

Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg

**MARBURGER BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE**  
**BAND 6**



Winfried Held (ed.)

**The Transition from the Achaemenid to the  
Hellenistic Period in the Levant, Cyprus, and Cilicia:  
Cultural Interruption or Continuity?**

Symposium at Philipps-Universität Marburg,  
October 12–15, 2017



The Transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic Period in the Levant, Cyprus, and Cilicia:  
Cultural Interruption or Continuity?

Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg

MARBURGER BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE  
BAND 6

herausgegeben von  
Rita Amedick, Heide Froning und Winfried Held

Eigenverlag des Archäologischen Seminars der Philipps-Universität  
Marburg · 2020



Winfried Held (ed.)

The Transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic  
Period in the Levant, Cyprus, and Cilicia:  
Cultural Interruption or Continuity?

Symposion at Philipps-Universität Marburg,  
October 12–15, 2017

Sigel der Marburger Beiträge zur Archäologie: MarBAr

Titelbild: Persische Jagdszene im Grab 1 von Marisa, 3. Jh. v. Chr.

nach J. Peters – H. Thiersch, Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa (Marêshah) (London 1905) Taf. 6

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Redaktion: Winfried Held

© 2020 by Eigenverlag des Archäologischen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg

ISBN: 978-3-8185-0557-8

Alle Rechte vom Verlag vorbehalten. Wiedergabe, auch von Teilen des Inhalts, nur mit dessen ausdrücklicher Genehmigung.

Satz & Gestaltung: Martina Klein, Marburg

Druck: L&W Druck GbR, Bad Endbach-Hartenrod

Printed in Germany

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Winfried Held</i>	1
Foreword and Introduction	
REGIONS AND SETTLEMENTS	
<i>Nitsan Shalom – Oded Lipschits</i>	7
Judah during the Transition between the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Regional Processes	
<i>Matthias Grawehr</i>	27
The Transition from the Persian to the Hellenistic Periods in Inland Syria. The Perspective of Historical Geography	
<i>Hans H. Curvers</i>	41
Achaemenid to Hellenistic Period Transition at Tell Umm el-Marra (Syria) and Beirut (Lebanon)	
<i>Jesper Wangen</i>	51
A Late Iron Age Area at the Wadi Abu Jmil in Beirut. New Observations by Buildings, Stratigraphy and Finds	
<i>Andrea Trameri – Lorenzo d'Alfonso</i>	65
The ›Sacred City‹ of Kınık Höyük: Continuity and Change in Cappadocia (Turkey) between the Late Achaemenid and Late Hellenistic Periods	
<i>Eva Strothenke -Koch</i>	83
Gradual Evolution and Apparent Changes – Pottery Stemming from Closed Context on Dülük Baba Tepesi (9 <sup>th</sup> to 1 <sup>st</sup> century BC)	
COINS	
<i>Jack Nurpetlian</i>	99
Two Sides of the Same Coin or Two Sides to Every Coin? A Look at Mass Media and Cultural Identity in Persian and Hellenistic Period Phoenicia	
<i>Archil Balakhvantsev</i>	107
Stasanor and Andragoras: Two Cypriot Princes in the Hellenistic Far East	

## TOMBS

- Dalit Regev* 113  
Greeks at Idumaea: A Late 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC Tomb
- Lâtife Summerer – Hazar Kaba* 125  
Continuity and Discontinuity in Funerary Traditions of Cyprus  
between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BC.  
An Analysis of Grave Types and Jewellery as Tomb Gifts

## ARCHITECTURE

- Noah Kaye – Nicholas K. Rauh* 141  
Fortification Systems in Eastern Rough Cilicia from the Iron Age  
to the Hellenistic Era (1200–27 BC)
- Leonardo Fuduli* 167  
Some Observations on the Hellenistic Architecture of Nea Paphos.  
Tradition and Ptolemaic influences
- Stefanos Karampekos* 173  
East of the Levant. Residential Architecture in Seleukeia on the Tigris:  
Neo-Babylonian Tradition and Hellenistic Innovation

## PARADEISOI

- Bärbel Morstadt – Stefan Riedel* 191  
Cultivating Kingship? The Remarkable Career Change of Abdalonymos  
from Gardener to King of Sidon
- Winfried Held* 209  
Achämenidische Hofkunst in der hellenistischen Levante.  
Eine Jagdszene in Marisa, der Pavillon in Jericho und der  
Paradeisos von Sidon
- Julia Hertzner* 229  
Die aufgehende Architektur des Pavillons in Jericho

## ADDRESSES OF AUTHORS

244

## Foreword and Introduction

The eastern Mediterranean regions of the Levant, Cilicia, and Cyprus, which during the entire Iron Age were culturally closely connected, were all part of the Achaemenid Empire and subsequently conquered by Alexander the Great between 333 and 332 BC. With the dissolution of the Makedonian Empire after Alexander's death, this area was divided between the succeeding empires of the Seleukids and the Ptolemies, who continued to fight for supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean in the following two centuries.

The transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic period brought many innovations. The Makedonian rulers founded new cities, brought Greek and Makedonian settlers, and introduced Greek as official language, thus making these regions part of the Hellenistic cultural *koiné*. Taking this as historical starting point, a clearly visible cultural break has to be expected. Yet in the context of material culture, this seems not always to be visible with the presumed clarity.

For our understanding of this transition, it is crucial to find out what exactly happened with the Makedonian conquest and the transition of power, and how it affected the population in the cities and the rural areas, their culture and their daily life. Therefore, archaeological sources give us the most reliable evidence. Ancient findings, objects, and images are the primary sources for the cultural, social, and economic history, and only through their analysis it is possible to find out, to what extent this transition in the ancient reality was the break that it is in our modern historical perception.

The symposium in Marburg, which the editor organised together with Zoi Kotitsa, therefore had the aim to discuss the problem of cultural continuity and discontinuity at the transition between these periods.

The contributions and discussions at the symposium were devoted to the questions,

- if and how this transition is visible in the archaeological documentation,
- if settlement patterns and archaeological finds testify to changes or continuity,
- which categories of artefacts reflect phenomena of continuity or change,
- if and how the transition between the periods influenced the relations between the three regions,
- which impact the transition had on production, consumption, and trade,
- if the transition changed cultural and social behaviour in these regions.

Apart from that the symposium aimed at bringing together scholars of different disciplines that usually tend to work separately. While the Achaemenid period, in the Levant equal to Iron Age III, is the object of Prehistoric, Near Eastern, or Biblical Archaeology, the Hellenistic period is studied by Classical Archaeology. Their view on the transition between these two periods thus is influenced by the epoch which is the focus of their respective archaeological disciplines, and therefore often incomplete or biased. The symposium was designed to create a forum for scholarly exchange between archaeologists from all of these disciplines in order to enable a comprehensive view of our chosen theme.

The call for papers received a broad response, so that in October 2017 we were able to unite in Marburg the 26 papers of scholars from nine countries, which also represented the variety of archaeological disciplines and the questions of the symposium. We were especially happy about the participation of many junior researchers. Our university provided us the senate's hall for the symposium.

In this volume, 16 contributions are united representing the majority of papers presented. They cover the entire geographical area that was the focus of the symposium, i.e. the Levant, Cyprus, and Cilicia, with excursions to the neighbouring regions of Cappadocia and Mesopotamia. Apart from that, they treat a diverse range of evidence, thus giving a good overview of the process of transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic period.

The transition in rural areas is best described by *regional surveys*. For Judah, **Nitsan Shalom** and **Oded Lipschits** show mainly continuity but with some remarkable exceptions. A hiatus in Ramat Rahel in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and the increase of settlement activity around Jerusalem is connected to an administrative decision by the Ptolemies, who probably were moving the administrative centre from Ramat Rahel to Jerusalem. Persian fortresses in Pelekh Beth Zur were abandoned in the early Hellenistic period. In Pelekh Qe'ila, large villages, which were established at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, were abandoned around 260 BC for unknown reasons. This surprising result shows that discontinuity happens in ways that confound our expectations from historical sources.

Quite the opposite result of a profound and harsh change was observed by **Matthias Grawehr** in the Middle Orontes Region, which changed from a rural, underdeveloped, and poor area in the Achaemenid period to an urbanized, modern, and rich one in the early Hellenistic period. This remarkable rupture was not only evident from archaeological survey and excavation results, but also from historical toponymy. During the Bronze and Iron Age, this region was rather prosperous until Sargon II conquered the area. In the Achaemenid period, it was largely deserted and many toponyms were forgotten. Under the Seleukids, the area was re-settled in a wave of new foundations. Their inhabitants were locals and veterans, the latter forming a new Greek elite. Accordingly, simple pottery like cooking ware remained in the local tradition, but new table ware was introduced. In Shayzar, Greek veterans from Thessaly even renamed the town, while the locals were marginalized.

For the north Syrian Jabbul Plain, **Hans Curvers** shows that the transition brought an increase in the overall number of settlements without any break in the development of older sites. This applies especially to the excavation results from one of these sites, Umm el-Marra, where only slight changes in the cultural tradition are visible. Curvers contrasts this place with the coastal city of Berytos (Beirut). There we find clear changes in the material culture and layout of the city. The change from Persian to Makedonian rule seems to have affected centres more than marginal zones.

