlidika. I would like to thank Kayhan Dörtlük for drawing my attention to this inscription.

<sup>116</sup> For a study of philanthropy in the Ottoman Greek world, see Kanner 2004.

<sup>117</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989; AKMS, PM1. According to the oral account of Eustratios Toustzoglou (28/1/1964), Pantel Ağa was in the Ottoman administrative council of the town, and Iordanis Danieloğlu was an officer in the police corps of the city.

<sup>118</sup> For the inscription at the gate of the Agios Alipios Church, see Pehlivanidis 1989, 1:301.

<sup>119</sup> Pehlivanidis 1989, 2:137.

<sup>120</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 183.

<sup>121</sup> Danieloglou 1855, 180.

Therefore, while the mother tongue of the Greek inhabitants of Antalya was Turkish, some of the residents of the town began to learn Greek in the later decades of the empire through schooling. Eustratios Toustzoglou, for example, went to the Greek middle school in Antalya and then received a high school diploma in Chios, a trading partner of Antalya.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, Eleni Karadenizli finished the girls school in Antalya and worked as a teacher, which implied knowledge of the Greek language,<sup>123</sup> as did Maria Bakirtzoglou who went to school and knew Greek.<sup>124</sup> Moving up the social hierarchy, there were individuals like Dimitrios Avgerinos who was a middleman in the grain trade and then worked for the Hellenic consular agency in Antalya as a translator. He either knew Greek from his childhood on the island of Syros or learnt it when he attended school for five years. Not only did he know Greek, but he was also interested in reading ancient Greek authors.<sup>125</sup> A good command of the Greek language opened new avenues for these individuals such as a job at the Hellenic consular agency or the Greek school of the town. While not all individuals familiar with Greek went into such sectors, they nevertheless were connected, or potentially connected, to the Greek cultural environment.

## In Lieu of a Conclusion

Focusing on the archaeological remains and contemporary society in the Antalya region, Danieloğlu's writing on the one hand informs us about the concerns, preoccupations, and aspirations of an educated member of the local Greek elite regarding scientific research and civilizational development. At the same time, it provides us with an understanding of the context and circumstances in which this individual wrote, lived, and related to society in the Anatolian Greek world in particular and the Ottoman Empire in general.

By composing the text in the European travelogue genre and paying close attention to the conventions followed by European travellers, Danieloğlu aimed to take part in a more universal drive for compiling scientific information about the past and present of the Anatolian lands in the 19th century. Likewise, his work shows a strong interest in ancient history, coupled with a civilizational aim, that strongly parallels the aims of some of the Ottoman state or state-affiliated intellectuals as they viewed the provinces from Istanbul, the center of the empire. Danieloğlu's engagement with the classical world seems to have been more a result of his elitism and Westernism than the fact that he saw himself as a Greek.

With the compilation of this travelogue, Danieloğlu not only strove to become part of the world of archaeology and travel writing, but also turned himself into a producer of that world in the Ottoman Empire. Considering the time period in which he wrote, i.e. the mid-19th century, the text precedes the more concrete manifestation of Ottoman imperial interest in travel and archaeology that occurred in the second half of the century. At the same time Danieloğlu's text is not chronologically far removed from the development of a scientific interest in antiquities among European travellers, whom he relates to and references in the book. In this sense, and regardless of the question of the originality of his archaeological examinations, he was part of the latest leanings in the science and humanities of his time, and possibly a local pioneer.

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<sup>122</sup> AKMS, PM1, Biographical information on Eustratios Toustzoglou (28/1/1964).

<sup>123</sup> AKMS, PM1, Biographical information on Eleni Karadenizli (n.d.).

<sup>124</sup> AKMS, PM1, Biographical information on Maria Bakirtzoglou (n.d.).

<sup>125</sup> AKMS, PM1, Biographical information on Dimitrios Avgerinos (n.d.).

The book combines a Westernist stance with a heightened interest in local lands. That Danieloğlu chose to compile this travelogue as a local researcher and writer is itself historically significant. Inquiring about the places he was from, showing interest in the history of these lands, and considering these inquiries to be a worthwhile endeavour are all novelties of the book. He displays a direct connection to local society, which he describes rather extensively, and shows a particular social sensitivity as a local researcher and an attentiveness to the present situation of his homeland. The local references in the text are to tangible, practical matters, and while there is a focus on the Greeks of the region, his work embraces a much wider segment of the population.

Danieloğlu's descriptions of local society are often followed by an Orientalist critique coupled with an engagement that aims to overcome their perceived shortcomings. As an educated local intellectual from one of the leading families of Antalya, Danieloğlu projects a civilizational and educational drive towards the population of the region in general and the Greek community in particular. The fact that he specifically intended the book to serve as a travel guide in the Greek language indicates both a civilizing and an Orientalizing attitude. Compiled in a Turcophone Orthodox Christian town, the book is in practice aimed at a readership in the local and wider-educated elite Greek community. The direct and practical goal seems to have been more about educating the educators or reaching out to the local leading figures in the Orthodox world rather than connecting to the masses, a task which was often carried out at the time through the use of the Turkish language written with Greek characters. The book is also firmly rooted in the newly proliferating Greek publishing sector, which shared the same outlook on enlightenment and progress. At the same time, it is also related to the Danieloğlu family's philanthropic activities and their communal administrative engagement in Antalya. Ultimately, Danieloğlu appears to be situated in between the Greek upper elite in Istanbul and the largely Turkish-speaking common Greek townsmen and villagers of the Antalya region.



