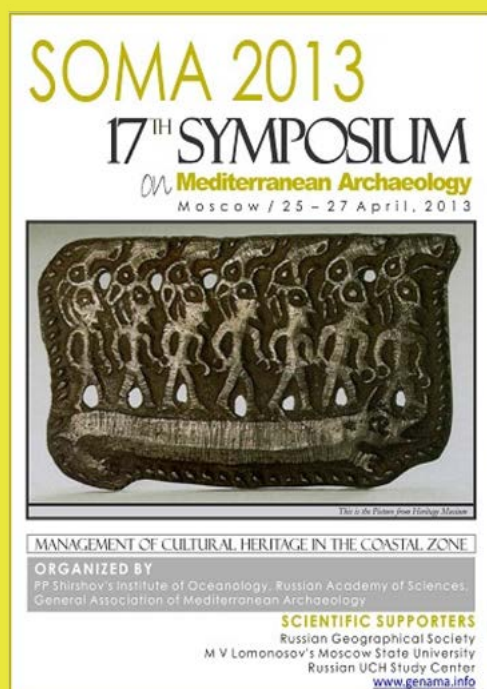


# PROCEEDINGS OF THE 17TH SYMPOSIUM ON MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

## SOMA 2013

MOSCOW, 25-27 APRIL 2013



edited by

**Sergei Fazlullin, Mazlum Mert Antika**



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# A project proposal for the construction of underwater archaeological nature routes into the Protected Marine Area of Santa Maria di Castellabate

Salvatore Agizza

Independent Researcher

## Introduction

Since 1972 the Protected Marine Area of Santa Maria di Castellabate near the city of Salerno (Italy) into the town of Castellabate (Figures 1,2) is under marine biology protection and represents one of the first examples of a marine park in Italy and was definitively established in 2009 after lengthy bureaucratic process lasted about thirty years. Since 1998 Castellabate named UNESCO world heritage site since 1998 is included with its coast, in the list of ‘most beautiful villages of Italy’.

The PMA, at the center of the National Park of Cilento and Vallo di Diano, is located between two extraordinary sites of the Megale Hellas: Paestum and Velia. The coast from Punta Tresino to Ogliastro is rich in caves while the bottom is cloaked in seagrass meadows on which are shipwrecks dating from the Roman era and World War II. Natural landscapes, above and below water, interspersed with eloquent archaeological landmarks: coastal quarries, a roman harbour, remains of maritime villa with vivaria for fish farming. For this multileveled territory it would be desirable a project proposal for the construction of underwater archaeological nature routes which aims to promote new ways of using archaeological heritage.

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The oldest sources (Timeo, 566.T1 Jacobi FGH; Lyc. Alex., 712-731; 722-725; Ps. Arist. De mirab. Ausc. 103: 839 a, 33; Plin. Nat. Hist. 3.3.85; Dion. Halyc. Antiq. Rom. 1.53.2; Ovid. Metam. 15.708; Sil. 8.577; Solin., 2.13; Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. 115, 15) relating to this portion of territory, relate to Licofrone, who in his great work the Cassandra or Alexandra, refers in one case to the mythical figures of the Sirens (Alex. 712-731), and in another case to Enipeo (Alex. 722-725) a Thessalian sea goddess, leading back to Poseidon in the Greek-Italic pantheon. It is typical in the Hellenistic tradition that Promontorium Enipeum Posideion is connected with Leucosia,<sup>1</sup> one of the three sirens, whose body has rejected on the hill by the currents and the tides, whose name remain in the toponymy. The reference to Licofrone (Alex. 724), one hieron, could bring the area to a site where there was a place of worship or a sacred area. The name Leucosia also recurs in Strabo (6.1.1 C252, 6. C258 6. 2.C123 ‘..sailing from Poseidonia outside the Gulf, you reach the Island of Leucosia, a short distance from the continent: it took the name from one of the two Sirens who fell as the story goes, into the deep sea. Opposite the island rises the promontory of Sirenusse, which forms the Gulf of Posidonia’) and Pliny the Elder (Nat. Hist. II, 90, 204 and III, 3,85) and other scholars (Dion. Halyc. Antiq. Rom. I, 53, 2; Ovid. Metam. XV, 708; Sil. VIII, 577; Solin., II, 13; Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. 115, 15).

Numerous references both to the island and the promontory (Figure 3) can be found in chronicles from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (Antonini 1745: 462). At the beginning of the twentieth century also Mommsen, describing the ruins on the island, identified them as part of a public building, adding ‘they are also in the sea along the beach’ and writing in this case, probably, about the western side of the island (Mazziotti 1904: 42). Recently it has been possible to recognize, among the

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<sup>1</sup> On the question see: Zancani Montuoro P. 1954, 173-178; Sestieri 1950, 183; Greco E. 1979, 55; Ardivino A. M. 1986, 43-55; Fiammenghi C. A. 1986, 53-55; Treziny H. 1992, 45-61, 45-51.

collections of the Pavlofsk Museum in St Petersburg a bronze signaculum with the inscription Leuc[o]/sioru[m]<sup>2</sup> that could be connected with the name of the site. Most of the archaeological evidence is situated on the eastern side of the islet of Licoso (Figure 4) (Napoli 1970: 458; Schmiedt 1975: 69; Greco Pontrandolfo and Greco 1981: 148 nr 63; Johannowsky 1981: 1035; Cantalupo 1986: 33-34; Freschi 1988: 354; Greco and Vecchio 1992:10, 11, 74-75; De Magistris 1995: 57-60). The structures still visible are related to a building dating from the end of the Republican and early Imperial era. They are part of a mosaic floor with a two-coloured geometrical pattern (Blake 1930:42) (Figure 5), relating to an ambience sloping towards the sea. While on the western side, on the cliff facing the island, there are traces of a fish farm connected with cetariae situated on headland (Figure 6). The existence of a seaside villa, connected to a plant for the handling establishments and salting of fish, dating back to the first century BC and the first century AD. The central body of the villa was probably located on the cape, also due to the greater extension in respect to the island. On the latter probably was a dépendance annexed perhaps close to the surroundings with a mosaic floor and at the same time productive pars identified on the headland and on the west side of the Isle of Licoso: caetariae and fish ponds with complicated farming system (Figure 7) (being investigated) (Agizza 2011: 65-71) Therefore the Marine Protected Area is also characterized by a rich and remarkable biodiversity (Russo and Sgrosso 1995; Russo and Di Stefano 2003). Natural landscapes, above and below water, interspersed with other eloquent archaeological landmarks: coastal quarries (Figure 8), a roman harbour (Figure 9).

Along the coast that stretches from Santa Maria of Castellabate up to Punta Pagliarolo is possible recognize circular cuts, of which traces are preserved in negative semi-circular elements whose function is yet to be clarified in relation to the change of the sea level compared to ancient times. It is highly likely that it is a millstone quarries.

There are many comparison along the coast of South of Italy northern of Sicily and southern Calabria and Campania and Puglia (Auriemma and Solinas 2009: 134-146) New data are presented for late Holocene relative sea-level change of two coastal site on southern Italy. Data are based on precise measurements of submerged archaeological remains that are good indicators of past sea-level elevation (Scicchitano et al. 2011: 92-104). To the South of coastal quarries is situated the roman harbour of S. Marco di Castellabate while to the West of the modern port the roman structures are visible in opus caementicium (Lenormant 1883: 276; Sestieri 1950: 183; Schmiedt 1966: 315; 1975: 297; Gianfrotta 1974: 75; Johannowsky 1981: 1035; Fiammenghi 1986: 79; Greco and Vecchio 1992; Benini 2002:39-46), especially the quay oriented east-west, whose platforms are visible on the surface of the water, the other quay oriented north-south delimit a bacin about twenty thousand square meters. The ancient port was connected to a small town whose traces are recognizable mainly in a necropolis, which were found, one hundred and fifty graves dating from the first and the second century AD (Sestieri 1950; Fiammenghi 1983: 531-532; 1985: 259-277; 1986: 79-81).

For this territory multileveled it would be desirable a project proposal for the construction of underwater archaeological nature routes (Figure 10) which aims to promote new ways of using archaeological heritage. The coastline in question is proposed as a large 'outdoor museum' where the testimonies of the past can be visited without altering the contexts of lay.

The only evidence concerning the presence of wrecks involves a field located about 3 miles off the lighthouse on the island of Licoso, and relates to the wreck of a cargo ship from which was recovered part of the cargo and the wooden planks. The cargo consisted of wine amphorae of Dressel 1B and cookware accompanied by anchor stock so-called 'mobile' type dating to the beginning of the first century BC.

<sup>2</sup> This specimen (CIL XV 8302) has been described by E De Muralt, *Antiquités de Pavloffsk* 'Mémoires de la Societé d' Archeologie et de Numismatique de St. Pétersbourg', II; 1848, 354-369 and has been lately reported by L. Stephani (1872), *Die Antiken . Sammlung zu Pawlowsk* 'Mémoires l' Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg', VII série. Tome XVIII, n. 4

On the model of the experience gained in recent years in Sicily ([Figure 11](#)), the proposal being assessed is that of an underwater archaeological site and natural route to dive with mask and fins on the surface or dive with experienced guides. Archaeologists, biologists and dive guides with the help of teaching aids (brochures and short manual) will illustrate the path. Thus the visitors, after a briefing by specialists explained and illustrated with educational panels that describe the archaeological sites: quarries on Punta Pagliarolo e Zona Lago and the roman harbour of San Marco and the ruins of the maritime villa of Licosia, they will be able to dive into the waters of Castellabate.

A route from north to south, from coastal quarries to reach the foot of the siren Leucosia. The focus of the paths is located along the coast of Castellabate is represented by the roman port of San Marco di Castellabate, including his monumental structures on the area of about 20000 square meters ([Figure 12](#)) and bounded with an articulated itinerary between 2 and 5 m depth marked by floats in midwater with some labels that will indicate and describe the artifacts.

During the visit, the divers will be get off into a reality of life on board through copies of nautical objects while they will look through the cracks of the dock Roman, they will be able to admire the benthic population (sessile organisms and sciophilus-photophilous) and numerous species of fish that swim among the seagrass meadows. On the substrate, special labels will indicate the holes left from the poles used in the construction of the pier. In the last stage of the dive toward the shore, the visitors will be able to see an expanse of blocks cemented with large stones, probably the foundation of the quay north-south close to the harbour basin.

Inside the perimeter will be possible to observe the structures interspersed with copies amphorae (area B) and anchor stocks and lead anchor stocks within objects of life on board (area C), specimens that have recovered at the end sixties ([Gianfrotta 1974:77-107](#)) ([Figure 13](#)). The copies faithfully reproduce the exhibits in the Museum of the Sea into the castle of Castellabate ([Figure 14](#)).

An educational and touristic visit the ancient harbour's life above and below the water, on objects that populated the busy world that have characterized the dense network of exchanges with the whole Mediterranean.

Thus, the routes of San Marco and Licosia will be structured so as to be received well by divers with disabilities. Inside the mirror of the roman harbour will be realized a 'Tactile Underwater Path' marine biology and archeology at a depth between 2 and 5 meters ([Figure 15](#)). The artifacts and the exhibits, placed into the natural environment, will be provided with labels with Braille characters. Along the way divers with disabilities will be accompanied by ropes and guides.

In the experimental stage can also expand the amount of potential users of natural and archaeological evidence will be activated through an underwater camera system connected with fixed locations of remote control and fruition ([Figure 16](#)) located into the Villa Matarazzo or into the castle of Castellabate, as was done at several sites on the Sicilian coast and on islands Egadi and Pantelleria (Cala Minnola Levanzo, Cala Gadir) ([Tusa 2005; 2010](#)).

The goal that we aim to show you a underwater heritage as part of a vast museum linking wildlife, landscape, historical, anthropological and archaeological evidences, accordance with principles of the Convencion Unesco 2001, to understanding the history of the relationship between man and the sea for a proper development of the cultural tourism.

### **Acknowledgements**

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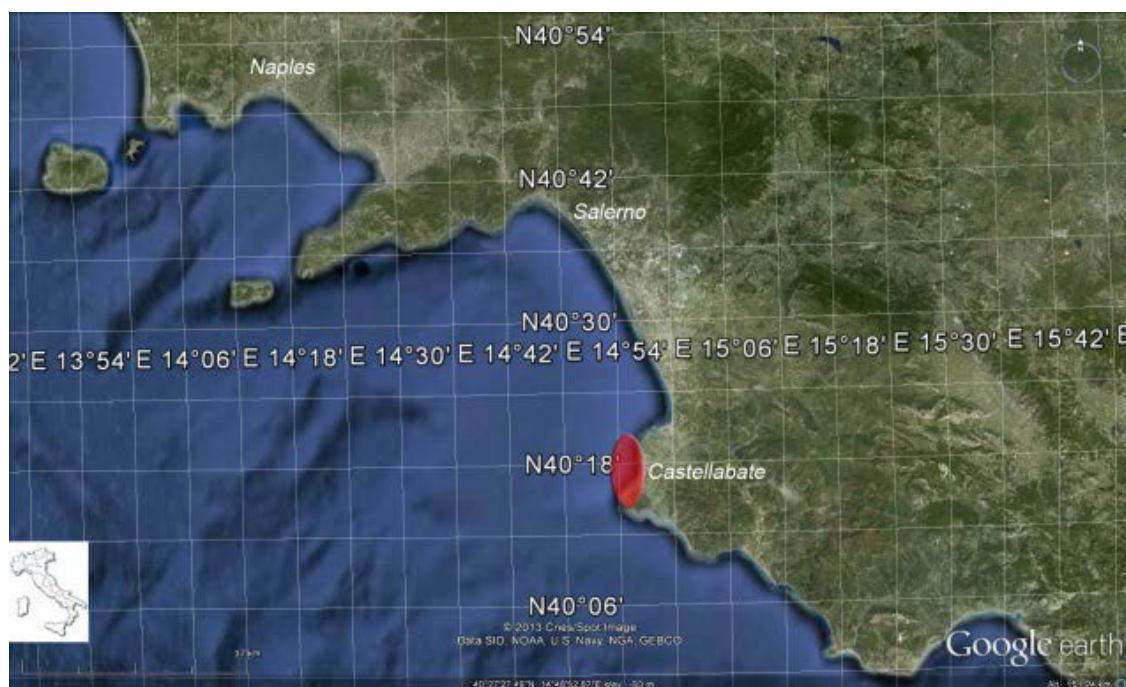


FIG. 1 CAMPANIA REGION (ITALY)

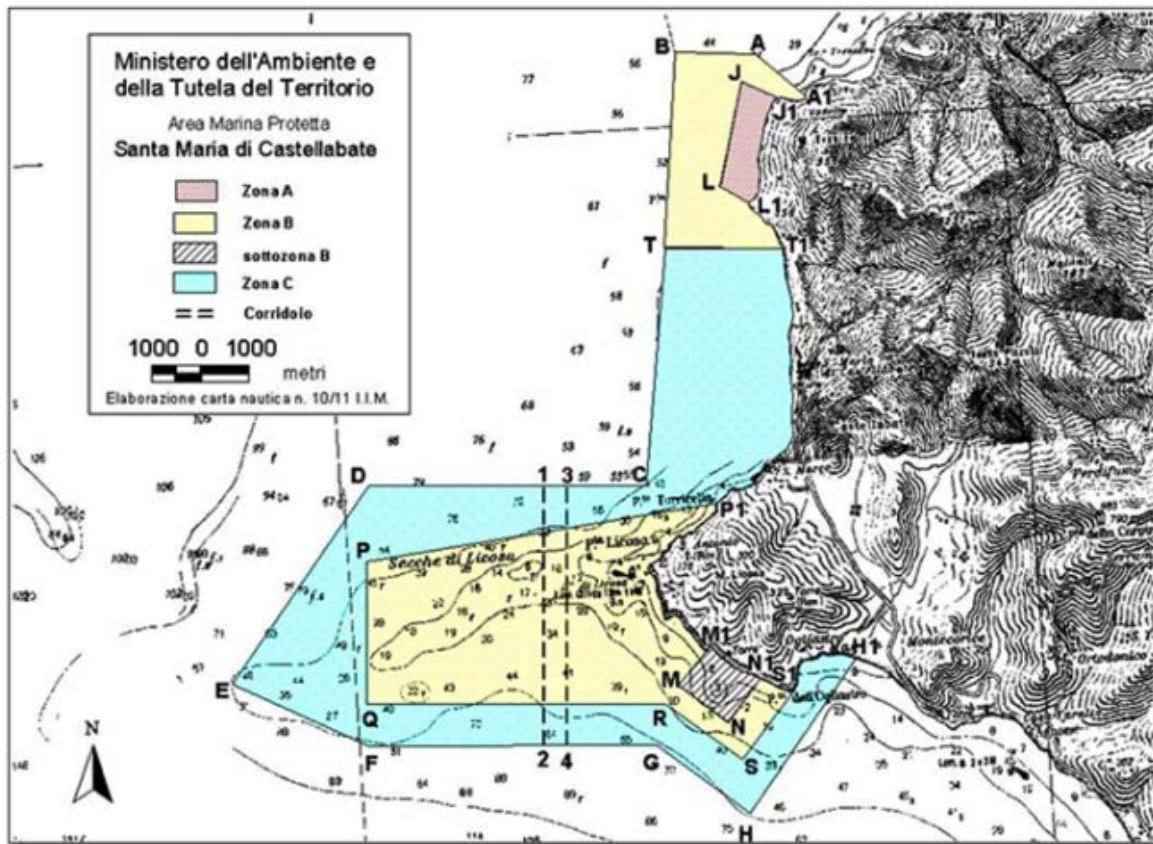


FIG. 2 PROTECTED MARINE AREA OF SANTA MARIA DI CASTELLABATE IN THE GULF OF SALERNO (IGM 1:25000) (BY [HTTP://WWW.MINAMBIENTE.IT](http://www.minambiente.it))

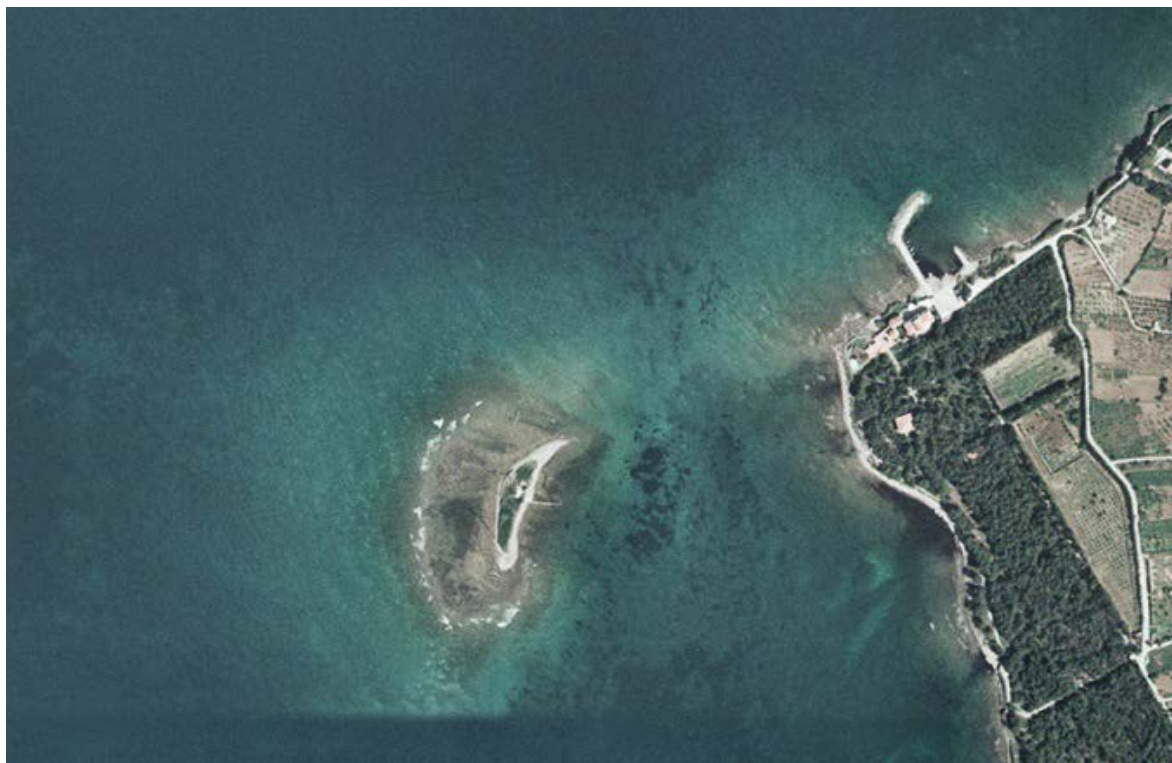


FIG.3 PROMONTORY AND ISLAND OF LICOSA (BY COMUNE DI CASTELLABATE)

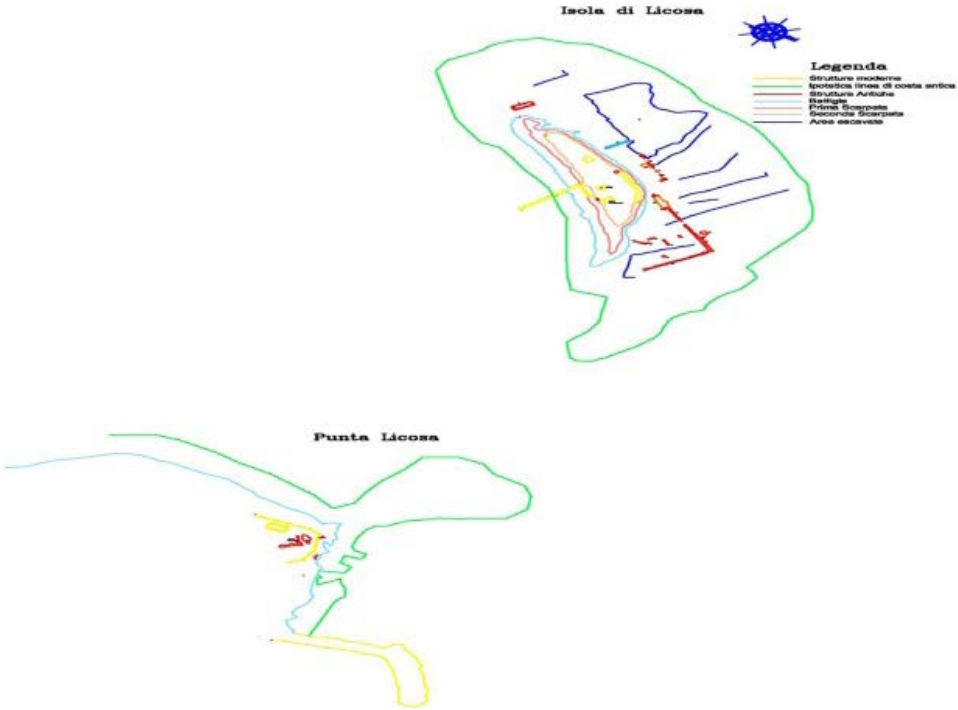


FIG. 4 PLAN OF THE STRUCTURES ON THE ISLAND AND CAPE OF LICOSA (DRAWN BY AUTHOR)



FIG. 5 ISLAND OF LICOSA. MOSAIC (PHOTO OF THE AUTHOR)

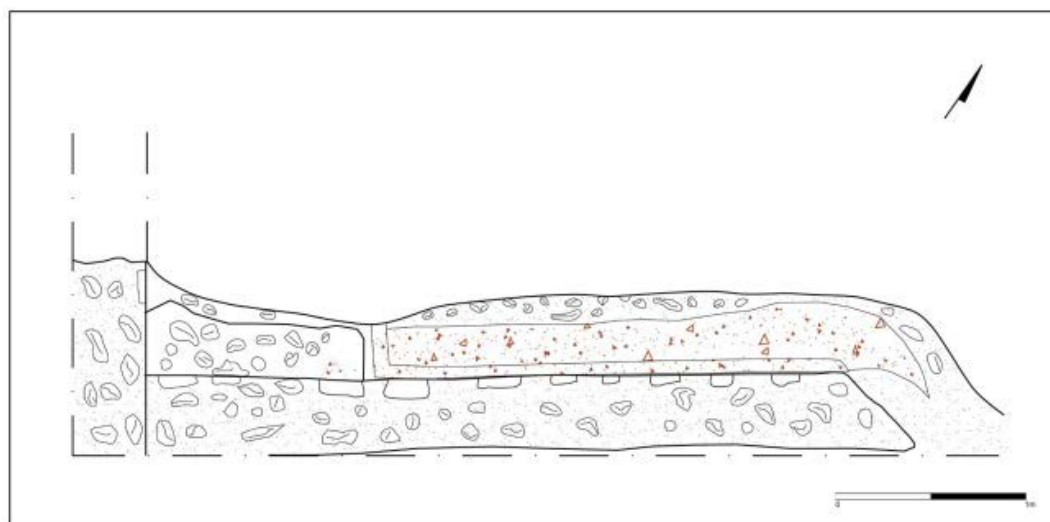


FIG. 6 CAPE OF LICOSA. PLAN OF THE CETARIA (PHOTO AND DRAWN BY AUTHOR)



FIG. 7 ISLAND OF LICOSA. PLAN OF STRUCTURES VISIBLE IN AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY: A.WALL OF CONTAINMENT; B. CANAL EXCAVATED; C. POOL (VIVARIUM); D SQUARE STRUCTURE AND INDICATED (WHITE ARROW) THE REMAINS OF STRUCTURES ( COURTESY OF ALISUD )



FIG.8 SANTA MARIA DI CASTELLABATE. COASTAL QUARRIES (PHOTO BY AUTHOR)



FIG.9 SAN MARCO DI CASTELLABATE. ROMAN HARBOUR (PHOTO BY AUTHOR)

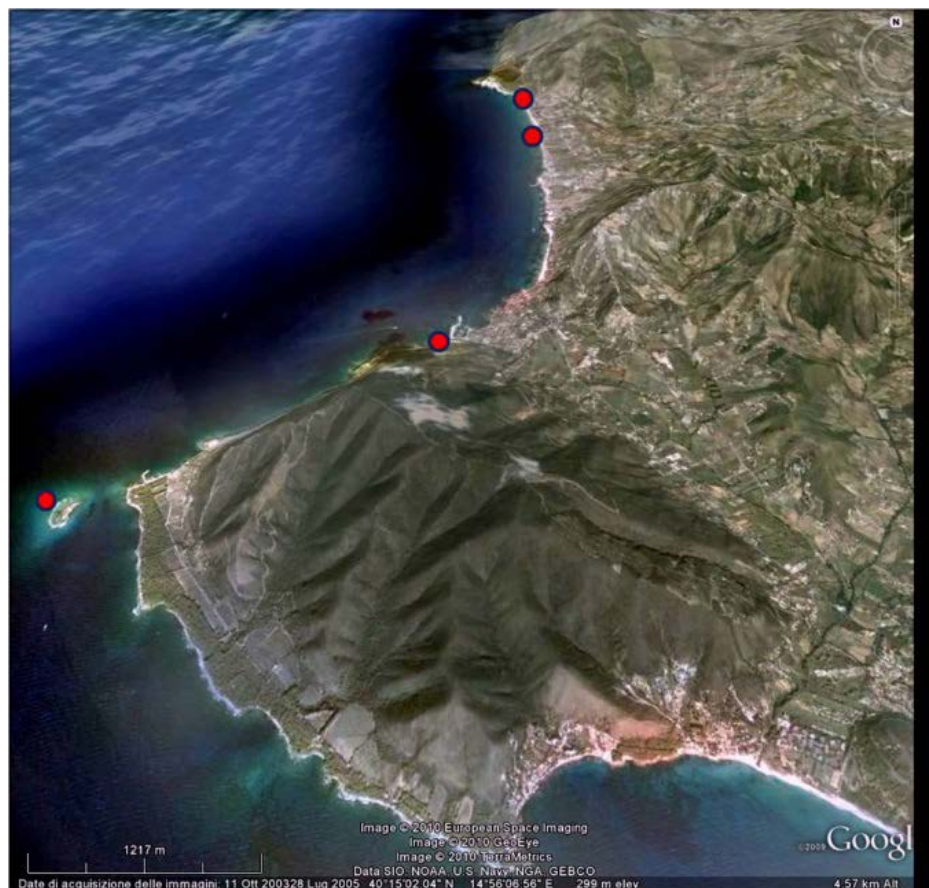


FIG. 10 THE COAST OF CASTELLABATE WITH THE UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGICAL ROUTES



FIG. 11 CALA TRAMONTANA (ISLAND OF PANTELLERIA). UNDERWATER PATH (COURTESY OF SOPRINTENDENZA DEL MARE – REGIONE SICILIA)



FIG. 12 ROUTE OF ROMAN HARBOUR OF SAN MARCO WITH ITS AREAS

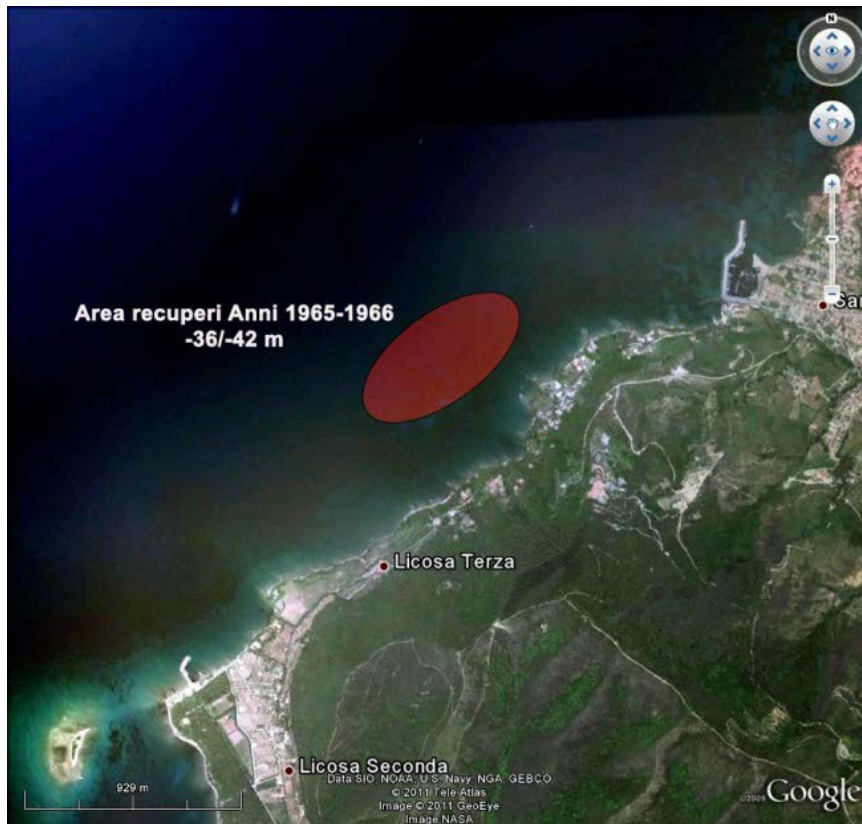


FIG. 13 SAN MARCO DI CASTELLABATE. RECOVERIES (1965-1966)



FIG. 14 VILLA MATARAZZO AND CASTLE OF CASTELLABATE. THE EXHIBITS (PHOTO BY AUTHOR)



FIG. 15 ISLAND OF CICLOPI (ACITREZZA, CATANIA). TACTILE UNDERWATER PATH (COURTESY OF SOPRINTENDENZA DEL MARE – REGIONE SICILIA. PHOTO S. EMMA)

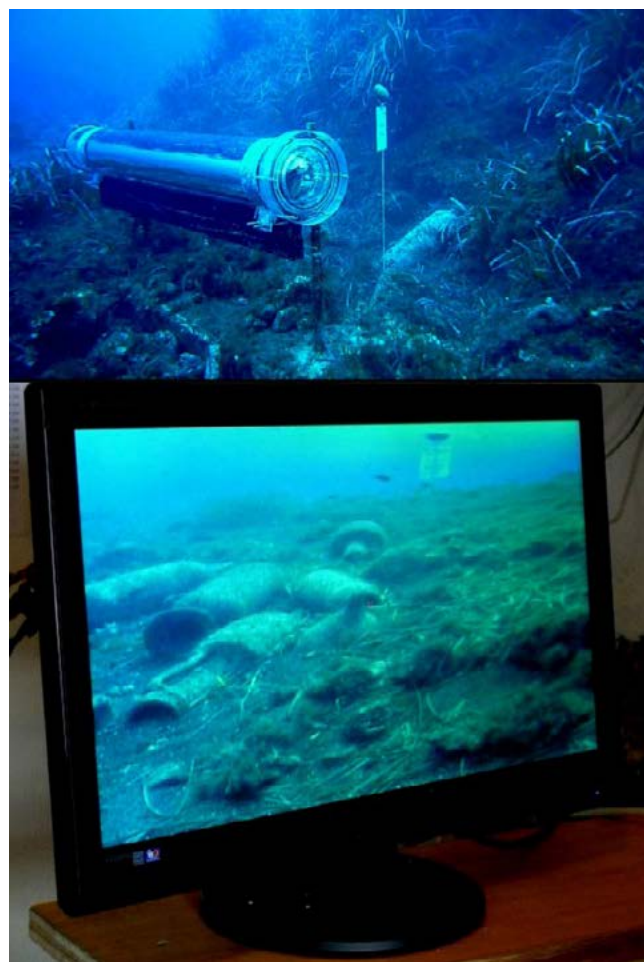


FIG. 16 CALA GADIR (ISLAND OF PANTELLERIA). UNDERWATER CAMERA SYSTEM CONNECTED WITH FIXED LOCATIONS OF REMOTE CONTROL AND FRUITION (COURTESY OF SOPRINTENDENZA DEL MARE – REGIONE SICILIA)

# A Recently Discovered Thirteenth Century Church at Myra

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## Abstract

Myra, the Metropolis of Byzantine Lycia was buried completely under alluvium due to a catastrophic flood in early 14th century. The church which is the subject of this presentation was excavated in 2010 by the Myra-Andriake Excavations team. The small church is the first of the Byzantine structures of the city unearthed in modern time. Very well preserved condition of the church with its architecture and fresco decoration indicates the richness and well-preserved situation of the Medieval city under the alluvium, while providing a precious example for the 13th century Byzantine architecture with its almost intact, in situ roofing tiles, wall paintings and liturgical furnishing. With its architectural features, internal and external decoration, and small finds from the excavation, the chapel provides new information on contemporary Byzantine architecture in the region, as well as on the medieval history of Myra.

This paper is on the medieval church in Myra, modern Demre at Antalya, Turkey, which was excavated in 2010 by the Myra – Andriake Excavation team (Akyürek 2010). This small church, which remained buried under alluvium for almost about seven hundred years, is very well preserved and provides new information to our knowledge on the history of the region, as well as on the architecture of that age. The Myra Church -as we called it- is at the north eastern edge of ancient Myra, about two hundred meters to the south west of the Roman theater which leans on the south slopes of the acropolis.

## Byzantine Myra

Myra was an important city of Lycia from the Hellenistic period on, but especially flourished in the Roman period, as the beautiful first century theater with a capacity of over ten thousand people, as well as the great granarium of Hadrian on the city's harbor Andriake indicate. In early Byzantine period, Theodosius II declared Myra as the metropolis of Lycia (Foss 1994, 23) and throughout the Byzantine period Myra remained the political and religious center of the province (Borchardt 1975). Construction activities make a peak in the sixth century, as the surviving buildings in and around Myra prove (Foss 1994, 23; Harrison 1963). The importance of the city was not only due to the strategic location of its harbor Andriake on Mediterranean maritime trade routes and its rich economic hinterland to feed the harbor, but also thanks to its fifth century bishop St. Nicolas of Myra, an important figure especially for the Eastern Christianity. All our information about St. Nicolas, the bishop of Myra, comes from the sixth century vita of another Nicolas, St. Nicolas of the Sion monastery (Ševčenko and Ševčenko 1984; also see Anrich 1913-1917) which was founded on the Tauros mountains, about twelve kilometers to the north of Myra. Throughout the Byzantine history the shrine of St. Nicolas of Myra -which is a museum today- remained an important pilgrimage center (Foss 2002, 132, 139, 145-147), even under the Turkish rule. Following the prosperous sixth century, in the seventh and eighth centuries a series of catastrophes such as Arab raids, earthquakes and epidemics followed each other, and the city declined dramatically (Duggan 2004; Duggan 2005) until the recovery in the eleventh and especially in the twelfth centuries under the rule of Comneni. Although independent Turkic tribes began to invade Lycia from late twelfth century on (Vryonis 1975, 50 ff.), they were mostly herdsmen and settled at the highlands rather than the cities on the coast line. Lycian shores began to be controlled by Ottomans not earlier than the conquest of Rhodes in 1522 (Güçlü 2010, 308).

Although none of the historical accounts mention, archaeological evidence indicate that, in late thirteenth or early fourteenth century a catastrophic flood came through the Valley of Myros River and covered the whole city with alluvial mud in a relatively short span of time. Evidence comes from the eighteen years of excavations at St. Nicolas Church, conducted by Professor S. Yıldız Ötügen. Latest coin found in St. Nicolas Church excavations dates mid thirteenth century, leading Professor Ötügen to suggest this date *terminus post quem* for the catastrophic flood which buried St. Nicolas

Church up to the gallery level (Ötüken 2006, 523). Recent evidence with regard to the flood comes from the excavation of Myra Church, which is the subject of this paper. In both excavations, an upper level of culture from the Ottoman period to today, is followed down by an alluvial deposit of five to eight meters, absolutely with no cultural finds. And below that, comes the Byzantine and earlier levels from the fourteenth century down. Geo-radar studies conducted in 2010 proved that ancient and medieval Myra is laying buried under the modern settlement, between the Roman theater and the church of St. Nicolas, with some walls standing up to five meters (Çevik 2010). Such a flood covering the entire settlement in a relatively short time span may seem to be incredible, but when the gigantic dimensions of the Myros valley and the large geographical hinterland of the river considered, it becomes reasonable.

### The Myra Church by the theatre

Before the excavation began, the site was full of garbage and only some stones from the upper walls of the church were visible. The church is near a creek bed, dry in summers but flooding in winters, moving the mass of soil and garbage here and there, thus making the upper parts of the building visible occasionally. Jurgen Borchard was lucky enough to see the upper walls of the north-east corner, and he published two photographs of the church in 1960 (Borchardt 1975, Taf. 137 / C, E). But since the excavations in 2010, there was no scientific interest to the building. Before the church was unearthed in 2010 under an alluvium of five meters, the only Byzantine building visible from Myra was the church of St. Nicolas at the south edge of the city. So, the Myra Church by the theater is the first Byzantine structure from the city unearthed in modern times, and being so announces how rich and well preserved might the Byzantine Myra under the alluvial deposit be.

The church measures fifteen to six meters, including the narthex (Figure 1). A dome resting on four arches rising over corner-piers originally covered Naos. The dome, being remained above the modern level, has disappeared completely, while the rest of the building has been preserved very well under the soil. The apse of the church is almost the same width with the naos. The church might be called as a variation of the ciborium (or atrophied Greek cross) plan type, similar to church of St. Aberkios at Kurşunlu, south shore of Marmara sea (Mango 1968), or the church of the Chora monastery –today the Kariye Museum- at Istanbul (Ousterhout 1987). Compared to the churches of Aberkios and Chora, the Myra Church lacks pastaphoria chambers and its naos is slightly rectangular due to larger east and west arches. Pointed arches, which are not common in Byzantine architecture, were used in Myra church. The four big arches of the naos, originally carrying the dome, as well as the arches of the windows are all pointed arches. Especially the south window with double-pointed arch has a Gothic taste peculiar to East. Charalambos Bouras in explaining the use of pointed arches in especially thirteenth century Byzantine architecture mentions about the Frankish impact (Bouras 2001, 255-257). The narthex was added in a later construction phase, and its walls are clumsy compared to that of the naos.

### Roofing

We know that Byzantine buildings were covered with roofing tiles even if they were vaulted (Ousterhout 1999, 147). But, although many pieces of roofing tiles were found during the excavations, which helped to re-construct the roofing system of the Byzantine churches, no *in situ* roofing from the Byzantine period survives today, since roofing tiles were needed to be replaced from time to time while the building was in use.

The excavation at Myra Church revealed original roofing, which quite surprisingly has survived today *in situ* on the arches, bema vault and partly on the semi dome of the apse. They were very well preserved especially on the north east corner of the church, allowing us to see the roofing system precisely (Figure 2). Three different types of tiles were used for the roofing of the church: First type is very slightly curved tiles which were placed side by side with their concave surfaces upward. The

second type is sharply curved tiles forming almost a 'Λ' shape, and they were placed over the joints between two slightly curved tiles. The mortar layer under the 'Λ' type tiles are as thick as 5-6cm, thus creating a deep –and wide- flowing channel for rain water. This system of roofing with slightly and sharply curved tiles were preserved intact, as it was in the fourteenth century, especially on the north eastern corner. On the north west corner, the system is not that much preserved, but a different group of tiles which are flat as bricks were found *in situ* fixed on the roof.

Today many late Byzantine churches in the Balkans were roofed similarly, but the original tiles had long been replaced many times since today. Myra Church is important because the tiles of the roof are as they were in the early fourteenth century, fixed to their mortar bed since that time.

### **Liturgical Furnishing**

As the excavations proceeded, the bema of the church appeared intact in its original setting: The altar table, the templon barrier limiting the bema, and the niche on the north wall (Figure 4). The bema, where the altar table stood, is separated from rest of the naos by templon setting with two columns and two slabs between the columns and the walls, leaving an entrance to the bema between the columns. The columns and the slabs are re-used elements dating earlier, probably sixth century. The altar table is a profiled block from an earlier building –probably Roman. It stands on a fluted column shaft which is also Roman spolia re-used here. The apse window was blocked during a later phase of the church, leaving only a narrow opening in shape of a cross for illumination, from which rays of sun fall on the altar table in a certain time of day, forming a bright cross shape on the table. A small niche, with a brick shelf in its front, was used for liturgical purposes during the ceremony. The decorated marble pier, which is used to support the brick shelf, is an Early Byzantine spolia re-used here. With all these elements, we have a full bema organization with its liturgical furnishing, coming intact as they were in the early fourteenth century.

### **Wall Paintings**

The church was originally decorated in fresco. Unfortunately, the mural decoration of the naos is not very well preserved, because the mortar bed of the fresco applied on the wall was very thin, one or two millimeters in most parts. So, none of the scenes is complete and it is difficult to identify the iconographic program of the church. However, the Deesis scene on the west facade of the church is very well preserved (Figure 5).

The scene is a typical deesis scene with Christ standing in the center while Theotokhos and St. John the Baptist flanking him on both sides in supplication. The scene, due to its significance in terms of the holy intercession between men and God, has been used widespread in the tombs, narthexes and other places related to funeral and burial ceremonies. Which is not very usual in this scene, are the inscribed scrolls hold by Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist.

On the scroll that St. John is holding, the inscription is from the Bible and read as: 'Behold, The Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world' (John, 1:29).

On the scroll that the Virgin Mary is holding, the inscription includes a dialogue between Christ and Theotokos, taken from the paraklisis hymn of the Virgin read during the vesper service. The dialogue goes as the following: (I am very grateful to Dr. Tolga Uyar and Dr. Maria Xenaki, who were the team members of Myra – Andriake Excavations in 2011 season, for reading and translating these texts and supplying the related literature.)

Mary: O word of the living god, fulfill the prayers of a mother.

Christ: What is your will mother?

Mary: Remission of the mortals.

Christ: They made me angry!

Mary: Be Thou merciful,  
 Christ: They do not feel regret,  
 Mary: Grant them redemption.  
 Christ: All will be saved.  
 Mary: I am grateful, o word.

In this inscription, words of Christ are in red, and of the Virgin are in black. Although the deesis scene is very widespreadly used in Middle and Late Byzantine wall paintings –especially in the narthexes and burial places- iconography with those inscriptions is not usual in the surviving examples of the scene. One of the rare similar examples is in the late thirteenth century church of Panagia Moutoullas in Cyprus ([Mouriki 1984](#), 189-190).

### Exterior decoration

Painting of the facades is an important question for the scholarship on Byzantine architecture, about which we have very little information. Archaeological evidence is very scant and scatterly, far from giving a clear idea. The walls of the existing Byzantine buildings are bare since their original plaster and paint – especially on the exteriors- have been lost completely or renewed in centuries of use.

Surviving examples may prove that some facades of Byzantine churches were painted, mostly in decorative patterns and lines imitating building techniques, while some were decorated in figural scenes as seen on the facades of late examples from the Balkans, such as the figural painting on the west facade of H. Anargyroi in Kastoria ([Trkulja 2004](#), 130, Fig. 177; for exterior decoration also see [Hadermann-Misguich 1976](#)). Examples of the imitation of building techniques in paint could be seen in some Mount Athos churches, as well as some thirteenth and fourteenth century churches in Serbia and Macedonia ([Trkulja 2004](#), 118, 123-127). At St. Nicholas chapel of the catholicon in Monastery of Prodromos in Serres, the drum of the dome is coated with plaster from exterior and decorated with red stripes imitating ashlar, very similar to Myra Church. At Mount Athos, Hilander monastery, chapel of the Archangels, the windows around the drum were surrounded with red and white triangles facing each other ([Ćurčić 2003](#), for Serres see Fig.28, p.23; for Mt. Athos see Fig. 50, p. 79). But, their decorative pattern is not very similar to Myra example, and their originality is doubtful since the buildings have been used uninterruptedly for centuries.

Archaeological evidence from the Myra Church excavation show that the rubble construction of the facades were covered by plaster and painted. The west facade of the Myra Church was quite luckily remained untouched and preserved well enough under the alluvium to reveal its original decoration. After the cleaning of the walls following the excavation, a decoration with hardly visible red lines drawn on whitewash imitating ashlar masonry was detected on the west facade of the naos. When those red lines were drawn on the elevation of the facade, the decorative pattern became clearly visible ([Figure 6](#)). As far as I know, this is the only exterior decoration of a thirteenth or fourteenth century Byzantine church survived intact today, giving us the idea how the facades of the churches were painted.

The same red lines were also used in decorating the dog-tooth frieze of the eaves and of the arches. The friezes were coated with plaster and painted in red lines parallel to the edges of the brick, over whitewash background. A similar example for the decorated dog-tooth frieze could be seen on the west façade of the cemetery church in Smederevo ([Trkulja 2004](#),126, Fig. 170). Also, the arch on the door leading to the naos, which was constructed with stone blocks, was coated with plaster and painted imitating a brick arch, one brick being red and the other white. So, the facade constructed in rubble stone was decorated in ashlar masonry pattern, while the arches constructed in fine stone blocks were decorated in brick pattern.

## How they struggled with the invasion of mud

We already know from the archaeological evidence provided by the excavations carried out in modern Demre that, the ancient city was buried under an alluvium deposit of four to eight meters with no culture level. What we do not know is the exact date of the catastrophe and its process. Exactly when the city was covered by the flood of mud? Did the flood come suddenly as a disaster, or covered the city gradually? How long it took the mud to cover the whole settlement? The archaeological evidence from the excavation of the Myra Church provides some new information in searching the answers to these questions.

A clumsy rubble wall was constructed to the east of the church, beginning from the front of the apse, passing over the south aedicule and extending towards south (Figure 7). This wall was constructed probably to keep the flood off the church from the creek passing in front of the apse. But, it seems this wall was not enough to prevent the flood, and further they blocked the windows of the church: windows on the apse and on the south wall, leaving no window openings on the walls –the church was probably illuminated through the window row on the drum of the dome, which did not survive today. The south window was blocked in two phases; first the large window was divided into two small openings, and later was blocked completely. Similarly, the small window of the apse was also blocked completely in two steps. All such efforts prove that the clergy struggled with the flood for some time, before finally gave up and abandoned the church.

One of the problems with the catastrophic flood that buried the whole city was the span of the covering period. How long it took the mud to cover the whole city? One year, ten years, or longer? This remained unanswered until the excavation of Myra Church. The archaeological evidence provides some new clues on the question: First, it was repeating floods coming in short intervals and bringing a mud layer about 0.5cm each time. This allowed people to fight against the invasion of mud for some time as we had seen above, before finally they gave up. Secondly, it doesn't seem logical that the whole city was buried completely in one rainy season, since the volume of the alluvium layer is immense. But, on the other hand it is clear that it didn't happen in tens of years. The proof comes from the preservation situation of the building itself, and especially from the deesis fresco which is about two meters high. The lower and upper parts of the fresco are in the same good condition in terms of preservation. If, let's say, it had taken the layers of mud to cover the church gradually in ten or more years, the upper parts would be much more destroyed compared to the lower parts, since we know that the alluvium covering the fresco, also preserved it. Depending on these archaeological evidence we may suggest that, it took the flood of mud several rainy seasons to cover the whole building –and the city. So, the city and the buildings were not buried suddenly but vacated deliberately in a span of time, after the measurements taken to prevent the flood were failed.

## Small objects from the excavation

Small findings from the excavation were very few, because the church was vacated deliberately and when they abandoned the building, probably took every useful stuff with them. A few ceramic plates found in the narthex worth mentioning here: The plates are dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, which was probably the last use of the church before it was surrendered to the invasion of mud. One of the plates decorated in fish scale pattern in sgraffito technique and colored with brown-yellow and green radial stripes from the center (Figure 2), has similar examples in Cyprus which were dated to the fourteenth – fifteenth centuries (Papanikola – Bakirtzis, 2004, nr. 60). Other ceramic plates also likely to date to thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, considering the similar examples from Paphos or Lapithos in Cyprus (for examples from Paphos and Lapithos, see Papanikola – Bakirtzi, 1996, 216, 218, πιν. VIII/40, πιν. XLIX/45), and Zeuxippos (Böhlendorf –

Arslan, 2004, Vol.1, 128-129). The ceramics might be considered as the *terminus ante quem* for the usage of the church.

### Conservation works and environmental arrangements

Conservators began to work parallel to the ongoing excavations and continued the following year. Surrounding wall and a roof covering the church have to be completed immediately following the excavation in the same year, before the heavy rains began. A five meters high stone wall encircling the church as well as the excavated area around the church measuring about 2000 square meters, was constructed to prevent the alluvial sections around the excavated area to flood in by rain. Second urgent task was to construct a roof over the church, which rests on four legs fitted outside the building. It is a roof with steel skeleton and covered with heat resistant aluminum sandwich panels, to protect the building from rain and heat of sun.

The principle in handling the conservation works of the church, both in terms of its architecture and mural paintings, was to preserve whatever survives with minimum intervention. Conservation of the building began with restoring the cracks on the walls of the church. Fortunately none of the cracks were deep enough to create structural problems, so they simply filled with hydraulic lime mortar. The missing stones at the top of the four arches carrying the dome were potential structural problems for the building. The solution might be either to restore the arches using new stone blocks or support the broken arches by other means, without re-constructing them. Consequently the arches were supported by stainless steel beams, which would mean less intervention to the building. Similarly, the surviving wall paintings were simply cleaned and strengthened, avoiding any re-construction using dyes. Currently, the church is being prepared to be used as a museum and upon the completion of the environmental arrangements, the site is planning to open for visits soon.

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FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

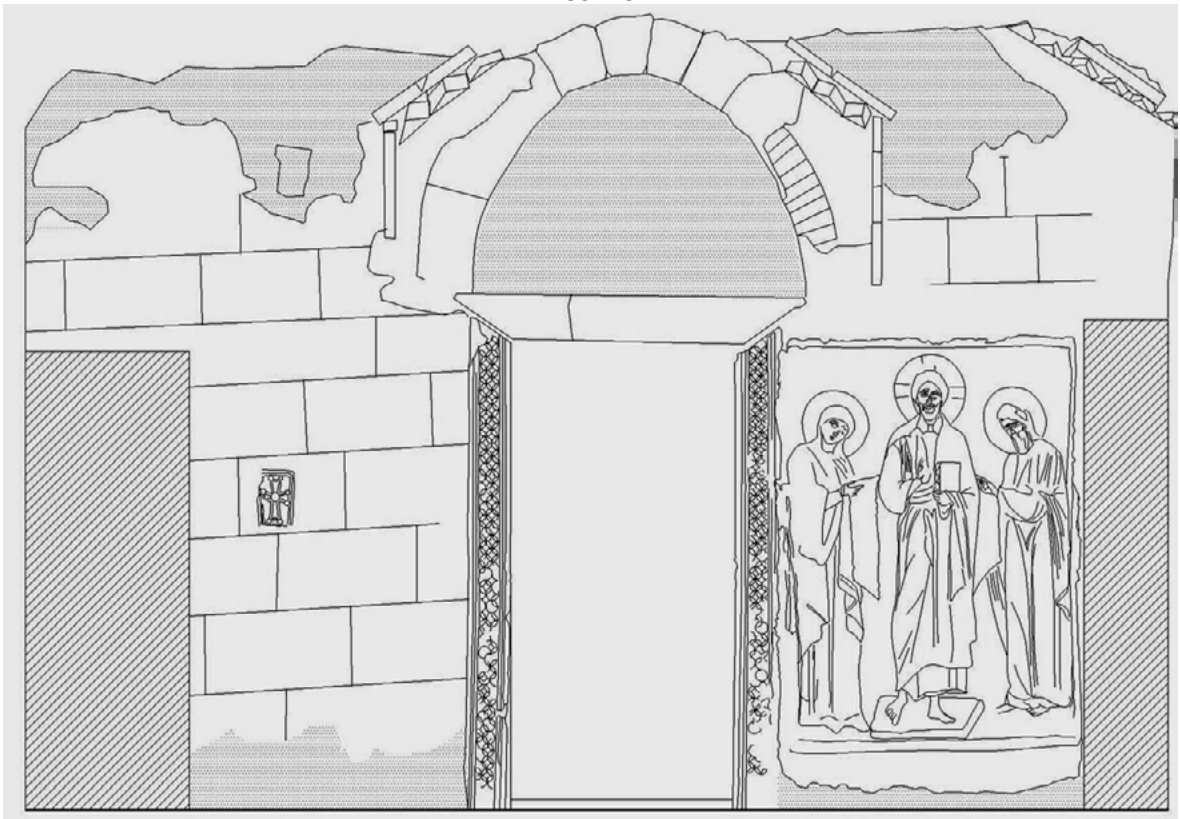


FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7

# Archaeological Findings of Thracian / Phrygian Tribes' Crossing of Bosphorus (ITA) İstanbul Prehistoric Research Project

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## Abstract

Ancient historians had reported that around 1200 BC Thracian / Phrygian tribes came from Balkans and passed to Anatolia from both Dardanelles and Bosphorus. While the material evidences for the Dardanelles' passage were well documented, the ones for Bosphorus were missing. In the archaeological surveys we carried out since 2007 on the western side of İstanbul we reached many traces of Thracian / Phrygian style, thus giving us the possibility to conclude that the crossing of Bosphorus by these tribes did actually happened as written by the ancient historians.

## Keywords

Iron Age, Thracian, Phrygian, Migration, İstanbul Bosphorus

Towards the end of 13th century BC, when Near East was enjoying a degree of civilization and a level of international cooperation between the great kingdoms, which couldn't be matched in the following millennium. Few could suspect that all that greatness will collapse soon in a spectacular way. But at the turn of the 13'th century, with the exception of Egyptian cities, all major towns had been destroyed, the great Mycenaean and Hittites kingdoms had ceased to exist, writing of Linear B and Hittites cuneiforms had stopped to be used, Eastern side of Mediterranean entered a period labeled as 'Dark Ages' by the historians. And everything happened in a matter of a few decades. The civilized world all but stopped.

The reasons of this collapse were complex but not so difficult to understand for a scientist of the 21st century. In short, all the glittering civilization of the Late Bronze Age was based on the agricultural surplus, which was at the mercy of the smallest climatic changes. Beginning from the 16th century BC, there was a drying which was felt in most parts of the Near East, especially in Anatolia and most probably in mainland Greece too . The great kingdoms of the 13th century BC reached a point where there was not enough food to feed all the people of the Near East. They resorted to military actions to fill their own gap. But this worsened their political situation by increasing the tensions. At the end of 13th and the beginning of the 12th century BC was also marked by a series of huge earthquakes. Probably the North Anatolian Fault Line was active and the Near East was experiencing one of its periodic Earthquake Storms ([Map 1](#)).

The collapse of the 1200 BC was worst experienced in Near East, but it was also felt in a much wider area; Right after the collapse, the kingdoms of Egypt and Mesopotamia entered a long phase of slow decay. Further in the East, kingdoms of Central Asia tried to build huge irrigation projects and were not able to finish them, as a result, all the settlements in Central Asia were left and people turned to transhumance. Great migratory movements were recorded in all Europe, Caucasus Area and further east. It was a prehistoric time for Europe and there were nobody to write what they experienced in a mortuary temple's walls. According to the Kimmig, those migrations started from Pannonia Basin in Central Europe and reached as far as Ireland and Scandinavia. In the Northern Italy a vibrant civilization of the Terramare culture vanished from a population of 100,000 to their last citizen.

Pannonia basin was at the North West of Balkans which was neighboring Near East. It is safe to assume that people from these areas were sufficiently in contact with each other, so that, migrating masses of Pannonia Basin were aware that mainland Greece and Anatolia were in the grip of a severe drought. Thus, the majority avoided these lands but still there was a small flow of people. It was not like a huge migration wave or a big invading army but like individual families coming one after the other in a slow pace. They were responsible neither for the collapse of Mycenaean Kingdoms nor the Hittites. These kingdoms collapsed first for other reasons as explained above and later people came slowly to fill the vacuum created.

Ancient writers such as Herodotus, Homeros and Strabon had reported that Thracians coming from Balkans crossed to Anatolia both from Dardanelles and Bosphorus. The evidence for their Dardanelles' crossing was already well established from Troas region's Troia excavations and from Gallipoli Maydos Kilisetepe excavations which was recently begun. But those for Bosphorus was missing.

### ITA Project

In the summer of 2007 we started a prehistoric survey program in the western side of Istanbul. Named as ITA Project. Istanbul is situated in fantastic geography, with a very friendly climate to settle and good fauna to feed the people throughout the history. Also it was a crossing point not only East to West but also South to North. We expected from the start that we will find a great wealth of information about the region's prehistory. During our surveys we found as much as we expected and some of our findings were addressing directly to the period of 1200 BC. About 50 km west to Bosphorus, on the North West of regional towns Catalca and Silivri we ended up with many material signs of Thracians/Phrygians existence.

The caves of Incegiz, partly natural but mostly carved on the face of a valley, was dated previously to early Christian periods. They had all the signs to be dated as such but also contained a few details, such as the specially carved steps to assign them to a much earlier period, to the Phrygians. The caves were on the side of a flat plateau with a huge necropolis, which was visited since twenty years by treasure hunters. Just 100 meters to the North West there is a rock cut pit. Its entrance is 2 x 2 meters and grows in regular, pyramidal fashion to 6,5 x 6,5 meters in its base 8,60 meters below (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2-a and -b). The treasure hunters had the courtesy of making an extensive excavation inside and putting all what they unearthed near the rim of the pit. Unwillingly they had created an upside down mound, with its oldest levels just on the top. It was like a supermarket for archaeologists. We collected typical handmade, burnished, barbarian ware with special finger incised decorations which is well known from Balkans and further north since the Neolithic times (Figs. 3, 4, 5). The shape of the pit was showing all the characteristics of the Early Thracian/Phrygian tradition, so do the terra cotta pieces we found. For dating purposes, some grey wares were very typical and they were dating to the Troia VIIb1. One of another interesting pottery was a grey minoan (Fig. 6). Some metal slag was together of them (Fig. 7).

On the opposite side of the deep valley system, 500 meters from the pit, there are a number of new quarries mixed with very ancient ones. A 90 degree angled rock cut corner showing again Thracian/Phrygian characteristics of shrines with two niches cut to the rock face just 20 meters to the north. Also a number of channels cut on the rock's surface may show either an unfinished quarry work or slaughtering channels (Fig. 8).

On the road to the rock cut pit there were huge rock slabs standing by the road. They looked very much like the megaliths which are very common further west, near the town of Edirne. If they are indeed the megaliths they will be the most eastern point where these structures ever encountered (Fig. 9).

Going further west, but still roughly in the same area we found another shrine well preserved inside a dense forest on the hill. Two walls cut from the rocks form a 90 degree angle east side of the hill and

there was a rectangular niche in one of the walls. It reminds the tradition of the female deity (Kybele) (Fig.10-a and -b). Not much further, three steps cut on the rocks show another open cult place.

The forest had other precious monuments of Thracian/Phrygian style. A pyramidal rock cut altar. Pithos shaped rock cut pits, used probably as grave or storage facility. Two natural caves (Yaylacık and Aylapınarı caves) having a wealth of Iron Age sherds and in Aylapınarı two rock incised pictures. The area has also many tumuli which can be dated to the Early Iron age .

During our surveys we encountered also in Küçükçekmece Lake Basin area two pieces of the Barbarian ceramics produced from the local material but with the characteristic decorations (Fig.11).

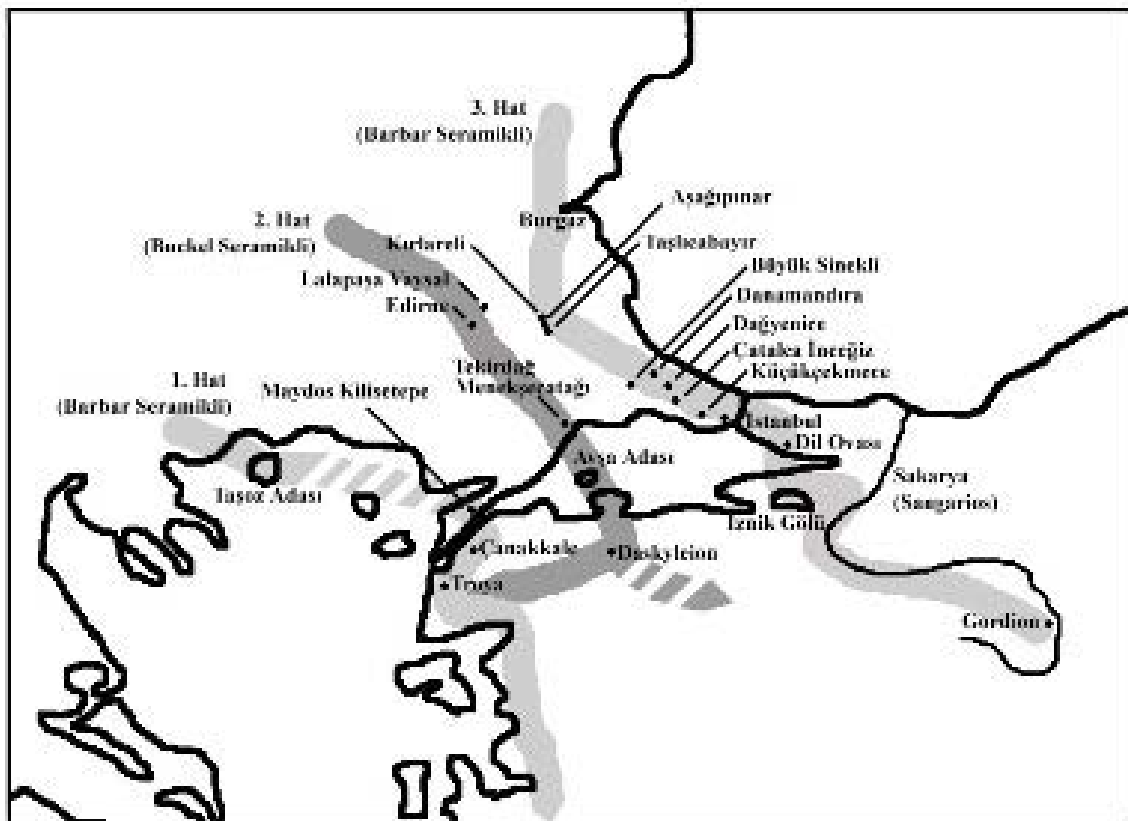
We conclude that based on our findings, a northern migration road for the Thracian/Phrygian origin does actually exists as written by the ancient historians The road can be described as entering the Anatolian realm from Burgaz of today's Bulgaria, coming into Turkey from Kırklareli, Aşağıpınar and Taşlıcabayır, then entering Istanbul's area from the villages of Büyük Sinekli, Danamandıra, Dağyenice, Çatalca İnceğiz, Küçükçekmece and continuing on the Asiatic Side by Dilovası (Map 2).

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MAP 1



MAP 2

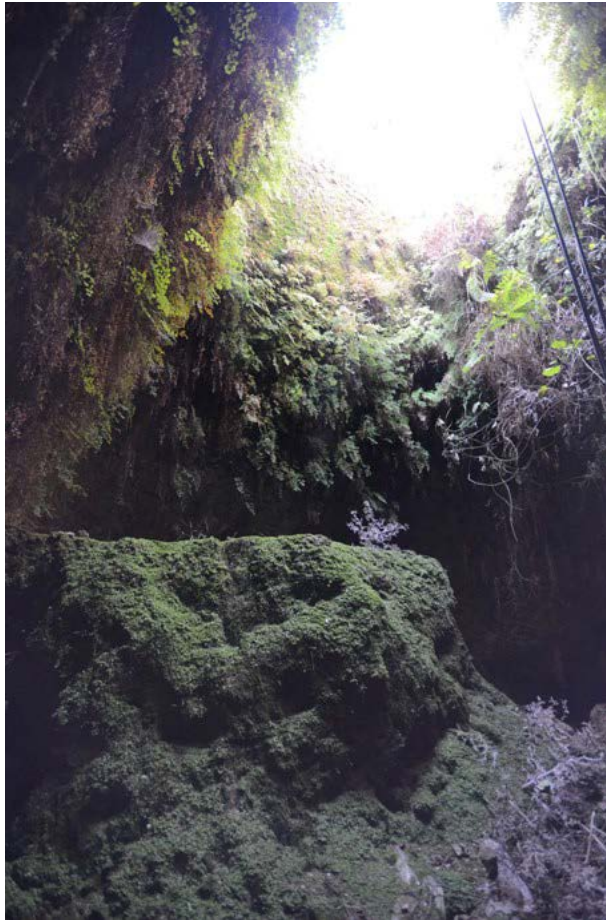


FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2-A



FIGURE 2-B



FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5



FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9



FIGURE 10-A



FIGURE 10-B



FIGURE 11

# Routes And Harbour Archaeology: An Attempt to Identify Some Ancient Toponyms on the Eastern Adriatic Coast

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## Abstract

Ancient geographical works talk about several toponyms of the Eastern Adriatic coast, most of which concerning islands. Some of these toponyms have been identified, usually paying attention to philological more than to archaeological data, whereas most of them have not yet been clearly identified. In recent years new archaeological excavations concerning also harbour structures give us some information to draw the landing-places map of the Eastern Adriatic coast. What's more, recently were investigated the shipwrecks and the ancient sea routes, which are today the same in ancient times. So through an analysis of the port structures and of the maritime routes the author tries to identify some toponyms mentioned by Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 3. 140, 152) and Claudius Ptolemaeus (*Geog.* 2. 16. 2). In particular about the first work, he suggests locating *civitas Pasini* on the coast between Nin/None and Zara and correcting the usual identification of *Portunata*: in fact, he thinks it should correspond to the modern islands of Ugliano/Ugljan or Pasman and not to the Isola Grossa/Dugi Otok. About the second work, he identifies the ptolemaic city of *Οὐολκέρρα* with the modern city of Cirquenizza/Crikvenica, on the base of recent archaeological publications.

## Key words

North Dalmatia, identification, toponyms, *Οὐολκέρρα*, *Portunata*, *civitas Pasini*

As a result of my non-archaeological training and background, the goal of this article is to show the usefulness of archaeological investigations in historical geography studies of the ancient world, especially in identifying uncertain toponyms along the coasts of northern Dalmatia. As widely known, it is an extraordinary part of the world also because of its labyrinth of islands which have deeply affected human settlements and navigation since ancient times; at the time it also became necessary to name these places, or at least those usually frequented and inhabited, although the Roman age definitely lacked the cataloguing spirit of modern times, which in the 19th century led the Austrian Empire to appoint an admiral of the Royal Navy to count and give a name to all the islands and rocks which had become part of the Habsburg domains. Obviously, for the smaller, uninhabited islands, he could only ask the Dalmatian farmers and fishermen for the names they commonly used and record them in official documents; he also aroused some salacious comments, to the point that some of the Incoronate/Kornati Islands still have vulgar names, referred to the surveyors to insult and mock the authorities (Lodigiani 2000, 326). Apart from this interesting anecdote, even during the Roman domination *peripli* described routes and landing places, and certainly needed to unmistakably identify many places which served the purpose, but also in that case they mainly used local names and everything was made more difficult by the fact that local languages were proverbially very difficult to understand – at least according to Pliny (*Nat.* 3.139). Our task, sometimes extremely complex but also fascinating, is to connect the toponyms handed down by the sources to specific places, which they had to correspond to at the time because of the mainly practical purpose of those texts, and the importance of archaeological finds in trying to at least determine a correspondence between the names and the harbour structures is evident.

Obviously, various texts can be used for this purpose, starting from the *Periplus of Pseudo-Scylax*, the most ancient document (*Skyl.* 21), to the anonymous *Ravenna Cosmography* (223-224 PP.). However, for the sake of simplicity, I will examine two texts dated to the Roman age and easy to interpret from a philological point of view. If we start from one of the most reliable texts on ancient geography, i.e. Pliny the Elder and to be more precise the third book of the *Naturalis historia*, we find a list of *oppida* and islands of *Liburnia* (*Nat.* 3.140). The majority of these have been identified, but from the end of the 19th century strong doubts were raised for some names, which were then in most

cases dispelled in the light of archaeological and epigraphic data. Since this list, as clearly shown by the geographical sequence, comes from a *periplus*, probably written by Varro (Detlefsen 1909, 46; Katičić 1963, 90; Margetić 1978-79, 326; Marion 1998, 128), it must list places which were significant for navigation, especially in one of the most dangerous areas in the entire Mediterranean. We must also start by saying that maritime communications were crucial for the islands and especially for local transport and trade towards inland areas, since roads were not present everywhere because of the ground conformation (Miletić 2006, 128). As a matter of fact, as shown by the *Itinerarium Antonini* (273-274), the Roman road from *Senia* ran towards the Lika plateau, reaching *Iader* from the hinterland.<sup>1</sup> I therefore think that when identifying, even if correctly, the toponyms *Lopsica*, *Ortoplinia*, *Vegium*, *Argyruntum*, some bibliography did not take into enough consideration that all these places had harbour structures (for example Alföldy 1965, 76-77; Matijašić 2006, 85; Sanader 2009, 55). Let's now quickly analyse these places, which are also mentioned in Claudius Ptolemy's work: *Lopsica* corresponds to the suburb of Sv. Juraj/San Giorgio, *Ortoplinia* to Stinizza, *Vegium* to Carlopago/Karlobag and finally *Argyruntum* to Starigrad-Paklenica: they are all located in positions which allowed fairly safe mooring, and as a matter of fact ruins of ancient ports<sup>2</sup> have been identified, more or less precisely, in all locations - actually in the last case mentioned two ports were found, on the two sides of the small peninsula, as fairly frequently attested along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea (Cambi 2001, 148). As we keep on reading Pliny 3, 140 we find the toponyms *Corinium*, *Aenona* and *Civitas Pasini*. Whereas the city of *Aenona* had one of the most important ports in the Zadar/Zara area, there seem to be no archaeological traces of a harbour structure in Carino/Karin – at least based on the bibliography I referred to<sup>3</sup> – but this difficulty might be solved otherwise. Its territory, in fact, was in any case strategic for navigation, because this important town, with its favourable location at the end of a narrow inlet, the so-called Mare di Carino/Karinkso More, could be reached – in the past as today - by travelling to the end of the long inlet, as shown more clearly by the map (Wilkes 1969, 210-211; I.I.M. 1972, 243; Figure 1). This allowed trade and commerce with the inland areas of southern *Liburnia*, the most developed region, and in this respect we have to highlight that *Corinium* was well connected to the provincial road system.<sup>4</sup> This is why it was included in this *periplus*, which deserves to be mentioned for one reason: it does not show the main route, which was – and still is today – the most external one running through the Quarnerolo/Kvarnerić and the Maon/Maunski Kanal or west of the islands of Maon/Maun and Scherda/Škrda (I.I.M. 1972, 184; Vrsalović 1979, karta 3; Cambi 2001, 156), but it mentions a number of ports at the foot of the Velebit, useful for trade with the inland area and the islands facing it, but along a route through the Canale della Morlacca / Velebiski Kanal which was very dangerous and winding, therefore not used for long journeys (Jurišić 2000, 53-54) (Figure 1). As we continue our analysis, also the last toponym mentioned in Pliny's list, i.e. *civitas Pasini*, should have a port and be between None/Nin and Zadar/Zara. Leaving aside the juridical status indicated by the toponym, which should have a scarce population, it is evident that it must have a landing point along the coast, thus I would locate it on the coast north of Zadar/Zara, where at least one find in the Kremenjača Bay near Zaton/Zaton provides evidence of the presence of a large port during the Roman age, normally connected to *Aenona*: the latter used this bay in the Roman age, but before that a port built in the lagoon, then fallen into disuse, was used (Matijašić 2001, 166, with its bibliography). Since the portolan chart used by Pliny can probably be attributed to Varro and therefore dated to the 1st century BC, probably both ports were mentioned: the first one with the name of the *oppidum* of *Aenona* itself and the second one with a different name. In the absence of any other identification element, two hypotheses have been proposed as to the exact location of the *civitas Pasini*: one in the Knin region and the other one along the coast, but east of *Aenona* instead of west (Figure 2).<sup>5</sup> I therefore prefer, instead of accepting these two locations

<sup>1</sup> The two main Roman arterial roads connected *Senia* and *Siscia* and *Senia* and *Salona* and after a short segment in common they forked at *Arupium*. The one running southwards connected this area to the coast at Zadar/Zara through a smaller road. See Miletić 2006, 129-130.

<sup>2</sup> In general, for finds of harbour structures along this stretch of coast see Patsch 1900, 103-106, and Vrsalović 1979, karta 2. For more recent data on excavations of harbour structures see Glavičić 1995-96, 65, and Faber 2003, 631-633, for *Lopsica* and Miholjek and Stojević 2012, 146, for *Ortopla*.

<sup>3</sup> Kozličić and Bratanić 2006, 109, actually refer to *Corinium* among the ports connecting the coast to the hinterland.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Barrington Atlas, Map 20, and Miletić 2006, Map 4, the small city was on a deviation from the north-south axis *Tarsatica-Senia-Burnum-Salona*, whereas Zehnacker 1998, 267, considers it a *statio* on the road from *Burnum* to *Iader*.

<sup>5</sup> Winkler and König 1988, 321, once again suggest it was located in Padjine, near Mokro Polje, 15km north of *Burnum*, while more

contradicting Pliny's list, which is otherwise accurate, to propose this one, which does not have to be the final one, but is meant to show the importance of the geographical sequence of our source: this is why the toponym could be identified also with another landing point along the coast between None/Nin and Zadar/Zara. After the list of *oppida* along the Liburnian coast, Pliny moves on and lists the islands facing this area, once again following a *periplus*. We find 'Absortium, Arba, Crexi, Cissa, Portunata'. Although the geographical sequence north-south is not extremely accurate, it is easy to notice that the islands are in front of the mainland, basically along the same route seen before, but on the other side of the channels. I therefore don't see why the island of *Portunata* should not have a similar position and should, instead, be a breakwater island.<sup>6</sup> There are, in fact, many islands facing Zadar/Zara, which can be grouped in two lines, separated by the Canale di Mezzo/Srednji Kanal. In the absence of any identification element whatsoever, the most reliable edition of Pliny from a geographical point of view (Winkler and König 1988, 321), as well as the Barrington Atlas, believe it corresponds to Isola Grossa/Dugi Otok,<sup>7</sup> the easternmost island in the Zadar/Zara archipelago, which could in no way be the stop after Pago/Pag, the ancient *Cissa*, in the previously-mentioned route along the coast. Instead, I believe *Portunata* could be an island in front of the Zadar/Zara coast, following the previous route: it could be the island of Ugliano/Ugljan or the following one of Pasman, because in both places harbour structures have been found and studied (Vrsalović 1979, karta 3; Jurišić 2000, 53). The name of the island in question might have a Latin origin (Krahe 1925, 6) and in this case it could be connected to *portus* or *Portunus*, a god protecting ports and harbours, therefore strengthening our line of reasoning<sup>8</sup> (Hild 1907, 594; Diosono 2010, 96-97). The name *Portunata* itself has, however, been considered by some scholars as an attribute referred to *Cissa*, which would solve the identification problem, but at the same time would be peculiar, as none of the other islands in the list have an appellation (Matijašić 2006, 85).