This leads to the complementary study of *settlements*. **Jesper Wangen** confirms the image of Berytos with a study of the city in Iron Age III, concentrating on the area of the later hippodrome. Occupation of that sector already began in the Iron Age. The material culture and the building phases generally show a break at our transition, with the notable exception of the early Hellenistic Building B, which seems to have been erected in late Iron Age III and remained in use during the early Hellenistic period. This points towards an at least partial continuity in the use of this area, while the most obvious discontinuity occurred much later in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC when the buildings were abandoned and the area was converted to a necropolis.

The study of **Andrea Trameri** and **Lorenzo d'Alfonso** on Kınık Höyük in Cappadocia shows continuity in the sanctuary, but discontinuity in habitation. The prosperous and large houses of the Achaemenid period were replaced by poor and small houses in the Hellenistic period. Yet the material culture shows continuity in the local tradition, while Hellenization is visible only after the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. It appears that an economic change affected the population but not the sanctuary, while the cultural break followed at a considerably later date.

Similar results regarding the *material culture* of Cappadocia are also confirmed by the study of **Eva Strothenke-Koch** on the sanctuary of Iuppiter Dolichenus at Doliche. There, despite changes, the pottery shows no cultural break but rather a strong continuity.

The study by **Jack Nurpetlian** on the *coins* of the Phoenician cities shows that they continue to express the same dynamic of urban rivalry beneath a surface of changing iconography, whether Persian, Ptolemaic, or Seleukid.

With the early Hellenistic Andragoras tetradrachms, **Archil Balakhvantsev** led us to far eastern Baktria where the coin images are influenced from 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Cyprus. This led Balakhvantsev to the identification of Andragoras with the youngest son of king Androkles of Amathous, who joined Alexander for the siege of Tyros. Androkles may have succeeded the satrap of the eastern satrapies Stasanor who was a Cypriot from Soloi. If so, two Cypriots ruled Baktria in the two decades between Alexander's death and the coming to power of Seleukos I. Both may be the persons depicted in the two portrait heads that were found in the early Hellenistic Oxus temple at Taht-i Sangin. Despite the geographical dislocation, a continuity in Cypriot royal representation is visible.



**Dalit Regev** presents a *tomb* near the ancient town of Marisa in Idumaia from the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. It was a tomb of Greeks who had settled here at the beginning of the Hellenistic period or even before Alexander's conquest, rock-cut, with *loculi* of local design and finds which include local pottery and Greek artefacts of an eclectic *koiné* style. These newcomers brought a new material culture to the Levant while adopting the local one at the same time.

**Latife Summerer** and **Hazar Kaba** analyse tombs and grave goods in 4<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century Cyprus. The tomb architecture of the traditional Cypriot rock-cut chamber tombs was complemented by the introduction of Alexandrian type hypogea in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. A survey of jewelry found in tombs shows a decrease between the Achaemenid and the Hellenistic period, possibly because of economic reasons. The formerly common mouth pieces and dress ornaments were abandoned, while wreaths became common. Overall, the sepulchral culture of Cyprus shows mostly a discontinuity, and local traditions were given up in favour of Hellenistic *koiné* culture.

The topic of the symposium also suggests that the *architecture* of the deceased corresponds to the architecture of the living. **Noah Kaye** and **Nicholas Rauh** present a survey of fortifications in the coastal area of eastern Rough Cilicia. Five rather simple fortification walls without towers were erected on the coast opposite Boğsak Island, at Tahta Limanı, and on Dana Island, which were used in the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century BC. They fortified the maritime frontier of Pirindu (Meydancikkale) and its Persian garrison. In the Hellenistic period, the Teukrids of the temple-state of Olba ruled the area in accordance with the Seleukids' wishes, thus creating a link between the old and new powers. They abandoned the former forts and erected a system of towers with polygonal masonry symbolizing their power. At Ovacık/Aphrodisias a strong early Hellenistic fortification system seems not only related to Aphrodisias but to the Seleukid frontier defense in the vicinity of Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos. Thus, in the two periods, the same problem – the defense of this maritime frontier – was solved in rather different ways.

Fragments of architectural decoration found in Cypriot Nea Paphos studied by **Leonardo Fuduli** present a disparate image. In the early Hellenistic period under Ptolemaic rule, the Ionic order signifies local continuity, while the introduction of the Doric order of Alexandrian type represents the power of an official public architecture, characterising Nea Paphos as the seat of the Ptolemaic *strategos*.

The Corinthian order, which was another new introduction, remained less widespread than in Alexandria. Masons from Alexandria worked together with Cypriots and trained them.

**Stephanos Karampekos** analysed the domestic architecture of Hellenistic Mesopotamia. The Hellenistic houses in Seleukeia on the Tigris are in the tradition of the Neo-Babylonian houses but with added Greek elements: porticoes with side rooms in front of the main room, exedras, Greek simas and antefixes for the roof edges although covered with a flat roof. The city plan with *insulae* of identical size introduces Greek urban principles to Mesopotamia. This applies also to houses and residences of Seleukid governors in Syria and the Levant.

Despite the change of power from the eastern Persians to the western Makedonians, the *paradeisos* remained a fundamental element of the representation of kings and governours. **Bärbel Morstadt** and **Stefan Riedel** reflect on the idea of the *paradeisos* in Persia, the Levant, and the Greek world, starting from the anecdote passed on by the Greek historian Diodoros and others, that Alexander, after taking power in Sidon, made the poor gardener Abdalonymos king of Sidon. The core of this romantic story is the fact that a king in the Mesopotamian and Persian tradition had to be a gardener – which is easily understandable in Mesopotamia where agriculture was possible only through irrigation – and thus the garden or *paradeisos* was an integral part of the royal representation which was subsequently adopted by the Hellenistic rulers.

**Winfried Held** identifies continuities in Achaemenid satrapal court art in the early Hellenistic wall painting of a Persian hunting scene in a tomb of Sidonian settlers at Marisa in Idumaia, as well as in the late Hellenistic pavilion of the Hasmonaean winter palace at Jericho. A new reconstruction of the pavilion plan shows its links with the *paradeisos* architecture of the royal Persian palace of Pasargadai. Both the Marisa hunting scene and the Jericho pavilion seem to refer to the Achaemenid *paradeisos* of Sidon where the hunting scene has to be imagined, and where a pavilion of the Pasargadai type must have existed and been used as a model by the architects of the Hasmonaean winter palace. This strange continuity of Persian court art obviously was not any more understood as such, but as the expression of an elite defining itself by the *paradeisos*.

**Julia Hertzner** completes the reconstruction of the Jericho pavilion with her study of the architectural elements. She provides a new reconstruction of the Doric order and the porticoes.

Overall, the picture that emerges here is of a transition that is abrupt or subtle, depending on the category of evidence or the region studied. Generally, the culture of local populations tends toward continuity, while the elite culture changes more decisively. Likewise, rural areas show more continuity than urban centres. This could be expected since the composition of the elite changed in most places with Makedonians and Greeks taking over power from Persian governours and local rulers. But even this picture is more disparate than expected. Thus the rural development differs surprisingly in the Jabbul plain, the Orontes area, and Judah. Interestingly, the elite also contributes to continuity, as in the case of the Phoenician coinage, the Seleukid domestic architecture, and the prominent role of the *paradeisos* in the representation of rulers. In many places a break is visible but at a later date than expected – so settlements were abandoned in a region of Judah around 260 BC, Kınık Höyük experienced Hellenization not before the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, and the Hellenistic houses at the hippodrome area of Berytos were abandoned and replaced by a necropolis in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

In sum, there is no single pattern of the transition in the archaeological evidence, rather we have to distinguish between regions, central and marginal settlements, and population strata. The outcome of the symposium reminds us that we have to be careful in transposing the history of events on to the cultural and social history, which is more complex and may develop differently even in neighbouring regions.

We thank the Deutsche Forschungsgesellschaft (DFG) for the support of the symposium. A subsidy was given by the Ursula-Kuhlmann-Fonds at Marburger Universitätsbund e.V. The organisation of the symposium including the evening receptions was provided by the colleagues, staff, and students of the Archäologisches Seminar. If the participants remember the symposium fondly, this is not least their merit.