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# Two Church Bells from Antalya: Traces of the Religious Soundscape of the Late Ottoman Period

ALEX RODRIGUEZ SUAREZ\*

## Abstract

This article examines two church bells found in Antalya. One hangs at the top of the Antalya clock tower while the other is on display at the Antalya Toy Museum. These two artefacts, which have not received any serious scholarly attention, were surely employed in Orthodox churches until 1923, when the population exchange between Turkey and Greece led to the conversion or demolition of most churches in the city. The two instruments are first described and then contextualized in the period that witnessed their use - the very end of the Late Ottoman period.

**Keywords:** church bells, Antalya, bell ringing, religious soundscape, Late Ottoman

## Öz

Bu makalede, Antalya'da bulunan iki kilise çanı incelenmektedir. Bunlardan birisi, Antalya Saat Kulesi'nde asılı durmakta diğeri ise Antalya Oyuncak Müzesi'nde sergilenmektedir. Bilimsel açıdan yeterli ilgi görmeyen ve çalışılmayan bu iki çan, 1923 yılında Türkiye ve Yunanistan arasında gerçekleşen nüfus mübadelesine kadar şehirdeki Ortodoks kiliselerinde kullanılmışlardır. Bu mübadele sonrasında şehirdeki pek çok kilise ya başka amaçlarla kullanılmaya başlanmış ya da yıkılmışlardır. Makalede önce, bu iki çanın tanımlamaları yapılmakta, ardından da kullanımda oldukları Geç Osmanlı Dönemi'nin sonlarındaki dönem bağlamında ele alınmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** kilise çanları, Antalya, çan sesi, dini ses, Geç Osmanlı

## Introduction

The collections of several Turkish museums include Christian bells. For instance, such instruments can be found in the Tekirdağ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography,<sup>1</sup> the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology,<sup>2</sup> the Bergama Museum,<sup>3</sup> the Istanbul Archaeological

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<sup>1</sup> The bell in this collection is dated to 1890 and has an Armenian inscription.

<sup>2</sup> The bell in this collection was cast in Piraeus, Greece, in 1906.

<sup>3</sup> This large bell, which comes from a church in Ayvalık, was cast in Bochum, Germany, in 1863; see Köken 2017a, 2017b.

Museums,<sup>4</sup> and the Istanbul Military Museum.<sup>5</sup> These objects, which are sometimes displayed outside the actual galleries, have not attracted much interest from scholars in the field of material culture. The reason may be that these bells are relatively recent, dated to either the second half of the 19th century or the early 20th. Nonetheless, these instruments are valuable because they can help us to recreate the religious soundscape of the Late Ottoman period. In this article I am going to discuss two bells found in Antalya. The first one hangs in the clock tower of the city while the second is on display at the Toy Museum. My aim is not only to describe them, but also to place them in their historical context. The goal is to use them to discuss briefly the religious soundscape of the Christian communities during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire.

## 1. The Bell from the Antalya Clock Tower (fig. 1)

The first reference to this bell is found in a book about clock towers in Anatolia by Hakkı Acun (1994). In the section about the Antalya clock tower he briefly describes the instrument that used to mark the hours.<sup>6</sup> We are told that the artefact is the only part that survives from the clock mechanism. It shows Jesus, the Virgin *orans*, a saint and a Greek inscription. This description was later copied by other authors dealing with the Antalya clock tower and who do not seem to have had access to the actual instrument.<sup>7</sup> The decoration of this object indicates that it originally came from a church.

Measurements: Height, 71 cm; diameter, 71 cm.

State of preservation: The bell is missing the clapper; in its place is a lightbulb (the instrument is currently employed as a lamp). The religious representations are eroded, and the surface shows many graffiti.

Inscription (on the lowest part of the main body, on one side): ΕΠΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙ ΝΑΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΓΕΙΑΣ (fig. 2). Translation: "In the name of the church of the Virgin in Attaleia."

Decoration: On the top of the main body is a band decorated with leaves. The central part of the main body shows three single images: the Virgin seated on a cloud with both arms raised (fig. 3), half-figure of a male saint holding a scroll (St. John the Baptist?), and the Crucifixion of Jesus (fig. 4). Underneath each image is a leafy design.

The Greek inscription informs us that the bell was cast for the church of the Virgin in Antalya, which was actually dedicated to The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.<sup>8</sup> After the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923,<sup>9</sup> the church was used for some years as the city museum. Today it is the Sultan Alaaddin Mosque.<sup>10</sup> Formerly, one of the most

<sup>4</sup> For details about one of the bells at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, see Rodriguez Suarez 2018, 303-4, fig. 16.1.