After mentioning *Portunata*, the list of islands is interrupted by the words: '*rursus in continente colonia Iader*'. It will start again at 3.152 by mentioning the islands divided into archipelagos with these words: '*contra Iader est Lissa et quae appellata est, contra Liburnos Crateae aliquot nec pauciores Liburnicae, Celadussae*'. Based on this passage, *Lissa* was identified with Ugliano/Ugljan, right in front of Zadar/Zara, while the following one *quae appellata est* could be Pašman, which had to be included in a 1st century BC *periplus* as it was along the main route entering and exiting *Iader* from the south and had several harbour structures, as mentioned before (Vrsalović 1979, karta 2-3; Cambi 2001, 156-157; Figure 3). As to the other names, in the plural, I would rather consider them all as the many islands in the Zadar/Zara archipelago, many of which were known and used in ancient times, as confirmed by the finds (Vrsalović 1979, karta 3; Matijašić 2001, 165-167). It is very difficult to divide the groups, we can only imagine that once again the *periplus* had a north-south direction: in that case the *Celadussae* would be the last group, more or less corresponding to the Kornati/Incoronate Islands, where traces of Roman settlements and ports have been found and which were certainly along another fundamental route in the eastern Adriatic, the most external one along the Canale di Mezzo/Srednji Kanal (Jurišić 2000, 53; Matijašić 2001, 165-166); the name has a Greek origin (Krahe 1925, 2) and might refer to a loud sound, maybe a deafening noise made by the waves or a sea bird. Since I have elsewhere suggested that the island of Δυσκέλαδος could correspond to Zuri/Žirje, it could then be one of the *Celadussae*, characterized by a quite sinister noise, in my opinion to be connected to the great danger of shipwreck (Vitelli Casella 2011, 22-23).

recently Čače 2006, 66-73, refers to *civitas Pasini* as a small coastal town and locates it, although with some doubts, along the western coast of the Canale della Montagna/Velebitski Kanal, thus between *Corinium* and *Aenona* in Pliny's sequence. Wilkes 1969, 488, Zehnacker 1998, 267, and Sanader 2009, 61, are instead very cautious and clearly state that identifying the toponym is impossible.

<sup>6</sup> Similar doubts on the frequent identification with Isola Grossa/Dugi Otok are expressed in Polascehek 1953, 400.

<sup>7</sup> Zehnacker 1998, 267, 281, and Sanader 2009, 53, are extremely cautious when it comes to identifying it.

<sup>8</sup> Hild 1907, 594, clearly explains how *Portunus*, a local god directly connected to the fluvial port on the Tiber as early as the end of the Republican age, was in general the god protecting all ports and harbours, also those on the sea. More recently, Diosono 2010, 96-97, did not contradict this interpretation.

Let's now move on to the second text that can be used as an example: Ptolemy's *Geography*. Along the coast of *Liburnia*, we find most of the cities mentioned in the previous list. The city of Οὐολκέρρα, instead, is unfortunately mentioned only in Ptolemy's work, with the following coordinates: longitude λη' L'' - 39° 30' - and latitude μδ' L'' δ'' (μδ' L'' γ'' X). It is on the Liburnian coast between the mouths of the river Οινεύς, east of Ταρσατικά, today's Fiume, and Σένια, today's Segna/Senj. Therefore, we can only try to locate the small city on the map using distances between points, the resulting coastline, any reference to the site in other texts, although with different names, and other sources, first of all archaeological ones.

In any case, there is a problem we must consider, which also occurred for other sites, i.e. two different lections for the latitude. The lection μδ' L'' γ'' - 44° 50' - would locate the city further north, inland compared to the mouths of the river Οινεύς (44° 45'), and the following Σένια (44° 40'). The comparison with the latitude of Ταρσατικά is not decisive, as it is also uncertain between the same two lections. The other lection μδ' L'' δ'' - 44° 45' - would instead locate it at least at the same latitude of the mouths of the above-mentioned river and this is positive, if we observe the conformation of this part of the Dalmatian coast. Whatever solution is chosen for the Οινεύς, in no case can the mouths be on a promontory, but perhaps inside the Baia di Buccari/Bakarski Zaliv. As for the rest, the coast from Fiume to Segna/Senj is a uniform wall with no significant protrusions or bays (I.I.M. 1972, 228).

Moving on to the distances between points, we must first of all state that the overall figure between Ταρσατικά and Σένια is exaggerated, and that in any case some of the intermediate distances should be reduced or deleted. A distance which could be deleted could be the one between Ταρσατικά and the Οινέως ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, as I believe the river corresponds to today's Rječina/Fiumara, which flows into the sea at Fiume (Müller 1883, 304; Kozličić 1980, 170).

Considering the tangled situation west of the town which is the object of our analysis, it is better to start from the distance from Senia, the next stop eastwards. Once again the choice between the two variant readings for the latitude of Οὐολκέρρα is extremely important, although in the end the difference is not that significant: considering the lection μδ' L'' γ'' - 44° 50' - the distance is 24m.p. (about 35.5km), whereas considering μδ' L'' δ'' - 44° 45' - the figure decreases to 22m.p. (about 32.5km). The comparison with ancient itineraries provides a possible distance of 20m.p. which separated the *statio Ad Turres* from the ancient *Senia*:<sup>9</sup> if we accept this hypothesis, we have yet another fact confirming the lection μδ' L'' δ'', since the error would be smaller. As we said, evaluating the distances west of Οὐολκέρρα is difficult due to the presence of the Οινέως ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, which have not been identified yet, but based on what was said before the figure for comparison could be the 20m.p. between *Tarsatica* and the mentioned *statio* listed in the itineraries, and this is another element in favour of the smaller degree of latitude: as a matter of fact, this distance is 24m.p. with the lection μδ' L'' γ'' - 44° 50' - and 22m.p. with the lection μδ' L'' δ'' - 44° 45'. We have thus also analysed the distances, that led to identifying the Ptolemaic Οὐολκέρρα with the later *statio Ad Turres*, in the area of Cirquenizza/Crikvenica, which is actually 35km from Fiume and 32km from Segna/Senj. Furthermore, since recent excavations have unburied a large ceramic production facility with an attached port, which was identified as the *statio Ad Turres* (Lipovac Vrkljan 2009), I sincerely believe that it is possible to consider it the Ptolemaic city of Οὐολκέρρα as well, as suggested as early as the end of the 19th century, before any archaeological data were available (Cons 1882, 194; Müller 1883, 304). In Ptolemy we might simply find the local name of the built-up area,<sup>10</sup> used before the name of the *statio* that we find only in later documents - *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Tabula Peutingeriana* - became famous. This area housed a complex with an attached port as early as the beginning of the Roman age, then followed by a *statio*, but this was also 'the place of a significant antique civilian settlement' (Lipovac Vrkljan 2007), also in consideration of the fact that it is on the mouth of a stream

<sup>9</sup> TP segm. 4; *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 273,5-7.

<sup>10</sup> The Illyrian origin of the name is attested in Krahe 1925, 59.

which forms a small valley in a very rugged area. I therefore don't see why in Ptolemy's work, based on maritime or terrestrial routes, a site such as today's Cirquenizza/Crikvenica should be omitted.

I hope these few examples scattered along the eastern coast of the Adriatic have shown the absolute need to pay attention to the archaeological data and maritime routes in order to correctly analyse, or at least try to correctly interpret, literary sources, which are too often considered unreliable and full of 'unlocated toponyms'.

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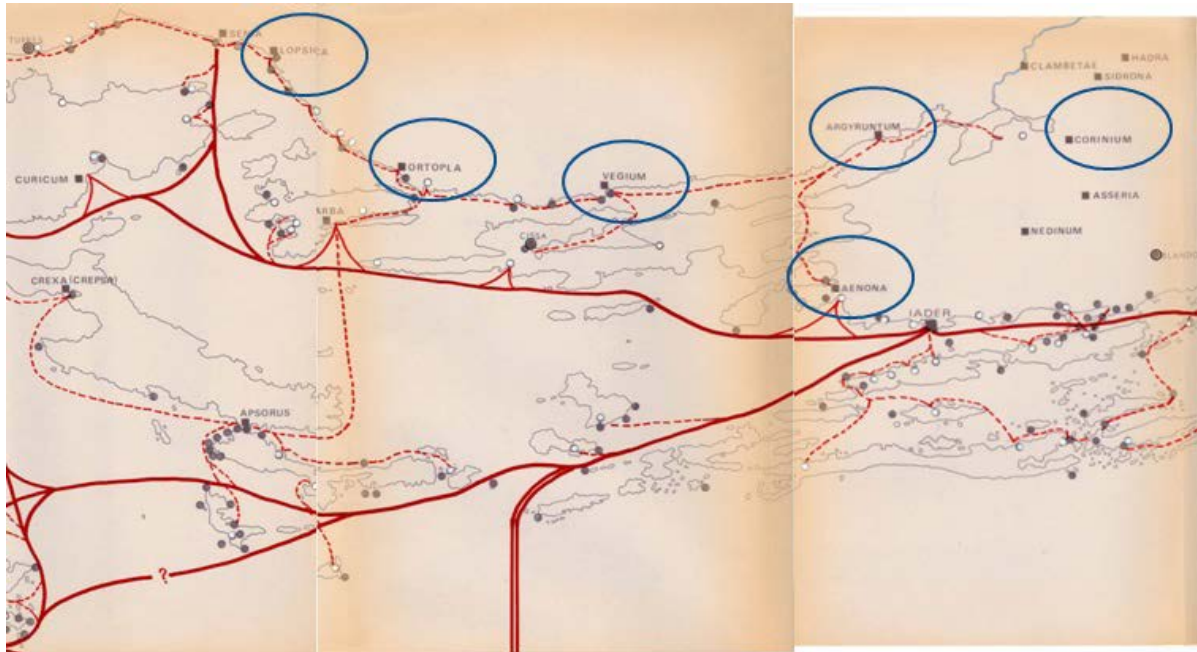


FIGURE 1 : THE MARITIME ROUTS FROM NORTH TO IADER. (SOURCE: VRSALOVIĆ 1979)

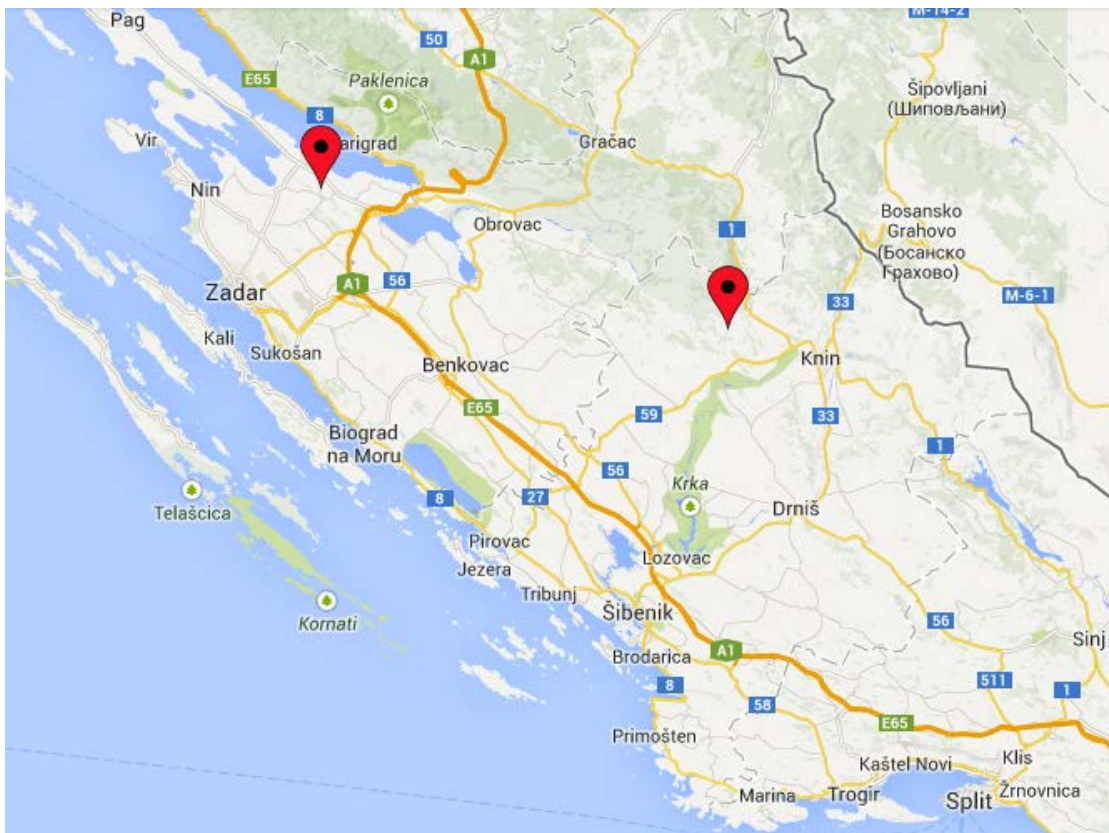


FIGURE 2 : THE TWO HYPOTHESES PROPOSED AS TO THE EXACT LOCATION OF THE *CIVITAS PASINI*. (SOURCE: MAPS.GOOGL.COM WITH MODIFICATIONS OF THE AUTHOR)

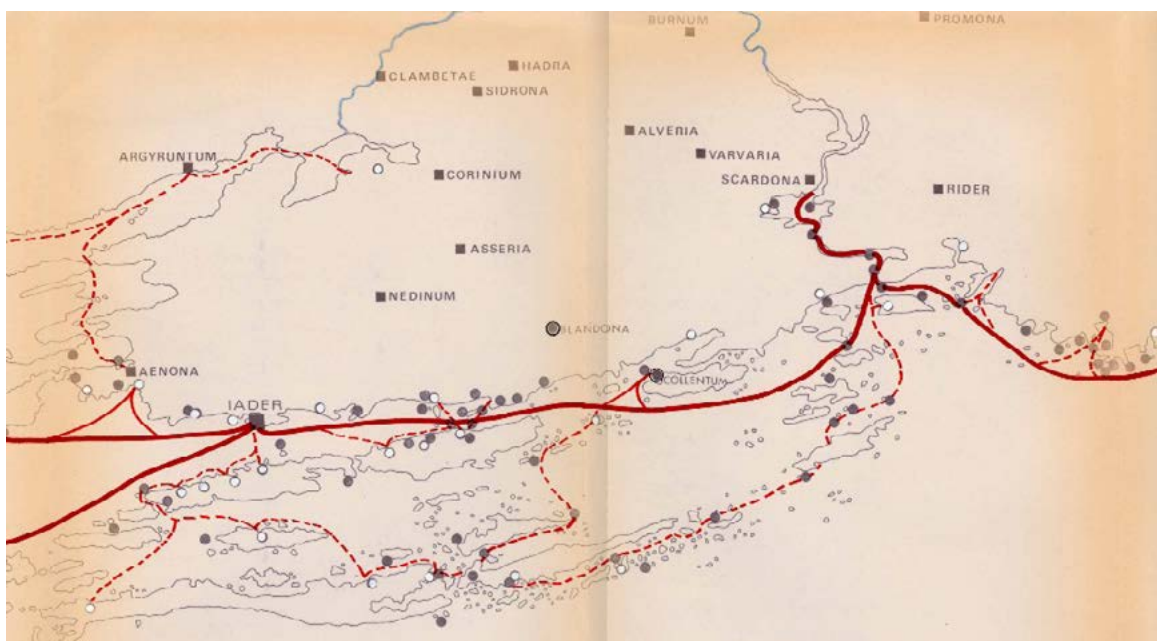


FIGURE 3 : THE MAIN ROUTE ENTERING AND EXITING *IADER* FROM THE SOUTH. (SOURCE: VRŠALOVIĆ 1979)

# The Bath Buildings throughout the Cilician shoreline. The cases of Akkale (Tirtar) and Mylai (Manastir) and the problems of their preservation and fruition. Can the archaeological relevance help in preserving the ancient remains?

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## Abstract

The present paper will focus the attention on the neglected sites of *Akkale* (Tirtar) and *Mylai* (Manastir), both located on the coastline of Cilicia and close to the old city of *Elaiussa Sebaste*. More precisely, the investigation will dwell on the remains of the bath buildings, on which contemporary knowledge is scarce and lacks an overall comprehension. The peculiarities of the buildings, as well as their common features will be proven to be a valuable source of historical information. Leading the attention to the construction materials and to the macroscopic analysis of the bricks and the mortar employed on their walls, this paper will relate the importance of an overall knowledge and analysis of these baths which require valorisation and preservation from future building activities. These preliminary analysis<sup>1</sup> will made it possible to trace an overall layout, even if still partial, of the bathing complexes of *Akkale* and *Mylai*, recognizing their specific features and highlighting their characteristics within the framework of this typology of buildings in Cilicia.

## Keywords

Anatolia - Rough Cilicia – Bath buildings – Akkale (Tirtar) – Mylai (Manastir)

## Akkale

*Akkale* is situated along the shoreline of south-eastern Anatolia, 10km to the north-east of *Kızkalesi* (ancient *Korykos*),<sup>2</sup> 5km to the south-west of the *Lamos* (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 330) river, and 4km to the north-east of the ancient city of *Elaiussa Sebaste* (today *Ayaş*) (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 165). The site of *Akkale* is composed by several ruined structures still visible today, even if no thorough excavations has been carried out yet; all the buildings were built at the same time during the 5th – 6th centuries AD. The modern name of the site, i.e. *Akkale*, or *Tirtar* does not have an ancient origin: *Ak-kalé* is a Turkish composed name and means ‘white castle’. Arabic sources of the 9th century AD remember the site as *Iskandaiya*, although the settlement in that period had just been abandoned. The site of *Akkale* was rediscovered during the 9th century AD thanks to the activities of western travellers, which albeit investigative in nature, never quite adopted professional archaeological research practices and were in fact limited to the description of the emerging evidences.<sup>3</sup>

## The site

The buildings of *Akkale*, whose residential purpose has been accepted by the majority of the scholars, are situated in a wide *plateau* sloping towards south-east reaching an overall extension of 3 hectares. According to the data emerging from the building technique, the architecture and the ancient sources the complex may be built during the 5th century AD: the construction technique of the building, with

<sup>1</sup> This kind of study must be considered as preliminary and awaits new fundamental data coming by a thorough archaeological investigation and excavation. Particular thanks goes to my friends and colleagues Dr Emanuela Borgia, Dr Maria Francesca Pipere and Selin Gür for their precious support.

<sup>2</sup> For an historical background of the ancient site of *Korykos* (modern *Kızkalesi*) see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 315-320.

<sup>3</sup> About the history of the studies about *Akkale* see Eyice 1981.

an external double curtain of *opus quadratum* and a *caementicium* core, belongs to the late Roman-early Byzantine period (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 165). All the visible structures belong to a palatial building and to annexes such as the three porticoes used as *horrea* and the spiral staircase to the north allowed to reach the domestic part of the palace, today completely destroyed. The aforementioned porticoes, vaulted and linked each other, dominate the central part of the structure with pillars terminating in an *atrium* 40m long and 26,5m deep. To the north-east of the palace there is a domed structure having a cross-like plan because of the insertion of four foreparts into a basic square plan. The domed structure was provided with several annexed rooms, which today are not clearly recognizable: the bad state of preservation does not permit to highlight all the characteristics of this building probably built for religious purposes (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 166). To the west of the palace other structures were built, some of which may be ascribed to productive facilities, such as a group of olive oil presses (Eyice 1981, 881). Moreover, a huge vaulted cistern with three aisles is situated close to the palace, in the southern side of the cobbled road leading to the harbour area. The ancient port basin, today completely filled up because of the construction of the modern harbour, was artificially enlarged; the remains *in situ* suggest the presence of at least two/three places for the mooring of the ships (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 166): the small size of the harbour stands as evidence for its private and limited use.

### The baths of Akkale

From the cobbled road reaching the harbour area, immediately to the west of the big vaulted cistern, a small bathing complex has been identified;<sup>4</sup> the access to the baths was through an arched opening (Eyice 1981, 879) (1,26m length and 0,68m high) provided with a Greek inscription on five rows upon the architrave which is badly preserved.<sup>5</sup> The complex is one of the less-known structures on site mainly because of its bad state of preservation and of the vegetation covering the majority of the remains. The water supply of the whole building was probably secured by the aqueduct<sup>6</sup> running from the *Lamos* river situated not so far from the complex. The plan of the baths provided by Eyice (1981) shows 6 or 7 main rooms of different shapes and sizes: only the three rooms to the north are still visible today. The complex has an arrangement on a single row where the chambers could have been reached from a single entrance; the internal circulation was retrograde. The main entrance to the baths, as can be inferred by the evidences, was located to the west with an L-shaped corridor built with well dressed limestone blocks laid on white mortar. The corridor opened onto a large room (possibly the *apodyterium*) provided of an apse on the northern wall; the main rooms, further east, were probably heated as revealed by the construction technique using bricks. A large passageway from the eastern wall of the apsidal room allowed access to another rectangular chamber provided of two little symmetric niches along its south-eastern and north-western sides; the main room to the east, probably domed, has a circular plan with four semicircular niches. The two easternmost chambers had a rectangular shape and probably hosted basins for thermal purposes.

The analysis of the construction technique, as well as the metrologic observations, may have an important role for the overall comprehension of the complex. The walls of the building were made with limestone blocks of little size (height comprised between 15cm and 25cm) alternating by five rows of reddish bricks, while the most important elements of the apses and the vaults were made with bricks of constant thickness of 3,5cm and a white mortar (4,8cm thick) composed of lime, little stone pieces and ceramic fragments.

<sup>4</sup> In 1975 a survey carried out on site did not recognize the main remains of the structure, which had been subsequently interpreted as a baths (Eyice 1981, 879).

<sup>5</sup> The inscription has been noted and transcribed by Beaufort (1817), Irby and Mangles (1823), Heberdey and Wilhelm (1896): about the early travellers notes see the most recent articles of Borgia (2003) and the unpublished thesis of Mirillo (2012).

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the aqueduct of the *Lamos* river see the inscription mentioning the restoration of the structure made by Illos found at Elaiussa Sebaste and published in 1999 by Borgia and Sayar (Borgia and Sayar 1999, 75-76, n. 24).

## **Mylai (Manastir)**

The ancient city of *Mylai*,<sup>7</sup> provided of a small harbour, is known today with the name of Manastir: the settlement is located approximately 3,5 km south-west of *Holmoi* (modern Taşucu) and 12,5 km from the important city of *Seleukeia* on the *Kalykadnos* (modern Silifke) (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 362). Reconstructing the historical development of *Mylai* is very difficult: the lack of the ancient sources and the scarcity of scientific data created various problems in terms of toponymy and destination of use of the standing ruins. One of the most important sources is the *Stadiasmos*, which mentioned *Mylai* as a city located between *Nesoulion* (modern Boğsak) and *Holmoi* (modern Taşucu) (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 362): the information of the author allow us to determine with some accuracy, thus, the location of the ancient site of *Mylai*.

### **The site**

The city of *Mylai* was continuously inhabited at least until the Byzantine era; the absence of any defensive structure on site is one of the best indicator of his development during the Roman and early Byzantine period. The city was provided of a small harbour located in the closer shoreline of which some structures (mainly conglomerate ones) are today partially collapsed into the sea. In the uppermost part of the settlement was located the residential area of the city: different ruins pertaining to ancient two floor houses dated to Imperial and Byzantine periods have been recognized. Residential installations were arranged radially and were built with ashlar blocks most of the time in a herringbone pattern (Eyice 1988, 26); the windows were always opened towards the sea while to the north, where generally was positioned the staircase for the upper floor, there were not openings. Two fifth century AD Christian basilicas with three naves were respectively located in the city centre and close to the shoreline.

The peripheral area of the settlement host the necropolis composed by sarcophagi and chamosoria, some of whom are still visible *in situ* (Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, 99).

Several ruins of the ancient city, unfortunately, have been partially destroyed in the recent past because of the construction of the modern coastal road linking the cities of Mersin and Aydıncık (ancient *Kelenderis*) thus the whole description of the remains it is very difficult. Close to the sandy bay, about 100 m away from the residential area of the ancient city, has been recognized a small bath building built probably between the Roman and the early Byzantine period (the so-called ‘Harbour Baths’) (Eyice 1988, 28).

### **The so-called ‘Harbour Baths’ of Mylai**

The bathing complex is situated at the feet of a small hill: the structure, facing the sea, seems to have the connotations of a maritime complex on the basis of comparisons with other similar baths of the region, such as the nearby ‘Harbour Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste*.<sup>8</sup> The structure, as well as the whole site, has never been archaeologically investigated: the survey carried out in the area at the end of the 80s by Hild and Hellenkemper (Hild and Hellenkemper 1986, 40-42; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 362) allowed the baths to be identified only as a Roman building. During the summer of 2012, the present author conducted a preliminary survey carried out on site to investigate the constitutive elements of the complex classifying the baths of *Mylai* among the overall bathing complexes of Cilicia. The study, albeit partial and based on the observation of the structural elements of the building, has allowed to clarify its overall arrangement as well as to compare the structure with the better studied baths of the region.

<sup>7</sup> About the history of the site of *Mylai* see Beaufort 1818; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, 99-100; Hild and Hellenkemper 1986, 40-42; Eyice 1988, 15-58.

<sup>8</sup> About the so-called ‘Harbour Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste* see Borgia and Spanu 2003, 247-335.

The analysis of the construction technique, the presence of the *tubulatio* system and an arched opening partially blackened by fire that seems to be the entrance of a *prae-furnium*, ascertained that the building was a bath. The absence of any kind of on site topographic study does not consent a precise recognition of the overall planimetry: however the good state of preservation has allowed the identification of the constitutive elements. Judging by the remains that are still visible, the building had a rectangular plan with a series of rectangular rooms of various size; the baths were provided with two (maybe three) heated rooms and some service annexes. It is very hard to identify the original main entrance of the complex: the ancient access was probably located along the eastern side facing the sea, or to the west, where the hill in front of it held different civic buildings. Probably the main bath block was located to the north of the complex, while the service area was situated further south: the *prae-furnium* used to be at the eastern edge of the building and was composed of a rectangular chamber with an arched opening that heated the adjoining room further to the west directly. The room to the east, which was rectangular in shape, was equipped with the *tubulatio* system (diameter approximately 12cm) while, still partially visible on the upper part of the southern wall close to a narrow passage to the hidden room, was the *caldarium* of the baths. The ceiling of the chamber was discernibly vaulted; further west there was another vaulted room, not heated directly by the *prae-furnium*, which was probably used as *tepidarium*: the alignment of the latter, as well as the other two rooms located further east and north (vaulted), is exactly perpendicular to the *caldarium*. To the south of the heated room there was a similar chamber connected to the latter by a narrow passage today hidden by the earth and vegetation as well as other rooms which composed the whole complex. The main chambers of the complex were probably coated by a pinkish *cocciopesto* similar to that found in the bath buildings of *Elaiussa Sebaste*, not so far from the city of *Mylai*. The water supply system of the baths was secured by a rectangular cistern made by stone blocks situated immediately to the south of the *tepidarium*: these kinds of well of the baths are well known in Cilicia, as the examples of *Anazarbos* (Casagrande C Ricci 2013, 146-147) (the so-called ‘Little Western Baths’) and *Akkale* clearly prove. The complex was built with quarry limestone blocks and terracotta elements covering the *caementicium* internal conglomerate: this technique is typical of the Cilician shoreline and recognizable in other bath buildings of the ancient Roman province (Spanu 2010, 397-409). The bricks, both yellow and red, had analogous dimensions reaching 3,5cm in thickness; the mortar, greyish white with a constant thickness of 2cm, is very tenacious and composed of few traces of little stones, ceramic fragments and lime of small granulometry.

### **The Bath buildings of Akkale and Mylai: their planimetry, comparisons and chronology**

The lack of archaeological data about the bathing complexes of *Akkale* and *Mylai* does not permit to have precise information concerning the planimetry and the overall assessment of the buildings. This preliminary study, resulting from a first on site survey carried out by the present author, could be useful for future scientific activities: awaiting further investigations, the comparison of the buildings of *Akkale* and *Mylai* to the most studied baths of Cilicia is extremely important for the collection of new information concerning chronology, function and structural development. According to the most recent studies, the baths of southern Asia Minor display a great architectural diversity (Nielsen 1990 and Yegül 1992): Farrington proposed a classification of the bath buildings of south-western Anatolia starting from a study (Farrington 1987, 50-59) conducted principally on the baths of Lycia.<sup>9</sup> Starting from the classification realized by Farrington and crossing-checking these information with the most recent contribution of Yegül<sup>10</sup> and the survey activities in Cilicia conducted by the present author, this study allowed to elaborate a typological seriation of the bath buildings of south-eastern Anatolia. Generally, the Cilician bathing complexes display a simple plan: the bath block proper is connected to service rooms and water reservoirs; the warm chambers were generally provided with

<sup>9</sup> The work of Farrington could be considered pioneering in the studies about the Roman baths of the Eastern provinces: he, beginning from the planimetric development of the baths of Lycia operated a first classification of the thermal complexes of southern Anatolia. About the baths of Lycia see Farrington 1995.

<sup>10</sup> The last contribution of Yegül has been published in 2010: his considerations about the bath buildings of south-west Asia Minor constitute an excellent starting point for our research; contained in his work there is also a small part completely dedicated to the baths of Cilicia (see Yegül 2010).

an apse and with shallow windows facing south or towards the sea, as typified by some Lycian baths (Yegül 2010, 176).

The typological analysis conducted on the bath buildings of Cilicia allowed us to underline a predominant presence of ‘row’ and ‘central gallery’ type baths:<sup>11</sup> of the twenty-eight thermal structures known in the Roman province of Cilicia, 40% are ‘row’ typed, while the ‘central gallery’ buildings represent only 14% of the total number of buildings. This particular layout of the Cilician bathing complexes did not derive directly from Hellenistic culture but from the western part of the Empire. Less known in Cilicia are the ‘baths-gymnasium’ type well attested in western Asia Minor: the Baths III.2.b of *Anemourion*<sup>12</sup> and the so-called ‘Great Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste*,<sup>13</sup> equipped with a *palaestra*, are the only two examples archaeologically known in the province (Farrington 1995; Yegül 2010). The latter are at the present time under excavation: the area to the west of the bath-block proper, which was occupied during the Byzantine period by a Christian basilica, may have hosted an open-space area surrounded by columns belonging to the bath building. The end of the excavation activities in the area started in 2011 by the Italian Archaeological Mission may clarify the overall layout of this particular and certainly quite important bath building of *Elaiussa Sebaste*.<sup>14</sup> The plan of the baths of *Akkale*, only partially understandable, resembles the ‘row type’ baths with the insertion of specific structures close to the main bath rooms. The so-called ‘Harbour Baths’ of *Mylai*, on the other hand, display a particular planimetric development with a main rectangular room transverse to the other rooms located further east and north: the building, in fact, differs from the ‘row’ type essentially for the transversal development of the main chamber compared to the perpendicular ones. This particular variety, called by the present author ‘transverse row’ type<sup>15</sup> in a recent article (Casagrande Cicci 2013, 141-166), is found elsewhere in the as yet unpublished ‘Little Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste*<sup>16</sup> and in the ‘Little Western’ and ‘Northern’ Baths of *Anazarbos* (Casagrande Cicci 2013, 145-147); the Baths II.11.b of *Anemourion* (Rosembaum, Huber and Onurkan 1967, 1-17; Alföldi and Rosenbaum 1989, 1647-1659) and the Baths 5b of *Iotape* (Rosembaum, Huber and Onurkan 1967, 35-46), with one or more rooms parallel to the main row of chambers, could also belong to this type. Concerning the main baths of Cilicia, the ‘transverse row’ type represents more than 20% of the baths of the region.

Lacking any kind of archaeological data coming from systematic investigations, the exact chronology of both buildings is hard to determine: however, analyzing the construction techniques, the architectural elements and the specific characteristics, it is possible to define the chronology of the bathing complexes of *Akkale* and *Mylai* with relative precision. In both buildings the use of the bricks is very important and is first attested in Cilician baths since the beginning of the 2nd century AD thanks to the archaeological data derived from the most studied sites of the region (such as *Elaiussa Sebaste*). The so-called ‘Harbour Baths’ of *Mylai* could have been built during the 2nd – 3rd century AD, if we follow the strict relationship with the nearby ‘Little Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste* whose chronology could be ascertained by the archaeological data. On the other hand, the bath building of *Akkale*, considering the overall development of the whole structures in 5th century AD as evidenced by the ancient sources, may have a later dating compared to the *thermae* of *Mylai*. The metrologic analysis, moreover, could confirm a Byzantine chronology for the baths of *Akkale*: as noticed by Michael Gough (Gough 1952, 85-150), the Byzantine architects favored the use of double-depth mortar bricks, which were rather similar to those found in *Akkale*; the imperial structures, as that of

<sup>11</sup> A new typology of the bath buildings of Cilicia is recently proposed by the present author (see Casagrande Cicci 2013, 151-152).

<sup>12</sup> For the city of *Anemourion* see Alföldi 1969, 37-39; Alföldi Rosenbaum 1989, 1647-1659; Russell 1975, 121-138; Russell 1982, 133-154; Russell 1986, 173-183.

<sup>13</sup> A preliminary publication of the ‘Great Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste* is contained in the first volume of *Elaiussa Sebaste* published in 1999 (Spanu 1999, 94-103); from 2011 the area of the ancient *palaestra* of the building is systematically investigated and future publications will highlight the exact planimetry and functions of the complex.

<sup>14</sup> The excavation activities started in 2011 in the western part of the ‘Great Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste* are limited only at the area of the *palaestra*; the bath block with the main rooms of the complex, instead, lacks of any kind of investigation.

<sup>15</sup> This type was highlighted by Farrington as a sub-division of the row-type baths (Farrington 1995, 32-34).

<sup>16</sup> The excavation activities on the bathing complex known as the ‘Little Baths’ of *Elaiussa Sebaste*, started in 2012, are not finished yet.

*Anazarbos* for example, show a standard relationship in depth between brick and mortar of 1:1, or slightly less.

### **Akkale and Mylai and their problems of preservation and fruition**

The urbanization and the uncontrolled exploitation of the coastline, due mainly to tourism activities, has been threatening in recent years many ancient sites of Cilicia. Industrialization too, together with the overall carelessness for ancient remains, has endangered their preservation. The risk of destruction concerns not only the peripheral settlements, but also the most important centres and harbours. Even if the attention to historical remains and archaeology is one of the most recent conquests of modern society, between the 18th and the 19th centuries the industrial development of the south-eastern Turkey caused the alteration of the landscape: emblematic is the case of *Augusta Ciliciae* (Gough 1956, 165-177), where the construction of a dam caused the flooding of the roman city including the bath building studied by Michael Gough in 50s. Both *Akkale* and *Mylai*, for different reasons, have been partially damaged in the past; the touristic development of the area in recent years has had an hard impact on the bathing complexes. As it has been highlighted the two coastal sites of *Akkale* and *Mylai* were provided with harbours: however the layout of the ancient shoreline has been recently modified for different purposes: a modern port has covered the ancient harbour of *Akkale*, while the new coastal road linking *Mersin* to *Aydincik* (*Kelenderis*) destroyed the shoreline of *Mylai*. Our survey carried out on site during the summer of 2012 allowed to assess the main transformation of the coastal buildings of both sites as it can be observed from the satellite images taken in 2004 and 2010.

Today the fruition and knowledge of both sites are endangered by traffic growth which prevents the full practicability of the monuments, as can be seen at the ‘Harbour Baths’ of *Mylai* which can be reached only by the new rocky shoreline that passes through a viaduct below the main road: the building is only partially visible from the modern road and, judging by the state of maintenance of the surrounding area, the baths and the other structures are completely abandoned. A similar situation occurs also at *Akkale*, where the vegetation covers the majority of the buildings and causes a continuous danger of new fall; furthermore the camping activities during the summer and the cultivation purposes of the inhabitants are threatening the integrity and the stability of the complexes. Believing that the first step for the safeguard and fruition of a monument is the knowledge of its history and its development, the wish for the bath buildings of *Akkale* and *Mylai* is that both sites may be valued properly in the not so distant future.

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	Some Bathing complexes of Cilicia and their typology				
	Baths-Gymnasium type	Row-type Baths	Block-baths type	Central gallery type	Transverse row-type
<i>Akkale Baths</i>		X			
Anazarbos Little Western Baths					X
Anazarbos Northern Baths					X
Anazarbos North-Western Baths		X			
Anazarbos South-Western Baths			X		
Anemourion Baths III.2.b	X				
Anemourion Baths II.11.b					X
Anemourion Baths III.15		X			
Anemourion Baths II.7.a				X	
Antiocheia ad Cragum Baths I.12.a				X	
Augusta Ciliciae Baths			X		
Catabolos (Küçük Burnaz) Baths			X		
Elaiussa Sebaste <i>Opus mixtum</i> Baths		X			
Elaiussa Sebaste Great Baths	X (?)				
Elaiussa Sebaste Harbor Baths		X			
Elaiussa Sebaste Little Baths					X
Elaiussa Sebaste Sand Baths				X	
Iotape Baths 5.b					X
Iotape Baths 6		X			
Kelenderis Harbor Baths		X			
Korasion Late Baths			X		
Korykos Baths		X			
<i>Mylai Harbour Baths</i>					X
Selinous Baths Building 3		X			
Soloi-Pompeioupolis Baths		X			
Syedra Baths II.1.a				X	
Tarsos Baths		X			
Yumurtalık-Aigeai Baths			X		



FIGURE 1: SATELLITE IMAGE OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN SHORELINE OF ANATOLIA SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE SITES OF AKKALE AND MYLAI



FIGURE 2: SATELLITE IMAGE OF THE MODERN HARBOUR OF AKKALE (TIRTAR)



FIGURE 3: GENERAL VIEW OF THE PALACE OF AKKALE

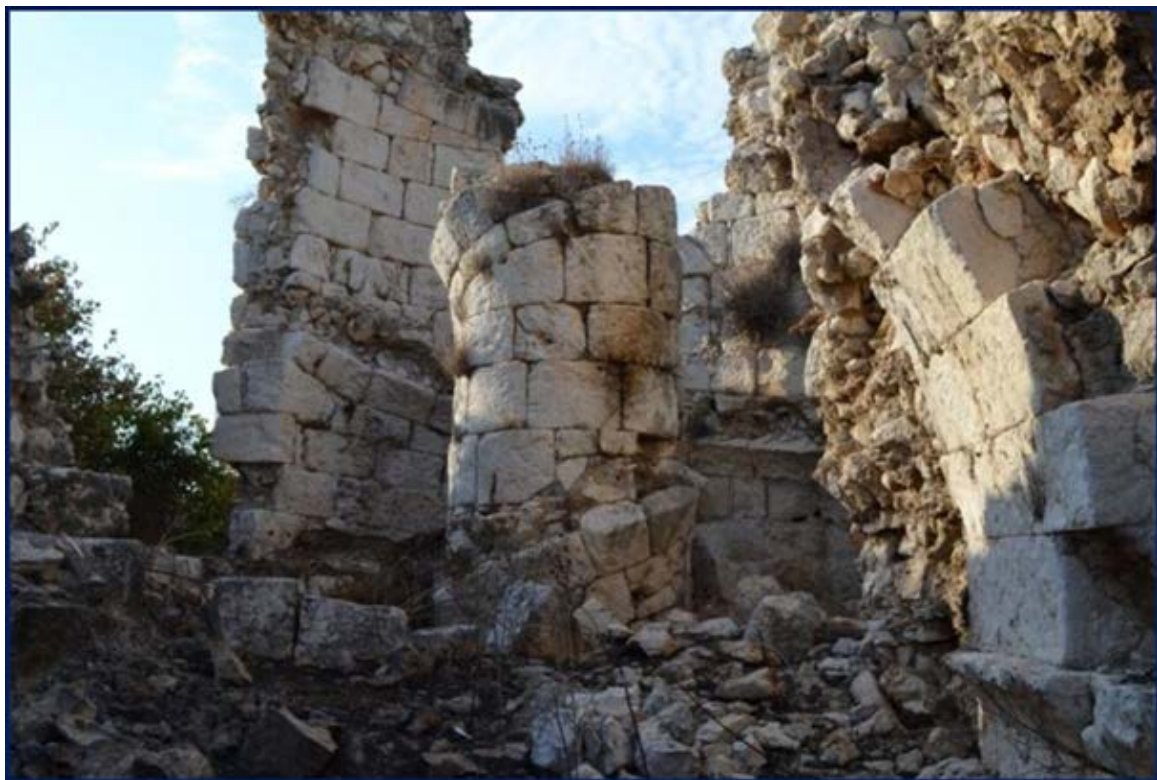


FIGURE 4: THE SPIRAL STAIRCASE OF THE PALACE OF AKKALE



FIGURE 5: THE CIRCULAR DOMED ROOM OF THE BATHS OF AKKALE

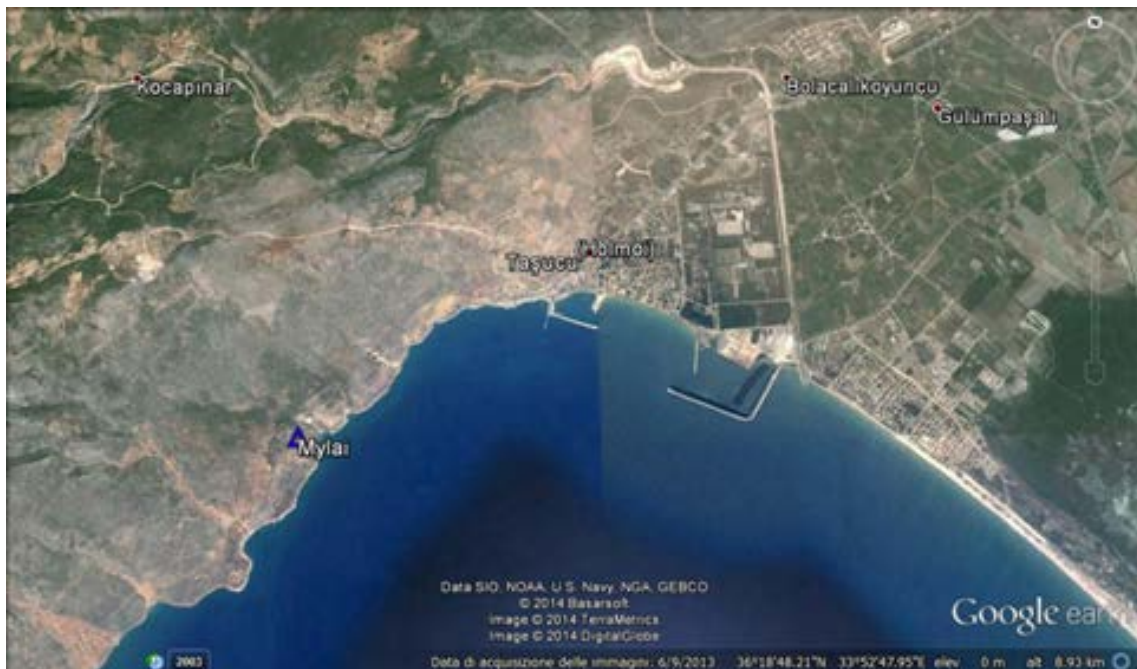


FIGURE 6: SATELLITE IMAGE OF THE MODERN SHORELINE AND HARBOR OF MYLAI (MANASTIR) WITH THE RUINS OF THE BATH BUILDING



FIGURE 7: THE RUINS OF THE SO-CALLED 'HARBOUR BATHS' OF MYLAI



FIGURE 8: THE *PRAEFURNIUM* OF THE SO-CALLED 'HARBOUR BATHS' OF MYLAI



FIGURE 9: THE SO-CALLED 'LITTLE WESTERN BATHS' OF ANAZARBOS



FIGURE 10: THE SO-CALLED 'NORTHERN BATHS' OF ANAZARBOS

# Byzantine Small Finds From 'Church B' at Andriake (Myra / Antalya): First Results on the Ceramics

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Andriake, located in Antalya – Demre, has assumed an important role as the harbour of the ancient city of Myra in the Hellenistic period until the Byzantine period. The harbour (Andriake) consisted of two parts, one in the south and the other in the north. Andriake, oldest findings of which are dated to the 4th century B.C, has been an important trade centre in the late antique period. Especially during the 5th and 6th centuries, the port was constructed further. Plague and earthquakes hit the settlement in the 6th century. The Arab invasions between the end of the 6th century and 8th, and Persian attacks of the 7th century had negative impacts on the cities of Lycia like in Andriake and Myra. Limited findings dated to the 11th and 12th centuries prove that this settlement was active in the Middle Ages, although it shrank a lot later on.

Church B is a three aisled basilica complex located at the northeast of the agora, in the northern part of the harbour (Fig. 1a). The complex has an atrium in its west, a chapel and a baptistery in the northeast, a cistern in the east and some additional rooms on the north and northeast. Also, there are traces of walls in unexcavated areas in the east and south. Additions and interventions on the walls indicate to different renovation phases in the complex.

The ceramics to be discussed here were found in parallel layers in atrium and adjacent rooms to the church. Baptistery, the small rooms between the church-northeast chapel-and the baptistery, the northern rooms (which can be directly reached from the northern entrance of the complex), and atrium are the main spots of these findings. The latest coins from the area are dated to the 7th century. The objects were unearthed just above the ground, and in a fire layer under the broken roof tiles. During the last architectural phase of the complex, some renovations were made and the functions of some of the adjacent rooms were changed. The small finds seem to be associated with these new functions.

Except for the findings of this layer, also many shards of amphorae and utility vessels were found in the surface level. Although there are similarities between the ceramics of these two distinct layers, surface findings are not included in this article.

## Amphorae

LRA1: (Fig. 1b, 1c) The fabric is gritty, on the body shards grooves start just under the handles and widen towards the base. A few fragments of their round bases were also unearthed. Main find areas of the LRA1 are the baptistery and the west room to it; some analogues of the type were found in the atrium and east room of the north annex. The amphorae from these areas are small sized examples with tall and narrow bodies.

Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Rhodes, Euboea and Lesvos are suggested as the possible production centres of LRA1. Workshops of the type were previously found around Cilicia, northern Syria, Crete and Cyprus (Demesticha 2003: 469, Williams 2005: 616-617; Poulou-Papadimitriou ve Didioumi 2010: 741-743). The 7th century productions of Elaiussa-Sebaste, one of the most active production centres in Cilicia, have many similarities to the Andriake examples in terms of form and fabric. These amphorae were used to transport wine, as well as oil (Ricci 2007: 171). The analogues of Andriake examples with narrow bodies in Yassı Ada and Cyprus are dated to the 7th century as

well. Similarity to Fig.1c in particular is one of the examples of this affinity (Bass 1982: 155-157; Demesticha 2003: 469, no.4). The local amphorae of Kourion also represent the parallel features with the Andriake fragments (Hayes 2007a: D.10). The analogues of Andriake Fig.1b in Thasos were identified as Benghazi type and dated to the 6th-7th centuries (Abadie-Reynal ve Sodini 1992: CC210 and CC260).

LR1 amphorae from Andriake Church B have parallel features with the 6th and 7th century examples in terms of their form and sizes.

LRA13: Pink, micaceous fabric with sand and lime particles. Bodies have three types of combed decorations under the shoulder:

- a) flat sparse bands of combed lines towards the lower body (Fig. 1d),
- b) flat combed lines (Fig. 1e),
- c) wavy combed lines (Fig. 1f).

A major group of LRA13 in Church B found together with a large number of LRA1 in the northeast section of the baptistery. Other find spots for this type are adjacent rooms to the church in the north (rooms of north annex). The round bottoms of Fig. 1d and Fig. 1e were also among the findings.

These amphorae, which succeed the form of 5th and 6th century LRA2, are also identified as 'globular amphora'. They are known as the production of Aegean area and they were actively manufactured from the beginning of the 7th century until the end of the 8th century. Known production centres are Cilicia, Crete, Kos, Rhodes, Southwestern Anatolia, Cyprus and the Black Sea (Yangaki 2007: 767-769). Particularly Fig.1d and Fig. 1f show similar characteristics to Cyprus findings. Paphos was one of the important production centres in Cyprus at that time (Demesticha 2003: 470, 473-474). Kourion finds were also dated to the same century (Hayes 2007a: D11). LRA13 analogues of Andriake amphorae from Elaiussa Sebaste in Cilicia were dated to the 6th and 7th centuries (Ferrazoli and Ricci 2010: 818, fig. 27-29). Wavy combed lines or sparse combed bands are observed on the bodies of the 7th century amphorae of the similar type from Kos – Kardamaina (Papadimitriou-Poulou and Didoumi 2010: 743). All three types of decorative bands of Andriake examples were also determined on the 7th century Yassı Ada finds, those amphoras are also similar with the forms but differ by te variety of sizes (Bass 1982: 157-160). Examples dated to the second half of the 6th or 7th centuries of this type with wavy lines are identified as LRA2 in Thasos (Abadie-Reynal and Sodini 1992: CC285). 7th-8th century equivalents of Andriake LRA13 examples are among the Crete Type 1 Amphorae from Gortina (Poulou-Papadimitriou and Nodarou 2007: 758, fig. 6/14). Similarities can be seen between TRC10, TRC12, TRC15 types of Crete amphorae and Andriake LR13 amphorae in terms of the rim forms. Those amphora types from Crete were produced between the end of the 6th century and the 8th century (Yangaki 2007: 767-769).

LR13 amphorae, which were produced between the 6th and 8th centuries in the settlements around Aegean and Mediterranean, are classified in the same context with the LR1 amphorae from Andriake, which supports the dating these amphorae to the 6th-7th centuries.

LRA4: (Fig. 1g) Grey and porous fabric, equal horizontal grooves on the body. There is a pointed bottom among the shards. They were mostly found in the room west to the baptistery and room west to the chapel. Also, small rim fragments and handles were unearthed in the adjacent rooms in the north and in the atrium.

This amphora type is produced in such settlements around Palestine coast as Caesarea, Ashqelon and Gaza. The body forms narrow and elongate through the 6th and 7th centuries (Reynolds 2005: 574-575, fig. 153). The fragments of this amphora type on the Anatolian shore were found in Patara and Elaiussa Sebaste, and were dated between the 5th and 7th centuries. (Korkut 2007: no.62-63; Ricci 2007: 171). Similar rim and body shards with the Andriake findings were dated to the 6th-

7th centuries in Carthage (Humphrey 1981: 102-105, fig. 8/70-71). This type disappeared in the Ummayyad Period (Ucatescu 2003: 547).

LRA5/6: (Fig. 1h) The rim fragments and handles of both red and grey fabric were found in Church B. Many fragments were unearthed from the west room to the baptistery.

This type, also known as ‘bag shaped amphorae’ or ‘Palestine amphorae’, survived until the 9th century with evolution in the form (Ucatescu 2003: 547-549). Analogues of Andriake fragments were found in Elaiussa Sebaste and were dated between the 5th and 7th centuries (Ferrazzoli and Ricci 2007: fig. 4/4-5, 673; Ricci 2007: 173). Many examples from Cyprus were also unearthed from the late 6th century and later contexts (Gabrieli, Jackson and Kaldelli 2007: 794). Late 7th century analogues from Kourion are described as ‘Palestine baggy amphora’ (Hayes 2007a: F13). It is proposed that the date of similar amphorae from Jordan-Humeima (Amr and Schick 2001: 110- 115, fig. 4/5-6) is the 6th century. 5th-6th century ring handles and 6th-7th century rim fragments, similar to Andriake finds, were also unearthed in Carthage (Humphrey 1981: 102-105, fig. 8/72; Humphrey 1978: 120-121, fig.35/6-7).

### Pithoi

Pink-buff fabric with dense sand and lime inclusions. Thickened rims slightly flare; there are horizontal grooves on one of those pithos’ rim. There is a row of indented dots between the rim and body on these vessels. A fragmented example was unearthed in-situ (Fig. 2a-b). Two horizontal handles attached to the body of the vessels and fingerprints are visible on the juncture. There are grooves on their bodies and their bases are flat. This pithos type is found in the several adjacent rooms to the church: west room to chapel, middle room of the northern annex and atrium. Many 6th-7th century ceramics and a candelabrum dated to the same century are the other findings of this context. The same date can be proposed for also this type of pithos.

### Cooking Pots

Small numbers of several cooking pot types were found during the excavations of Church B (Fig. 2c, 2d, 2e). The different types display different fabric characteristics. Although the majority were found in the baptistery and atrium, northeast chapel and east room of the north annex are other find spots of these vessels. As well as the small number of the cooking pots, form variety indicates that the ceramics found in the chapel were moved here from another area. However, the later phase of atrium and subsequent function of the baptistery as a storage room is appropriate for the utility vessels unearthed in these chambers.

Among the vessels, Fig. 2e is marked by the larger rim diameter than others. Although similar coarse cooking ware was found in the 7th century context in Paphos, this form survived until the 8th century. (Gabrieli, Jackson and Kaldelli 2007: 795). Especially the analogues found (Fig. 2c and Fig.2d) from Limyra are considered as local productions. The Andriake finds have similar colour gradation from orange to grey with the 6th-7th century Limyra vessels. (Eisenmenger 2003: 195). There is a similar larger example of Fig. 2d among the Chios early Byzantine finds (Ballance, Boardman and Corbett 1989: 104-105, fig. 35, no.224). Moreover some equivalents of Fig. 2d are among the 6th-7th century cooking pots in Pella (Smith and Day 1989: pl.51/8, 13). As the pithoi mentioned above, cooking pots should also be reconsidered in terms of their find spots. Therefore, late 6th century or 7th century can be proposed for the dating of the cooking pots from Church B.

### Basins

Red fabric with small inclusions (Fig. 2g, 2h, 2i, 2j). Remnants of a thin layer of red (Fig. 2i, 2j) or black (Fig. 2g, 2h) slip visible on the vessels; horizontal handles attached on some of the body shards. They were found in almost all of the adjacent rooms to the church. Fragments from the northern

annexes and atrium may be associated with other kitchenware and tableware found here. Besides, basins from the baptistery must be referring to the latter function of the building and the workshop (or press) in the eastern area. The parallels of Fig. 2g and Fig. 2h from Anemurium are dated to the mid 6th-7th century (Williams 1989: no. 207-206), which indicates parallelism with the other vessel types mentioned above.

### Jugs and Spouted Vessels

As well as rim fragments and strainers of jugs, shards of spouted vessels were found. Fig. 2f is an example for the one-handled strainer jugs, the colour of this vessel is yellow-pink and the fabric is gritty with the lime inclusion. This types of vessels were unearthed in the atrium and middle room of northern annexes, where other utility vessels were found. Another one-handled small jug was found in the east room of northern annexes, with many glass and terracotta lamps.

Similar with Andriake, there are 6th-7th century strainer jugs and spouted vessels among the finds of St. Nicholas Church in Myra. In some cases, both strainer and spout were used on the same vessel (Türker 2009: no. 146-148). A close analogue to Fig. 2f from Patara was dated to the 5th century (Korkut 2007: no.30-31). It is difficult to ascertain the form of the spouts as they were used on various vessel forms.

### Bowls / Plates

Pieces of bowls and plates were excavated in the baptistery, in the west room of baptistery, atrium and middle room of the northern annex (Fig. 3a - Fig 3h). The fragments mainly belong to the groups of late Roman red slip vessels, although the slip is hardly visible on some of them. Indents and horizontal grooves are the main decoration elements on the vessels. There is an indented band on the upper body of Fig. 3b; there are two horizontal grooves on Fig. 3c; an indented band and a row of dots on the body of Fig. 3d; three indented bands and drops of red slip on the lower body in Fig. 3f; dots on the upper surface of the rim in Fig. 3g; a wavy band on the rim and a band of roulette decoration on the body in Fig. 3h.

Among the bowls from Church B, there are examples with parallel characteristics to the Cypriot red slip group, especially Hayes form 9. Fig. 3a, 3b, 3f, 3h are representatives of the type. Analogues of Fig. 3a from Gortina were categorized in the group of Hayes 9B and dated to the 7th century (Dello Preite 1997: 195, TAV. XXXIV, 5). Fig. 3b is another example of the late 6th-7th century vessels. (Hayes 1972:381, form 9b). 6th-7th century Cypriot red slip plates from Anemurium are comparable to this piece (Williams 1989: no.174-176). It is possible to find the parallels of Fig. 3f among the examples of both Hayes form 2 and 9 in Cypriot red slip groups. An equivalent from Lycia was found in Xanthos (Hayes 1972: 374-375, form 2/13). Roulette bands that extend towards the base are also seen in form 9 among the late 6th-7th century finds from Limyra. (Eisenmenger 2003: 194, Pl. CIX/3). Similarly Fig. 3h has equals in Cypriot vessels, Hayes form 9, dating to the late 6th-7th centuries (Hayes 1972: 380-381, form 9b/10, 12; Williams 1989: no. 173). Other parallels of this fragment from Gortina were dated to the 7th century and identified as Hayes form 9B-C (Dello Preite 1997: 195, TAV. XXXIV, 6-7). Fig. 3g is another example of the Cypriot red slip vessels, an example of which is among the Anemurium finds in Cilicia (Williams 1989: no. 185).

### Pilgrim Flasks

Unguentaria: (Fig. 3i-3l) Fragments of unguentaria of Church B consist of pointed bottoms, body and rim shards. Pink fabric decoloured to grey due to the firing process in some examples. Their bodies are covered with red slips, which appear only as drops on the bottom. The unguentaria are mainly found in the next trenches to the baptistery, in the atrium and northern passage to the atrium. Northern annexes are other find spots of this vessel type.

Similar with the unguentaria found from Andriake, the walls of the ones from St. Nicholas Church in Myra thicken towards the base. Both the parallels of Andriake Church B finds from Laodikeia and Myra (St. Nicholas Church) are dated to the 6th century and early 7th century. (Türker 2005: 313-314; Şimşek and Duman 2007a: 291 - A. Türker has published a list for the 6th and 7th century examples of this type; see Türker Adalya: 317). They are known as the products of the 5th-7th centuries; the discontinuation of the production is attributed to the influence of Arab invasions on the trade. Similar unguentaria from Ephesus are identified as late Roman. (Lochner, Sauer and Linke 2005: 648-649).

Şimşek and Duman suggest that the production areas of the unguentaria must be located around the pilgrimage destinations (Şimşek and Duman 2007a: 295). Their opinions on the unguentaria production at Myra support this idea (Türker 2005: 315) in respect to the cult of St. Nicholas.

### Ampullae

Two types of ampulla were unearthed during the excavations. The representative of Type 1 (Fig. 3m) is included in the group of 'Anatolian' ampullae. It was found in the surface level of atrium. There is the same decoration on both faces of the ampulla; in the centre of the composition is a tree and a ram or bull. An ampulla from Laodikeia has the same form and decorative style as the Andriake example, although a camel is represented on it. This ampulla from Laodikeia is thought to be local production and compared to the 6th century Menas ampullae in terms of its decoration (Şimşek and Duman 2007b: 5, 15, no.8). The iconography and origin of the fragment shown in Fig. 3m will be published in detail.

A new type was identified in the last season: this second type belongs to the group of 'Menas ampullae'. This group was produced in Egypt and found along the entire Mediterranean coast. The presence of this type in Andriake indicates to the role of this harbour in the Mediterranean.

### Lamps

Two types of lamps are excavated until the season of 2013. Although lamp fragments were found in almost all of the rooms, a large number of lamps were found together in the eastern room of the northern annex. Type 1 (Fig. 3n) is wheel-made; a coat of thin red slip is visible on these lamps. This group was popular across the Mediterranean, and are considered as the predecessors of the 'Arab lamps' (Hayes 2007b: 477). One of the possible production centres in Lycia is Limyra, a very close settlement to Andriake (Eisenmenger 2003: 195, Pl. CIX/7). Kourion and Kos-Kardamaina were other production areas in the early Byzantine period, especially in the 6th-7th centuries (Hayes 2007b: 477, N9, no.32, 39; Poulou-Papadimitriou and Didioumi 2010: 742). Alike in the other settlements mentioned above, Thasos examples are dated to the late 6th-7th centuries (Abadie-Reynal and Sodini 1992: L 88-90). Although Andriake finds have common features with the 6th-7th century lamps, it is not possible to suggest their production site yet.

Type 2 (Fig. 3o) can be identified in the North African lamps. The remnant of slip is not visible on the example of the type. A tree and two filling holes are in the centre of the disc; the motives on the shoulder frame are unidentifiable. This subgroup of North African lamps is grouped under the name of Type II/B by J. Hayes (Hayes 1980: type II/B). The examples of both group A and B of the type have flat circular discus, around it a shoulder frame, plain handle and elongated nozzle. There is usually slip as a thin coat on the examples of Type II/B, as on the Andriake example. This type is known from the 5th century and continued in the 6th century and a little later. Motives on the shoulder get simpler after the 6th century. Many similar fragments with Andriake lamp were found in Carthage belonging to this group (Knowles 1994: 39-40).

### Features of Context and Dating

As mentioned above, the main find areas of the ceramics are the atrium and northern annexes of the church. Most ceramic finds are from the baptistery at the northeast of the church. The architectural

features of this room indicate that it served as a baptistery in the initial phase of the complex. In later periods, the floor was renovated and walls were added. This room is connected to the olive or wine press in the east. The cistern to its south might also be related with this production area. In the southern part of the eastern wall of this chamber, a terracotta corner piece and a lead pipe were unearthed. This pipe sits over a layer of about twenty broken LR1 and LR13 amphorae. In addition to these in-situ amphorae, cooking pots, basins, and bowl fragments were also found in small quantities. The cistern and the workshop around the room suggest that the baptistery was used as a storeroom in its final phase.

There is a similar floor renovation in the west room to the baptistery. This room is important with its location, which must have been created by the division of baptistery in a later phase, between the church and baptistery. Like in the eastern trench, a fire layer was unearthed under broken roof tiles. Many glass-stemmed lamps dating to the 6th-7th centuries were unearthed in this layer. Small quantities of bowl and LR1, LR4 and LR5/6 amphora fragments from this room may also be associated with the room to its east. Another chamber north of this room has connections with the northern adjacent rooms, the northeast chapel and the baptistery. In this room (west room to the chapel), which might have served as a passageway, a bronze candelabrum, bronze lamps/censers, lighting objects and subsidiary liturgical bronze objects dating to the late 6th-7th centuries were unearthed (Çömezoğlu 2013). A broken pithos was unearthed in-situ as well. This room must have functioned as storage like the room next to it.

Northern adjacent rooms are directly linked to the northeast chambers and northern entrance of the complex. In an earlier phase, the eastern room had a door with steps opening to the north aisle. This door was filled later. A fire layer was found next to the northern wall of the room. Also in the same area were found glass and bronze lightening objects. Most of the ceramic lamps of Type1 were unearthed in the eastern room. Broken window pieces suggest that the middle and the western rooms also had windows. There are marble-paved benches to the north and south of the middle room. A pithos in the southwest corner, broken pieces of a Late Roman 13 amphora, kitchenware and tableware such as Late Roman red-slip bowls, jugs and basins were the finds of this room. These share common features with the artefacts excavated in the northeast spaces.

Evidences of different construction phases were found in the atrium, north and northeast rooms. At a later period, a stylobate in the centre of the atrium was built; under the terracotta floor is a murex-rubble filling on a mosaic floor. An arrangement of the west portico of the atrium suggests that this part assumed a new function in the final phase. Ceramic pipes and a basin made of the tiles were unearthed here. Also, this part of the portico was divided by the walls. The finds of this trench are generally utility vessels. The pithoi and amphorae of the same type as the examples in the other trenches, amphora lids, strainer jugs, fragments of spouted vessels, basins, cooking pots, Late Roman red-slip bowls and a polygonal glass bottle suggest that this part, like the baptistery, had a new function in its last phase. Moreover, the similarity between the vessels from this area and north/northeast rooms indicates that they were used in the same period. Lamps and unguentaria were also unearthed from the atrium.

The finds of Church B in Andriake indicate that some rooms were used for different functions in the later phases. Similar finds from the different areas around Church B prove that these chambers were in use in the same period. Fragments of the same categories of LR1 and LR13 amphorae were unearthed in the baptistery, the room to its west, northern rooms and atrium. It is possible to date these amphorae to the end of 6th century and 7th century. Cypriot Red Slip bowls from the same period were found in the baptistery, the room to its west and north rooms. Finally, pithos fragments found in the northern rooms and atrium have the same characteristics. Cypriot Red Slip bowls from the same period were found in the baptistery, the room to its west and north rooms.

The latest coins found in these layers are dated to Heraklius period (610-641) in addition many 6th century coins were also unearthed in the context. Especially from the storage rooms next to the baptistery and chapel were found 6th and early 7th century coins. As well as the 6th and 7th century coins from the western section of atrium, where the utility vessels were excavated, latest

ones are dated to the reign of Constans II (641-668). 4th and 5th century coins were also found in the excavated area. It is possible to date the finds of this context to the late 6th and 7th centuries, based on their characteristics and dating of the coins.

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FIGURE 1.

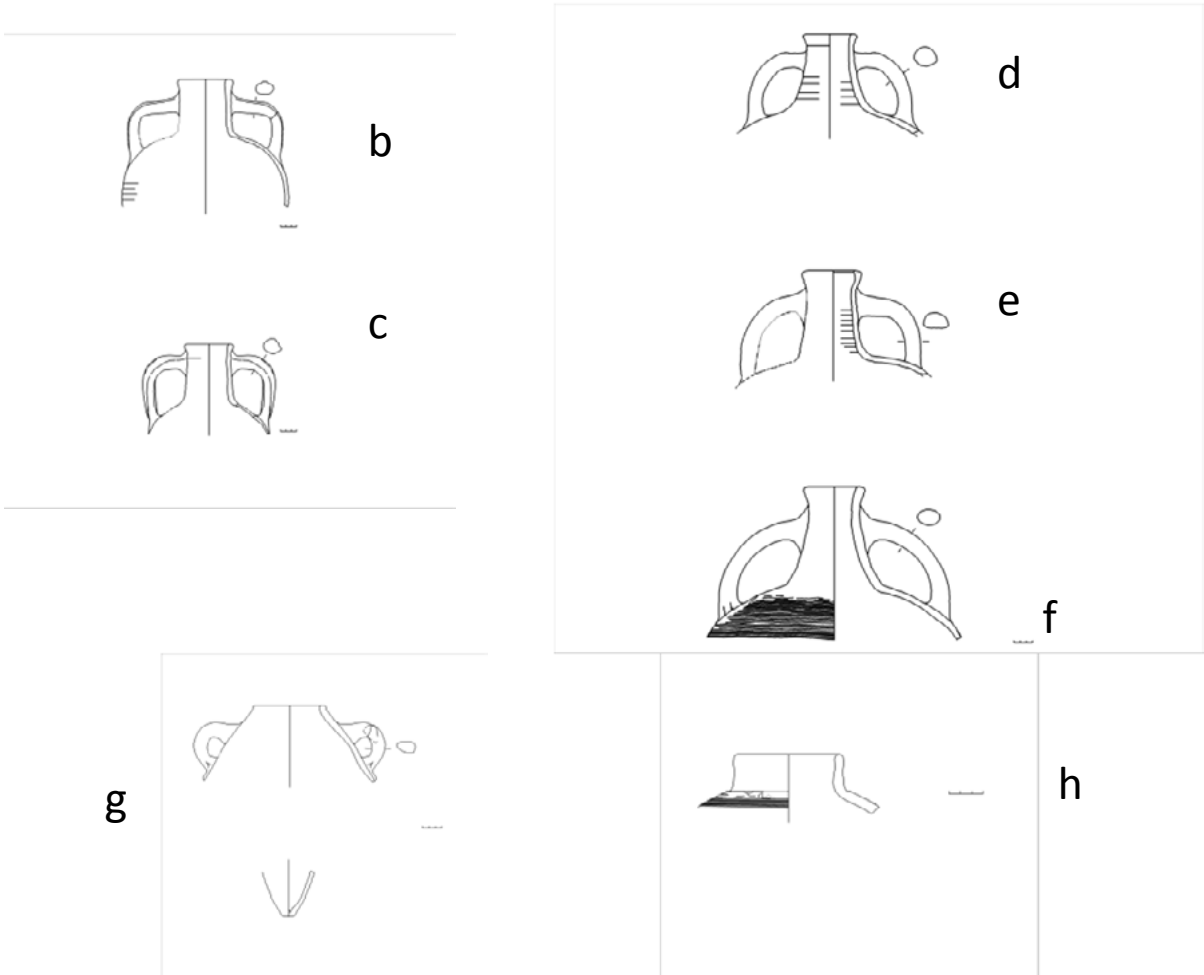
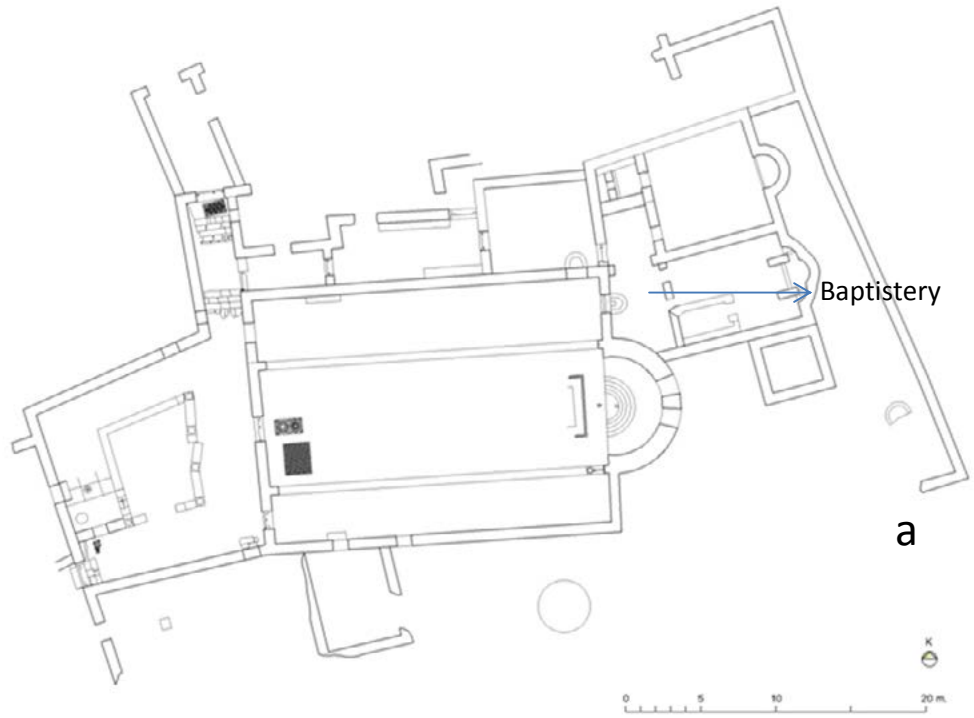
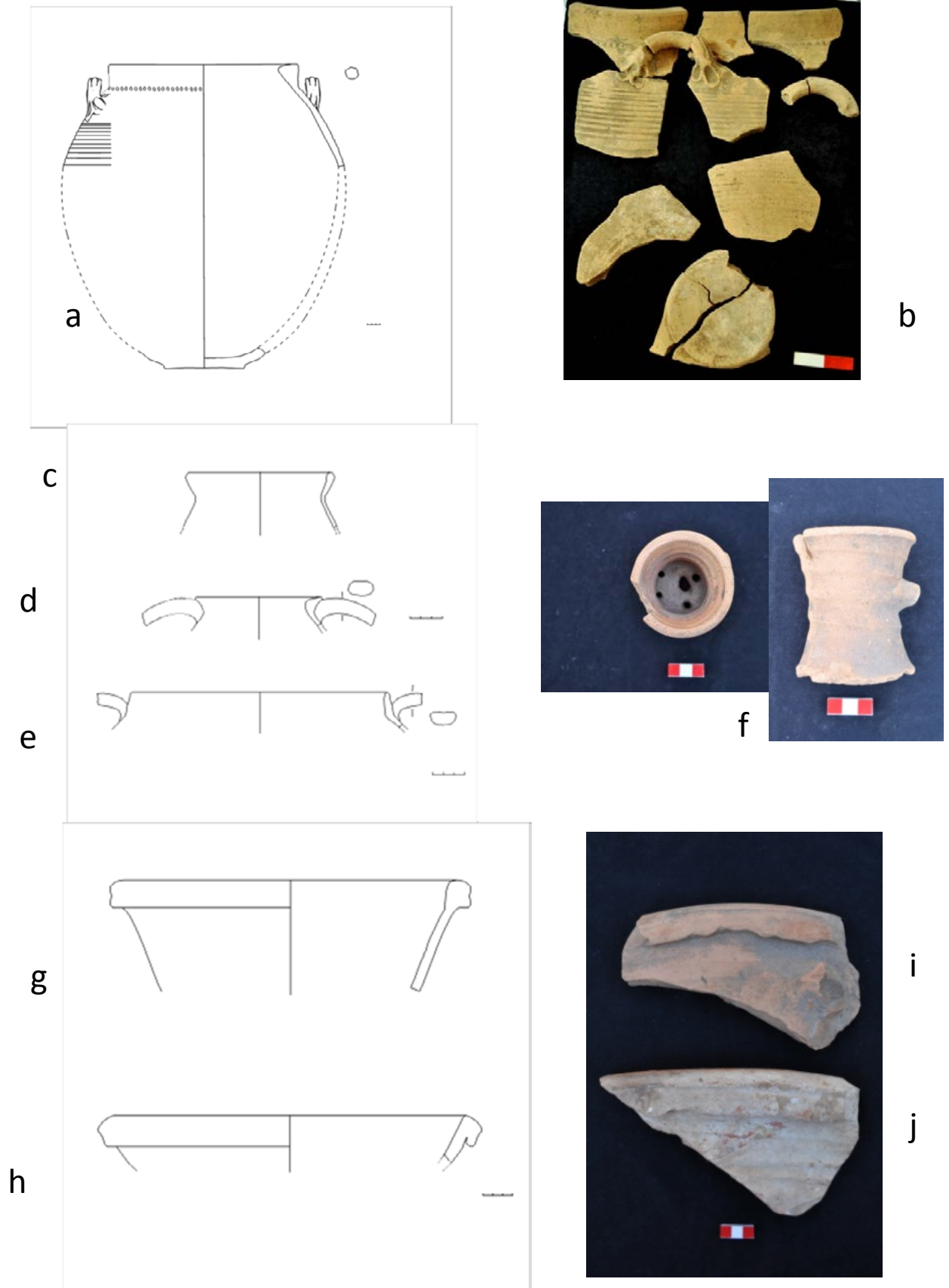


FIGURE 2.



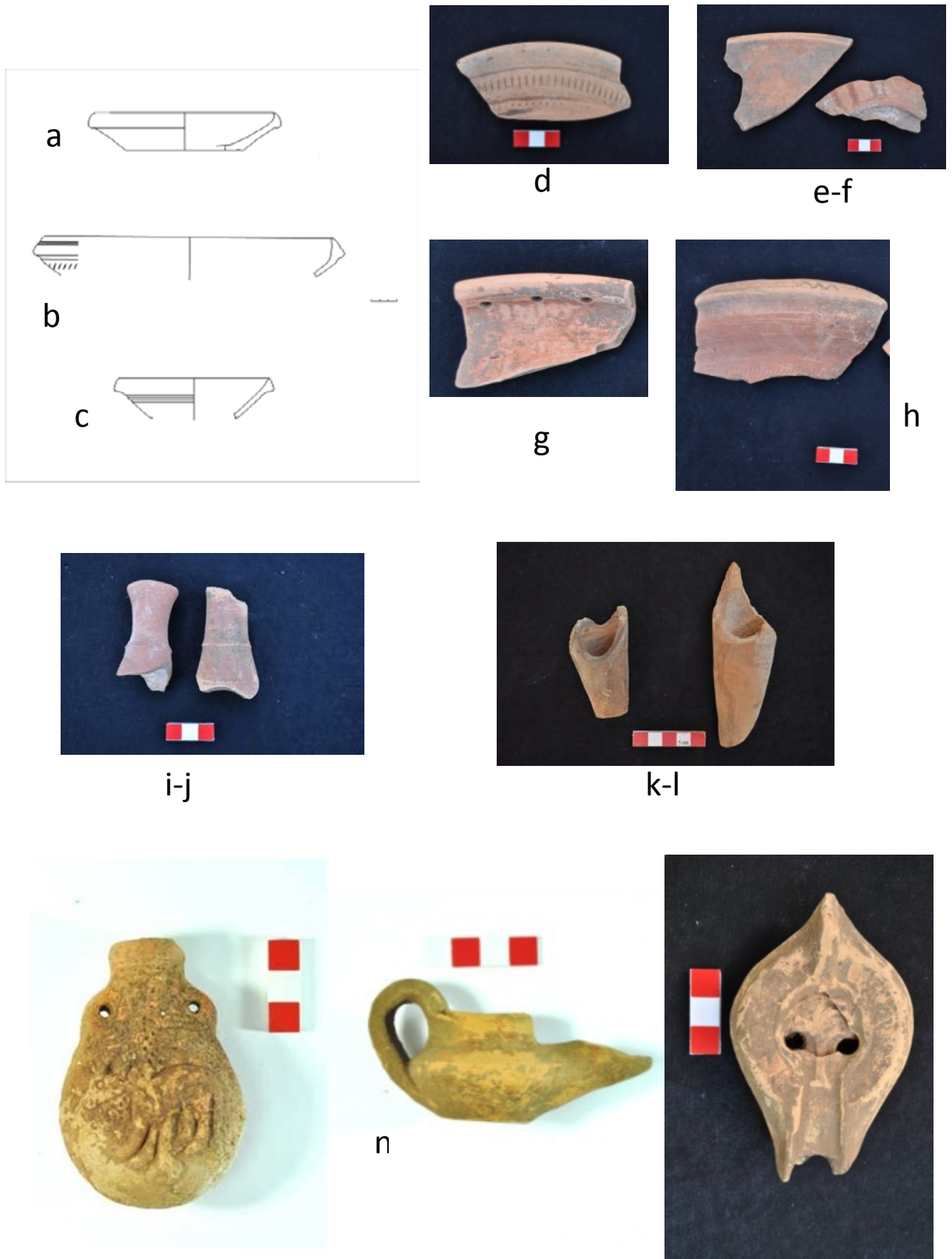


FIGURE 3.