*The participants of the symposium at the Archäologisches Seminar, in the garden of the historical ›Jubiläumsbau‹ of Marburg University*

# PROGRAM

## Thursday, October 12<sup>th</sup>

- 18.00 Opening lecture  
Hans. H. Curvers (Amsterdam/Beirut)  
Syria and Lebanon: Pasts and Presences

*Reception*

## Friday, October 13<sup>th</sup>

- 9.00 Welcome

### Sanctuaries, Cults and Tombs

(Chair: Stephan G. Schmid)

- 9.10 Paola Puppo (Genova)  
Religious Cults in Cyprus in the Achaemenid  
Period: Phenomena of Continuity and Change  
in the Island's Cultural Substratum.
- 9.40 Latife Summerer (München) – Hazar Kaba  
(Sinop)  
Tracing Changes in Funerary Traditions of  
Cyprus between 350 and 250 BC
- 10.10 *Coffee break*
- 10.40 Dalit Regev (Jerusalem)  
Ionians at Idumea: a Late 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC Tomb
- 11.10 Oren Tal (Tel Aviv)  
Cult in Transition from Achaemenid to  
Greek Rule: The Case of Palestine

### Kings and Courts (Chair: Latife Summerer)

- 11.40 Bärbel Morstadt – Stefan Riedel (Bochum)  
Cultivating Kingship? The Remarkable Career  
Change of Abdalonymos from Gardener to  
King of Sidon
- 12.10 Winfried Held – Julia Hertzner (Marburg)  
Achaemenid Court Art in the Hellenistic  
Levant: Marisa and Jericho
- 12.40 Stephan G. Schmid (Berlin)  
Orient or Occident? Reflections on the Proto-  
types and Meanings of the Mausoleion at  
Halikarnassos
- 13.10 *Lunch break*

## Settlements (Chair: Winfried Held)

- 15.00 Hans Curvers (Amsterdam/Beirut)  
Transitions in the Jabbul Plain (Syria) and in  
the Mediterranean Port City Beirut (Lebanon)
- 15.30 Matthias Grawehr (Basel)  
What's in a Name? Siedlungsgeographie im  
nordsyrischen Binnenland am Übergang von der  
Achämenidenzeit zur hellenistischen Epoche
- 16.00 *Coffee break*
- 16.30 Debora Sandhaus (Tel Aviv)  
Shifts in the Political Arena and the Transition  
between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries BC:  
The Case of the Province of Yehud
- 17.00 Nitsan Shalom (Tel Aviv)  
Changes in Settlement Patterns in Judah in  
the Transition from the Persian to the  
Hellenistic Period
- 17.30 Andrea Trameri – Lorenzo d'Alfonso  
(New York)  
The 'Sacred City' of Kınık Höyük: Continuity  
and Change in Cappadocia (TR) During the  
Achaemenid and Hellenistic Period

## Saturday, October 14<sup>th</sup>

### Architecture (Chair: Oren Tal)

- 9.30 Nicholas Rauh (Lafayette/Indiana) – Noah  
Kaye (Bloomington) – Gündür Varinlioğlu  
(Istanbul)  
Masonry Technique in Cilician Fortifications  
as a Determiner of Persian/Hellenistic Era  
Transition
- 10.00 Leonardo Fuduli (São Paulo)  
Some Observations on the Hellenistic Archi-  
tecture of Nea Paphos between the Tradition  
and the Ptolemaic Influences
- 10.30 Stefanos Karampekos (Marburg)  
East of the Levant – Residential Architecture  
in Seleucia on the Tigris: Neo-Babylonian  
Tradition and Hellenistic Innovation
- 11.00 *Coffee break*



**Pottery** (Chair: Zoi Kotitsa)

- 11.30 Aaron Schmitt (Mainz)  
New Insights into the Material Culture of the Persian Period in the Phoenician Homeland based on the Ceramic Material from Tell el-Burak (Lebanon)
- 12.00 Noa Shatil (Tel Aviv)  
The Persian and Early Hellenistic Pottery from Tel Azekah (Israel)
- 12.30 *Lunch break*
- 14.00 Katharina Schmidt (Amman) – Eva Strothenke (Münster)  
Not Iron Age, not Hellenistic? – Pottery of Closed Contexts from Dülük Baba Tepesi
- 14.30 Jesper Wangen (Marburg)  
Beirut, the Ever-changing City: Transitional Observations by Pottery and Stratigraphy
- 15.00 Gunnar Lehmann (Beer Sheva)  
The Kelenderis Workshop: New Research on a Pottery Production Center in the Eastern Mediterranean during the 7<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE
- 15.30 Harun Özdaş (İzmir)  
The Loryma Shipwreck and its Cypriot Finds
- 18.00 *Evening program in the Collection of Antiquities*

**Sunday, October 15<sup>th</sup>**

**Coins, Glass, and Small Finds**

(Chair: Bärbel Morstadt)

- 10.00 Jack Nurpetlian (Beirut)  
Cultural Identity in Persian and Hellenistic Phoenicia: the Coin Evidence
- 10.30 Patrick Wyssmann (Bern)  
Samaria in Transition: A Persian Province in the Southern Levant under the Influence of East and West in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC
- 11.00 Ruth E. Jackson-Tal (Jerusalem)  
Glass in Transition: from Luxury to Daily Use
- 11.30 Helen Gries – Elisabeth Katzy (Berlin)  
A New Approach on the Achaemenid Period in the Khabur Region (East Syria)
- 12.00 Final discussion / Conclusions

## Fortification Systems in Eastern Rough Cilicia from the Iron Age to the Hellenistic Era (1200–27 BC)

The Boğsak Archaeological Survey team (BOGA)<sup>1</sup> is adding to our knowledge of the history of eastern Rough Cilicia in various ways, most recently, by focusing on the character of local authority in Iron Age and Hellenistic Rough Cilicia<sup>2</sup>. The regional polities of the Iron Age remain poorly understood, as archaeological investigation has only just begun. The written sources tend to provide more information about the period of Alexander's conquest and the formation of the Seleucid kingdom. However, the identification of several of the landmarks designated by historical sources as boundaries for the Seleucid kingdom remains confused and unsubstantiated in the archaeological record<sup>3</sup>. Recent investigations of surviving remains of fortification systems by the Boğsak archaeological survey team (BOGA) appear to furnish important new clues. In line with the theme of this conference, we present in this paper preliminary results of our efforts to distinguish Iron Age from Hellenistic fortification systems in the survey area.

The Boğsak survey region extends approximately 30 km from the modern port of Taşucu in the north to the peninsular village of Yeşil Ovacık in the south (fig. 1). During the 2016 and 2017 field seasons, the team identified and investigated seven fortification complexes: one at Boğsak, two at Tahta Limanı, two on Dana Island, and two on the peninsula of Ovacık (ancient Aphrodisias, modern Tisan). All but the last two mentioned (Ovacık) appear to represent a vernacular design of Iron Age fortifications. The clustering of these defenses suggests the existence of a fortified maritime frontier and may even reflect the defensive strategy of a prominent regional Iron Age polity known as Pirindu.

The fortification system at Ovacık, on the other hand, would appear to date to the Early Hellenistic era. We suspect that its purpose was to demarcate the approximate boundary of Seleucid maritime authority. Since our conclusions depend inordinately on design features, such as fortification walls, towers and platforms, and specific styles of masonry, we will devote considerable attention to these issues in what follows. First, we will discuss the Iron Age evidence; then we will discuss the Hellenistic remains. In the conclusion, we will address the significance of these two distinctive fortification systems for larger questions of territorial boundaries and contested sovereignties, as well as the shape of the maritime landscape of eastern Rough Cilicia during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC.

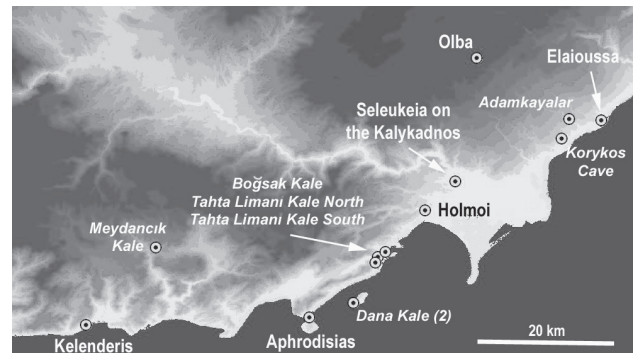


Fig. 1: Eastern Rough Cilicia

1 This paper would not have been possible without the assistance of our collaborators on the BOGA survey, our project director, Gündür Varinlioğlu, architects Mine Esmer, Nihan Arslan, Nur Erdemci, and Hilal Küntüz, underwater researcher Michael Jones, drone specialists Ayman Habib and Evan Flatt, and students, Adam Freeburg, Lucy Greene, Emily Getz, Enes Kahriman, Kenneth Klimek, Matthew Konkoly, Peter Kotiuga, Nathan McDurmett, Zoey Osterloh, and Ozan Sepetçi.

2 For periodization, see the reflections of G. D. Summers, *Periodisation and Terminology in the Central Anatolian Iron Age: Archaeology, History, and Audiences*, *AncNearEastSt* 45, 2008,

202–217. Following the convention for Central Anatolia, the terms »Late Iron Age« and Persian Period, i.e. 547–333 BC will be used interchangeably here. Aligning Iron Age chronologies is a major problem in Anatolian archaeology. Summers loc. cit., 207–208 writes, »...I have never been able to decide when the Middle Iron Age ends and the Late Iron Age begins: the fall of Assyria, the death of Midas, conquest by Cyrus the Great?«

3 The most significant city, Seleukeia (Silifke), is the region's largest urban center today, allowing for minimal archaeological investigation. Precisely where to locate the southwestern boundary of Seleucid territory remains a topic of considerable debate.