<sup>5</sup> This bell, which was surely cast in Russia, comes from the monument that the Russians built at San Stefano (Yeşilköy, Istanbul) in 1898 to commemorate the Russian soldiers who died in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. The monument was demolished in November 1914. Apparently, it had more than one instrument; see Mutlu 2007, 79-80.

<sup>6</sup> Acun 1994, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Cansever 2009, 41; Çimrin 2018, 125. Cansever changed the description slightly. According to her, the bell is decorated with images of the baby Jesus, the Virgin praying, and a saint. The inscription is written in ancient Greek.

<sup>8</sup> Πεχλιβανίδης 1989, 1.252-53; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1:330.

<sup>9</sup> In 1923 Greece and Turkey signed the treaty of Lausanne, which ended the war between the two countries and agreed to an obligatory exchange of Greek Orthodox and Muslim populations.

<sup>10</sup> Antalya Valiliği 2004, 38; Çimrin 2017, 59-63, 159-62. The lower part of the bell tower is still standing; see Yıldız and Duran 1999, 8-9.



important churches in the city, it was built in 1834. Because bell ringing was only allowed throughout the Ottoman Empire in 1856, the bell must have been cast at some point after that year. It may date to the second half of the 19th century. Of the two bells discussed in this article, the instrument from the clock tower is the larger one; however, its production is of inferior quality. For instance, the inscription has not been cast satisfactorily. Also, the three religious figures that decorate it are rather generic and not rendered in detail. The image of the Virgin seems to be more prominent since the inscription starts underneath it. This may be the case because the church where the bell was going to be employed was dedicated to her. The bell may have been cast in a foundry located in Greece. Two bells from the region of Antalya were produced in workshops located on the Greek island of Syros. One was used at the church of St. Nicholas in Demre,<sup>11</sup> while the other apparently came from a church in Kalkan.<sup>12</sup> The bell at the Antalya clock tower, however, does not show the nameplate of the foundry. The lack of a nameplate could indicate that the bell was not cast by a well-established foundry, or that the foundry had not been active for a long time.

### The Antalya Clock Tower

The clock tower is one of the most famous landmarks of Antalya. It was built reusing one of the towers of the ancient city walls erected during the Roman period. The structure built to contain the actual clock, once topped by a dome, was first dated to the 19th century.<sup>13</sup> Later Acun dated it more precisely to the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909), who promoted the expansion of clock towers throughout Anatolia and the Levant.<sup>14</sup> More recently, it has been argued that the clock tower actually dates to the very end of the Ottoman period when works were apparently underway in 1921.<sup>15</sup> The bell in the clock tower could support this late date; however, we do not know for certain when the instrument was placed in the clock tower. A possible reconstruction of the events is the following: The bell was employed in the church of the Virgin until the population exchange, when it was left behind. When the clock tower was completed, a bell was needed to mark the hours and so our instrument was used for this purpose. The bell may also have replaced a previous instrument that broke at some point after the Greek community abandoned Antalya. An alternative hypothesis is that the bell may have been confiscated before the population exchange, rather than being left behind. In any case, the recycling of bells was not a new practice in the Ottoman Empire. Many bells, presumably taken or looted from churches and monasteries, had already been reused in clock towers. One instance is the bell from the Ottoman clock tower of Kyustendil (Bulgaria), which was built in 1665. Donated to an unknown church by a certain Radoslav, the instrument was cast in 1429.<sup>16</sup> Also, many clock towers built in Bosnia during the Ottoman period received bells taken from churches in Dalmatia.<sup>17</sup> The lack of a bell-casting industry in the Ottoman Empire explains the

<sup>11</sup> Doğan et al. 2014, 40-41; Doğan and Fındık 2018, 51, 53-54. It is on display at the Museum of Lycian Civilizations, Demre and dated to 1876.

<sup>12</sup> It was cast in 1897 and today is on display at the Kalkan City Hall. Online article dated to May 2015: <http://www.gazetevatan.com/118-yillik-kilise-cani-bodruma-atildi-794993-yasam/>

<sup>13</sup> Turfan 1997, 40c; Antalya Belediye Başkanlığı 1990, 171.

<sup>14</sup> Acun 1994, 9. For his silver jubilee, in 1901, the sultan decreed that all provincial cities should build a clock tower in his name; see Acun 1994, 6; Uluengin 2010, 20.

<sup>15</sup> Güçlü 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Rodriguez Suarez 2018, 306-7, fig. 16.2. The clock tower is not standing anymore, but the bell still marks the hours on top of the Kyustendil City Hall.

<sup>17</sup> Škegro 2015.

reuse of church bells.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the instrument from the church of the Virgin may be the last known instance of a bell recycled in a clock tower.