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# Management of Cultural Heritage in the Coastal Zone 'An investigation on the conservation of wooden house in Istanbul through the eyes of the population'

Pierre Emanuel Decombe

Located in the coastal zone, Istanbul is one of the largest culture heritage cities in the Mediterranean area. Besides mosques, churches and byzantine walls, wooden houses are impressive remains of the ottoman culture.<sup>1</sup> Wooden house is not just a specific feature of the ottoman life, but also is the result of the mutual interaction between humans and the nature surrounding them. That's why we consider this as a Cultural Heritage from the mediterranean costal zone. Even if those houses are still inhabited, and protected by the law, the management of the protection and conservation process seems to have inconsistencies in the practice. In this paper we'll see the point of view of people still living in these houses, and why the number of destroyed houses is increasing every year. An investigation was conducted for a month with people living in or around wooden houses, and also with architects and other people dealing with restoration in Istanbul.<sup>2</sup> We tried to compare the points of view to the reality described by the laws linked to the conservation process, and also to the acting of the local politics in Istanbul. At the end we will see some examples of people acting without political or institutional support.

There are different kind of wooden houses in Istanbul.<sup>3</sup> In this study we excluded elaboretely build yalis and konaks, but we rather we focused on the relatively modest wooden dwellings wedged between modern buildings in several neighborhoods of Istanbul. The aim of the investigation was to understand why apparently nothing is done for the conservation of these houses.<sup>4</sup> The inhabitants of these houses are chosen as the primary subject of the investigation because we consider them as the first hand representing of this housing culture.<sup>5</sup> We of course also viewed the architects because of their knowledge and their role played in the preservation of these wooden houses. The people who work for or with the wood, like the workers, were important persons to understand the wood activities in Istanbul and there potentiel to be helpful through the conservation and restoration.

The recording of those houses as historical monuments by the municipality goes back to the 50ies<sup>6</sup> and was followed in 1983 by their registration on the UNESCO cultural heritage list. Those records were the first step to consider wooden houses as a cultural heritage. Due to the fact this classification touches each wooden house,<sup>7</sup> the area for the investigation was as diverse as possible; and two main parts of Istanbul were choosen: Zeyrek/Sultanahmet, Büyükkada/Kadiköy.<sup>8</sup> Hence, the survey did not focus on the artefact alone, I mean the wooden house. Most of the people that we met during the

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<sup>1</sup> The interest to the ottoman wooden houses started with the benefit of the daily life of the common people living in this empire. But for a long time wooden houses were not considered as a characteristic of the ottoman world.

<sup>2</sup> The different interviews are recorded on sony mini disc and conserved by myself. They will be 'transcripted' on paper.

<sup>3</sup> All the illustrations mentioned are at the end of the article.

<sup>4</sup> This is often mentioned by some tourists who feel sad of the abandoned houses sight. As an old Erasmus coming few years before in Turkey I could also realised the fast transformation of those old wooden mansion into parking (otopark). The investigation is of course built to go further this first constat.

<sup>5</sup> We consider the wooden house as an artefact. The culture of wooden house, on the other hand, has a more complex definition and includes many other attributes than the house itself, such as the ancestral know-how of the construction technics, the way of living and the urban organisation dictated by these houses.

<sup>6</sup> See Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul an urban history, Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*, Türkiye İş Bankası, 2010 (1° éd 1996) p 532

<sup>7</sup> Difference has to be done between historical monuments classification by Istanbul municipality which touches each wooden monument, and UNESCO classification focused especially on Zeyrek and Sulëmaniye quarter.

<sup>8</sup> See figure n° 4

investigation were tenant and immigrants who came to Istanbul for work or study. Those originating from Istanbul were mostly retired people.<sup>9</sup>

Ironically, the inhabitants are the ones who suffer the most of this registration. Let's try to understand why. We addressed two main questions to the inhabitants: firstly we asked whether they have a sense of living in a historical building and secondly if they know the techniques for the construction and maintenance of those buildings. Otherwise it's such a non sense to talk about cultural heritage if the people living inside the historical places don't know how to take care of it. Let's have a closer look: The first question about the taste of lifestyle in an historical place was really interesting. Most of the questioned people gave us rapidly an important answer. They didn't chose this historical place purposely. They were born there, or they came here because of the low-rent price.<sup>10</sup> The rare persons who chose to live in a wooden house, did it more because of their taste of quietness. This appeared in all the different quarters of the investigation. The Prince Islands area is a specific case, because this is more a vilégiature place. Choosing a wooden mansion there, is more a sign of prestige. So one first conclusion seems to be that the historical fact is not the first aim to help people to choose to settle in a wooden house.

The second question was about the knowledge of the inhabitants about the construction and the maintenance techniques. On the one hand the absence of construction information could be, according to me, a reason behind the neglect of repairing. In fact, just half of the questioned people know some techniques. Among them, some of the immigrants heard about or saw construction or repairing processes of local dwellings in their native cities.<sup>11</sup> The ones from Istanbul, on the other hand, never saw wooden building construction activity. So this is a shame if we want to follow the evolution of the wooden construction techniques specially for Istanbul. A positive aspect is that, among the people from Istanbul, some of them, however, still know the basic informations usually because of personal interest. The municipal authorities and officials of the restoration have to manage with both a gap and a lacunar knowledge of the construction techniques among the inhabitants. On the other hand the issue of maintenance technique or knowledge is more complex. And we will see that knowledge and willingness are confronted to prejudice and bureaucratic way. Immigrants and Istanbul born settlers gave two main reactions to the question. First they described the building as old; 'Antika' were their words, so to restore it was, according to them, useless. And the second reaction was a fatalist approach: they claimed that even if they want to do something, this is too expensive and too difficult. We'll see later why the protection by the law is not always helpful. Here the paradox leaps out: can we still talk about 'culture' if the people don't or can not take care of the place where they are living in?

First reaction can be associated with the so called 'turkish melancholia'. This expression was used by the turkish architects that I questioned in order to define the taste of ruins cultivated by turkish people. Up to the 50ies, the ancient remains were more visible in the daily life landscape. These remains were considered either as a part of the urban scenery or as the source of secondary use for building construction. An idea of restoring them has not fully been developed. But by using the term 'Antika', difference has to be done between 'stone Antika', and 'timber Antika'. An hellenistic theater after been abandoned for instance, has more chance to survive through times than a timber frame house, but they are both called 'Antika'.

Moreover, the bureaucratic system of Turkey is as we said, another source of obstacle. The State and the Municipality have issued several laws and regulations in order to protect these wooden houses. But according to the inhabitants, these regulations render all sorts of procedure related to the maintenance of the house slow and difficult, so much so that they are discouraged to do even simplest repairs including to put a nail on the wall. According to the surveyed architects and occupants, to

<sup>9</sup> 1/3 of the questioned persons on 30 were retired.

<sup>10</sup> In the case of Zeyrek, the cheap price is explainable because of the actual bad prejudices of the quarter.

<sup>11</sup> Most of the turkish cities from where come those migrants met during the investigation were Izmir, Antalya, Malatya and Diyarbakir. And they were often saying that 'they [wooden houses] are better looking and well preserved in my town'.

get the permission is a long and discouraging process. First, owners have to find an architect that they will pay. The architect makes a survey of the house inside and outside. Secondly the project prepared according to the survey is sent to the municipality for the permission. The file travels among several administrative offices, so that to get an answer may take several months, and if the answer is negative, the whole process has to be repeated. During the survey I met some people who were waiting for an answer for almost a year.

This time and money consuming period is critical because in the main time, the house continues to be perished and the people who are living inside might leave their house or bring radical solution, such as burning the house down and claiming the money from the insurance company. It is difficult to understand why the official procedures are slowed down and rendered complicated even for the people who are well-equipped technically, intellectually and financially.<sup>12</sup>

These laws or regulations prevent the inhabitants from doing whatever they want to these buildings. These limitations seem to be logical and necessary for the preservation of the original structures but omit the basic needs and vital requests of their current occupants. The ones that live in these houses since at least one generation settled here before the classification of the buildings as historical monuments. So when they first settled they didn't know which limitations they would encounter. And the newly commers choose these houses because of their low-rent. So they don't have financial capacity to support the protection politics. It seems that authorities declared those house as 'protected' monuments before considering any establishment of such protection. If we consider the city renovation politic (kentsel dönüşüm) of Istanbul for this last three decades, we shall understand why 'protection' is plan on short term. This politic have the hard responsibility to show the huge past of the old ottoman capital and in same time planed ti be recognize as an international city on the top of the modernism.<sup>13</sup> In 2005 a law has been voted in Turkey, which gives more power to the municipality to make the 'renovation' faster. Its call the 'renovation for the preservation and the re-use of the 'bien hisctorical and cultural immobilier in bad shape' We call it the law 5366. Its aim is to give ability to all the administratives to reconstruct and restore ('renovat' as a real word) historical and cultural things in the realestate recorded by the Council for the cultural and natural things protection. The renovated zones are chosen by municipal assembly, and the project realized by the concerned municipality. This role can be charged to another moral person than the municipality, as TOKI for instance.<sup>14</sup> And indeed in 2008/2011 the whole neighborhood of Sulukule was fastly renovated...without the old inhabitants.<sup>15</sup>

As researcher or tourist, we consider often these houses as historical monuments that should be 'saved as an example of the past, and a characteristic of Istanbul'. This approach isolates the buildings from their occupants and voids the concept of culture rendering it one-dimensional and building oriented. For the inhabitants, however, the houses are their dwelling of which they wish to take care as they wish, because first of all this is their roof, rather than being an historical place...So without financial and technical support, the law dispossesses them of their place rather than making this culture survive. Even if they have financial and technical support to get the permission for repair from the municipality, it is still a difficult and time-consuming task.<sup>16</sup> Since the legislations in order

<sup>12</sup> Let's keep in mind the particularity of the prince's Island, where bureacratique staff is shorter and easier, and where people are richer. But also The island fullled of tourists especially during the summer hollidays don't accepted the car what is helping for the wood preotection.

<sup>13</sup> This renoveting of the city and their impact on the loose of wooden house have been analysied in one article: Nick Krabbenhoeft, 'Suleymaniyé's Wooden Houses and the Müze Kent', 10 November 2009; and in one thesis: Lucie Renou 'Le projet de rénovation de Süleymaniye entre intervention urbaine et politique : La mise aux normes d'un quartier au service d'enjeux identitaires et internationaux' ['The renovation project of Süleymaniye between urban intervention and politic: ], 2010 Université de Paris Est Marne la Vallée, Institut Français d'Urbanisme.

<sup>14</sup> Lucie Renou page 12. TOKI : Toplu Konut Idaresi Baskanligi

<sup>15</sup> All the different rapports from social, urbanism and cultural heritage associations before were claiming the danger of such decision. The same associations schowed the contradiction in this 'renovation' concept.

<sup>16</sup> This affirmation come from both the people living in those houses, and also from the architect who knows the problem of the historical conservation.

to protect the wooden houses are issued at least by the beginning of the Republican period, and since the Turkish government asked UNESCO to record the wooden houses on its list, one would expect that permission for renovation and conservation is easy to obtain. But unfortunately this is not the case.

It's regrettable that during the elaboration of laws and regulations in order to protect the physical existence of these buildings almost nothing has been done for the collection, protection and transmission of the construction techniques and the know-how of craftsmanship.<sup>17</sup> Among the surveyed people the ones whose families were in Istanbul for generations mentioned the gradual disappearance of the wood-craft artisans in Istanbul. The few craftsmen working in the restorations are coming from Eastern Turkey and Black Sea Region where traditional timber construction is still alive.<sup>18</sup> Hence, even if someone is willing to restore his house staying as loyal as possible to the original way of construction, the absence of trained artisans and scarcity of materials makes the restoration project highly expensive. The few academic works and some individual amateur initiations are based on few visual and primary written sources from the Ottoman period. The bases of the knowledge about the techniques are collected through an archaeological approach and by decomposing the original structure in order to get the details of the artisanship.

Finding a good wood-craftmen team was so difficult that some people made renovation in concrete. Until 2006, lots of permissions were given by the Municipality that authorized owners to make a concrete structure and to cover the facade with wood. In fact, until now the price of concrete is often cheaper than timber frame, and the workers learn more concrete techniques.<sup>19</sup> Now the legislation is arranged in order to protect the originality of the inner spaces, and making concrete inner structures is forbidden.<sup>20</sup> But the legislative arrangements alone are not enough to preserve the culture. The concept of restoration in the mind of occupants of these houses should be corrected if we still want to talk about the survival of a culture. For the majority of the surveyed people, the concept of restoration means simply the preservation of the external appearance. To take a picture of the facade, demolish the building, reconstruct it in concrete and with the reference of the photo, to cover the exterior facade in the original shape either with wood or any material with the appearance of wood is still considered as the definition of renovation.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, the neglect of the use of original construction techniques in the restorations of wooden houses had been a constant subject of complaint in the UNESCO reports between 1997 and 2006. And in 2004 UNESCO threatened each year Istanbul to figure on the list of cultural heritage in danger.<sup>22</sup> In order to change this state of mind, some projects have been developed in the last ten years. The first decade of the 21st century shows an important changing point in protection way. First a multidisciplinary campaign present in 2003 a cheap way to restore those houses (in Zeyrek in particular) with good quality. After that, two important acts went out. One in 2005 offered the possibility to the municipality to expulse easier the tenant and owners of the houses, secondly in 2006 for and by the same municipality the elaborating stone and wood workshop focus on the restoration

<sup>17</sup> The history of techniques for example is trying to give a larger point of view of the wooden houses as the architecture studies or urbanism or archaeological or even economic and daily life history of the Ottoman empire. Indeed the aim of the history of techniques is to recreate all the 'chaîne opératoire' from the wood to the house through the construction culture and the workers 'gestuels'.

<sup>18</sup> The best renovation saw in Büyükdada, in front of the local Municipality, was on process by a mix team, half from Esat, half from Black Sea Region. But according to the architects, the workers, and what I saw on the field, the craftsmen from Black Sea region are the best well prepared.

<sup>19</sup> The national association of wood in Turkey (Ulusal Ahsap Birliği) and other wood association makes the promotion of this natural material to help for making the price lower.

<sup>20</sup> Since this forbidden act we still can see concrete structure in actual restoration program, and some article from the French Institut d'Investigation in Urbanism mention that those violation of the protection law are made for municipal monument. See Lucie Renou *projet de rénovation de Süleymaniye*, rapport de stage à l'IFA. 2010

<sup>21</sup> This was true for a long time in the quarter Sultanahmet, where lots of hotels were built in concrete and covered by cladding. The next quarters 'ready to disappear' or to lose their soul are Kumkapi and Yenikapi, where some characteristic houses on the way of construction can be recorded only there, will be destroyed around the end of 2013.

<sup>22</sup> It was effected in July 2010, when Istanbul was 'capital city of the European culture'.

in Istanbul. What can we understand and except from this confusing activities? Let's see more in details the concrete reality of this (avancée).

As an alternative to the individual efforts, these projects have given the opportunity to make restoration on a larger scale with the cooperation of low-income owners of wooden houses. First of these projects is a private initiative supported by companies and associations and has the motto of 'Save our roofs'.<sup>23</sup> With this project the attention was given to repairing the roofs of the buildings in order to increase the quality of life and to extend the lifespan of the houses. Here is not the place to discuss the game between the actors of restoration, the inhabitants and the local politics, but we can put the major reaction of the inhabitants about this initiative. Most of them were happy to see this, but few of them show interest more than this, and many asked for a completed restoration, and not just the roof.<sup>24</sup>

The second project was initiated in 2006 by the metropolitan municipality of Istanbul who created the 'Directorate for the Inspection of Conservation Implementations', commonly called KUDEB.<sup>25</sup>

The aim of this municipal body is to develop a model of education, namely 'Timber and Stone training workshop' that is expected to answer the demand of a 'well-educated teams' for restoration works. The workshop of KUDEB is located in Suleymaniye, known as a district rich in timber houses. Since its funding almost 50 houses have been worked of which 2 are entirely renovated. The restoration of the rest was comprising just the facade of the buildings.

The primary aim of this workshop is the recreation of a group of artisans expertized in traditional timber working. The wooden houses that needed restoration were used as the medium of training for those students. By this way as in the campaign of 'Save our roofs' the timber houses of low-income families have been partly renovated. Both projects tried to promote to the house owners the idea that the restoration is an affordable task.

However, this promotion doesn't seem to have a great success because of several reasons. Firstly the partial renovation of the house focusing mainly on the facade is not going beyond masking the more serious problems of the timber buildings in a state of decay. Such make up is not enough to convince the people that cement inner structure should not be considered as an option. Secondly the endless bureaucratic procedures are still a serious obstacle in front of the individual attempts. As this projects were short term activities with limited funding, few timber house owners profited from the bureaucratic facilities provided by the projects.

Even today there are people who has not heard about KUDEB, even those who reside two or three streets close to the Workshop of KUDEB. This situation bring in mind also that the promotion of the project has not been handled efficiently. Although KUDEB showed an effort to diffuse its activities and the idea of the importance of timber house culture in Istanbul through a symposium and some exhibitions, their strategy is not fully understood by the population of the district.<sup>26</sup> A person whose the house's facade is restored by KUDEB had no idea about why his house was selected. Another person said that his house was repaired because he is the member of one of the oldest families in the district. Another owner said that only the houses belonging to christian people were renovated as the money was coming from Europe. But the most striking example was the renter living in a house

<sup>23</sup> This was a contribution of youngs and some famous turk architects and many differents associations with wooden links or with sociological and citizen aim.

<sup>24</sup> We have to mention that the inhabitant who had the chance to profit of this protection activity didn't payed any monney.

<sup>25</sup> KUDEB was founded according to the Law 2863/5226 Cultural and Natural Heritage Protection Law's 10-11th and 57th articles and regulation about 'establishment of preservation, implementation and inspection offices, project offices and education units, permits and regulations' that was inured on 11.06.2005. (Koruma Uygulama Denetim Müdürlüğü).

<sup>26</sup> That in the agreement exchange between Mukogawa's woman University and Bahçesehir University in Istanbul, a group of 11 japanes student could visit the workshop for an intercultural studies of Architecture. A training workshop was also organized for a young german team.

restored by KUDEB who has never heard the name of this office. And most of the people who knows KUDEB are not satisfied of the quality and the extend of their work.

Here we will present some profil of people met during the investigation who are acting for the restoration without the touristict perspective. All of them are agree that a wooden house is healthy, and they are all aware of its advantage during an earthquake, but they almost all are exhausted to be not really able to renovate their living place. The only group of people who choose to live by their own will in wooden houses and would never accept another option are mostly well educated urban people. They are aware of the importance of protection of original technics that proved to be in harmony with the natural environment.

The more interesting guy [Cemil] met during the survey is a retired civil aviation engineer. This guy obtain authorization from the municipality to renovat his house. He learned by himself the technics. How ? Exactly as a researchers. He read architects books on the timber construction. He red the old one from the ottoman time. He red also the remarq about the restoration staff published by the english and the german scholars. And actually, every morning he's explaining one technique to his workers. During the briefing, he shows old drawings, and the specific details of the aim of the technique presented in the drawing. Of course, this guy knows that Istanbul is a sismic area, and that the carpenters elaborated some techniques link with this. And still, this guy is clear-headed, he knows that at least he will know just a few part of the constructions techniques knowledge, because it's difficult to record everything in a book. But according to me, he's the first one going deep inside the reconquest of the knowledge for the workers.<sup>27</sup>

Cemil, the retired engineer is not the only one who had the idea of training workers to make this culture reborn. Different people, in different district are willing to restore and to do rehabilitation of some wooden building, to make it still alive. For example example in Kadiköy we have a plastic artist [Iskender] who want make an artist workshop place. When we met him at end of Marsh he was renting a nice dwelling and still waiting the autorization to repair the dammage by the time... since six months. A retired journalist chose to move from concrete appartement to live in old wooden mansion with his family [Sah Bey and his wife Zerin Hanim and their son] After few experiences with workers to repair the house, they chose to do by their own because of the catastrophic absence of knowledge or non tast from the workers...who could propose only to replace window by one in PVC. And also an antique dealer because he feels more logical to exerce his job in an old place than in a totally modern one. For Zeyrek we have two kind of example: a young architect [Ali Kurultay] chose a wooden house for his restoration training and his settlement with his family. And an interesting norwegian teacher of ancient greck [Stein-Gunnard] started with Ahmet Demirel to restore a twin house for turkish and wood affinity. This nordman did before a job like this in Büyükkada with well trained turk carpenters from ...Germany.<sup>28</sup>

None of them have grew up in wooden house during their childhood...so the prejudice against the migrant which claim that they neglect the wooden historical place because of no uraban and cultural links can not be resived anymore.<sup>29</sup>

In conclusion this brief survey over the consciousness on wooden house culture demonstrated that the restoration and conservation projects have bureaucratic, financial, and technical obstacles that discourage low-paid and middle class owners. Most of them desire to live in modern concrete buildings. In most of the publications about the cultural heritage problems of Istanbul, the immigrants are accused to be the main reason behind the dramatic abandonment of the characteristic cultural traits

<sup>27</sup> Cemil chosed to restor his grand ma house in Kadirga (Sehrsuarbey sokak.)

<sup>28</sup> The investigation was conduct by mail for Stein-Gunnard, but everyboy can follow is activities in Internet where several paper published about him and his dynamism to save those house.

<sup>29</sup> This strong prejudice can be found in lot of architects reports or books talking about the neglect and the disapearence of wooden house in Istanbul. Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul an urban history, Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*, Türkiye İş Bankasi, 2010 (1st ed. 1996) p 529

of Istanbul. As the city center shifted from the old Istanbul, this district is occupied by immigrants who are claimed to play a great role in the deterioration of wooden houses because they have no ties with this culture. The emphasis given both on paper and in practice to the preservation of external appearance rather than to the understanding of the logic behind the construction techniques is an opportunist approach to create touristically attractive outer spaces. At least this article seems to say that the government won't really conserve this past. The reality is more complex, because the actual government claim often has its Ottoman roots. The government wants to do the protection of the wooden house very well, maybe too much, and without any citizen collaboration. We are talking about a cultural heritage with people inside. If the wish of protection is real, everybody in this movement has to be honest and collaborate each other. The reflexion has to combine living people, tourism activities, political responsables because they are the leaders of the urbanism, and also the architects, scholars and heritage keepers and any people, Turk or stranger, linked with conservation because they are the one who have the strongest knowledge of conservation.

Here is a reply to all the septic people met during the investigation thinking that asking the point of view of the inhabitants will be an useless consuming time. With the cultural heritage topic we don't ask the Turk authorities to follow an European standard. And it's not an interference brought from the Christian Occidental world as claim some surveyed people. Here we just tried to understand the Turk policy from Istanbul about their managing of their wooden houses, and why they are not acting as they said they will. They were the first to record those houses, and they asked to be on the UNESCO list. This agency is not choosing by itself. In the municipal council there is not so much urban planning expert of the cultural heritage management as necessary who can have a proper decision on the historical quarter management. Also, because of the gap in the training from the university, specialists of the conservation and restoration don't have proper knowledge about the traditional wooden construction. And on the restoration field specialists can not always choose well trained carpenters in Istanbul because of the concrete dynamism as everywhere around the Mediterranean. And in this elaborated process of restoration, the inhabitants don't have real space for expressing their wishes for their house or their point of view about the city renovation... So even we noticed the positive point (such as the KUDEB creation) in this paper to the wooden housing protection, we shall give the conclusion that the management of the cultural zone in Istanbul is just a touristic 'make-up', and is really non-sincere to the real inhabitants of the city. The conservation of an artefact doesn't mean conservation of a culture.

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Names of the architects met during the investigation: Ahmet Demirel/Ahmet Ergelen/Aynur Çifçi

Name of association and institutions recorded: Turkish Timber Association (Ulusal Ahsap Evleri)/KUDEB Directorate for the Inspection of Conservation Implementations (Koruma Uygulama Denetim Müdürlüğü)

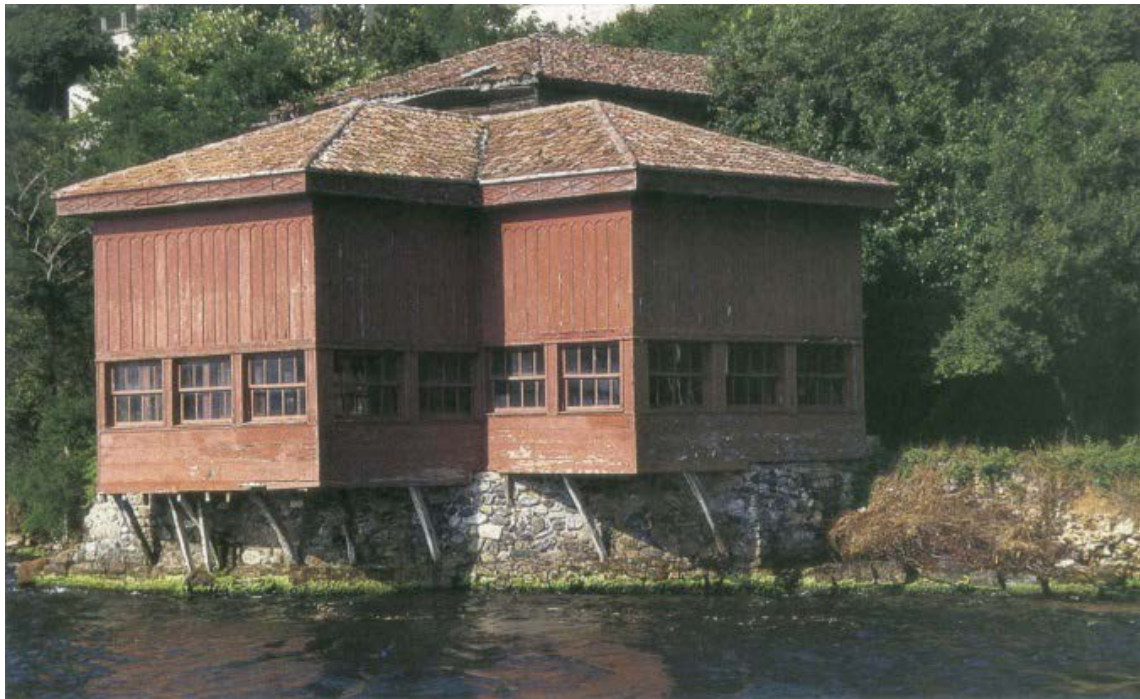


FIGURE 1. KÖPRÜLÜ YALISI: THE YALI KÖPRÜLÜ ON THE BOSPHORUS. PICTURE FROM THE GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGIC INSTITUTE OF ISTANBUL.



FIGURE 2. EXAMPLE OF KONAK. PICTURE FROM SEHSUVARBEY STREET IN KADIRGA/ISTANBUL (3 APRIL 2013)



FIGURE 3. EXAMPLES OF RAW HOUSES. PICTURES OF SEHSUVARBEY STREET KADIRGA/ISTANBUL (3 APRIL 2013) AND OF PERA STREET [AUTOCHROME OF STÉPHANE PASSET (INV.A 1 108). BR © MUSÉE ALBERT-KAHN, DÉPARTEMENT DES HAUTS-DE-SEINE]

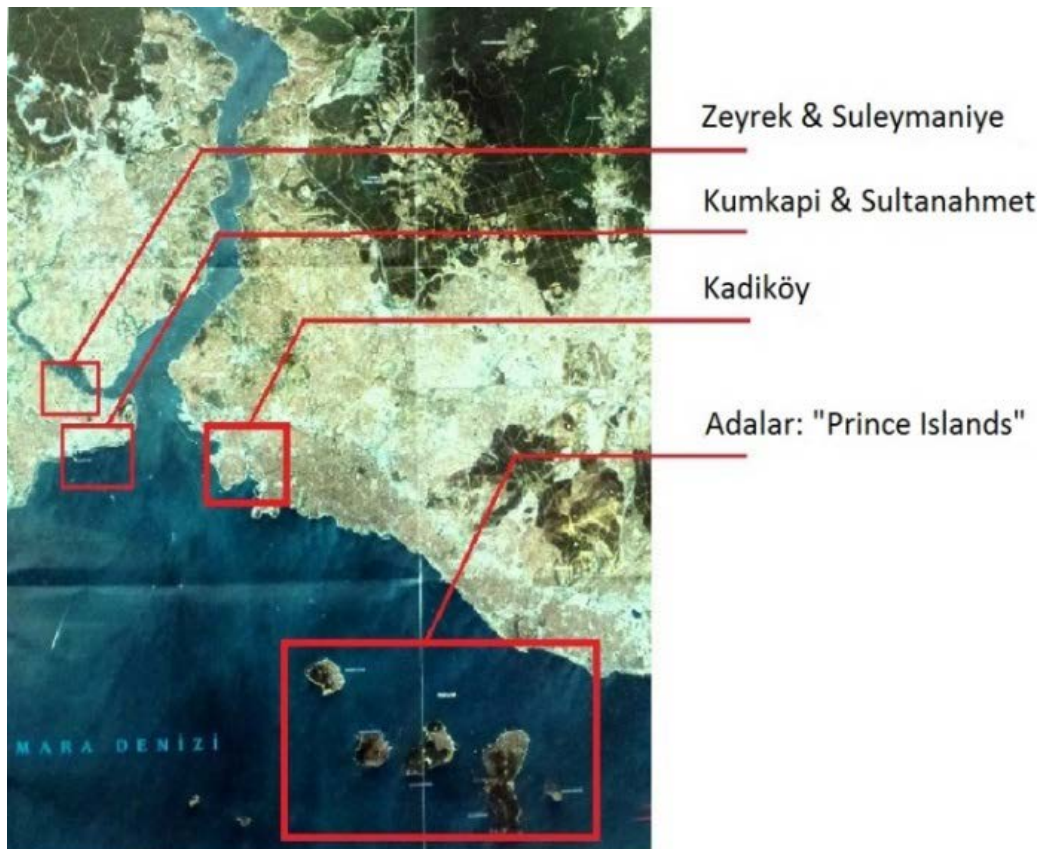


FIGURE 4. MAP OF ISTANBUL ILLUSTRATING WHERE THE INVESTIGATION WERE CONDUCT.

## XII Scripta And Two Excavated Game Boards From Kibyra

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### Summary

'Duodecim Scripta', which was commonly enjoyed, played in the Roman Imperial Period, means that of the 'twelve signs' or 'twelve points'. It is known that rounded bone pieces were employed in playing this game. The pieces played with were not only white but also blue, black, green and red. Even though the playing tables were usually made from marble and limestone, playing tables which were made of leather have been found in Italy. Although examples have not been found to date, it is possible to think there were also wooden playing tables.

The Scripta game resembles contemporary backgammon in that two people sit face to face. Each player has 15 different colored playing pieces, and they put these pieces on the 'alveolus' (playing table) which was equally divided by lines. These pieces were possibly set in the middle of the playing table or in the quadrant drawn to their side. The aim of the game was to carry the whole pieces out of the playing table, from the numbers resulting from the rolling of the dice. The one who brought all of the pieces out of the playing table was the winner. The assumption that 'duodecim scripta' was played in this manner, depends upon the adaption of the rules of contemporary backgammon to 'duodecim scripta'. The various examples of 'duodecim scripta' which have been found in many archeological excavations from the Roman Imperial Period show this game was frequently played and enjoyed.

Two 'duodecim scripta' boards have been found in the on-going excavations of the ancient city of Kibyra, located in the city of Burdur's Göhlisar district. The first one is of limestone. Like the other examples, this board was curved as to be a shallow pool. The second board was found in the 2014 excavations of the Agora's first Terrace Street. The table had been reused in the base of a fountain which was constructed around the 5th - 6th centuries AD. In this article, from these examples from the Kibyra excavations, comparisons are drawn with other examples and an inquiry is made concerning 'duodecim scripta'.

Dutch historian and cultural theorist J. Huizinga claimed in his famous volume published in 1938, humanity is not as intelligent as had been assumed by enlightenment thinkers who regarded human beings as to be 'Homo Sapiens'. After this recognition, according to Huizinga, the title 'Homo Faber' was more appropriate. Yet, Huizinga proposed another name 'Homo Ludens'<sup>1</sup> to differentiate human existence from other creatures that can play games. Huizinga asserted that civilisation as a game through which the civilisation process is evaluated, is much older than culture, and there was nothing in the beginning but only playing (Huizinga 2006, 13 et al).

In Greece culture, while children's plays were called 'paidia=childish', adult games were called 'agon', through which socialisation through the games played were stressed, forming a link with the agora and was filled with connotations, competition, race, rivalry, campaign. In this respect, it is important that in the board-table games, which were usually played with two people, the design of the table, the playing materials and pieces were mainly of two colors and the name of dice etimologically refers to a 'dichotomy', that is, a rivalry or antagonism (And 2003, 31).

<sup>1</sup> Ludus (Plu. ludi) refers to the game. Furthermore, it is used to define both the leisure and summer time of students and also religious rituals performed through games. Arslan 2007, 36, cited from Devoe 2003; 27.

Life is understood as a game. With its discrepancies and rivalries the game is attached to the life of the individual and society, its cycle is unknown but its end precise. Throughout history the play and the players' rules have formed the base of social life, with this construction process providing evidence concerning social relations.<sup>2</sup>

By the Neolithic era when people begun settlement and domesticisation, board-table games (*tabulae lusoria* - Purcell 1995, 6), are found. This games can be categorized into two main types: rivalry games played with dice and strategy games playing without dice.<sup>3</sup> In respect to this issue, Pauly-Wissowa's '*lusoria tabula*' article occupies more than 1000 columns (Kurke 1999, 247). The remnants of table games such as the Egyptian originated game called *Senet* (Bell 1960, 26, Fig. 20; Marquez 2012, 258. Tang 2003, 8), playing with 3 dice and 3x12 lines but its rules are unknown, and *Mankala* that was played over a very wide geography from Gibraltar to Indonesia, dates from 5000 years ago (Bikić and Vuković 2010, 185 et al.; Demirel 2007, 110; Strouhal 2007, 97).

Although Herodotos asserts that table games were invented by the Greeks and Lydians (Kurke 1999, 249; Nutu and Botan, *Ibid.*, 145–146), the common assumption concerning the issue as to how and where these games came from, is that these games originated in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Palestine and were brought Greece. Commercial relations around Mediterranean, Roman domination around the Balkans, in Europe, Asia Minor, North Africa and the Middle East provide the geographical contours of the spread and the proliferation of table games. Each local encounter and its social variations served to enrich these games (Bell 2000, 5; Buljević 2012, 155; Jiménez Cano 2014, 127 et al.; Lavado Paradinas 2010, 53 et al.; Schaflitzl 2011, 395; 396 Abb. 1; It may be understood that the legions also played a significant role in this proliferation. Shegani and Kristo 2013, 30; Spjuth 2012, 13.).

In the famous scene depicted in black-figure technique by Eksekias, Achilles and Aias were depicted at the game table, undressed from their armour and weapons. Achilles cries '*four*' and his friend '*three*' these words might indicate they were depicted playing a table game (Bener 2008, 6. Lev. I, Res. 1–2; Kovač 2012, 75, Fig. 1). Another possibility is they are playing odd or even, a game that was known as *morra* which was called *micatio* in Roman era (Arslan, *Ibid.*, 36. cited from King 2003, 6).

Events such as: horse races, chariot races, theaters, animal and gladiator fights, which were sponsored by the rich and noble families were events closely followed by the common populace, forming very important parts of Roman daily life. These events were open to the various strata of society and access priced accordingly. Except these major events which filled Roman leisure time, the most practical and entertaining way of spending time was to play board games and one of these common games was '*duodecim scripta*'.<sup>4</sup>

Ovidius was the first writer known to have mentioned this game, in his book *Ars Amatoria* (The Art of Love) of 8 AD Ovidius, says in his book's preface, *this book is nothing but experience, I have already done all of what I wrote in this book* (Green 1979, 391). After Ovidious, there are numerous written sources mentioning the game and the written sources are so detailed that we can find a nuance concerning it in a report concerning the famous the lawyer Mucius who were very successful at this game (Macaulay 1865, 2, cited from Cic. Orat. I. 50; Kellogg 1893, 136; Leary 1990, 123; Nutu and Botan 2009, 146). Two Pompeii wall paintings (Arslan *Ibid.*, 36. Bell 2000, 33, Fig. 28–29; Schaflitzl 2012, 10, Abb.1) and a scene depicted in a mosaic from Carthage (Kovač 2012, 76, Fig. 2) can be counted among the visual evidence depicting this game.

<sup>2</sup> Akçay 2013, 335; Bener 2008, iv. Perhaps the most informative Turkish work on this issue is S. S. Bener's '*Eski Yunan ve Roma'da Oyun ve Oyuncaklar*' from Bener's MA thesis, published in 2008. Concerning the outline of this restricted article see: S. S. Bener, *Antikçağda Oyun ve Oyuncaklar*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> For visual examples and comprehensive research, see: Bell 2000, Race Games, 1 et al.; War Games, 47 et al.; Bener *Ibid.*, 4; Nutu and Botan 2009, 145.

<sup>4</sup> For a comparative study and of knowledge collected from a wide variety of sources concerning *XII scripta*, see: Schamber 2009.

*Duodecim* means ‘twelve’. Yet, what *scripta* (written/registered) refers to remains unknown. There were not only points in the antique era on dice; there were also letters and short lines. Researchers interested in the issue propose that *XII scripta*, was in fact played with two dice but, as the game changed to *alea*, - as was clearly stated by the Roman writers Agathius and Isidore - it might have begun to be played with three dice (Schamber, *Ibid.*, 19 et al). Isidore defines a board-table game in his book ‘*Etymologie*’: according to this definition the six lines on the table symbolize the years a man lived and the three lines refer to the three stages of life (Schamber, *Ibid.*, 10). Although, which, geometrical figure lines, words or dice, were employed in *duodecim scripta* remains unclear; researchers are have come to accept the ‘twelve sign’. The game was played with two people (Arslan *Ibid.*, 41, Res. 4; Nutu and Botan 2009, 155, Fig. 1–5; Purcell, *Ibid.*, 4) with fifteen different colored bone pieces (Janković 2007, 30; Janković 2008, 8, Cat. 1–4; In nubia, beside an ebony table, ebony (Black) and ivory (white) pieces were found; Behling 2013, 18; Kovač 2012, 78, Fig. 4–6, 79, Fig. 7; Schafitzl 2012, 19, Abb. 10) and dice made from bone that were named: *alea*<sup>5</sup> or *kubos*, *talus*, *tessera*. In a mosaic that was found in Ostia (Arslan *Ibid* 36) the game is depicted played with two dice, nevertheless, it is generally accepted that the game was played with three dice.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, in order to protect the game from possible tricks, the players threw the dice from shaken cups termed *pyrgus* which were also made from bone (Cobbett 2008, 220 et al.; Kovač 2012, 76, Fig. 2–3).

The basic structure of the game was developed around strategies springing from the possible combinations provided by the dice. The first aim of the game is to pass as much as possible over the lines that the sum of the digits on the surface of the dice permitted. In order to achieve a victory, passing through the lines, the second aim was to hit the checkers and to bring all of the pieces, out of the game in front of the opponent.<sup>7</sup> The players can move all pieces in the same line, in the same time. The direction of the movements, the number of dice, multiple moves, having only two attack when the dice are the same are vital differences that differentiate contemporary backgammon from historical *XII Scripta* (Arslan *Ibid* 37–38; Austin 1934, 34).

The *XII Scripta* boards commonly encountered in archaeological excavations have been found as both independent blocs designed as game tables or as architectural pieces with the board integrated, carved on a stairway or stylobate. In this respect we can suggest that these architecturally integrated tables might be understood as public property. Boards were usually made from marble, or of hard stone such as limestone, of wood as exemplified by a find from Essex that dates from the 1st century AD Further there are even leather examples which resemble a chequer or a chess board, dating from the 2nd century AD (Arslan *Ibid*, 37).

Looking at the wooden successor of the *tabula* (Lavado Paradinas 2010, 59; Röber 1994, 38; Strouhal 2007, 97), the *tric-trac*, it is said that the easily found and easily shaped features of the wooden moveable boards made them very common during the Medieval period. On the *XII scripta* board there were 32 attack place comprising three lines and divided into twelve parts. In addition it may be accepted that on the board there were six sections constructed by sextette lines. The attack places were marked by squares, spherical holes or letters. Both the borders of the table and among the lines were geometric motifs and figures depicting plants.

On an important example surviving from Ostia there is letter lines that might depicts the rules of the game (Austin *Ibid*, 33; Bener 2008, Lev. XXXIII, Res. 64-65; Reiter 2000, 59, Abb. 1):

<sup>5</sup> *Alea* also refers to the gambling. Even though it was forbidden, except at horse races and at *Saturnalia* Festivals, it is known that even Emperors gambled: see Arslan *Ibid*, 38; Purcell 1995, 6–7.

<sup>6</sup> Bell 1960, 31, Fig. 26; ‘*Nam tribus tesseris ludere perhibent propter tria saeculi tempora: praesentia, praeterita, futura; quia non stant, sed decurrunt*’= this game is played with three dice; because, life has three dimension, as to be, the past, the present and the future, and this circle never stops.’ Schamber 2009, 16–17, cited from Isidore.

<sup>7</sup> ‘*De calculorum motu. Calculi partim ordine moventur; partim vage: ideo alios ordinarios, alios vagos appellant; at vero qui moveri omnino non possunt, incitos dicunt. Unde et egentes homines inciti vocantur; quibus spes ultra procedendi nulla restat*’ = ‘On the movements of the pieces: Some of their moves are defined and some of them random. For this reason, former pieces were called *ordinarii* and the later *vagi*. Those that never moved were named *incitii*.’ Schamber 2009, 20–21, cited from Isidore

CCCCC	BBBBB
AAAAA	AAAAA
DDDDD	EEEEE

According to Murray's widely accepted thesis, players begins with A lines and continue with B, C, D, E lines (Arslan *Ibid*, 38; Austin, *Ibid*, 34; Bener *Ibid*, 35, Lev. XXXIII, Res. 64–65; Leary 1990, 124.). According to this thesis, whichever player passes from the rightmost and reaches the last pieces of the E lines' becomes the winner (Pl. 1, Fig. 1). On the other hand, some researchers claim from beneficial proverbs and sentences kidding the rival, that there was a different game played on those tables comprising hexametric word lines.<sup>8</sup>

*LUDITE SECURI QUIBUS AESEST SEMPER INARCA*

'If you have enough money, play it fearless'

*LEVATE DALOCU LUDERE NESCIS IDIOTA RECEDE*

'Get up, go, you do not know this game, you foolish, go'

*VENARI LAVARI LUDERE RIDERE OCCEST VIVERE*

'Hunting, taking a shower, playing, laughing: this is life'

*VIRTUS IMPERI HOSTES VINCTI LUDANT ROMANI*

'The enemies are in chains, the power of the Emperor, let Romans play...'<sup>9</sup> (Purcell 1995, 25–26)

*XII Scripta* that was commonly played until the 4th century AD, when it was replaced by *tabula* (τάβλη), the ancestor of backgammon, simplified by refusing the middle line. Suotenus, in *De Vita Caesarum*, reports that Emperor Claudius (41-54 AD) always carried a *tabula*, moreover, Purcell adds that this same emperor wrote a book concerning the rules of this game.<sup>9</sup> Around 530 AD, in Agathias' narration, in which he depicted how Emperor Zeno got into a scrap, is the most cited narration in the literature on this issue (Bell 1960, 34, Fig. 30, Schamber 2009, 15, Fig. II. 1). From these sources, it is thought that *tabula* and *XII Scripta* existed concurrently in that period, but over time *XII Scripta* faded from fashion and *tabula* became more popular, becoming the commonly played board-table game (Nutu and Botan 2009, 147).

The game *ludus latrunculum/latrunculorum* was a game of strategy without dice, which begun to be played in the 1st century B.C. It resembles the game of chess and it is thought that this game developed from the '*polis*' game of the Greeks.<sup>10</sup> Even though its table usually consisted of 7x8 squares, tables of 8x8 and 9x10 squares have been found at ancient sites (Bell 2000, 6; Bener 2008, 11; Janković 2007, 31). *Latro* refers to the legionnaires or bandits and the primary logic behind the game was hunting and strategies of war (Leary 1990, 123; Purcell 1995, 5). *Latrunculum* was played with colored stone, glass and even semi-precious stones which were termed *calces*, *calculi*, *gemmae*, *latrones-latrunculi*, *lapilli*, *pettos*, *kleros*, even *milites* and *hostes* (Nutu and Botan 2009, 146; Purcell, *Ibid*, 4). There is wide surviving literature mentioning this game and it is mentioned by Varro, Ovidious, Vopiscus, Juvenalis and some other poets and writers in their works and consequently it can be understood from its repeated mention that this game was frequently played (Austin 1934, 25 et al.; Arslan 2007, 34; Bener *Ibid*, 13; Horsfall 1989, 84).

In excavations that have continued from 2007 it has been shown that Kibyra due to its location was open to cultural interaction. In the first terrace of the wide Agora of the city, settled around the 5th

<sup>8</sup> For information concerning '*Tavole lusorie scritte*' that was designed with tricks, proverbs and recommendations, see Arslan *Ibid*, 39; Bell 1960, 32, Fig. 27; Bener 2008, 38 et al.; Habinek 2009; 125 et al.; Purcell 1995, 20 et al.; Reiter 2000, 59, Abb. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Arslan, *Ibid*, 35; Bell 2000, 6; Purcell, writes that Caligula sunk into a melancholia after his sister's death. Through playing *alea* Caligula obtained a remedy for his melancholia, Purcell, *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>10</sup> An Egyptian game named *tau=robber* is accepted as the precursor of *Latrunculum*; see: Wayte 1892, 458.

and 6th centuries AD, two *duodecim scripta* tables were found during the course of the excavations that indicate the colourful social life of the city.

The first example was found in two pieces in 2009, within the shops located in the eastern part of terrace street of the agora. The missing third of the artefact was replaced through imitation material (Pl.1, Fig. 2). The size are as follows: thickness, 21 cm, length, 99 cm, the width 72 cm. It was made from a thin rough slab of high quality limestone that resembles marble. On the contours of the table there are 10 cm heightened profiles, that turned the table into a shallow pool, possibly to prevent the dice from spinning off the surface of the table. The sides and lower sides were roughly carved, the base where the play was made has a polished and glossy surface. The places where the pieces located were carved squares 4x4 cm in size and 3 mm deep.

In the middle of the table, on the corners' combining parts of the profiles, there is a half design; on the other hand, in the middle there are a rectangular shaped design composed in two half designs, the short side edge resembles a stylised star or a flower. With these motifs, the usual game lines which are 3x12 were divided into 2x18 two parts.

S. S. Bener who made comprehensive research concerning the game tables, employed the British Museum Incomplete Table Typology (BMITT), during the categorisation and dating of the tables. In the light of this research which enables further comparison, on many of the game tables that have been found in Anatolia, square game holes were widely used, like the example exhibited at the Ephesos Museum, but all examples found to date, in the middle of the table which divides the table into 2x18 lines, within the spheres rosette designs can be seen. The motif depicted on the Kibyra example, is unique; only in the design of its square game holes does it resemble Bener's categorisation (Bener *Ibid*, Tipoloji IX, 3Sıra. 6–7, Tipoloji X, 3Sıra 8–9.).

The second example was found during the 2014 excavations. The table was reused to collect material in the base of a pool in front of Late Eastern Roman Period's water distribution system that was attached to that Agora's First terrace street's western wall (Pl.2, Fig. 1). A small piece from a corner is broken and lost. The surface is shiny but the sides are roughly worked. The holes for the game pieces are 3 cm in radius and 2 mm deep (Pl. 2, Fig. 2).

In the center of the table there is a complete rosette, a diamond comprising four leaves, and at the sides there are semi structured rosettes made from two leaves. With these motifs the space of table game is divided into two parts. In the reconstruction drawings, the length is 100 cm and the width is 80 cm but thickness is not measured due to the material attached to the base. On the table that was reused to collect material in the base of the pool that has remnants of soil mixture and bricks attached indicate it was possibly unseen after it was mortared into position. In comparison with other examples, it note above that many carry rosette motifs that divide the table but unlike this example, the holes for the pieces are usually square rather than circular:<sup>11</sup>

From these examples and comparisons, these game tables can both be dated to the 2nd and 3rd century AD, one being reused in the First terrace street of Agora in the 5th - 6th centuries AD, were designed combining common motifs. After settlement, becoming powerful and rich in part due to its fortunate location, Kibyra became the leader of a Tetrapolis formed in the region, and, in this respect, even though the excavation of Kibyra was only recently begun, evidence from the Roman Imperial Period and from the subsequent Eastern Roman Era have been rapidly discovered and recovered, including evidence of '*Homo Ludens*'.

<sup>11</sup> Bener 2008, Typology IX, 3 line 4., In the Afrodiasias example, the leaves of the rosette are in a circle. Lev. XXXIV Pic. 66; Heider 2012, 198, Abb. 3; this example was found in Ephesos and exhibited in Wien, the game hole is square, and four leaves of the rosette are in a circle.

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Plate I

FIGURE 1. ([HTTP://WWW.ROLLTHE DICE.NL/2011/10/10/DUODECIM-SCRIPTA/](http://www.rollthedice.nl/2011/10/10/duodecim-scripta/))

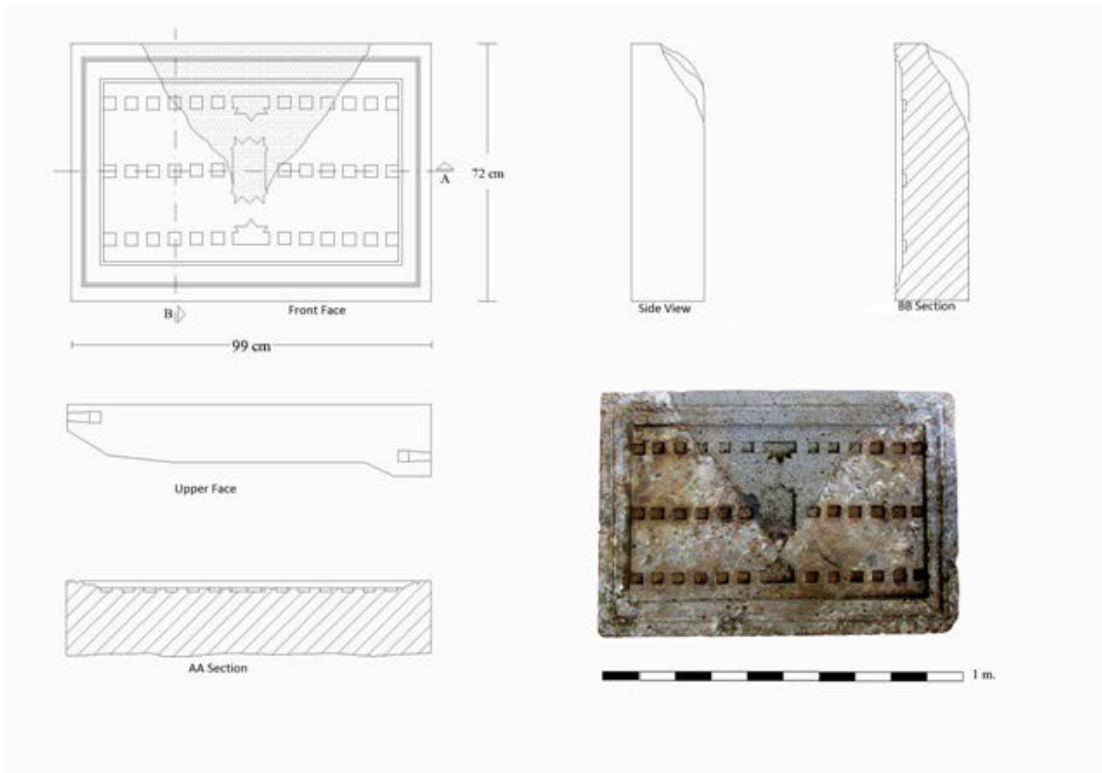


FIGURE 2. DRAWING: B. GÜNAL; PHOTO: Ü. DEMİRER

**Plate II**



FIGURE 3. FINDING PLACE

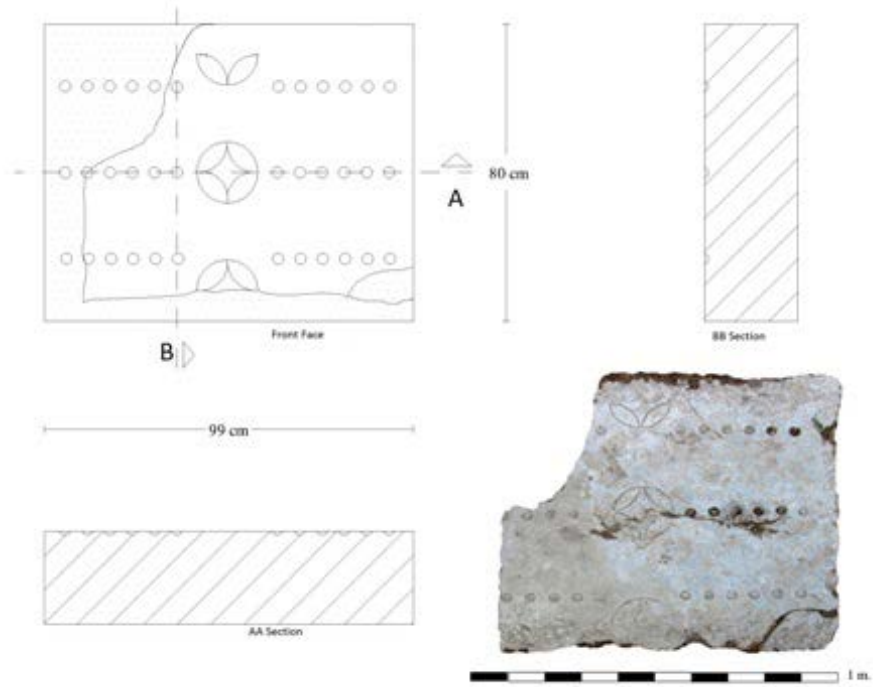


FIGURE 4. DRAWING: B. GÜNAL; PHOTO: Ü. DEMİRER

# Dionysus and Ariadne in Antiocheia and Zeugma Mosaics: a Contrastive Evaluation

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## Introduction

Dionysus, the God of wine and an itinerant wandering around the world, is the last god welcomed to Olympia. The physical appearance of the God changed in every era and gained a new character. In time, he turned from the bearded god of agriculture and grape harvest of the Classical Age into an Apollo-type god with feminine lines. His attributes included the **thyrsus** and a drinking cup. His favourite animal is the leopard or occasionally tiger or lion. He was usually accompanied by dancing Satyrs, Bacchantes, Bacchic Erotes.

Themes related to Dionysus were used widely in mosaics of ancient cities of Antiocheia and Zeugma. They may be divided under six main headings. First are those which show scenes from the Dionysiac cult itself, with this generally associated the figure of Hermes or Nympe. Next is a group representing the Triumph of Dionysus, riding in his chariot accompanied by his cortege. The third group includes depictions of Dionysus while he is drunk; in this group, Satyrs and Maenads accompany Dionysus. In the fourth group is the depiction of a wine contest held for Dionysus and Heracles; Dionysus was depicted as the winner of such contest. And the last one includes the depiction of relations between the God and Ariadne.

Theme of Dionysus and Ariadne was depicted admiringly within the art of archaic age as of 6th century BC. Such theme frequently depicted in vase paintings (Boardman 1975: fig. 229–269; McNally 1985: 152–192), sarcophagus reliefs (Etienne 1953: 365-8; Turcan 1966:510-535; Turcan 1999: 98, fig. 107) and in mosaics art. Portraits about Dionysus and Ariadne are separated into two main groups in terms of the scenes they depicted in mosaic art. These are, respectively, meeting of Dionysus and Ariadne in Naxos Island and the wedding feast of Dionysus and Ariadne.

## Meeting of Dionysus and Ariadne in Naxos Island

As told by authors of ancient times, Ariadne played a role as the wife of Dionysus in Greek mythology (*Hesiod, Theogony* 947; *Homer, Odyssey* 11. 320; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.173; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 47.265). According to mythology, Ariadne, the daughter of Crete King Minos, falls in love with Theseus and helps him out of the Minotaur labyrinth in return for marrying her. After killing the Minotaur, Theseus gets out of the labyrinth, takes along Ariadne and goes back to Athens. Ariadne wants to get off the ship docking to Naxos, and falls asleep on the coast. When she wakes up she realizes that Theseus has left her. Becoming sick at heart, Ariadne comes across with Dionysus in the coast, coming with his cortege. Dionysus takes Ariadne to Olympia and marries her; and he presents her the crown which will later become a star in the sky (Frécaut 1985:151–163).

The meeting of Dionysus and Ariadne in Naxos Island was depicted especially in the Eastern Mediterranean and North African regions. Sleeping Ariadne on Naxos was a popular scene in ancient art. Most of the figures in the panels have prototype series of Roman Imperial sarcophagi (Turcan 1966: 510–535). Except only for Sousse example, the other examples are thought to pattern their standard types of sarcophagi samples.

One of the scenes of meeting in Naxos was found Sousse (Figure 1). However, this mosaic is different from other examples in terms of composition. In this composition, which reminds the theme called surprised nymph, we see Ariadne as standing, unlike other examples. In the panel, dated back to middle 3rd century AD, Ariadne seems anxious, and Dionysus was depicted as heading towards her, to his new destiny (Foucher 1957: 151–161, Pl III a).

Themes, used in painting and sculpture repertoires of earlier times, were used later on by mosaic masters too. One of these themes includes a mortal woman, whose cloth was pulled up to her hips and upper part of her body remained uncovered, and a legendary hero or god carrying her away. In lineament, challenge, obedience or adoption may be depicted. Such theme called surprised nymph was adapted into many legends (Foucher 1957: 151–161).

Such theme is thought to have been derived from the popular painting of Nicomache, one of the chiefs of Thébaine painting school, which called Bacchus surprised by satyrs and painted in the first half of the 4th century BC. The erotic scenes in Hellenistic and Roman paintings and sculptures, in which Satyrs, various creatures and sometimes Nymphes, Maenads or Bacchantes frightened by Pan himself were depicted, must be related to work of Nicomache (Labrousse 1938:78–95).

The female body of Ariadne, lying on a rock and resting her right hand behind her head, in the scene of meeting of Dionysus and Ariadne in Naxos Island, and Eros pulls the sheet covering the legs of half-naked woman and resting his hand similarly and lowering his head slightly are also depicted in sarcophagus reliefs. In Walters collection in Baltimore, the depiction of Dionysus and his wife Ariadne on a sarcophagus, found in Rome in 1885 and dated back to 2nd century AD, bears resemblances with frescoes in Pompeii. The only difference is the depiction of the extended left arm of Ariadne (Labrousse 1938:78–95).

One of the earliest examples of such scenes has been found in Antiocheia (Figure 2). In the House of Dionysus and Ariadne *Triclinium* floor has a large rectangular panel within a geometric border. Mosaic dated back to the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Levi 1947:142–3, pls. XXVII–XXVIII; Cimok 2000:124–8). In the central part is the scene Dionysus and Ariadne in Naxos. Ariadne sleeps half reclining on an elevation of the ground. Dionysus stands at her side and holds a *thyrsus* decorated with a pine cone. It seems like a naked Eros stands between Ariadne and Dionysus, heading towards Ariadne. On the left side, there is a Maenad on pedestal. There is a crown on the of head Maenad, wearing *chiton*; she holds a cup in her left hand and a Satyr stands on the right side with a *thyrsus* in his left hand. One of the most remarkable aspects of mosaics of Antiocheia is the emphasis put on perspective and three-dimensional form in figures. The existence of light and shadow was provided in colour transitions and accordingly the figures gained form. As in Hellenistic paintings, the figures were depicted in a realistic manner and segregation between foreground and background was provided.

A mosaic with the sleeping Ariadne myth dating from around the first half of the 4th century AD (Dunbabin 1999: 215, fig.226). In the mosaic found in Thessalonica, Ariadne was depicted as fallen asleep and Dionysus was depicted together with his cortege next to Ariadne (Figure 3). It has a similar style and composition with Antiocheia example. The effort of creating a three dimensional effect is noticed. Trees behind Ariadne and Eros depicted on the rock are the most distinctive example of such effort. In both of these examples, idealization of mythological scenes and figures composed within Hellenistic tradition, and effort of creating a three dimensional effect by colour transitions are observed.

Similar Dionysiac scenes and figures are found on mosaics throughout the Empire; one of these examples was found in the capital of Lusitania, Augusta Emerita (Figure 4) (Dunbabin 1999: 158, fig.163; Alvarez Martinez 2001:140-1; Blazquez-Cabrero 2012:44-7,fig.4). In the figures of the mosaic, dated back to the 4th century AD, local workshop effect attracts the attention in general.

The mosaic made during a moment of little relationship between Roman provinces as is the case during Ancient History. In the top left corner of the panel, Ariadne sleeps resting on her right hand and there are pan and satyr to her right side; in the top right corner of the mosaic, Dionysus pours wine from the pot in his right hand and holds thyrsus in his left hand. It is understood that Augusta Emerita example was depicted differently in terms of composition and style. Pan and panther, not seen in Antiocheia example, take up large part of the panel. In terms of style, the most significant difference is the fact that three-dimensional effect is not felt. The figures were depicted superficially, not in form. Linearity in figures limited the form and it seems as if a single contour was drawn. The classical forms idealized in Antiocheia example gave way to linearly-depicted figures here.

### Wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne

Celebratory wedding ceremony held after Dionysus had found Ariadne in Naxos Island, were depicted frequently in Dionysus themed compositions. We can often see theme of Dionysus and Ariadne marriage not only in mosaics but also in ivory reliefs, vase paintings and coloured fabrics of the period. In all of such depictions, Ariadne and Dionysus sit on a throne next to each other (LIMC III, 2 1986: 406–19).

One of the earliest examples of such composition was found in the House of Dionysus and Ariadne Mosaic in Zeugma (Figure 5). The gallery to the west of the peristyle courtyard of the house was covered later and used as a hall or a reception room. The basement of this hall was adorned with a splendid mosaic with the theme of Dionysus and Ariadne marriage (Abadie-Reynal 2002: 748–9, fig.4). The whole building was dated back to the end of 2nd century and beginning of 3rd century AD (Campbell -Ergeç 1998:115). Such mosaic is the most figurative one among all Ariadne themed mosaics. The larger part of the mosaic was stolen in 1988 and the remaining parts are on display at Zeugma Mosaic Museum. To the leftmost of the panel is Satyr drinking wine with a bowl. In these cases the Satyr, sometimes holding a crater, supports a drunken Dionysus, who leans back on his companion. Next to Satyr, the Maenad was depicted with a Hymene style torch in her hands. Flame of such torch symbolizes the passion uniting couple together. The other Maenad to the right of the couple walks towards the right and carries with her raised arms an instrument or *thyrsus*. Figures of Maenads while carrying the thyrsus are also confronted in Ariadne themed sarcophagi (Turcan 1966:510–535; Kondoleon 1995:196). Therefore, it is possible for the Maenad there to carry a *thyrsus*. In the centre of the panel are Ariadne sitting on a throne, Dionysus with a halo around his head, Eros next to the throne, two Maenads walking towards the left; and to the rightmost are a Maenad holding a flute with her both hands, and behind her is a shock-head and bearded satyr whose upper body is naked.

A similar example was found in Shahba Syria (Figure 6). Dated back to the second quarter of the 4th century AD, this mosaic is on display in Shahba-Philippolis Museum (Balty 1977:50–6, fig.20–3). Decorating one of the side-rooms of ancient villa, the mosaic includes scenes of a series of characters related to Dionysus theme and whose names were also written. In the centre of the panel is the depiction of Ariadne, sitting with Dionysus on a rock, as seen in the traditional love talk scheme: chests and legs of both of them are naked and their left arms are covered with cloth. The young woman wears jewels such as bracelets, earrings, necklaces and diadem, she holds a cup in her left hand; and the God Dionysus is seen as resting her shoulder and holding *thyrsus*. Behind the couple is the depiction of Eros holding a Hymene style *torch*. In the forefront, Heracles sits by leaning on his left arm in a drunk and overbalanced. Putto, next to him, tries to hold him. Upper body of Heracles is naked and lower parts are covered. The last character depicted in this scene is a flap-eared old one with satyr-type to the leftmost of the panel. If it had not been written Maron on the mosaic, we may have thought that it was a Silene. Janine Balty states that this mosaic bears the characteristics of Constantine Renaissance style (Balty 1977:52, fig.20–3). In the style called Constantine Renaissance which dominates in the second half of 4th century AD, classical models were again in use. The

most characteristic features of the style are calm appearances of figures, shapely facial lines and the importance given to details (Dunbabin 1999:166).

It can be said that the scene bears resemblances with Zeugma example in terms of iconography. Such resemblance is noticeable especially in positions and styles of Ariadne and Dionysus. The slight aureole behind Dionysus, the fabric revealing his chest but covering his left shoulder, the light and shadow contrast in the fabrics, Dionysus hugging Ariadne with his right arm, face-to-face position of the couple, eyebrow, eye and lineaments of depicted characters can be specified as similarities. Besides such similarities, the objects in the hands of couples change. In the mosaic in Shabba Syria, the cup is in Ariadne's hand, but in the mosaic in Zeugma it is in Dionysus hand. Another difference is remarkable in other characters depicted in the scene. In Zeugma example, the characters are in a mobility and excitement; but in Shabba example, the figures are calm.

We understand that Dionysus and Ariadne was a popular theme in Zeugma. We see this theme in the mosaic found on the ground of Living Room of House of Euphrates, which depicts Dionysus and Ariadne sitting next to each other (Figure 7). Dated back to the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, this mosaic is on display in Zeugma Museum (Önal 2008:88, fig.11–2). In this triangular-facade and double column building, Dionysus and Ariadne were depicted as sitting. Both figures were depicted in the same way as if drawn from a single mould. Depiction of Ariadne sitting next to Dionysus is in the centre of the panel: left feet of both of them were depicted ahead and right feet behind. Most probably, Dionysus hugs Ariadne with his right arm and upper part of Ariadne has been destroyed. But, she must have turned her face towards the God. Chest of Dionysus is naked but his arms are clothed. He rests his *thyrsus* on his left shoulder. While figurative panels were made into the centre in other rooms, here the panel is at the south-western corner. It seems as if a carpet was rolled out onto room floor. The mosaic was adorned with a simplified landscape or a non-figurative background beautified with flowers. In mosaics; usage of environmental decoration and perspective-free isolated motifs, stylized people, regular repetition of motifs, reverse depicted motifs and covering the whole surface only for decoration purposes are influences belonging to Sassanid art (Lassus 1936: 33–42). Maybe, Zeugma mosaics display the initiation of eastern influence in the Mediterranean world; we see mosaics in Antiocheia made totally for decoration purposes towards the end of 5th century AD: flowers, leaves of trees, pigeons are motifs which were frequently used in mosaics. Perhaps, in the Roman world, such kind of new style mosaics were made firstly in Antiocheia and Zeugma.

One of the mosaics with the theme of Dionysus and Ariadne sitting on a throne was found in Thuburbo Majus, Tunisia (Figure 8). Dated back to the first half of the 4th century AD, the mosaic is on display in Bardo Museum (Alexander-Khader-Soren 1994: 102–4, Pl. LVI (419). In the left part of the panel is Maenad; in the centre are Ariadne and Dionysus in a sitting position; Ariadne to the right and Dionysus to the left. A satyr accompanies them in the right part of the panel. The faces of the couple turn to each other; and Dionysus is almost naked and in the forefront. Dionysus hugs Ariadne with his right hand; and Ariadne holds a *thyrsus* with her right hand. There is a crown on her head, bejewelled with vine leaves. Lower half of his body is covered except for the right leg; he wears green boots. Ariadne was depicted as sitting behind Dionysus; their hairs touch each other. Contrary to Dionysus, Ariadne wears a long tunic; only her arms and feet are seen. The *thyrsus* in her hand is different from the Dionysus' *thyrsus*; it has no vine leaves.

Wedding scenes of Dionysus and Ariadne were generally depicted while they are sitting on a throne or floor. However, there are also examples in which the couple was depicted as a bust. Besides mosaics, such depictions of the couple are generally confronted in rugs and frescoes. One of them can be seen on rugs which are thought to have been made during 5-6th centuries AD in Egypt (LIMC III,2 1986: 417, nr.123, 124). In these figures, Dionysus turns his face to the right, his upper body is either completely naked or covered with a cloak; his hair is curly and there is an aureole on his head. Ariadne, on the other hand, turns her head towards the left; her hair was stylized with diadem; and

she wears a necklace and clothe. We can see bust depictions of the couple in mosaics of Antiocheia (Levi 1947: 220, Pl. XLIC,c) (Cimok 2000:191) (Figure 9) and Ephesus (Jobst 1975: 73, fig.115–6; Dunbabin 1999:251,fig.266; Scheibelreiter 2008:141-6 ) (Figure 10). As noted by Doro Levi Their bust are often used for decorative purposes, in small panels or medallions, together with bust of satyrs and bacchantes, as early as Pompeian painting (Levi 1947:220).

### Conclusion

Dionysus was accepted by the Greek people as an eastern god then due to the fact that the mother of Dionysus was a Thracian woman. Attributed to the east, this god was accepted highly in Anatolia with respect to mythological and characteristic descriptions; and he was mentioned within various themes. Expansion of Ariadne and Dionysus theme in the east part of the Empire by means of mosaics, which are related to our subject, is important in terms of demonstration of such influence. Moreover, the region which provides the most vivid evidence for the continuing influence of Hellenistic mosaics. The language most widely spoken was Greek. Social life retained the forms of the Hellenistic age. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore that in parts of the East mosaics styles continued to reflect the Greek emblemata tradition. Therefore, we can suggest that they abided by Hellenistic tradition in mosaics and they depicted their gods with a divine characteristic, beyond a mere mythological description. Mosaics about the coupling of Dionysus and Ariadne were firstly found in Antiocheia and Zeugma during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD; and expanded across Eastern Mediterranean and Northern Africa regions during the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. Without doubt, such expansion is thought to have been resulted from the travels of mosaic masters due to commercial ties between regions having a coast on the Mediterranean, or by means of draft mosaic books. Our research gives rise to the thought that coupling of Dionysus and Ariadne in mosaics sprang from Antiocheia and Zeugma.

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FIGURE 1 : DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM SOUSSE ( FOUCHER 1957, PL III, A)



FIGURE 2: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM ANTIOCHEIA ( LEVI 1947,PLS. XXVII-XXVIII)



FIGURE 3: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM THESSALONICA (DUNBABIN 1999: 215, FIG.226)

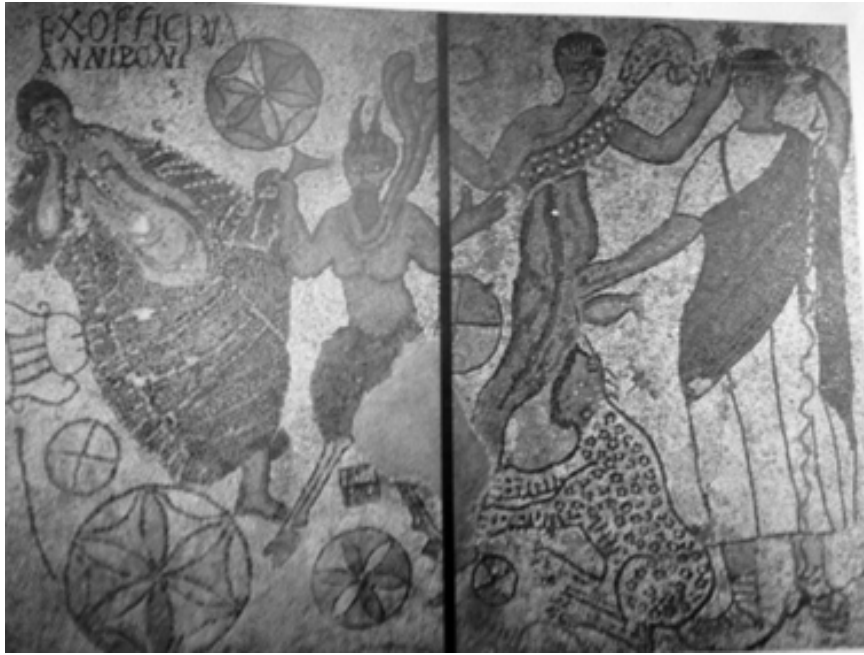


FIGURE 4: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM AUGUSTA EMERITA (BLAZQUEZ- CABRERO 2012: 47,FIG.4)



FIGURE 5: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM ZEUGMA (ABADIE-REYNAL 2002: 748–9, FIG.4)



FIGURE 6: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM SHAHBA (BALTY 1977: 50–6, FIG.20–3)

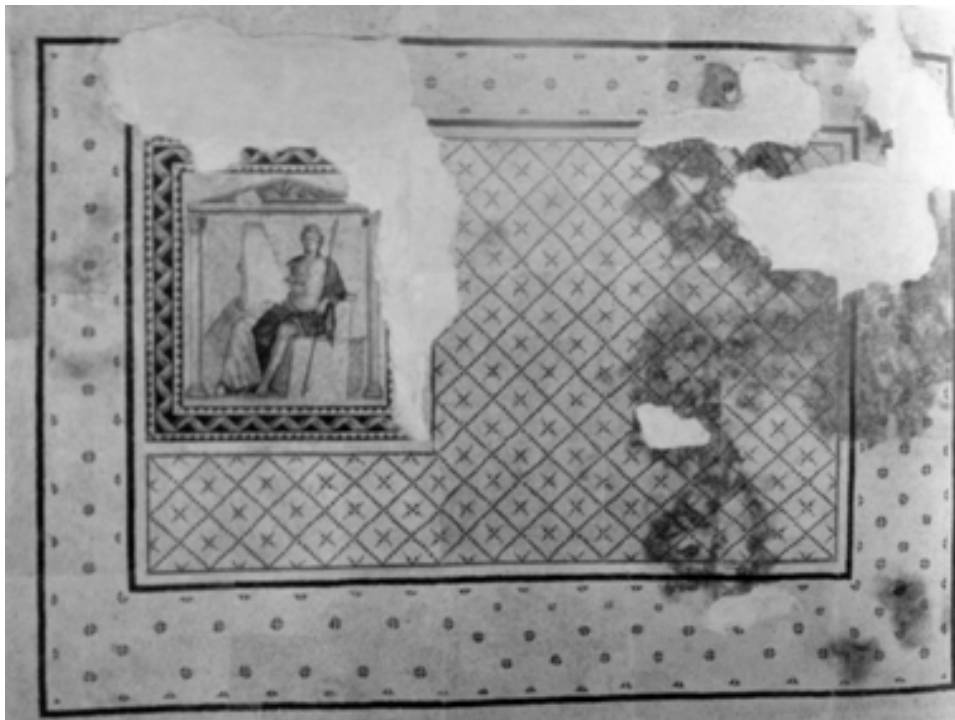


FIGURE 7: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM ZEUGMA (ÖNAL 2008: 88, FIG.11–2)



FIGURE 8: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM THUBURBO MAJUS (ALEXANDER-KHADER-SOREN 1994: 102–4, PL. LVI (419))



FIGURE 9: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM ANTIOCHEIA (LEVI 1947: 220, PL. XLIC,C)



FIGURE 10: DIONYSUS AND ARIADNE FROM EPHESUS (JOBST 1975: 73, FIG.115-6)

# Studying aspects of Pre-Roman History, Religion, Political Organization and Trading Contacts of some Ionian Colonies of ‘Thracia Pontica’: the case of Dionysopolis & Odessos

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## Abstract

Aim of this paper is to reconstruct various aspects of the up to Roman era history of Dionysopolis and Odessos through the study of the up-to-date preserved literary and archaeological evidence (i.e. ancient authors’ texts, inscriptions, architectural remains and other archaeological finds). The particular aspects to be examined for each site are: the name (testimonies and etymology), the foundation of the colony (who, when, where), religion (list of deities worshiped), political organization (administrative bodies and officials) and relations with Pontic and other Greek cities (in order to comprehend the status of a site in its immediate territory, it is worth examining its relations with the adjacent cities). An evaluation of the similarities -beyond the obvious ones, such as the fact that according to Arrian’s *Periplus Ponti Euxini* they are both Greek cities of the area of Scythia to the left side of Pontus (‘Διονυσόπολιν... Ὀδησσόν... αὐτὰ πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶν ὠκισμέναι ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Πόντον’, 35-36) - will support the attempt to draw some comparative conclusions.