## IRON AGE DEFENSES IN THE BOGA SURVEY REGION

What little we know about settlement patterns in Iron Age Rough Cilicia can be summarized as follows. During the period of Neo-Assyrian domination, the coastal highlands formed part of a restive region known as Hilakku, dominated only briefly by the Assyrians during the reign of Sargon II, ca. 710 BC<sup>4</sup>. To a far greater extent than in the tribute-bearing province of the Cilician plain to the east (Que), real authority in the highlands appears to have resided with indigenous petty kings, ensconced in their rocky castles<sup>5</sup>. The names and sometimes the numbers of such leaders are recorded in both Neo-Assyrian and later Neo-Babylonian sources, typically as captured prisoners<sup>6</sup>. However, past investigation of highland fortresses has revealed little in the way of verified Iron Age occupation. Although documentary evidence provides the names of several such mountain redoubts, the names themselves appear to change with the transition to Neo-Babylonian rule, implying that these small native polities experienced considerable political instability. Over time, Iron Age settlements were likely abandoned or relocated. For example, the location of one such Iron Age fortress, Kyinda, which later became a famous Persian and Hellenistic »treasury fortress«, has never been identified<sup>7</sup>.

With two exceptions, we find precious little archaeology in western Cilicia to compare with the impressive remains of rulers' seats in eastern Cilicia, such as Karatepe<sup>8</sup>. One notable exception is the excavated site of Kilise Tepe, approximately 45 km northwest of Silifke in the Lower Göksu (Kalykadnos) Valley. The remains of this settlement display continuous occupation into the early Iron Age. The discovery of its Stele Building demonstrates a likely administrative function for the site, certainly until the destruction of that building, ca. 1200 BC, and probably again in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Although Kilise Tepe was probably fortified during the early Iron Age, it lacks any proven remains from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods (that is, the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC)<sup>9</sup>. Consequently, it may not have served as a seat of power in the period in question. Meanwhile, an extensive survey project in the surrounding Lower Göksu Valley, namely, the Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey, has turned up relatively sparse Iron Age remains, apart from the discovery of an isolated »Hittite-style« rock relief at Keben Çolakkız. The rock relief is not so much associated with a settlement as it is with a route and perhaps a shrine. This last feature does at least furnish an important indicator for the presence of Louwian lords in the region<sup>10</sup>.

4 On the stubborn independence of the region from the Assyrian period to the Roman, see H. J. Houwink Ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden 1965) 43; Postgate 2007, 17. No evidence that the excavated site of Kilise Tepe was ever under Assyrian control: J. Postgate, *The Chronology of the Iron Age seen from Kilise Tepe*, *AncNearEastSt* 45, 2008, 174–175. For documents relating to Sargon's suppression of local lords of Hilakku, see A. Álvarez-Ossorio Rivas, *Piracy as a Disequilibrium Factor in the Eastern Mediterranean Seapower Balance: The Cilician Example during the Archaic and Classical Times*, *Historika* 5, 2015, 279 n. 9.

5 Postgate 2007, 16; J. D. Hawkins, *The Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia*, in: J. Boardman et al. (eds.), *CAH III,1* (Cambridge 1982) 431–432.

6 Note the 20 kings (hence, kingdoms) of Tabal defeated by Shalmaneser III in 836 BC: J. D. Bing, *History of Cilicia during the Assyrian Period*, (Ph.D. diss. Indiana University, Bloomington 1969) 46. Esarhaddon conquered 21 cities in Hilakku: ARAB II, 516. 530; Desideri – Jasink 1990, 146. Cf. D. Asheri, *Divagazioni erodotee sulla Cilicia persiana*, *QuadStor* 26, 1991, 41, for the tendency of a Cilician chief king to emerge.

7 Originally the Iron Age fortress of a local Cilician dynasty, Kyinda's strategic value as a regional treasury depot had previously been recognized by both Neo-Assyrian and Persian authorities alike. Bing 1969 loc. cit. (n. 6), 129–132: Kyinda already functioned as a treasury depot during the reign of Esarhaddon. It was later occupied by Persian administrators

who stored bullion brought personally to the region by the Persian king for use by his satraps; Casabonne 2004, 203–204. Str. 14,5,10 and Diod. Sic. 18,62,1; 18,20,108 indicate that Kyinda lay in the mountains behind Anchiale (modern Mersin); R. H. Simpson, *Antigonos, Polyperchon and the Macedonian Regency*, *Historia* 6, 1957, 302–304; J. D. Bing, *A Further Note on Cyinda/'Kundi*, *Historia* 22, 1973, 346–350; Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 297: Kyinda may be identified with Kudibes Kale near Mersin; cf. Bing 1969 loc. cit. (n. 6), 129. For the argument that Kyinda should be identified with the remains at Karasis above Anazarbos, see M. H. Sayar, *Eine neuentdeckte seleukische Bergfestung im ostkilikien Taurus*, *AW* 4, 1995, 279–282; Casabonne 2004, 204.

8 For the paucity of Iron Age remains identified in the region west of the Lower Göksu, see Zoroğlu 1994, 302.

9 Postgate 2007, 34–35. On the ritual, administrative, and storage function of the late Bronze Age Stele Building, see N. Postgate – A. Stone, *A Luwian Shrine? The Stele Building at Kilise Tepe*, in: A. Mouton – I. Rutherford – I. Yakubovich (eds.), *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language, and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean* (Leiden 2013) 193–213. On fortifications and administrative function of Kilise Tepe in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, see C. Bouthillier et al., *Further Work at Kilise Tepe: 2007–2011, Refining the Bronze to Iron Age Transition*, *AnatSt* 64, 2014, 95–161, esp. 158.

10 T. E. Şerifoğlu – N. Mac Sweeney – C. Colantoni, *Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project: The Fourth Season*, *Anatolica* 43, 2017, 111–112.



For our purposes, the most illuminating example of an Iron Age seat of power in eastern Rough Cilicia remains Meydancikkale, approximately 45 km southwest of Silifke. Situated at the end of a promontory that is protected by a citadel at its narrow point of access, Meydancikkale commands the path of an ancient road that descended from the Tauros highlands to the harbor settlement of Kelenderis, some 20 km away. Meydancikkale is notable for its Achaemenid (actually, Persepolitan) relief and presumed function as a satrapal or sub-satrapal center. Two Aramaic inscriptions confirm its identity as Kiršu (IAC 11–12), a fortified settlement (Aramaic: *byrt'*), which is independently confirmed as the seat of the Iron Age Louwian kings of Pirindu<sup>11</sup>. During salvage excavations, middle and late Iron Age layers (the earliest dating from the end of the seventh century) were identified beneath the foundations of the citadel<sup>12</sup>. However, the Persian era monuments at the site, including the citadel, a palace-like structure (Bâtiment A), a large cistern, several monumental tombs, and a sanctuary, overlie and dwarf the extant remains of this earlier settlement, so much so that were it not for the discovery of the inscriptions, the Louwian identity of the site would remain unknown<sup>13</sup>. In addition, buildings of the Persian period were themselves heavily remodeled during a reoccupation of the site by a Ptolemaic garrison in the early third century BC<sup>14</sup>. As a template for local or imperial power in late Iron Age eastern Rough Cilicia, in other words, Meydancikkale presents a complicated, yet, unique example.

Much like the tradition surrounding Kyinda, its excavation suggests that the major Iron Age settlements of this region were mountain-top fortresses. If our ignorance of local pottery types is not solely to blame, we may postulate the existence of a semi-nomadic population on the land below and a ruling class that occupied the fortresses above such as Kyinda and Meydancikkale<sup>15</sup>.

The discovery of the Aramaic inscriptions mentioning Kiršu at Meydancikkale anchors at least one facet of the settlement history of Iron Age Pirindu. According to the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle of Neriglissar (ABC 6), Kiršu was the fortified royal city of Appuašu of Pirindu and his ancestors. The power of the dynasty clearly radiated from here. However, by the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the commercial entrepot of Ura had replaced Kiršu as Appuašu's principal royal residence. Ura was situated at the mouth of the Göksu River near modern day Taşucu<sup>16</sup>. With evident Hittite roots, Ura's significance as an international harbor extended back to the Bronze Age. Stretching from modern day Taşucu to Meydancikkale the seaboard of ancient Pirindu would have encompassed a minimum of 60 km, representing a significant portion of the coast of Iron Age Hilakku. Casabonne and Zoroğlu have argued that at its peak the dynasty of Appuašu of Pirindu also extended its authority across the highlands of Isauria into southern Lykaonia, as well as westward to Selinous and eastward to Soloi and Mersin (Ptolemy the Geographer's »Kietis«), thereby presenting itself as one of the most formidable polities of the region<sup>17</sup>.

11 For *byrt'* see B. A. Levine, Aramaic Texts from Persepolis, JAOS 92, 1972, 72.

12 A. Davesne – F. Laroche-Traunecker, Le site de Meydancikkale: Recherches entreprises sous la direction d'Emmanuel Laroche, 1971–1982 (Paris, 1998) 280. In the late Iron Age, the fortified site was the residence of a king, or more probably, a family of warlords. The Chronicle of Neriglissar (ABC 6) distinguishes between the royal city of his opponent Appuašu, king of Pirindu, and that of his ancestors. The capital of Appuašu was probably Ura, the ancestral domain Kiršu/Meydancikkale. The Chronicle describes Kiršu as, »his forefather's royal city...the mighty city, his royal metropolis...«. Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker argue that Meydancikkale contains the royal tombs of Appuašu's ancestors and the foundations of his Iron Age palace.