## 2. The Bell from the Antalya Toy Museum (fig. 5)

This artefact, which is exhibited along with teddy bears, dolls and models, was put on display at the Antalya Toy Museum in 2011. Its museum label states that, according to a witness, the instrument came from a church in Lara, to the east of Antalya.<sup>19</sup> The building was demolished after the population exchange, and a hotel currently stands on its location.<sup>20</sup> We are also told that the bell was broken because it was thought to contain gold. The museum label also describes briefly the instrument: It is decorated with Christian iconography and produced in Venice. On the other hand, Hüseyin Çimrin, the author of a recent book about the Old Town of Antalya, states that the bell at the Toy Museum comes from the clock tower.<sup>21</sup> He copies the description of the bell from Acun's book, discussed above. It is possible that Çimrin confused the two bells because of certain similarities between Acun's description and the bell at the Antalya Toy Museum, namely the depictions of Jesus, the Virgin, and a saint. Nonetheless, the bell at the museum is decorated with more images and does not include any Greek inscription.

Measurements: Height, 57 cm; diameter, 59 cm.

State of preservation: The bell is cracked; however, it does not have any patina. The outlines of the figures are crisp. These details indicate that the instrument is neither very old nor was it used for a long time.

Decoration: The shoulder of the bell, the part above the main body of the instrument, shows a band with garlands and shells. Below this, the top of the main body is decorated with motifs that include flowers and hanging tassels. On the main body of the bell are eight single images, four religious figures, and four elongated cartouches that alternate. The Christian representations, which are not labelled, include Jesus on the cross, a seated male saint blessing and holding an open book (fig. 6), an enthroned Virgin with the Child, and a half-figure of an Orthodox ecclesiastic (fig. 7). The cartouches are decorated; on their top is a helmet with two wings under which are two intertwined serpents. In their interior two of the cartouches bear the same image - the face of a man with grapes instead of hair. This is Bacchus, god of wine (fig. 8). The image is an intriguing instance of a figure of classical mythology used to decorate a bell. The other two cartouches bear inscriptions. Below the figures, on the curve of the bell, are two different decorative motifs, one bigger and the other smaller, that alternate around the instrument. Finally, the rim is decorated with an ornamental band with small tassels.

Inscription: One of the elongated cartouches bears the nameplate of the foundry that cast the bell (fig. 10). It reads: PREMIATA / FONDERIA / DE POLI / IN / VITTORIO. The other elongated cartouche bears the year in which the bell was produced: 1902 (fig. 9). The first number resembles a J.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> I only know of one bell cast in the Ottoman Empire to be employed in a clock tower, that of Trikala, which was cast in 1648 and showed an Ottoman inscription. It went missing during the Second World War; see Κατσόγιαννος 2014, 67-70, 75.

<sup>19</sup> A church dedicated to St. Andrew, built next to a sacred spring, was located in Lara; see Πεχλιβανίδης 1989, I.86.

<sup>20</sup> The accuracy of this account cannot be proven.

<sup>21</sup> Çimrin 2018, 125.

<sup>22</sup> This is not the only case. A bell at Cetinje Monastery (Montenegro), cast by the De Poli foundry in 1882, also shows a number 1 that looks like a J; see Bypa 2005, 37.

Part of the decoration of this bell is peculiar. While the figures of the Virgin and the Crucifixion are common in the imagery found on bells, the other two figures are rare and may have a story to tell. The seated saint resembles Byzantine and Post-Byzantine representations of St. Nicholas.<sup>23</sup> The rendition is very similar to that of the saint in an icon dated to the 19th century and today on display at the Antalya Museum.<sup>24</sup> The latter would have decorated a church in Antalya or the nearby region. The saint on the bell is depicted with a balding head and a round beard. He wears the *omophorion*, the distinguishing vestment of an Orthodox bishop. This is a long scarf decorated with crosses and worn over the shoulders.<sup>25</sup> Falling over his legs we see the lower part of the *epitrachelion*, a liturgical stole worn by priests and bishops and usually decorated with embroidered images of saints.<sup>26</sup> One of the most popular saints in the Christian world, St. Nicholas was the bishop of Myra (modern Demre), located southwest of Antalya.<sup>27</sup> The church where he was originally buried was partly rebuilt by the Russians in the second half of the 19th century and abandoned after the population exchange.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the fame of the saint and its connection with the Antalya region could explain his representation on the bell. In fact, there was a Greek Orthodox church dedicated to St. Nicholas in Antalya.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, a reliquary containing relics reputed to have belonged to St. Nicholas is also on display at the Antalya Museum.<sup>30</sup> Before 1923 these relics were kept at the Metropolitan church of Antalya, which was dedicated to St. Panteleimon.<sup>31</sup>