## Keywords

Western Black Sea colonies, Dionysopolis, Odessos, literary-archaeological evidence.

## Introduction

Pliny in *Historia Naturalis* (‘*Thracia...pulcherimas...urbes habet, Istropolin Milesiorum, Tomis... nunc habet Dionysopolim, Crunon antea dictam... In ora a Dionysopoli est Odessus Milesiorum*’, IV.11[18].4) gives an account of the Greek cities of ‘Thracia Pontica’, i.e. the part of ancient Thrace that extended till the western littoral of Black Sea. Its key position on the crossroads of East and West and its fertile lands initially were the main reasons that the place was initially inhabited by Thracian tribes and soon afterwards –during the Second Colonization (about 7th century BC)– by Greek colonists. Namely, in ‘Thracia Pontica’ were founded the below Greek colonies: Apollonia, Anchialos, Mesembria, Odessos, Dionysopolis, Bisone, Kallatis, Tomoi, Histria, Orgame, Nikonion etc. The present study deals with two of these colonies, Dionysopolis and Odessos.

The selection of Dionysopolis (modern Balchik) and Odessos (modern Varna) is based on the fact that they are both Greek colonies of the West Black Sea coast in close distance, while there is a suggestion that the former could have been a ‘second generation’ colony of the latter. The etymology of the name of each site, the criteria and story of its foundation, the worship and religious practices, the administrative bodies and the officials that comprised the administrative structure, the relations and trading contacts with Pontic and other Greek cities are some of the topics to be examined. In order to achieve a global approach a variety of literary and archaeological evidence is studied, such as ancient authors’ texts, inscriptions, architectural remains, other archaeological finds etc.

## Dionysopolis

### *Name and Foundation*

The earliest mention of this site belongs to Scymnus in *Periegesis* (‘Διονυσόπολις δ’, ἡ πρῶτον ὠνομάζετο Κρουνοὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐγγύς ὑδάτων ἐκρύσεις· Διονυσιακοῦ δε προσπεσόντος ὕστερον

ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τοῖς τόποις ἀγάλματος, Διονυσόπολιν λέγουσι κληθῆναι πάλιν. ἐν μεθορίοις δε τῆς Κροβύζων και Σκυθῶν χώρα μιγάδας Ἑλληνας οικητάς ἔχει', 751-757), who cites that it was initially called 'Krounoi', but eventually its name was changed to 'Dionysopolis'. In addition, the same story is recorded by Stephanus Byzantius in *Ethnica* ('Διονύσου πόλις, ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἢ πρότερον Κρουνοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων καταρροῆς. Διονυσιακοῦ δε προσπεσόντος ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τοῖς τόποις ἀγάλματος, οὕτως ἐκλήθη') that refers to it as 'Dionysus' polis'. Finally, Pliny in *Historia Naturalis* ('*Thracia...pulcherimas...urbes habet, Istropolin Milesiorum, Tomis...nunc habet Dionysopolim, Crunon antea dictam*', IV.11[18].4) also supports the scenario that Dionysopolis was earlier called 'Krounon'. However, Pomponius Mela in *De situ orbis* ('*Est portus Crunos, urbes Dionysopolis...*', II.22) implies that 'Krounos' was a port –probably Dionysopolis' port– and 'Dionysopolis' a distinct city. Coins of the Hellenistic period –issued by the city– that preserve either the three letters 'ΔΙΟ' or four 'ΔΙΟΝ', along with coins of the imperial period that bear the whole name 'ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙ', serve as an indirect evidence for the name of city. According to Scymnus' above testimony the site was initially named 'Krounoi', due to the abundance of water, but eventually its name was changed to 'Dionysopolis', due to a legend that 'a statue of Dionysus was washed up on its shore'. The present name of the site is Balchik and is located in modern Bulgaria (Damyanov 2007; Karayotov 2007, 141; Κορομηλά 2001, 109).

As concerns the foundation of the site there is no direct evidence for the identity of the founders. Nevertheless, there are modern theories (Avram 1996, 294-298; Damyanov 2007; Ehrhardt 1983, 65-66; Isaac 1986, 258-259; Lazarov 1998, 92; Nawotka 1997, 23-24) suggesting two versions. The first group of scholars claims that it is an Ionian colony, either a Milesian foundation or a secondary settlement of the adjacent Milesian colony, Odessos. Other archaeologists, on the other hand, based on the text of Scymnus ('*Διονυσόπολις ... ἐν μεθορίοις δε τῆς Κροβύζων και Σκυθῶν χώρα μιγάδας Ἑλληνας οικητάς ἔχει*' Periegesis 756-757) assume that the 'mixed Greek' inhabitants could be interpreted as a heterogeneous group of colonists, consisting of both Ionians and Dorians. The information regarding the date of the foundation, first of Krounoi and then of Dionysopolis, is also not secure. Scholars, based on fragmentary archaeological remains, point to the second quarter of 6th century BC for the initial foundation and suggest that Dionysopolis could have been founded –or resettled– sometime after the Ionian revolt or even later in late 4th / early 3rd century BC (Avram 1996, *ibid*; Damyanov 2007).

Arrian in *Periplus Ponti Euxini* ('ἀπὸ δὲ Βιζώνης ἐς Διονυσόπολιν στάδιοι ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἐνθένδε εἰς Ὀδησσὸν διακόσιοι', 35) offers precise information, quoting that Dionysopolis was situated 80 stadia after Bizone and 200 before Odessos. Pomponius Mela ('*Fuit hic Bizone, motu terrae intercidit. Est portus Crunos, urbes Dionysopolis, Odessos*', *De situ* II.20) and Anonymi Ravennatis in *Cosmographia* ('*Odiseos-Dionysopolis-Bizoi*', IV.6.181.10) also place it between Bizone and Odessos. Appianus in *Illyrica* ('ἐνθα εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες ἕξ πόλεις Μυσοῖς πάροικοι, Ἴστρος τε καὶ Καλλατὶς καὶ Διονυσόπολις καὶ Ὀδησσὸς καὶ Μεσημβρία ...', LXXXV-LXXXVI), to the contrary, locates it between Kallatis and Odessos. A Roman Inscription ('[ἐπὶ τ]ὰ ἀρχαῖα ὄρια Καλλατιανῶν καὶ Διονυ[σοπ]ολειτῶν', IGB V5011) found in Balchik serves as an indirect evidence for the fact that the site bordered with Kallatis. Finally, Ptolemy in *Geographia* ('μετὰ τὸ ἱερόν στόμα τοῦ Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ, ..., Κάλλατις ἢ Καλλατία 54°40'-45°30', Διονυσόπολις 54°20'-45°15'', X.3) places it with precision at 54°20' and 45°15', after the mouth of river Istros by Kallatis.

### Religion

Dionysopolis' case presents limited information about the pre-Roman religion (Damyanov 2007; Gotcheva 2007, 53-54, 61, 67-68; Karayotov 2007, 139-154). In first place, Dionysus as stated by Scymnus ('*Διονυσιακοῦ δε προσπεσόντος ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τοῖς τόποις ἀγάλματος, Διονυσόπολιν λέγουσι κληθῆναι πάλιν*' Periegesis 753-755) gave his name to the city, while according to a Roman inscription –that serves as indirect evidence– ('καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ κτίστου τῆς πόλε[ως] θεοῦ Διονύσου' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 15(2)) is considered the founder of the city. A number of inscriptions record the

existence of both his priests ('ιερώμενος Διονύσου' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 20 '[οἶδε ἱέρην]ται Διονύσου μετὰ τοὺς ἱερησαμένους διὰ βίου' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 22 'Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Αντιπάτρου Παπα, ἱερέων δὲ Διονύσου' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 14) and a festival dedicated to him called 'Dionysia' ('καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 15). Moreover, his cult is attested by various archaeological finds, such as: statues of 3rd/2nd century BC depicting Dionysus and Pan, a Hellenistic stele with kantharos, a great number of coins of Dionysopolis with Dionysus' head ranging from early 3rd century BC to the Roman era. Secondly, Cybele was worshipped in the city as testified by the discovery of architectural remains of a 300BC sanctuary belonging to the goddess along with a Hellenistic statue and coins depicting her seated dating from 3rd century BC to the Roman era. Thirdly, Demeter's cult is evidenced by a 3rd century BC inscription ('ζακορευούσης Δήμητρος' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 21) and coins having the head of the goddess dating from the 3rd century BC to Roman period. Fourthly, the presence of Aphrodite in Dionysopolis' pantheon is cited in a 4th century BC inscription ('Ἀνάξανδρος Ἥγησιάνακτος Μηθυμαῖος Ἀφροδίτη' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 19(2)). Finally, the cult of both Zeus and Hercules is implied by a number of 3rd BC coins –issued by the city– depicting either Zeus seated or Hercules head. This suggestion is additionally supported by indirect evidence such as Roman inscriptions mentioning Zeus as 'Dolichaios' ('Διὶ Δολιχαίῳ' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24(2)) and Hercules ('Ἡρακλεῖ Ζουσυρειθα Ἰούλιος Κρήσκης ἀνέθηκεν' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24). Concluding, it is worth mentioning that Roman inscriptions and coins testify the presence of Apollo, Artemis ('Διονύσιος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 33), Leto ('ιερωμένης Λητοῦς' IGB V 5011), Great God, Serapis and Gods of Samothrace ('τοῦ Θεοῦ Μεγ]άλου τὰς τε πομπὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας [ἐπετέλεσε λαμπρ]ῶς καὶ τοῖς πολίταις μετέδωκεν τ[ῶν][κρεῶν, τῶ τε Σαρ]άπει λαχῶν ἱερέυς... καὶ τοῖς πολίταις μ[ετέδωκε κρε]ῶν ἀφθόνως, θεῶν τε τ[ῶ]ν ἐν Σαμοθράκ[ῃ]' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13) in the religious life of the city at least in the Roman era.

### **Political organization**

The literary evidence concerning the pre-Roman political organization of Dionysopolis is fragmentary –almost not existent– and certainly not enough to create a global picture. Nevertheless, studying the quite scanty pre-Roman epigraphic material and using Roman inscriptions as indirect evidence a few assumptions can be drawn for the administrative structure of the site (see also [Damyanov 2007](#)).

In first place, the Assembly by the name of 'Demos' and the Council by the name of 'Boule' seem to act together at least for the period from 3rd century BC to late 1st century BC ('[ἔδοξε τῆ]ι βουλῆ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(3), 'δε[δό]χ[θ]α[ι τῆ] βουλῆ καὶ τῶ δήμῳ' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13). There is a single epigraphic reference of 3rd century BC recording only the Assembly by the name of 'Dionysopolitai' ('ἀγαθῆι τύχηι Διονυσοπολίται' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(2)). The Council and the Assembly usually decide ('[ἔδοξε τῆ]ι βουλῆ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(3), 'δε[δό]χ[θ]α[ι τῆ] βουλῆ καὶ τῶ δήμῳ' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13) to honor somebody and offer a wreath to the honored ('ἐπηνῆσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἀκορνίων[α] Διον[υ]σίου καὶ στεφανώθῃναι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις χρυσ[ῶ]στεφάνῳ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῆ' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13) and sometimes grand to him, in many occasions a non-Dionysopolitan, and his descendants ('ἀγαθῆι τύχηι Διονυσοπολίται ἔδωκαν Ἀριστομένει Διονυσίου Ὀδησίτηι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνις πολιτείαν, προξενίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων χρημάτων καὶ ἐγγείων ἔγκτησιν καὶ προεδρίαν καὶ δίκας προδίκους καὶ εἴσπλους καὶ ἔκπλους καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης ἀσυλῆι καὶ ἀ[σπονδει]' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(2)) many privileges, such as civil rights ('ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ'), the title of ambassador ('ΠΡΟΞΕΝΕΙΑΝ'), financial privileges ('ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑ'), land property ('ΕΓΓΕΙΩΝ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ'), honorary seat at the theatre ('ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ'), privileged access to the court ('ΔΙΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΔΙΚΟΥΣ'), exemption of trading tolls ('ΕΙΣΠΛΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΠΛΟΥΝ') and immunity during piece or war ('ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΑΣΥΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΠΟΝΔΕΙ'). One of the decrees commemorates 'eponymous archon' ('τοῦ τε ἐπωνύ[μου] [τῆς πόλεως Διον]ύσου' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13), who evidently is the archon that offers his name to the year. Eventually, the existence of magistrates called 'Archons' ('ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 14), of magistrates called 'Ephedarchs' (archons related to education of teens) ('ἐφηβαρχοῦντος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Θεαγένους Καντίου, ἀντεφηβαρχοῦντος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Πρόκλου' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 14) and a magistrate called 'Gymnasiarch' (archon occupied with athletic education) ('γυμνα<σ>ιάρχην' IGB I<sup>2</sup> 15(2)) is attested by inscriptions of early 3rd century AD for the Roman period and could be implied for the pre-Roman period.

### **Relations with Pontic and other Greek cities**

Odessos –that as suggested above might be the founder of the site– can easily be considered as an ally in 3rd century BC, since one of its citizens is recorded to be honored by Dionysopolitai (‘ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. Διονυσοπολίται ἔδωκαν Ἀριστομένει Διονυσίου Ὀδησίτη’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(2)). Another inscription of the 1st century AD (‘οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ὀριοθέται ὑπὸ βασιλέως Κοτυος· Φίλιππος Ἀριστείδου Ἀδραμυτηνός, Μόσχος Διντα Βιζυηνός, Σαδαλας Μοκαπορεως ὁ καταστάμενος στρατηγὸς ἐν Ἀρσηῶ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων· ἐξ Ὀδησοῦ· Μένανδρος Προμαθίωνος, Λεόκριτος Ἴππαγόρου, ἐγ δὲ Καλλάτειδος· Ἡράκλειτος Μονί[μο]ν, Γερωντίδας Σείμου, οἵτινες μαθόν[τες ἐ]κ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων καὶ ἐλ[θόν]τες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια ὀριοθετήσαμεν...[ἐπὶ τ]ὰ ἀρχαῖα ὄρια Καλλατιανῶν καὶ Διονυ[σοπ]ολειτῶν’ IGB V 5011) serves as indirect evidence and sheds light on the relations of Dionysopolis not only with Odessos, but also with Kallatis and Bizye. Namely, Odessos and Bizye participate in the leading team that determine the frontiers between Kallatis and Dionysopolis. Both Odessos and Bizye seem to be allies of both parties. Moreover, the neighboring Kallatis appears to be in good relations with Dionysopolis since 3rd / 2nd century BC, since a citizen of the former is honored by the city (‘[ἔδοξε τῆ]ι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι [δήμωι· . . ]ιππος Νικίου εἶ[πεν· ἐπει]δὴ Διονύσιος Διο[νυσίου Κ]αλλατιανὸς εὖνον[ς] [ῶν καὶ πρό]θυμος διατελεῖ’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(3)). Then, an epigraphic reference of the 4th / 3rd BC (‘Ἐρμάφιλος Κυζικηνός’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 25) to a citizen of Cyzicus being buried in Dionysopolis could imply friendly relations between with this city of the greater area of Propontis. Finally, pottery finds of the 5th – 3rd century BC, especially of amphorae, imply indirectly that Anchialos had at least commercial transactions, if not more intimate relations with important Pontic cities, such as Sinope and Heraclea of Pontus at the Southern coast, or other Greek cities, as for instance Thasos and Chios (Damyanov 2007).

### **Odessos**

#### **Name and Foundation**

The name of Odessos is first traced in Scymnus’ *Periegesis* (‘Ὀδησσός, ἦν Μιλήσιοι’, 748-749) that identifies it as a foundation of Milesians. The site is also quoted by this name in Strabo’s *Geographica* (‘Κρουνοὶ καὶ Ὀδησσός’, VII,6.1) and Arrian’s *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (‘Ἐνθένδε εἰς Ὀδησσόν διακόσιοι’, 35). Nevertheless, in Scylax’s *Peripli* (‘Μεσήμβρια, Ὀδησσόπολις’, 67) the site is recorded as ‘Odessopolis’, in Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* (‘*Odessus Milesiorum*’, IV.11.[18].4) and Pomponius Mela’s *De situ orbis* (‘*Odessos Mesembria*’, II.20) as ‘Odessus’, while in Anonymi Ravennatis’ *Cosmographia* (‘*Erete – Odiseos – Dionysopolis*’, IV.6.181.9) it is listed as ‘Odiseos’. Eventually, some coins of the 3rd and 2nd century BC –minted by the city– preserve either the five letters ‘ΟΔΗΣΙ’ or the whole word ‘ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ’ (Karayotov 2007, 141). Although there is no direct evidence for the etymology of the name, there are two etymological suggestions (Gotcheva 2007, 58; Minchev 2003). In first place, it is suggested that it derives from one of the below Indo-European roots: ‘oid’ (=swell up) / ‘edh’ or ‘oidh’ (=fence made of posts) / ‘udes-jo’ or ‘wedes-jo’ (=water or aquatic). On the other hand, since Pliny (‘*Thracia...pulcherimas...urbes habet, Istropolin Milesiorum, Tomis...In ora a Dionysopoli est Odessus Milesiorum*’, *Hist. Nat.* IV.11[18].4) clearly identifies it as a Thracian city, it can easily be assumed that it could be a place name of Thracian origin. The modern name of the site is Varna and is situated in modern Bulgaria (Κορομηλά 2001, 109).

The fact that Odessos is a colony built by Milesians is strongly suggested by a number of ancient authors, such as Scymnus (‘Ὀδησσός, ἦν Μιλήσιοι κτίζουσ’, *Perieg.* 748-749), Strabo in *Geographica* (‘Ὀδησσός Μιλησίων ἄποικος’, VII.6.1) and Pliny (‘*Odessus Milesiorum*’, *Hist. Nat.* IV.11[18].4). Scymnus (‘Ὀδησσός, ἦν Μιλήσιοι κτίζουσ’, ὅτ’ Ἀστυάγης ἐπῆρχε Μηδίας’, *Perieg.* 748-749) also clearly identifies the date of the foundation at the period of Astyages reign in Media, that is to say sometime between 585 and 558BC.

Scylax (‘Μεσήμβρια, Ὀδησσόπολις, Κάλλατις’, *Peripli* 67) places Odessos between Mesembria and Kallatis, while Strabo (‘ἐν τῷ μεταξύ δέ διαστήματι τῷ ἀπὸ Καλλάτιδος εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν Βιζώνη τέ ἐστίν, ἧς κατεπόθη πολὺ μέρος ὑπὸ σεισμῶν, καὶ Κρουνοὶ καὶ Ὀδησσός’, *Geogr.* VII,6.1) locates it between Kallatis and Apollonia, Pomponius Mela (‘*Est portus Crunos, urbes Dionysopolis, Odessos, Mesembria*’, *De situ* II.20) between Dionysopolis and Mesembria, and Anonymi Ravennatis (‘*Erete – Odiseos – Dionysopolis*’, *Cosmogr.* IV.6.181.9) between Erete and Dionysopolis. In addition, according to Arrian (‘ἀπὸ δὲ Βιζώνης ἐς Διονυσόπολιν στάδιοι ὀγδοήκοντα. Ἐνθένδε εἰς Ὀδησσόν διακόσιοι ὄρμος ναυσίν. Ἐκ δὲ Ὀδησοῦ ἐς τοῦ Αἴμου τάς ὑπώρειας, αἱ δὴ εἰς τὸν Πόντον καθήκουσιν, στάδιοι τριακόσιοι ἐξήκοντα’, *Peripli* 35-36) it is situated 200 stadia from Dionysopolis and 360 from the foothills of Aimos Mountain. Eventually, Ptolemy in *Geographia* (‘μετὰ τὸ ἱερόν στόμα τοῦ Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ, ..., Διονυσόπολις 54°20-45°15, Τρισιστρία ἄκρα 55°-45°10, Ὀδησσός 54°50-45°, Πανυσοῦ ἐκβολαί’, X.3), being more precise, records the exact longitude and latitude of the colony 54°45- 44°30, locating it after the mouth of river Istros and before the estuary of river Panyosos.

### Religion

Odessos has produced a quite significant literary and archaeological record for the worship of different deities and the religious practices of pre-Roman era (Gotcheva 2007, 58-60, 62-67, 69-70, 74, 76; Karayotov 2007, 136-154; Minchev 2003; Panayotova 2007, 106). Firstly, Apollo, the patron god of Ionians, was worshipped in the city identified by a 5th century BC inscription (‘Ἀπόλλωνος Δελφινίου’) as ‘Delphinios’ as it is obvious by the discovery of a number of archaeological finds. Namely, architectural remains of a Doric temple were brought to light along with the head of a 5th century BC statue and a number of coins depicting the god issued by Odessos from 3rd century BC till early 1st century BC. In addition, Roman inscriptions dating from 1st BC to late Roman recording the existence of his sanctuary and his priests could serve as indirect evidence (‘εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43, ‘ἱερέα Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Θε[οῦ Μεγάλου] καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 67, ‘[θεῶ Ἀπόλλωνι’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 79, ‘θεῶ Φοῖβω [ἀνέθ]ηκα’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 267). Secondly, the presence of Great God, sometimes identified also as ‘Darzalas, in the pantheon of the city is well attested by a number of archaeological finds, such as: a 2nd century BC inscription (‘Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀπελλᾶ τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀρχιατρὸς καὶ δημοφίλητος καὶ ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ γυμνασάρχος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 150) reporting the existence of his priest, some 4th / 3rd century BC terracotta statues and figurines of the bearded god and many coins ranging from 3rd century BC to Roman Era that depict the god in different postures (e.g. bearded head, reclining on a couch etc. ). Moreover, there are a number of Roman inscriptions (‘ἱερέως Θεοῦ Μεγάλου Δερζελα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 47(2) , ‘ἱερέα Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Θε[οῦ Μεγάλου] καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 67, ‘ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ εὐποσιάρχης’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 186(3), ‘Θεοῦ Μεγάλου Δερζελα’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 230(2)) that certify that the cult of the Great God not only existed in the pre-Roman period, but also survived in the Roman Era. Thirdly, the worship of Dionysus in the period before the Roman occupation is also evidenced in Odessos directly by 4th century BC figurines and indirectly by a Roman inscription (‘[ἱερεὺς γεγωνὸς Διονύσου(?)’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 225) referring to Dionysus and his priest and a Roman relief presenting Dionysus with his company. Fourthly, the cult of the Gods of Samothrace is implied by a 3rd / 2nd century BC inscription (‘θεῖναι εἰς τὸ Σαμοθράκιον’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 42) recording the existence of a ‘Samothrakion’, that is to say a sanctuary of those deities and another 2nd / 1st century BC inscription (‘[τῶν ἐν] Σαμοθράκη μυστηρίῳ[ν] μετέχοντος — —]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 42comm) mentioning that a citizen of Odessos is sent to participate to the Mysteries of Samothrace. Next, the worship of Zeus is suggested by 4th to 1st century BC coins minted in Odessos depicting Zeus (bearded head or the god seated on his throne) and indirectly implied by a Roman inscription (‘[Διὶ καὶ Ἡρᾶ — —]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 259) listing Zeus along with Hera. Further to this, the opinion that Hermes was also worshipped in this city is based on the discovery of Hellenistic figurines and local Hellenistic coins of the god along with the indirect testimony of a Roman inscription (‘τῶι τε Ἑρμῆι καὶ τῶι Ἡρ[ακλεῖ τοὺς ἀγῶ][να]ς ἔθηκεν ἀξίως τῆς [πόλεως καὶ τὴν πανή][γυ]ριν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαίο[ις]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 45) quoting the name of the god and a festival dedicated to him called ‘Hermaia’. Finally, there is fragmentary information for

various other cults. For example, Hercules appears in several coins of Odessos dating from late 4th to 2nd century BC, while there are Roman reliefs and statuettes of him that, together with several Roman inscriptions (‘τῶι τε Ἑρμεί καὶ τῶι Ἡρ[ακλεῖ τοὺς ἀγῶ][να]ς ἔθηκεν ἀξίως τῆς [πόλεως καὶ τὴν πανή][γυ]ριν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖο[ις]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 45, ‘ιερέως Θεοῦ Μεγάλου Δερζελα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 47(2), ‘Ἡρ[ακλεῖ]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 81, IGB I<sup>2</sup> 82) mentioning his name and the existence of his priests, serve as indirect evidence. Eventually, Athena is depicted on a 3rd century BC coin and recorded in a Roman inscription (‘ιερέως Θεοῦ Μεγάλου Δερζελα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 47(2)), while a number of statuettes of Demeter ranging from 5th to 2nd century BC attest the presence of this goddess in the religious life of the city.

### **Political organization**

The archaeological record of Odessos bearing information for the administrative structure of the city, at least for the period from mid 3rd BC to 1st BC, is, unlike Dionysopolis’, very rich. As a result the political organization of the site can be reconstructed to a great extent through the study of the epigraphic material (see also [Minchev 2003](#)).

First of all the Assembly, by the name of ‘Demos’ or in a single case called ‘Odessitans’ (‘ψήφισ[μα Ὀδησοιτῶν]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 42comm), appears to act sometimes, particularly in 3rd – 1st century BC, on its own without the decrees to have been prepared previously by the Council (‘τὸν] δῆμον, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀγα[θὸς — —]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 35, ‘ἔδοξε τῶι δ]ήμῳ ἐπιμηνιεύ[ον][τος τοῦ δεῖνος] τοῦ Παρμένον[τος]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 38, ‘ὁ δῆμος ἔπεισε καὶ ἠξίω[σε]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 40, ‘ἔδοξε τῶι δήμῳ ἐπιμηνιεύοντος Διογένου τοῦ Ἀντιθέου’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43, ‘ἔδοξε τῶ δήμῳ ἐπιμηνιεύον[τος Νου]μηνίου’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43(2)). There is a single epigraphic reference mentioning the Council, by the name of ‘Boule’, acting solo (‘ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 42comm). However, the common model of the democratic cities of ‘as the Council and the Assembly decided’ (‘ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ’ or ‘δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 37, 37(2), 41, 42, 45(2), ) is more usual in Odessos as well at least since 3rd century BC. In most of the instances the two administrative bodies act being presided by an ‘Eriminievon’ (‘ἐπιμηνιεύσαν[τας] Ἀπολλώνιον’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 36, ‘ἐπιμηνιεύ[ον][τος τοῦ δεῖνος] τοῦ Παρμένον[τος]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 38, ‘ἔδοξε τῶι δήμῳ ἐπιμηνιεύοντος Διογένου τοῦ Ἀντιθέου’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43, ‘ἔδοξε τῶ δήμῳ ἐπιμηνιεύον[τος Νου]μηνίου’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43(2)) and sometimes on the instigation of some officials such as ‘Prytaneis’ (‘οἱ πρυτάν[εις] ἐστεφάνω[σαν]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 36) or ‘Synedroi’ (‘[εἰσηγη]σαμένων τῶν συνέδρων’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 39). The Council and the Assembly determine upon different matters such as to honour someone (‘δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ ἐπαινεῖσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 37, 37(2), 38, 39), offer someone a wreath (‘οἱ πρυτάν[εις] ἐστεφάνω[σαν] ἐπιμηνιεύσαν[τας] Ἀπολλώνιον’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 36) or erect a statue for the honored (‘[— τὸν] δῆμον, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀγα[θὸς]... ἐκ]ατὸν χρυσοῦς εἰς τειχισμ[ὸν —][— ἀν]δριάντος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 35). In addition, they tend to grant to honored persons, usually non-citizens, and his descendants a variety of privileges (‘δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν προξενίαμ, πολιτείαμ, προεδρίαμ, ἰσοτέλειαμ πάντων χρημάτων, ὧν ἂν εἰσάγωσιν ἢ ἐξάγωσιν ἐπὶ κτήσει καὶ ἐγγείων ἐγκτησιν καὶ δίκας προδίκους καὶ εἰσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης {<sup>26</sup>εἰρήνης} ἄσυλει καὶ ἀσπονδεί, εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τῆμ βουλῇ καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 37 (2), 38 (2), 41, 42, 42comm, 43). Namely, they offer the title of ambassador (‘ΠΡΟΞΕΝΕΙΑΝ’), civil rights (‘ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ’), honorary seats at the theatre (‘ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝ’), financial privileges (‘ΙΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ’), land property (‘ΕΓΓΕΙΩΝ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ’) privileged access to the court (‘ΔΙΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΔΙΚΟΥΣ’), exemption of trading tolls (‘ΕΙΣΠΛΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΠΛΟΥΝ’), immunity during piece or war (‘ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΑΣΥΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΠΟΝΔΕΙ’) and privileged access to the meetings of the Council and the Assembly (‘ΕΦΟΔΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ’). In another occasion of the early 2nd century BC, the Assembly is recorded to welcome an embassy of the king of Pontus, Pharnakes (‘Φαρνάκημ δὲ [— —] ὄροις καὶ ποιούμενον α[— — — ἐν ταῖς] περιεχούσαις αὐτὸν [— — —] ὄλοσχερῶς μὴ ἀποτ[— —] ὁ δῆμος ἔπεισε καὶ ἠξίω[σε — — πρεσ]βευτῶν φιλανθρώπως [— —]-παγγελίαν ποιήσασθαι’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 40).

Most of the ratified decrees issued by both political bodies, at least since 3rd BC, are inscribed on a marble stele to the sanctuary (of Apollo) by an archon called ‘hieropoios’ (‘τὸν δὲ ἱεροποιὸν ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο εἰς τελαμῶνα καὶ θεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 41, 42, ‘τὸν δὲ ἱεροποιὸν ἀναγράψαντα τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε εἰς τελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43). Moreover, magistrates dealing with legal and economic affairs, such as ‘dikastai’ (judges) and ‘oikonomoi’ are recorded on a 3rd / 2nd century BC inscription (‘τῶν δικαστῶν δοῦναι τοὺς οἰκονόμους Διονύσιον καὶ Σωκράτην ἐξ ὧν χειρίζουσιν’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 37(2)). Finally, there are Roman epigraphic references for the existence of different officials, such as ‘Gymnasiarch’ (archon occupied with athletic education) (‘καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν γεινομέν[ο]υς γυμνα[σ]ιάρχου[ς]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 44, ‘Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀπελλᾶ τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀρχιατρὸς καὶ δημοφίλητος καὶ ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ γυμνασίαρχος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 150, ‘Νουμήνιος Ἀγαθήνορος γυμνασίαρχος’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 188), ‘Euposiarch’ and ‘Panegyriarch’ (archon related with public supplies and festivals) (‘Ξένων Ἐστιαίου εὐποσιάρχης’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 111, ‘Εὐφάνης Ζωπυρίωνος ὁ καὶ εὐποσιάρχης καὶ πανηγυριάρχης χαῖρε’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 131, ‘ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ εὐποσιάρχης’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 186(3)) at least from 1st century BC onwards; they could easily serve as indirect evidence for the existence of those officials in the pre-Roman era.

### **Relations with Pontic and other Greek cities**

As already mentioned above the relations of Odessos with Dionysopolis are very close, whether the former founded the latter or not. The fact that in the Roman inscription (‘οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ὀριοθέται ὑπὸ βασιλέως Κοτυος· Φίλιππος Ἀριστείδου Ἀδραμυτηνός, Μόσχος Διντα Βιζυηνός, Σαδαλας Μοκαπορεως ὁ καταστάμενος στρατηγὸς ἐν Ἀρσηφ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων· ἐξ Ὀδησοῦ· Μένανδρος Προμαθίωνος, Λεόκριτος Ἰππαγόρου, ἐγ δὲ Καλλάτειδος· Ἡράκλειτος Μονί[μο]υ, Γεροντίδας Σείμου, οἵτινες μαθόν[τες ἐ]κ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων καὶ ἐλ[θόντ]ες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια ὀριοθετήσαμεν... [ἐπὶ τ]ὰ ἀρχαῖα ὄρια Καλλατιανῶν καὶ Διονυ[σοπ]ολειτῶν’ IGB V 5011) Odessos participates in the leading team that decides for the borders between Dionysopolis and Kallatis could imply that Odessos is included as a ‘protector’ of the rights of her colony. The friendly relations between Odessos and Dionysopolis since 3rd century BC are also attested by the epigraphic evidence recording a citizen of Odessos being honored by Dionysopolitai (‘ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. Διονυσοπολίται ἔδωκαν Ἀριστομένει Διονυσίου Ὀδησίτηι’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(2)) and vice versa (‘ὁ δῆμ[ος Ὀδησιτῶν] Νουμήνι[ον τοῦ δεῖνα] ἀγάλματι [ἔστεφάνωσε]... καὶ Δι[ονυσοπολιτῶν]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 65). Simultaneously, Odessos seems to have established good relations with Kallatis, since citizens of the latter appear to be honored by the city in two cases, in 2nd / 1st century BC (‘[καὶ τῶι δήμωι ἐπαιν]έσαι μ[ὲν] ἐπὶ το[ύτοις τὸν δεῖνα]

[τοῦ δεῖνος — — — Καλλ[α]τια[νὸν]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 42comm) and in 1st / 2nd century AD (‘ὁ δῆμ[ος Ὀδησιτῶν] Νουμήνι[ον τοῦ δεῖνα] ἀγάλματι [ἔστεφάνωσε]. καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος ... καὶ Καλλ[α]τιανῶν]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 65). In the latter inscription (‘ὁ δῆμ[ος Ὀδησιτῶν] Νουμήνι[ον τοῦ δεῖνα] ἀγάλματι [ἔστεφάνωσε]. καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος Τομιτῶν] καὶ Καλλ[α]τιανῶν καὶ Ἰστρι[ανῶν] καὶ Δι[ονυσοπολιτῶν] καὶ [Μεσσαμβριανῶν]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 65) are also honored by Odessos citizens of Histria, Tomoi and Mesembria. Moreover, the friendly relations with Tomoi are supported by earlier evidence of 1st BC (‘ἐπειδὴ Ἀ[ρτέ]μων {<sup>27</sup>Α[πῆ]μων} <sup>27</sup> Χαιρίωνος Τομείτης κ[αὶ ἐκ] πατρίδος ὧν ἀστυγείτονος καὶ συγγενοῦς καὶ πατὸς ε[ὐερ]γέτου καὶ πολλὰς δεδ[ωκότος] [ἀποδείξ]εις τῆς πρὸς τ[ὸν δῆμον εὐ] [νοίας καὶ αὐτὸς] στοιχ[εῖν βουλό]μ[ενος]’ IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43(2)) where another citizen of Tomoi is honored by Odessos, while in the case of Mesembria there is more secure information. Namely, late Classical tiles of Mesembria were discovered in Odessos, along with a great number of 3rd – 1st century BC Mesembrian coins, while many 4th – 2nd century BC coins issued by Odessos were found in Mesembria implying close commercial relations. The case of Apollonia is similar since many coins of 5th – 4th century BC minted by Apollonia were unearthed in Odessos, while other 3rd century BC coins issued by the latter were found in Apollonia. Eventually, many pottery finds – mostly 6th to 1st century BC amphorae – from Chersonesus, Sinope, Heraclea of Pontus, Lesbos, Chios, Cnidus, Rhodes, Thasos) serve as indirect evidence that Odessos was involved in trading transactions with the Chersonesus at the Northern Black Sea littoral, Sinope and Heraclea of Pontus at the Southern coast and a number of Aegean islands (Karayotov 2007, 136-154; Minchev 2003).

## Conclusions

Taking into account all the above-mentioned information deriving simply from the study of the literary and archaeological evidence, there are some conclusions to be drawn. First of all, the common feature of those sites is that they are both of Ionian origin, probably Milesian foundations. Then, they are both cities of some importance since they have the right to issue coins, Odessos from late 4th and Dionysopolis from early 3rd century BC onwards. Moreover, they both attempt to be in friendly relations not only between them, but also with powerful adjacent Greek cities in Thracia Pontica, such as Kallatis for instance. Simultaneously, they both retain trading transactions with Heraclea of Pontus, Sinope, Chios and Thasos. In both sites the cult of Dionysus is of major importance and many of the rest of the deities worshipped in each place are common (Great God, Demeter, Zeus, Gods of Samothrace, Hercules etc.), while the absence of Apollo –the god patron of Ionians– only from the Dionysopolis' pre-Roman pantheon is very bizarre. Eventually, the administrative structure of both cities is based on common democratic institutions (assembly, council, magistrates with various offices) with similar duties. Certainly, the researcher must be cautious with the assumptions since the literary and archaeological record is still quite fragmentary. Future excavations could hopefully shed more light in the history and organization of those colonies of the Western Black Sea littoral.

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**List of Inscriptions**

1. IGB I<sup>2</sup> (Mihailov, G., 1970, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. I<sup>2</sup>, Inscriptiones Orae Ponti Euxini, (Sofia)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13 Dionysopolis (Balchik) ca 48BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(2) Dionysopolis (Balchik) 3rd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 13(3) Dionysopolis (Balchik) 3rd/2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 14 Dionysopolis (Balchik) early 3rd century AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 14 Dionysopolis (Balchik) early 3rd century AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 15 Dionysopolis (Balchik) 157 AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 15(2) Dionysopolis (Balchik) early 3rd century AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 15(3) Dionysopolis (Balchik) late 2nd/early 3rd century AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 19(2) Dionysopolis (Balchik) 4th century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 20 Dionysopolis (Balchik) 3rd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 21 Dionysopolis (Balchik) 3rd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 22 Dionysopolis (Balchik) 2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24 Dionysopolis (Balchik)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 24(2) Dionysopolis (Balchik) ca 214 AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 25 Dionysopolis (Balchik) 4th/ 3rd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 33 Dionysopolis (Balchik) – Kranevo
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 35 Odessos (Varna) after mid 3rd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 36 Odessos (Varna) late 3rd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 37 Odessos (Varna) late 3rd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 37(2) Odessos (Varna) 3rd/2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 38 Odessos (Varna) late 3rd/early 2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 38(2) Odessos (Varna) 3rd/2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 39 Odessos (Varna) 3rd/2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 40 Odessos (Varna) 185-170/169 BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 41 Odessos (Varna) 3rd/2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 42 Odessos (Varna) 3rd/2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 42comm Odessos (Varna) 2nd/1st century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43 Odessos (Varna) 45/44-42 BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 43(2) Odessos (Varna) late 1st century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 44 Odessos (Varna) 1st century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 45Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 45(2) Odessos (Varna) 3rd/2nd century BC
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 47(2) Odessos (Varna) 221 AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 65 Odessos (Varna) 1st/2nd century AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 67 Odessos (Varna) 2nd century AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 78(2) Odessos (Varna) 2nd/1st century AD
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 78(3) Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 79 Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 111 Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 131 Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 144(2) Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 150 Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 186(3) Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 188 Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 225 Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 230(2) Odessos (Varna)
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 259 Odessos (Varna) –Vicinity of
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 267 Odessos (Varna) – Vinitsa
  - IGB I<sup>2</sup> 285 Odessos (Varna) – Galata
2. IGB V (Mihailov, G. 1996. *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. V , Addenda et Corrigenda, Serdicae)
  - IGB V 5011 Dionysopolis (Balchik) bef. 19

AD Evidence for inscriptions and coins was also drawn by the below web pages respectively: <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main> & <http://www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org>

# **‘The Time-traveler meets Emperor Justinian in Byzantine Era’: an innovative museological project**

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## **Abstract**

Aim of this paper is to present an innovative museological project: the potential for a group of tourists, pupils-students or any kind of visitors of Istanbul to ‘travel through time’ and live one day in ‘Byzantine Constantinople’. This project constitutes a unique approach of the Byzantine history and various monuments of Istanbul and is based on dramatization of historical scenario (based on historical and archaeological evidence) and role-playing, supported by multimedia applications. Through this educational-cultural program anybody can become a ‘Time traveler’ in Byzantine Era, ‘meet Emperor Justinian’ and go with him around the 6th AD Constantinople. In this way the regular tour of monuments is transformed in an adventurous ‘journey to the Past’ of Istanbul, where everybody can play an active role.

## **Keywords**

Educational-cultural program, cultural tourism, historical scenario, role-playing

## **Introduction**

Byzantium-Constantinople-Istanbul: a city with great history along the eras. It was founded as a Greek colony of the Megarians of Byzas in the 7th century BC. In 330 AD the Roman Emperor Constantine chose this place to remove his capital and thus founded there the ‘New Rome’, named Constantinople. For almost sixteen centuries it served as the capital of four empires: the Roman, the Byzantine, the Latin and the Ottoman. Istanbul’s strategic position on the single sea route between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, along the historic Silk Road and the rail networks to Europe and the Middle East offered to the city a multicultural character and transformed it to one of the most densely populated metropolis of the world. All these centuries of history and different civilizations have accumulated a lot of monuments (Ancient ruins, Byzantine and Ottoman monuments) that testify the cultural grandeur of the city.

An innovative museological project has been masterminded for an unforgettable visit in a group of the above monuments, that is to say the Byzantine ones. It is intended for tourists, pupils-students or any kind of visitors of the city that would enjoy travelling through time following a specific scenario of the educational-cultural program. Namely, anybody can end up ‘meeting Emperor Justinian in Constantinople’ and joining him in his tour around the 6th century AD ‘Basilevousa’. The present study deals with: firstly, the context that favored the conception of this project and the general principles of design of educational-cultural programs and, secondly, the special characteristics of each of the three programs.

## **New trends in tourism, the management of culture and museum education**

The development of the civilizations in Ancient Mesopotamia led to movements of groups of people for various reasons, such as commercial, political, cultural or educational. The first recorded trips

that combined entertainment with education go back to the Pharaonic Egypt. Moreover, in Ancient Greece and later in Ancient Rome many different aspects of tourism became very popular. For example, religious journeys to Delphi or Eleusis, athletic trips to Olympia or Nemea, educational-philosophical visits to Alexandria, Samos or Miletus, cultural trips to Epidaurus consist the first examples of cultural tourism. Then, in the Middle Ages religious and cultural tourism flourishes, since through the Crusades and Pilgrimages people from different countries attempt to travel to Jerusalem, while other individuals plan educational trips to the great universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Montpellier. The term ‘tourist’ is used for first time in 19th century England to define a person that participate in a grand ‘tour’ for different reasons. Nowadays, tourism constitutes a social-economic phenomenon that is based on human need for recreation, getting in touch with Nature, getting to know new places and new cultures (McIntosh et al 1995; Τσάρτας 1996).

According to McDonald and Jolliffe (2003, 307-310) ‘tourism and culture are multidimensional concepts that are correlative’. Cultural tourism –that is directly related to the present study– is a category of ‘knowledge based tourism’ in which the visit of a place is instigated by the cultural characteristics of the particular region. It denotes the tourist’s ‘nostalgia of the Past’ and his wish to study the way of life of the inhabitants of a place through the years, from Past to Present. It consists of visits to the historical-archaeological sites and museums, the attendance of local festivals etc. and aims at the enrichment of the cultural status of the tourist with new experiences and knowledge (Bescuilides et al. 2002, 310; Kennedy 2002, 1038; Poria et al. 2001, 1047-1049; Richards 2001; Zeppel and Hall 1992). Cultural tourism embraces creative tourism, educational tourism, archaeological tourism, religious tourism, volunteer tourism, gastronomic tourism etc. and in the opinion of the Vision Study of the World Organization of Tourism (WTO) for 2020 will be one of the five most appealing touristic products. It is worth mentioning that it consists a category of tourism highly desirable by many destination countries and cities, since it means the arrival of tourists of high educational level willing to spend in cultural activities a lot of money that can easily be invested on the preservation of Cultural Heritage (Bowitz and Ibenholt, 2009, 6-7). Obviously, this fact instigates countries to try to offer competitive touristic products, that according to the Ritchie/Crouch Conceptual Model of Destination Competitiveness (Ritchie and Crouch 2003) should have the below basic characteristics: increase of touristic investment, increase of the attractiveness to visitors/tourists, contribution to the rise of the local standard of living, providing to tourists satisfactory and unforgettable experiences in well-preserved archaeological sites and modern organized museums, that will end up profitable for the destination.

The growing demand of tourists for unique experiences in well organized cultural places was one of the important factors that instigated severe changes in cultural management. Namely, in 2007 the International Council of Museums (ICOM) produced a new definition of the museum stating that ‘a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and recreation’ (Desvallées and Mairesse 2010, 57). Following this new concept, museums and archaeological sites –that earlier were attracting mainly specialists– under the social and political pressures opened to the public, realized their role as an educational mechanism as well and started making efforts to become more visitor focused (Vergo 1989, 1). In order to meet the requirements of their new role new museums are built, existent museums are being renovated to accommodate exhibitions designed under the modern museological standards and archaeological sites are being restored. Consequently, cultural places are transformed to ideal sites for cultural tourism and modern museum education.

The traditional model of museum pedagogy, which simply offered access to tangible and intangible cultural heritage through typical information, is refuted. The new humanistic didactic model fosters educational activities in a museum environment, the main purpose of which is to impart knowledge to the visitor. As a result ‘new generation’ educational-cultural programs are masterminded aiming

to give emphasis to the interaction of man and culture with 'open' effect that can be determined by the interests and expectations of any individual (Allard and Boucher, 1998; Desvallées and Mairesse 2010, 31; Girtzi and Bountidou 2012; Μπούνια 2010). Those programs are designed by several different cultural or educational organizations, following similar general principles quoted below. In first place, the topic is to be selected taking into consideration various criteria (i.e. pedagogical, educational, scientific, cultural and social). In this procedure there are two main aspects that must be defined from the beginning: the target group -so as to adjust the topic at the age and the cognitive level of them- and the artifacts of the museum or the monuments of the archaeological site to be examined. Then, the techniques of the implementation of the program's educational activities must be decided. The designer can choose among a number of them, such as dramatization of historical scenario, role playing, narration, guided discussion etc., supported usually by computer applications (Καρυδά 2006; Νικονάνου 2009). Common goal of the modern museological educational projects is the active participation of the visitors to the comprehension of culture and the building of knowledge (Girtzi and Bountidou 2012). The project the 'Time traveler meets emperor Justinian in Byzantine Era' -that will be taken into account in the following chapter- complies with the above mentioned principles.

### **'The Time-traveler meets Emperor Justinian in Byzantine Era': an educational-cultural project for the Byzantine monuments of Istanbul**

According to the statistics of the World Organization of Tourism (WTO, 2013) in 2010 and 2011 Turkey was among the ten most popular destination of the world. Namely, it occupied the sixth place having hosted 27.0 million tourists in 2010 and 29.3 in 2011 (Κωνσταντογλου 2013). The majority of those tourists have visited Istanbul as an ideal site for cultural tourism. In fact, the capital of European Turkey accommodates a number of architectural monuments and archaeological finds of the Ancient era (belonging to the Ancient Greek colony, Byzantium), the Byzantine years (pertaining the capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople) and the Ottoman period (belonging to the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul). The problem is that sometimes it is hard for a common individual to distinguish which monuments belong to each era and which of them co-exist in the same period. In addition, it is often difficult to identify the use of some archaeological finds, architectural remains or even whole buildings.

As regards the Byzantine monuments –that concern the present study– are either half buried below buildings of the Ottoman Era or even modern ones, or being converted to Ottoman (the transformation of Ancient Greek temples to Christian churches or of the latter to mosques is common practice in the History of Mankind). Therefore, the effort to reconstruct a global picture of the history of Byzantine Constantinople seemed impossible. The 'Time traveler meets Emperor Justinian in Byzantine Era' project is based on this ground and constitutes an attempt to initiate cultural tourists, students or any other visitor to aspects of the daily life in Byzantine Constantinople. Namely, it is an educational-cultural program that employs dramatization of historical scenario (based purely on historical and archaeological evidence) and role playing (with distinctive role for each participant for up to 20 persons) and is supported by multimedia applications. The scenario is taking place in the heart of Istanbul and concerns the below cultural sites: Sultanahmet Square (Byzantine 'Αυγουσταίον' / Augoustaion), Hagia Sophia (Byzantine 'Αγία Σοφία'), Basilica Cistern (Byzantine 'Κινστέρνα'), Precincts of Blue Mosque ('Παλάτι Δάφνης' / Daphne's palace, part of Byzantine 'Ιερό Παλάτιο' / Great Palace), Hippodrome (Byzantine 'Ιππόδρομος'), Museum of Mosaics ('Χρυσοτρίκλινον' / Chrysotriclinon, another part of Byzantine 'Ιερό Παλάτιο' / Great Palace) and the Archaeological museum (that has in its exhibitions archaeological finds of all the above Byzantine monuments). The project can initially be presented interactively in a room of the museum, the classroom or an amphitheatre with a power point (combining text and image, animation, 3D graphics and other effects) and then applied in real simulation in situ on a unique journey to the Past. The scenario of the program is recorded below.

### **‘The Time-traveler meets Emperor Justinian in Byzantine Era’**

In order to satisfy the program’s requirements the participants are assigned with various roles – described below– and we travel back to the mid 6th century AD, in the eve of the 215th celebration of the inauguration of Constantinople by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine the Great, on Sunday 11th of May 545. The story starts with the arrival of a number of people to the capital of the Byzantine Empire in order to participate to the 215th celebration of the inauguration of Constantinople. It is early in the morning and two horsemen enter the Bronze Gate of the Great Palace. They are Belissarios and Narsis, the supreme commanders of Emperor Justinian that are going to accompany him and the Empress Theodora to the special ceremony in Hagia Sophia. Stepping out of the Great Palace, they meet in Augoustaion three quite well known people: Anthemios and Isidoros (the architects of Hagia Sophia) and the son of the past master. All together enter Hagia Sophia that is fully crowded with people. After the holy service some distinguished guests (the Patriarch of Antioch, the Pope, a former Patriarch of Constantinople) guided by the Emperor and the Patriarch ascend to the second floor to attend an unofficial Ecumenical Assembly regarding a topic of major importance: Monophysitism. After an hour of negotiations they leave for the Hippodrome, where great celebrations will take place. Initially, the Emperor spends some time meeting the Mayors of the Blue and the Green party and then a glamorous festival begins. When the celebrations are over, Justinian returns to the Great Palace. There, at Daphne’s palace he has a short meeting with his generals, Belissarios and Narsis. Immediately afterwards the Emperor moves to the Chrysotriclinon, the official Throne room, in order to grant a hearing to some important visitors (the king of Persians, the king of Huns, the former king of Vandals). After the hard negotiations every distinguished guest has a unique chance; it is time to taste the palace’s cuisine participating at the symposium that is held in the triclinium of the 19 Akkoubita. The night falls and a full day for the Byzantine Emperor and his guests comes to an end...

### **Conclusions**

Evidently, the educational-cultural program of the ‘Time Traveler’ offers a unique opportunity to cultural tourists or students from all over the world to become familiar with the Byzantine History and monuments of Istanbul in an interactive way. In this project is achieved what Μπούνια (2010) thinks as elementary for a ‘new generation’ educational-cultural program; ‘learning is perceived as a creative dialogue and not as a passive transmission of knowledge’. Through the historical scenario the participants have the chance to actually experience Civilization, which according to Coccossis and Nijkamp (1995) ‘constitutes a human activity, an expression of the human mind in material (e.g. monuments) and immaterial form (e.g. music, literature, poetry) that provides a living context from the Past for the Present and the Future’.

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# Hun Originated/Influenced Objects Found In China: Ordos Bronze

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## Abstract

The Great State of Hun is very important for Turkish history and Turkish culture as they managed to unite the tribes of Central Asia for the first time in history. Those Central Asian cultures that were living apart until the foundation of the Great State of Hun, started to have a close relationship and blend together. In addition to this, different cultures from Altai Mountains and from the banks of Orkhon River lost their differences and established a common Central Asian culture. We see this not only in cultural artifacts but also in historic records. The founder of the Great State of Hun, Maodun - or Mete, as he is commonly referred to – states in his letter to the Chinese Empire that he managed to unite all weapon bearing tribes in Central Asia and all those tribes live in peace and prosper. (Lu, 2004:1326) The political unity that was established by Mete lived on for five centuries. This is why when we speak about the culture of the Huns, we mean the time period from 3rd Century BC to 3rd Century AD.

## Key words

Huns; Their Places and Kurgans

The Great State of Hun covered a vast region. It was divided into two parts in the south and the north of Tian Shan, or as referred by Turkic people, Tengri Mountains, Mountain of God. The part in the south is present day East Turkistan. The northern part is Jungaria Steppes, Irtysh Basin and Altai Mountains. Southern Siberia was the northern boundaries of Turkic culture; which is why it's a very important region.

Kurgans in Pazyryk Valley in the foot of Altai, Noin Ula in present day Mongolia and Issyk Region near present day Almaty contains the best examples of Hun art. Kurgans are burial sites in which Turkic people of Central Asia were buried with their property and animals. The kurgans in Noin Ula were discovered by Pyotr Kozlov. Pazyryk Kurgans was discovered in 1929 by the Russian archeologists Rudenko and Gryaznov. Issyk Kurgans was discovered in 1969 by Kazakhstani-Turkish archeologist Kemal Akishev. In the kurgans, artifacts such as saddles and harnesses, saddle covers made of felt, belts, and buckles were found. The most important object found in Issyk was the dead body in an armor suit which is thought to belong to Turkic prince. (Ögel, 1984:50-54)

By this artifacts we can conclude that there was a cultural unity in Central Asia but also objects used in daily life and pleasure were borrowed from surrounding regions. Patterns that belong to Western Turkistan and Paradise Bird that belong to Chinese culture started to appear in saddles and felts of Hun princes.

We can divide this cultural interaction in two parts. First part is interactions across northern border which is Southern Siberia. The second part is interactions across the southern border, which is Chinese Empire.

## Ordos Bronzes

The most important finds in northern border were Ilmayova-Padi (Downward part of Selenga River) artifacts. The culture of this region is very similar to the central Noin Ula culture. In burial sites, objects such as wooden artifacts, Chinese silk and Hun bows made of bones were found. Burial customs are very similar to Huns. (Sosnovsky, 1947:64)

The second part is cultural interactions across Chinese border. Travelers who visited Northern China saw many bronze artifacts sold in markets. These bronze artifacts, which mostly belonged to clothing or saddles, were distinctly different from Chinese bronzes even though they were found in China. Chinese referred to these objects as Scythian. These objects were brought into attention by researchers like E.H. Minns and Read. As already known, both Huns and their ancestors conducted raids into China. (Minns, 1930:88) It's widely accepted by Turkish historians that the Great Wall of China was built to stop these raids. Those remains of Huns in Chinese borders were effectively studied by Swedish archeologist J.G. Anderson. (Anderson, 1929:140), (Anderson, 1932:221), (Anderson, 1933:143-154) On the other hand Prof. Minns proposed that, as most of these bronze artifacts were found in Ordos region, they were named Ordos Bronzes. (Anderson, 1933:144) Many of these bronzes are animal style. This term used to describe the art Eurasian steppe cultures are dominant in animal subjects which is based on the origin of Central Asia, from China's Ordos region to Central Europe. (Rostovtzeff, 1929: 63-67, Rayevsky, 2007) If we have to establish the boundaries of the spread of this culture, in the east it starts from Jehol and stretches to Gansu in west. Hebei and Shanxi can be included in this area.

Prof. Anderson defines the bronze Hun artifacts in Ordos as following:

1. Knives (Fig. 1)
2. Axes and hatchets (Fig. 2, Fig. 3)
3. Chains (Fig. 4)
4. Spoons and decorative objects (Fig. 5)
5. Cups (Fig. 6)
6. Big knives and daggers (Fig. 7)
7. Buckles (Fig. 8)
8. Discs and buttons (Fig. 9)
9. Horse figures (Fig. 10)
10. Needles and other apparels
11. Deer and camel drawings (Fig. 11, Fig. 12)
12. Sheep and goat drawings (Fig. 13, Fig. 14)
13. Argali sheep
14. Ox and ox head figures (Fig. 15)
15. Drawings of wild animals and hogs
16. Drawings of wild birds and hedgehogs (Anderson, 1933:T.9)

It's thought that the people of Central Asia were hunters and herders, so that these depictions represent daily life. Some researchers even went further and state that the Huns were totemists. But the Huns followed a monotheist religion of sky god, which is commonly referred as Tengri. Traces of totemist belief are unlikely in a monotheist religion. Such claims can be disregarded as legends. On the other hand, Kokturks, who were the successors of Huns believed in a legend of wolf which was told among each other and used the wolf's head as a national symbol. (Ögel, 1984:55) When Ordos artifacts were studied, these depictions were affiliated to two different cultures. First one is the Luan Ping Culture and the second one is Xuan Xua Culture. Luan Ping is in northeastern China, in Jehol state. A large number of bronze Hun artifacts were discovered in this region in 1920. It's unlikely that the Huns of this region were of Turkic race. It's possible that they were Mongolian or Turko-Mongol. The arrowheads made of bones have very important value in Hun culture. In burial sites, a large number of clothing apparels were found. Some of these were animal figures. These figures were mostly horses and tigers. Apart from these, belt buckles, buckle frames, needles, bronze buttons, bronze necklaces and other apparels that were found, represent the Hun culture. (Ögel, 1984:55) Xuan Xua Culture is near the village of Shang-Peng-Cheng in Jehol State. The found objects are very similar to the objects found in Luan Ping. Chinese coins were also found in burial sites. Based on those coins, Xuan Xua culture was placed between 750 BCE and 250 BCE by Prof Karlgen and Prof. Arne. Chinese influence on the objects found here are greater than other places. The similarity with

the Luan Ping shows that these two cultures belong to the same period. Bronze is very important in both cultures. There was only one artifact made of iron. Framed deer figures were seen in Caucasus region around 300 BCE and in southern Russia around 400 BCE. Arne was surprised to see that this culture was very similar to 9th century Western Siberian Culture. (Arne, 1933:161) Actually, there's nothing to be surprised of in that. As already known, in these areas Huns and their successors Kokturks and Avars conducted raids against the Chinese. We can summarize it like that Xuan Xua Culture combines Hun and even Kokturk culture in itself.

Brought together all the resources and the evidence are understood that the animal style is proto-Turkish origin or a kind of art that imposed by communities including Turks. If we accept this as the beginning of the style steppe culture, we can assume starting from 3000 BCE. As the saying Grousset, animal style reached the mature by the Huns. (Coruhlu, 1998: 77 - 78)

## Discussions

In conclusion, there are many similar objects found in Northern China, Siberia and Southern Russia. The reason of that can be explained with the presence of a people found between those two regions. This people were none other than the Huns. This common Turkic culture influenced Siberia in north and China in south. The depictions of struggle between animals were the main subject of the Hun art. (Çoruhlu, 1993:118) (Fig. 16) The depiction of wrestling in Ordos bronze artifacts is explained in Chinese annals about Kyrgyz people. Finally, a most important aspect of Hun art which is the symmetric depiction of animals, symmetric animal depictions on the handle of knives and daggers and depiction of animals in the shape of "S" is widely seen in Ordos bronze artifacts. (Fig. 17, Fig. 18)

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FIG. 1 KNIVES



FIG. 2 AXES



FIG. 3 HATCHES



FIG. 4 CHAINS



FIG. 5 SPOONS



FIG. 6 CUPS



FIG. 7 BIG KNIVES / DAGGERS



FIG. 8 BUCKLES



FIG. 9 DISCS AND BUTTONS



FIG. 10 HORSE FIGURES



FIG. 11 DEER DRAWINGS



FIG. 12 CAMEL DRAWINGS



FIG. 13 SHEEP DRAWINGS



FIG. 14 GOAT DRAWINGS



FIG. 15 OX FIGURES



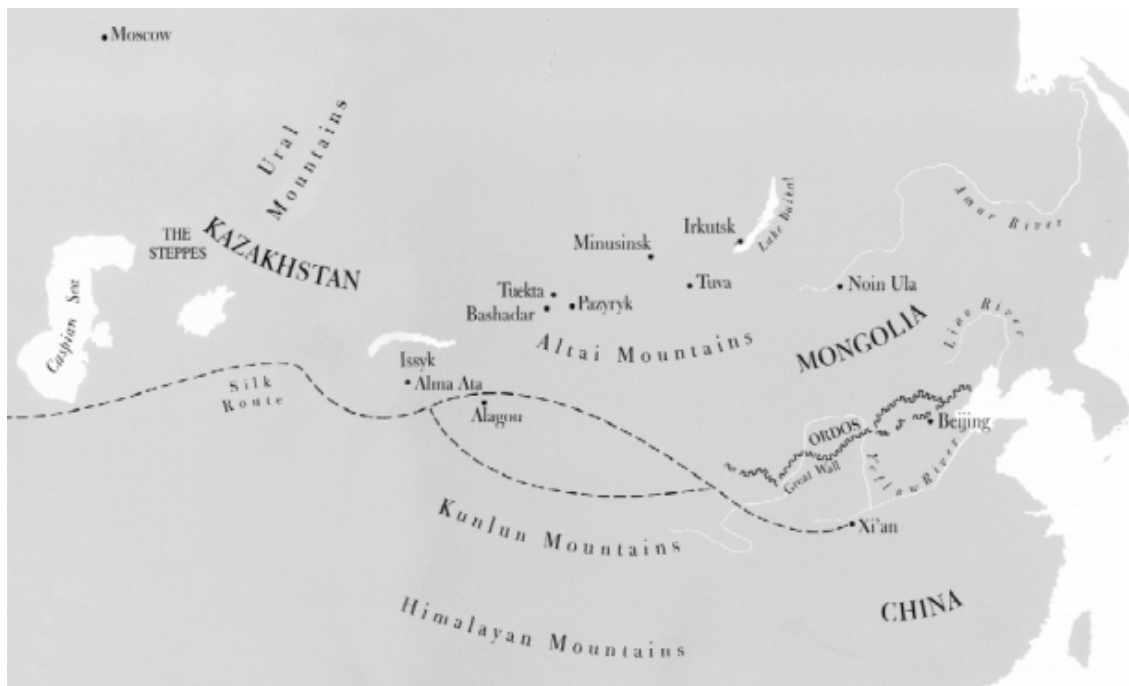
FIG. 16 STRUGGLE BETWEEN ANIMALS



FIG. 17 SYMMETRIC ANIMAL DEPICTIONS



FIG. 18 DEPICTION OF ANIMALS IN THE  
SHAPE OF "S"



MAP 1. CENTRAL ASIA

# Attic Imports to the Black Sea area: the Construction of the Reference Framework

Filippo Giudice

(with the contribution of Elvia & Giada Giudice, Paolo Madella, Francesco Muscolino, Giuseppe Sanfilippo Chiarello, Rossano Scicolone, Sebastiano Luca Tata)

The continuous increase in Attic pottery from the Black Sea area (pl. I, 1), compared with Beazley's lists, necessitates the construction of a framework to which the post-Beazley acquisitions can be ascribed; then the cataloguing of new vases and attributions to Attic painters can be performed.

This methodology, already applied to the imports to Magna Graecia, to Sicily, to Cyprus, to the Greek *poleis* of Gela<sup>1</sup> and Kamarina,<sup>2</sup> to the island of Rhodes<sup>3</sup> and to Turkey, as said in the Congress held in Konya,<sup>4</sup> has proved to be extremely useful in the reconstruction of the distributive trend, from the beginning of Attic production until the end of the 4th century BC.

In this way, vases uncovered and/or published after 1971 (year of Beazley's *Paralipomena*) can be classified within the framework that can be drawn from the attributions of the Oxonian scholar, in order to specify the chronology, painters, shapes and subjects chosen by customers of the Black Sea area. For these reasons, it seems opportune to present the reference framework of Attic imports to the Black Sea area (pl. I, 2-3), basing ourselves on Beazley's lists, from *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (1956), to *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (1963), to the above-mentioned *Paralipomena* (1971).

The reference framework that we propose in this Congress could be a guide for further increases.<sup>5</sup>

The particular position of the Black Sea area, in the end, will clarify the role of this area in the great routes of Attic figured pottery. In a recent congress held in Milan,<sup>6</sup> in which the problem of the main routes of Attic figured pottery, exported both to the East and the West was dealt with, we traced, on the one hand, the routes towards the western regions (Magna Graecia, Sicily, Etruria, north-western and central Europe) and, on the other hand, towards the eastern regions and the Black Sea, towards Africa, eastern Greece and Near- and Middle-East.

Leaving out, in this congress, the distribution of Attic pottery in the western regions, we will focus on the eastern ones. As for historical-commercial studies, our team has elaborated a model of file according to which it is possible to organise the data on the diffusion of Attic figured pottery in the Mediterranean. Focusing on the commercial context rather than the single find, the concept of 'Route Unit' ('Unità di rotta') has been defined, a concept that, on the one hand, fills the eventual lack of evidence, on the other permits the insertion of new data in a narrow - but at the same time flexible - 'grid', in which the producing city (Athens) and the markets of destination (the entire Mediterranean Sea) are divided into thirteen areas, further subdivided into sub-areas, on the basis of

<sup>1</sup> F. Giudice, R. Panvini (eds.), *Ta Attika. Veder greco a Gela: ceramiche attiche figurate dall'antica colonia*, Roma 2003.

<sup>2</sup> G. Giudice (ed.), 'Attikón...Kéramon', *Veder greco a Kamarina dal principe di Biscari ai nostri giorni*, Catania 2010.

<sup>3</sup> F. Giudice, E. & G. Giudice, R. Scicolone, S. L. Tata, *Le importazioni di ceramica attica a Rodi. Costruzione del quadro di riferimento*, in F. Raviola (ed.), *L'indagine e la rima. Scritti per Lorenzo Braccisi* (*Hesperia*, 30), Roma 2013, 749-781.

<sup>4</sup> F. Giudice, E. & G. Giudice, F. Muscolino, G. Sanfilippo Chiarello, *Attic Imports to Anatolia: the Construction of the Reference Framework*, in H. Oniz, E. Aslan (eds.), *SOMA 2009: proceedings of the XIII Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Selcuk University of Konya, Turkey, 23-24 April 2009*, Oxford 2011, 81-91.

<sup>5</sup> A more detailed framework about painters, sites, shape and themes will be given in a further paper now in preparation.

<sup>6</sup> F. Giudice, G. Giudice, *Le grandi rotte della ceramica attica: riflessioni sui punti di snodo*, in Gemma Sena Chiesa (ed.), *La Collezione di vasi Intesa Sanpaolo e i nuovi indirizzi di ricerca*, Milano 2008, 311-333.

ancient trading routes. This system permits the insertion of new data, offering a physiological growth of the reference frame, without excessive increases or disorientations.<sup>7</sup>

### Sites

The Black Sea is subdivided in four areas: the Western, the Northern, the Southern and the Eastern coast. In all this areas, Attic pottery is attested, and the new acquisitions increase Beazley's data. Only the evidence from the Southern coast is still lacking, but it is hoped that new publications will fill up the gap.

As for the Western coast, the ships, after the Propontis, proceeding from the South to the North, reached first Apollonia Pontica and then Mesembria and Odessos, towards Histria and the neighbouring Orgame, last halting place before the Northern coast. In the interior there were the indigenous centres, such as Brezovo, Duvanlij etc.

Leaving out for the Appendix the analysis of the imports towards the other cities, we will focus, as an example, Apollonia.

For this city, a precocious import of Attic pottery emerges from Beazley's data already from the second quarter of the 6th century (2 specimens), with a sharp increase in the first quarter of the 5th century (10 specimens). The imports seem to decrease from the second quarter of the 5th century (6 specimens). A dramatic increase, in comparison with the last quarter of the 5th century, is evident in the 4th century, especially in the first quarter.

The new data that we are gathering substantially confirm Beazley's framework with a further increase both in the first quarter of the 5th century and in the 4th century. A jug represents Thracian warriors, and it is likely that the import to the Black Sea area could have determined a precise choice from the purchasers of Apollonia.

Following the coastal navigation after Orgame, it is possible to reach, further to the North, beyond the delta of the Danube, the city of Berezan, then the neighbouring Olbia, whose situation between the rivers Tyras and Hipanis permitted to reach easily the indigenous centres of the interior.

Passing to the Beazley data, the Oxonian scholar did not know Attic pottery in Olbia datable before the last quarter of the 6th century, with the exception of the fragment of a crater assignable to *Lydos* and a *skyphos* of the Group of Rhodes 1141. Beside these vases, Beazley lists a very notable quantity datable between the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the following (about 50 vases).

It is evident from the charts that the Attic pottery, attested in Olbia, although sporadically, continues to be present in an increasing way until the last quarter of the 5th century, when the maximum peak is reached (41 vases). This fact is unusual, given the decrease of the production in this period.

It is to be noted that in the most lively period of the Athenian trade the quantity of Attic vases is quite remarkable; there is a good percentage of red-figure vases (27,27%), significant especially in comparison with the rarity of red-figure vases in the Black Sea area until the half of the 5th century. In parallel, the crisis observed in the following quarter is evident also in the sharp decrease of red-figure pottery.

After the delta of the Borysthenes, it is possible to reach the Western coast of the Crimea, with the centres of Kerkinitis, Chersonesus Tauricus, Theodosia, until Panticapaeum (Kertch) and then to the North-Eastern coast towards Phanagoria, Hermonassa and Gorgippia

<sup>7</sup> F. Giudice, *Le rotte commerciali dei vasi attici dal VI al IV sec. a.C. Analisi quantitativa e qualitativa*, in *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 4, 1993, 181-196.

As for Panticapaeum, Beazley's lists register the import of Attic vases from the second quarter, and in the following quarter, with a rise in the last quarter of the 6th century BC. The quantity seems to decrease in the first quarter of 6th century, and then to register an increase in the second quarter (475-450 BC), a fall in the third and, strangely, a strong recovery in the last quarter of the 5th century: this increase is unusual, in comparison with the decrease of the global production in the last quarter of the 5th century. A real increase is evident in the 4th century with about 40 vases, which arrives to about 130 with the updating carried out by our team.

Let us consider now the Southern coast (Herakleia Pontica, Amastris, Sinope, Amisos, Trapezous). Our knowledge on these cities is still scanty, and little can be drawn from Beazley's lists. We can remember a not attributed cup datable around 560 BC from Sinope, with dolphins on the lip and, between the handles, a stag between panthers.

We conclude our forcedly short circumnavigation with the Eastern coast (the ancient Colchis), that virtually could be reached from the Southern coast, although we have little evidence from the pottery. However, in order to document the arrival in this area of vases from the Northern route we can remember, for example, the calyx-crater of the Archaeological Museum of Batum, from the excavations in Pichvnari, near the coastal city of Kobuleti. The vase, with a scene of pursuit in the upper row, and with *Triptolemos* on the chariot in the lower, can be attributed to the Niobid painter. Another fragment of a *skyphos* of the 4th century is attributable to the Fat-boy Group.

### Painters

Now let us analyse the painters attested in the Black Sea area.

In this congress, I would like to limit myself to a synthesis of the reference frame in which the painters are assigned each to a quarter of century from the beginning of the 6th century to the 4th century BC. We have carefully dated each painter, with a particular attention to the black-figure painters, because Beazley's lists are not always in a chronological order.

This reference framework will be utilized as a basis for further attributions, part of which will be published in the 'Post-Paralipomena' Project, which is at a good point of refinement especially for the 4th century.

In any case, the painters enlisted by Beazley can be utilised to outline the routes of distribution that, during three centuries, brought Attic figured pottery to the Black Sea.

For obvious reasons of time, I will restrict myself to some examples, beginning from the general framework of the imports of Attic pottery in the Black Sea. In comparison with the 35,000 vases listed by Haspels and Beazley, we have only 381 vases in the Black Sea (about the 1% of the global production).

As for the volume of the imports (pl. I, 2-3) for the 6th century, it substantially reflects the general trend, with a constant increase until the end of the century.

The situation is different in the 5th century. We can note a slackening of the imports in comparison with the last quarter of the 6th century. The quantity, then, begins to decrease progressively towards the last quarter of the century. In any case, the presence of vases in the last quarter is significant: we register, in discrepancy with the general framework, a slight increase in comparison with the third quarter of the 5th century.

The number of vases is notably high in the 4th century if compared with the percentages of the global production, although we are conducting the necessary updating, given the known disinterest of Beazley for this period. Passing from the general framework to the detail of the quarters of century

we will illustrate later the distribution of the more significant painters. Here we restrict ourselves to the distribution of *Sophilos*, whose production is dated in the second quarter of the 6th century BC, thus indicating a certain delay in the arrival of Attic pottery in the Black Sea. In fact, this kind of pottery is well attested elsewhere, especially in Etruria, already at the beginning of the 6th century. This painter is significantly attested at Lindos, Old Smyrne and, on the other hand, at Apollonia Pontica.

We can infer a distribution pattern that does not necessarily seem to follow the route Macedonia, Thrace, Thasos, Black Sea, but rather the route Rhodes, Western coast of Anatolia, Thasos, Black Sea, which indicates the island of Thasos as a point of convergence of different maritime routes.

### Shapes

Waiting for the necessary updating of the imports in each town, it is opportune to give in this congress an analysis of the fortune of the shapes in all the area, postponing for a successive moment the frame work of the shapes in the political and social reality of each *polis*.

The imports of shapes to the Black Sea area substantially reflect the relationship of 1% in comparison with the local production: this is, for example, the case of craters, cups, *lekythoi*, and, more or less, for the other less represented shapes (perhaps with the exception of *amphorae*). *Pelikai* have a remarkable fortune: indeed they reach the exceptional percentage of about 10%.

For this regard, in any case, a more significant framework is offered by the subdivision on quarter of century that I will rapidly illustrate.

In synthesis, from a scanty and exclusive attestation of cups in the first and second quarter of the 6th century, we pass to a clearer differentiation of shapes in the third quarter of the 6th century. A change of the fortune is clear from the last quarter of the century, when the *lekythos* gains the first place, followed by the cup.

The *lekythoi* occupy the first place also in the first quarter of the 5th century, while the cup-*skyphos* and the crater come alongside the cup.

A certain homogeneity of shapes is clear in the third quarter of the 5th century, while the *lekythoi* become again prevalent in the last quarter of the 5th century.

Only in the 4th century the *pelike* acquires prevalence on all the other shapes, followed at a certain distance by the cup.

This variability of shapes is clearly due on the one hand to the kind of vases offered by the Attic production and, on the other hand, to the choices of the local market, but only the study of the contexts of finding (necropolis, sanctuaries, settlements) will give the exact reason of the different fortune of the shapes and, in particular, of the extraordinary fortune of the *pelike* in the 4th century BC.

### Themes

We find the same problem in analysing the fortune of the subjects attested in the Black Sea.

But, as ever, it is convenient, for the moment, to restrict ourselves to a general analysis obtainable from our reference frame, in order to evaluate the fortune of the *imagerie* of the vases that, crossed the Strait of the Dardanelles (the ancient Propontis), reached the Pontus Euxinus.

In reality, Attic artisans producing this figured pottery appreciated by the population of all the Mediterranean Sea, had in mind, as I believe, a double aim: on the one hand, to satisfy the internal

Athenian customers, becoming the expression of the collective ideals of Athens, privileging the emergent instances of politics, religion, social life and, on the other hand, showing interest to the external markets, to which often the majority of the production of Attic pottery was destined and to which Athens often sent propagandistic messages.

After these preliminary remarks, it is necessary to compare, for a more correct evaluation, the analysis of the themes of the global production compared with those attested in the Black Sea area.

For this subject, we are aided by the reference picture presented by our team at the congress 'Athenian Potters and Painter II' held in Athens in 2007.<sup>8</sup> This picture, although provisory, permits to propose hypotheses on the possible relationships between the themes of the global production and those imported in the Black Sea.

Leaving aside a problem that I have already discussed in previous studies, here I limit myself to giving the data that can help to understand the problem of the relationship between import- and export-models, between the demands and ideals of the city that export, and the demands and ideals of the city that import that, in our case, are the cities of the Black Sea.

The first histogram gives a global idea of the fortune of the themes of Attic pottery from the last quarter of the 7th century compared with the themes of Attic pottery attested in the Pontus Euxinus.

In comparison with the global production, less fortune have, in the Black Sea, the scenes with gods and heroes; very similar are the percentages of the other themes, with the exception of sport and, above all, the scenes of Amazonomachy, Grypomachy and the exotic subjects. Naturally this picture is only approximate, but I believe that a more significant picture can be offered by the sequence that now, as always, I rapidly illustrate to you.

Leaving aside the last quarter of the 7th century, in which the Attic production seems to be restricted to Athens and the Saronic Gulf, from the first quarter of the 6th century the few vases imported in the Black Sea area seem to prefer representations of animals, both real and fantastic.

The picture seems to be more complex in the second quarter (575-550 BC), in which the war and its heroic projection (Nike, the victory) seem to prevail on the aspects of quotidian life. In the third quarter (550-525 BC) the preferred themes (scenes of military and everyday life and animals) seem in substantial balance with the themes of war and peace, and in the last quarter the predilection for these themes is confirmed, with different themes, that seem to emerge.

Among these themes, the Dionysian scenes begin to place itself side by side with the themes of war and everyday life.