13 Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker loc. cit. (n. 12), 284. 300: the installation of the garrison enabled Persian authorities to control the production of timber supplies destined for the naval shipyards on the coast below. The Persian garrison embellished the castle with elements of Persian architecture, including a hypostyle entrance, monumental gate, and the Achaemenid relief. A relief of this kind, it is argued, can only have been commissioned for a governor's palace. However, in restoring the ruins of this ancestral dynastic capital and embellishing it with the emblems of Persian authority, Persian administrators assumed

symbolic control over Pirindu and its inhabitants, in plain view of the indigenous population.

14 Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker loc. cit. (n. 12), 298–300. See further E. R. M. Dusenberre, Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia (Cambridge, 2013) 100, on the Persepolitan reliefs found in the palace-like structure (Bâtiment A).

15 Şerifoğlu – Mac Sweeney – Colantoni loc. cit. (n. 10), 111–112; Postgate – Stone loc. cit. (n. 9), 194 n. 6. In light of the gap in data from the Lower Göksu for the seventh and sixth centuries, N. Mac Sweeney has postulated a major movement of population from the hinterland toward coastal conurbations: <http://www.chs-fellows.org/2017/08/02/rough-cilicia/>.

16 On the problem of Ura, see O. Casabonne, Quelques remarques et hypothèses sur Ura et la Cilicie Trachée, Colloquium Anatolicum 4, 2005, 67–81. Cf. Postgate 2007, 16 n. 11, assuming that the Hittite port of Ura was at or near Silifke, but assuming in no way its equivalence with Iron Age Ura, conjectured to be in mountainous Pirindu. On the equivalence of Classical Holmoi and Ura, see Casabonne 2004, 143–145. See also R. H. Beal, The Location of Cilician Ura, AnSt 42, 1992, 65–73.

17 On the geography of Pirindu, see also Zoroğlu 1994, 303, who confines it to territory between Selinous and the Göksu tributaries Hadım and Ermenek. For this more expansive conception of Pirindu, see Casabonne 2004, 151.

From the perspective of the Boğsak archaeological survey, the question of the territorial limits of Iron Age Pirindu assumes added significance because the survey region sits squarely in the middle of these few known landmarks. Modern Taşucu and the sites of Boğsak, Tahta Limanı, Dana Island, and the Ovacık Peninsula all lie directly along the sea lane between Pirindu's two royal cities, the capital at mercantile Ura, and Kiršu via its presumed harbor at Kelenderis. This is confirmed indirectly by the Chronicle of Neriglissar (20–23), which details the Babylonian king's invasion of Pirindu in 557/556 BC. According to the Chronicle, Neriglissar invaded Pirindu in retaliation for the disturbances King Appuašu had provoked in eastern Que (Hume) and Syria<sup>18</sup>. Overrunning the territory, Neriglissar first targeted and sacked the capital city of Ura, only to learn that Appuašu had fled to the stronghold at Kiršu. Advancing to the highland fastness, Neriglissar took this bastion as well, »setting fire to its walls, the palace and the people«, though once again King Appuašu successfully eluded his grasp by escaping to the sea. The Babylonian then defeated a Cilician force of 6000 warriors assembled on the nearby island of Pitusu (Greek Pityoussa). This island is generally identified with the modern island of Dana, to be discussed below<sup>19</sup>. According to the chronicle, Neriglissar demolished this settlement and captured its inhabitants. He then continued his *razzia* westward all the way to Salune (Selinous), and apparently set massive forest fires from there all the way to the border of Lydia<sup>20</sup>. In sum, from Ura to Kiršu to Pitusu, the forces of Neriglissar conducted their devastation across the maritime seaboard of Pirindu, or in other words, right across the limits of the BOGA survey region.

Assuming that Ura was more-or-less identical with the later settlement of Holmoi, its population was re-located by Seleukos I to his new city of Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (Silifke) ca.284 BC<sup>21</sup>. As for Kiršu/Meydancikkale, despite the general assumption that the site functioned as a Persian satrapal headquarters, there is reason to doubt whether the fortress, or the kingdom of Pirindu for that matter, were ever fully subdued by the Babylonians or the Persians. It is worth recalling that while Appuašu timidly lost his battles at Ura and Kiršu and disgracefully fled the scene, he nonetheless survived the Babylonian incursion. His descendants continued to serve among the local dignitaries and client kings who belonged to the Persians' hierarchy in the following era. Such at least is the implication of the Aramaic inscription of Sariaydın (IAC 1), mentioning a prominent personage named Ap(p)uašî. While the date of the inscription and its relief are contested, the monument is, in any case, of the Persian period<sup>22</sup>. Further, in 401 BC, the name of Epyaxa appears, belonging to the consort of the Persian client king Syennesis of Cilicia in Xenophon (*Anab.* 1,2,12f.). This name has also been related to Appuašu<sup>23</sup>. Sent by her husband, king in Tarsos, to negotiate the transit of Kyros the Younger's army from Phrygia to Cilicia, Epyaxa was obviously an important dynastic figure whose influence far surpassed her status as the wife of a petty client king. In fact, her independent freedom of movement and her ability to negotiate at the highest levels of the Persian hierarchy demonstrate that she asserted significant authority in her own right. Arguing that her name is synonymous with Appuašu, Casabonne identifies her as a descendant of the earlier king, and hence, the ruler of Persian-era Pirindu<sup>24</sup>. This would explain both her status as royal consort as well as her influence. In addition, both she and her husband were entrusted by Persian authorities with command over military forces and strategic passes such as the Cilician and the Syrian Gates<sup>25</sup>.

18 As the Chronicle makes clear (ABC 6, 20–23), Neriglissar came to the region to confront the king of Pirindu, lest he disturb the »tranquility« of the province of Smooth Cilicia (Hume) and indeed threaten Syria. Compare here the earlier expedition against Pirindu undertaken by Neriglissar's predecessor Nebuchadnezzar II (Casabonne 2004, 143 n. 607).

19 Houwink ten Cate loc. cit. (n. 4) 24 n. 4.

20 Presumably some 130 km away at the Syedra River, the eastern boundary of Pamphylia, see discussion in N. K. Rauh – R. F. Townsend – M. C. Hoff – L. Wandsnider, *Pirates in the Bay of Pamphylia: An Archaeological Inquiry*, in: G. J. Oliver – T. J. Cornell (eds.), *The Sea in Antiquity* (Oxford 2000) 151–180.

21 Casabonne 1999, 74–81. It is reasonable to suppose that Holmoi (Taşucu) remained the primary port for Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, as it may have been in the Bronze and Iron Age

when Ura was presumably centered on the future site of Seleukeia/modern Silifke.

22 Casabonne 2004, 148–151.

23 Houwink ten Cate loc. cit. (n. 4) 170–171.

24 Casabonne 2004, 149 suggests that the return route of Epyaxa from Ikonion to Tarsos may have passed her ancestral kingdom. Indeed, it seems logical that a princess of Rough Cilicia was active in Lykaonia, but Xenophon's itinerary may not allow for such a tour. See C. Tuplin, *A Foreigner's Perspective: Xenophon in Anatolia*, in: I. Delemen (ed.), *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.): Papers Presented at the International Workshop Istanbul 20–21 May 2005 (Istanbul 2007)* 17–24; Desideri – Jasink 1990, 165–184: kings of Rough Cilicia remained semi-independent throughout this era.

25 Desideri – Jasink 1990, 183.

These considerations bring us back to the question of the origin, rank, and cultural identity of the occupant of Meydancikkale. According to Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker, the presence of a Persepolitan relief at the fortress argues for its status as a Persian governor's residence, supported by a Persian garrison settlement, if not an actual Persian treasury depot (such as at Kyinda, noted above)<sup>26</sup>. Casabonne has suggested, however, that the Persepolitan relief represents acculturation, an Iranization of Pirindu that is visible in a number of Graeco-Persian objects recovered in and around Silifke<sup>27</sup>. On the other hand, a new reconstruction of Bâtiment A as a simplified version of the palace of Darius at Persepolis, tells against acculturation<sup>28</sup>. The Achaemenid model was imported wholesale, effacing all trace of Pirindu. Yet the fortress of Meydancikkale may just as well have persisted as the royal seat of the local dynasty, which now acquired these powerful emblems of a distant imperial authority. The extraordinary Persepolitan relief, then, merely served to demonstrate the

Pirinduan dynasty's pride of place in the administrative hierarchy. Perhaps, the native palace building tradition in Rough Cilicia was flimsy by comparison to Smooth Cilicia and other regions of Anatolia. Despite the many indications of political turmoil and overhaul, the descendants of the petty kings of Hilakku appear not only to have survived to the end of the Iron Age, but also to have sustained their authority through accommodation and cooperation with the Persians. The maritime coast of eastern Rough Cilicia, with its distinctive chain of small off-shore islands, rugged promontories, hidden embayments, and projecting forelands, furnished a crucial network of military roadsteads and harbors that local Louwian country lords relied on to defend their territories and to project force overseas<sup>29</sup>. The reported garrison of 6000 warriors ensconced on the island of Pitusu in 556/557 BC, together with the evidence of Persian-era harbor installations at Kelenderis, sufficiently demonstrate that the authority of Pirindu was seaborne as well as land-based<sup>30</sup>.