The depiction of the Orthodox ecclesiastic is detailed. The bearded man, who also has long hair, wears a *kamelaukion* - the tall hat worn by monks and priests in the Orthodox Church. This is covered with a veil that hangs over his shoulders, a detail that could indicate the individual depicted is a monk, but not necessarily. He also holds a crosier (pastoral staff) in his right hand while he is blessing with the left one. The crosier, or *paterissa*, is like those used by high-ranking prelates of the Orthodox Church, for instance, bishops and abbots. Its top is surmounted by a pair of serpents whose bodies are intertwined and their heads are facing each other. There is a small cross between them. This artefact is inspired by the staff of Moses, also known as the rod of God mentioned in the Bible.<sup>32</sup> Hanging from his neck are a pectoral cross and two *encolpia*. The latter is a medallion with an icon in the center; the one represented further down probably intends to show a portrait of Jesus. The combination of the cross and the *encolpia* could indicate that the individual in question is an archbishop. Finally, he wears a *mandyas*, a cloak that opens in front and stretches down to the knees.<sup>33</sup> It is decorated with crosses and, on one side, shows the double-headed eagle, the symbol of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Such elaborate *mandyas* are usually worn by bishops. It is difficult to say

<sup>23</sup> For details about his figure, see Kazhdan 1991, 1:1469-470, s.v. "Nicholas of Myra". For representations dated to the Byzantine period, see Ševčenko 1983, 182, no. 3.0, 317, no. 37.0, and 335, no. 41.0. These icons do not depict him seated; however, his physical features are very similar. He is also shown blessing and holding a book. His image had already decorated a Serbian bell cast in 1432; see Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 422, no. 172.

<sup>24</sup> Yener 2015, 266-67, no. 104.

<sup>25</sup> Kazhdan 1991, 3:1526, s.v. "omophorion"; Woodfin 2012, 13, 15-16.

<sup>26</sup> Kazhdan 1991, 1:725, s.v. "epitrachelion"; Woodfin 2012, 9-11, 15.

<sup>27</sup> For the city of Myra, see Akyürek 2015.

<sup>28</sup> For the church, see Doğan et al. 2014; Doğan and Findık 2018.

<sup>29</sup> Πεχλιβανίδης 1989, I.251; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1:329; Çimrin 2017, 162.

<sup>30</sup> Yener 2015, 257-59.

<sup>31</sup> Çimrin 2017, 141.

<sup>32</sup> Exodus 4.2.

<sup>33</sup> Kazhdan 1991, 2:1282, s.v. "mandyas".

with certainty who the individual depicted on the bell is. However, he surely is a prelate of the Orthodox Church, perhaps a bishop. The image of St. Nicholas on the other side of the bell supports the possibility that we are indeed looking at a bishop. The association between the two images could have a further explanation. St. Nicholas was bishop of Myra, a city that became a metropolitan see.<sup>34</sup> In the 11th century the city of Attaleia, modern Antalya, was elevated to a metropolitan see.<sup>35</sup> In 1902, when the bell was cast, the individual who occupied this position had the title of metropolitan of Pisidia and Antalya. As we have seen above, the metropolitan church of Antalya was dedicated to St. Panteleimon. In this church, demolished in 1932, were preserved the relics of St. Nicholas today in the Antalya Museum.<sup>36</sup> Thus, there is a chance that at the beginning of the 20th century the metropolitan of Antalya considered the figure of St. Nicholas to be his predecessor. The depictions of St. Nicholas and the bishop/metropolitan on the bell would have proclaimed this relationship. In any case, the two images confirm that the bell was meant for an Orthodox church located in or near Antalya. The iconography and quality of the instrument could suggest that this may have been the metropolitan church of St. Panteleimon; however, this is just a hypothesis. While the bell does not include any Greek inscription, the selection of the Orthodox prelate to decorate it reveals that the instrument was commissioned. Therefore, it is highly likely that the individual or the party that ordered it requested this specific iconography.<sup>37</sup>

The nameplate of the foundry informs us that the instrument was cast in the Italian city of Vittorio (today Vittorio Veneto), formerly known as Ceneda. It is the product of a foundry still active, the De Poli Fonderia, which the inscription describes as PREMIATA, that is, “award-winning”.<sup>38</sup> On the website of the foundry it is claimed that its activity started in 1453.<sup>39</sup> However, the earliest extant bells with the De Poli signature are dated to the second half of the 17th century. They were cast by a certain Antonio de Polis, who was established in Venice.<sup>40</sup> Still, the bell of the Antalya Toy Museum is the product of one of the oldest bell casting foundries in both Italy and the whole world. The foundry apparently moved to Vittorio in 1810. When our instrument was cast between 1893 and 1922, it was managed by a woman, Vittoria De Poli.<sup>41</sup> The bell at the Toy Museum is not the only De Poli bell to have reached the Ottoman Empire; for instance, in 1898 the foundry produced a carillon of six bells for Smyrna.<sup>42</sup> In fact, a pamphlet published in 1904 and listing all the bells cast by the foundry between 1820 and 1903 informs us that twenty-six instruments were dispatched to Turkey. One of them probably was the bell at the Antalya Toy Museum.<sup>43</sup> De Poli bells continued to be imported to Turkey

<sup>34</sup> For details about the office of metropolitan, see Kazhdan 1991, 2:1359, s.v. “metropolitan”.