The non casualness of this fact appears clearly from the histogram of the first quarter of the 5th century, in which the Dionysian scenes prevail neatly on the other two, together with the slow emergence of themes connected with the religious projection and the heroic ideals.

A certain flattening of the themes is instead registered in the second quarter of the century, in which the Dionysian themes and the representations of other deities is balanced with other themes.

From the third quarter of the 5th century, the period that follows the Persian war and it is dominated in Athens by the figure of Pericles, the theme of the calm everyday life seems to emerge both in Athens and the Black Sea, while a substantial flattening is attested in the last quarter of the century, in which the themes of everyday life are interlaced with exotic, heroic and Dionysian themes. It is

<sup>8</sup> F. Giudice, I. Rizzo Giudice, *Seeing the Image: Constructing a Data-Base of the Imagery on Attic pottery from 635 to 300 BC.*, in J. H. Oakley, O. Palagia (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters II*, Oxford 2009, 48-62.

significant, however, the disappearance of the themes of war, just in the period of the Peloponnesian war!

And, at the end, a substantial change is registered in the 4th century BC.

Postponing to another moment the differentiation of the single quarters, the general framework about export- and import-models deserves a comment. As it is known, the diatribe on this problem has been and still is complex. It discussed, namely, if the choice of the subject was operated by the painters of Athenian Kerameikos or by the customer of the various final market.

The subject of the Grypomachy can perhaps help to understand the relationship between export- and import-models. In the global production the theme of the Grypomachy is attested on less than hundred exemplars, while in the Black Sea it exceeds the thirty exemplars. This signifies that in the Black Sea arrive about a third of the vases with this subject. In my opinion, this means that the relationship between export- and import-models must be seen not in a rigid way, but from a statistic point of view. Not necessarily a theme, in this case the Grypomachy, was exported in the Black Sea area, but this theme, present in Athenian ateliers, could interest the merchants that supplied the other markets and could be shipped – in minor percentages – on ships that travelled on the most various routes.

We can conclude with the image of the fight of the gryphs against the Arimasps, theme certainly well accepted by the purchasers of the Black Sea and that, in this area, reached the 30% of the entire production.

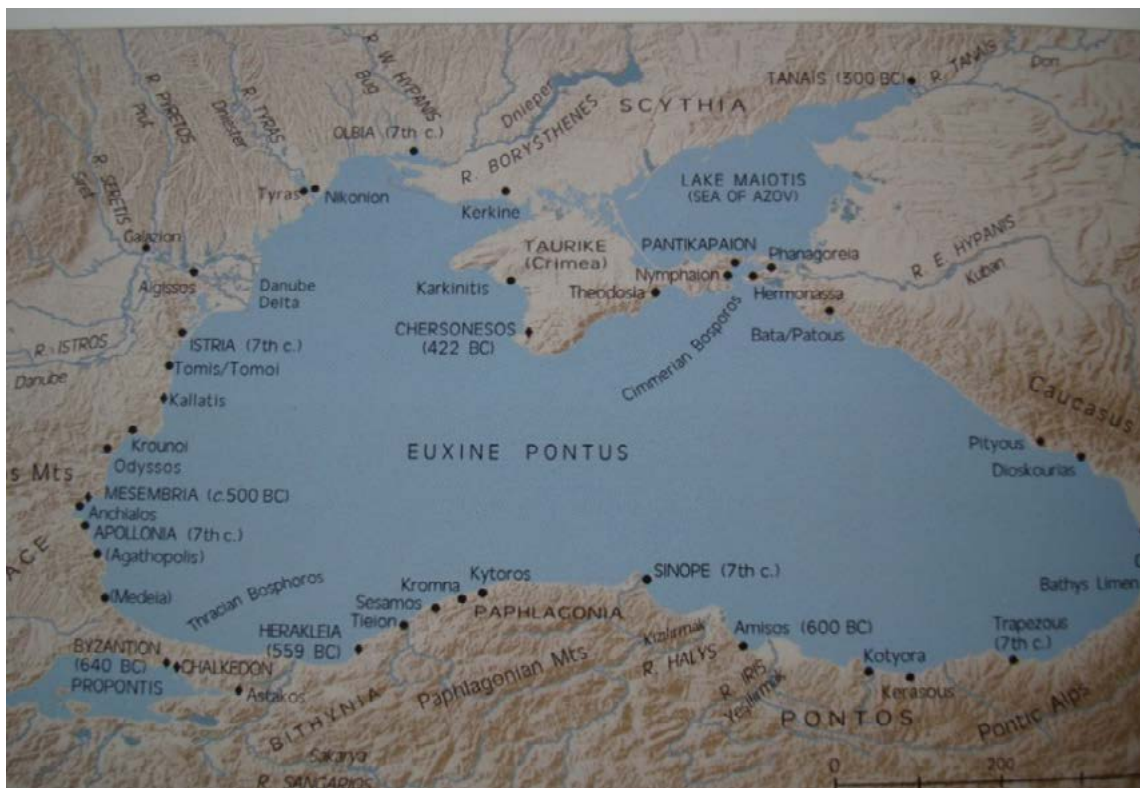


PLATE I: 1. BLACK SEA AREA

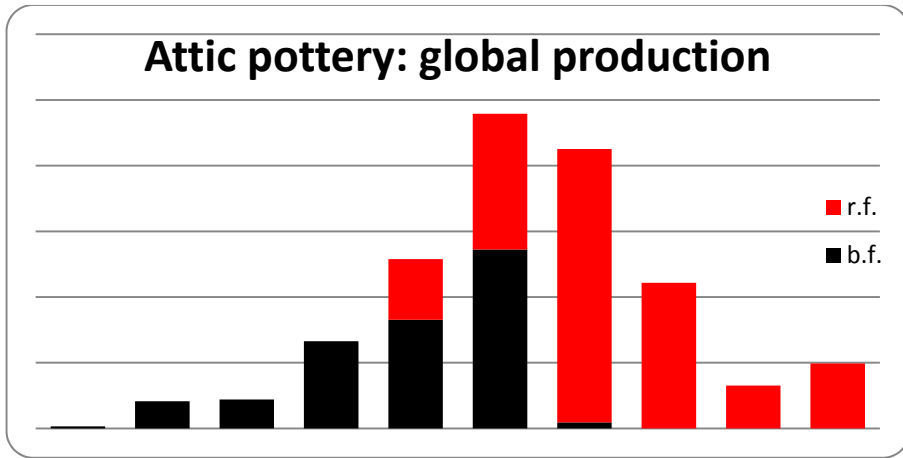


PLATE 2. GLOBAL PRODUCTION

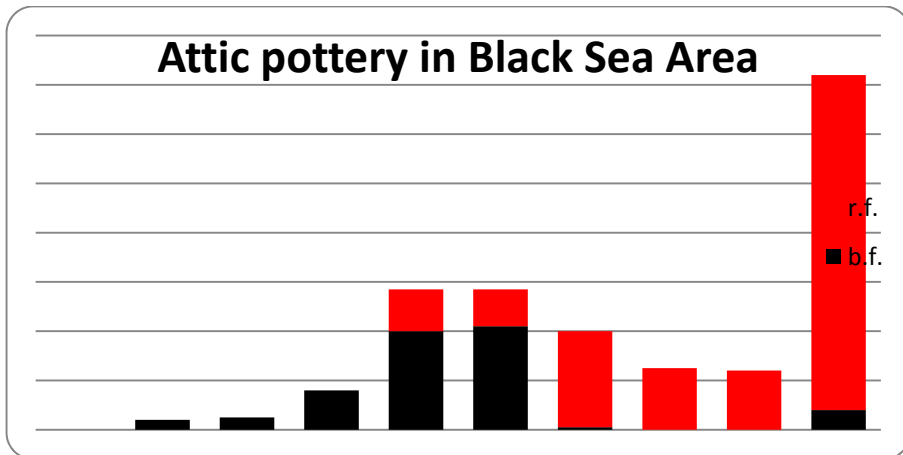


Plate 3. Attic Pottery in Black Sea Area

# Stoa Philosophy and Its Development Stages in Ancient Era

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## Summary

The aim of this study is to discuss the stages of intellectual development in the movement of stoa philosophy with its periodic phenomenon by analysing its historical process. The main subject of the study is the adaptation process that determined principles have spent by virtue of the changing social and political events in time since the founding of stoa philosophy. At the same time, their relations with other schools of philosophy were also evaluated in accordance with stoa school representatives and philosophical approaches that they put forward.

## Key words

stoa, philosophy, zeno, ancient era

## Introduction

Stoicism was a strong philosophical movement which achieved the biggest intellectual expansion of the time of Alexander the Great and the post-Alexandrian period and which could transfer the wealth of knowledge of the East to Athens. This discipline, which is one of the rare movements of thought that succeeded in integrating the nested religious and cultural texture of the Hellenistic Era, was continuously transformed as the result of the socio-cultural events in the West and continued to arise everywhere and in every period of time it expanded by repeatedly reshaping and assembling the rational pieces of thought it eroded from previous periods into different partialities in different ways in each new period.

As also pointed out by M. A. Ağaoğulları and Bertrand Russell, Stoicism is the least Greek of the four major schools of philosophy (Ağaoğulları, 1994: 418; Russel, 1992). Starting from Zeno, the founder of the school, all the other representatives of the Stoic philosophy were individuals who were raised in the Eastern countries. Particularly just like Epicurus, the founder of Kepos, the schools administered by philosophers of Anatolian origin which were accompanying their Western followers, also created a new synthesis by merging their own culture with theirs. In this regard, Stoicism gained a contemporary insight by expanding beyond the lands which originated in and acquired methodological characteristics by providing contributions to the doctrine proposed by its founder. Since the way of perception of the Stoic philosophy in Athens and Rome prevents its study as a whole, it is possible to divide it into three stages.

## 1. Historical Development Of Stoic Philosophy

### 1.1. The Old Stoa:

Zeno (336–264 B.C.), the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, was born in the Cypriot town of Citium as the son of a rich Phoenician merchant named Mnaseas. After his ship sank near Piraeus during a fabrics trade voyage, Zeno came to Athens and read the 'Memorables' of Xenophanes, which deeply influenced him. He joined the elite class of Athens through the life of philosophy of the 314 B.C., which started with the guidance of the Cynic philosopher Krates. During this time, he met Platonic philosophers Polemon and Xenokrates, and two teachers of the Megara school, Diodoros and Stilpo. He wrote his first work in accordance with the teachings of the Cynic philosophy under the influence of Krates. He approved basic Cynic doctrines like identification with the nature, an introvert

life, turning away from luxury and sexual desire and ignoring populist dogmas. However, unlike the Cynics, Zeno did not approve the attitude which completely despised the society and preferred to lead a life away from masses, but communicated his philosophy through a tolerant, moderate and coherent rhetoric which appealed to individuals from all sections with its modesty. Furthermore, he conveyed the message that he was not distant to proletarianism and it was necessary to align with the proletariat by giving lectures in the Stoa Poikile, which was decorated with the paintings of Polygnotos and where 1400 citizens were slaughtered under the Thirty Tyrants. (No doubt that the Cynics in the beginning taught in the Kynosarges gymnasium might create the impression that they did not turn away from the society, but it is obvious that they did not accept slaves like Zeno and individuals from all levels of the society to their group –just for their level of knowledge.)

The Stoic Movement gradually began to gain new dimensions after breaking off the guidance of Cynicism. Introducing a religious dimension to the doctrine, Kleanthes (331-232 B.C.), who succeeded Zeno, supported the individualistic and self-contained perception with the power of God through his general and universal analyses. Nevertheless, he revoked the actualism of Zeno, who regarded the matter as essence, by attributing practicality and internal dynamics to spiritualism instead of the will of the individual and gave a static nature to Stoic thought. During in the period which he was the head of the Stoic school, Kleanthes was unable to defend the principles of the thought against the Epicureans and Platonists. Although the school lost its reputation day by day, the attitude of the philosopher of Assos remained certain and consistent, as advised by Zeno.

The school gained the value it deserved under Khryssippos, the last leader of the Old Stoa. Khryssippos, who intrepidly reflected his expansionist and eristic rhetoric to his rivals, once again made the Stoic philosophy one of the most prominent centres of thought of Athens by increasing acceleration. Having succeeded in elevating the basic ideals adopted during the foundation of the thought and adapted them to the conditions of the time; Khryssippos brought a new aspect to the city rules and the ideal society model inspired by Zeno different from the Platonist approach. Khryssippos (Soloï?/ Tarsus?), who was of Anatolian origin like Kleanthes and Eastern origin like Zeno, responded to the sophistic reasoning of the Megarian school and the Platonist theses with the sensualist and the epistemic methods which he brought from the lands where he was born.

Stoicism, which starting from Zeno in a way similar to Epicureanism, was divided into three disciplines as physics, logic and ethics (Robin, 1932: 413; Tuğcu, 2000: 167; Gökberk, 1980: 103). The aforesaid similarity was limited only to this categorisation, because Epicureans' desire to live in harmony with the nature like Stoics was perceived through different points of view. The philosophers of Keos argued that episteme could be reached as the result of senses, human was a self-sufficient, introvert organism and could lead a simple life without submitting itself to any power, whereas ignoring the Epicureans, Stoics did not regard the power of God as static and passive. The God had thought everything when he created the universe and it was possible for the human to lead his life only by accepting the dominance of spiritual phenomena (Brun, 2003; 34-35). This, in fact, is based on a sort of dichotomy, since it is impossible and even idiocy to survive by contradicting the will of God. Rather than being an individual, one has to conform to the de facto rules that apply to all and the order determined by the nature (God).

### 1.2. The Middle Stoa:

Zeno of Tarsus bore the duty after the death of Khryssippos, and later, Selenkes of Tigris and Diogenes of Babylon became the head of the school. After Diogenes, Antipater of Tarsus took over the management of the school and protected the traditions of the movement. When he handed his post to Panaetius of Rhodes (185-110 B. C.) in 129 B.C., Stoicism was on the verge of experiencing an important change.

Panaetus, who was a student of Antipater (200-129 B.C.), went to Rome after he was educated in Athens for a time. Within this period of time, he had the opportunity to meet his close friend Scipio Aemilianus and his cousin Quintus Tiber, lawyer Mucius Scaevola, governor and consul Rutilius Rufus, historian of language Aelius Stilo, Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Funnus (Brun, 2003). The philosopher, who had made a wide circle of friends, introduced his philosophy to the elites of Rome. While Panaetus was teaching his philosophy to rich Romans, he moved Stoicism to an eclectic path by adding Peripateticism and new Academism to its orthodox manifest. In consequence of the sceptic attitudes of Carneades (214-129 B.C.) which subverted the astrological physics phenomena of the Stoics, Panaetus rejected the arguments of the school and their religious richness (Ulansey, 1989: 85; Cramer, 1954: 56-58). Not contented with this, Panaetus left his mentors who relied on the blessing of God to be virtuous and turned towards the idealist logic of Platonists and the obscure criticism of sceptics. Fortunately, the progress of Panaetus, which was completely destructive for Stoicism, did not meet with approval among his successors. His student and successor Poseidonius (135-51 B.C.) returned the sacred values of the school to the followers of the doctrine.

Nevertheless, the revisions of Poseidonius did not prove to be enough to overcome the crisis of thought of the Middle Stoa. Stoicism gradually became an obscure discipline which was overwhelmed under the hegemony of Platonism (Erksine, 1990). The self-confidence Khryssippos provided to his students left its place to fanatic Stoics who endeavoured to solve the problem of identity through astrology and religion, such that Poseidonius tried to prove the universal hierarchical order which he named as 'Sympatheia' by referring to Platonist eschatology (Dürüşken, 2000: 50). Neither the attempt of Panaetus to reject astrology under the influence of Carneades of the new Academy, nor the efforts of Poseidonius to protect prestige by reaccepting astrology as the basic doctrine were not enough to purify the philosophy of the Porch from Platonist and Aristotelian elements.

In fact, the attitude of Poseidonius was a reflexive move which was performed in a manner to exonerate Panaetus. The most important service of the philosopher of Apameia was to be a teacher to the famous orator Cicero and to prevent the fall of the doctrine with the help of Stoic, although eclectic reasoning of Cicero.

### *1.3. The Late Stoa (Roman Stoa):*

The efforts of Early Stoic philosophers to base the movement on a systematic arrangement and the attempts to determine a set of dogmatic criteria in the Middle Stoa found a way to arise through half eclectic-half religious reasonings combined with ethical mechanisms in the Roman Stoa. This period, which came closer to the materialist and naturalist principles of the Old Stoa, brought a new vigour to the disorganized cycle of belief of the time through spiritual interpretations. The doctrine which the men of thought of the Middle Stoa, such as Panaetus and Poseidonius introduced to Republican Rome found the opportunity to participate in the political system transforming with the empire as a discipline of philosophy tolerant to the political system.

The unipolar and routinised way of government of the monarchic rule that started with Augustus was transformed into a dichotomic process in which stereotypic men flattered the rulers. The autocratic regime which surrounded art and literature discouraged the intellectuals of the antique geography and isolated them from the societies they lived in with its mentality of dictatorship that had remained from the Republican Era. Under these conditions, movements that provided the individual with humanity (*humanitas*) like Epicureanism and Stoicism struggled to survive either by compromising their principles or by showing a strong resistance (Russel, 1992). The Stoic philosophy which was moderated by Cicero through eclectic reasoning and brought to the Empire palace by Seneca conveyed messages to the Romans for the sake of living and dying in a righteous manner.

The first Stoic philosopher of the Empire, Lucius Annaeus Seneca was a character who combined the awareness of being a Roman and the system of Stoic ethics despite being a recruit. The philosopher,

who was born in the city of Cordoba in Spain in 4 B.C., was sent to Rome by his family for his education at a young age. Due to his outstanding success, Emperor Claudius commissioned him to educate Nero who was the heir of the throne. The philosopher, who educated Nero until the year of 62 A.D., left his duty with the concern that the intrigues of the palace would harm him; nonetheless, he could not stay away from being part of the intrigues of the palace. He was forced to commit suicide by his student Nero when his name was involved in the plot for the assassination of the Emperor in 65 A.D.

Seneca wrote his works in Latin and produced rather comprehensive works of philosophy in terms of content covering a wide range of topics from tragedies to psychology, from politics to ethics, from philosophy of nature to metaphysics (Güçlü et al., 2002: 1291). Seneca was not a man of thought who left a deep mark in the Stoic philosophy. Unlike his companions, he did not attribute great importance to dialectics and logic. He drew attention with his ethical interpretations and his transformation into politics. Within this scope, he wrote seven books entitled 'On Happiness, On Anger, On the Shortness of Life, On Benefits, On Clemency, the Divine Prudence and Moral Letters to Lucilius' (Brun, 2003). Among these works, *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* (Moral Letters to Lucilius) is a significant work that should be emphasized. In this work, Seneca discusses the basic values of political and ethical systems in an interrogative manner. While criticising private ownership and socioeconomic inequalities and supporting the brotherhood of the human race, without underestimating the characteristics of the republic he points out that the understanding of one-man government has become a necessity due to the changing conditions of life (Güçlü et al., 2002). As proof, he asserts that the system which is composed of the union of all the state institutions has become identical with monarchy. In his views on morality, which he expressed in his 'Letters' relishing the taste of Epicurus, he mentions the problem whether 'the good' can be reached through senses or reason. Seneca aims to guide the reader towards the idea that the real good can only be comprehended through the mind and one can only have a rational psyche. The idea that rational virtue is the only good is endeavoured to be supported by certain metaphysical reasoning in 'Letters', which presents the basic view of the Stoic ethics. Seneca supported a Stoic view also in his other works in which religious dimension came to the fore. On the other hand, in his work entitled 'On Providence (De Providentia)' Seneca refers to the cynic asceticism of Stoicism inherited from Zeno and the tendencies of Cyrenians and Epicureans that aim absolute pleasure with his statement: 'It is not in life's luxuries that God looks for the man of good will; but He proves him by severe tests and thus prepares him for Himself'.

Another Stoic philosopher who succeeded Seneca was Epiktetos of Hierapolis (50-138 A.D.). Having spent an important period of his life as a slave and with the experience he gained through the life he spent among the lowest level of the society, the philosopher expressed the insignificance and meaninglessness of class discrimination among human beings in his philosophy (Şenel, 1985: 257). Following his emancipation, the philosopher migrated to the city of Nikopolis located in the Epirus region of Greece due to the exile of intellectuals from Rome by Domitianus in 93 AD. He opened a school in Nikopolis and started to teach his ideas. Unlike Socrates, he did not write down his ideas, but his student Flavius Arrianos of Nicomedia recorded his teacher's doctrines. As quoted by Arrianos, Epiktetos attentively focuses on the determinant role of fate, but states that it would be righteous for the human to face the being not as it is but as it has to be, rather than to yield to absolute despair against fate (Brun, 2003; Güçlü et al., 2002). For this reason, he advises to pledge allegiance to God.

He advises that an individual living under oppression and violence should endeavour to realize the manifestation of 'good' and 'justice' without surrendering to his fate and regards this effort as a responsibility of the individual towards the society. In this context, he preaches that everyone can learn philosophy, apatheia and ataraxia were not peculiar to certain classes through God's blessing as was in old times and all individuals who endeavour for wisdom could have this opportunity. With this idea, Epiktetos emphasises universal equality among humans, groups or big masses without

discriminating against individuals because of their differences. He invites his student and the last important Stoic philosopher of the Empire, Marcus Aurelius (121-180 A.D.), to act sincerely without caring about the highest status he possessed.

The tolerant view of the Stoic philosophy which embraces all the individuals without differentiating between humans is distinctly observed in the understanding of the Roman Stoa. Namely, the education of an individual belonging to the highest class of the world by an individual of the lowest social class who had experienced slavery perfectly summarizes the level of loyalty of the Stoic thought to 'Cosmopolis' without getting involved in the struggle of classification. Marcus Aurelius learned from the most well known philosophers of the period, except Epiktetos. The teacher of Commodus, Stoic philosopher Apollonius of Chalcedon, the cousin of Plutarchos, Sextus of Chaeranca, Iunius Rusticus, Claudius Maximus, Cinna Catulus and Caludius Severus, who was interested in Peripatetic philosophy, are among these teachers ([Historia Augusta, 2002: 26](#)). His training guided him towards Greek philosophy. He wrote his works in Greek because of his admiration for the culture of this country. In his work entitled 'Meditation', he strongly emphasises that the individual should not stray away from being moderate and righteous, even if he is an emperor.

That Marcus Aurelius's way of serving to his country was materialized in the model of a Philosopher King as imagined by Plato is highly important for the revival of utopian expectations, albeit for a time. Yet, despite certain movements of philosophy that include egoistic elements, in Stoic philosophy the love of the emperors for their people and country and their sense of duty clearly indicates the position where the individual should stand. Accordingly, the individual should not be insensitive to the problems of the society in which he lives. He should share his knowledge and philosophy of life with the others, transfer the innate and transcendental concepts he solely possesses to his milieu ([Cramer, 1954](#)).

## Conclusion

From the time it was first established, the Stoic philosophy never stood consistent, the ideas proposed by the movement consistently changed in accordance with the changing social and political conjuncture. Elements that comprise the ideas of Academism and Lykeion, which were among other major schools of the Greek world, particularly influenced the Stoic philosophers and loosened the strict rules the school was bound to a certain extent.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the Stoic philosophy that did not originate from a single geographical region. The school which was founded in Athens by Zeno of Phoenicia achieved further expansions with philosophers of Tarsus and had the opportunity to reshape in the hands of Roman men of thought. In this way, Stoic philosophy managed to become a discipline through which people coming from different worlds within a wide area of deployment merged their mentalities in a single pot.

In conclusion, Stoicism was neither a stable and constant discipline like the Epicureans, nor a discipline attributed to a single individual -on account of Socrates- like Platonists and Aristotelians.

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# 18th and 19th Century Wall Paintings Featuring Views of Istanbul

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## Summary

The people of Anatolia, which is a Mediterranean country, have built various places throughout the centuries. Some of such residences, which arised from the idea of having an efficient place of life, are Turkish Houses and rooms.

‘Traditional Turkish Houses in Anatolia’ with their functionality and ornaments constituted a different and inherent place in terms of art. Such places have been examined from various views and dimensions starting with architectural and many comments have been made regarding them.

In this study, we will emphasize and introduce wall painting samples with Istanbul view of 18th and 19th centuries, which are part of the rooms of traditional Turkish Houses and which are resulted from Anatolia’s inherited concept of residence.

The enrichment of traditional Turkish Houses that evolved from Anatolian inheritance, with ideas shaping its spatial identity on one hand, and features of the era which helped shaping those ideas on the other hand, constitute the basis of this study.

An approach has been put forward here regarding how a spatial concept arising from the Central Anatolia has been made a norm, becoming so common both in Eastern and Western parts of Anatolia and how they were created and protected with peculiar identity against a diversity of components such as climate, environment, material and technology.

## Keywords

İstanbul, wall paintings, mansions, 18th-19th century.

## Introduction

Emergence of the wall paintings of Istanbul in Turkish Houses is related to the influence of western values on the Ottoman culture. Ottoman Art underwent transformation since 18th century. As noted by Sozen (1983, 209), throughout 18th and 19th centuries when centuries old styles of Baroque, Rococo, Ampir etc prevailed; change and innovations happened (Fig. 1). All of these ornamental elements, under new rules and regulations, especially the architecture related arts, were re-interpereted in their fields (stone, wooden, mine, tile, miniature, illumination et al.)

Western orientation started in Ottomans at the beginning of the 18th century, when they admitted defeat against Europe with Karlofça (1699) and Pasarofça (1718) agreements (Arik 1976, 13). Ottomans, who lost territory in Europe for the first time and realized that they were lagging behind Europe, revised their relations with Europe and started westernization to fill the gap (Çetintaş, 2012, 926). Turkish world both affected the West and affected by it.

Arik (1976, 23) states that, during the reigns of I. Abdulhamit and III. Selim when the tradition of miniaturing in book pictures was abandoned, ‘wall paintings’ emerged as a new style in Turkish architectural ornamentation in Istanbul and Anatolia.

Wall paintings are also called as ‘hand drawn’ ornamentations in Ottoman architecture. These are ornaments made via thin hairy pencils by painting colors and sometimes gold, over internal walls, domes and ceilings of civil and religious architecture, as well as over surfaces such as plasters, wood,

stone and leather. Hand drawn on plasters is a technique used almost in all of classical architectural pieces. In this technique, first, limewashing is applied over the surface where hand draws will be made. As long as these hand draws on plasters are protected against external factors well and if the material used was of quality, it can sustain for centuries (İrteş 1985, 425).

Hand drawn ornaments developed as an inherent artistic style in Ottoman architecture (Fig. 2). However, while flowered vases and plates full of fruits were pictured in wall paintings during Tulip Era, they were replaced by new ornamental style including panoramic compositions and naturmort (still life) which were embedded in the Baroc and Rococo style frames (Fig. 3). In the second half of the 19th century, it is seen that oil paintings were increasingly used in addition to these new ornaments in wall paintings. Again, Istanbul wall paintings were common, with enriched content. The Galata Tower, Maiden's Tower, Fenerbahçe Lighthouse, were repeatedly the subjects of wall paintings in districts such as Kağıthane Stream, Göksu Meadow, Kalamış Bay. Additionally, hunting scenes, hunting animals, strange architectural styles which were reminding European postcards and compositions of tropical plants were also seen. Though in small sizes, these wall paintings are important in the sense that they include human figures. European style emerged fully in terms of its content and style in the second half of the 19th century. This situation creates the impression that photographs, gravures and templets were studied. Indeed, a very similar content is witnessed in canvas paintings (Bağcı, vd. 2006, 297-300).

Wall paintings, which were first introduced in Palace circles in the capital city of Istanbul, became common in mansions, fountains and tombs throughout the Empire soon. These wall paintings has an important role in transition from traditional book pictures to the western style pictures. Raising Western style painters were made possible by training activities in this field, which were encouraged by the Palace, in the 19th century. Inviting European painters to the Palace in Istanbul, and allowing their picture collections and exhibitions to be held were important in development of pictorial art.

## Discussion

While only the figures were pictured in the Medieval Western portraits, landscape pictures without human beings were pictured as from 1500. Landscape pictures were also painted in the 19th century and were adopted by the people as well. Turkish people shaped these developments in accordance with their own understanding. (Arık 1976,10).

Glück (167), explains the change in ornamental arts this way: These feelings which were taken by both East and West from the nature, these pictures limited in metaphysical frames, fruits and these helezonic shapes depend on unmeasured surfaced. Realistic values of goods are destroyed by eye-catching colours such as gold, green, red and blue. Ottoman art, in Islamic arts, brought elements of Far East and West together to a large extent and merged them.

The earliest examples of wall paintings were seen in Istanbul in mid 18th century. Different topics in wall paintings such as naturmort and architect were also handled and new qualities such as light-shadow, color values and perspective were introduced in these pictures of landscape portraites. Wall paintings in Harem Department of Topkapı Palace, to which 18th century sultans added new sections, testifies to the change in the capital city (Fig. 4). Landscape portraits were pictured in the lines through the rooms, in boards located in upper part of walls and through ceiling lines. These were painted with the traditional madder. Panorama of Goldern Horn and Bosphorus is common in these portraits. Panoramic Istanbul views embedded in Baroque and Rococo ornaments in upper parts of Valide Sultan rooms (Fig. 5), are the most magnificent examples of this new ornaments. These pictures are also the neat and detailed testimonials of the extinct waterside residences and mansions.

Similar wall paintings of the same era are also seen in mansions and reesidences out of Topkapı Palace. (Renda 1977, 108). İrepoğlu (1986,56) indicates that ornamental patterns brought from Europe in 18th century exist in Topkapı archives and that a community of wall painters emerged outside the

Palace due to the similarities between paintings. Many European envoys, traders, and painters came to Istanbul in this era due to the developing diplomatic and commercial relations. These artists were named as Bosphorus painters and mostly painted Istanbul panoramas. During II. Selim era, portraits of Istanbul became common in many parts of Anatolia, Balkans (Fig. 6), Syria, Egypt and many other parts of the Empire in a short time. The main reason for spreading of innovations to other cities is the strengthening relations between Istanbul and other cities in this era. Those having strong relations with Istanbul, mostly brought artists from the capital city to decorate their own houses in the first place. Later, local artists adopted these new ornaments as well. (Bağcı, vd. 2006, 278).

These developments can be exemplified by the early 19th century works such as Sucuoğlu Konağı (Fig. 7). Wall paintings in this house in Nevşehir is landscapes of Istanbul, reflecting the features of their era (Fig. 8). Greeks living here were occupied with trade. Women were living in villages while their men traded in Istanbul in 8 months of the year.

Bilici (2008), emphasizes that, as a 19th century fashion, wall pictures including ships became widespread beyond mansions, to palaces and residences in İstanbul and İzmir, and to the fountains and mosques in İzmir, Yozgat, Soma, Urla, Merzifon and Konya and claims that some of those may have been made by families of notables who get most of their income from maritime commerce (Fig. 9).

Economic wealth and social status of the person constructing the house, and mostly, the personal features of the individual to use the room is a defining element in shaping. (Küçükerman and Güler 1995,127). As seen elsewhere, compassion to become richer and show of power is seen here as well.

Wall paintings of Istanbul panorama in Mehmet Ali Ağa Konağı which was built in Reşadiye village of Mugla in 18th century (Fig. 10) and Istanbul paintings of 19th century in Ödemiş Birgi Çakırağa Konağı carries the most apparent features of their transition era (Fig. 11). This feature is an imaginary and invented landscape of Istanbul. Places of some important monuments in these pictures varies. For example, Maiden's Tower was not pictured in its true location in both paintings. Arık (1976,87-95) states that a painter pictures not the real one, but what the image is left in his mind or what he has recreated in his imagination being inspired by some examples. It can be said that a painter who has never seen Istanbul, may paint an imaginary Istanbul by postcards and book pictures of İstanbul he has and what he heard about it. This invented description, general development of issues and handling details, reflects the style of the transition era. Same feature can be observed in wall paintings of Istanbul at Yenişehir Şemâki House (Fig. 12). Although the general outlook conforms to the rules of perspective, each single structure in the painting was depicted from different viewpoints. Structures like houses and mosques were shaped as patterns and constitutes accumulated masses on each other. Influence of the tradition of miniatür is observed in these paintings, too.

Şener, (2011) in his doctoral dissertation states that, in addition to the abovementioned houses, there are Istanbul paintings on the walls of Birgi Sandıkeminoğulları House, Gaziantep Abdülkadir Kimya House, Çanakkale-Bayramiç Hadımoğlu Mansion and Edirne- İslamic Pieces Museum.

As Ayda Arel (Arel, 1975,25) stated, changes were adopted and became widespread to the extent they don't conflict with the Ottoman cultural patterns.

## Conclusion

Developments in Ottoman paintings happened with the support of the Palace circles. Levants, who are not Turks but lived in Turkey for generations and conducted trade between Turkey and the West; staff of European Embassies here, and citizens with strong ties to the West such as Armenians and Greeks, who are not muslims, and European artists brought to Istanbul with their support have also a role in emergence of this new artistic environment. On the other hand, reformation of relations between the

capital and subordinate states was influential in emergence of a cultural change experienced in Pera of Istanbul and in permeation of artistic events throughout the Empire.

The role of the wall paintings in adoption of a new painting approach throughout the Empire is that the new techniques were suitable to apply onto the landscape paintings. Thus, wall paintings throughout the Empire had an important role in passing to the western style painting.

These wall paintings are widespread from very east to the west of Turkey, and applied not only in mansions and houses but also on such religious architectural pieces as fountains, tombs and mosques.

The most beautiful examples of Istanbul wall paintings are located in Yozgat Nizamoğlu Konağı (Fig. 13), İzmir Birgi Çakırağa Konağı, and Birgi Sandıkeminoğulları House, which were built in the first half of the 19th century, in Mehmet Ali Ağa Konağı of Datça, built in 18th century, in Yenişehir Şemaki House, which is assumed to be built in the last quarter of the 19th century, in Nevşehir Ürgüp Sucuoğlu Konağı and in Çanakkale Bayramiç Hadımoğlu Konağı (1769) (Fig. 14), and Manisa Bayrampaşa Tepe House which were built in 1818. It is also visible in Gaziantep Abdülkadir Kimya House (Fig. 15), Gaziantep Güllüoğulları House (Fig. 16), Safranbolu House (1879) (Fig. 17) and in a painting belonging to the board of an old Edirne House, now in Edirne- İslamic Works Museum.

In conclusion, wall paintings of Istanbul which were made in the 18th and 19th centuries, reflects the social, cultural, and artistic events of their era and played a rol in passing to the western style painting. It is thought that the features of individuals who had those paintings made and inner world of artists who painted them were reflected in those paintings, which were made by digesting the western influence without leaving the traditions.

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FIGURE 1. DOLMABAÇE SARAYI MUAYEDE HALL



FIGURE 2. TOPKAPI SARAYI III. AHMET YEMİŞ ROOM



FIGURE 3. DATÇA MEHMET ALI AĞA KONAĞI



FIGURE 4. TOPKAPI SARAYI HAREM DAİRESİ



FIGURE 5. TOPKAPI SARAYI HAREM DAIRESI



FIGURE 6. BEKÂRLAR MOSQUE, ARNAVUTLUK BERAT



FIGURE 7. SUCUOĞLU KONAĞI, ÜRGÜP, NEVŞEHİR



FIGURE 8. SUCUOĞLU KONAĞI, NEVŞEHİR



FIGURE 9. AYAŞ HOUSE, ANKARA

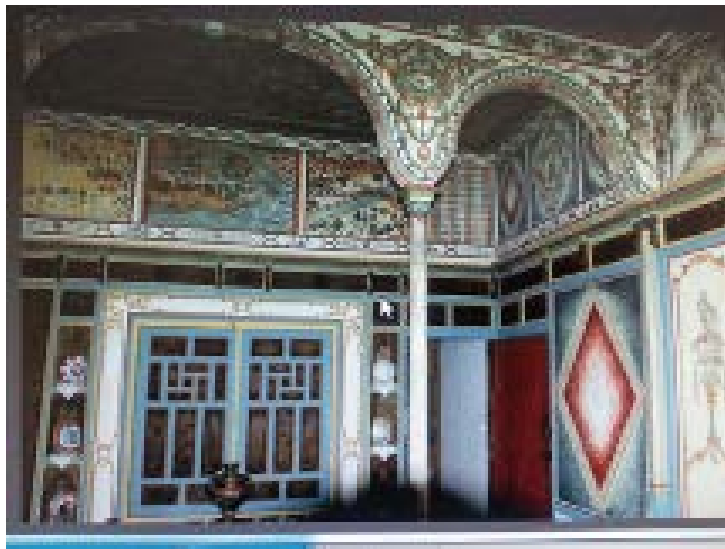


FIGURE 10. MEHMET ALI AĞA KONAĞI, DATÇA



FIGURE 11. ÖDEMiŞ BIRGI ÇAKIRAĞA KONAĞI



FIGURE 12. BURSA, YENİŞEHİR ŞEMÂKI HOUSE

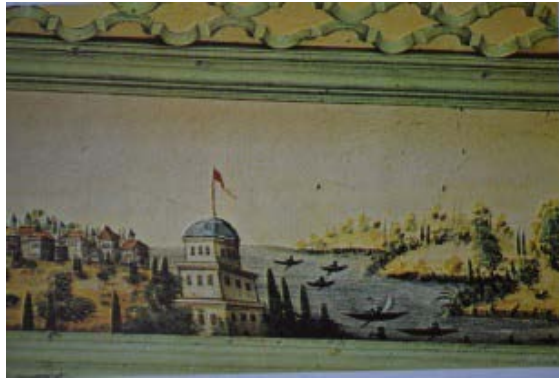


FIGURE 13. YOZGAT NIZAMOĞLU KONAĞI



FIGURE 14. HADIMOĞLU KONAĞI, BAYRAMIÇ



FIGURE 15. GAZIANTEP ABDÜLKADIR KIMYA HOUSE



FIGURE 16. GAZIANTEP GÜLLÜOĞULLARI'S HOUSE



FIGURE 17. SAFRANBOLU KIRANKÖY

# Stazione Neapolis: A journey into the history of Naples from the Neolithic to the Modern Age

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## Introduction

At the entrance of Museo station (Metro line 1), Stazione Neapolis is an underground section of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (Fig. 1). It was inaugurated on March 22, 2005, renovated in 2015, and shows the history of Naples' coast from the ancient times to the Middle and Modern Ages, until the late nineteenth-century urban renewal project known as 'Risanamento'.

The exhibition was jointly promoted by Comune di Napoli, Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta, Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici, per il Paesaggio e per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico di Napoli e Provincia, Metropolitana Napoli Spa. The works have been coordinated by Stefano De Caro, Enrico Guglielmo and Valeria Sampaolo and directed by Daniela Giampaola, with the collaboration of Vittoria Carsana and Beatrice Roncella.

The exhibition focuses especially on the costal strip between Parthenope and Neapolis. The archaeological digs carried out during the building of Line 1 new stations (Municipio in Piazza Municipio, Toledo in via Armando Diaz, Università in Piazza Giovanni Bovio, Duomo in Piazza Nicola Amore) revealed a sector of the ancient town that was still unexplored.

The most important discoveries shown in Stazione Neapolis concern the main periods of Naples history: ploughed field of the Final Neolithic (fourth millennium BC) in Toledo station; the Greek quay and the port in Municipio, Università and Duomo; three wrecks and wooden poles of the quay (Roman Age) in Municipio; a residential and commercial neighborhood of Imperial Age in Toledo; the temple of the Isolympic games (first century AD) in Duomo; the Byzantine seaside neighborhood with the new walls, the glass and metal workshops, a large warehouse complex in Università and Duomo; the Medieval coastal neighborhood with workshops and an ornamental fountain in Municipio, Università and Duomo; the new ramparts of Castelnuovo in Municipio; the Viceroyal ramparts and the housing block in Università, Duomo and Toledo.

These discoveries are shown in the Stazione Neapolis through the exhibition of the most important finds in chronological order, explanatory panels written in Italian and English, smaller panels with excavation pictures and reconstructive drawings (Fig. 2), models of the most interesting monuments and finds, videos about the archaeological digs.

The importance of the recent archaeological excavations for the reconstruction of Neapolitan coastal landscape is further underlined by the exhibition set up on the ground floor of National Archaeological Museum from May 21 to September 20, 2010: 'Napoli, la città e il mare. Piazza Bovio: tra romani e bizantini'. The architectural decorations of the Severus' honorary arch reused in the Byzantine fortification, and the Fondaco Marramarra's marbles discovered in 1883, were displayed during that exhibition.

## The National Archaeological Museum of Naples

### *History of the museum*

The Royal Bourbon Museum of Naples was inaugurated in 1816 by Ferdinando IV, son of king Charles III. The museum displayed the works of art and antiquities inherited from Charles' mother Elisabetta Farnese and, at the same time, the finds, paintings, mosaics and sculptures discovered during the eighteenth and nineteenth century at Ercolaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae. The museum was hosted in the Palazzo degli Studi of Naples. The late-Renaissance building was renovated by architect Ferdinando Fuga and, later, by Pompeo Schiantarelli, who built the upper floor.

The museum director Giuseppe Fiorelli (1863-1875) was the forerunner of the policies of conservation and territorial exploitation. They are the basis of the modern conception of an archaeological museum. At the turn of the twentieth century Ettore Pais oversaw the reorganization of the museum giving importance to: the contextual groupings, the prehistory, the historical value of some collections such as Pompeian paintings, Portraits and Greek sculptures. In 1957 the Picture Gallery was moved to Capodimonte. Therefore, the museum of arts founded by Bourbons became exclusively an archaeological museum (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 9-13; De Caro 1994: 11-15).

### ***The current arrangement***

Nowadays the National Archaeological Museum of Naples consists of four floors. The Egyptian and the Epigraphic collections are on the basement. The Egyptian section is the second most important in Italy and was born from several different collections. That of nineteenth-century collector Cardinal Stefano Borghese was the bigger one. Nevertheless, the masterpiece of the collection is the Naophoros statue which belonged to the Farnese Collection. The Egyptian section is now under renovation (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 46-49; De Caro 1994: 365-368). In the Epigraphic collection very important Greco-Roman inscriptions, such as the Heraclea Tablets (end of the fourth – beginning of the third century BC), are on display (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 50-53; De Caro 1994: 349-358).

On the ground floor we can see the Farnese collection and the Greco-Roman sculptures of Campania. In 2009 the central atrium was arranged to host the public statues of Herculaneum, such as the equestrian one of *M. Nonius Balbus* (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 14-17). Around the right court are some statues found in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Cuma and in the Phlegraean area. The *Doryphorus* (spear-bearer) was found in 1797 in the Samnite Palestra at Pompeii. It's probably the best surviving copy of the original bronze statue known as *Kanon* of Polycleitus (440 BC) (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 36-45; De Caro 1994: 101-114).

Around the left court, there are the statues and gems of Farnese collection, the most famous one in the Rome of Renaissance, started by Pope Paul III Farnese. The statues' section includes Farnese Bull, Farnese Hercules, Tyrannicides and Venus Kallipygia. The colossal sculptures representing the punishment of Dirce and the Greco-Roman hero were discovered in the Bath of Caracalla. The Farnese Bull, one of the greatest statues of Antiquity was probably a copy of Severan Period while the Hercules reproduce the bronze 'Hercules at rest' created by Lysippus of Sicyon (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 18-31; De Caro 1994: 309-338). The Hellenistic Farnese cup, made of a single piece of sardonyx, is certainly the masterpiece of Gems collection. The Egyptian scene of the front and the Gorgon head on the back were carved at the Ptolemaic court (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 32-35; De Caro 1994: 339-348).

The finds from Vesuvian cities are still displayed according to the museological principles of the nineteenth century, which tended to separate finds according to different classes of material. On the mezzanine floor, besides the Coin and Medal section, is possible to visit the mosaics and the Secret Cabinet. The coin collection include several finds of Campania and Southern Italy, displayed in chronological order from Greek time to Modern Age (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 64-67; De Caro 1994: 359-364).

In the mosaic collection we can find the decorated floors of Pompeii and Herculaneum, among which those of House of the Faun. The Alexander's mosaic, in particular, represents one of the battle between Alexander the Great and Darius III and was made in *opus vermiculatum*. It's a copy of an Early Hellenistic painting dated to the second half of fourth century BC (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 54-59; De Caro 1994: 135-146). The Secret Cabinet is a collection of obscene finds, such as little statues, lamps, decorated vases and paintings (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 60-63).

The other collections related to the Vesuvian cities are on display on the first floor. The Paintings collection is one of the most famous of Roman Age. It includes the fourth style realistic portraits known as *Terentius Neo* and his wife and the so-called Sappho (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 100-123; De Caro 1994: 135-200). The section dedicated to the Sanctuary of Isis in Pompeii, is set up according to the modern standards, with a particular attention to the original contexts of the finds (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 124-125; De Caro 1994: 130-134). The furnishings of the Vesuvian cities are perfectly preserved. We can find worked bones, metal objects (such as the medical and musical instruments) and ceramic, metal and glass vases. A magnificent silver hoard was found in the House of Menander in Pompeii. The so-called Blue Vase, instead, is a small amphora with grape-harvest scene and was made by the cameo-glass technique (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 127-131; De Caro 1994: 201-285). The nearby Model of Pompeii is a scale model 1:100 of the ancient city commissioned by Giuseppe Fiorelli and made between 1861 and 1864 (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 126; De Caro 1994: 105). The Villa of the Papyri is the last collection related to the Vesuvian towns. In the suburban villa excavated in Herculaneum were found more than 1000 rolls of papyrus, some of which are on display, and a lot of marble and bronze statues and busts, such as the copy of Athena Promachos and the so-called runners (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 68-76; De Caro 1994: 286-300).

The other collections of the first floor are related to the prehistoric and Greek researches in Southern Italy. The Prehistory and Protohistory Section was reorganized in 1995. The finds were displayed in two different levels. The first one, in particular, is dedicated to the different cultures in Campania from Prehistory to the beginning of Greek colonization (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 96-97; De Caro 1994: 17-57).

The setting of Magna Graecia collection is in progress at moment. The big red painted krater known as the Vase of Persians (second half of the fourth century BC) was discovered in a large hypogeum of Canosa in 1851 (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 82-95; De Caro 1994: 59-85). The section known as 'Restituzioni' has been temporarily organized to host some black and red-painted vases, given back to Italy from the J. Paul Getty Museum in 2007. It includes very famous finds discovered in Greek Paestum.

The collection of Neapolis and Greek Culture in the bay of Naples is dedicated to the history and archaeology of the city, from the first commercial exchanges with the Greek world to the foundation of the colonies of *Pithecusae*, Cumae and Naples itself, until the Roman conquest (Cappelli and Lo Monaco 2013: 78-81; De Caro 1994: 21-31).

## **Stazione Neapolis**

### ***Prehistory***

At the entrance of Stazione Neapolis is a model representing the soil tilled at the end of Neolithic at the foot of Sant'Elmo hill (archaeological excavations at Toledo).

### ***Neapolis***

The exhibition about the Greek city, founded by Cumaean colonists around 500 BC, refers especially to the relationship between the walls and sea. In fact, the city walls ran along the beach, while a bay

was between piazza Municipio and piazza Bovio. On the western side of the bay was established the port, used for a long time, from the late fourth century BC to the early fifth century AD. A pier made up of wooden poles and calcareous stones was built at the end of the first century AD, while some quays belonged to the second century AD (Giampaola 2010:17-26; Boetto et al. 2009: 457-462)

The finds from the port are on display in chronological order inside a large showcase reproducing the ancient sea bottom (Fig. 3). There are sherds of tableware, some whole specimens, lamps, coins and glass objects, but also the nautical and fishing equipment, such as tackle blocks, ropes, wooden needles to sew nets, stone anchors, wicker baskets, mats, leather bags and shoes.

During the excavation of the port were found three wrecks, that were sunk and progressively silted up. The vessels A and B were built with the Greco-Roman mortise-and-tenone 'shell-first' method. They were *onerariae* of average tonnage used for cabotage. Vessel C, instead, was a *horeia*, used for fishing and for loading and unloading. In the Stazione Neapolis there's a small model reproducing the wrecks as well as they were found (Fig. 4). A drawing represented instead the vessels as they appeared in Roman time. In the nearby showcase are on display the finds related to the life on board, made of organic materials. The ship equipment includes tackle blocks, deadeyes to maneuver the sails, fragments of cordage. Footwear, dice found in their case and other games, instead, belonged to the personal object of the crew (Boetto et al. 2009: 457-462).

A building dated to the end of fifth century BC, erected just outside the walls, was excavated at Piazza Nicola Amore. It was transformed in a public complex arranged around a central atrium a century later. Nearby there was a cemetery with burials of children, cremated or buried in jars. One of the small skeletons is on display in the showcase with other archaic and classical finds. Around the middle of the second century BC, the building was abandoned and replaced by some workshops. Their wells were filled up with waste materials, on display in our exhibition: cupboard vases, water buckets, Italic-Greek wine amphorae, some of which bearing stamps in Greek with the names of workshop owners (Bragantini 2010: 607-621).

### **Roman Age**

The archaeological digs at via A. Diaz documented the expansion of the Roman city beyond its walls. A residential and commercial neighbourhood with *thermae* was built to the southwest, along the *via per crypta*, which led to Phlegraean Fields. The ceiling painted with squares and lozenges which belonged to a *calidarium* (second century AD) is displayed on the roof, to recall the original collocation.

In the first half of the first century BC a podium temple, hexastyle and probably pseudoperipteral, with marble columns and pediment, was built in the stretch of beach in front of the walls (Duomo). The temple was related to the Isolympic games instituted by emperor Augustus in Naples. Some of the architectural marble decorations are on display as well as they were found, on the sandy soil of the beach (Fig. 5). We can see some capitals, upper and middle drums of fluted columns, an architrave and some cornice blocks. A particular marble element carries waterspouts shaped as a bull ridden by an Eros holding two lions by the mane. The nearby Nike probably belonged to the same building but was found under the church of Sant'Agata degli Orefici, during the Risanamento. A marble head and three inscribed slabs are visible on the right wall of the room. The marble portrait of a Julio-Claudian prince was originally placed, with other imperial statues, between the columns of the portico's temple. The inscribed slabs (late first century AD) reported the winners of Isolympic games (Bragantini 2010: 607-621).

### **Early Middle Ages**

In the early fifth century AD the port basin silted and sanded up. On the emergent beaches some metal and glass workshops were built (Febbraro 2010: 57-60). In Piazza Bovio, moreover, the

archaeologists brought to light a warehouse complex built on the beach and dated to the beginning of seventh century AD (Roncella 2010: 63-68).

At Piazza Nicola Amore some parts of the city wall, rebuilt around the middle of the sixth century AD, were also discovered. At the same time, a cemetery took the place of the Imperial temple, which had fallen to ruins.

A street leading to the new port, under which ran a fistula belonged to the Serino aqueduct, was found at Municipio. It's now on display and bears an interesting inscription dating back to the late sixth-seventh century AD: [*Catuli Agapitus ex cons pat reparavit*] (Carsana et al. 2005: 218-244).

In the showcase dedicated to the Early Middle Ages, we can see the amphoras imported from North Africa and eastern Mediterranean, common and sigillata vases, lamps and coins. The imported pottery was found in the Byzantine port and in the warehouse complex. The grave goods, instead, were discovered in the tombs excavated along the street and in the cemetery nearby the abandoned temple (Carsana and D'Amico 2010: 69-80).

### **Late Middle Ages**

In the next to last showcase of Stazione Neapolis is on display the glazed and proto-majolica pottery found during the archaeological excavation of the medieval and modern strata at Municipio, Duomo and Bovio.

The town was expanded by Norman, Swabian and Angevine kings who carried out an important building project in the coastal strip in front of the town walls, where new neighbourhoods were born.

A new defensive wall (late eleventh or early twelfth century) was found at Piazza Bovio. In Piazza Nicola Amore was brought to light some glazed pottery and glass workshops built at the end of twelfth century. In the same place, during the early thirteenth century, an ornamental fountain was built at the centre of a paved open space, whose reconstructive model is on display (Fig. 6). The fountain was decorated by a graffito with some ships sailing towards the town, pictured as a rampart with towers.

Charles I of Anjou built the fortress of Castel Nuovo, whose residences of the courtiers were excavated at Municipio. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the castle was surrounded by ramparts and moats, parts of which were discovered.

### **Vicereale Naples**

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo carried out an important urban renewal, building new walls and renovating the medieval neighbourhoods of Piazza Nicola Amore and Piazza Bovio. Inside the water wells of this time, the archaeologists found almost complete specimens of pots and tableware, such as the majolica vases made locally or imported from central Italy, on display in the exhibition (Carughi 2010: 91-100).

### **Napoli, la città e il mare. Piazza Bovio: tra romani e bizantini**

The exhibition recently set up in the Atrium of the museum represented a kind of ideal link between the Stazione Neapolis and the collection dedicated to the history of Naples (Proietti and Sampaolo 2010: 9-10; Giampaola 2010: 11-16).

The marble reused in the Byzantine tower discovered during the archaeological digs at Piazza Bovio belonged to a honorary arch of Severian Age. They were richly decorated. On two sides of a pilaster there are, respectively, a tropaeum and an interesting port scene with a ship and a swimming seal.

Two fragments of lintel are decorated with different scenes of sacrifice and *adlocutio*. The other fragmentary pieces of marble belonged to a Corinthian capital, a column, a frame and a slab decorated with Lesbian *kyma*. The Severian arch was probably not so far from the place where Byzantine tower was found and in connection with the coastal street, perhaps with the port (Cavaliere Manasse and von Hesberg 2010: 27-44).

The fragment with a Greek inscription and the marble reliefs found in the Fondaco Marramarra belonged to a second honorary arch dedicated to Emperor Domitian. The decorations seem to refer to religious processions (Cavaliere Manasse and von Hesberg 2010: 44-50).

## Discussion

The Stazione Neapolis illustrates, at the same time, the history of coastal Naples and the recent archaeological excavations. The finds are displayed in an attractive way, with references to the archaeological contexts where they were found. The showcases are blue to recall the sea, but the rooms are set up in a modern way and not reminiscent, with diffuse lighting. The ordering of the finds is chronological, the setting is uniform. The presence of many panels, photographs, videos and models creates an educational path very easy to understand. For these reasons, the Stazione Neapolis could be consider the section of the National Archaeological Museum set up according to the most modern standards. Alpha

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FIG. 1. THE ENTRANCE TO THE STAZIONE NEAPOLIS (AUTHOR)



FIG. 2. PANELS AND PHOTOGRAPHS (AUTHOR)



FIG. 3. THE CENTRAL SHOWCASE (AUTHOR)



FIG. 4. THE MODEL OF THE WHRECKS (AUTHOR)



FIG. 5. THE MARBLE DECORATIONS OF THE TEMPLE (AUTHOR)



FIG. 6. THE MEDIEVAL SECTION OF THE EXHIBITION (AUTHOR)

# Fish sauces trade and consumption in the *ager Mutinensis*

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## Abstract

The analysis of the presence of fish amphorae in the territory of *Mutina* provides a picture revealing, especially for the late Augustan Age and the 1st century AD, a generalized consumption of fish-based products, with importation from *Baetica* (Dressel 7-11, Dressel 12 and Beltrán II containers), which was joined by small Adriatic amphorae to transport fish sauces which were probably produced along the Adriatic coast.

In particular, the Baetican amphorae found during the excavation at Novi Sad Park, the reachest and most interesting archaeological context, amount to about the 8%, outlining a situation which can be quantitatively compared only to that of Parma, in the same region, and to that of Verona, in the *Venetia* region. Some of these containers bear painted inscriptions, which mention in the possessive case the *Quinti Caecilii*, whose function is unclear. They could be indeed the producers of fish sauces or the *mercatores* in charge of the trading of the containers. Regarding Spanish fish foodstuffs import in *Mutina*, it is probable that they arrived at an Adriatic port, perhaps Ravenna or another harbour in the Po river delta, and were then carried along the Padan road system and its related waterway system.

## Key words

amphorae, fish sauces, *tituli picti*, *Mutina*, *Baetica*, Adriatic coast

## Introduction

The archaeological data available on the consumption of fish products in the territory of *Mutina*, a Roman colony belonging to the Augustan *regio VIII*, during the early Roman Empire, are basically represented by amphorae used to transport those products. They are mainly Dressel 7-11 and Dressel 12 containers from *Hispania Baetica* for sauces – especially *garum* – and Beltrán II containers for salted fish.

There are also small containers from the Adriatic (morphologically similar to the Dressel 6B for olive oil, from which they differ in their smaller dimensions, widespread in north-central Italy and the Danubian provinces) used to transport fish sauces, to be more precise *liquamen* and *muria* (Carre et al. 2009). These sauces were probably produced along the Adriatic coasts, as suggested on the one hand by the fact that the sources mention (Buonopane 2009, 31-32) the Dalmatian *muria* (Plin., *Nat.* 31.94), the Istrian *garum* (Cassiod., *Var.* 12.22.4) and fish farming in the *ager Firmanus*, in *Picenum* (Catul., 114.1-4; 115.5); on the other hand, this is suggested by the existence in the northern and central Adriatic of suitable areas renowned for their fishing activity, fish farming and fish processing (Busana et al. 2009, 53-68). Whereas the distribution of Dressel 7-11 in northern Italy, which can be associated with that of Beltrán IIA,<sup>1</sup> is essentially limited to the 1st century AD, for the small Adriatic amphorae, as things stand today, we can hypothesize a broader chronological distribution, between the middle of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century AD.

Furthermore, another practice, documented up to the middle of the 1st century AD, is worth mentioning: reusing Adriatic wine and oil amphorae to transport fish products, especially Dressel 6A and Dressel 6B. A Spanish origin can be hypothesized for these products, perhaps transported in

<sup>1</sup> The Beltrán IIB type is an exception; it is attested only sporadically in the Modena area and may refer to a period between the Tiberian-Claudian Age and the 2nd century AD.

barrels or casks and then poured into amphorae when they arrived in the Adriatic (Carre et al. 2009, 216-218, 232). It is very difficult to quantify the extent of this phenomenon due to the lack of content residue and epigraphic remains, both *tituli picti* and graffiti.

### Archaeological data

As far as the Modena case is concerned, information on the presence of Betic and Adriatic amphorae for fish products in the colony's territory is only partial, both due to the random finds and their nature and the lack of published data (Figure 3).

Regarding the plain north of the city, single examples of Spanish amphorae are attested in eight sites. Two fragments come from the territory of Finale Emilia: one belonging to a Dressel 7-11 from the remains of a farm in Villa Rovere, Ca' Rossa, and one belonging to a Dressel 7 found in a villa in Massa Finalese, Pratina, Via Abbà Motto (Foroni 2010, 9, note 26). There are also three examples in Mirandola: a fragment of Dressel 7-11 from a surface collection in Via Punta, Quarantoli; another one of the same type in Mortizzuolo, Fieniletto, in a rustic building with adjacent production facilities, and a fragment of Dressel 7 in Mortizzuolo, La Tesa, among the remains of an urban-rustic villa (Foroni 2010, 9, note 26; 16, fig. 5.3). The rim of a small Adriatic amphora for fish sauces of the so-called 'band rim' type also comes from La Tesa (Benassi 2012, 121, fig. 9.5). In the Carpi area there are also a fragment of the upper part and a rim of Dressel 7-11, both found in two villas, in Gargallo, Via Mulini and S. Croce, Ca' Caleffi respectively (Cardarelli and Malnati 2003, 158-159, site CA 29, fig. 101.11; 160-161, site CA 61, fig. 102.8). Finally, a rim belonging to a Dressel 7-11 comes from a villa with production facilities in Novi di Modena, Ca' Torre (Cardarelli and Malnati 2003, 138, site NM 6, 140, fig. 79.4).

Only partial data exist as well for the flat area along and south of the *Via Aemilia*. Most Dressel 7-11 finds refer to rustic buildings: a rim was found in Savignano sul Panaro, Podere Angeli Custodi (Cardarelli and Malnati 2009, I, 187, site SV 26); one in Castelfranco Emilia, Manzolino, and two rims in S. Cesario, S. Anna (Cardarelli and Malnati 2009, II: 71-72, site CE 20; 223-224, site SC 18, fig. 397.15-16). A neck of Dressel 7-11 was found among the ruins of a villa in S. Ambrogio-Collegara, Ca' Tardini, (Labate 1989a, fig. 299.3), whereas another neck comes from a hole in Spilamberto, Ergastolo, originally used to settle clay and containing material dated to a period between the 1st and 3rd century AD (Cardarelli and Malnati 2009, II, 169-170, site SP 101). Finally, it is worth mentioning a find in Formigine, Magreta, Via Vaccari; a rim was found near a villa with a kiln, belonging to a Beltrán IIB, a Betic amphora used to transport salted fish, widespread between the Tiberian-Claudian Age and the 2nd century AD (Cardarelli and Malnati 2009, II, 281-282, site FO 25, fig. 465.15).

Data regarding another typology of amphora examined, that is small Adriatic amphorae, are also interesting. A small intact amphora with a band rim and an elongated, cylindrical body was found in Saliceta S. Giuliano, in the context of a villa with materials dated to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD (Labate 1989b, fig. 273), very similar to two samples found in S. Cesario sul Panaro, Canova Formigini, in the filling of a well built between the end of the 1st century BC and the middle of the 1st century AD, then reused as a storage area in the 6th century AD (Cardarelli and Malnati 2009, II: 225-227, site SC 51, fig. 401.1-2). A fragment of a neck was found in the same context, with an inscription painted in *atramentum* (black ink) clearly bearing information on the content transported, i.e. *liquaminis flos*<sup>2</sup> (Cardarelli and Malnati 2009, II, 225-227, site SC 51, fig. 401.6). Furthermore, a nearly intact amphora (Figure 1), from an unknown context, bearing the same *titulus pictus* on both sides of the neck – LIQ(uaminis)/ FLOS/ XXX/ M(---) A(---) – is housed at the Museo Civico Archeologico in Castelfranco Emilia (Neri 2003, 127; Mongardi and Rigato 2013). This one bears, along with information on the content – once again *liquaminis flos* – also a numeral XXX, which

<sup>2</sup> The complete text, reviewed by the writer, is: [LI]Q/ FLOS/ SEC(---) *vel* LEC(---)/ C C C; for an analysis of the painted inscription see Mongardi and Rigato 2013.

could refer to the weight or the number of a batch of amphorae, and the initials of the *duo nomina*, probably of the *mercator* in charge of the trading of the container. Two further examples come from Castelfranco Emilia: a neck was found near a villa in Tenuta Mellara, Fogazzaro, whereas an intact sample similar in shape to the one in the Museum was discovered in a Roman well not far from the *Via Aemilia* (Cardarelli and Malnati 2009, II, 86-87, site CE 97, fig. 247.13; 120-121, site CE 550, fig. 271.5).

While data on the *Mutina* countryside are only partial and related to the scant information published, as we have seen, there is much more complete data regarding the area around the city (Figure 4). This is due on the one hand to the typology itself of the context of the finds – i.e. mostly drains and reclamations with amphorae dated mainly between the last decades of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD – and on the other hand to the possibility of examining material found in recent excavations.

As to the oldest finds, it is worth mentioning the presence of a rim belonging to a Dressel 7-11 in the excavations near Via Università in a late-republican urban *domus* in use for most of the 1st century AD (Giordani 1989c, fig. 462.6; Scotti 1989, 90), as well as a neck of a Dressel 7-11 among the ruins of a *domus* dated to the 1st century BC–early 2nd century AD, found during an excavation in 1964 in Piazza Grande-Via Albinelli, in the area of the Cassa di Risparmio (Giordani 1989b, 402, 404, fig. 446.2), which also unearthed part of a drainage structure which can be dated to the Augustan-Tiberian Age, built with amphorae, mainly Dressel 6A, but also two samples of Dressel 12 and one Dressel 7-11 (Giordani 1989a, figs. 436-437). The 50 or so amphorae found in 1985 in Via Selmi probably belong to the same drainage system seen in Via Albinelli; they include a Dressel 7-8 with missing handles and a neck of a Dressel 7-11<sup>3</sup> (Scotti 1989, 90-91, fig. 60.3). The find in Palazzo Europa, near the western Roman necropolis which developed along the *Via Aemilia*, can be linked to a suburban landfill of amphorae dating from the Augustan period to the 1st century AD. Among the approximately 200 amphora fragments – including Dressel 6 and Dressel 2-5 – some Dressel 7-11 are documented, with three intact samples of types 7-8 (Giordani 1989d, figs. 498, 499; 501.2; Benedetti 1973, 232-234, fig. 13). Finally, fragments of two Dressel 7-11 were found during recent excavations in Via Ciro Menotti, about 150m from the north-eastern limit of the colony. They come from a garbage pit with materials dating between the 1st and 2nd century AD, related to the demolition of an elegant urban *domus*.

The richest and most interesting archaeological contexts are those identified during two recent excavations, carried out in Viale Reiter and near the Novi Sad Park respectively. The former is not far from the northern walls of *Mutina*, where some holes were unearthed, originally clay pits, then filled between the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD with heterogeneous materials. In particular, excavations in one of these holes brought to light structural elements of a kiln and several production discards referring to closed-channel *Firmalampen*, bearing the names of some of the most famous producers of this type of oil lamps (Labate 2010).

Among the approximately 50 catalogued amphorae found in a rectangular hole, about ten are of the Beltrán IIA type, a Betic container used to transport salted fish, widespread between the 1st century AD and the middle of the 2nd century AD, whereas no Dressel 7-11 is documented. In particular, one of them still bears a *titulus pictus* in *atramentum* missing the upper part, which had to contain information on the content, probably *cordyla*, very young salted tuna fish:<sup>4</sup> [---]/ AIIIA (*annorum trium*)/ XXX/ C. VALERI FIRMANI. This inscription proves the existence of a new *mercator* – *Caius Valerius Firmanus* – who is otherwise unknown in amphora epigraphy, belonging to one of the

<sup>3</sup> The presence of Dressel 12 is also mentioned, although it was not verified by reading excavation documentation.

<sup>4</sup> Other possible contents might be, based on comparisons with *tituli* bearing the same information on the ageing period on Pompei VII (corresponding to the Beltrán IIA and IIB types and sometimes Dressel 7-11 according to the Mau-Schöene typology published in *CIL* 4) and Pélisset 46-Beltrán IIA amphorae, *laccatum* or *lymphatum*, two fish sauces (Ehmig 2003, 65-67).

most active *gentes* in the territory of *Gades*, in *Baetica*; in the 1st century AD, we know of several of its members involved in trading fish products (see the most recent: Mongardi 2013, 430, note 6).

Furthermore, the excavation unearthed at least seven samples of small Adriatic amphorae for fish sauces, also found inside holes. In particular, two of them bear traces of painted inscriptions: on one neck fragment a numeral XII is painted vertically near the handle, whereas on a neck we can still read information on the quality of the product, *flos* – probably associated with *liquamen* –, a numeral XVI and the initials of the *mercator's tria nomina* Q(uinti) T(---) [---].

The second archaeological context, the richest among the ones examined, is the one brought to light in 2009 during excavation for the construction of a parking lot near Novi Sad Park, which in Roman times was located in the western suburbs of the city, about 600m from the colony walls. The central element of the area is a wide road, built in the Augustan Age, which started from the *Via Aemilia* and continued north-west towards *Mantua*, allowing communication with the northern provinces of *Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Aside from a large necropolis along the road, the excavation revealed remains of buildings, production facilities and large areas used as landfills. Most of the amphora material comes from four contexts (the north-eastern tank, the north-western hole, the south-eastern reclamation and the south-western reclamation) identified as reclamations of depressed areas or quarries using them as landfills, dated between the middle of the 1st century AD and the first half of the 2nd century AD.

About 80 of the 900 amphorae brought to light are Betic, especially concentrated in three landfills (the south-western reclamation, the north-eastern tank and the north-western hole) and mainly Dressel 7-11, Dressel 12 and a much smaller number of Beltrán IIA. More precisely, 67 amphorae, principally of the late Rhodian type and Dressel 2-5 (including six Dressel 12 and two Dressel 7-8), were found in a round tank with a 14m diameter, attached to a rustic building and re-used during the second half of the 1st century AD as a landfill. The presence of Betic amphorae used to transport fish products in the north-western hole is quite significant: 30 of the 174 containers identified can be attributed to that purpose, including 17 Dressel 12 and three Beltrán IIA, one of which bears a *titulus pictus* in *atramentum*, the only one on this type of amphora in the entire excavation. It is an inscription lacking its first part, containing information on the product transported, once again probably *cordyla*: [---]/AAAA (*annorum quattuor*)/XXXX/C. VALERI LINI; the container also bears the name HERMAE in the possessive case written vertically near the handle, in cursive script, referring to a slave in charge of the production of *salsamenta* or of loading the amphorae (Mongardi 2013, 430-431). As in the above-mentioned sample from Viale Reiter, there is a reference to a *mercator* – *Caius Valerius Linus* – who is otherwise unknown in amphora epigraphy, a member of the *gens Valeria*. The Betic amphorae are also well represented in the so-called south-western reclamation: 25 samples were identified (above all Dressel 8, also including two Beltrán IIA) of a total of 184 containers, half of which are Dressel 6A. The last context, the so-called south-eastern reclamation, which has revealed the largest number of amphorae, is the poorest one as regards Betic production: only four Dressel 7-11 and two Dressel 12 are included in the 432 containers identified.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning the presence of *tituli picti* in *atramentum* on about 20 Dressel 7-8 and Dressel 12 amphorae, bearing information on the content – principally *gari flos* – and on the people involved in the production and trade of fish sauces.

In particular, on seven examples there are the names, in the possessive case, of two people, the *Quinti Caecilii*, whose function is unclear (Figure 2). Their name is indeed associated on all samples with the variously-abbreviated *tria nomina* of another individual, who is not the same on all containers. There are therefore two theories on the role of the *Caecilii*. The first one is that they were producers of fish sauces; in that case the *tria nomina* might be the *mercator's*. On the other hand, the second hypothesis considers the *Caecilii* as *mercatores*, perhaps also involved in the production of *garum*; in that case, the other person mentioned could be the receiver of the goods and his name would

have been unexpectedly placed when the amphorae were loaded and not, as usually happened, when they were unloaded upon arrival at their final destination. The entire text is in fact written using the same ink and apparently by the same hand (Mongardi 2013, 434-438). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the *Quinti Caecilii* are present – aside from two amphorae in the deposit in the Castro Pretorio in Rome (*CIL* 15, 4753-4754), one found on the Magdalensberg (Piccottini 2000-2001, 382) as well as in the south of France, in Narbonne, Port-la-Nautique (Liou 1998, 98) and in Lyon and Saint-Romain-en-Gal (Desbat et al. 1987, 156-159, 164-166) – on various samples of Dressel 7-8 found in Parma, another Roman colony in the *regio VIII Aemilia*, in two reclamation contexts with amphorae dating to the 1st century AD as well, located respectively in Via Palermo and Via Saffi (Marini Calvani 1998, 239, 250).

In the Novi Sad excavations, 32 small Adriatic amphorae for fish sauces were uncovered, 27 of which come from the so-called north-western hole, and the remaining ones from the south-western reclamation. About ten samples bear traces of *tituli picti*, most of which show, due to the fragmented state of the containers, only the indication of their content, that is *liquaminis flos* and, in two cases, *muriae flos* (Mongardi and Rigato 2013). An exemplar found in the south-western reclamation is especially interesting, due to its good preservation state, and bears the painted inscription: M^V^R(iae)/ FLOS/ LECTV^M?/ XX/ DEC(imi?) LA^V^TI. The indication of the product (that is, if the third line is interpreted correctly, ‘chosen flower of *muria*’), is followed by a numeral XX – which might be the indication in *sextarii* of the capacity or the weight in *librae* of the empty container, or the serial number of the amphora (Fabrini and Marengo 2002, 128-129; Carre et al. 2009, 224) – and the indication of the *mercator*, probably a *Decimus Lautus*.<sup>5</sup> Finally, it is worth mentioning the presence, on a small amphora from the north-western hole with a moulded rim instead of the ‘band’ type, unlike the other ones, of a stamp which is difficult to interpret, with letters in relief inside a rectangular scroll Q.C.F.FACT^IC.C.A^N or Q.C.F.FACI^TC.C.A^N, for which we can only hypothesize in the first three letters and in the last four the abbreviation of the *tria nomina* of two people, perhaps belonging to the same *gens*. At present, this is the only stamp known on this type of amphora, which corresponds precisely to a sample from the unpublished excavation in Aquileia, Canale Anfora, in north-eastern Italy.<sup>6</sup>

## Conclusions

In conclusion, the analysis of the presence of fish amphorae in the territory of *Mutina*, bearing in mind the above-mentioned lack and partiality of data, especially regarding the *ager* of the city, provides a picture revealing (especially for the late Augustan Age and the 1st century AD) a generalized consumption of fish-based products, with importation from *Baetica*, which was joined starting from the middle of the 1st century AD by small Adriatic amphorae to transport fish sauces, which had probably previously been carried in Dressel 6 containers.

In particular, the find at Novi Sad Park provides us, due to its nature and richness, with a comprehensive picture of economic activity for the period corresponding to the accumulation time of the containers, although we must bear in mind that structural reasons might have led to a selection between similar forms, discarding the ones which were less suitable for consolidation systems and preventive reconditioning of the terrain, such as Dressel 20, not found on site (Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 735). Considering the total number of containers identified, Spanish fish amphorae constitute approximately 8%. It is quite a significant percentage, even if it refers to a scenario (the Cisalpine) which between the end of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD was characterized by a constant but moderate flow of Spanish fish-based products, which clearly established themselves thanks to their quality and fame (Pesavento Mattioli 2000). According to the published and known data, this situation can be quantitatively compared only to the ones in Verona (González et al. 2000, 839) and

<sup>5</sup> A similar structure, although lacking the further specification *lectum* of the product, appears on a small amphora found in the colony of *Urbs Salvia*, in *Picenum* (Fabrini and Marengo 2002).

<sup>6</sup> We are grateful to Dott.ssa Paola Maggi for this information.

Parma, in the *regio VIII*, although in the latter case the lack of an overall study of amphora material does not allow us to have reliable percentages as to the presence of Betic containers.

Although Spanish imports to the Cisalpine could also easily reach Tyrrhenian ports and then be carried inland along the *Via Postumia* and the minor roads connected to it, at least in the case of *Mutina* it seems preferable to believe that they arrived at an Adriatic port, perhaps Ravenna or another port in the Po river estuary, and were then carried along the Padan road system and its related waterway system<sup>7</sup> (Uggeri 1998).

Although the lack of shipwrecks along the western Adriatic coast (Auriemma 2006) prevents us from precisely reconstructing the routes followed by ships carrying Betic amphorae to north-eastern Italy, it is important to mention the discovery, during operations to dredge the main collector canal in Valle Ponti, near Comacchio, of a wreck of a sailboat suitable for river and lagoon navigation, dating to the end of the 1st century BC, which probably beached while it was about to enter the river mouth to move inland through a branch of the Po estuary. The cargo consisted of goods of various origin (Greek-oriental amphorae, Dressel 6A, north-Italic *terra sigillata*) and 102 stamped lead bars probably coming from Spain (Berti 1990). The great variety in the cargo can only be explained by hypothesizing that the goods had arrived from their production areas at a port near the ancient estuary, almost certainly Ravenna (Zerbini 2002, 826); this would therefore prove, despite a lack of amphora material, the existence of an Adriatic route for the arrival of Spanish products.

Finally, it is worth mentioning how a continuous request for Spanish fish foodstuffs is also confirmed by the presence in the Modena territory, even if sporadic (also considering the absence of contexts represented by drainage systems and ground consolidation carried out with amphorae), of Lusitanian containers of the Almagro 50 and 51 types, widespread starting at the beginning of the 3rd century AD (see for example Foroni 2010, 10).

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<sup>7</sup> After all, the distribution in northern Italy of amphorae coming from *Apulia* and *Picenum* also took place using navigable rivers (Pesavento Mattioli 2000, 745).