26 Davesne – Laroche-Traunecker loc. cit. (n. 12), 298–300; Desideri – Jasink 1990, 201 argue that since Syennesis and Epyaxa took up residence in Tarsos, the fortress at Meydancık may well have been relinquished to the Persians.

27 Casabonne 2004, 142–165 esp. 164.

28 W. Held – D. Kaplan, The Residence of a Persian Satrap in Meydancikkale, Cilicia, in: R. Rollinger – E. van Dongen (eds.), *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World: Impact, Continuities, Parallels* (Münster 2015) 175–191.

29 There were once more islands in this region, including Elaioussa and Korykos (Kızkalesi). See Casabonne 2004, 41–44.

30 The status of »Greek settlements«, including possibly Anemurion, Nagidos, Kelenderis, Aphrodisias, Holmoi, Elaioussa, Soloi, is perhaps the most controversial feature to this landscape. These settlements are generally agreed to exhibit some degree of Aegean character if only in name. All were relatively small settlements, and all were situated along narrow bays, promontories, or directly offshore islands. For discussion see Desideri – Jasink 1990, 152–175; Asheri loc. cit. (n. 6); G. Capecchi, *Grecità linguistica e grecità figurativa nella più antica monetazione di Cilicia*, *QuadStor* 26, 1991, 67–103; Casabonne 2004, 110–116; R. Yağcı, *Problematising Greek Colonization in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries BC: The Case of Soli*, in: M. C. Hoff – R. F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007* (Oxford 2013) 6–15. For the role specifically of Kelenderis, allegedly a Samian colony, Zoroğlu 1994, 21–23, identified a Persian-era destruction level below the floor

of the Roman era »customs house« in the harbor (personal communication). A large number of Iron Age Phoenician amphoras and Persian style »water jars« have been recovered from tombs in the north necropolis at Kelenderis, Zoroğlu 1994, fig. 79; L. Zoroğlu – M. J. Dillon – D. Yakınlar – N. K. Rauh, *Anamur Arkeoloji Müzesindeki Amfora Araştırmalarının Raporu (Preliminary Amphora Catalog of the Anamur Museum)*, *AST* 26, 2009, 33–50. 37. In 2007, Zoroğlu's team identified two submerged ramps tentatively identified as Classical era shipsheds in the harbor, L. Zoroğlu – H. Öviz, *Kelenderis Harbour Excavation in 2008 (Aydıncık/Kelenderis)*, in: *Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Symposium on Underwater Research, Famagusta, TRN Cyprus (Famagusta, 2009)* 64–70; D. J. Blackman – B. Rankov – K. Baika – H. Gerding – J. Pakkanen, *Shipsheds of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Cambridge 2013) 572. The site was clearly important to Persian authorities and its harbor facility and proximity to Meydancikkale might suggest the site served as a Persian naval station. Kelenderis appears in the Athenian Tribute Lists as a member of the Delian League, ca. 425/4; B. D. Merritt – H. T. Wade-Gery – M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists I* (Cambridge, Mass. 1939) A 9, frag. 36; Desideri – Jasink 1990, 186; Casabonne 2004, 116. Casabonne views this as a momentary intervention; nonetheless, Isoc. Euag. 62, claimed that populations of Kelenderis, Soloi, and other Cilician cities remained sympathetic to Athens decades later. See further Desideri – Jasink 1990, 195. Given the proximity of Cyprus, Greek relations with Greek communities and dynasts on that island must also be considered; see, for example, *Diod. Sic.* 14,110,5; Casabonne 2004, 114.

## THE REMAINS OF IRON AGE FORTIFICATIONS IN THE BOGA SURVEY REGION

Given its potential to communicate with the mainland by means of coastal strongholds visible to one another, the islandscape of the Taşucu Gulf, studied by BOGA, furnishes a potential palimpsest of the activities enumerated above. Our belief that Iron Age fortifications exist in the BOGA survey area arises from the identification of five defensive installations exhibiting a common style of non-contextualized, vernacular stone masonry. Three of these are small diamond-shaped ring forts. Dana Kale One and the north flank of Tahta Limanı enclose ca. 1.7 ha and 0.18 ha, respectively. Two others, the south headland of Boğsak Bay and the south flank of Tahta Limanı, are long ramparts that exploit rugged, high-ground terrain. All five installations exhibit roughly the same dimensions, walls ca. 2 m thick and ca. 2 m tall, and employ the same masonry technique, essentially piled-up mounds of irregularly dressed blocks. Only the two installations on the crest of the ridge on Dana Island revealed an adequate context of related ceramic remains. Admittedly, without excavation, preferably of associated dwellings, dating the earliest fortification activity on these sites is very difficult<sup>31</sup>. However, since the design of the ring fort on the crest of the peak on the north flank of the embayment of Tahta Limanı is similar in every way except size (being considerably smaller), we will focus our discussion on these three installations based on the preliminary hypothesis that whatever dates arise for the context pottery at Dana are applicable to the ring fort at Tahta Limanı as well. To the extent that the other two fortifications are similar in design, the analogy applies potentially to them as well.

The fortifications on the coastal ridge overlooking Tahta Limanı from the south appear to flank the ring fort to the north. Together, they protect the embayment from both directions.

The enclosed curtain wall on the Kavurkahlık promontory forming the southern flank of the Boğsak Bay stands alone, however.

31 Compare the task of dating simple refuge sites of the early first millennium in Caria, in W. Held, *Karische Fluchtburgen und die Entstehung der Siedlungen auf der Karischen Chersones*, in: W. Held (ed.), *Die Karische Chersones vom Chalkolithikum bis in die byzantinische Zeit. Beiträge zu den Surveys in Loryma und Bybassos, Forschungen auf der Karischen Chersones 1* (Marburg 2019) 81–92.

32 For this technique, visible at Gordion, Boğazköy (Südburg and Büyükkale), Yaraşlı-Çevre Kale, Pazarlı, Alışar and Kerkenes, see B. Vergnaud 2012, *Recherches sur les fortifications d'Anatolie occidentale et centrale au début du premier millénaire av.*

## THE RING FORT OR PENTAGONAL FORT ON DANA ISLAND

At the southern crest of the spine-like ridge of Dana Island (255 m asl), the BOGA survey team investigated two small, diamond-shaped, stone-constructed fortresses (Dana Kale One and Dana Kale Two) high above the ruins of the Late Roman settlement below. Dana Kale One stands at the southern tip of the ridge, directly above the sea (fig. 2). Separated by a low saddle, Dana Kale Two stands approximately 500 m north. Dana Kale One is significantly larger than Dana Kale Two and more diamond-shaped (fig. 3). On its longest side it extends nearly 200 m, with its widest section approximately 110 m across. Dana Kale Two is shaped more as a rounded ellipse (fig. 4), approximately 40 m long on its longest side and 20 m across. Their construction technique is essentially the same. By means of a construction technique common to many Iron Age fortresses in Central Anatolia, a series of rectilinear walls are joined together at various angles to make a circuit wall<sup>32</sup>. Dana Kale One consists of two faces of rough-hewn blocks (largest = 0.43 m x 0.40 m), with small stones wedged in throughout (fig. 5). The deep rubble core of the wall consists of palm-sized chipped stones. The wall is preserved to a height of 1.75 m, and measures 2.63 m in width. The circuit of the wall is closed and contains within a late antique church complex. The fortifications were remodeled with latter additions. The original wall of Dana Kale One exhibits no towers and no apparent gateway, though perhaps the later gate erased one. This later gate, nonetheless, faces the saddle where a paved stairway from the shore ascends to the ridge. The drone image of Dana Kale Two (fig. 4) displays a small rectangular feature on the southwest corner, likewise, facing the saddle where the Late Roman stairway ends. Although heavily obscured by rubble, this too was possibly a gate. The small block construction seems extremely vulnerable. Most likely, the piled stones that formed these short walls served as the socle of a much larger mud-brick superstructure<sup>33</sup>. In their general appearance, these structures resemble Iron Age remains from, for example, the fortress of Kızıldağ near Konya, or the Kaletepe on Mount Mykale<sup>34</sup>.

J.-C. (X<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> s.) (Ph.D. diss. Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III, Bordeaux 2012) 212.

33 For this common technique of construction in Central Anatolia of the Iron Age, see Vergnaud loc. cit. (n. 32) 110.

34 Kızıldağ: G. Karagöz – H. Bahar – I. Kunt, *Kızıldağ Üzerine Yeni Bazı Gözlemler*, *TüBA-Ar 5*, 2002, 7–32; Kaletepe: H. Lohmann, Melia, *Das Panionion und der Kult des Poseidon Helikonios*, in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Neue Forschungen zu Ionien. Fahri Işık zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Bonn 2005) 57–91.





*Fig. 2: Dana Kale One (Ayman Habib – Evan Flatt, Purdue University)*



*Fig. 3: Dana Island's fortified peaks from North. Dana Kale One is in background, while the smaller Dana Kale Two is in foreground (Ayman Habib – Evan Flatt, Purdue University)*





Fig. 4: Dana Kale Two (Ayman Habib – Evan Flatt, Purdue University)



Fig. 5: Southeast face of Dana Kale One (Phase 1)

Repeated investigation of the Dana Kale One wall has revealed that ceramic fragments, particularly those of amphoras, were added to the fill. A sufficient number of these were found *in situ* and in the wall's very core to confirm their use in this respect. The dating of these sherds then helps to date the fortress as one of the oldest surviving structures in the region. The pottery includes some of the earliest dated ceramics collected by this survey. More than 20 sherds dating to the Archaic-Classical period were recovered in and around the remains of this wall, including several handle fragments of Iron Age Cypro-Phoenician basket-handle amphoras (fig. 6) and what appear to be handles and rims to Classical Chian amphoras or imitations thereof (figs. 7–8).