<sup>35</sup> Πεχλιβανίδης 1989, I:303; Kazhdan 1991, 1:228-29, s.v. “Attaleia”. In the 14th and 15th centuries the metropolitans used the title of Metropolitan of Perge and Attaleia; see Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1:299.

<sup>36</sup> Çimrin 2017, 141; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004, 1:330.

<sup>37</sup> A few Athonite bells cast in the Republic of Venice in the 18th century already show images related to the monasteries that commissioned them; see Ivron (1720, 1779) and Hilandar (1785), Rodriguez Suarez (forthcoming), bells nos. 5, 13 and 17.

<sup>38</sup> The foundry was awarded medals and praise in many World Fairs; see Anonymous pamphlet 1953, 7-8.

<sup>39</sup> Official website of the foundry, <http://www.fonderiadepoli.it/index/storia/>.

<sup>40</sup> In 1661 Antonio cast a bell that found its way to a church in Slovenia. Its inscription reads: OPVS ANTONII DE POLIS VENETI · ANNO DOMINI 1661; see Gnirs 1917, 220. Antonio's first will is dated to April 1651; see Avery 2011, 469, no. 314.

<sup>41</sup> Tranchini and Salvador 1983, unpaginated, ch. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Tranchini and Salvador 1983, unpaginated, ch. 10.

<sup>43</sup> Tranchini and Salvador 1983, unpaginated, ch. 10.

after 1903. A bell today on display at the narthex of the Hagia Sophia Museum, Istanbul, was cast at the PREMIATA / FONDERIA / DE POLI / IN / VITTORIO in 1906.<sup>44</sup>

## Bell Ringing and Bell Casting in the Late Ottoman Empire

These two bells represent a significant change in the history of the Christian communities under Ottoman rule. For centuries the use of church bells had been forbidden.<sup>45</sup> As a result, Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians in the Ottoman Empire could not be called to mass by public means, at least not in major cities.<sup>46</sup> The religious soundscape of the Ottoman Empire was dominated by the *adhan*, the Islamic call to prayer. Only in certain privileged locations the use of bells had been tolerated, for instance, on some Aegean islands, on Mount Athos, and in Mount Lebanon.<sup>47</sup> The Imperial Reform Edict (Islâhat Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu) of 1856 proclaimed the equality between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the freedom to ring bells for religious purposes.<sup>48</sup> This significant document of the Tanzimat period is dated to 18th February 1856, and it is mentioned in article no. 9 of the peace treaty that ended the Crimean war and signed on 30th March 1856.<sup>49</sup> The correlation between the edict and the war, in which Great Britain and France supported the Ottoman Empire against Russia, cannot be a coincidence. It has been suggested that the edict was promoted by the sultan's Western allies. Actually, the document does not mention bell ringing.<sup>50</sup> A part of it, however, deals with the repair and the construction of buildings such as churches and schools. For this, the edict differs between locations where all the population belongs to the same denomination and those where people of different denominations live together. In the case of the former, their inhabitants are free to exercise their religion in public. In the latter, the plans for new buildings shall be submitted to the Ottoman government for approval. Nonetheless, it is added, the Ottoman government will take measures to ensure that each denomination is entirely free to exercise its religion. Thus, regarding the use of bells the text of the edict was certainly unclear. Since using a bell usually requires the construction of a structure, for instance, a bell gable or a bell tower, it could be argued that hanging a bell needed approval from the local authorities.

<sup>44</sup> Rodriguez Suarez (forthcoming, bell no. 40). This bell may have come from an Orthodox church in the Ottoman capital. Again number 1 also resembles a J. Also, one of the reliefs decorating this instrument is the same Virgin with the Child that appears on the bell of the Toy Museum. The only difference is that the one in the Hagia Sophia shows the throne surmounted by a canopy.

<sup>45</sup> During the Ottoman conquest most bells were looted and melted down; see Rodriguez Suarez 2018. However, bell ringing could indeed be heard in some European cities of the Ottoman Empire. These artefacts were associated with public clocks and so their use was not religious.

<sup>46</sup> The use of the *semantron*, the traditional instrument of the Christian communities in the eastern Mediterranean, seems to have been restricted but tolerated in certain locations. According to a document issued by Sultan Mehmed II in 1453, the population of Galata was not able to use bells or *semantra*: Τὰς ἐκκλησίας τον να τας ἔχουν και να τας ψάλουν. μόνον καμπάνας και σιμανδύρηα να μηδὲν χτηποῦν απο τας εκκλησίας [sic]; see Dallegio d'Alessio 1939, 118, 124. On the other hand, a 16th-century Ottoman source reports the use of the *semantron* (*yulfka tahtayı*); see Düzdağ 1983, 95, no. 406.

<sup>47</sup> Παπαδόπουλος 1959, 210-14.

<sup>48</sup> Hanioglu 2008, 75; Παπαδόπουλος 1959, 309-10. A few Catholic churches had already been granted the right to ring bells some years before. Adolphus Slade, future admiral of the Ottoman navy and traveller throughout the Ottoman Empire between 1829 and 1831, reports that Catholic churches in Pera, Izmir, and Thessaloniki "have the privilege of using bells"; see Slade 1854, 511; Anastassiadou 1997, 68. Bell ringing is also reported in a few monasteries and churches of Cyprus before 1856; see Κοκκινόφτας 1998, 214-17.