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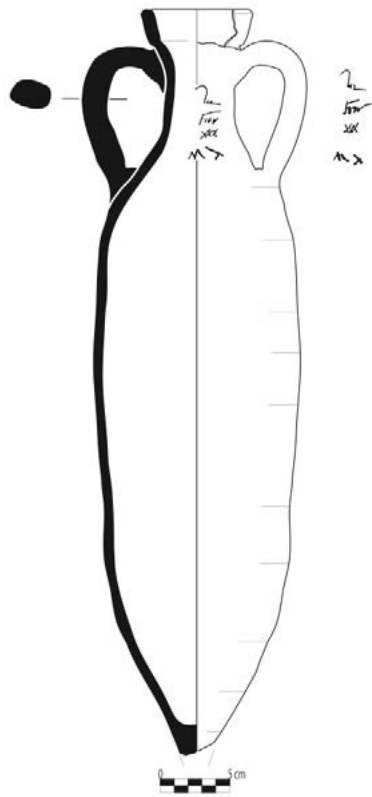


FIG. 1. SMALL ADRIATIC AMPHORA FROM THE MUSEO CIVICO ARCHEOLOGICO IN CASTELFRANCO EMILIA  
(Drawing: I. Cabrelles Albareda)

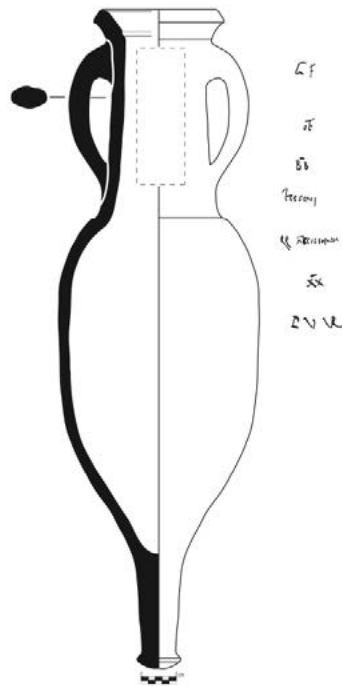


FIG. 2. BETIC AMPHORA FROM MODENA, NOVI SAD PARK

(Drawing: I. Cabrelles Albareda)

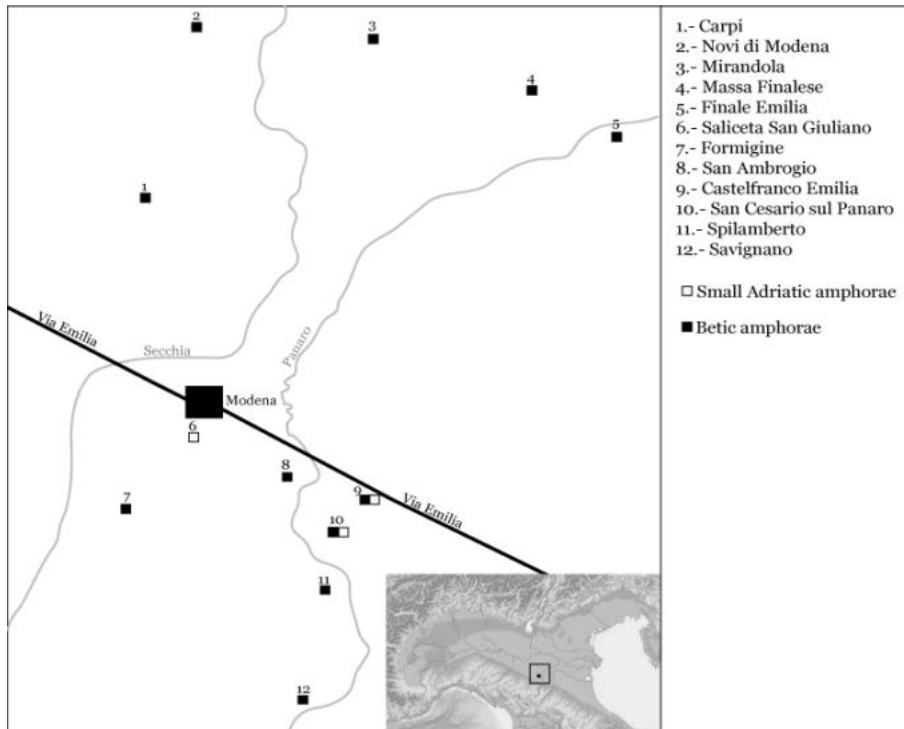


FIG. 3. MAP OF BETIC AND SMALL ADRIATIC AMPHORAE FINDS IN THE AGER MUTINENSIS

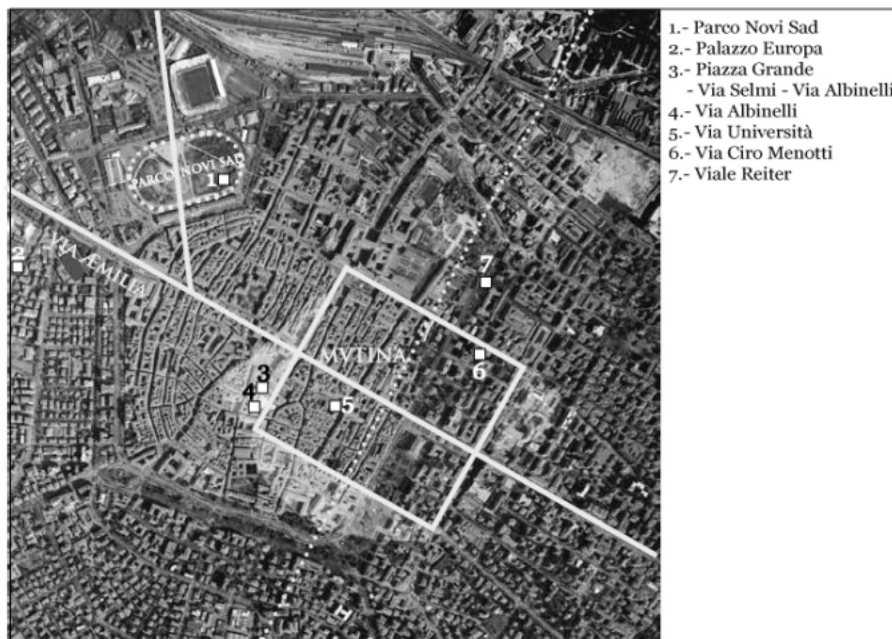


FIG. 4. MAP OF BETIC AND SMALL ADRIATIC AMPHORAE FINDS IN THE URBAN AND SUBURBAN AREA OF MUTINA

# Reconstruction of the Settlement Layout at Salat Tepe: An Interpretation of the Archaeological Evidence

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## Introduction

The archaeology of the Upper Tigris valley is enlightened by a series of excavations within the salvage project of the Ilisu Dam and the Hydroelectric Power Plant. The data obtained from several archaeological sites illustrates the cultural history of the region from the Pre-pottery Neolithic onwards. Salat Tepe is one of these sites excavated since 2000. The site is *ca.* 90 km to the East of Diyarbakır, on the northern bank of the Salat River, *ca.* 5 km to the North of its conjunction to the Tigris River.

The excavations are carried out at nine trenches on the mound summit and at a step trench of 60 x 10 meters on the southern slope that illustrates the formation of the mound (Fig. 1). The slope trenches brought out a dense settlement pattern of Chalcolithic periods, and on the mound summit a dense Bronze Age occupation is uncovered. From the Iron Age onwards, pit houses and numerous granary pits were dug on the mound summit. The mound became a winter pasture of semi-nomadic tribes in the Middle Age and a cemetery in the Modern Age.

The stratigraphic sequence of the mound is interrupted by two main gaps (See Table). The earliest settlement was founded in the Halaf-Ubaid transition, and continued to be inhabited throughout the 5th and 4th millennia BC (Ökse 2005; 2008; 2009a; 2011; Ökse and Görmüş 2006; 2015). The stratigraphic sequence was interrupted by very thick packages of ash layers. The lower package separating the Early Ubaid levels from the Late Ubaid, and the upper package the Late Ubaid from the Late Chalcolithic levels.

The architecture is mainly constructed by pisé and mud bricks. The earliest structure on the bedrock is a grill-plan storage unit. A house with a tripartite plan has numerous rebuilding phases from the Early to the end of the Late Ubaid period. Late Chalcolithic buildings were mostly built by mud bricks, domestic hearths were built one on top of each other, showing also several rebuilding phases. A pottery workshop with an oval kiln is dated to the Late Uruk period.

The first main gap is on the Chalcolithic settlement of *ca.* three millennia. The latest occupation on the Chalcolithic hill is dated to the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age. The elevations of this architecture show a *ca.* 20 meters high settlement hill on the bedrock. This level is also covered with very thick ash packages, pointing to a usage of open-air activities; however, the potteries from the most part of the Early Bronze Age are represented by only a handful of sherds from wash layers (Ökse 2009b; 2012; in Press).

The mound was resettled after a hiatus of *ca.* 700 years, and the Bronze Age settlement with six major architectural levels represents a sequence of *ca.* one millennium, from the 22nd century onwards, until the 15th century BC (Ökse 2009b; 2012; in Press; Ökse and Görmüş 2006).

The earliest settlement of this stratigraphic package is composed by two the Early Bronze Age IV levels covering a small summit. At the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, the mound summit was enlarged and elevated. The ruins of levels 4 and 3 were levelled in the 17th century BC, and new

buildings were constructed with standard sun dried mud bricks. Levels 2 and 1 were used until the end of the 15th century BC. These architectural levels were not interrupted by gaps, and no hiatus among the pottery assemblages is recognizable. The ruins of these six levels form a sequence of 6-7 meters in height.

### **EBA IVB Slope Settlement (Levels 6-5)**

#### ***Topography***

According to the data obtained from the excavations at Salat Tepe, the Chalcolithic mound was *ca.* 20 metres high, with a diameter of *ca.* 150 metres (See [Table](#)). The latest Chalcolithic level in trench I 12 is *ca.* 546,00 m above sea level. Therefore, the wide and spreading settlement hill is 18 m high with a diameter of 150 m, and the proportion of the height to diameter is *ca.* 1:8.

The Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age IA settlement (Level 7) recovered in Trenches J-K 12 shows a high peak with steep sides. This level lying *ca.* 549.00 m above sea level in Trench J 12, has a diameter of probably *ca.* 60 meters, making a height-width proportion of *ca.* 1:20. Thus, the latest levels of the Late Chalcolithic period and the LC-EBA transition level make a small peak with a height of *ca.* 3 metres ([Fig. 2](#)).

#### ***Slope Buildings***

The EBA IV settlement is represented by two architectural levels with 2 or 3 roomed houses uncovered in trenches L 12-11. The lowest level is built by buff-coloured sandy lime stones and Level 5 with multicoloured and wet laid mud bricks ([Ökse 2012](#)). The architecture is composed by 2 or 3 roomed houses. The access to these buildings is enabled by narrow paths paved with pebbles or sherds. These structures have stone paved or compacted clay floors, and are furnished with hearths or doomed ovens, large water jars descended to the floors, and storage pits. The character of the buildings and their furniture points to the existence of a domestic quarter.

The houses were built with subterranean hind walls with regular western faces and irregular eastern faces, a characteristic for sub-basements. The southern and northern walls were also subterranean at the eastern parts and semi-subterranean in the middle, parallel to the narrow paths running downwards towards the west. The western walls and the western part of the side walls were built regularly from both sides.

The floors of three rows of buildings uncovered on the slope show the topography of the upper slope in Level 5. The elevations of the westernmost floor and the easternmost floor paved with stones make a slope of *ca.* 12 %.

#### ***Reconstruction***

According to these characteristics and to the different elevations of their floors, these houses were built as slope buildings ([Fig. 3, 6](#)). Only a part of stone paved floor of the easternmost building is uncovered. The floor is bordered by a narrow path paved with pebble stones and sherds.

The buildings of the second row have semi-subterranean eastern walls. Both buildings are separated with a mud filled narrow path paved with small pebble stones. The southern building is also bordered by a narrow paved rampart from the south, showing a settlement pattern regulated by narrow paths between houses. The westernmost buildings are represented by deeper floors, also semi-subterranean from their eastern sides.

### **MBA I-II Rebuilding and Enlargement (Level 4-3)**

### ***Rebuilding Phase (Period 4a)***

In the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, the hilltop was enlarged by mud fills and multiple mud brick walls built at the borders. The buildings of level 4 rests partly on the walls of Level 5 and some walls were erected directly on the debris of the former buildings without any stone foundations. The walls were oriented in the same directions, and were built similar to the former ones. Some walls of Level 4a were erected directly on the debris of Level 5; so, the plan of the former buildings was modified in minor scales.

At both levels (Levels 5 and 4a) multi coloured mud bricks cut in standard dimensions were used. Red, buff and grey coloured mud bricks with different shadings appear to have been used mixed, without any arrangement forming patterns.

### ***Enlargement of the Summit and the New Building Phase (Period 4b)***

The upper slopes of the hilltop were elevated with *ca.* 1 m high layers of mud fill, in order to create a plain surface for erecting new buildings (Level 4b). At the western part of the southern upper slope a mud brick terrace reaching a total height of *ca.* 5 meters is uncovered. A number of hearths and ash deposits between mud brick fill layers point to a function of these phases as open-air kitchens (Ökse et al. 2015) renewed and used further for domestic activities during the habitation of level 4.

These buildings were constructed with limestone foundations. The building at the north-eastern part was constructed with buff coloured mud bricks, on the other hand, for some walls of the buildings at the south-eastern part red coloured mud bricks were used. Some buildings of this phase was built with wet laid red coloured mud bricks with grey coloured mud mortar between rows (Fig. 9).

Some of the buildings were levelled during the construction of Level 3; however, especially those at the western part of the hilltop were preserved to heights varying between 1-1,50 meters. These walls show strong deformation, probably happened due to an earthquake. The rooms were filled with mud brick debris and mud, so that this part of the hilltop became a steep slope towards the west (Fig. 4, 7-8).

### **MBA III Levelling and the New Building (Level 2)**

#### ***Topography and Site plan***

The later settlement inhabited during the MBA II was dramatically leveled towards the end of the 18th century BC, and a hard mud fill covered the hill top. The mud layer was thicker at the sides, in order to create a plain surface on the hilltop (Ökse 2006; 2012; 2015). A red coloured mud layer of *ca.* 3 cm covering the fill was paved with pebble stones.

#### ***Buildings***

The building complex of Level 2 consists of 2-3 roomed double stored buildings arranged around an open court and a street. The entrances leading to these units are marked with door jambs. The 1,20 m thick walls were constructed with sun dried mud bricks with standard sizes resting on *ca.* 0,80 m high stone foundations. The walls were occasionally preserved to a height of *ca.* 0,60 m on the stone foundations; however, some walls were preserved to heights varying from *ca.* 1,00-1,60 m.

#### ***Reconstruction***

The walls of the buildings were collapsed towards the central courtyard. A profile obtained from a section through the courtyard brought out a massive and long collapsed wall from a building to the south and a thinner and shorter one from a building to the north. The wall of the northern building

was collapsed towards the south, and the other one towards the north on the former one. The length of the southern wall together with the piece preserved on its stone foundation makes a total length of *ca.* 5,50 m, pointing to the existence of a two-storey building to the south of the courtyard. The total length of the northern wall is *ca.* 3,00 m, so, the building on the northern border seems to have been single stored (Fig. 5, 10).

Level 2 suffered an earthquake happened in the middle of the 16th century BC (Ökse 2007; Ökse *et al.* 2009; 2010). Nearly all walls were collapsed towards the courtyard, and the walls preserved on their stone foundations became strong deformations, similar to those of modern adobe buildings damaged by earthquakes. The debris of two-storey buildings is about 2 metres high.

### **LBA I Building (Level 1)**

The mound summit is reoccupied immediately after the collapse of Level 2. The foundations of the later occupation are built directly on the collapsed walls of the former building. The hilltop was once more levelled by filling the rooms among the collapsed walls (Ökse *et al.* 2009; 2010). This building resembles that of level 2 in technique and material; however, the debris is not so high, determining the existence of only one storey constructions. This settlement was abandoned towards the middle of the 15th century BC.

### **Conclusion**

To sum up, the earliest settlement of Salat Tepe was founded in the Halaf-Ubaid transition, and continued to be inhabited throughout the 5th-4th millennia BC; the site was abandoned in the Late Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age transition. After a hiatus of *ca.* 700 years, new comers inhabited the hilltop from the 22nd century onwards, until the 15th century BC. The Bronze Age levels created a *ca.* 6-7 m high, large and steep second hill on the summit of the *ca.* 20 m high Chalcolithic mound. The debris of later periods is maximal 2 metres high, creating a high settlement hill of *ca.* 28 metres.

The EBA IV settlement is represented by two architectural levels with single stored, 2-3 roomed houses built as slope buildings with subterranean hind walls. The access to these buildings is enabled by narrow paths, and the roofs of the lower located houses seem to have been used by the higher ones as terraces. In the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, the hilltop was enlarged by mud fills and multiple mud brick walls built at the borders. The walls of the former settlement were rebuilt, and new buildings were constructed on these fills.

The later settlement inhabited during the MBA I-II was the dramatically leveled, and a large and plain surface was obtained on the hilltop. In the 17th century BC a building complex consisting of an open court and a street encompassed by 2-3 roomed double stored buildings was constructed on the hilltop that suffered an earthquake happened towards the middle of the 16th century BC. A similar building was constructed on its ruins immediately after the destruction; however, this settlement was abandoned towards the middle of the 15th century BC.

The mound was abandoned once more during the Late Bronze Age II, and the summit housed nomadic tribes during the Iron Age (Ökse and Görmüş 2009). The Hellenistic-Roman and Medieval levels represent also a weak architecture, probably used as seasonal dwellings.

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	Dates	Periods	Elevations NN.	Architecture	
<b>Period V</b>	AD 1500-1900	Ottoman	553,70-555,30 m	Mud brick structures, graves	
<b>Period IV</b>	330 BC-AD 1500	Hellenistic-Medieval	552,50-553,70 m	Mud brick structures, pits	
<b>Period III</b>	1050-330 BC	Iron Ages	552,50 m	Pit Houses, storage pits	
	1400-1050 BC	LBA II	<b>GAP</b>		
<b>Period IIC</b>	1550-1400 BC	LBA I	Level 1	551,50-552,50 m	Standard sun-dried mud bricks
	1750-1550 BC	MBA III	Level 2	550,20-551,50 m	
<b>Period IIB</b>	2000-1750 BC	MBA II	Level 3	550,20 m	Only stone foundations
	2000-1850 BC	MBA I	Level 4	548,80-550,20 m	Multi-coloured wet mud bricks
<b>Period IIA</b>	2200-2000 BC	EBA IVB	Level 5	548,40-548,80 m	
	2400-2200 BC	EBA IVA	Level 6	548,50-548,40 m	Buff mud bricks
	2900-2200 BC	EBA I-III	<b>GAP</b>		
<b>Period ID</b>	3000-2900 BC	Transition	EBA IA	548.40-549.00 m	Mud brick structures
<b>Period IC</b>	3000-3500 BC	Late Uruk	LC 4-5	548.40-544.50 m	Pottery workshop
	3500-4000 BC	Early Uruk	LC 2-3	544.50-541.40 m	Mud brick structures
<b>Period IB</b>	4000-4500 BC	Late Ubaid	LC 1-Ubaid 4	541.40-535.75 m	Tripartite structures - burials
	4500-5200 BC	Early Ubaid	Ubaid 3	535.75-534.00 m	Pisé structures
<b>Period IA</b>	5200-5400 BC	Halaf-Ubaid transition		528.20-532.92 m	grill-plan and tripartite

TABLE: THE ELEVATIONS OF THE STRATIGRAPHICAL SEQUENCE AT SALAT TEPE

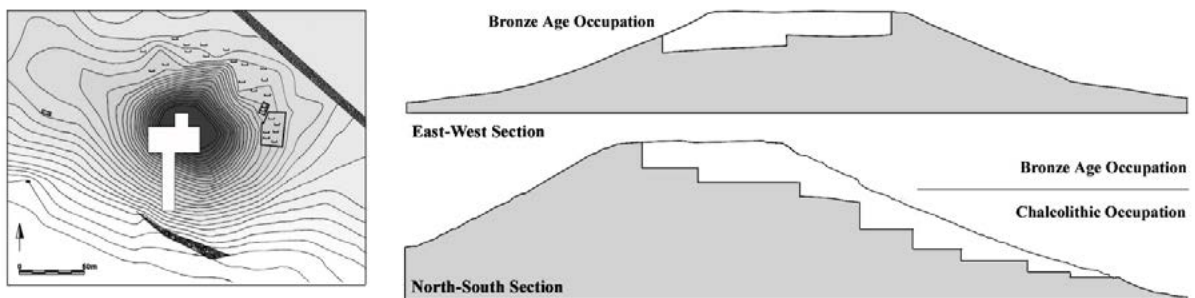


FIGURE 1. TOPOGRAPHICAL PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE MOUND

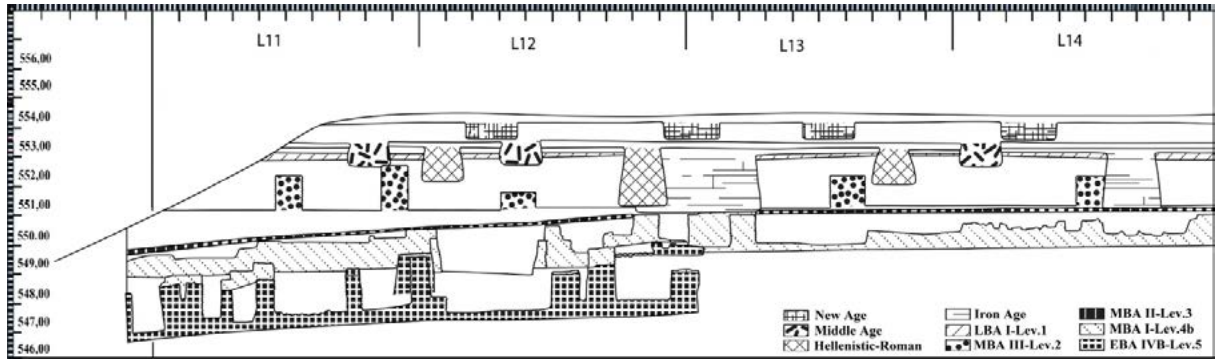


FIGURE 2. EAST-WEST SECTION OF THE BRONZE AGE MOUND

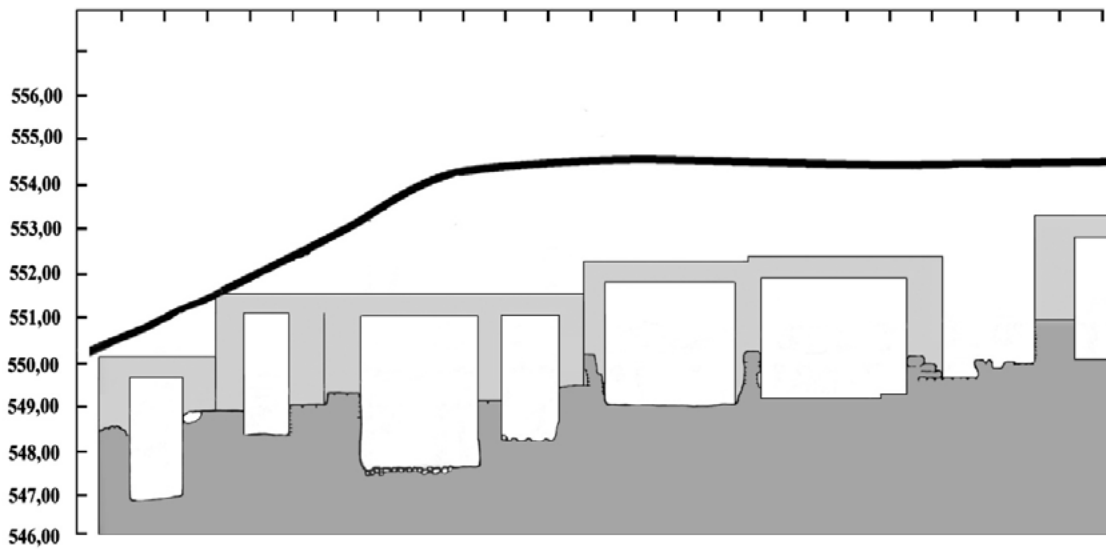


FIGURE 3. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BUILDINGS OF LEVEL 5 ACCORDING TO THE EAST-WEST SECTION OF THE MOUND

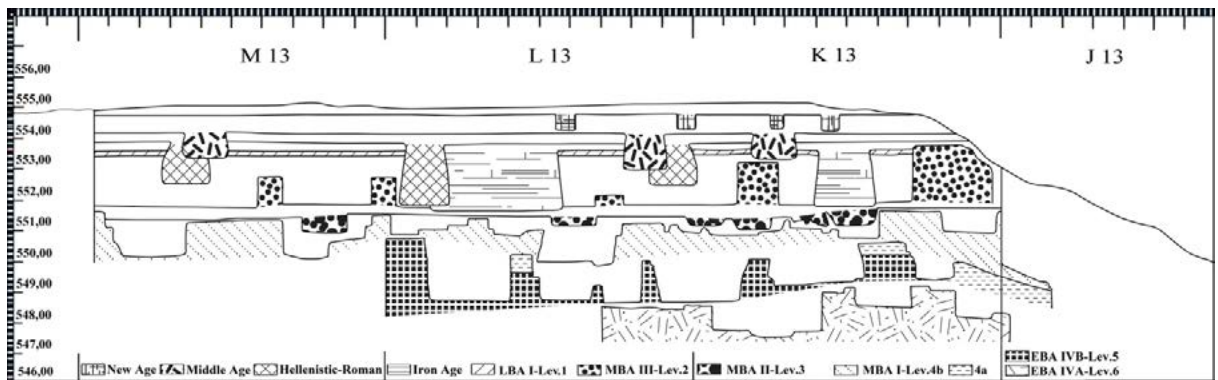


FIGURE 4. NORTH-SOUTH SECTION OF THE BRONZE AGE MOUND

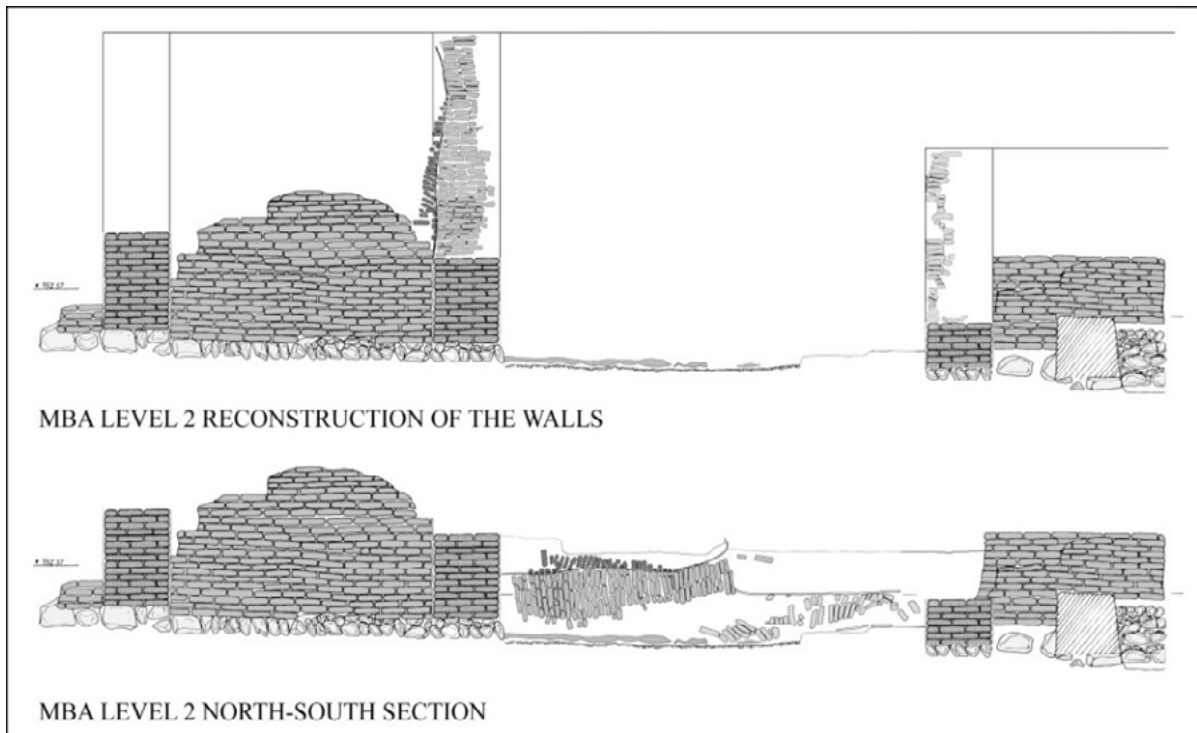


FIGURE 5. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BUILDINGS OF LEVEL 2



FIGURE 7. MUD FILL COVERING LEVEL 5 AS PLATFORM FOR LEVEL 4 (TRENCH K14, 2011)



FIGURE 6: GENERAL VIEW OF LEVELS 4-5 FROM THE SOUTHWEST, 2012



FIGURE 8: ASH DEPOSIT COVERING LEVEL 5 AS PLATFORM FOR LEVEL 4 (TRENCH K13, 2012)



FIGURE 9: WALLS OF LEVEL 5 REBUILT IN LEVEL 4A (TRENCH K11, 2012)



FIGURE 10. MUD FILL COVERING LEVEL 3 AS PLATFORM FOR LEVEL 2 (TRENCH L13, 2008)

# Denizli – The Ilbadi Cemetery Namazgah

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## Abstract

During the course of excavations at the Ilbadi Cemetery situated in the centre of Denizli in Western Anatolia a namazgah with a mihrab in the centre of the wall facing Mecca was discovered. After the wall had been uncovered a stone-tiled space 50 metres square in front of the mihrab revealed that the namazgah had been built on a square plan. Holes for uprights in the stone paving and fragments of roofing tiles suggested that this area had been covered.

The hoard discovered in the west wall of the namazgah, which is in itself important in the history of Anatolian/Turkish architectural style, contained Ottoman and European coins from the 17th century giving important clues as to its connection with Ottoman/European trade.

## Key Words

Namazgah, Mihrab, Sikke, Western Anatolia, Cemetery, Excavation

excavations and work on an inventory at the Ilbadi Cemetery has been going on from 2008. The site is situated in the province of Denizli in Western Anatolia; it is a cemetery which has been in constant use from the time of the Seljuks in Anatolia up to the present day (Pektaş and Baysal, 2011).

During excavations in 2011 a tumulus was discovered in the northwest part of the cemetery about 200m south of the Bakirli Gate (Figure 1). Like others in different areas of the cemetery this tumulus was thought to have been the family tomb of a scribe or official and the decision to excavate it was taken. First of all the state of the area at the time was documented with photographs and drawings. Then after the area had been cleared of vegetation the excavation began. From the highest established point of the hill the earth was excavated downwards in layers

At a depth of 90 cm traces of a wall built of rubble was discovered. Following the line of the wall it was seen that this was the wall of a mihrab, as a result of which it was established that the building had been a namazgah (Figures 2-3). Adjacent to the wall on each side of the mihrab a chest was discovered; these chests date to the 15th century during the Time of the Fiefdoms (Beylik) (Figure 4).

The word ‘namazgâh’ comes from Farsi and means ‘a place of worship’; such places of worship, constructions used in the Islamic religion which are either unroofed or have space around them, were usually built on a city road, on a plateau, in a square or near a cemetery. Some might be covered with a roof. To the south there would be a mihrab or a stone showing the direction of Mecca. A fountain or well would be found nearby for use in the ritual ablutions (Derman, 1975; Ozdamar, 1988; Odekan, 1997; Tanyeli, 1999).

The mihrab niche found on the south wall of the Ilbadi Cemetery Namazgâh is semi-circular in shape and 60cm deep. In front of the mihrab a space 4 x 4 m is divided from the rest of the area by a neat row of stones. Behind this space, but this time divided by an irregular row of stones, a more modest floor than that of the mihrab was revealed. No other traces of floor were brought to light apart from these. Traces of wooden supports were found at the corners of the floor in front of the mihrab as well as pieces of roof tiles. It is therefore supposed that in front of the mihrab there was a simple roof supported by slender and, most probably, wooden pillars.

From where the mihrab is situated on the south wall, walls of rubble equal in length extended east and west. In other words, the mihrab is situated exactly in the centre of the south wall.

Further excavation revealed a side wall of the namazgâh extending from the south wall in a northerly direction (Figure 5). The east wall of the namazgâh was estimated to have been 50 metres high. Time has eroded the west wall which was estimated to have been 30 metres long, probably built of the stone used in the cemetery. No trace of a wall in the southern corner of the Namazgâh was found. It is not clear whether originally no wall was built here or whether it has vanished.

Excavations were made in front of the mihrab where it was thought there might have been a coffin stone but none was found. As a result of the excavation to the south west of the cemetery, a namazgâh built on a square measuring 50 x 50m<sup>2</sup> was brought to light (Figures 6-7).

As there is no documented evidence, the date when the Namazgâh at the Ilbadi Cemetery in Denizli was built is uncertain. However, since the chests found on each side of the mihrab date to the XV-XVI centuries, the namazgâh may be dated to approximately the XVIth century in the Ottoman era.

The elderly inhabitants of the area gave the information that up until 1940 the local people used to gather at the place of the namazgâh on Aşure days. However, it seems they had no knowledge that such a building had existed there. The place where people had come together for worship had remained in the minds of later people simply as a place for local gatherings. İbni Batuta, who came to Denizli one Kurban Bayram in the XIVth century, says that the people there used a large cemetery as a place of sacrifice (Seker, 1993). The cemetery İbni Batuta mentions may have been the Ilbadi cemetery used since the time of the Selcuks. This shows that much earlier than this it had been used on high days and holy days for meetings of various kinds.

As to the north and west of the Namazgâh no graves from Selçuk, Fiefdom or Ottoman times have been found, it suggests that the boundaries of the cemetery were limited to this construction. Thus it may be considered that part of the wall of the namazgâh, probably the north wall, formed the boundary wall of the cemetery.

Considering that the area including the namazgâh constructions extends over a considerable area, it suggests that apart from burial prayers, Friday prayers and Bayram prayers may also have been performed here. However, it should be said that there is no trace of a minber from which the congregation might be addressed.

Most of the namazgâh found in Anatolia are open to the air. Of those few which are covered those around Aydın at Kemer, Dedekuyusu, Hamzabali, and Atça may be cited (Onge, 1969; Genim, 1976; Tanman, 1981; Akmaydalı, 1994; Acun and Ibrahimgil, 2002; Tiryaki, 2006; Kurum, 2007).

The İlbadi Cemetery Namazgâh differs from these only in that the area in front of the minber was roofed. In a 3 metre space in the central portion of the west wall of the Namazgâh, a treasure hoard was found consisting of around 1300 coins (sikke), mainly silver. The hoard possibly remained there because of the death of the person who hid it. These coins dating from the 17th century show that the namazgâh was in use at that date.

Most of the coins date to Ottoman times and include coins from the time of Sultan Ahmed, Osman II, Murat IV, Ibrahim I and Mehmed IV. (Figure 8). As well as these there are a few different coins of European origin. Among these are coins of the Emperors Sigismund (1623) and Leopold (1661), and Louis XIV (1659, 1660) (Figures 9-10). Earlier a dig at Beçin brought to light a hoard consisting of 800 European coins of the same period. These coins from Beçin, mostly stamped with the name of Austrian rulers, and the ones obtained later from Denizli are important in showing that in the XVII century there were flourishing trade connections between cities in Western Anatolia and countries in Europe.

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FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

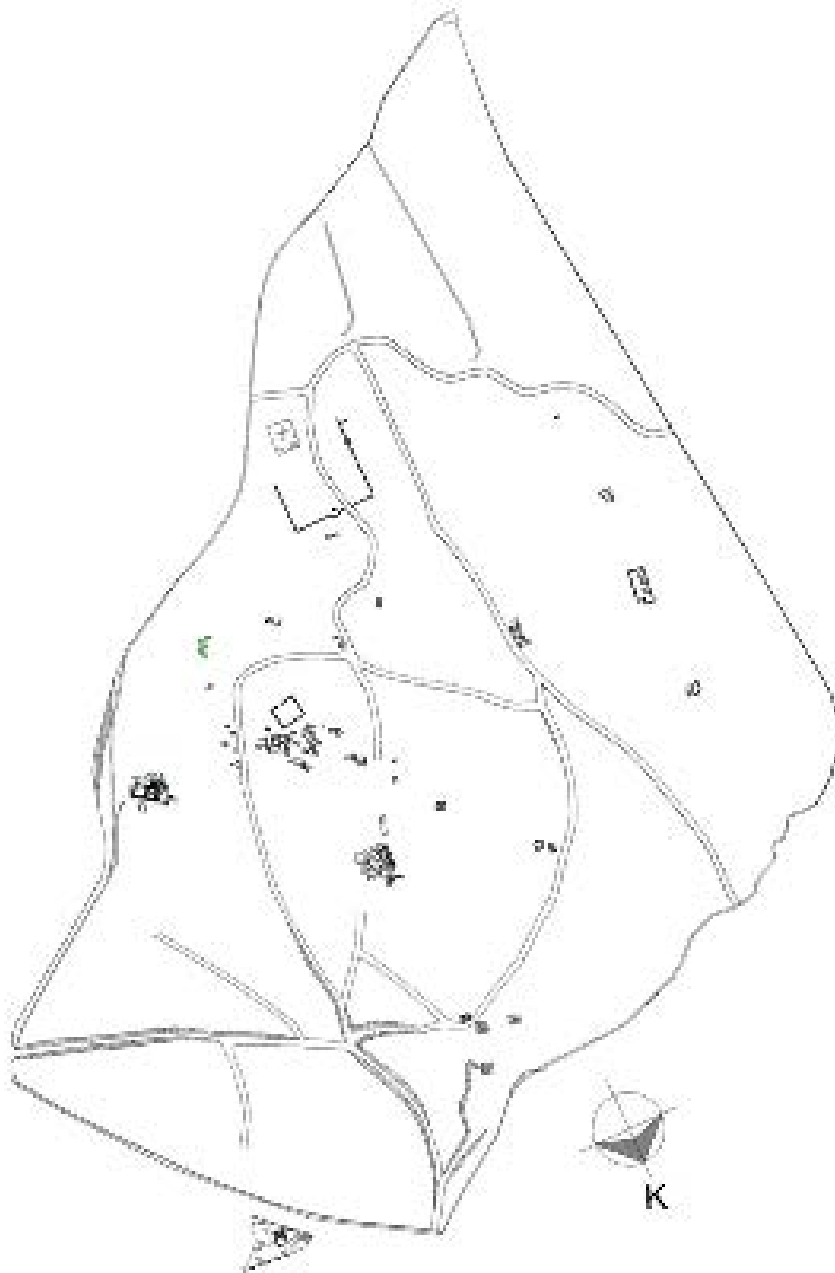


FIGURE 6

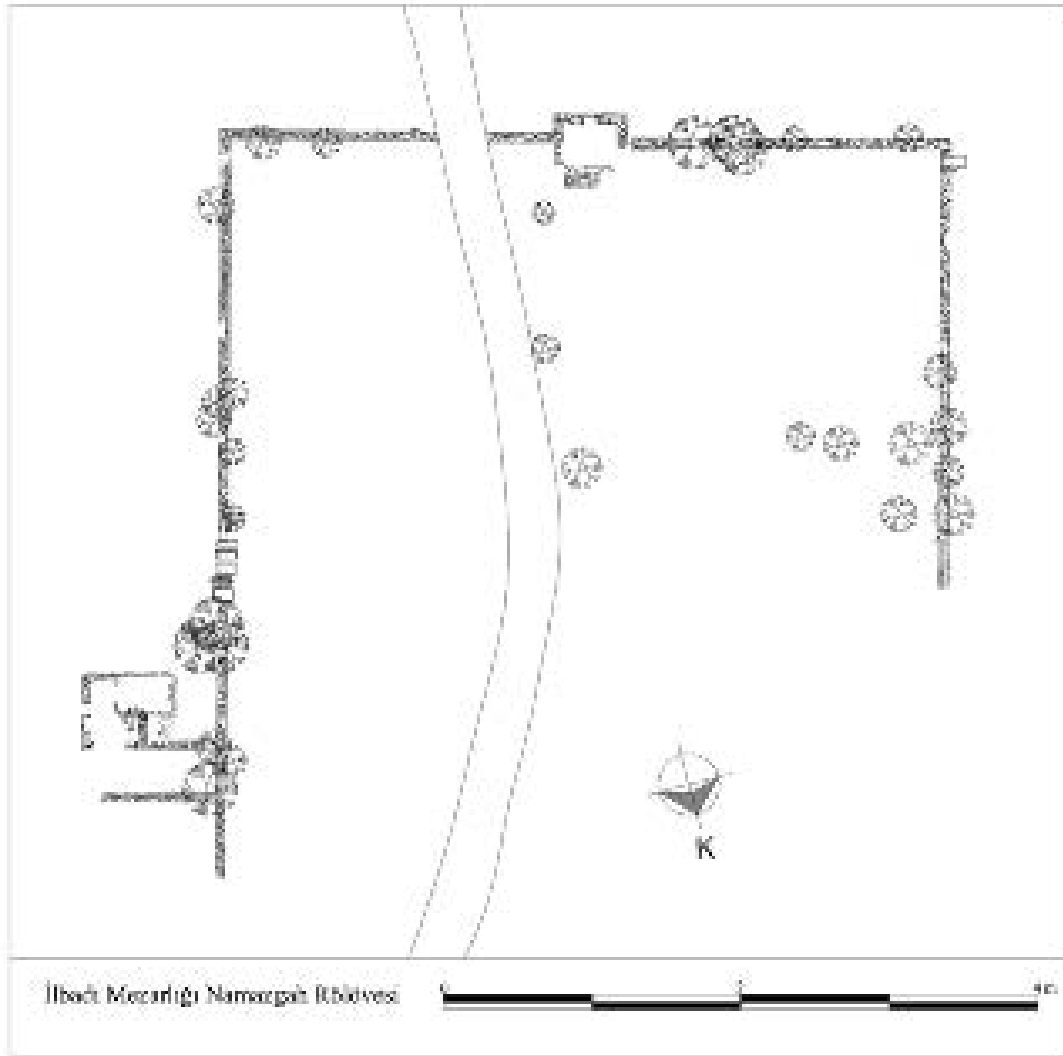


FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9



FIGURE 10

# The Role of the Corinthian Relief Ware in Sardinia as a Socio-Economic and Cultural Indicator of a ‘Commissioned’ Trade

Paola Puppo and Fabio Mosca

## Abstract

‘Corinthian’ Roman Relief Ware was produced during a relatively short period, from the mid 2nd century AD until the late 3rd in a single form, the pyx, whose walls are decorated with battle scenes, with the labours of Herakles or dionysiac scenes. It is attested in many sites of the Mediterranean area, but it is exposed to a different pattern of demand and this demand varies across cultural heritage. In Sardinia this ware is present in limited amounts (currently twenty six specimens are counted), in those sites that since the seventh century BC were emporia of receipt of goods from the eastern Mediterranean and, in this case, from Greece: in Olbia, Nora, Karalis, Tharros, Turrus Lybisonis. The most part of the Corinthian relief bowls (eight bowls) were found in Olbia, from the recent digs of the seabed of the ancient port. They probably were addressed to some clients particularly devoted to the cult of Hercules, which was the god of the polis, as evidenced by the remains of the temple found on the acropolis of Olbia under the present S. Paul’s church, in use at least since the seventh century BC.

## Keywords

Corinthian Relief Ware, commissioned trade, Sardinia, Eastern and Western Mediterranean distribution pattern, Labours of Hercules, Dionysiac scenes.

The Corinthian relief ware is particularly useful for bring to light broader developments, both economic and socio-cultural. This ware was produced in Corinth between the half of the second century AD and the end of the third century AD in a single form, the pyxis (with a rim of 6,5 cm for the smallest *specimen*, of 12 or 15 cm for the others and a height of 7 or 8 cm.). The term *Corinthian Roman Relief Bowl* was coined in 1925 by a young scholar of the American School of Athens, Doreen Canaday Spitzer, who initiated the study of a large group of vessels produced in Corinth with relief decorations of the Roman period. The shape is the same of a pyxis with an expanded rim, sometimes slightly flared with vertical walls that are joined to the bottom with a sharp edge, the bottom is slightly indented, often marked on the outside by concentric grooves, with an atrophied ring foot.

The clay is a fine soft yellowish buff which sometimes has a pink tinge (Munsell Soil Color Charts 1994, 5YR8/4; 7.5 YR 8/4), light brown (7.5 YR 7/4) or also red-orange light (2.5 YR6/8); sometimes is greyish and harder where the firing has been overdone. The glaze is for the most part a dul red orange (5YR 5/6; 5YR 5/4), or red (2.5 YR 6/8), subject to frequent brownish-black blotches due to imperfect firing.

The walls are divided into three bands: one, just below the rim, smooth and rather short, is distinct from the one below, where is impressed the figurative decoration; at the bottom, just above the base, there is a strip bounded by grooves that can be smooth, or with a strip or with a decorative wheel, to beads and buttons in relief or dentels. The figurative decoration of the middle band is made up of individual scenes, obtained with single punches (*poinçons*), juxtaposed in regular sequences, separated by stylized vegetal elements, while at the base of the figures there is usually a series of oblique notches engraved. The vegetal elements help to frame or to divide the various motives and to give also such angle of view (Bats 1981, 19).

The categories of representations are six: the Labours of Hercules, battle scenes, Dionysiac scenes, hunting scenes, theoxenia’s scenes, landscape’s scenes.

Corinthian relief ware is attested in many sites of the Mediterranean area, but it is exposed to a different pattern of demand and this demand varies across cultural heritage (Fig 1).

In Sardinia this ware is present in limited amounts (currently twenty six specimens are counted), in those sites that since the seventh century BC were *emporìa* of receipt of goods from the eastern Mediterranean and, in this case, from Greece: in Olbia, Nora, Karalis, Tharros, Turris Lybisonis. (Fig 2)

The favourable conditions for navigation around the island in antiquity were represented by the relative ease of finding the safe havens, thanks to the presence of numerous headlands, some navigable rivers, and with an easily accessible mouth, large bays sheltered from the sea and storm ponds and lagoons separated from the sea only by a narrow strip of sand (as is the case of the harbours of Karales and Othoca).

The most part of the Corinthian relief bowls (eight bowls) were found in Olbia, from the recent digs (1999-2000) of the seabed of the ancient port. (Fig 3)

They probably were addressed to some clients particularly devoted to the cult of Hercules, which was the god of the *polis*, as evidenced by the remains of the temple found on the acropolis of Olbia under the present S. Paul's church (Fig 4), in use at least since the seventh century BC.

At the same Hercules is awarded the first official cult of Rome in Olbia: the dedication of a statue in the sanctuary polyadic on the acropolis, a clay statue found in the harbor basin of Olbia, precisely in the sounding-depth of the island of Bocca (Gualandi 1996, 187-205). Besides even from the late republican period there was a narrow link between the cult of Hercules Victor in Karales and the activity of italics *mercatores* that consecrated their title to Hercules same. In the roman imperial period continue the dedications to *Numini deo Herculi* (CIL, X, 7858) and at the end of the third century AD or at the early fourth century AD, the members of a *solidatas* (association of religious type) meet inside an hypogeum of rural area in Tharros, consecrated to Herakles sotèr, 'Hercules that gives the salvation' and to remember this meeting was made a mural picture on the wall of the hypogeum that illustrates the first labour of Hercules, the slay of the Nemean Lion. Just this Hercules that gives the salvation will make over his role during the fourth and the fifth centuries AD, in the rural areas of Sinis, until the rise of Christianity, which will take its place in 'saving men'.

Focusing on Olbia it is possible to see an identity character that marks its historical development: the polyadic cult of Herakles / Melqart / Hercules, which identifies Olbia as a crossroads of goods, people and experiences, bridge between Sardinia and Italy, a frontier.

### Corinthian bowls with battle scenes

The bowl n° 1 (Fig 5) is whole preserved, with fabric yellowish, brown varnish. Diam cm 12, height. cm. 7. The decoration is bounded below by a band composed of a listel between two grooves. The figurative decoration belongs to the group with battle scenes, associated with the fight against the barbarians, important thematic in the Roman Empire and of great relevance in the Antonine and Severian period. The scenes are separated by vegetable elements stylized, the soil is made by a series of oblique notches imprinted.

The sequence: a) Two knights facing each other, one, turned to the right with chiton and cloak, he holds a sword in his right hand (Malfitana scene D = Spitzer B, D. Malfitana 2007, 103); the other one, turning on the left, holds the spear raised above his head and he has a cloak fluttering back b) a hit warrior falls from his horse (Malfitana scene E = Spitzer C. Malfitana 2007, 103); vegetable element partition, a warrior who rescues a fallen comrade raising him with his right hand, while his left hand protects him with a large shield, c) a knight, turned on the left, with the spear raised above the head and with his cloak fluttering; vegetable element partition, a trumpeter, d) a warrior who grabs with his left hand and blocks his kneeling enemy, hitting him with the sword (Malfitana scene N = Spitzer N. Malfitana 2007, 104); vegetable element partition; e) a naked warrior running

to the right with raised sword and round shield (probably the Barbarian, because he is smaller) and a warrior standing taller, with metal armor, helmet with crest (the Roman soldier) with round shield and sword ready to strike the blow against the opponent.

The bowl n° 2 (Fig 6a) is formed from two fragments: it is preserved part of the rim, of the wall and the bottom. Fabric yellowish, brown varnish. Height cm 6,3; diam cm 12.

The decoration, relative to the group of the battle's scenes, is bounded below with a band of pellets between two listels in relief. The scenes are separated by stylized vegetal elements, the terrain is made with a series of notches oblique impressed. On the left it is possible to see a standing figure turned to the right, but with the head to the left, who presses something to her chest and holds in his left hand a large shield, a naked warrior on the run holds a sword and a round shield, the back of a horse turned to the left, a warrior that falls from his horse.

### Group with the labours of Hercules

The bowl n° 3 (Fig 6 c-d) is reconstructed from fragments, missing the bottom. The fabric has a yellowish, dark orange paint. Height cm 8; diam cm 12. The decoration is bounded below by a band composed of a fillet between two grooves. The scenes are separated by stylized vegetal elements, by the bow and the quiver. The scenes recognizable are: a) Hercules and Hippolyta (Malfitana scene IX = Spitzer B. Malfitana 2007, 100): the scene, fragmentary for the fracture of the vessel, preserves only the Amazon retains only naked, that falls dying on the horse; Hercules who cleans the stables of Augias (Malfitana scene VI = Spitzer C): it possible see Hercules (incomplete) with the *leonté* that flutters over his shoulders, leans forward, with a knee put on a basket to divert the course of the river, b) Heracles and the Ceryneian hind (Malfitana scene IV = Spitzer D): the fragmentary scene retains only the hind with golden horns with head back.

In the bowl n° 4 (Fig 6 b) the wall and the bottom are preserved. The fabric is yellowish, mat brown. Height cm 8. The decoration is bounded below by a band composed of a fillet between two grooves. We recognize two scenes, Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna (Malfitana scene II = Spitzer H) and Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides (Malfitana scene XII = Spitzer E), separated by stylized vegetal elements. The first preserves the legs of a standing male figure, with his left arm, wrapped in a cloth, straining to hold something, in the second scene there is always a male figure with drape with lion's head and bow.

The bowl n° 5 (Fig 7 a) is fragmentary: it is preserved only the rim and the wall. The fabric is yellowish, with brown mat. Height cm 4, 5 and width. cm 6,5. It is possible to recognize the tree of the apples of the Hesperides with the coiled snake (Malfitana scene XII = Spitzer F. Malfitana 2007, 101).

The bowl n° 6 (Fig 7 b) is fragmentary: it is preserved only part of the wall and the bottom. The fabric is yellowish, with mat brown. Height cm 5 and width. cm 3. The decoration is bounded below by a band composed of a listel between two grooves. The figurative decoration retains the legs of a male figure that is directed to the right, wearing the coat with lion's head (*leontè*) and holding the bow in the right arm. This is the episode of Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides.

### Dionysiac scenes

The bowl n° 7 (Fig 7 c-d-e) is preserved for three quarters. The fabric is beige, with mat light brown. Height cm 4, 5 and diam cm 6,5. Immediately below the rim there is a band notched. The decorated area is bounded below by a band composed of a listel between two grooves. The figurative decoration belongs to the group of ritual scenes connected with the triumph, rites of initiation, rituals of the offer for the cult of Dionysus. It is possible to recognize a man on the left, holding a branch in his left hand

and with his right reaps the fruits; behind him on a tripod there are some offers (Malfitana scene B = Spitzer B. Malfitana 2007, 106).

In the bowl n° 8 (Fig 8a) is preserved the rim and the wall. The fabric is grey, with brown glaze. Height cm. 4, and diam. cm 10. Just below the rim there is a band with grooves. On the decorated surface it is possible to see a column with a herm of Dionysus on the top and on side a figure with amphora and a plate with offerings (Malfitana scene G = Spitzer G. Malfitana 2007, 107); a naked woman holding a basin on the head of a young man (rite of initiation; Malfitana scene H = Spitzer H. Malfitana 2007, 107), a naked young man with a basket on back and a stick, beside him on the right a statue of Dionysus with *thyrsus* and *kalathos*. From Area C of the northern district of Nora, close to the port, comes a bowl with Dionysiac scene (Fig 8b). It was founded inside of a filling level (US 2627) in the room A32 of the *macellum*. It has a fabric pink (5YR7 / 4 pink), with traces of reddish glaze. The rim has a diameter of 10 cm. The state of preservation of the bowl (consisting of two fragments of rim and part of the wall) allows to recognize only remains of vine branch and the profile of a human figure: the figurative decoration, squared on the top by two listels in relief, but however seems to be a dionysiac scene.

Other two exemplars founded in Nora are been edited by Tronchetti (Tronchetti 1981, 48 n° 2, 49 n° 4).

The forth bowl is in the storehouse of Soprintendenza Archeologica in Nora, decorated with battle's scenes.

## Conclusions

With regard to the representations, the most common themes, in addition to the labours of Herakles (found mainly in Olbia on four bowls and in Tharros on one bowl), are scenes of battle (thematic very important in the Roman empire and above all in antonine and severian period) on three bowls in Olbia, two bowls in Tharros and on one bowl in Porto Torres (*Thurris Libysonis*) and others with Dionysiac rituals (on two bowls in Olbia, but especially Nora, related to the agricultural tradition of the area; in fact the viticulture was introduced in *Sardinia* by Romans on a vast scale).

With regard to the labours of Hercules it is possible to see in *Sardinia* as the number of Corinthian relief bowls decorated with labours of Hercules is high, higher than other decorative groups. It appears above all since the beginning of the II century AD that the hero is used within a process of consolidation of an imperial cult destined to be assumed, often, as a strength of the religious policy of the various imperial dynasties. First with Trajan, but then especially with Adrian and the Antonines, then with Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, the Peloponnesian hero begins to have a role as cultural model and its events, especially the labours imposed on him by Eurystheus, become prototypes of figurative models full of strong and meaningful meanings often being deliberately chosen as grounds for political propaganda.

Even between the Corinthian relief bowls found in *Sardinia* we notice the absence of some labours as the episode of the struggle of Hercules against the monster with three bodies of Geryon (X Labour). This absence seems to be explained by the political events of the same polis of Corinth, which was destroyed in 146 BC by the consul Lucius Mummius Achaicus. When he returned to Rome, he erected on Celio hill a temple dedicated to Hercules Victor, thus identifying himself with Hercules that defeats Caco, the local hero, the son of Vulcan, assimilated to Geryon monster with three bodies. The Corinthian potters would then deliberately omitted the episode of Hercules to forget the defeat and destruction suffered heavily from the city, although occurred three centuries before. (Malfitana, 2007, 154-155).

Across a geographically varied area as the Roman empire, in socio-cultural terms, any model of the economy needs to be flexible enough to be able satisfactorily to incorporate the range of behavioural differences observable on an economic microlevel. This suggests that the bulk of this traffic was engaged in what is typically described as ‘commissioned’ trade. Into this problematic falls also the function and the use of these bowls. Mingazzini in 1978 believed that these small vessels were not served to contain olives or for serving at the table and even for storing jewels, but more likely had to be containers for unguents, both liquid (with the odorous substance diluted in a liquid) both solid i.e. with the odorous substance incorporated into a fatty substance. Because they are pyxis with a cylindrical body for some scholars they can not be considered drinking vessels, but rather containers used to carry unguents, in dust or solids, into account the importance of the city of Corinth, famous in antiquity for the production of the scent of iris.

If this hypothesis can be accepted for those bowls decorated with the labours of Hercules, because they are containers of odorous substances, probably of fat guy, used to anoint the body, those decorated with Dionysiac scenes suggest instead a use for drinking wine or at least for ritual libations. Also at the time there aren’t signs of lid and the pyxes used as containers of unguents usually have the lid to preserve the dispersion of odorous substances. Anymore it is perhaps possible to think to a lid made with perishable material (i.e. cork) evidently lost, as Hayes writes (1997, 73): ‘no lids are known, but some means of closing them is likely’.

Analyzing the shape, which recalls the scyphus, an attribute frequently associated with Hercules in Latin sources (Macrobius, Satire 5, 21, 16, 19; Servius Commentary on the Aeneid), it is clear that in the cultural context of the Roman period it plays a role in the history and in the cult of Hercules. Finally we can observe as the wide distribution of Corinthian relief ware over the Roman world (in this specimen case from Sardinia) indicates the prosperous trade relations that Corinth enjoyed during this period of its commercial power.

Merchants used to prefer some commercial networks and they were part of a big network, which used to also connect very distant cities through an exchange system that was based on a common Roman hegemonic policy.

The routes which brought the Corinthian Relief ware in Sardinia can be used also by other goods as Eastern Sigillata of the early imperial period (i.e Eastern Sigillata A and especially Eastern Sigillata B) and perhaps by sarcophages, whose decoration often recall figurative representations similar to figuratives themes of the Corinthian relief ware, as dyonisiac scenes (that can have an ambivalent interpretation both under both pagan and cristologic meanings) and sometimes, anymore rarely already among the sarcophages in Sardinia , scenes that remember scenes from the Laours of Hercules (as Hercules and Nemean Lion, Hercules in the Garden of Hesperides).

The presence of ‘Corinthian’ Roman Relief Ware in Sardinia has thereby gained a clearer and better defined place in our knowledge of the exchange circuits from Eastern Mediterranean to Western, which not only concerned goods, but also traditions, peoples and ideas.

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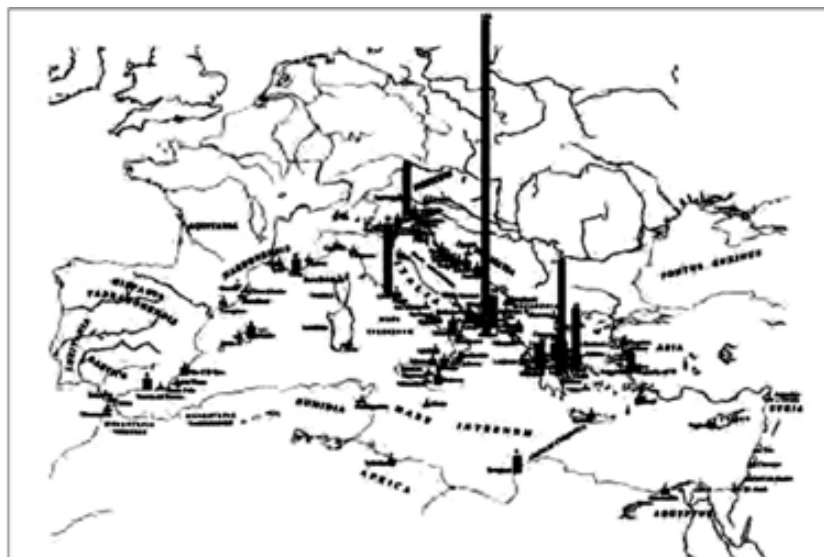


FIG. 1: CORINTHIAN RELIEF WARE’S MAP OF DIFFUSION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (AFTER MALFITANA 2000)



FIG. 2 : CORINTHIAN RELIEF WARE'S MAP OF DIFFUSION IN SARDINIA

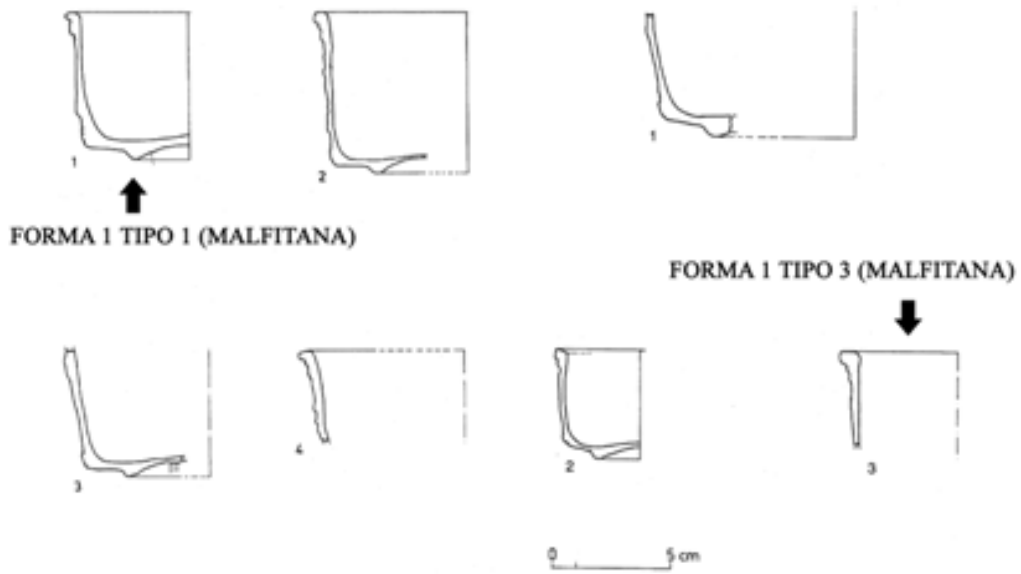


FIG. 7. Olbia, porto. Corinthian relief bowls nn. 6-8: sezioni.

FIG. 3 : OLBIA, CORINTHIAN RELIEF WARE FROM THE EXCAVATION IN THE HARBOUR

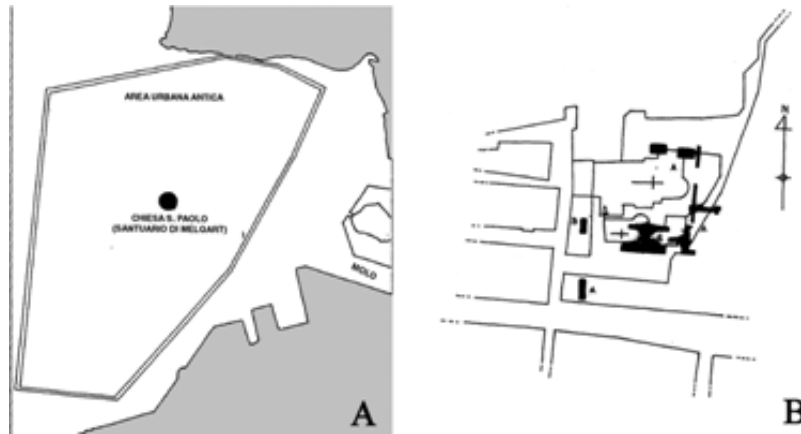


FIG. 4 : OLBIA. THE SANCTUARY OF HERAKLES BENEATH THE ST. PAUL'S CHURCH AND THE HEAD OF HERAKLES



FIGURE 5 (LINED UP)  
OLBIA. BOWL N° 1 WITH BATTLE SCENE  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994, FIG. 6. 1, 1 E FIG. 8-12).



FIG. 6A: OLBIA. BOWL N° 2 WITH BATTLE SCENE  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994, FIG. 13)



FIG. 6B : OLBIA. BOWL N° 4  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994, FIG. 14 E 15)



FIGURES 6C-D OLBIA. BOWL N° 3 WITH THE LABOURS OF HERCULES  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994, FIG. 14 E 15)



FIGURES 7A : OLBIA. BOWL N° 5 WITH HERCULES IN THE GARDEN OF HESPERIDES  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994, FIG. 17)



FIG. 7B : OLBIA. BOWL N° 6  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994 FIG. 18)



FIGURES 7C-D: OLBIA. BOWL N° 7 WITH DIONYSIAC SCENES  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994, FIG 19-21)



FIG. 8A : BOWL N° 8 FROM OLBIA WITH DIONYSIAC SCENE  
(AFTER D'ORIANO 1994, FIG. 22)

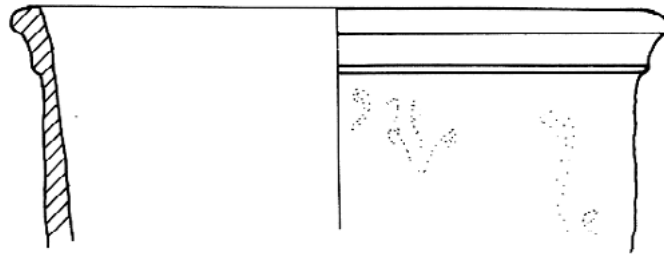


FIG. 8B : BOWL N° 9 FROM NORA  
(AFTER GRASSO 2003)

# Underwater Archaeological Project at the Ancient City of Akra (Eastern Crimea) 2011–2012

Sergey Solovyev and Viktor Vakhoneev

## Localisation and History of Investigations

The ancient Greek city of Akra has been located nearby the modern Zavetnoe village (Leninskiy district, AR Crimea) (Fig. 1; 2). The debates on its localization have a long-standing tradition that is based on ancient narrative sources which mentioned the site of Akra on the shore of Cimmerian Bosphorus between Nymphaion and Kytaia [Strabo XI. 2. 8: 132; Pliny IV. 86: 183; Arr. 513–522, Ps. Arr. 282]. Since XVIIIth till XXth centuries Akra was being localized in different places between Cape Malyi and Cape Takil (Pallas 1883, 90–91; Taitbout de Marigny 1856, 158; Dubois de Montpereux, 1843, 252; Du Brux 1858, 67–69; Blaramberg 1848, 8–9; Ashik 1848; Latyshev 1892, 2; Rostovsev 1925, 257–258; Marti 1927, 54; Gaidukevich 1949, 179, 212; Blavatskii 1954, 22; Kruglikova 1975, 16; Maslennikov 1979, 36–37). Only in early 1980s on the sand crossbar between the Yanysh Lake and the sea there was accidentally found more than a hundred ancient coins, and was also discovered the remains of ancient walls going under the water. In the summer of 1982 V. N. Kholodkov (Kerch Museum) held the first excavations both on the crossbar and on the hill to the south from the Yanysh Lake. Resulted these works, there were opened ancient cultural strata and building remains. In 1983–1985 K. K. Shilik (Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Archaeology of Academy of Sciences of the USSR) started underwater investigations of the area, and found out that the ancient city lied at the depth of up to 4.5 meters, and further to the east seaward up to the depth of 7.5 meters there was a harbour. In the course of the undersea explorations there were discovered defensive walls, the two towers and the well. In their filling there were found seven 4th century BC amphorae of Herakleia Pontica, the pieces of black-glazed pottery, the fragment of a lead anchor stock, wooden things made on the lathe (Shilik 1984, 19; 1991, 427–434; 2013, 45–47, 52–55). In 1994–1997 and 2001 the archaeological survey at Akra, both on land and at the sea bottom, were continued by A. V. Kulikov (Kerch Museum-reserve) (Grabovetskii, Kulikov 1998, 80–83).

It has turned out that the ancient city occupied the north-eastern extremity of the cape formed by the mouth of the ancient river and Cimmerian Bosphorus (Fig. 3; 4). Its territory has probably took shape of a trapezoid area of approximately 3.5 hectares, which was almost completely hidden by seawaters at the present time, except for its small western part on the sandy crossbar, that turned the mouth of the river into the modern Yanysh Lake off the coast of the Kerch Strait. Akra seemed to be founded by the settlers from Nymphaion or Panticapaion in the late 6th century BC, and kept its position as a city of the Bosporan Kingdom till the early 4th century AD. Due to Nymphaion transgression of the Black Sea, which began about the middle of the 1st millennium BC, the ancient city has got into the depth of up to 4.5 meters. Features of tectonic and wave conditions in this part of Kerch Peninsula (Kulikov 1995, 97–107; Nikonov 1998, 88–92) led to the fact that the cultural layers of the ancient city were not mainly washed away, and its building constructions were not completely destroyed, but only partially covered with sea sand deposits.

## The Main Results of Underwater Archaeological Research in 2011–2013

Underwater archaeological investigations at Akra were resumed in 2011 (Vakhoneev, Solovyev, Stensel 2012; Vakhoneev 2013). Visual exploration of the underwater part of the site to the depth of 7 meters attested the following features. On the beach and in the surf zone there were discovered plenty of ceramic pieces, washed out by the sea and cast their ashore already gravelled. Up to the depth of 1–1.5 meters the site was covered by the sea sand deposit, except for the Northern part of the city. Up to depths of 2.5 meters almost everywhere in the area we could see the agglomerations

of the large and medium-sized stones, which possibly belonged to the upper parts of ancient walls washed out by the sea. At the depth of 4–5 meters there were observed small pieces of pottery and rough large stones, passing in the natural ranges; the sea bottom was silty.

The main attention was paid to the South-Western and Northern defensive walls. The South-Western wall has been traced running 150 meters long from NW to SE up to the depth of 2.5 meters. The width of the wall was of 1.75–2.0 meters (Fig. 5; 6). There was two-facade three-layer masonry that consisted of two faces, laid out on self-faced system of poorly dressed stones of medium size, elaborated at the fronts, with the middle layer made of rubble stones of small and medium size. The wall raised above the sea bottom on the one–two rows of stones.

For the detailed mapping, on the part of the wall was set up by the grating of 8 x 5 m, and the prospecting trench was also laid to check the thickness of cultural layers. In 2012 the depth of the trench has reached 1.8 meters (Fig. 7). The east facade of the defensive wall was opened on the length of 1.9 meters in seven–nine rows of stones (Fig. 8). Archaeological materials from the layer of solid grey clay loam can be dated not earlier than the middle of the 4th century BC. Among the different finds there were red-clay vessels and several fragments of amphorae with stamps, including the neck of the Heracleian amphorae with the stamp of ΕΠΙΚΑΛΛΙΑ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ (Fig. 9–11). The heaps of the large stones abutted to the masonry from the east.

To the North-east of the prospecting trench on the sea bottom under the sandy deposits at the depth of 1.6 m there were found the remains of the stone structures. After clearing (Fig. 12), it turned out that they belonged to the room on the area of 25 square meters formed by the stone walls (Fig. 13), preserved up to the height of 0.8 meters to the three rows of stones. At the north-eastern corner on the floor there was found the broken Heracleian amphorae (Fig. 14). The archaeological materials from the room can be dated to the mid-fourth century BC (Fig. 15; 16).

To the north-west of the room at the depth of 1 meter on the area of 20 square meters there was opened the stone pavement, built of stone slabs (Fig. 17). With the help of airlift it was cleared of seaweeds and sandy deposits, and the rigid grating frame of 2 x 2 meters allowed us fixing of the object graphically (Fig. 18). Location of the pavement, as well as the archaeological materials found on its surface, makes it possible to associate the pavement with the room and date it the same time of the 4th century BC.

In 2012 the investigation of the ruined Northern defensive wall (Fig. 19), which was directed towards W–E, was going on. It situated not far from the remains of the berth of 1930–1940 at the depth of 0.5–1.35 meters. After removing seaweeds off the wall, it turned out that its upper part raised above the sea bottom on one–two rows of stones, and had the width of 2 meters. The northern face of the wall was hidden by rubble stones, the southern face was visible. There was three-layer two-facade masonry; its facades composed of roughly elaborated stones of medium and large size, the middle layer was made of rubble stones of small and medium size. The orientation and the character of masonry of the Northern wall were somewhat different from the South-Western defensive wall, so that construction should be assigned to a later time.

The main result of the 2013 excavation campaign was the exploring of Tower 1 of about 48 square meters (Fig. 20; 21), built of large ashlar stone slabs with rustic faces (Fig. 22). Two rows masonry preserved up to the height of 1 meter. As the prospecting trench showed the tower walls based on large wooden beams which were folded like a cage perhaps with the purpose of antiseismic (Fig. 23; 24). The filling of the tower was composed of cultural layers with plenty of pottery shreds sometimes large of size (Fig. 25). Among the finds the most interesting one was the double-sided wooden comb decorated with carved circles. The tower was attached to the South-Western defensive wall just after the mid 4th century BC.

#### **Akra in the Context of Underwater Research in the Northern Black Sea Littoral**

In Classical archaeology there was formed an opinion about the widespread and total destruction of ancient cultural strata and building constructions at the coastal parts of the Greek colonies as a result of the historical natural flooding in the Northern Black Sea Littoral during Phanagorean regression (Shilik 1997; Nikonov 1998). Because of this belief underwater archaeology is called upon to play the secondary, application role, mainly coming to collecting redeposited archaeological materials. Examples of such state of things were underwater investigations at Olbia (Kryzhitskii 1997; Nazarov 2003, 58–69; Vakhoneev 2013, 83–92), Phanagoria (Fanagoriya 2008, 40–49) and Chersonessos (Shilik 1997, 122–123), where the cultural layers were not only washed out, but sometimes were almost completely removed by dredging. However, unlike these sites, Akra has demonstrated the situation that of unique for the Black Sea, when almost the whole city has got under water, largely not losing its integrity. These circumstances have brought Akra in the one of the first places on value for underwater archaeology in the Black Sea basin. Thus, the study of this ancient city are of paramount importance not only for the study of ancient history and culture of the Black Sea coast, but not least for improvement the methods of underwater archaeology as a specific and still very young branch of archaeological science. Good preservation of submerged archaeological objects at Akra makes it that of the unique monument of underwater archaeology in the Black Sea region.

It is planned to continue comprehensive survey of the underwater part of Akra for the solution of the following tasks: mapping of the defensive walls and the stone constructions between them, their photo and video fixation; underwater archeological excavations with airlifts; topographical survey of the settlement; developing the concept of Museum exposition of the cultural heritage objects found during the underwater archaeological research at Akra.