This finding is complicated by the fact that Dana Kale One of Phase 1 underwent at least two phases of remodeling in later times, one (Phase 2) incorporating a long straight wall of irregular-block construction that joins with the ring wall on its south side, the other, a remodeling of the east side of the fortification complex, thickening and raising the height of the wall and incorporating a gated doorway (Phase 3). This last mentioned, Phase 3 wall employs a masonry technique consisting of mortared blocks and aggregate, datable roughly to the Roman or Late Roman era. The Phase 2 wall also exhibits patches of mortar, though it is difficult to judge whether these are original or represent restoration from the period of Phase 3. The gated doorway opens eastward from the complex toward what appears to be a narrow lane or ramp leading to a well-preserved stone stairway, which in turn descends to the Late Roman settlement on the western shore of the island. This Phase 3 addition appears to be associated with the remains of the church complex situated at the interior of the fortress<sup>35</sup>. Remodelings that consist of mortar-constructed masonry are presumably Roman to Late Roman in date<sup>36</sup>. As further confirmation, the pottery collected in an around the fortress was predominantly Late Roman and Byzantine, much like the pottery sampled among the architectural remains of the extensive settlement on the western shore of the island (fig. 16).

35 In addition, the remains of a large, rectangular complex, with walls 1.3 m thick (40 m<sup>2</sup>) sits on a cliff ledge some 200 m directly below the fortress-church complex on the east slope of Dana. The masonry once again consists of unmortared small irregular blocks with larger blocks arranged at corners and doorways. Scattered ceramic fragments were insufficiently diagnostic to furnish dates of occupation.

36 Regarding the wall modifications, the first (Phase 2) extends along a straight, NE-SW axis along the south side of the ring wall. Only one straight extent of this Phase 2 wall survives, ca. 100–115 m in length, though perhaps it was incorporated elsewhere into the broader Phase 1 wall of the fortress. The Phase 2 wall joins with the Phase 1 ring wall along its southeast side where it is built over by the later addition of the Late Roman gateway (Phase 3). We measured a preserved height for the Phase 2 wall of 1.10 m. Its width is 1.20 m, making it much narrower than the Phase 1 ring wall of the pentagonal fortress (2.63 m wide). It is also constructed with much larger blocks (largest block measured for the Phase 2 wall measured 0.84 x 0.84 m). The masonry of this second phase wall is crude; the blocks display an assortment of rough-cut, rough faced jagged stones. It presents the appearance of crenellation along its upper courses. It was difficult to discern mortar, though at its western end, we noted a few patches. We found a hint in that direction where the phase two wall binds with the Phase 1 curtain wall, along its south side near the turn in the wall northeast toward the gate (some 20 m S of a vaulted cistern).



Fig. 6: Basket-handled Amphora Handle Fragment from Dana Kale One



Fig. 7: Imitation (?) Classical Chian Amphora Rim from Dana Kale One



Fig. 8: Imitation (?) Classical Chian Amphora Handle from Dana Kale One

Nonetheless, the Iron Age/Classical pottery used in the aggregate of the Phase 1 ring wall furnishes a crucial *terminus ante quem* for its construction<sup>37</sup>. Ceramic sampling conducted at Dana Kale Two in 2019 revealed a similar context of Iron Age/Classical and Late Roman ceramic remains, including basket handled amphora handles and toes, and a stamped amphora handle with a round incised stamp exhibiting the two letters *sigma* and *omicron* (fig. 9). Neither the form nor the stamp is immediately recognizable in published catalogues, though the letters suggest the city of Soloi in Cyprus as the origin<sup>38</sup>. A date in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC seems probable.

This early date for the construction of Dana Kale One draws added significance from the account of the Chronicle of Neriglissar, which details conflict on the island. According to the text, Neriglissar defeated a Cilician military force of allegedly 6000 warriors assembled at this island (Pitusu/Pityoussa), demolishing the settlement and capturing its inhabitants<sup>39</sup>. In short, several indicators besides the design of the Phase 1 Wall itself indicate a pre-Hellenistic date for this fortress. The report of Neriglissar that the island was a place of refuge fits well with the evidence of Phoenician basket-handle amphora fragments from these walls. However, the core of the wall also contained early Chian amphora fragments, which are dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>40</sup>. The extant fortifications may date to a period of building that followed soon after Neriglissar's battering of the island<sup>41</sup>. As a place of refuge, it may not have been heavily fortified from the start, and it may have witnessed several phases of re-fortification.

The significance of these findings is enhanced by the fact that several additional fortification systems in this area exhibit similar design techniques, including a much smaller but nearly identical pentagonal fortress on the heights north of the enclosed bay of Tahta Limanı (fig. 10)<sup>42</sup>. Despite repeated visits to the site, little in the way of context pottery was recovered from this fortress<sup>43</sup>. Further, two linear ramparts employing the same small-block masonry extend along high outcrops in the survey region, taking advantage of the security afforded by the natural terrain and cliff faces. One sits at the crest of a tall ridge along the opposite, southern heights of the bay at Tahta Limanı, the other extends from the crest of a promontory down to the shore on a low hilltop directly opposite (south) of Boğsak Island. All three fortifications (the two above Tahta Limanı and the one at Boğsak) employ the same construction technique as the pentagonal forts on Dana Island: small, rough-hewn block construction, walls slightly more than 2 m thick and nearly 2 m tall, and no apparent evidence of gate- or tower-like features. The survey team encountered inadequate ceramic remains to assign a date to any of these other fortifications. However, to the degree that the masonry technique at all five fortress complexes is similar (and equally primitive), the use of Iron Age/Classical pottery in the fill of the Phase 1 wall of Dana Kale One seems informative. Apart from the Chronicle of Neriglissar, in other words, the fortification style (enclosed ring lacking tower or gate features), stone masonry technique (small block, undressed quarry stone core), and context ceramics indicate a pre-Hellenistic, likely Iron Age date for all five of these fortification systems.

37 Several of the handles are of Sagona's Basket Handle Amphora Type 13, which he dates 700–600 BC: A. G. Sagona, *Levantine Storage Jars of the 13<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.*, *OpAth* 14, 1982, 73–110; cf. T. O. Alpözen – A. H. Özdaş – B. Berkaya, *Commercial Amphoras of the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology: Maritime Trade of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (Bodrum 1995) 70 (7<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.); Zoroğlu – Dillon – Yakınlar – Rauh loc. cit. (n. 30) 36 no. 1. The remainder belong to types more generally dated 500–300 BC.

38 The amphora fragment exhibits a narrow rolled rim (diam. 5 cm) with slight overhang, and a slight bulge in the neck below. The handle section is 4.3 cm across. The fabric is whiteware (2.5 YR 8/4) with large brown, black, and white grit inclusions projecting through the surface.

39 ABC 6 lines 20–23. It is important to note that the pedestrian survey conducted amid the architectural remains along the western shore of Dana Island revealed virtually no ceramics to confirm the existence of a pre-Roman settlement on the island. The ceramics were predominantly Late Roman and Byzantine in date. Remains of ashlar masonry combined with Roman era fineware and amphora fragments indicate activity in that period as well. However, the team found the bulk of the Iron Age/Classical pottery in and around the pentagonal fortress at the

crest of the ridge, indicating that the occupation of the island at that time was minimal and probably temporary.

40 E. Gjerstad – J. Lindros – A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927–1931 II* (Stockholm 1935) pl. CXXXV, 1; E. Doğer, *Antik Çağda Amphoraları* (Izmir 1992) 85: 530–490 BC; V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade* (Athens 1979) fig. 44: before 480 BC; Alpözen – Özdaş – Berkaya loc. cit. (n. 37) 82: first half 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

41 Cf. the apparent lack of substantial fortifications at the Cilician Gates/Gülek Boğazı pass into the kingdom of the Syennesis, noted by Tuplin loc. cit. (n. 24), 23–24.

42 The fortress above Tahta Limanı is roughly pentagonal with five corners and no visible towers. Recorded measurements: preserved height of tallest stretch of wall, 1.78 m; wall thickness: 1.57 m; measurement of a large wall block, 0.68 m; none of the blocks are very large, mostly palm sized.

43 The team found a few smooth walled amphora sherds and one Hellenistic Koan amphora handle fragment in the ruins, along with a few Late Roman sherds. A stray obsidian blade was also recovered in its vicinity. In looted structures below the fortress, the team recovered Roman era sherds.