<sup>49</sup> Hertslet 1875, no. 264, 1255. The article refers to the improvement of the conditions of the Christian population in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>50</sup> Hertslet 1875, no. 263, 1245.

The introduction of bell ringing was a slow and gradual process; also, it differed according to the church and its location. For example, after the proclamation of the edict a British missionary urged the ringing of bells in Nablus, Palestine, to announce the new era. When the governor of the town asked him if he had permission, his reply was that the edict gave it to him.<sup>51</sup> In 1858 the Archbishop of Cyprus, Makarios I, requested permission to use a bell at the Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia. While the request was initially rejected, through the mediation of the French consul the Ottoman authorities finally gave the authorization.<sup>52</sup> In 1860 the Franciscan Grgo Martić got permission to use a bell in Kreševo, near Sarajevo, from Topal Osman-Paşa, the governor of Bosnia.<sup>53</sup> He was only granted the permission if the bell was first pealed softly so that the Turks would get used to its sound slowly. Fifteen years later the Muslim population of the town was still complaining that “the Turkish ear and ringing bells cannot coexist in the same place at the same time.” Thus, while in theory after the edict churches and monasteries were free to use bells, it seems that at the beginning an authorization had to be granted by the local authorities. If this was granted, as we have seen in the Bosnian case, it could be met with resistance from their Muslim neighbors, who were not accustomed to this new religious soundscape in the public space.

A letter dated to July 1860 and sent by the consul J.A. Longworth to the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Bulwer, provides an insight into how Muslim Ottomans may have experienced this sonic change. We are informed that in Vidin, in modern north-west Bulgaria, the local authorities rejected the petition of the Christians to use a bell. And regarding this event he explains: “It may be remarked that this use of bells in the East has always been considered as tantamount to a recognition of Christianity being the established worship of the place. In some towns, therefore, inhabited almost exclusively by Christians, this concession has been made by the Government. But at Widdin, where more than three-fourths of the inhabitants are Turks, it would have involved an insult to their prejudices and a dangerous experiment on their forbearance.”<sup>54</sup> This passage shows how the introduction of bell ringing could be perceived by the Muslims as an attack against the dominant status of their religion in Ottoman society. Until the Tanzimat reforms the religious soundscape of the Ottoman Empire only reflected one religion, that professed by the sultan. The silence of churches represented the subordinate role of Christians in the Ottoman realm. Thus, the pealing of bells was the sonic reminder of the newly achieved equality between Muslims and Christians. As late as 1891 in some locations the Muslim opposition to bell ringing was so significant that the Ottoman authorities had to forbid their use to avoid public disorder.<sup>55</sup> Also, a report written by a spy recorded two Muslims talking about the use of bell ringing near the Dolmabahçe Palace. One apparently declared: “These infidels are ringing bells and the palace is right here. Oh God! Give us a chance and we are going to make them sorry to have been born.”<sup>56</sup> For some Muslim Ottomans bell ringing amounted to provocation, and this

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<sup>51</sup> Masters 2001, 162. It must be noted that after an incident an angry mob took the bell away from the Protestant mission house.

<sup>52</sup> Κοκκινόφτας 1998, 217-20.

<sup>53</sup> Andrić 1990, 30.

<sup>54</sup> Ye’or 1996, 412-13.

<sup>55</sup> Hanioglu 2008, 85.

<sup>56</sup> Kırılı 2006, 255; Kırılı, personal communication. The report is dated to the 22nd April 1841. The church in which the bells were used is not named; however, the date before the 1856 edict suggests that this might have been a Catholic church; see footnote 49.



could ignite violence. Its use in certain locations resulted in the killing of priests and other violent acts.<sup>57</sup>

The use of Christian bells in the Ottoman Empire became more common with the passing of time. Nonetheless, in situations of war, bells could once again become the target of Ottoman soldiers. For example, during the Cretan revolt (1866-1869) churches in Chania were looted and their bells taken away.<sup>58</sup> In 1898, after the establishment of the Cretan State and the expulsion of the Ottoman forces from the island, many church bells were dug up.<sup>59</sup> They had been buried for safety. The right to ring bells could also be withdrawn in specific occasions; for instance, the Ottoman authorities of Haifa forbade the practice during the First World War.<sup>60</sup> The reason for this was that the Christian community of the city supported the allies, that is, France, Great Britain and Russia, the enemies of the Ottoman Empire in the war.