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### List of Abbreviations

- ZOOID – Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei (Notes of the Odessa society for history and antiquities) (Odessa)
- ITUAK – Izvestiya Tavricheskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komissii (Reports of Taurida scientific archival Commission) (Simferopol)

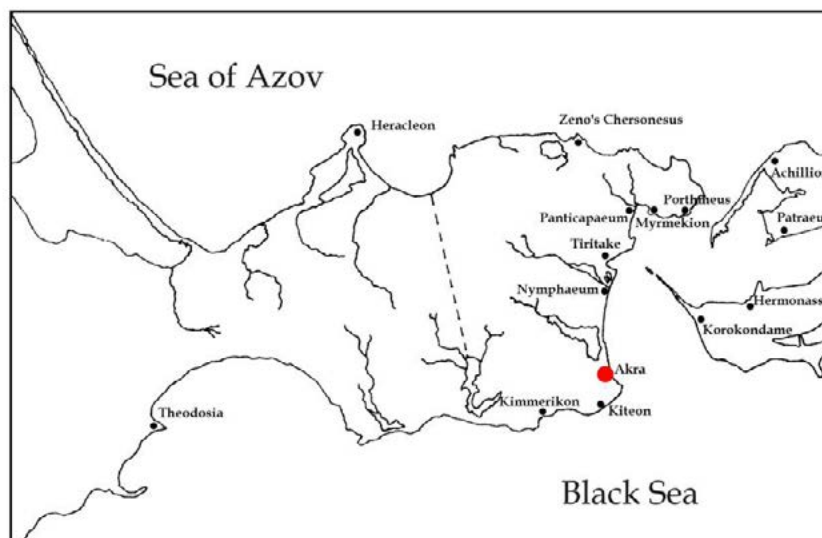


FIG. 1. MAP OF EASTERN CRIMEA AND KERCH STRAIT WITH ANCIENT GREEK CITIES



FIG. 2. VIEW ON ZAVETNOE VILLAGE AND THE PLACE OF ANCIENT CITY AKRA FROM THE SOUTH



FIG. 3. MAP OF DISCOVERED REMAINS OF AKRA:  
1 – SOUTH-WESTERN DEFENSIVE WALL; 2 – EXCAVATION TRENCH OF 2011; 3 – ROOM 1; 4 – STONE PAVEMENT; 5 – NORTHERN DEFENSIVE WALL; 6 – TOWER 1



FIG. 4. SATELLITE PHOTO OF THE PLACE OF ANCIENT CITY AKRA (GOOGLE EARTH)



FIG. 5. DRAWING OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN DEFENSIVE WALL

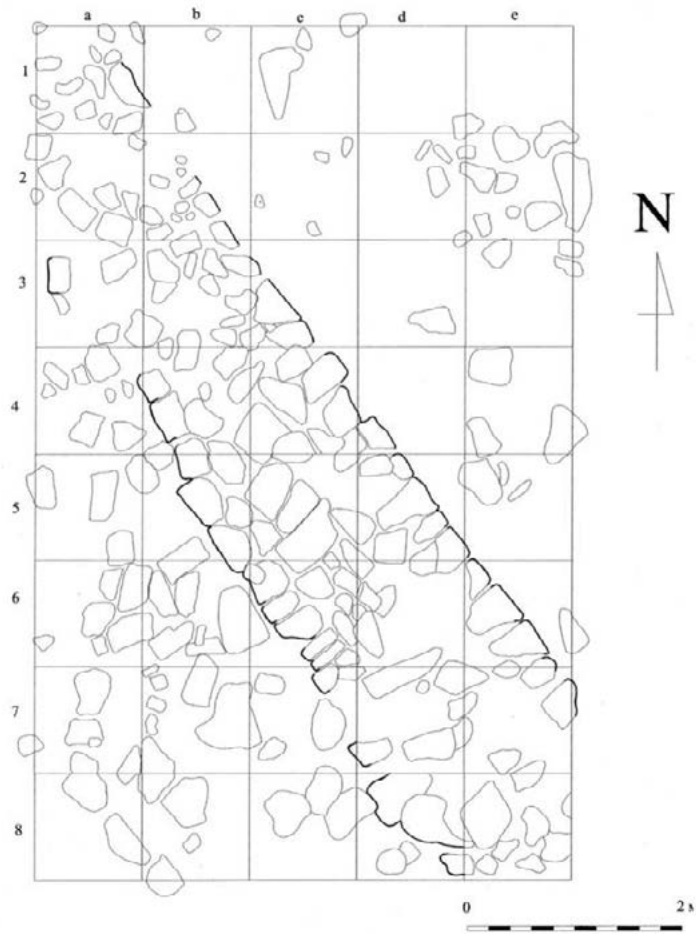


FIG. 6. PLAN OF THE PART OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN DEFENSIVE WALL



FIG. 7. DIGGING IN THE PROSPECTING TRENCH WITH THE AIRLIFT

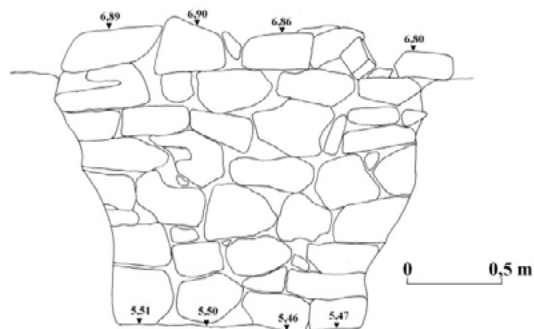


FIG. 8. SECTION OF THE NORTHERN FACADE OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN DEFENSIVE WALL

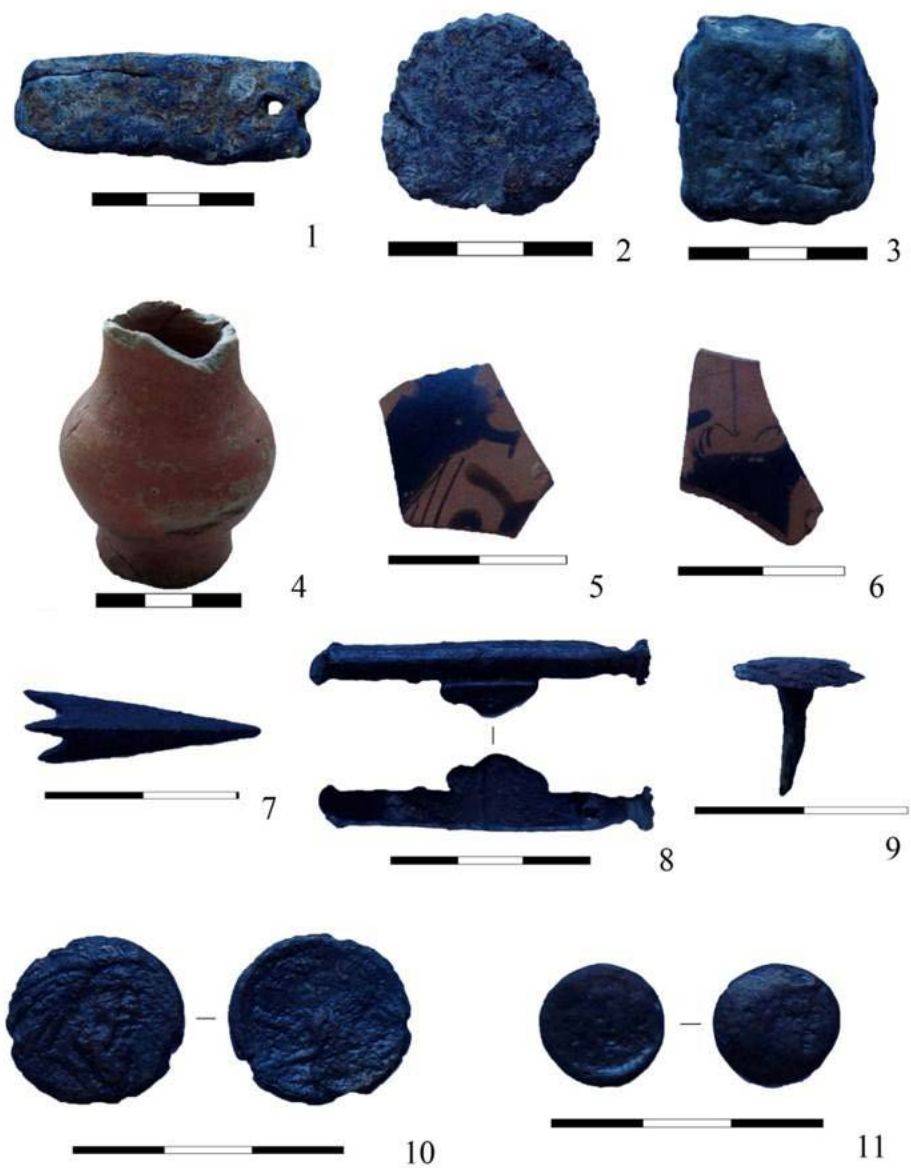


FIG. 9. FINDS FROM THE PROSPECTING TRENCH:  
 1 – LEAD FISHING WEIGHT; 2, 3 – LEAD WEIGHTS; 4 – RED CLAY JUG; 5, 6 – FRAGMENTS OF RED-FIGURED POTTERY; 7 – BRONZE ARROWHEAD; 8 – BRONZE APPLICATION; 9 – BRONZE NAIL; 10, 11 – PANTICAPAION COOPER COINS



FIG. 10. RED CLAY CUP FROM THE PROSPECTING TRENCH



FIG. 11. NECK OF HERACLEIAN AMPHORA WITH STAMP



FIG. 12. CLEANING OF THE ROOM'S WALL WITH THE AIRLIFT

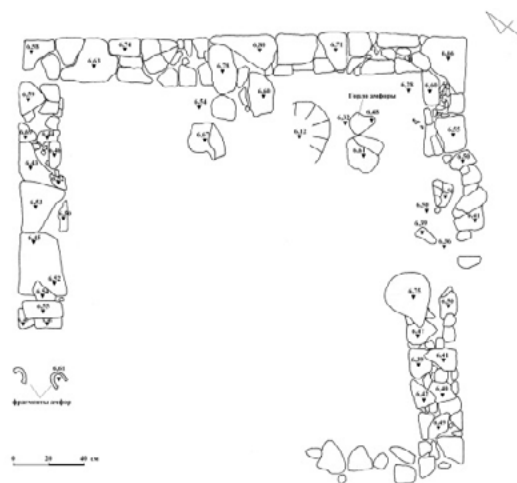


FIG. 13. PLAN OF ROOM 1



FIG. 14. BROKEN HERACLEIAN AMPHORA AT THE CORNER OF ROOM 1



FIG. 15. ATTIC BLACK GLAZED FISH PLATE WITH GRAFFITI FROM ROOM 1



FIG. 16. RIM OF THE ATTIC RED-FIGURED BELL-CRATER FROM ROOM 1

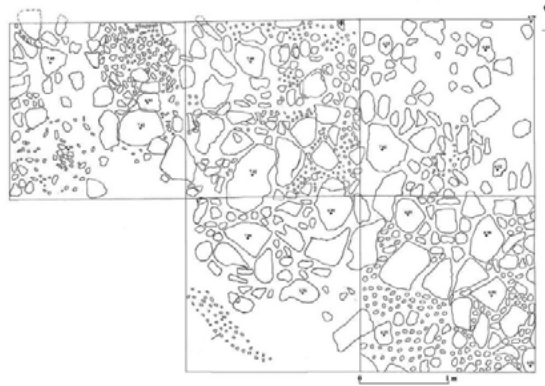


FIG. 17. PLAN OF THE STONE PAVEMENT

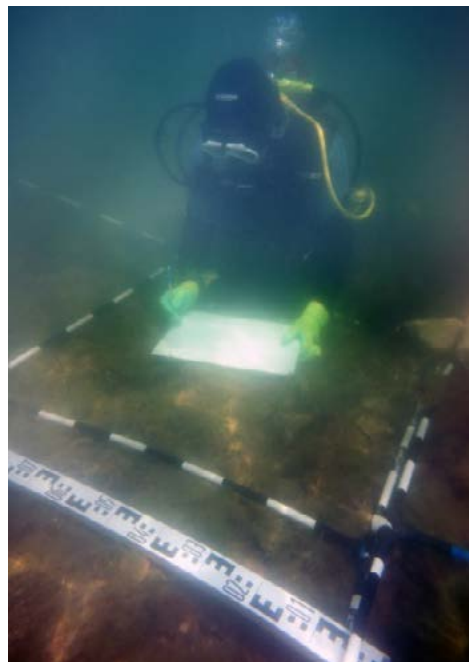


FIG. 18. DRAWING OF THE STONE PAVEMENT



FIG. 19. PLAN OF THE NORTHERN DEFENSIVE WALL



FIG. 20. DIGGING OF TOWER 1 WITH THE AIRLIFT

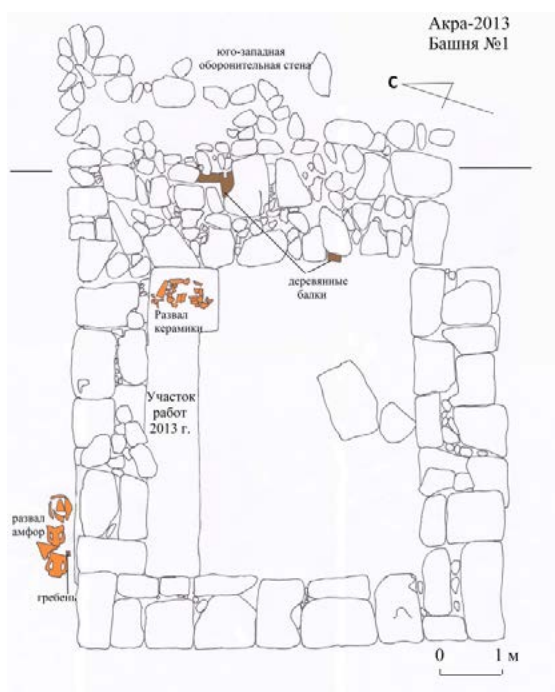


FIG. 21. PLAN OF TOWER 1

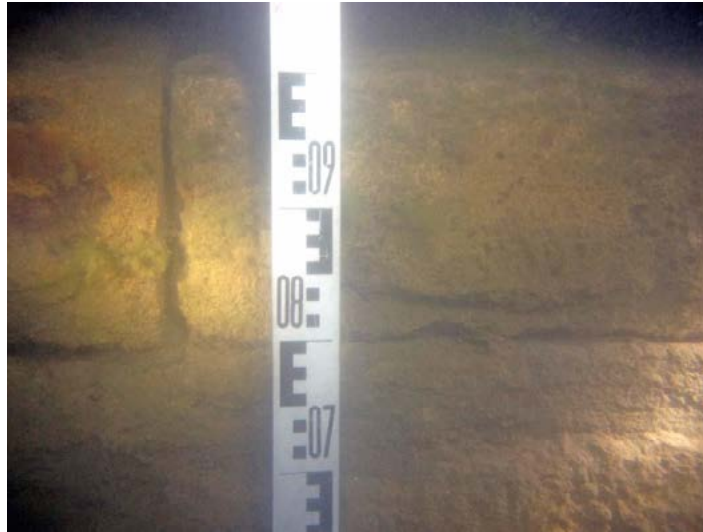


FIG. 22. ASHLAR STONE WALLS WITH RUSTIC FACES OF TOWER 1



FIG. 23. WOODEN BEAM WITH THE CROSSPIECE IN THE BASE OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN WALL OF TOWER 1



FIG. 24. WOODEN BEAMS IN THE BASE OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN WALL OF TOWER 1



FIG. 25. BROKEN AMPHORAE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PROSPECTING TRENCH IN TOWER 1



FIG. 26. DECORATED WOODEN COMB FROM TOWER 1

# Management of Underwater Archaeological Heritage: An Environmental Approach to the Protection and Preservation of the Harbour Complex of Aegina

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## Introduction

The issue of Environmental Monitoring of Underwater Cultural Heritage (UCH) addresses both the structural/preservation impact of pollution as well as the aesthetic/ethical impact of pollution. In cases where the condition of the natural environment is interrelated to a manmade environment, the particularities of the natural environment command the special characteristics of an UCH site. Our case study is the harbour complex of Aegina, an extensive area stretching for about two km along the seafront and extends maximum about 500m from the coast (Figure 1). Following a methodology of international environmental applied standards we have initiated a Project that may set a standard for Monitoring the Urban Environmental impact to UCH sites in Urban areas.

## Brief History of the Town of Aegina

The underwater structures range from the 19th century BC to the Early Modern time ([Triantafillidis and Koutsoumba Forthcoming](#)). The town of Aegina is a very important archeological site with its history stretching back to the second half of the 4th millennium BC ([Welter 1938b](#)). Aegina was in the Archaic and the Classical periods a thriving maritime state with fame in trading and naval warfare (Herodotus 8.93, Strabo Geographica viii.6.16). It should be stressed that the Athenians developed a substantial navy in 493/2 BC in order to be able to fight Aegina ([Plutarch Life of Themistocles 4.1](#)), 'the 'eye-sore of the Piraeus,' as Pericles is alleged to refer to Aegina ([Plutarch, Life of Pericles 8.5](#)).

The maritime might of Aegina would not have been possible without an infrastructure that supported the commercial fleet and their navy. The defeat from Athens ([Thucydides 1.105](#)) led to a decline but not to an absolute vanishing from the maritime historical reality of the time. The harbours are still in use during the Hellenistic ([Demosthenes In Aristocratem](#), 211) and Roman times ([Welter, 1938a:484](#)). In the late antiquity and middle ages the town is abandoned. The harbour is attested to be in use from the 15th century onwards ([Mason 2012](#)) as also during the second Venetian period in 1687-1715 ([Chandler 1817:17](#)). In the early 19th century the town is resettled becoming the first capital of the modern Greek State during the governance of Ioannis Capodistrias in 1828 ([Medelso-Bartoldi 2011:189](#)). A lot of events attested historically and archaeologically have taken place at the island of Aegina in the last 5500 years but we shall concentrate on the Harbour Complex of the town of Aegina.

## The Underwater Archaeological Site of Aegina

In [Figure 2](#) the underwater archaeological structures are pointed out with letters and are described briefly below:

### *a. North Coast and Northern Breakwater*

A structure identified as breakwater that stretches some 300m into the sea, its foot being c. 67m away from the coast at a depth not exceeding two meters. For the first 55m it follows a horizontal course, then it declines, ending at its edge at a depth of 4.15m. Its construction consists of stones and blocks

of various shapes with size up to 0.5m x 0.4m. Ceramic shreds are scattered all over the structure, which has been dated to 19th century BC .Furthermore, in shallow water there are structural remains identified as a fortification wall, a structure identified as an altar, and other structures at the beach (Knoblauch 1973:59-68).

### ***b. Kryptos Limen***

Rather well preserved are the remains of the naval harbour, referred as ‘Kryptos limen’ by Pausanias (II, 29, 6 ff.). It is a fortified harbour, the walls of which have an average of 2.8m. Two square towers are protecting the entrance, the bases of which are well preserved. At the north-west corner six shipsheds have been identified with their back end found intact. During a surface survey in 2010 by the authors it was indicated that the ends of the shipsheds may survive. The whole area is covered by mortar, stones and ceramic sherds, in all probability remains of the shipsheds, dating to the 480 BC (Knoblauch 1973: 73-79).

### ***c. Commercial Harbour***

The commercial harbour has not yet been researched. In 1960’s major construction works took place that covered the ancient quays. Thus the S, E & N are almost intact while the SW partially preserved under the modern harbour. The latter had also a Venetian phase evident from the tower of Morosini (Chandler 1817:17). The quay wall that has been destroyed during those works is the one connecting the commercial harbour with the naval one. This part is of a particular interest since in the early 19th century a number of small basins were observed behind it, a possible connecting channel and a site dock according to Cockerel (1860:1) who included this feature in his plan of the city of Aegina at the port. This harbour has also been dated to 480 BC (Knoblauch 1973:81).

### ***d. Early Modern Harbour Constructions***

It is suggested, and this is yet to be further explored, that these harbour structures may be part of the first harbour of the modern Greek state, a work conducted in 1827-8 by S.G.How using material from the temple at Kolona hill (How 1971).

### ***e. Southern Underwater Structure***

A second underwater structure is seen in the south of the harbour. It has an ellipsoid shaped curving to the south and is built in the same manner with the breakwater in the North bay, its foot is c. 100m from the coast and stretches around 300m into the sea. It is also covered with ceramic shreds and its deepest point is c. four metres. The measurements are approximate since the structure has not yet been studied, only briefly visited. This structure has not been dated yet but in all probability is contemporary of the breakwater in the north Bay (Triantafillidis and Koutsoumba Forthcoming).

### ***f. Manmade Reefs***

Pausanias (II, 29, 6 ff.) refers to reefs hindering the entrance to the harbour of Aegina attributing their origin to Aeacus the mythical settler of Aegina. Their existence is mentioned by visitors of the island and portolans from the 15th century onwards (Mason 2012) They extend for a length of c. 1700m starting from the axis of the North breakwater and stretch in south southeast direction to a point c. 245m north of the seaward edge of the south breakwater.

They are 45 individual constructions in five groups. They have the shape of truncated cones and they appear to be constructed without the use of hydraulic mortar. They look like stone piles, their building material is irregular stones from 20 to 90 cm and smaller stones. The fact that their tops are on an average at 2.7m leads us to think that they were built in a period when they were slightly below water so they could function effectively as underwater obstacles so they should be some time after

500 BC, possibly contemporary with the naval harbour and the commercial harbour (Triantafyllidis and Koutsoumba Forthcoming).

### **International and Regional legislation regarding the protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage**

It is evident by the meticulous legislative and regulatory action throughout the world regarding Underwater Cultural Heritage that the latter is being approached as a different environment to the terrestrial Cultural Heritage Environment. Underwater antiquities have been in the forefront, and addressed in a special way, since the water-environment often presents additional challenges and threats. In consequence, different needs as far as their study and preservation-conservation arise. UCH is defined by certain characteristics of its water environment and hence addresses certain different questions regarding its needs for protection & preservation both through legal framework and actual practices related to its protection and preservation. The UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (Paris, 2 November 2001) & lately the UNESCO Scientific Colloquium on Factors Impacting Underwater Cultural Heritage (Brussels December 2011) created an international platform that can be (and in many cases already is) the basis or the inspiration for regional legislation and regulations.

As far as the relevant legislation is concerned, Greece has an old tradition of Laws on UCH from the early history of the modern Greek state in 1830 (Mantzouka-Syson 1999). Recently, the revision of the Greek Constitution in 2001 established an increased constitutional protection of antiquities and their cultural environment. According to the revised article 24: a) the protection of the cultural environment is an obligation of the state (paragraph one) and b) The monuments are protected by the State (par. 6). In particular, in paragraph one of article 24 is stated: ‘the protection of the natural and cultural environment is an obligation of the State and a right of every individual. For its protection the state has the obligation to take precautionary or sedative actions within the framework of the principles of sustainability’ (Delaporta 2005).

The latest legislation, namely the Law 3028 of 2002 of the Greek State entitled ‘On the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in General’, includes a separate paragraph regarding Underwater Antiquities. Although water-specific problems are approached in depth, preservation is secured, and related practices are directed and codified, the relation of the UCH to its surrounding environment and to environmental threats does not appear to have been a direct concern of the legislators. So far, there is no distinct legal or scientific framework focusing on the environmental condition of underwater antiquities and respectively no action has been taken on the environmental evaluation and monitoring that is needed to sustain and protect underwater archaeological remains.

Being open to interpretation, the Article 3§2 of the afore mentioned Archaeological law cites: ‘The protection of monuments, archaeological and historical sites shall be included among the objectives at all stages of town and country planning, environmental and development plans or equivalent effect of their substitutes’. This implies that all human activities, either industrial, constructional etc should always take into consideration the Cultural Heritage aspect (Delaporta 2005). So, in reality the impact of the environmental condition is implied and could be a matter of interpretation but is not clearly addressed.

The Underwater Archaeological site in the area of the modern harbour is protected since 1995 with YA ΥΠΠΟ/ΑΡΧ/Α1/Φ43/51126/2719/20-12-1994 (FEK 9/B/13-1-1995). The above ministerial decision, that has the status of a law, sets the legal framework for protecting the site. As one can clearly see in the illustration of North west side of Aegina (Figure 3), the Declared Archaeological Site is a large area including the modern harbour and the Marina in front the town of Aegina. Major developments took place at the coast in the second half of the 20th century, before the declaration of the site as a protected Archaeological site. The coast line south of the Naval dockyards and the

whole commercial harbour have been covered by modern constructions before archaeologists had the chance to record and study the antiquities.

### **The need of Environmental Monitoring of Coastal Underwater Archaeological Sites**

The remains of the various harbour structures are protected by law, however the modern harbour and the town of Aegina have an impact on the archaeological site that has not been taken into account until today. That is the impact on the water environment mainly from the urban settlement & the seafaring activities. These observations render this project as extremely important because:

- a. The town of Aegina with a population of c. 7500 of the total 13500 inhabitants of the island's population, which reaches 70000 in summer, and the urban sewage that is not until today fully processed, with the drainage ending up in the harbour.
- b. The harbour of Aegina being the second most busy passenger harbour in Greece with around 2,000,000 passengers per year.
- c. The daily traffic of ferry boats which lay anchors within the archaeological site and the possible petrol/chemical impact they may cause.
- d. The marina in front of the town that reaches full capacity in the summer time.
- e. Professional and private/leisure fishing boats.
- f. Repair works of small boats at the beach north east of the Ancient Dockyard.

Commanded by the individual characteristics of Greek geography and socioeconomic factors, our approach focuses on submerged ancient harbours and coastal sites that are still in use and/or are located in urban environments. A polluted water environment can affect the preservation conditions of an UCH site, the safety of entering the water, as well as aesthetics of the area, thus jeopardizing the monuments' integrity and the public's potential accessibility and the looks of the site. Last but not least a polluted/contaminated environment presents the archaeologists working in such a site with obstacles like reduced visibility, excessive growth of marine flora, and possible health and safety threats, since harbours overall and especially those in urban environments tend to have high levels of pathogenous microorganisms and chemical substances.

### **The Aegina Harbour Complex Environmental Monitoring Project**

The issue of Environmental Monitoring of UCH addresses both the aesthetic/ethical impact of pollution, as well as the structural/preservation impact of pollution. Our initial intention is to Monitor a series of environmental parameters in the sea body within the limits of the declared archaeological site and in particular to the areas of structures related to the harbour complex and the coastal remains in the vicinity. The results will lead to a substantial picture of the pollution levels in the area of interest. The various levels of impact to the monuments and to the site overall need to be evaluated. The sources of the pollution will be located and relevant suggested measures need to be taken.

### **Methodology A: Principles & Legal Framework of Marine Environment**

Harbours are closed or semi-closed coastal systems with limited water circulation, poor flushing and weak tidal exchange. They are characterised as pollution hotspots or areas of stagnation with a variety of contaminants, from both diffuse and point sources and with potential impacts of contaminants on aquatic biota. As water mixing with the 'open' sea is prevented, harbours are potentially secondary pollution sources influencing the environmental status of the adjacent coastal marine system. Despite the current significant legislative framework that controls and prevents marine pollution (Figure 4), it is obvious that much more can be done in order to achieve a better coastal area environmental status. During the last decade, ports in Greece, as well as around the world, have grown in order to accommodate increased international trade and tourism. Environmental parameters can be used in an

attempt to monitor and audit the effectiveness of measures aimed at protecting the environment and manage human activities in a harbours.

Figure 5 lists various water quality indicators that are usually monitored having environmental relevance, international comparability, and applicability of the information, in order to support decisions pertinent to port development projects and minimize the impacts of the port system on society, cultural heritage and environment (Darbra et al. 2005). It must be stressed, however that each port is unique in terms of its geographical setting, activity profile and socio-economic setting and yet the environmental issues are ubiquitous though they may impact to varying degrees of significance and effect.

### Methodology B: Technical Description

It was decided to design and implement a sampling programme for the monitoring of the environmental quality of seawater in the area of the ancient harbour complex of Aegina and, till present, two sampling campaigns were performed with special reference to bacteria. The first took place in February 2010 and the second in November 2012. The sampling points are depicted in Figures 6 and 7 respectively.

The methods used to measure the various parameters were designed to objectively measure both environmental indicators and the conditions at the survey site. The methods were designed to be carried out in situ on the survey vessel both safely and quickly to optimise the number of sites that could be visited and to ensure the highest degree of both qualitative and quantitative data that could be recorded. Sea water samples collected were transferred to the Laboratory of Marine Sciences of the University of Piraeus, stored in dark and at 4°C within 2-3 hours.

As used in many previous monitoring surveys (Tselentis 2012), microbial loads were estimated using Defined Substrate Technology® (DST). This method identifies bacteria in water samples through the effect of their constitutive enzymes on chromogenically labelled, specific substrates. Samples were taken within the surface waters (within 1 metre). On return to the laboratory, using the Quanti-tray equipment, DST was administered using the bacterial reagents Colilert® to detect faecal coliforms and E. coli, and Enterolert® to detect enterococci. The results obtained from the 2010 and 2012 sampling campaigns are presented in Figure 8 and Figure 9 respectively.

### Conclusion

It is very early to come into firm conclusions through the results of only two sampling campaigns. The purpose of environmental monitoring is to develop a monitoring program that will highlight trends based on long-term environmental monitoring. The results confirm that there is no serious microbiological load at sampling points 1, 3 and 4 (points representing microbiological contamination of the open sea – background), as they are at a distance from the coast. Points 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7 present little impact, most probably derived primarily from discharge of urban waste not necessarily human (increased microbiological parameters (faecal coliforms (E-coli) but not enterococci). Severe microbial load is shown for points 8, 9 and 10, from which all microbiological indicators (total coliforms, fecal coliforms (E-coli), and Enterococci) are elevated and above limits as set by the Bathing Water Directive (Directive 2006/7/EC). These elevated concentrations can be attributed to discharges of urban waste, into the port area, as most of the water drainage outlets can carry such contamination.

It is clear that a more systematic (2 to 4 times a year) has to be implemented in order to have a clear picture as to the levels of contamination in the full extend of the archaeological site. Analysis of physicochemical parameters is also necessary in order to further quantify sources influencing the quality of marine waters in the area under study. It is expected to initiate such an integrated approach in the near future incorporating bathymetric and hydrographic survey of the coastal waters around the coast, mapping major habitats, creating maps and matrices of environmental impacts, highlighting

scientific criteria for effective environmental management of port areas and assigning significance levels to archaeological, hydrographic, climatic, legal, political and cultural differences in evaluating environmental performance and management options.

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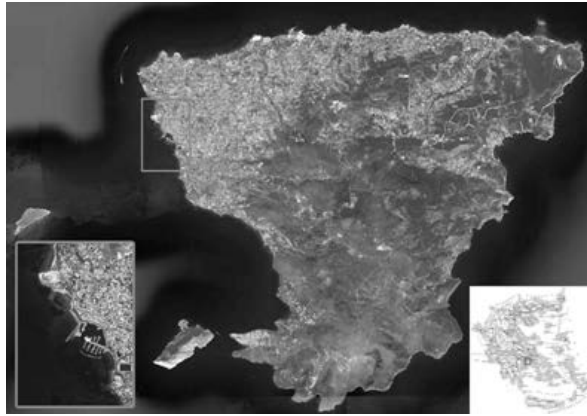


FIG. 1. OVERVIEW OF THE ISLAND AEGINA. BOTTOM RIGHT: LOCATION OF AEGINA IN THE MAP OF GREECE. BOTTOM LEFT SECTION INCLUDING THE HARBOUR FRONT AND THE TOWN OF AEGINA.



FIG. 2. ANGLED OVERVIEW FROM SOUTHWEST OF THE DECLARED ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE DEFINED BY THE COAST AND THE ARROWS.

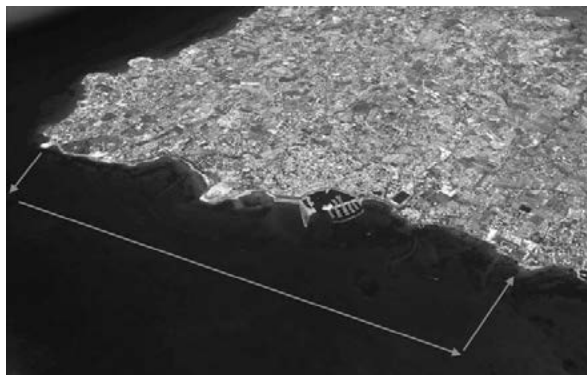


FIG. 3. OVERVIEW OF THE AREA OF THE UNDERWATER HARBOUR STRUCTURES WITH ALPHABETIC DESIGNATION

Directive <b>2008/56/EC</b> Marine Strategy Framework
Directive <b>2000/60/EC</b> Water Framework
Directive <b>91/271/EEC</b> Urban Waste Water Treatment Directive
Directive <b>2006/7/EC</b> The management of bathing water quality and repealing 76/160/EEC
Directive <b>92/43/EEC</b> The conservation of natural habitats and of wild fauna and flora
Directive <b>2009/147/EC</b> on the conservation of wild birds - Special Protection Ar- eas (SPAs)
Directives <b>78/659/EEC</b> and <b>79/923/EEC</b> The quality of fresh waters needing protection or improve- ment in order to support fish life
Directive <b>2004/35/EC</b> Environmental Liability Directive
Directive <b>2001/42/EC</b> - Strategic Environmental Assess- ment Directive
EU 2020 Biodiversity Strategy (2011)
<b>COM (2010) 771</b> Roadmap for maritime spatial planning

FIG. 4. SEA WATER QUALITY - TABLE OF RELEVANT EUROPEAN LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK (NOT EXHAUSTIVE).

Parameter	Significance	Source	Notes
pH	High	Measured	
Temperature	High	"	
Conductivity	Low	"	
Salinity	High	"	Water Framework Directive (WFD)
Biological Oxygen Demand BOD <sub>5</sub>	High	"	Directive <b>91/271/EEC</b> - Urban Waste Water Treatment Directive
Total Dissolved Solids (TDS)	Medium	"	"
Chemical Oxygen Demand (COD)	Medium	"	Directive <b>91/271/EEC</b> - Urban Waste Water Treatment Directive
Dissolved oxygen	High	"	Water Framework Directive (WFD)
Oil index	High	"	"
Nitrate (NO <sub>3</sub> )	High	"	"
Heavy metals (As, Ag, Cr, Zn, Cu, Cd, Pb, Hg, Ni, Co)	High	Measured	"
Microbiology (Total coliforms, E.coli, Enterococcus spp)	High	"	Directive <b>2006/7/EC</b> - The management of bathing water quality
Thermal conditions	High	Measured	Water Framework Directive
Oxygenation conditions	High	"	"
Nutrient condition	High	"	"
Turbidity / Transparency	High	"	"
Pollution by priority substances identified as being discharged	High	Measured	listed in Annex II of 2008/105/EC

FIG. 5. TABLE OF MONITORED SEA WATER QUALITY INDICATORS.



FIG. 6. SAMPLING POINTS FOR AEGINA UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE 2010 (8 POINTS)



FIG. 7. SAMPLING POINTS FOR AEGINA UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE 2012 (10 POINTS)

Sample Point	Total Coliforms /100ml	<i>E. coli</i> /100ml	Streptococci /100ml
1	10	<1	10
2	20	20	<1
3	10	10	52
4	20	20	63
5	10	10	20
6	10	10	85
7	10	<1	53
8	10	<1	10

FIG. 8. TABLE OF MICROBIAL CONTAMINATION OF MARINE WATERS WITHIN THE UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF AEGINA (2010 sampling campaign)

<b>Sample Point</b>	<b>Total Coliforms /100ml</b>	<b><i>E. coli</i> /100ml</b>	<b>Streptococci /100ml</b>
<b>1</b>	10	<1	<1
<b>2</b>	233	51	<1
<b>3</b>	45	10	10
<b>4</b>	32	21	16
<b>5</b>	121	20	<1
<b>6</b>	238	52	<1
<b>7</b>	96	41	<1
<b>8</b>	354	106	52
<b>9</b>	1.529	107	169
<b>10</b>	6.015	95	52

FIG. 9. TABLE OF MICROBIAL CONTAMINATION OF MARINE WATERS WITHIN THE UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF AEGINA (2010 sampling campaign)

# The Byzantine Castle in Akbas on Thracian Chersonessos

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## Abstract

The Thracian Chersonessos had more than one natural port on the coasts of the Hellespont and the Aegean Sea. These ports were located at the mouth of the valleys formed by the rivers that had reached the Aegean Sea and the Hellespont. The ports were connected with each other by the networks that the valleys had formed. These geographical characteristics of the peninsula were one of the qualities sought for the market places of the Byzantine period. Historical data also indicate this. The market places on the peninsula were taken under conservation with the long wall on the isthmus reconstructed against the attacks from the land in the era of Justinian. Written data show that Justinian had defensive structures constructed on the Peninsula, simultaneously with the 'long wall'. However, this is not supported with archaeological data. This creates a serious problem primarily in understanding the military geography and defensive system of the Peninsula. To contribute to the settlement of this problem, at the first stage, it was intended to determine and document the defensive structures of the peninsula on the coast of the strait. At this stage, traces of the defensive structures in Gallipoli, Koila, Madytos and Eleius were detected and documented, respectively. In the present study, it was aimed to evaluate the archaeological data we detected in the Byzantine castle in Sestos-Akbaş on the Yalova Valley and the results we obtained from the archaeogeophysical studies.

## Keywords

Thracian Chersonessos, Sestos, Byzantine, Castle, Gallipoli, Canakkale, Koila, Yalova Valley, Akbaş, Madytos

The Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea were important economic areas in the Byzantine period. The Hellespont stood out with its geographical location in the production-consumption and shopping relationships between these economic areas. Therefore, it was of great importance to secure the Hellespont. When it is considered how the Hellespont was secured in the early, middle and late phases of the Byzantine period, it is seen that no archaeological data is available despite the historical information we have. This creates a serious problem in understanding the Byzantine military geography. To contribute to the settlement of this problem, we are studying the military geography and defensive structures of the Hellespont in the Byzantine period.<sup>1</sup> The documentation on the Thracian Chersonessos constituted some of these studies. At this stage, traces of the defensive structures in Gallipoli, Koila, Madytos and Eleius were detected and documented, respectively (Türker, 2007, 55-65; Türker, 2006, 613-625; Türker, 2008, 515-585; Türker, 2009, 51-74). In the present study, it was aimed to evaluate the archaeological data we detected in the Byzantine castle in Akbas on the Yalova Valley and the results we obtained from the archaeogeophysical studies.

The castle of Akbas is located on the Hellespont coast of the Yalova Valley within the borders of Eceabat. The Yalova Valley is an important valley with a wide floor. It joins the small valleys created by the lateral brooks, thereby forming valley networks. With these valley networks, it provides easy access to Ece Port in Saroz and the natural ports of Suvla in the North Aegean. Castle is located at an altitude of around 80 m at the central point of the land with both sides sheltered on the northeast-facing plateau at an altitude of approximately 100 m at the southwestern margin of the Yalova Valley. On the sea-facing side of the plateau are very steep rocky areas. Its northern and southern coasts are also quite steep. The location of the castle creates natural defense. The ancient city of Sestos is localized in the place where the castle in Akbas is located (Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 909-910; Isaac, 1986, 197; Picard and Reinach, 1912, 275).

<sup>1</sup> Our study is supported by Tübitak (Project nu:111K377).

The castle has a polygonal plan consisting of the walls that follow the high points of the land. It has four towers, with each of them being in the south-west, south-east, north-east, and north-west. The western corner of Tower No. 1 with a quadrangular plan located in the south-west is ruined, and a fragment of the northern wall of the tower has been preserved. The wall coverings of this fragment have been dismantled, and only the mortared rubble core consisting of small unhewn stones and intensive lime mortar is visible. This mortar is the large pebble-tempered white lime mortar. The surface coating on the southern and eastern walls of the tower was formed with large unhewn stones. Brick fragments and small stones were used in the gaps between the stones and at the joints. In addition, it is understood that the surface was covered with gypsum of lime in the sections corresponding to the gaps between the stones of different sizes.<sup>2</sup> However, the wall was destroyed due to the stones dismantled in order to obtain construction materials particularly from the lower sections of the wall. On the southern wall with a better preserved covering, a row of stones and a row of bricks were alternately implemented for nine rows starting from the bottom. On the ninth row of stones is a brick band consisting of 4 rows of bricks. It is understood that the hidden brick technique was used in this bond of brickwork. The bond where a row of stones and a row of bricks are implemented alternately on the brick band is repeated three times. However, this part of the wall also contains the cloisonné technique, which comprises vertically placed whole bricks between the rows of stones.

The section where the wall extending north-westwards from Tower No. 1 is connected with the tower is ruined, and its preserved sections are getting more and more fragmented and disconnected under the influence of both the stones dismantled from the lower sections of the walls and nature. The wall technique viewed in the preserved section of the wall is parallel with the wall technique viewed in the lower section of the southern wall of the tower. Brick and roofing-tile fragments were used on the wall covering comprised of large unhewn stones in order to fill the gaps between the stones.

The wall extending eastwards from Tower No. 1 does not follow any straight line, and the wall breaks at two points and joins the second tower in the south-east. It is understood that large unhewn stones were used in the covering of the wall and that the gaps between the stones were filled again with broken bricks and roofing-tiles. These brick and stone materials are alternately repeated as a row of stones and a row of bricks in some sections of the wall. Nevertheless, the traces of repair whereby large block stones were used in the lower section of the wall can be detected. The gaps between the stones and partially their surfaces were covered with mortar.

The second tower in the south-east is in the position of viewing the port of Akbas well. Especially the stones on the exterior of the walls of the tower were dismantled. Therefore, the bond covering the wall core can be seen in fragments. On this wall covering with the alternate technique, irregular brick bands – each consisting of two or three rows – were used between the rows of stones. However, it is understood that there is another row of bricks shifted backwards behind each of the thick joints between the rows of bricks.

Three rows of stones and three rows of bricks at the bottom and six rows of stones, three rows of bricks and again six rows of stones over them are repeated alternately on the bond connected with Tower No. 3 in the north-east from Tower No. 2. The brick bands were built with the hidden brick technique. It can be seen that broken brick and roofing-tile fragments were used to fill the gaps between the rows of stones; however, they are not as intensive as those used in Tower No. 1 and in the sections of the wall extending north-westwards and eastwards from this tower. Only the northern wall of Tower No. 3 in the north-east has been preserved, and the eastern and southern walls are ruined; however, their traces can be viewed on the surface. A wall covering consisting of large unhewn stones is seen on the preserved wall. The gaps between the stones were filled with broken brick fragments.

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<sup>2</sup> This application is considered to have been preventive against the enemies who intended to climb up the castle.

The wall extending north-westwards from Tower No. 3 joins the north-western tower with a pentagonal form. The wall fragment extending westwards from this tower constitutes some of the eastern defensive line of the castle. Nevertheless, the section of the wall which is connected with the wall extending from the south-western tower is ruined. Large unhewn stones were used in the wall covering on the surfaces of the pentagonal tower and in the covering of the walls connected with this tower from the east and the west. The bond does not contain any brick bands; however, broken brick and roofing-tile fragments were used to fill the gaps between the stones of different sizes.

The plan of the castle was formed according to the topography of the land and displays a polygonal plan. This type of plan does not constitute any significant data for the dating of the castle. In defensive structures, plans are generally formed in agreement with the topographical characteristics of the selected area.<sup>3</sup> The castle we examine is also located in the middle section of the Hellespont and at a quite strategic point for the control of strait crossings. The port of Akbas in the south-east of the castle is an important commercial and military port. The plateau on which the castle is located also has important advantages for defense. There are very steep rocky areas on the sea-facing side of the plateau. Its northern and southern coasts are also quite steep. The plan of the castle is understood to have been formed according to these topographical characteristics as well. There are 4 towers in this plan, and of them, the south-western, south-eastern and north-eastern towers have a quadrangular plan, while the north-western tower has a pentagonal plan.

The early specimens of the towers with a pentagonal plan are also seen on the Anastasian Wall in Istanbul, at the tower in Marmara Ereğlisi, in Mesembria in Bulgaria, and in Sergiapolis, Resafa and Antioch in Syria. In situ brick stamps are detected at the tower in Marmara Ereğlisi out of them, and the date of the structure is accordingly determined to be the midst of the 5th century. The tower in Mesembria is dated to the late 5th century or the 6th century. The specimens in Syria are also evaluated within the 5th to the 6th centuries.<sup>4</sup> The material and technique used on the bond of the pentagonal tower in the castle of Akbas also indicate the same period. Large unhewn stones were used on the defensive walls connected to the tower with a pentagonal plan from the eastern and western directions and on the façades of the tower. The bond does not contain any brick bands; however, the gaps between the stones of different sizes were filled with broken brick and roofing-tile fragments. Similar material and technical properties are detected at Tower No. 1 in the south-west of the castle, on the wall extending eastwards from Tower No. 1, and at Tower No. 3. This wall technique is parallel with the material and technique on the long wall constructed by Justinian on the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonessos (Crow 1995, 109-124; Greatrex 1995, 125-129). The historical data also support these findings. Procopius indicated a castle that had been constructed in this area by Emperor Justinian.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, the first construction phase we detected in the castle can be dated to the 6th century.

The material and technical properties viewed on the walls of the castle indicate that three different construction phases were present in the castle after the 6th century. Accordingly, the second construction phase that could be detected in the castle is viewed in the upper part of the walls of Tower No.1 in the south-west, at Tower No. 2, and on the defensive wall connected with Tower No. 3 in the north-east from Tower No. 2. This phase is characterized by the use of the hidden brick technique on the brick bands between the rows of stones. Moreover, the cloisonné technique can be detected, although in a limited fashion. The walls constructed with the alternate technique in the Byzantine architecture are seen as of the 4th century. However, the implementation of the cloisonné technique and the hidden brick technique begins to be seen as of the 11th century. Accordingly, the

<sup>3</sup> Procopius wrote that the settlements located in plain areas shifted to the regions which were more convenient for defense due to their geographical characteristics, and having commenced as of the 3rd century, this trend became a natural phenomenon particularly upon the invasion of many cities during the Arab raids, Dewing 1971, 297.

<sup>4</sup> For further information and examples about the pentagonal towers, see Crow and Ricci 1998, 239. A pentagonal tower is also detected in the castle in Gallipoli, see Türker 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Procopius defined the place, where the castle had been constructed, as a very steep hill and described the constructed castle as being very difficult to access and impossible to be captured by enemies, Dewing 1971, 295.

second construction phase detected in the castle with the data can be dated to the 11th to the 12th centuries.

In the castle, two different construction phases belonging to the period after the Byzantine period, probably to the Ottoman period, are detected in the lower section of the defensive wall extending eastwards from Tower No. 1 and on the wall of Tower No. 3. In publications, it is suggested that Sestos-Akbas was the first place the Turks captured upon their transition to Europe.<sup>6</sup> It is quoted that it was selected as the easiest point for transition to Europe by the Ottomans and that the castle in this region had been captured by Suleyman Pasha a year before the Cimpe Castle in Gallipoli was captured (Butler 1831, 122). Nevertheless, the Ottoman forces failed to get firmly established in the place concerned and were driven back by Ioannes Paleologos. There is a tekke, known as Akbas Tekkesi, in the south of Tower No.1 in the southwest of the defensive structure. It is recorded that the tekke was a Bektashi tekke established under the pressure of the Janissary corps in the era of Sultan Mahmut (Knight 1839, 215). It is learned that the tomb of the Turkish ghazi Fazil Bey, who became a martyr during the capture of the castle in 1365, is located in this Tekke.

Inside the castle is some embankment that reaches about 5 m today, and the traces of the buildings in this area are invisible. However, architectural plastic items, which are conserved in the Yalova Village and which are expressed to have been unearthed in Akbas locality, were documented during our surveys. These works include a barrier slab of an ambo balcony, balusters and coupled columns belonging to the 5th to the 6th centuries and a colonette carved as a monolith with its capital and a column capital with a bandvoluten decoration belonging to the central Byzantine period. The works with a liturgical function constitute an important group among the architectural plastic items. They are the most significant archaeological data indicating the existence of a religious institution in or around the castle in Akbas. The works are made of marble and display some workmanship of very good quality.

To understand whether these materials had belonged to a religious institution inside the Byzantine Castle in Akbas, it was aimed to carry out an archaeogeophysical study inside the castle. With this purpose, subsurface imaging applications were performed with the GPR and gradiometry methods. As a result of these studies, geophysical finds representing the architectural buildings were detected in A1-A6. Intertwined and interrelated buildings in the northwest-southeast direction were particularly detected in A1, A2 and A3. The dimensions of the detected buildings are observed to have increased in those sections of A1 and A2 that are in the proximity of the castle ramparts. From the radar studies, it was determined that the architectural buildings in A1, A2 and A3 began at 90 to 100 cm and continued until the depth of 2.5 m. During the radar studies, a staircase-like diagonal structure sloping from grid-square H9 to grid-square I9 in A1 that had a width of about 60 to 80 cm was found. In grid-square G8, architectural buildings perpendicular to the northwest-southeast direction are observed on the magnetic structure map. The rest of these buildings are seen in A4, A5 and A6. Ruins with a smaller size than those of the other regions were detected in grid-square E3 that included A6. Nevertheless, the quality of these buildings can be understood with excavations.

To understand the range of the settlement, systematic surveys were carried out in the areas located in the northeast and southwest of the castle. These studies were conducted at two stages. At the first stage, an area of 150 m in diameter, with the castle being the center, was examined. Mortared wall fragments were detected at a distance of approximately 118 m in its southwest, with the castle being the center. Painted, glazed and unglazed pottery sherds of the early Christian and Byzantine periods were documented at moderate density in this area.

<sup>6</sup> The castle was named *choiridokastron* (Mackay 1976), *coiridokastron* (Hales 1830, 368) or *cheirido-kastro* castle (Post 1830, 312) in the historical geography studies and by the visitors of the region in the 18th to the 19th centuries. Leaf states that the castle is also known as 'Domuz Castle' (Leaf 1923, 132). The name of Sestos-Akbas settlement is also mentioned as *Zemenik* and it is put forward that the castle herein was named Zemenik Castle depending on the name of the settlement (Butler 1831, 122; Dolen 1995; Godley 1922, 346, fn.1; Panckoucke 1838; Mionnet 1822; How and Wells 1912, 33-7). Another view is that the name of the settlement was Sest Tepe (Sest Hill) in Turkish (Clarke 1813, 162-206, 169-70).

At the second stage, an area of about 540 m in diameter, with the castle being the center, was examined. The studies at this stage were conducted in two areas. The first area consisted of the altitudes between about 80 m to 75 m, where the castle was located, and 35 m. Some three wall fragments were documented in this area. Of them, the first one is found about 310 m to the northeast of the center of the castle at an altitude of about 35 m on the border of the hill. The second wall is 230 m to the northwest of the center of the castle at an altitude of about 40 m. This wall is also located on the border of the hill and has identical qualities with the wall in the northeast. The third wall fragment is 260 m to the west of the center of the castle and at an altitude of 45 m. These wall fragments must have probably belonged to the external defensive line of the castle.

The second area consisted of the fields approximately between the altitudes of 5 m and 15 m at a distance of about 350 m as the crow flew in the eastern and southeastern directions from the center of the castle. During the studies in this area, considerable construction materials indicating that a building of the Byzantine Period had been dismantled were documented. Among the pottery, rim sherds of red-slipped and painted pottery, dated to the 5th to the 7th centuries, were documented at moderate density. The pottery also includes fragments of white paste, glazed and unglazed vessels. The most considerable group is comprised of the fragments of the Zeuxippus ware dated to the 12th to the 13th centuries. Behind the base fragments in this group are some graffiti that are likely to have been workshop's or potter's marks.

The handle and rim sherds of commercial cargo containers used in the 10th to the 12th centuries rank the second. The data we found demonstrate that the center of the Byzantine settlement in Akbas was located at the hill, whereas on the seaside were workshops for trade.

The examination of private collections constituted some of our research on the region. In these studies, we documented the commercial cargo containers unearthed from the port (the Odun Pier) in front of the Byzantine Castle in Akbas. The amphorae include specimens of the carrot amphorae, dated to the 3rd to the 4th centuries; LR 1, dated to the 5th century to the midst of the 7th century and known to have been used to carry the wine produced in the mountainous Cilicia; LR 5-6 of Palestine origin, understood to have been used in the 5th to the 6th centuries; and Gunsenin amphora type 1, produced in Ganos and dated to the 9th to the 11th centuries. We detected the parallels of these amphorae of the early and middle Byzantine periods at the ports in the Hellespont and on the Aegean and Marmara coasts in the short distance and at the centers on the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts in the long distance. These data are the evidence of long- and short-distance trade at Akbas Port.

This castle in Akbas locality is the only Byzantine building that has been able to exist on the coast of the Hellespont. Thus, a systematic excavation project, with which building inside the castle can be made comprehensible, is of great importance. The data to be obtained with this study will be able to provide significant information both about the defense of the Hellespont in the Byzantine period.

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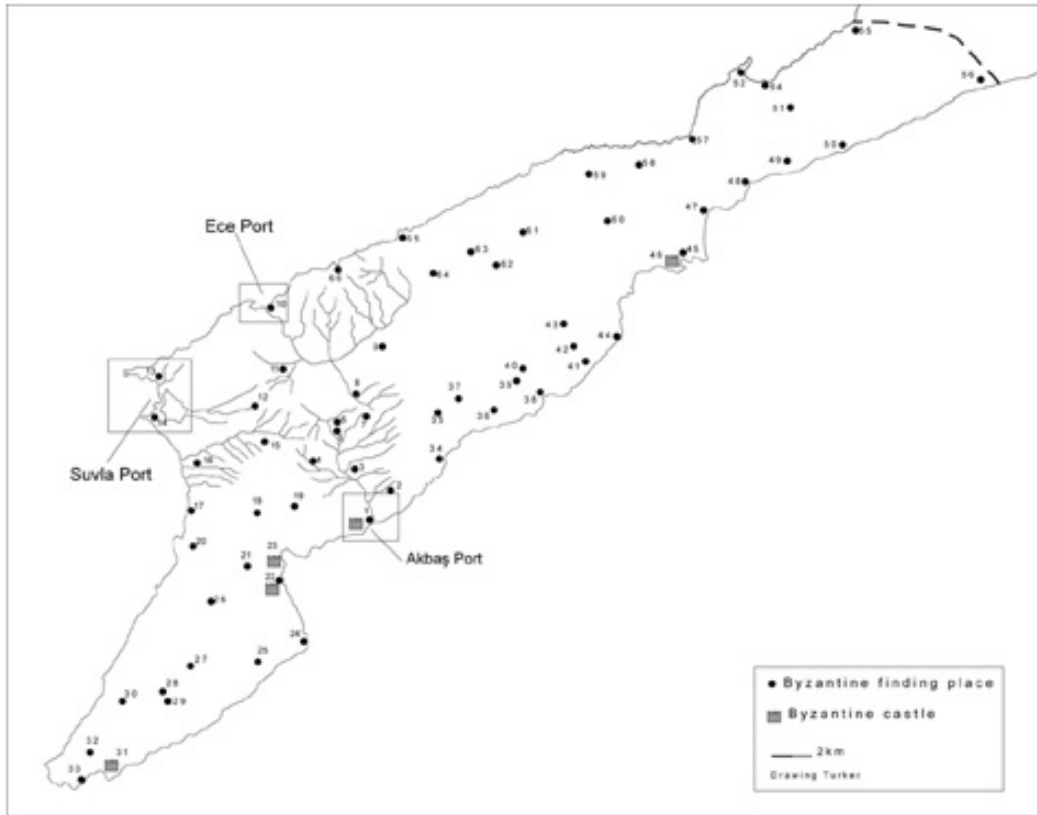


Figure 1

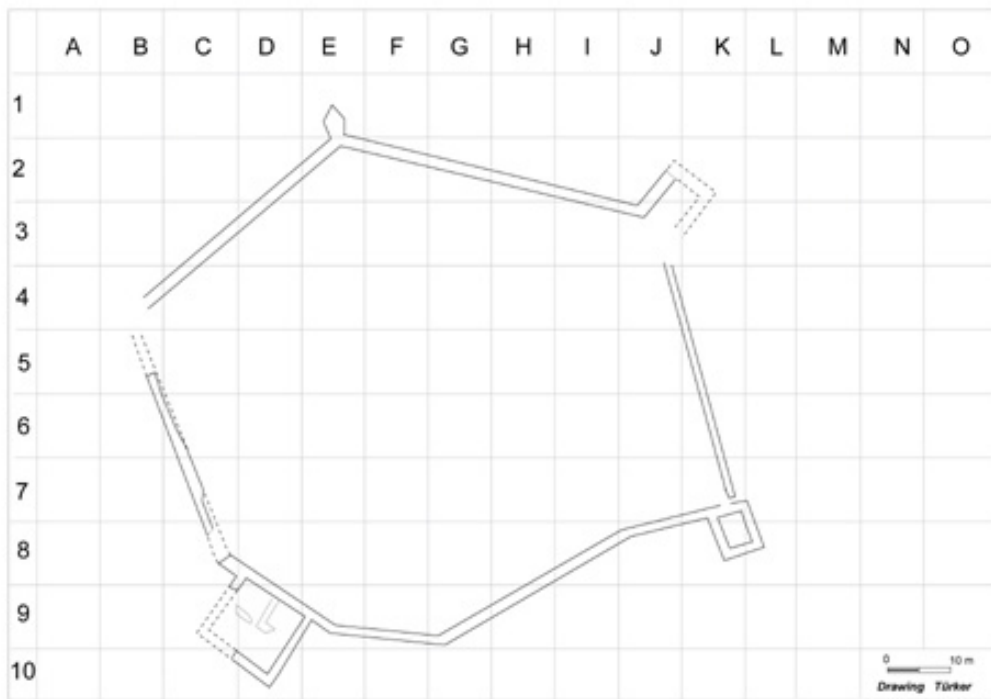


Figure 2

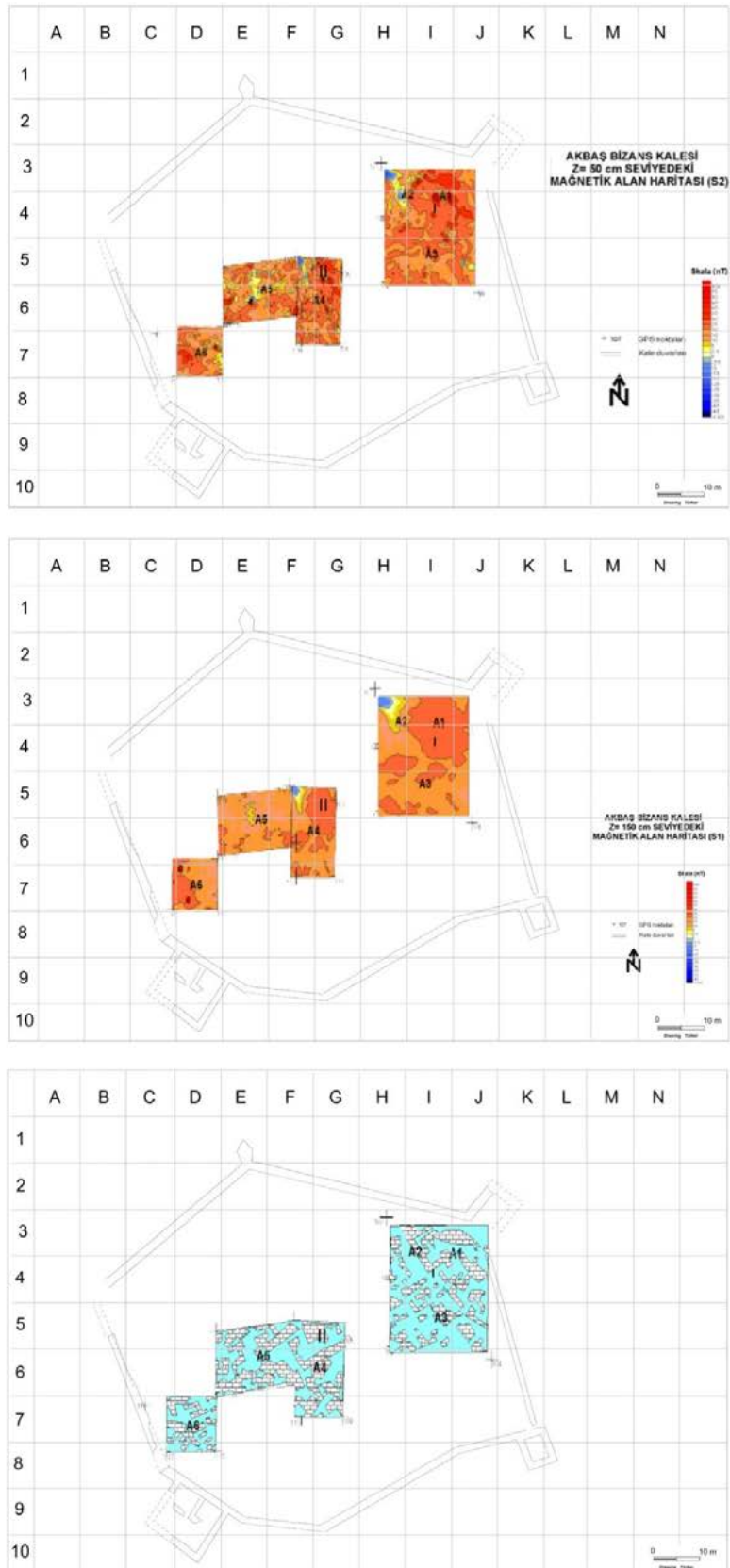


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10

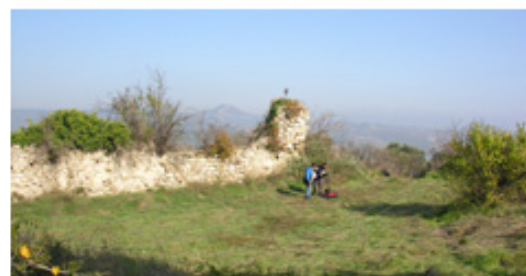


Figure 11

# Agoras, Theaters, Baths and Gymnasia: A Case Study on the Urban Redevelopment Choices of Carian Benefactors in the Roman Age

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## Abstract

In the Roman Age, being a citizen of a developed city meant inhabiting a magnificent settlement, one that included public buildings whose purposes were beyond essential needs. Although the concepts of 'polis' and civilization exist not only because of the existence of grandiose buildings, but also because the festivals, agones and cults were important elements of the cultural and politic organization, the buildings necessary for public needs and for the political functions of the city were primarily essential for urban civilization; thus, in this context, theatres, agoras, baths and gymnasia have to be given consideration alongside the bouleuterion, archeion and treasury buildings.

Citizens have contributed to urban redevelopment since the Hellenistic Age in the form of euergetism, but the quantity and quality of these contributions reached a climax in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Given the wealth of available evidence, the research is limited temporally to the Roman Age, and regionally to the inscriptions found in Caria. The purpose of this paper is to consider possible answers to the following questions: Do the efforts and gifts of wealthy and elite citizens towards urban redevelopment show a homogenous distribution between the major buildings of a 'polis'? Or, in this context, can any significant difference between buildings be determined? To what extent have the essential buildings for a 'polis' - such as agoras, theatres, baths and gymnasia - benefitted from the largesse of wealthy citizens? And what were the motives and purposes of citizens who contributed to the construction or restoration of these buildings?

## Keywords

Caria, euergesia, agora, theater, bath, balaneion, gymnasium, gymnasium

## Introduction

### ***The importance of public buildings for the concept of polis***

In the Roman Age, being a citizen of a developed city meant inhabiting a magnificent settlement, one that included public buildings whose purposes were beyond essential needs. Although the concepts of *polis*<sup>1</sup> and civilization occurred not only because of the existence of grandiose buildings but also because the festivals, *agones* and cults which were important elements of the cultural and political organization. However the buildings necessary for public needs and for the political functions of the city were primarily essential for urban civilization.<sup>2</sup> This phenomenon is clearly visible through the words of Pausanias when describing the settlement named Panopeus in the Phocis region of Greece; '*From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine*' (Paus. 10.4.1; (English translation) Jones et al. 1918). This criticism demonstrates that the existence of the main public buildings was essential for a settlement to have the title of *polis* since a *polis* should constitute concrete locations for the social, political, economic, cultural and religious activities of its citizens. Thus, the urban structure of a polis is a consequence, and at the same time, a necessity of social life. It is the main principle of the primary basis of a civilized urban lifestyle. Moreover, a polis should form an improved and impressive environment beyond essential needs, so

<sup>1</sup> For the concepts of *πόλις* and *κώμη* in the cities of Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, see; Schuler 1998: 17-32.

<sup>2</sup> For the relation between urbanism and civilization in the cities of western Asia Minor see; Parrish & Abbasoğlu 2001.

the magnificent buildings of a polis are a source of pride for the citizens, as reflected in the words of Dio Chrysostom when describing his fatherland Prusa (Hölscher 1998: 11-12).

**Do the efforts and gifts of wealthy and elite citizens towards urban redevelopment show a homogenous distribution between the major buildings of a polis? Or, in this context, can any significant difference between these buildings be determined?**

In the cities of Roman Asia Minor, the citizens contributed to redevelopment activities of various features on various buildings such as temples, baths, *gymnasia*, theaters, agoras, stoas, *hydragogia*, fountains, etc.,<sup>3</sup> despite that, they were not interested in the construction or restoration of the roads or the bridges which were outside the cities.<sup>4</sup> These contributions were occasionally in the form of establishing foundations, or, in contrast with the Hellenistic period, in the form of pecuniary donations for redevelopment activities, but they were frequently in the form of meeting the expenses necessary for a redevelopment activity.

In the inscriptions of the Carian cities, 118 pieces of epigraphic evidence testify to contributions by citizens towards urban redevelopment between the 1st century BC and 3rd century AD. However, homogenous distribution between the major buildings of a *polis* is not observed (See Fig. 1). The distribution between the buildings is as follows; respectively in quantity, the temples of local cults take 1st place, baths and gymnasia are in 2nd place, agoras and stoas related to agoras take 3rd place, stoas related to other buildings except agoras are 4th, fountains, water facilities and aqueducts are in 5th place, theaters are 6th, temples of emperor cult come 7th and other buildings (tower, library, etc.) and *incerta* are in 8th place. It can be easily observed that the list includes no governmental buildings,<sup>5</sup> except for one piece of evidence from Tralleis which informs us that the expenses of a remarkable redevelopment activity, in which the construction of an *agoranomion* was also included, were met by two *agoranomoi* (*I.Tralleis*, 146). It has to be mentioned that this heterogeneous distribution is not surprising; in fact remarkable similarity in sequence can be observed in the outcomes of statistical research on inscriptions in western Asia Minor by A. Zuiderhoek.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, it seems that the above mentioned words of Pausanias on the concept of *polis* are substantially endorsed by this epigraphic evidence and its distribution between the buildings.

## Agoras

Undoubtedly, the agora was the most important<sup>7</sup> public space of a *polis*, hosting social, economic, political and religious functions (Kolb 1984: 130). The important administrative and public buildings were usually located in the vicinity of agoras. In consequence of their aforementioned functions, agoras should possibly have been one of the most crowded places of a *polis*. Therefore, the decrees of *demos* and *boule* were proclaimed as inscriptions to citizens usually in agoras (Hansen 1997: 61). Additionally, agoras were the self-representation areas for the wealthy and elite citizens in the form of honorary inscriptions and statues. Thus, due to its self-representation potential, agoras often benefitted from the largesse of wealthy citizens of Carian cities (See Table 1).

In Carian cities, there is only one piece of definite evidence mentioning pecuniary donations for construction activities in agoras. In Ceramos, [ - ]ophantos, son of Dionysos, in his year of *stephanephoria* promised to donate 800 *denarii* for the stoa which was under construction in the agora.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Sartre 1997:135, cf. Zuiderhoek 2009: 160-166 (appendix 1, A).

<sup>4</sup> Sartre - Tranoy 1990: 164, also see; Bresson *et al.*: 195-198 no. 69 (7/6/2/82), cf. *I.Lasos*: 415

<sup>5</sup> For the inscription from Halicarnassos recording the construction of a custom-house (*telonion*) by two *pragmateutai* of Marcus Aurelius Mindios Matidianus Pollio, procurator Augusti, *promagister quadragesimae portuum Asiae*; see OGIS 525, for Marcus Aurelius Mindios Matidianus Pollio, see; Pflaum 1960: 523 - 531 no. 193.

<sup>6</sup> See; Zuiderhoek 2009: 80 (fig. 5.3).

<sup>7</sup> For the importance of agoras, see; Hölscher 1998: 29-45.

<sup>8</sup> *Keramos*, 14 (ll. 22-23), also see; *app. cr.* of lines 22-33, for the inscription from Sebastopolis, possibly mentioning a pecuniary donation by *nomen nescio* for the covering of the floor of *tetrastoon* in *agora* (?), see; Robert 1954: 323ff. no. 173.

In contrast with pecuniary donations, epigraphic evidence shows that citizens met the expenses of the construction of stoas<sup>9</sup> and columns<sup>10</sup> in agoras, the covering of floors [*I.Stratonikeia*, 229a-b (ll. 6-9)] or the covering of exedras related to agoras (*I.Tralleis*, 145). Besides these sumptuous activities, there is epigraphic evidence that informs us that citizens also met the expenses of unpretentious constructions such as those of tables for the fish market [*I.Tralleis*, 77 (ll. 18-21)] or of a sundial [*I.Tralleis*, 162 (ll. 2-5)] which was possibly in the agora.

Undoubtedly, construction of a whole agora, including stoas, *ergasteria* and the floor covering, necessitated a vast expense. Therefore, there is no definite evidence for the construction of a whole agora whose expenses was met by a citizen.<sup>11</sup> However, an extraordinary piece of epigraphic evidence for a remarkable redevelopment activity in the agora of Tralleis needs to be specifically mentioned; Artemidoros and Diogenes, while holding the office of *agoranomia* together, met the expenses of the construction of *peripatos*, *agoranomion*, doric *peristylon*, cisterns and all *ergasteria* in *agora*, additionally they established a foundation for the maintenance of these buildings (*I.Tralleis*, 146).

The implementation and supervision of the commercial activities in the agora were under the responsibility of an official called *agoranomos*.<sup>12</sup> The grain supply to be sold in the agora was probably the heaviest burden of this office. *Agoranomion*, the office building of *agoranomos*, was usually located in agoras, due to the scope of its authority and responsibility. Therefore, one can easily assume that citizens holding *agoranomia* would have often displayed their beneficence for the redevelopment of agoras. As seen in fig. 2, in Carian cities 15 epigraphic documents testify to contributions of citizens, towards the construction, restoration or maintenance of agoras by meeting the expenses. In only three documents, the contributor citizens were mentioned as active or former *agoranomos* (*I.Tralleis*, 77; *I.Tralleis*, 146; Robert 1954: 281 no. 161). In 12 other epigraphic documents of redevelopment activities concerning agoras, the citizens were mentioned as active or former officials such as priest/priestess,<sup>13</sup> *stephanephoros*, *stephanephoros* and priest for life,<sup>14</sup> *grammateus*,<sup>15</sup> or even a Roman military official *primipilarius*.<sup>16</sup> In two epigraphic documents the office of the citizens cannot be discerned<sup>17</sup> and in four documents no office was mentioned.<sup>18</sup> Thus, it can be clearly realized that *agoranomoi* were not alone in redevelopment activities for agoras. Furthermore, citizens holding the abovementioned prestigious public offices, and even citizens without any mentioned office performed redevelopment activities in agoras by meeting the expenses.

### Baths and Gymnasia

In Greek culture, as from the Hellenistic Age, the structure of the *gymnasion* and the physical exercises conducted there constituted an important element in the education of the individual and was an indispensable part of the concept of citizenship.<sup>19</sup> The structure of the *gymnasion*, where philosophers, poets, judges and performing artists delivered their speeches and *epheboi* (Kolb 1984: 132) received an education in athletics and culture, was combined with the developed and well-equipped Roman baths, starting from the first century AD; this combination of structures came to be identified in archeology as the ‘bath-gymnasium complex’. Encompassing both structures, these complexes were referred to in inscriptions sometimes with the word *gymnasion* and sometimes with

<sup>9</sup> Chaniotis 2004: 393ff. no. 12; *I.Aph.2007*, 4.4; SEG XXXVI (1986) 987B, cf. SEG L (2000) 1107.

<sup>10</sup> *I.Aph.2007*, 4.1; SEG L (2000): 1107, cf. SEG XXXVI (1986): 987B; *I.Tralleis*, 145 (ll. 12-15), also see; Robert 1954: 280f. no. 160; Robert 1954: 281 no. 161.

<sup>11</sup> Chaniotis points out the probability that C. Iulius Zoilos could have met the expenses of the construction of not only a stoa, but also the whole Northern Agora, see; Chaniotis 2004: 394, cf. *I.Aph.2007*, 3.2.

<sup>12</sup> For *agoranomos* see; Oehler 1894; Brandis 1903; Reden 1996; Jones 1940: 251-252; Magie 1950: 60; Magie 1950: 849f. note 33; Quass 1993: 248 – 252; Quass 1993: 260 – 264.

<sup>13</sup> *I.Aph.2007*, 4.4; *I.Stratonikeia*, 229a-b.

<sup>14</sup> Chaniotis 2004: 393ff. no. 12.

<sup>15</sup> *I.Tralleis*, 145.

<sup>16</sup> *I.Aph.2007*, 4.3.

<sup>17</sup> SEG XXXVI (1986) 987 B; Robert 1954: 323ff. no. 173.

<sup>18</sup> *I.Aph.2007*, 4.1; SEG L (2000), 1107; Robert 1954: 280f. no. 160; *I.Tralleis*, 162.

<sup>19</sup> For the importance of *gymnasion* in Greek culture see; Magie 1950, 62f.; Delorme 1990; Gauthier 1995: 1-11.

the term *balaneion*.<sup>20</sup> Besides serving as spaces for education and bathing, the *gymnasion* - bath complexes in the 1st century AD also entered the city's social life as locales where citizens could spend their spare time and engage in social interaction (Hanfmann 1975: 48). Thus, from the 1st century onwards, bath structures became quite popular buildings and enjoyed the presence of citizens who spent a good portion of their time there; the baths also became significant instruments in the hands of the local elite in their self-representation (Barresi 2003: 255-260). At the same time, the baths were seen as important structures that represented prestige and magnificence in the cities of Roman Asia Minor. In a letter which Plinius wrote to the Emperor Traianus, he asserted that the new bath that would be built in Prusa would be a structure that would befit the eminence of the city and represent the splendor of the Era of Traianus (Plin. *ep.* 10.23). These structures possibly also had a religious quality; the bath-*gymnasion* complexes were sometimes seen to have spaces that served the imperial cult.<sup>21</sup>

Only a single piece of evidence can be found in the inscriptions of the cities of Caria, dated to the Roman Age, that suggests that citizens donated money to construction or reconstruction activities related to the bath or *gymnasion* structures; an inscription from Lagina reveals that, while holding the priesthood, Tiberius Claudius Aristetas Menandros and Aelia Glyccina had promised to donate an amount of one thousand *denarii* that was set aside for the birthday of Augustus,<sup>22</sup> to finance the restoration of a bath and the construction of new sections to the building. The bath in question was dedicated to the city by Flavius Aeneas, the grandfather of the donator Aristetas<sup>23</sup> and was probably damaged in the major earthquake that took place in the first years (138-141 BC) of the reign of Antoninus Pius.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the necessity of the high expense of construction, it is frequently observed in relation with baths that the structure would be financed, either as a whole or 'from the foundation' by a citizen who offered to meet the expenses. There is evidence pointing to baths that were completely built or dedicated by citizens in Ceramos,<sup>25</sup> Labraunda,<sup>26</sup> Lagina<sup>27</sup> and Mylasa.<sup>28</sup> Contrary to the wealth of evidence concerning baths being completely built by citizens, there is no definite indication, however, of the construction of a *gymnasion* by any citizen in Caria.<sup>29</sup> Epigraphic evidence testifies to the fact that citizens' activities regarding *gymnasia* (Table 2) and baths (Table 3) were generally related to meeting the expenses of constructing the fundamental parts or spaces of the structures<sup>30</sup> and columns,<sup>31</sup> as well as the expenses of covering various surfaces.<sup>32</sup> Although few in number, it is also observed through the inscriptions that citizens met the expenses of the construction of architectural elements<sup>33</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Yegül 2006, 276f, cf. *I.Aph.2007*, no. 12.1111 (l. 24), *I.Stratonikeia*, no's 664 (l. 4); 281 (ll. 25-26).

<sup>21</sup> See; Yegül 1982; Yegül 2006, 248f, cf. Price 1984: 144 fn. 34; Laumonier 1958: 253ff.

<sup>22</sup> τὰ τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἡνῶρια χεῖλια; 23rd of September was the birthday of Augustus and this day was the era of calendar in the Province of Asia under the reign of Augustus, see; Robert 1970: 549f.; Price 1984: 106, cf. *I.Stratonikeia*, no. 255 (ll. 1-2), for the calendar in Province of Asia, see; Price 1984: 54ff and 106 fn. 33.

<sup>23</sup> *I.Stratonikeia*, 701 (ll. 10-15), cf. *I.Stratonikeia*, 706a (ll. 6-8).

<sup>24</sup> For the earthquake see; See *I.Stratonikeia*, 1009 (l. 2), after the earthquake, Antoninus Pius granted 250.000 *denarii* to Stratoniceia, see; *I.Stratonikeia*, 1029 (ll. 5-11).

<sup>25</sup> *I.Keramos*, 19-20 (ll. 3-4).

<sup>26</sup> *I.Labraunda*, 20; *I.Labraunda*, 65.

<sup>27</sup> *I.Stratonikeia*, 701 (ll. 13-14); *I.Stratonikeia*, 706a (ll. 6-8).

<sup>28</sup> Blümel 1989: 5 (= *I.Mylasa*, 512), also see; SEG XXXIX (1989) 1130.

<sup>29</sup> For the inscription from Aphrodisias, possibly mentioning the construction of a *gymnasion* of young men, see; *I.Aph.2007*, 1. 174 (fr. d), cf. Chaniotis 2008: 71f, no. 7.

<sup>30</sup> For *aleipterion* see; *I.Aph.2007*, 5.9 (fr. e); *I.Aph.2007*, 12.1111 (ll. 24-25); *I.Keramos*, 18 (ll. 2-3), for *apodyterion* see; *I.Labraunda*, 22 (l. 2), for *atreion* see; *I.Stratonikeia*, 15 (l. 7); *I.Stratonikeia*, 664 (ll. 3-4), for *periplioma* (possibly a hallway) see; *I.Aph.2007*, 5.207 – 5.208 (l. 3).

<sup>31</sup> For the columns related to Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, see; *I.Aph.2007*, 5.2; 5.3; 5.202; 5.205; 5.206, for the columns related to the *gymnasion* of Diogenes at Aphrodisias see; *I.Aph.2007*, 12.1111 (ll. 31-32), cf. Chaniotis 2008, 72f, no. 8, for possible evidence from Iasos and Mylasa see; *I.Iasos*, 255; *I.Iasos*, 260; *I.Mylasa*, 505.

<sup>32</sup> *I.Stratonikeia*, 685 (ll. 11-13); *I.Aph.2007*, 12.1111 (ll. 25-27); *I.Stratonikeia*, 281 (ll. 22-26); Robert 1954: 317f. no. 168 (ll. 7-11), cf. *I.Tralleis*, 148.