After the 1856 edict churches and monasteries that were allowed to use bell ringing started to acquire bells.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, there were almost no foundries specialized in the production of such instruments in the Ottoman Empire. Bell casting is reported in very few locations; for example, bell masters had been based in Karyes, Mount Athos, since at least the mid-19th century.<sup>62</sup> The Greek foundry Brothers Galanopouloi, first established in Pogoni (Epirus), claims that their business has a history of two hundred and fifteen years.<sup>63</sup> That bell casting may have existed in these two locations before the edict is not a coincidence, since Mount Athos and the region of Zagori (near Pogoni) were allowed to use bells during the Ottoman period.<sup>64</sup> In any case, the number of bells imported from abroad suggests that the local production of bells was not significant and therefore most instruments had to be imported. Some came from Russia, such as those employed at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul.<sup>65</sup> Many Russian bells were actually gifts. Other bells were produced in Western Europe. This is the case of the bell at the Antalya Toy Museum, which was cast in Vittorio Veneto. Western bells also came from other locations, such as Genoa and Marseille.<sup>66</sup> The demand for bells was probably so high that an Italian foundry, the Fonderia Colbachini, opened an office in Istanbul.<sup>67</sup> Finally, bells were also imported from Greece, where some workshops were established after the country became independent in the first half of the 19th century. However, the quality of the latter was lower than those imported from Russia or Western Europe, where the tradition of bell casting was centuries old. The bell from the clock tower may belong to this last group, although it cannot be excluded that it was cast somewhere in the Ottoman Empire. For instance, in April 2012 the Turkish police requisitioned two bells in Keşan, in the province of Edirne. The instruments were apparently going to be sold. One of them was cast by a certain Galanou workshop

<sup>57</sup> Παπαδόπουλος 1959, 310.

<sup>58</sup> Παπαδόπουλος 1959, 310.

<sup>59</sup> Dawkins 1953, 219.

<sup>60</sup> Yazbak 1998, 211-12.

<sup>61</sup> This was accompanied by the construction of bell towers; see, for instance, Okuyucu Yılmaz 2008.

<sup>62</sup> Riley 1887, 77.

<sup>63</sup> Official website: <https://www.kambanes.gr/εταίρια.html>. One of the owners told me that in their depot is a bell dated to 1803; personal communication. Today the foundry is located in Paramythia (Epirus).

<sup>64</sup> For Zagori, see Delilbaşı 2012, 50-51.

<sup>65</sup> Russian bells were also exported to Greece and Bulgaria; see Williams 1985, 63.

<sup>66</sup> A bell at the church of St. Benoît, Istanbul, was cast in Genoa. A bell cast in Marseille was sent to Lindos, Rhodes.

<sup>67</sup> Martinello et al. 2003, 87.

in Izmir in 1907.<sup>68</sup> Future research may discover further bells cast by this and other local workshops.

The use of church bells in Anatolia did not last long. In 1923 the Greek Orthodox community was forced to move to Greece. Many bells were left in the new Turkish Republic, where they became useless.<sup>69</sup> A few eventually found their way to Turkish museums; however, in the last years some have been stolen and subsequently found by the police. The latter is the case of the two bells found in Keşan and two other instruments that, after having been confiscated by the police, were given to the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.<sup>70</sup> I am hoping that from now on such artefacts will receive more attention from scholars. They are important instances of material culture, and their study can provide details about the revival of the Christian soundscape in the Late Ottoman Empire. Finally, I believe that the two bells discussed in this article should be moved to a more suitable location, for instance, the Antalya Museum, where they would be available to the wider public and could be studied properly.

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<sup>68</sup> The nameplate of the foundry reads ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗ / Ν.Α / ΓΑΛΛΑΝΟΥ / ΣΜΥΡΝΗ; online news websites: <http://www.edirnehaberci.com/edirne/can-calmak-buna-denir-h78440.html>; <https://www.haberler.com/kesan-da-2-adet-tarihi-can-ele-gecirildi-3573368-haberi/>. In 1908 the same workshop produced a chandelier donated to the Athonite Monastery of Karakallou; Κουφόπουλος and Μαμαλούκος 1997, 109.

<sup>69</sup> A number of Catholic churches are still open, and they preserve their bells. However, at the churches of St. Polycarp (Izmir) and St. Paul (Konya), which I have recently visited, they do not ring them.

<sup>70</sup> One bell was cast for a church dedicated to the birth of the Virgin Mary on the island of Skiathos, Greece. It is the product of a workshop based in Piraeus. It is unclear how this bell ended up in Turkey. The other one shows an Armenian inscription.

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FIG. 2 Greek inscription on bell no. 1.

FIG. 1 Church bell no. 1 (second half of the 19th century?), Antalya clock tower. Photos of this bell used with the permission of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü.



FIG. 3 Image of the Virgin on bell no. 1.



FIG. 4 Crucifixion on bell no. 1.





FIG. 5 Church bell no. 2 (1902), Antalya Toy Museum.



FIG. 6 Image of a seated saint, probably St. Nicholas, on bell no. 2.



FIG. 7 Image of an Orthodox prelate, possibly a bishop or a metropolitan, on bell no. 2.



FIG. 8 Cartouche bearing the head of Bacchus on bell no. 2.



FIG. 9 Cartouche bearing the year in which bell no. 2 was cast.



FIG. 10 Cartouche bearing the nameplate of the De Poli foundry on bell no. 2.