<sup>33</sup> Also see; Robert 1954: 320-323 no. 172 (ll. 16-18) for κοσμήσαντα τὰ γυμνάσια ἐφήβοις, μὴ φε[ι]σάμεν[ο]ν ἀναλωμάτων.

such as arches,<sup>34</sup> fences (*cancelli*),<sup>35</sup> *thyroma*,<sup>36</sup> as well as fountains<sup>37</sup> and seats.<sup>38</sup> In addition, in the bath architecture of the Carian cities of the 1st century AD, the inscriptions point to a new section that is referred to as the *atreion*.<sup>39</sup> The *atreion* most probably meant an open-roofed courtyard surrounded by a portico supported all around by columns with a pool in the middle, decorated with statues of the emperor and possibly containing a section devoted to the Roman imperial cult.<sup>40</sup>

The *leitourgos*, known as the *gymnasiarchos*<sup>41</sup> was responsible for the maintenance of the *gymnasion* structure and preserving its functionality.<sup>42</sup> Taking care of the maintenance of the *gymnasion* and its equipment and carrying out the restoration when necessary must have been the most important responsibility of the *gymnasiarchos*. Another obligation that was also quite an expensive endeavor was to procure the olive oil used for cleaning and oiling during the games (*agones*) and other athletic events that took place in the *gymnasion* (Frölich 2009, also see; Kennell 2001). The *gymnasiarchia* was also the civic function that took charge of distribution activities, particularly of olive oil, during the religious festivals held in the sanctuaries at Lagina and Panamara (Laumonier 1958: 392-406). The priest on duty at the sanctuary performed this *gymnasiarchia*, which had a religious quality, as part of the responsibilities of the priesthood. The functions of this type of *gymnasiarchia* prevailed only during the festivals and lasted over the course of a few special holy days.<sup>43</sup> Due to the major need for olive oil during these festivals, this service must have been performed at quite a high cost.<sup>44</sup>

A review of the last public offices of the contributors to the construction or restoration of the *gymnasion* structures mentioned in the inscriptions of the Carian cities in the Roman Age, indicates that citizens who had held or were currently holding the office of *gymnasiarchia*<sup>45</sup> particularly stand out.<sup>46</sup> In 5 of the 12 epigraphic documents<sup>47</sup> that testify to the construction or restoration activities related to the structure of the *gymnasion*, it can be observed that expenses were met by citizens who were either active or former *gymnasiarchos*. The evidence that attests to the fact that the expenses related to the covering of the *exedra* of the *tetrastylon* belonging to the *gymnasion* in Sebastopolis were met by Publius Staius Hermas as *summa honoraria* in return for *eirenarchia*<sup>48</sup> is striking and an uncommon example.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, citizens who held priesthood,<sup>50</sup> *agonothesia*<sup>51</sup> and *paidonomia*<sup>52</sup> have been documented as providers of modest gifts possibly related to the construction or restoration of *gymnasion* structures.

On the other hand, when the last public offices mentioned of the citizens who contributed to the construction or restoration of the bath structures in Caria during the Roman Age are considered, it can be observed that the priests or priest-priestess couples of local cults stand out in this context.<sup>53</sup> All

<sup>34</sup> *I.Aph.2007*, 12.1111 (ll. 29-39).

<sup>35</sup> *I.Iasos*, 122 (ll. 5-8).

<sup>36</sup> *I.Iasos*, 102 (ll. 7-11), cf. Reinach 1893: 180 no.18.

<sup>37</sup> Kontoleon 1886: 520, no. 19 (l. 6), cf. *I.Iasos*, 622.

<sup>38</sup> Le Bas and Waddington 1972: 139 no. 502 (l. 3), cf. French 1984: 82, no. 1.

<sup>39</sup> *I.Stratonikeia*, 15 (l. 7); *I.Stratonikeia*, 664 (l. 4), also see; *I.Aph.2007*, 5.6 (l. 7).

<sup>40</sup> Yegül 1982; Yegül 2006: 248f., also see above fn. XL

<sup>41</sup> Oehler 1925; Magie 1950: 61; Cramme 2001: 47f.; Stephan 2002: 68-69; Quass 1993: 274; Dmitriev 2005: 17f., also see; Lewis 1960; Lewis 1965.

<sup>42</sup> Jones 1940: 200f.; Magie 1950: 61-63 and 852-854 note 36; Robert 1970: 77; Cordiano 1997, also see; Dörner 1941: 54f., no. 27.

<sup>43</sup> See; *I.Stratonikeia*, 281 (ll. 11-13); 530 (ll. 6-8); 668 (ll. 3-4); 684 (ll. 7-8); 685 (ll. 7-9); 701 (ll. 8-10).

<sup>44</sup> For distribution of high quality olive oil for nutrition during the festivals, see e.g.; *I.Stratonikeia*, 197 (ll. 11-13).

<sup>45</sup> See; *I.Aph.2007*, 2.507; *I.Iasos*, 122; *I.Mylasa*, 505.

<sup>46</sup> Le Bas and Waddington 1972: 139 no. 502 (ll. 1-2); *I.Iasos*, 255 (l. 2)

<sup>47</sup> For possible baths mentioned as *gymnasia*, also see; *I.Aph.2007*, 12.1111 (ll. 24-25); *I.Stratonikeia*, 281 (ll. 22-26); 664 (l. 4).

<sup>48</sup> For *eirenarchia* and its responsibilities see; Dmitriev 2005: 206-210.

<sup>49</sup> Robert 1954, 317f. no. 168 (ll. 7-11).

<sup>50</sup> *I.Stratonikeia*, 281 (ll. 21-22); ἔξωθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀναλωμάτων.

<sup>51</sup> Kontoleon 1886, 520, no. 19 (l. 3).

<sup>52</sup> *I.Iasos*, 102 (l. 2).

<sup>53</sup> *I.Labraunda*, 22; *I.Stratonikeia*, 706a; *I.Stratonikeia*, 664; *I.Stratonikeia*, 685; *I.Stratonikeia*, 701, cf. *I.Stratonikeia*, 281 (ll. 21-22)

of the epigraphic references on this subject are particularly striking in that they were all discovered in the sanctuaries at Labraunda, Lagina and Panamara. Apart from the priests of the local cults, the contributions of the high-priests<sup>54</sup> and the *agoranomoi*<sup>55</sup> to the construction or restoration of the baths have been documented. It may be said that it was not only the high prestige of that religious office, but also the Roman quality of the bath structures and the connection of some of their spaces with the imperial cult (above fn. XL and LX) that influenced the contributions of the high-priests.

#### *Theatres*

The theaters provided a space for theatrical plays and were also a location for the political gatherings (assembly) of *demos* (Frederiksen 2002: 80f). It is for this reason that these were the places where the *demos* spent a good portion of their time and the multifunctional quality of the theaters gave them the status of being among the most important structures in the city. These locations must also have constituted a suitable environment for the self-representation of the local elites to the *demos* and the other members of the local elite, which they did through the gifts and services they provided.

Undoubtedly, the construction of an entire theater necessitated vast expense. The expenses must have been very much beyond what even the city's most wealthy citizens could afford. It is for this reason that it is not surprising that in the Carian cities there is no reference to an entire theater whose expenses of construction were met by a single citizen [Cf. CIL III, 231a-b (Theater of Aspendos)]. On the other hand, there are inscriptions that evidence construction and restoration activities for parts of the structure and some of its architectural elements (Barresi 2003: 231-234). Because of the magnitude of the structure and the great amount of construction expense that it would entail, construction and restoration activities for parts of the theaters are endeavors that could only be achieved at high cost. In particular, the construction activities (Reynolds 1991) for the theater of Aphrodisias stand out in terms of the scope and magnitude of the expense of the project. A large part of the construction, reconstruction or restoration activities for the theaters of the local elite in the Carian cities were associated with the theater of Aphrodisias, which is a possible indication of the self-confidence and economic prosperity attained as a result of the liberty and privileges granted by the Roman senate<sup>56</sup> in 39 BC. Moreover, the citizens who carried out construction activities related to the theater in Aphrodisias are seen to have been the most elite of their times; Gaius Iulius Zoilos<sup>57</sup> met the expenses of the construction of the *logeion* and all of its decorations, along with the *proscenion*, in 28 BC after his 10th *stephanephoria*.<sup>58</sup> Aristocles Molossos also achieved some very expensive construction activity (dated to AD 41-96) through his testament after his death. His testament made possible the construction of the *analemmata*, the stairs, floors (?), and *cunei* (*cercides*), arches, all the seats and the third *diazoma* of the theater, which were completed under the *ergepistasia* of Hermas, the adopted son of Aristocles Molossos.<sup>59</sup> Tiberius Claudius Zelos, the *ktistes* of the city of Aphrodisias, the high-priest and priest for life of Aphrodite and *Demos*, also met the expenses of a restoration and renovation activity (dated to AD 139-161) related to the stage building, using his own funds for construction of columns and their decoration and for the covering of the walls and floor.<sup>60</sup> Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus<sup>61</sup> met the expenses of the construction of spectator seats and a road by giving 10,000 *denarii* out of the total principal of 110,000 *denarii* belonging to the foundation he established [I.Aph.2007, 12.1111 (ll. 19-24)]. It can thus be seen that the project for the building of the theater of Aphrodisias started in 39 BC or immediately afterwards and continued in stages over a period of approximately 200 years, spanning out into the middle of the second century AD.

<sup>54</sup> I.Aph.2007, 12.1111; I.Keramos, 19 -20; I.Stratonikeia, 15.

<sup>55</sup> I.Keramos, 18; I.Keramos, 26.

<sup>56</sup> For *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*, see: Reynolds 1982: 54-92 doc. 8; I.Aph.2007, 8.27, also see; Kokkinia 2008.

<sup>57</sup> For prosopography see; Smith 1993: 4-10, for other building dedications by C. Iulius Zoilos see; I.Aph.2007, 1. 2; Chaniotis 2004, 393ff. no. 12.

<sup>58</sup> I.Aph.2007, 8.1(i); 8.5, cf. Reynolds 1991, 15-16.

<sup>59</sup> See; I.Aph.2007, 8.108; 8.111; 8.112; 8.113, also see; I.Aph.2007, 8.82.

<sup>60</sup> I.Aph.2007, 8.85(i), for the honorary inscription for Zelos on *scene* building, see; I.Aph.2007, 8.84.

<sup>61</sup> For prosopography see; PIR<sup>2</sup> C 433, for his family, Carminii of Attouda see; Thonemann and Ertuğrul 2005.

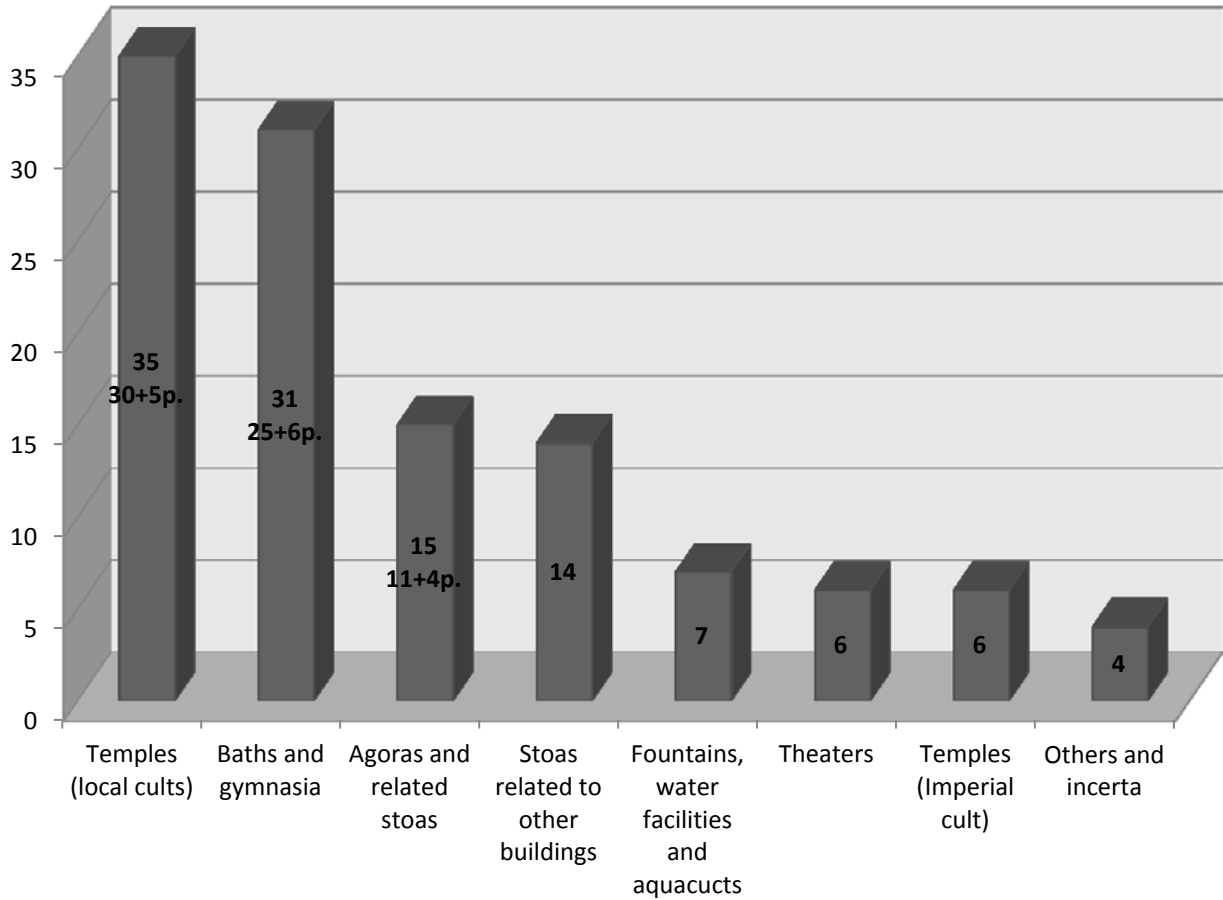
As with other buildings, the theaters needed to be maintained and restored. Citizens were also known to make donations for the restoration of theaters. An inscription from Lagina refers to the pecuniary donation of Chrysaor, the son of Menelaos, while holding the priesthood of Hecate, (dated to the first half of the 1st century AD) for the restoration of the theater and also possibly the *pronaos*, keeping the public promise he had made (Laumonier 1938: 264, cf. *I.Stratonikeia*, 662b). Marcus Aurelius Menestheus Scopas, high-priest and founder of the *megista erga* in the city, also acted on his promise to meet the expenses of renovating the coverings of the *podium* on which the spectator seats were situated in the theater of Aphrodisias (dated to the early 3rd century AD) – (Reynolds 1991: 28 no. C; *I.Aph.*2007, 8.115). Besides these magnificent and expensive gifts donated to the theater, there were also some more modest contributions. In Nysa, three citizens named Faustus Gaius, Apollonios the son of Paionios, and Apollonios the son of Apollonios, were honored by the *boule* and *demos* for holding *astynomia* and meeting the expenses of setting up a small wall (*spilos*) possibly for the purpose of strengthening the *analemma*, instead of taking on the expenses for the heated (?) *peripatos* (Blümel 1995, 60f. no. 31, cf. Hermann 1997: 145ff).

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Total: 118

FIG. 1: BUILDINGS BENEFITTED FROM THE LARGESSE OF WEALTHY CITIZENS OF CARIAN CITIES BETWEEN 1ST CENT. BC – 3RD CENT. AD. (RESPECTIVELY IN QUANTITY OF EVIDENCES PUBLISHED UNTIL 2012)

N	Ed.	Feature of contribution	Date	Last public office of contributor
Chaniotis 2004: 393ff. no. 12		Aphrodisias; N <i>agora</i> , construction of <i>stoa</i>	1st cent. BC – 1st cent AD	[στεφανη]ορήσας τὸ [-----] ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ Ἐλευθερίας διὰ βίου
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 4.4		Aphrodisias; S <i>agora</i> , construction of <i>stoa</i>	AD 14 – 29	καὶ --- c. 13 -- ἱερ]ηα Ἀφροδίτης
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 4.3		Aphrodisias; S <i>agora</i> , unknown	1st cent. – 2nd cent AD	πριμοπειλάριος
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 4.1		Aphrodisias; S <i>agora</i> , N portico, construction of three columns	2nd cent AD	-----
Pugliese Carratelli 1985; SEG XXXVI (1986) 987 B.		Iasos; Roman <i>agora</i> , construction of E <i>stoa</i>	138 BC	?
SEG L (2000) 1107		Iasos; Roman <i>agora</i> , construction of architectural components of E <i>stoa</i> .	138 BC	-----
<i>I.Keramos</i> , 14		Ceramos; pecuniary donation for construction of a <i>stoa</i> in <i>agora</i>	AD 14-37	ἄ ἐπηγγέλματο τοῦ τῆς στεφανηφορίας αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 229a-b		Stratoniceia (?); marble covering of floor of <i>agora</i>	2nd cent. AD	[ἱερατεύσας] ... μετὰ πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀναλώ[μ]ατα
<i>I.Tralleis</i> , 145		Tralleis; covering of an <i>exedra</i> (ἀντ' οὐδενός) and promise for construction of 20 columns in <i>agora</i>	1st cent. AD	γραμματεύσαντα καὶ τῆς ... γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ... νέων καὶ Ῥωμαίων
<i>I.Tralleis</i> , 146		Tralleis; construction of <i>peripatos</i> , <i>agoranomion</i> , doric <i>peristylon</i> , cisterns and <i>ergasteria</i> in <i>agora</i> additionally a foundation for their maintenance	Principate	ἀγορανομήσαντες
<i>I.Tralleis</i> , 77		Tralleis; construction of marble tables in fish-market of <i>agora</i>	2nd cent. AD	ἀγορανομήσαντα
ADDENDA: Possible evidences				
Ed.		Feature of contribution	Date	Last public office of contributor
Robert 1954: 280f. no. 160		Apollonia Salbace; construction of column probably related to <i>agora</i> (?)	Undated / 2nd – 1st cent. BC (?)	-----
Robert 1954: 281 no. 161		Apollonia Salbace; construction of column probably related to <i>agora</i> (?)	Undated / 2nd – 1st cent. BC (?)	ὑπὲρ ἀγορανομίας
Robert 1954: 323ff. no. 173		Sebastopolis; pecuniary donation for the covering of floor of <i>tetrastoon</i> in <i>agora</i> (?) and for an other unknown activity.	Undated	[τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς λει]τουργίας [καὶ πρεσβείας καὶ] συνηγορία[ς καὶ —]ας κὲ ἐπαγ[γελίας — τε]λέσαντα
<i>I.Tralleis</i> , 162		Tralleis; construction of a sundial, (possibly) in <i>agora</i>	Principate	-----

TABLE 1: AGORAS

Ed.	Feature of contribution	Date	Last public office of contributor
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 2.507	Aphrodisias; Construction of column; <i>gymnasion</i> of young men (?)	1st cent. AD	γυμνασιάρχης
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 1. 174	Aphrodisias; Construction (?) of <i>gymnasion</i> of young men	AD 117-138	?
<i>I.Iasos</i> , 122	lasos; Construction of <i>cancellus</i> (fence) and restoration of <i>cosmos</i> in <i>gymnasion</i>	First half of 1st cent. AD	γυμνασιάρχισαντα τῶν νέων
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 281	Panamara/Stratonikeia (?); Marble covering of a stoa of <i>gymnasion</i> (=Bath?) of Hadrianus Antoninus	Second half of 2nd cent. AD	ιερεῖς ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας ... ἐξῴθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀναλωμάτων
Robert 1954: 317f. no. 168	Sebastopolis; Covering of <i>exedra</i> in <i>tetrastylon</i> of <i>gymnasion</i>	AD Febr. 116 - Aug. 117	ἀγορανομῆσας καὶ παραφυλάξας ... τεμμαῖς εἰρηναρχικαῖς (summa honoraria)
ADDENDA: Possible evidences			
Ed.	Feature of contribution	Date	Last public office of contributor
<i>I.Iasos</i> , 622	Bargydia; Unknown activity possibly in <i>gymnasion</i>	undated	?
Le Bas and Waddington 1972: 139 no. 502; French 1984: 82 no. 1	Halicarnassos; Construction of four seats (Bathron) in <i>gymnasion</i> (?)	1st cent. AD	γυμνασιάρχῶ[ν] καὶ ... ὑπογυμνασιάρχῶν
<i>I.Iasos</i> , 255	lasos; Construction of column in <i>gymnasion</i> (?)	1st cent. BC	γυμνασιάρχῶν
<i>I.Iasos</i> , 102	lasos; Construction of <i>thyroma</i> in <i>gymnasion</i> (?)	Principate (?)	[π]αιδονόμος ... ἐν τῇ παιδονομίᾳ
<i>I.Iasos</i> , 260	lasos; Construction of column in <i>gymnasion</i> (?)	2nd cent. AD	?
<i>I.Mylasa</i> , 505	Mylasa; Construction of column in <i>gymnasion</i> (?)	Principate	γυμνασιάρχης [κατ]ὰ τὸ ψίφισμ[α]
Kontoleon 1886: 520 no. 19.	Nysa; Construction of <i>krene</i> (fountain) and statue of Hermes, possibly in <i>gymnasion</i>	Principate	[ἀ]γωνοθετῶν

TABLE 2: GYMNASIA

----- INDICATES THAT NO PUBLIC OFFICE IS MENTIONED IN INSCRIPTION

? INDICATES THAT NO PUBLIC OFFICE CAN BE READ DUE THE MISSING LETTERS OF INSCRIPTION

Ed.	Building	Feature of contribution		Last public office of contributor
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.201	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths	Construction of column; E court, W portico	2nd cent. AD	-----
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.6	Aphrodisias; Bath of Eusebios	Construction of bath from foundation (?) / pecuniary donation (?)	AD 14-37	?
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.6	Aphrodisias; Bath (later combined with Hadrianic Baths)	Construction of bath and atrium. The owner of construction is <i>demos</i> , from largesse of Emperors and Attalis Apphion's means	AD 69 - early 2nd cent. AD	-----
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.9	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths	Construction of <i>alipterion</i> (elaeothesium)	AD 117-138	?
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.207 - 5.208	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths	Construction of portico; S court	AD 117-138	-----
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.2	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths	Construction of six columns; E court	2nd cent. AD	-----
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.205	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths	Construction of 14 columns; E court	2nd cent. AD	-----
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 12.1111	Aphrodisias; <i>Gymnasion</i> of Diogenes (bath)	Construction of <i>alipterion</i> (elaeothesium) and column, covering of some sections	AD 170-190	ἀρχιερέα, ταμίαν, ἀρχινεοποῖον, ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεῶς Ἀφροδίτης
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.202	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths	Construction of column; E court, W portico	2nd - 3rd cent. AD	?
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.206	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths	Construction of four columns; E court, W portico	2nd - 3rd cent. AD	-----
<i>I.Keramos</i> , 18	Ceramos; Bath	Construction of <i>alipterion</i> from foundation	AD 98 - 117	ἀγορανομοῦντες
<i>I.Keramos</i> , 19; 20	Ceramos; Bath	Construction of bath from foundation	AD 100 - 138	ἀρχιερατεύοντες
<i>I.Keramos</i> , 26; Crampa 1988: 607f.	Ceramos; Bath	Promise for construction of bath; pecuniary donation for the construction of bath of men ([ἀνδρ]έον βαλανεῖον)	2nd cent. AD	ἱερο]πολ[ήσαντ]α καὶ ἀγορανο[μ]ήσαντα κ]αὶ γραμματεύσαντα
<i>I.Labraunda</i> , 20; <i>ibid.</i> 65	Labraunda; Bath	Construction of bath	1st cent. AD	-----
<i>I.Labraunda</i> , 22	Labraunda; Bath	Construction of <i>apodyterion</i>	First half of 1st cent. - early 2nd cent. AD	ἱερεὺς
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 706a, cf. <i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 701	Lagina; Bath	Construction of bath of women (γυναικ[ί]ον βαλανῖον)	early 2nd cent. AD	[ἱερεὺς ... καὶ ... ἱέρια]
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 664	Lagina; <i>Gymnasion</i> (bath)	Construction of <i>atrium</i> in upper <i>gymnasion</i>	AD 117 - 161	[ἱερεὺς] ... ,(καὶ) ἱέρια ... [μετὰ τὴν ἱερωσύ]νην καὶ στεφανηφορίαν
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 685	Lagina; Bath	Mosaic covering of <i>stoa</i> of <i>Azanius</i> bath, cf. <i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , no. 664	Second half of 2nd cent. AD	[ἱερεὺς] ... ,(καὶ) ἱέρια ...
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 701, cf. <i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 706a	Lagina; Bath	Pecuniary donation for restoration of bath and construction of additional sections. The bath was donated to city by grandfather.	AD 138 - 198	ἱερεῖς ... ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐνιαυτῷ
SEG XXXIX (1989) 1130	Mylasa; Bath	Construction of bath	Late 1st cent BC	-----
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i> , 15	Panamara; Bath	Construction of <i>atrium</i> (with an expense of more than 10000 <i>denarii</i> )	AD 117-161	ἠρχιεράτευκεν] ... καὶ ἐστεφανοφόρηκεν καὶ μετὰ πολλὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀρχιερωσύ]νῃ
ADDENDA: Possible evidences				
Ed.	Building	Feature of contribution	Date	Last public office of contributor
<i>I.Aph.2007</i> , 5.3	Aphrodisias; Hadrianic Baths (?)	Construction of six columns	2nd cent. AD	-----

TABLE 3: BATHS

# A Byzantine Monastery South-East of Jerusalem

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## Abstract

Construction work, during the summer of 2003, badly damaged a site near the Kidron Valley, south-east of ancient Jerusalem. Subsequent salvage excavations identified a monastery of circa. 800 sqm in size, that was active during the sixth and seventh centuries AD.

The monastery was built as a closed rectangle oriented northwest-southeast surrounded on four sides by sturdy walls. Two courtyards were evidenced. The southern yard was a functional one. Adjoining the walls, were rooms for various industrial facilities: stables, a flour mill and a large bakery oven. In the monastery's northern portion was a church measuring 20 X 9 m, in the center of which a remnant of a mosaic floor was found depicting a deer and an octopus. South of the church was a courtyard within which three entrances to underground burial caves were revealed in addition to a rock-hewn stairway leading out of the monastery complex to an additional burial chamber.

This complex was one of a chain of monasteries between Jerusalem and Bethlehem during the Byzantine period. Our present knowledge does not enable an historical identification with any specific monastery from this period, yet a few suggestions are proposed.

## Keywords

Jerusalem ,Kidron Valley, Judean desert monasteries, Monastery,Coenobium, St. Eustathius, Grain millstone, loculus tombs, Sarcophagus

## Introduction

The site is located on the lower eastern slope of a high hill east of the Kidron Valley. The construction of the anti-terrorist security fence around Jerusalem severely damaged the antiquities, yet upon completion of the excavation the remains were identified as a monastery which occupied an area of c. 0.85 dunam (27 × 32m) and was dated to the Byzantine period (Zelinger and Barbe 2005).<sup>1</sup> The site had been surveyed in the past (Kloner 2001: Site 88), but was not identified as a monastery.

The monastery was established as a closed rectangular unit, oriented northwest–southeast and enclosed within massive walls on its four sides (fig. 1). The masonry style of all the walls was the same. The walls were all faced on either side with ashlar stone while the core of the wall was filled in with earth, small stones, and cement.

Based on the architectural remains, and the stratigraphical layers, it seems that the monastery was originally built as one structure that was divided into two main functional centers: the first religious center at the north and the second functional center at the south. Over the course of the site's habitation there were several small changes and additions.

<sup>1</sup> During September–October 2003 a salvage excavation was conducted following the construction of the security fence along the separation line, next to the Arab es-Sawahira neighborhood in Jerusalem (Permit No. 3994; map ref. NIG 22470/62860; OIG 14770/12860). The excavation, on behalf of the Antiquities Authority and financed by the Ministry of Defense, was directed by H. Barbé and Y. Zelinger, with the assistance of R. Lewis and Y. Mizrahi (area supervision), Y. Nagar (physical anthropology), A. Hajian, T. Slutzkaya and V. Pirsky (surveying and drafting), T. Sagiv (photography), R. Abu Diab and H. Finkel (mosaic conservation), N. Davidov (digital photography), R. Abu Khalaf (administration), O. Raviv (stone restoration), R. Gat (pottery restoration), N. Ze'evi (pottery drawing), C. Amit (studio photography), O. Shorr (glass restoration) and L. Kupersmidt (metallurgical laboratory).

### The Northern Wing

A church complex (33 x 9m external dimensions) was exposed in the northern part of the monastery. It was divided into four sections. The western unit (L. 1109) was partially excavated, but according to its location it probably functioned as an *Atrium*. At the northern part of the eastern wall of the room (W 118; 1.40m width) there was a 1.0m entrance to the second room, which functioned as the *Narthex* (L. 1100; 8 X 7m). It was paved with a partially preserved mosaic floor in colorful geometric patterns.<sup>2</sup> A doorway at the southern part of the eastern wall (W105; 0.90m width), leads to the third section, the nave, of the church. The threshold had a hole at its center for the bolt, and shows that the door opened from the nave into the *Narthex*. The nave (L. 1069; 12 X 7m) was also paved with a mosaic floor depicting animals, but only a section of it was preserved. In the southern wall of the nave, (W 112; 0.80m width) a passage opened to the major courtyard. Of the fourth element, the apse at the east of the church, all that remained were hewn foundations and the negative of stones (L. 1093). Beneath the unpreserved apse floor a squared paved installation (L. 1110; 1.70 X 1.30m, 0.80m depth) was cleaned. Even though the nature of the apse is not clear, we might suggested that this installation served as a reliquary box for holy remains.

South of the church, the courtyard adjacent to the nave (L. 1056; 16 X 13m) was surrounded by columns. The floor of the courtyard as well as some of the column bases were bedrock hewn (Fig. 2). It seems that a cloister surrounded the outer line of the courtyard. A cistern mouth (L. 1111; 1.20 X 1.20m) in the courtyard, which was part of the monastery's system for storing water, is still being used today by the residents of neighborhood. Three tomb complex entrances (L. 3000, 3001, 3005) were located at the northwestern part of the courtyard, and another one (L. 1102) at the eastern side of it (see underground systems description below).

### The Southern Wing

The southern courtyard was badly damaged; therefore it was very difficult to reconstruct the architectural remains and their functions. The most comprehensible structure is located in the northeastern courtyard. In the middle of the room (L. 1074; 9 X 7m) there is an irregular rounded impression in the rock (maximum 2.0m diameter; 0.10m depth) with a hewn square hole in its center. West of it there is another hewn square pit (1 X 1m; 0.30m depth). Both the impression and the pit are surrounded by a path of stone floor slabs (Fig. 3).

There are a few different possibilities for what purpose this element served. It is possible that the hewn circle contained the base of mill stone for grinding grains; however, as will be discussed later, it is likely that a grain mill was discovered in the southwestern part of the complex and a monastery would not require two.

An alternative explanation is that these remains may be an ancient olive press. The problem with this hypothesis is that we found only the place for the crushing element and not even a hint of the pressing element. However, because the excavation was not exhaustive, the lack of a pressing element is not conclusive. The possibility of a mill or press is further supported by the stone floor slabs encircling the impression – they would have formed a path for the animals powering the wheel.

The last possibility is that the hewn circle once contained the monastery's oven which would imply that the stone floor slabs were for insulation purposes.

Another row of rooms borders the courtyard to the west. The western side of those rooms contained the most preserved remains of the monastery while the eastern side was destroyed down to the bedrock making it impossible to reconstruct their original plan. The only perpendicular wall (W 204,

<sup>2</sup> For mosaic floors, architectural sculpture, liturgical vessels and furniture see L. Habas's article in this book.

0.80m wide, 1.10m high) abutted the external western wall of the monastery, dividing the area into two rooms.

The southern room (L. 2042; 4 X 3m) was mostly destroyed. On the southern face of the dividing wall (W 204) there is an installation limited by a narrow single faced wall (W 206, 0.25m wide, 0.80m high). In the installation (L.2051; 0.50m wide) there are two phases of use: the first is paved with a mosaic floor on a plaster foundation and the second, 0.30m higher, is paved with a concave plaster layer. Adjacent to this installation, the floor is covered in stone slabs until a pillar (W 207, 0.95m. high) made of a base and two stones, which is up against the enclosure wall (W 205). If we take the installation to be a trough, together with the stone floor, we might suggest that this room was a stable.

To the north of the dividing wall there was another room (L. 2053; 10.5 X 4m). An ashlar stone bench (W 208; 4m long, 0.70m wide, 0.60m high) is attached to the outer wall (W 205) from the northern face of the dividing wall (W 204) to where it meets a pillar (W209). The width between this pillar and the dividing wall (W 204) is the almost the same as the width between the wall and the similar pillar referred to in the southern room (W 207). North of the pillar, against the outer wall there are three side by side plastered installations decorated with a herringbone pattern.

Southeast of the three installations, at the room space, a base of a rounded element (L. 2036; 1.40m diameter, 0.50m high) was found. The base, three courses high, was built from field stones cemented together (Fig. 4). It was encircled by stone floor slabs (L.2053) founded on a white plaster level.

The room was probably a grain mill and the rounded base supported a Pompeian millstone operated by a donkey (Moritz 1958: 64–66, Pl. 4–5; White 1984: 65, fig. 54, 55; Adam: 347, fig. 734, 735). The three plastered installations were used for storing grains or flour. In both rooms remains of a mosaic floor were found in the fill above the stone floor slabs. We therefore think that there was a second story that collapsed during or at the end of the monastery occupation. The missing fill between the lower level and the collapsed floor reinforced our thoughts that there was a short time between the abandonment and the collapse.

Parallel to the western side of the outer monastery wall foundation (W 205) a water drain was found (L. 2046; 5.50m long, 0.12m wide, 0.10m depth).

The catch water drain runs from north to south collecting water from the roofs to a cistern outside of the monastery. The canal depression was made of U-shaped roof tiles (*imbrices*). The sealing layer of the canal (L. 2039) was collapsed stones, probably from the upper courses of the monetary western wall.

### **The northern courtyard tomb complex**

Below the northern courtyard four tombs complexes were found (Fig. 5):

Tomb 3000: The access to the southern chamber of this sepulchral complex was via a staircase of seven irregular stairs cut in the bedrock (Fig. 6). The upper part of the opening was a quadrangular hewn shape, with a projection on which rested the paving stones which covered the access. At discovery this access was completely swamped with sediment and only the western paving stone, though fragmentary, was still in place. The only decoration on the lintel of the door was a circle cut into the rock. Considering the general context and the attribution of the funeral complex as part of a Byzantine monastery, the function of this circle was certainly to hold a cross. However, no cross or other sign of the destruction of religious symbols were found. Either this symbol was not completed, or this circle contained another element that has since gone missing. The main tomb room (L. 3000; 3.60 X 2.80m, 1.50m) is a quadrangular shape with rounded corners. It was almost totally filled with sediment. The tomb contained three grouped graves of east-west orientation in its south side. In the

main room of the tomb two breaches were evidenced, one at the north wall, connecting it with the northwest rooms (L. 3004 and L. 3003) and the other at the northeast corner connecting it with the central tomb (L. 3001).

Tomb 3001: The entrance to the central room of this tomb showed the same characteristics as the complex previously described including the filling process and the western side of the stone cover. The staircase consisted of six irregular steps, but unlike the previous underground entrance, the upper part of this doorway was a curved lintel. The steps lead to a trapezoidal small room containing three graves (Fig. 7; L. 3001; 2.10 X 1.85m maximum, 1.70m height). There are three breaches in different places in this tomb. At the head of the western tomb, there is a wide opening to the southern main chamber (L. 3000). The second is at the west side of the same tomb headed to the western burial chamber (L. 3004) and the third is located at the northern side of the north tomb and opened to the north eastern chamber (L. 3005).

Tomb 3003: The whole vault of this room (3.00 X 3.50m) was collapsed, therefore we cannot be certain of the presence of an entrance or even its existence - no vestige of staircase was observable. The ground of this room was covered in tens of centimeters of a red brown earth fill mixed with powdery whitish sediment. This last sediment layer is doubtless the result of several breakdown phases of the vault, while it was still in place and the internal volume of the room was still largely empty. The upper part of the fill layer is a red brown earth mixed with numerous stones and rock fragments that covered the hole after the tomb vault collapsed. A single axis niche (*loculus*) tomb, oriented east-west was present at the northernmost side of the room. The sarcophagus of the tomb was limited at the south by a low built wall that was covered with the same plaster as the inner sides of the niche (L. 3008; 2.05m, 0.60 X 0.45m).

Tomb 3004: This room (2.70 X 2.50m, 1.40m high), with its complete ceiling, extended southward toward the previous room (L. 3003) but it did not align on the exact axis of it. Two assumptions are possible: either it was hewn at the same time as the northwest chamber, or more plausibly, it was a later extension. It was almost completely filled up to its roof with a fill of earth mixed with powdered limestone.

Tomb 3005: Situated in the northeast part of the burial complex, this chamber (3.60 X 3.40m, 1.40m height) had two different entrances. The first, at the northwest, opened to a small U-shaped corridor covered with paving stones opening into the northeast chamber (L. 3003) through the monolithic doorway previously described. The second access was a quadrangular opening cut in the northeast corner of the chamber's ceiling, originally covered by paving stones. Five burial cells were discovered around the central area. Four well preserved cells appeared as a constructed sarcophagus. Their front side, stand up to 0.25 X 0.15m, and their inner sides were carefully smoothed with the above mentioned lime plaster.

### **The Eastern tomb complex**

During the last few days of our partial excavation, a staircase leading eastward was found between the water cistern in the northern courtyard and the east border wall of the monastery (Fig. 8). Due to the limited timetable of the excavation we were unable to excavate this important underground complex in entirety. Only eight stairs were excavated from the bedrock-hewn staircase (L. 1102; 4.50m; 0.80 X 2.20m) but we estimate that another six stairs remain unexcavated. On both sides of the bedrock-hewn staircase there were also walls carved into the bedrock surface.

The northern enclosure wall (W 116; 4.20m, 1.00m wide) and the parallel wall (W 119; 4.20m, 0.70m wide) were both built from three courses of two-faced ashlar stones. The staircase leads to a partially excavated rectangular room (L. 1108; 4.40 X 2.20m) that opened to at least three burial chambers at the north, at the south, and at the northeastern corner. Each of them was sealed with a straightened monolithic blockage. The room was roofed with a well-constructed barrel vault, however only a

segment of it was preserved on the western side of the room. Although the room was not excavated to its full height, we suggest that, according to the excavated ruins, the vault stood up to approximately 3.20m height. The southern burial chamber (L. 1104; 5.50 X 4.00m, 1.30m height), the only one we excavated, was built using a similar method as tomb 3005 in the northern courtyard (see above).

A divided passage from the untouched entrance separated two rows with four built burial cells that were only documented and not excavated (Fig. 9). Inside each cell the remains of intact human skeletons were found one above the other.

The large number of skeletal remains allows us to assume that this complex was established during a flourishing period of the monastery's occupation.

### Discussion and Identification

The majority of the finds from the site - e.g. pottery, roof tiles, glass, and mosaic floors are dated from the Byzantine to the Early Islamic period, up to the 8th century AD. Although the remains of a few ossuaries dating from the Early Roman period were uncovered, they lacked a clear stratigraphical context. The monastic complex belongs to the flat level *coenobium* type that flourished in the Judean desert during the Byzantine period. According to Hirschfeld's comparative table of Judean desert monasteries, the built area of this complex is the sixth largest (2002: 144).

The site at the Kidron Valley is a well-preserved complex with the entire components characteristic of an average monastery. Although it has never previously been identified, it is clear that the remains are those of one of the frequently-occurring monasteries located along the routes from Jerusalem to the Judean Desert and Bethlehem (Fig. 10). Corbo (1955) and Hirschfeld (1992) discussed in detail those sites and tried to identify them with historical events or ancient literary sources.

An account by Paul, a monk of Elusa, relates that Theognius, riding a donkey from Jerusalem to his monastery, stumbled and fell opposite the monastery of Eustathius (Paul of Elusa, AB 10; Vailhé 1900: 22). Kh. El Makhrum was identified by Corbo (1955: 255) as the monastery of St. Theognius, where a secondary road runs west to the Kidron Valley (Hirschfeld 2002: 5; Fig. 1). Hirschfeld (1990: 46-47) attempted to identify Kh. Bureikut with the monastery of Eustathius, although the material remains were limited, the architecture lacked any special characteristics, and it occupies an unusual position off the road to Kh. El-Makhrum. Seligman and Abu Raya (2002: 138) proposed an alternative site as a candidate to be identified with the monastery of St. Theognius, based on their excavations at Kh. Umm Leisun. Fieldwork at that site, located a kilometer to the north of Kh. Bureikut, uncovered a chapel with a mosaic floor and finds dated to the Byzantine period, and was interpreted by the excavators to represent a rural monastery. Both of the proposed sites seem to be an unlikely location for the monastery of St. Theognius, as they are both situated along a secondary roadway.

The main road however from Jerusalem to this area runs along the northern side of the Kidron Valley and leads to the 'Big Laura' (Mar Saba). It is reasonable to posit the theory that Theognius would have ridden his donkey along this route, passing just beside our site. In addition, our site was more completely excavated and revealed more promising remains indicating that it was a monastery complex. Therefore, compared to the other proposed sites, the monastery at the Kidron Valley is more likely that of St. Eustathius.

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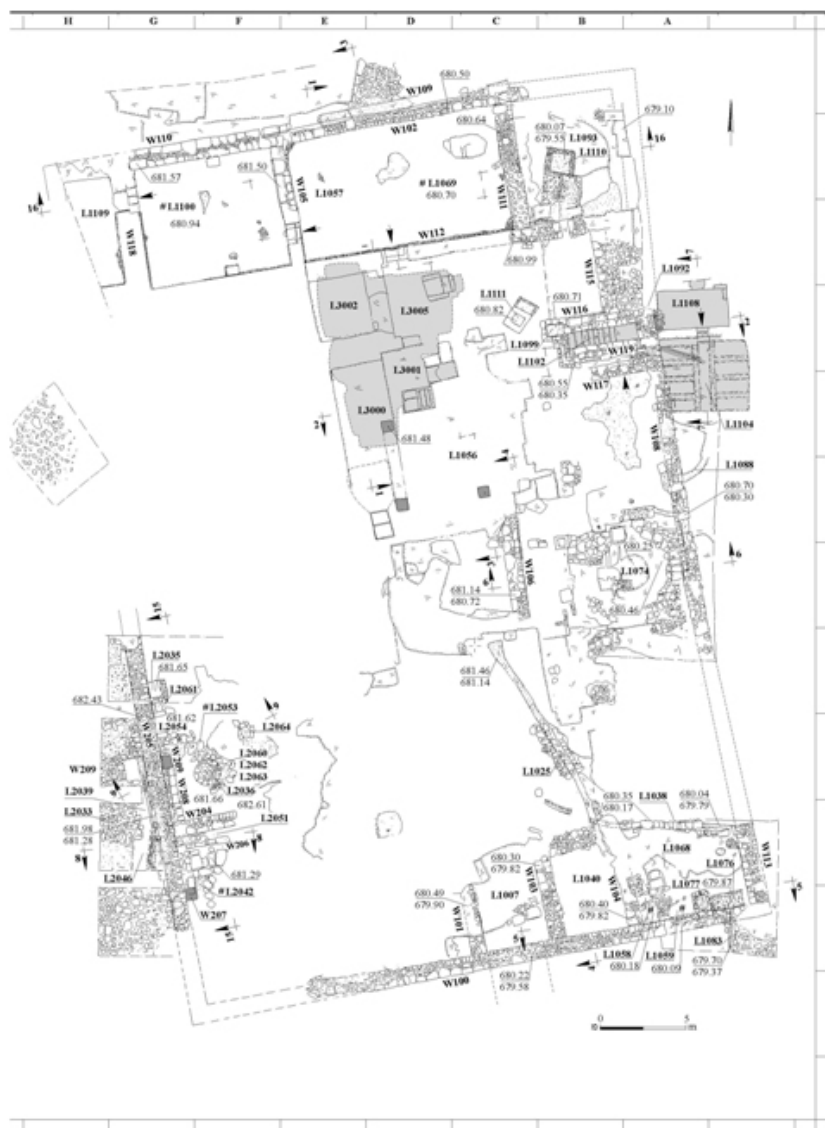




FIG. 2. GENERAL VIEW OF THE NORTHERN COURTYARD LOOKING EAST



FIG. 3. ROOM 1074 LOOKING NORTH



FIG. 4. THE STABLE (# 2042) AND THE GRAIN MILL ROOM (# 2053) LOOKING WEST

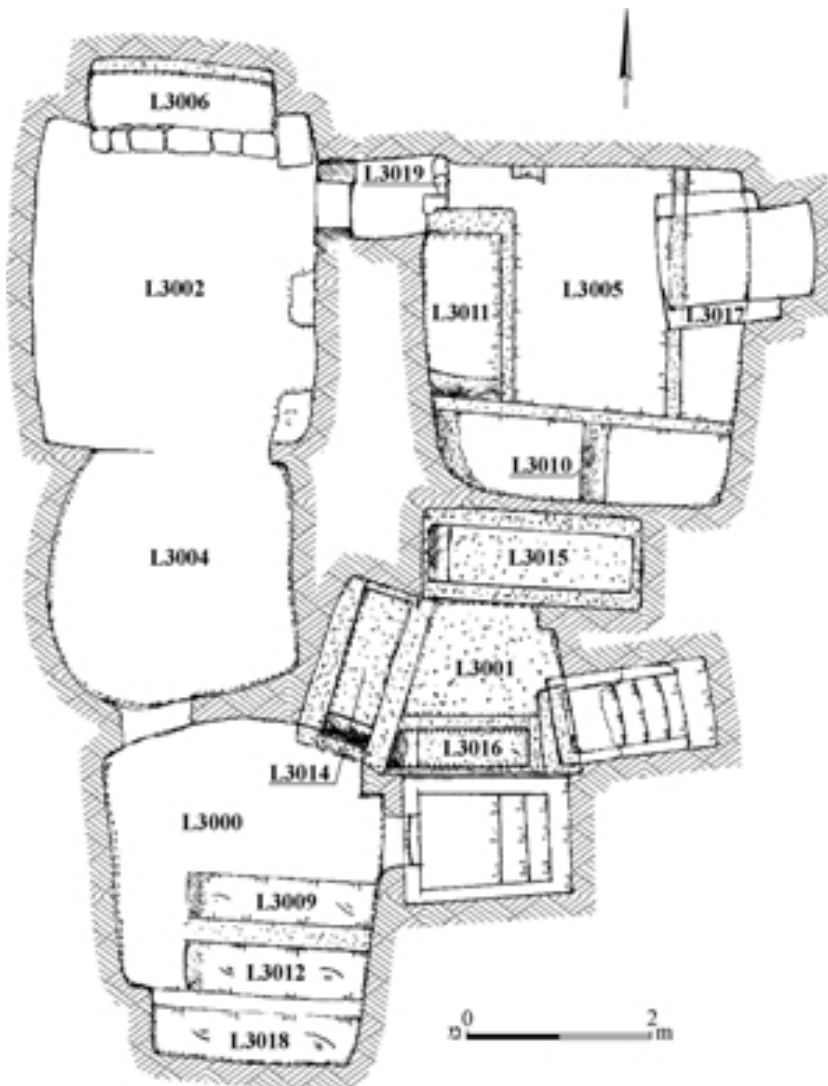


FIG. 5. THE TOMB COMPLEXES PLAN



FIG. 6. THE ENTRANCE TO TOMB 3000 WITH HEWN CIRCLE ON THE LINTEL LOOKING WEST.



FIG. 7. TOMB 3001 LOOKING WEST



FIG. 8. STAIRCASE LEADING TO THE EASTERN TOMB



FIG. 9. THE BURIAL CELLS AT THE EASTERN TOMB COMPLEX (L. 1104) LOOKING NORTH.

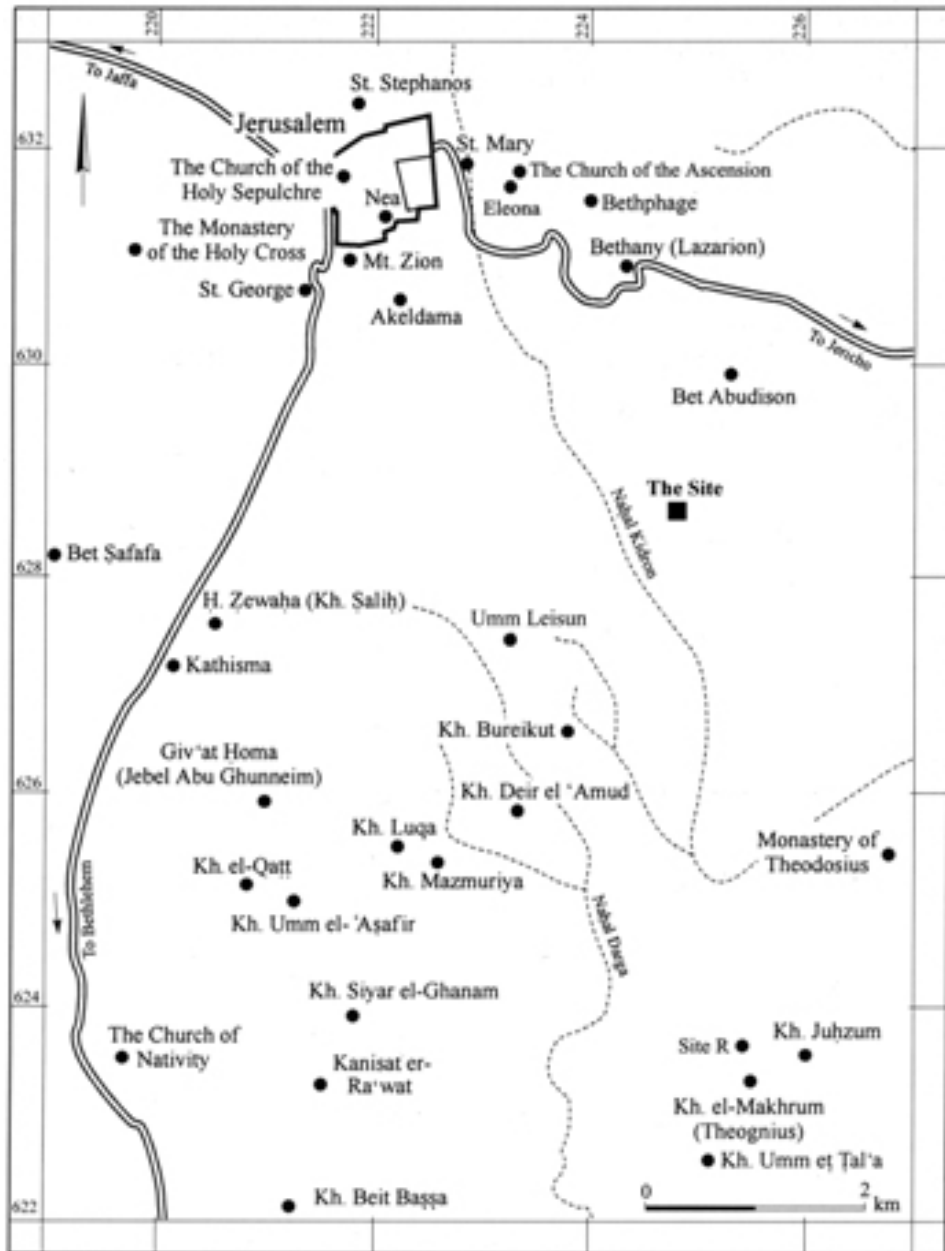


FIG. 10. LOCATION MAP OF THE SITE AND SURROUNDING MONASTERY SITES

# Local and Imported Art in the Byzantine Monastery Newly Discovered Near Jerusalem, Israel

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## Abstract

The monastery in the Kidron Valley at Jerusalem is adorned with architectural sculpture, mosaic floors, and imported liturgical furniture designed in marble and local imitations.

A geometric interlace composition populated by animals decorated the floor of the church hall, while geometric and plant/flower carpets decorated the vestibule. A technical and stylistic analysis of the mosaics, dates the mosaic floors to the middle of the 6th century CE.

The mosaic floors have parallels in the Holy Land in the Byzantine and Umayyad period, both in the secular space and in the religious space, but there is a special connection with the mosaics of the Jerusalem area. The similarity hints at the existence of a workshop in the Jerusalem area.

Liturgical vessels were also found: fragments of a mortarium of local limestone, fragments of a marble bowl with a fluted rim, a fragment of a marble panel engraved with a wreath and cross, fragments of an altar table column made of bituminous stone, and a console bracket, decorated with a cross within a medallion.

This find therefore indicates that luxury liturgical vessels made of marble were imported to decorate the monastery, while at the same time local artists made the mosaic floors, carved the architectural sculpture, and designed liturgical furniture imitating imported marble furniture.

## Keywords

Jerusalem, Kidron Valley monastery, Armenian Funerary Chapel on the Mount of Olives, Church, Mosaic floor, Mortarium, Bracket, polylobed lip bowl/basin, xenia, stephanostaurion

## Introduction

Salvage excavations in the southern part of Jerusalem have revealed a new monastery in the Kidron Valley.<sup>1</sup> The monastery is adorned with mosaic floors, architectural sculpture, and liturgical furniture – imported marble and local stone imitations.<sup>2</sup> These are the topics on which the article will focus.

## Mosaic Floors

Despite the fact that the mosaic floors are only partially preserved, it is easily possible to reconstruct the patterns and carpets. The hall church and vestibule are decorated with colorful mosaic carpets, while the monastery courtyard is paved with a crude white mosaic floor (Fig. 1).

Only five pieces have survived from the mosaic carpet of the hall church or chapel, including three fragments of the border and two pieces of the carpet. The outer border is designed as a garland of buds, with four buds in the corner of the border creating an open flower – rosette (Fig. 2.1-2). Of the inner border, the south-eastern corner remains, with a design of triangles and teardrops, forming a kind of crown, or row of chess pawns interspersed with buds (Fig. 2.1). Borders resembling this

<sup>1</sup> Israel Antiquities Authority excavation directed by Dr. Yehiel Zeligler and Dr. H. Barbé, permit no. A-3994. See Y. Zeligler's article in this book.

<sup>2</sup> Photography by T. Sagiv, C. Amit and L. Habas. Drawing by C. Hirsh. Courtesy of Y. Zeligler, H. Barbé and IAA.

inner border have been found, although without the bud motif, at the Burnt Palace at Madaba and the Church of the Lions at Umm al-Rasas in Transjordan (Piccirillo 1992: Photos 1, 31; 1986a: 321, fig. 3, Photos 1-2, 4, 6, 8; 1986b: 333-339, fig. 2, Pl. LXVII:1-2; 1993: 78, 236, figs. 50, 338, 374-375).

Only part of the central carpet has been discovered (Fig. 3), but similar compositions in the area enable us to reconstruct it as a geometric interlace composition populated by animals. The interlace is made up of simple lines and guilloche bands forming ellipses, circles, squares and the polygon spaces created between them. Guilloche bands also form the swastika pattern that decorates some of the squares. Among the animals that have survived are deer, an octopus, and fish. In the center of the square is a deer (Fig. 4.1), whose design shows a combination of a relative depiction of volume, seen in the interplay of light and shade, along with a schematic design of three concentric circles on the animal's body. In one of the polygon spaces formed between the interlaces is an octopus (Fig. 4.2), made up of a head with a pair of eyes, a sack-like body, and eight twisting arms coming out of the head. The colors of the ink-sack hint at its contents, or the ability of the sea creature to change color as a means of camouflage at times of danger. The line of dots along the arms indicate the suction pads. The second polygon depicts the head of an open-mouthed fish (Fig. 4.3), and the gills and fin have also survived.

The color palette contains black, browns, oranges, greys, red, magenta, pink, purple, yellow, white and beige. The stones are square, 1 – 1.5 cm in size, with small stones used in the area of the eyes and a round stone for the pupil, and triangular and cut stones used for the details of the animals. A technical and stylistic analysis of the mosaics, which show an absence of movement, flat geometric elements forming the bodies of the animals, relatively limited volume, and the use of stones of a very uniform size other than in the area of the eyes, dates the mosaic floors to the middle of the 6th century AD.

The mosaic floor of the Kidron Valley monastery has parallels in the Holy Land in the Byzantine and Umayyad period, both in secular and in religious contexts. The similarity is seen in the form of the interlace, but in each of the floors the components and the choice of motifs populating the geometric units are different. Unfortunately, the figurative images in the churches were destroyed by iconoclasts during the 8th century. Among the parallels, I will mention the Western Church at Hoorvat Keriot (Govrin 2006: 44-47, 117, figs. 31, 110-114, Ills. 14, 33) in Israel; from Transjordan, the Church of St. Paul at Umm al-Rasas (Fig. 5) (Piccirillo 1996: 411-412, fig. 15; 1997: 382-392, fig. 5, Pianta I, Photos 2-3, 25, 27; Abela and Acconci 1997: fig. 1), with the personifications of earth and the four rivers of the Garden of Eden, of which only the names remain; the Theotokos Chapel in the Memorial Church of Moses at Mount Nebo (Saller 1941: 233-241, fig. 27, Pls. 109:2, 111:3, 5-8; Piccirillo 1989: 163-165, fig. on p. 164; 1993: 151, fig. 199; Piccirillo 1998: 300-304, figs. 73, 76, 78-80; Ognibene 1998: fig. 5); and the Umayyad Palace-Castle at Qasr al-Hallabat (Bisheh 1981: 352, Pl. 112, Photos 1-2; 1982: 136-138, Pls. XXXIX-XLII; 1985: 265, figs. 6-7; 1986: 129-130, fig. 97; Piccirillo 1993: 350, figs. 759, 761-763, 767-771, 773). But the closest equivalent is found in Jerusalem, in the Armenian Funerary Chapel of Artavan on the Mount of Olives, today within the present Russian Convent of the Ascension (Fig. 6), which has a variety of motifs such as sheep, chicken, duck, fish, a bunch of grapes, a citron, and a harmonic shield (Narkiss 1979: 21-22, figs. 32-34). The floor from the Mount of Olives is one of the most beautiful floors dated to the Byzantine period to have been found in our region, made by excellent artists who preserved and continued the Roman mosaic tradition. The similarity and geographic proximity between the Kidron Valley mosaic and the Artavan mosaic on the Mount of Olives is striking. It is reasonable to assume that the Kidron Valley artist was aware of the Mount of Olives mosaic, and imitated the grid, the guilloche interlace and the technique of laying the tesserae. But the difference in quality can be seen not only in the colorful design, but also in technical terms, in the greater density of stones seen in the design of the fish, the birds and the citron (etrog). The Mount of Olives mosaic is more colorful, with depictions of light and shade, graduated color, and the creation of volume. Whether the Armenian mosaic served as a source of inspiration for the Kidron Valley mosaic artist, or whether a third mosaic was the

inspiration for these two mosaics, the stylistic and technical differences lead to the conclusion that despite the similarity in composition and motifs, the mosaics were laid by different artists, working in the same workshop or in neighboring workshops.

The motifs appearing in the Kidron Valley church hall and in the parallels that have been noted are fruit, animals, and sometimes also motifs with deep religious symbolic significance. How should these mosaics be read? Should we read them literally and see the animals as decorative motifs, continuing a long tradition of the *xenia* motif that began during the Roman period with the decoration of villas, such as the wall paintings and the floor mosaics of Oplontis, Pompeii, Rome and Aquileia in Italy (Sampaolo 1989: figs. on pp. 31, 33, Cat. Nos. 6, 8, 13, 20, 26; Giubelli 1991: figs. on pp. 16, 18-19, 23; Dellasorte 1998: 39-40, fig. 58) and the floor mosaics in North Africa (Ben Abed – Ben Kader 1990: 15-22; Balmelle 1990: 51-66; Ben Osman 1990a: 43-50; 1990b: 73-78; Gozlan 1990a: 29-40; 1990b: 85-106; Ennaifer 1990: 23-28; 1996: 65-85) such as Thysdrus El Jem (Ghalia 2006: 34, fig. 16; Ben Abed 2006: 41, figs. 3.12-14) Dar Zmela and Sousse (Gozlan 2001: figs. 79-80). These represented the abundance found in the house, the generosity and hospitality of the host, and the hope for future abundance (Dunbabin 1978: 124-125; 2003: 63-65, 156-161; Kondoleon 1995: 126-133). What is the significance of these mosaics in a Christian or Muslim context? Do we have here the continuation of the earlier *xenia* depictions, or do they have a religious and symbolic meaning? Depictions of the fruit of the earth, the fish of the sea, the birds and the fowl express religious, philosophical and cosmological ideas, and this is *xenia* - the gift of the earth, the sea and the air; they express the celebration and richness of life, the world and the beauty of nature (Darmon 1990: 107-112). The depiction of the material world created by God in a Christian building of worship can be interpreted as expressing the diversity of nature, but also as an allegory and narrative of the creation and tidings of the new Christian era (Maguire 1987: 81-84). This in fact turns the church into a microcosmos, and this is how the Kidron Valley mosaic should be interpreted, showing the abundance and beauty of nature and God's gift to his creatures on earth (Habas 2005: 295-298).

From the church hall vestibule floor, a fragment of a garland border has survived, as well as two fragments indicating that the carpet was divided into two panels. The first panel is decorated with a combination of ellipsis diamonds and beads, on a carpet of scales, creating large flower squares (Fig. 7). The geometric-vegetal net is common in the region, and many parallels have been found in the churches of the Holy Land during the Byzantine and Umayyad period. Among the many examples, I will mention mosaics in the Jerusalem area, such as Khan el-Ahmar (Avi-Yonah 1933: 180), the Monastery of Martyrius at Maale Adummim (Khirbet el-Murassas) (Magen and Talgam 1990: 116-119, figs. 36, 37a), and the Northern Church at Herodium (Fig. 8) (Ovadia and Ovadia 1987: 69, Pl. LXXXII, No. 96; Netzer 1990: 166-168, figs. 3, 5); and in Transjordan, the Church of St. Menas (635) at Rihab (Lux 1967: 35, Plan 2:I, Taf. 14:a; Piccirillo 1980: Photos 18, 21; 1993: 313, figs. 634-635), the Cathedral at Pella (McNicoll, Smith and Hennessy 1982: 106, Pl. 33; Smith and Day 1989: 43, figs. 21, 40, Pl. 34:b-c; Piccirillo 1993: 330, fig. 705), and the Church of St. George (AD 535/6) at Khirbat al-Mukhayyat (Saller and Bagatti 1949: fig. 8, Pl. 30:2; Piccirillo 1993: 178, figs. 244-245; 1998: 322, figs. 116-117).

The second panel is designed as a grid of diamonds of buds containing flowers or leaves. The intersection of the diamonds of buds form large open flowers – rosettes (Fig. 9). A single identical mosaic was found south of Jerusalem, in the crypt of the church at Horvat Berachot (Fig. 10) (Tsafrir and Hirschfeld 1979: 317-318, figs. 28-30, 37-38; Magen 2010: 214-215, figs. on pp. 214-215). The fact that the floors are completely identical means that we may assume they were made by the same mosaic workshop, or that the artists at the two sites were aware of each other.

### Architectural Sculpture, Liturgical Vessels and Furniture

In addition, fragments of liturgical vessels were found under the 7th century floor, including a *mortarium* made of local red limestone, 9 cm in height (Fig. 11.1-2). The surface and rim of the bowl

are crudely chiseled, and the chisel marks can be seen. The inside of the bowl is roughly smoothed. On the front of the bowl is a flat engraving in the form of a cross. Four ‘horned’ handles originally protruded from the rim of the bowl, of which two remain, a handle and a spout (Fig. 11.3).

In the Byzantine period, *mortaria* appear in both secular and religious contexts, in private houses, stores, cemeteries, churches, monasteries and baptisteries. Among the many finds, I will mention the marble bowls from the church at Ostrakine in North Sinai (Habas forthcoming), and Beth-shean (Scythopolis), Jerusalem (Tushingham 1985: 100-104, fig. 77:14; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 76, Pl. XVIII:21, 23), Siyar el-Ghanam (Corbo 1955: 87, Tav. 28, Photo 80:3) and Oboda (Negev 1997: 177, Photo 283). They were put to a variety of uses, including liturgical use. Some have proposed seeing them as libation bowls (Negev 1997: 177), bowls for washing hands, bowls for washing sacred vessels and mortar bowls for incense (Dyggve and Egger 1939: 44, 49, Abb. 62; Sodini and Kolokotsas 1984: 207, fig. 170, Notes 148-151). We learn of the use of the *mortarium* in the context of the lives of monks in the Judean desert monastery from the treatise *Vita Sancti Georgii Chozibitae*. In this treatise, we read of a monk leading an exemplary life, asking those responsible for the pantry to collect for him the remains of the food collected from the tables on Sundays, which he grinds in a stone *mortarium*, makes into balls, and dries in the sun for a number of days. These he then moistens with water, and eats in his cell (*Vita di S. Giorgio Chozibita* in *Analecta Bollandiana*, VII, 1888, p. 108; Campagnano Di Segni 1991: 39-79, 81-148).

Also discovered was a magnificent polylobed lip liturgical basin or bowl made of marble – a find that is rare and unique in form, size and quality. It is 16.4 cm high, with an external diameter of 56 cm. The sides of the bowl are polished and the dark grey veins of the marble decorate its surface (Fig. 12.1-3). There is no identical parallel to the bowl, although similar imported marble bowls have been found in our region, at the monastery at Mount Nebo (Saller 1941: 153, 294, Cat. No. 68, fig. 32:1, Pl. 129:11; Acconci 1998: 497-499, fig. 79, Pl. V:6, No. 79) and the Episcopal Church at Pella (Smith and Day 1989: 130-131, fig. 42). The liturgical role of the bowl is not clear. If the basin is large enough it can be identified as a fountain (κρήνη) as in the Church of St. Demetrius at Thessalonika (Orlandos 1952: 120, fig. 70), and when found in a cemetery as in Salona it is related to funerary ritual (Dyggve and Egger 1939: 43, 49, 51, Abb. 61:3-5). But most of the bowls have been found in a church context and are understood as vessels for holy water (Leclercq 1925a: 602-608; 1925b: 758-771), for washing sacred objects, or for washing the priests’ hands before and during the mass (Lassus 1947: 203), such as the marble hand-washing bowl from the Theothokos precinct church on Mount Gerizim (Magen 2010: 232, fig. on p. 233), in the wall mosaic at the Church of San Vitale (AD 547) in Ravenna, in which the Empress Theodora leads the procession bearing the chalice for the sacrifice of the Mass, preceded by two ministers, one of whom parts the curtain to show the spouting water of the fountain (Deichmann 1958: fig. 358), and the mosaic floor at Tayyibat al-Imâm (Zaqzuq and Piccirillo 1999: 445-446, Plan I, Pls. I, VI, figs. 3, 5-7, 10-12). The artistic image of a basin with a pair of animals at its side is understood as the ‘Fountain of Life’, with the animals symbolising believers coming to drink the waters of faith, and so they are depicted in churches throughout the Byzantine Empire, such as in the Central Church at Cyrene, Como, Pitsiunte, Salona, Chartage (Alföldi-Rosenbaum and Ward-Perkins 1980: 52-53, Pls. 89-91), La Skhira, Henchir Ounaïssia (Béjaoui 1994: 228-230, figs. on pp. 228-229), Oum Hartaïne (Donceel-Voûte 1988: 193, fig. 168), Khan Khaldé (Chéhab 1958: 113; 1959: Pls. LXII, LXXIV), and in illuminated manuscripts (Underwood 1950: 43-118).

Also found was a fragment of an imported marble panel, engraved with part of a wreath and fleur-de-lys (Fig. 13.1-2). Comparison with chancel screen art allows us to reconstruct the decoration as a common composition found in a large group of panels bearing the *stephanostaurion* motif in their center (Habas 2009: 103-104). In this type, the panel is decorated with a cross and fleur-de-lys between the arms of the cross within a laurel wreath, as discovered in the Church of the Monastery of the Lady Mary (AD 567) at Beth Shean (Fig. 14) (Fitzgerald 1939: 3, Pl. III, fig. 5; Habas 1994: Vol. I: 60, Vol. III: 39-40, fig. 57, No. 57; Israeli and Mevorah 2000: fig. on p. 130), and the Church of Nilus (the western church) at Mampsis (Negev 1988: 107, fig. 9; Habas 1994: Vol. I: 62, Vol. III:

42-3, fig. 62, No. 62; 2009: 102, fig. 2.2), or a version in which the place of the cross is taken by four fleurs-de-lys, as in the church at Horvat Hesheq (519) (Fig. 15) (Aviam 1990: 364, fig. 20; Habas 1994: Vol. I: 68-9, Vol. III: 59-60, fig. 87, No. 87). The role of the panel is unclear. It may have been placed in a prominent position on the wall of the church, or perhaps served as a tombstone.

Fragments of an altar table column made of bituminous schist were also found, not *in situ* (Fig. 16.1-2). The molded bitumen altar column decorated with a schematic lotus capital is in fact a local imitation of imported marble altar columns, as revealed in the church of the monastery at Khirbet ed-Deir (Habas 1999: 119-122, Pl.1:5-7, 9-11) and the church at Ostrakine in North Sinai (Fig. 17) (Habas forthcoming). The use of bitumen and the schematic style of the design indicate a later date, towards the end of the Byzantine period, or more correctly the Umayyad period, when the import trade in marble came to an end after the Muslim conquest and disengagement from the Byzantine Empire. At this time it became necessary to replace damaged marble liturgical furniture with reproductions in a local stone imitation of marble. Bitumen was chosen for its resemblance to the color of marble. Another local creation is a *console* bracket which was found in the vestibule, decorated with a cross within a medallion (Fig. 18.1-2).

### Summary

In summary, the mosaic floors of the monastery in the Kidron Valley have parallels in the Holy Land in the Byzantine and Umayyad period, both in secular and religious contexts, but there is a special connection with the mosaics of the Jerusalem vicinity. The similarities hint at the existence of a workshop in the Jerusalem area. It is possible that there were a number of workshops in the Jerusalem area, and the mosaic artists in the Kidron Valley were aware of their colleagues, and influenced by them.

The rare marble bowl with a fluted rim and the common marble panel bearing the motif of the *stephanostaurion* indicate that luxury liturgical vessels made of marble were imported to decorate the monastery, while at the same time local artists made the mosaic floors, carved the architectural sculpture, and designed liturgical furniture imitating imported marble furniture.

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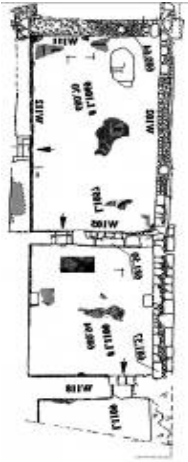


Fig. 1. Kidron Valley monastery, location of the fragments of the mosaic floors.



Fig. 3. Kidron Valley monastery, composition of the central carpet of the hall.



Fig. 5. The Church of St. Paul at Umm al-Rasas (Courtesy of M. Piccirillo).

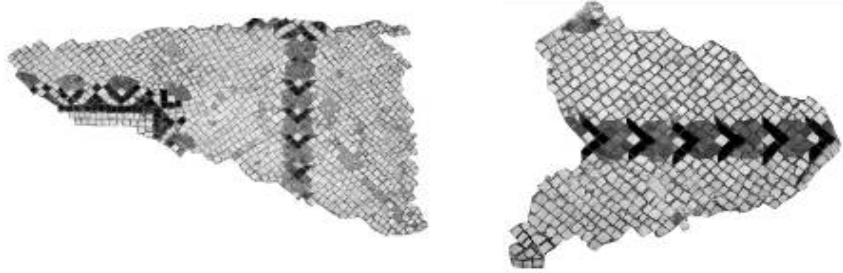


Fig. 2. Kidron Valley monastery, border designs of the carpet of the hall.

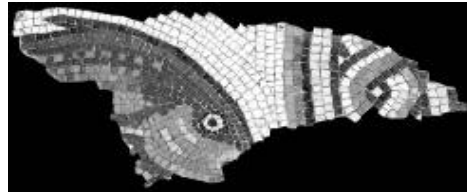


Fig. 4.1-3. Kidron Valley monastery, central carpet motifs.



Fig. 6. The Armenian Funerary Chapel of Artavan on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem.

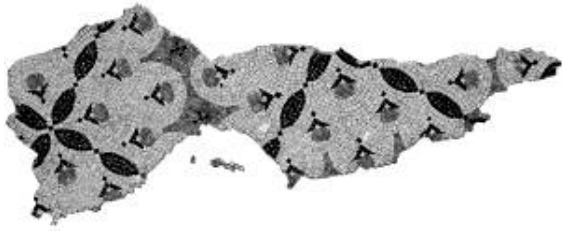


Fig. 7. Kidron Valley monastery, vestibule carpet.



Fig. 8. The Northern Church at Herodium (after: Netzer 1990: fig. 5; Courtesy of E. Netzer and R. Porat).

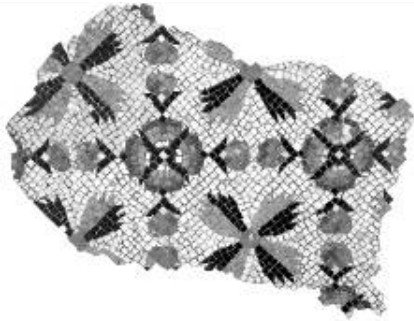


Fig. 9. Kidron Valley monastery, vestibule carpet.

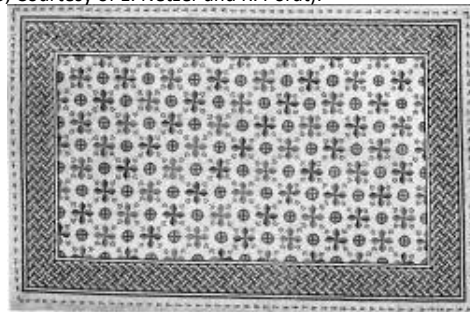


Fig. 10. The church at H-orvat Berachot (Courtesy of Y. Tsafir, and Y. Hirschfeld).

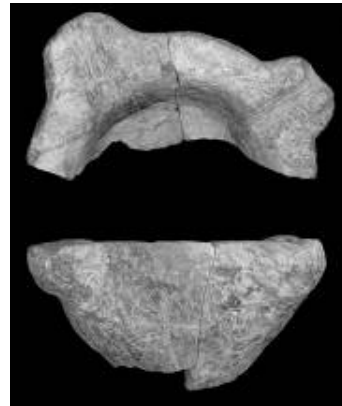
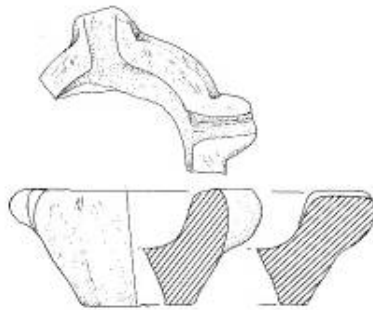


Fig. 11.1-3. Kidron Valley monastery, *mortarium* with engraving of cross.

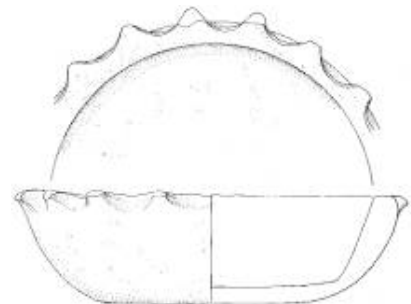
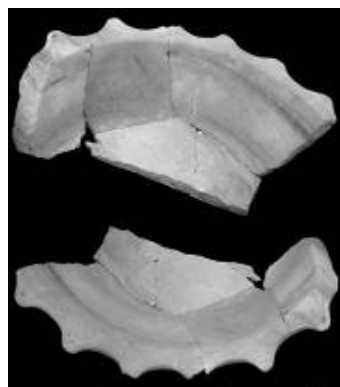


Fig. 12.1-3. Kidron Valley monastery, polylobed lip liturgical basin/bowl.



Fig. 13.1-2. Kidron Valley monastery, fragment of marble panel, engraved with wreath and fleur-de-lys – part of *stephanostaurion* composition.



Fig. 14. The Church of the Monastery of the Lady Mary at Beth Shean, chancel screen (after: Israeli and Mevorah 2000: fig. on p. 130).



Fig. 15. The Church at H-orvat H-esheq, chancel screen (L. Habas; Courtesy of M. Aviam and IAA).



Fig. 16.1-2. Kidron Valley monastery, fragments of an altar table column.

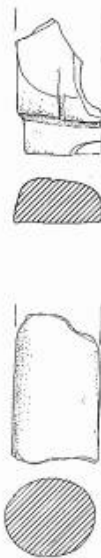


Fig. 17. The Church at Ostrakine in North Sinai, altar table column (Courtesy of E. Oren, Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba).

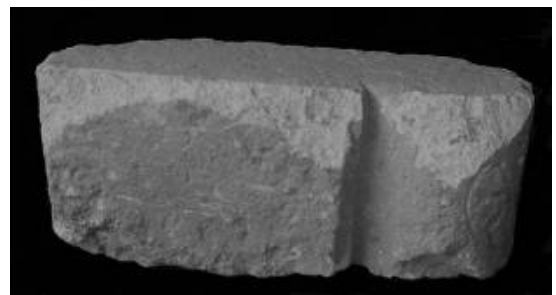
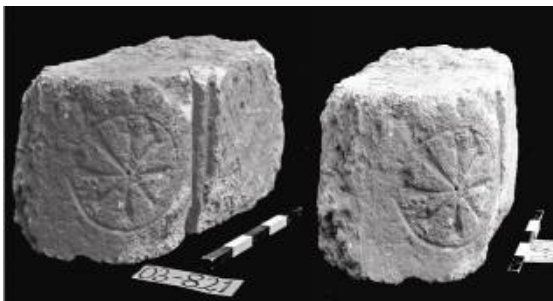


Fig. 18.1-2. Kidron Valley monastery, console bracket.