One additional observation about the design of these fortresses seems noteworthy. The pentagonal ring forts can be described as systems of »passive defense«; whereas, the linear fortifications at Tahta Limanı and Boğsak are more appropriately defined as systems of »aggressive defense«<sup>44</sup>. Passive defenses were intended to enable a small garrison of defenders to withstand an assault by a much larger force. As such they tend to be compact, enclosed redoubts with limited means of access. Aggressive defenses were intended to furnish protection for a sizeable force capable of responding in kind to a military assault. These fortifications tend to be extensive, since they need to incorporate sufficient terrain to accommodate a large military host. The linear defenses at Tahta Limanı and Boğsak both appear to fit this description. Assuming that they date to the Iron Age, they offer additional archaeological testimony for the presence of sizeable military forces in the region, furnishing yet another indication of the strategic importance of these places to the kings of Pirindu. When viewed as three coherent systems – the wall extending down from the promontory at Boğsak, the two defensive installations overlooking and essentially defending the bay at Tahta Limanı, and the pentagonal fortress at the crest of Dana Island – all lie within the presumed territorial limits of the Iron Age kingdom of Pirindu, along the sea lane from Ura to Kiršu. Assuming that our conclusions regarding the context ceramics at the Dana fortress are correct, these fortified installations appear to delineate the maritime frontier of Iron Age Pirindu.



Fig. 9: Stamped Amphora Handle from Dana Kale Two



Fig. 10: Wall of Pentagonal Fortress on north flank of Tahta Limanı

44 McNicoll – Milner 1997, 115–116.

## POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HELLENISTIC CILICIA

Following the conquest of Alexander the Great, the region of Cilicia continued to play a pivotal role in Hellenistic affairs, particularly during the Wars of Succession (322–281 BC) that followed Alexander's demise. During this era the region continued to serve both as a mustering ground for military enterprises and as a communications node between the Macedonian forces in the East and their possessions in the Mediterranean. The intensity of military activity that occurred in the vicinity of the BOGA survey region at this time significantly complicates our attempts at historical reconstruction. As noted earlier, the ancient Persian treasury depot at Kyinda remained in use and was frequently a source of contention<sup>45</sup>. Likewise, the fortress at Meydancikkale was occupied and remodeled in the early third century BC by a Ptolemaic garrison. In addition, warlords in the Cilician interior maintained their quasi-independence<sup>46</sup>. As conflict erupted among Alexander's satraps and generals, Cilicia persisted as an axis of military confrontation, and hence, as a landscape scarred by systems of fortification.

Much like Kyros the Younger, both Alexander (356–323 BC) and the Macedonian regent, Perdikkas (355–320 BC), targeted Isaurian warlords as potential threats to the region, with Perdikkas sacking the remote bastion of Isaura Vetus in 322 BC<sup>47</sup>. Following his demise in Egypt shortly thereafter, several of the Macedonian generals who had opposed him met at Triparadeisos on the Syrian coast to reorganize the

Macedonian hierarchy. While Antipater assumed authority as the new regent in Macedonia, Antigonos (formerly the satrap of Phrygia) had himself appointed *stratēgos* of Asia and set about to eliminate surviving loyalists, such as Eumenes and the recalcitrant relatives and supporters of Perdikkas. Making fast work of the latter, he pursued Eumenes to the arid highland of Iran before finally succeeding at eliminating him in 317 BC. He returned to the Mediterranean coast in Cilicia in 315 BC, hauling behind him the accumulated bullion of Persian reserves plundered from Susa, Persepolis, and Ekbatana, reportedly as much as 35,000 talents. Keeping the bullion for himself, he distributed it among the fortresses under his control, especially, the treasury at Kyinda<sup>48</sup>.

Flush with these resources, Antigonos set to work building a power base from which he hoped to assume command of the entirety of Alexander's empire, thus provoking the Third War of Macedonian Succession (314–311 BC). Cilicia, Phoenicia, and Cyprus remained central to the territorial ambitions of Antigonos and his son Demetrios, who used his father's resources to construct the largest and most advanced navy of the era. Thenceforth, Demetrios dominated the sea lanes of the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean for more than a decade<sup>49</sup>. Antigonid domination of the region was shattered by the defeat at the Battle of Ipsos in 301 BC, where Antigonos himself perished. Demetrios appears to have lost most of the family's territories in Cilicia at this time, but he remained a potent adversary to his rivals, Lysimachos, Ptolemy, and Seleukos<sup>50</sup>.

45 Note Arr. 3,16,9; Casabonne 2004, 228: Alexander ordered Craterus to convey 10,000 talents to Kyinda in a wagon train guarded by the Silver Shields. These veterans were present in Cilicia at the time of Alexander's death and remained there awaiting orders from Perdikkas. In 318 BC Eumenes approached Kyinda with writs from the Macedonian kings (Philip Arrhidaios and Alexander IV), authorizing him to receive funds to recruit an army. Polyæn 4,6,9; Diod. Sic. 18,58,1; 18,62,1–2; 20,108; R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley 1990) 87. At the time the treasury was being guarded by treasury guards, *thesaurophyllakes*, and the Macedonian veterans, the Silver Shields (Diod. Sic. 18,58,1). While these discussions were underway, Ptolemy suddenly arrived at Zephyrion in Cilicia and attempted to dissuade the Silver Shield veterans from enlisting with Eumenes. Likewise, he dispatched emissaries to the guards at Kyinda to urge them not to comply with Eumenes' request for funds. He promised to guarantee their safety if they complied (Diod. Sic. 18,62,1–2).

46 At the request of the city of Soloi, even Alexander directed forces against these elements: see the campaigns of Balakros, Alexander's general, in Isauria. Casabonne 2004, 228.

47 Casabonne 2004, 228: Perdikkas' destruction of Isaura Vetus in 320 BC.

48 Antigonos also confiscated 10,000 talents already stored at

Kyinda and raised another 11,000 talents in annual tribute from his territories: Diod. Sic. 19,46,5–6; 48,5–8; R. A. Billows loc. cit. (n. 45) 105. The sources indicate that Antigonos stored some portion of this treasure at Sardis, another portion at Synnada in Phrygia (Diod. Sic. 20,107,3), and still another at Kelainai in Phrygia, Diod. Sic. 18,62,2; 19,56,5. Justin 13,1,9 estimates that the total treasure of Alexander's empire amounted to fifty thousand talents, with an annual tribute of thirty thousand. Later in 302 BC, Antigonos marched to Kyinda from his new capital in Syria (Antigoneia) to withdraw funds for his campaign against Lysimachos (Diod. Sic. 20,108). In other words, prior to the Battle of Ipsos, Antigonos was still using Kyinda as a storehouse. For Demetrios' return to Kyinda to seize the last remaining 1200 talents of bullion in ca. 299 BC, Plu. Demetr., 32,1. Obviously, the Antigonids expended the entire Persian treasure during their exploits.

49 For Demetrios' innovations in naval siege warfare, see W.M. Murray, *The Age of Titans: The Rise and Fall of the Great Hellenistic Navies* (New York 2012) 106–120; C. Wehrli, *Antigone et Demetrios* (Geneva 1969) 152–162.

50 Prior to that decision he dominated the Greek mainland, the south coast of Anatolia, Cyprus and Phoenicia, though his command of Cilicia had been usurped by Pleistarchos (son of Antipater), immediately following the Battle of Ipsos: Wehrli, loc. cit. (n. 49) 158; Murray loc. cit. (n. 49) 121.



When Seleukos asked for his daughter's hand in marriage in 300 BC, for example, Demetrios sailed to the region at the command of a massive armada and besieged Soloi in Cilicia in plain view of its nominal ruler, Pleistarchos. Ultimately, his decision to seize the throne in Macedonia in 294 BC placed him too far from his crucial bases in Cyprus and Phoenicia and left him vulnerable to threats posed by his immediate neighbors, Pyrrhos of Epirus and Lysimachos in Thrace. Seleukos exploited Demetrios' mounting difficulties to seize control of most of Cilicia and Phoenicia, while Ptolemy regained his foothold on Cyprus and made inroads in Pamphylia and western Rough Cilicia. Whatever impact the Antigonids had on the built landscape of Cilicia was by this time essentially terminated. It is interesting to observe, however, that when Demetrios was driven from Macedonia in 288 BC, he raced across the Anatolian plateau one last time to descend into the Cilician plain in 286. Despite his long absence, in other words, Demetrios had managed to maintain scattered possessions in Cilicia. This would prove his final adventure, however. Trapped in the Amanos highlands by the forces of Seleukos, Demetrios surrendered and died under house arrest in 283 BC.

By that time Seleukos had solidified his hold on the former Antigonid territory of Cilicia, founding the new city of Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos. Thereafter, he attempted to extend his authority all the way to the Hellespont, but he was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos in 281 BC. In the wake of this calamity, the Ptolemies made important inroads into Cilicia, gradually seizing pivotal harbors as far as the eastern plain, not to mention various

highland fortresses, such as Meydancikkale, during the mid-third century BC<sup>51</sup>. Conflict in the region, including internecine Seleucid conflict, persisted for many years until the reign of Antiochos III (222–187 BC). In a momentous assault on the region in 197 BC, Antiochos rapidly seized a chain of *castella*, that is, small fortresses, along the Cilician coast that were garrisoned by Ptolemaic forces. The garrisons at Zephyrion, Soloi, Korykos, Aphrodisias, Anemurion, and Selinous reportedly capitulated, though the Ptolemaic garrison at the citadel of Korakesion (Alanya) closed its gates and attempted to resist<sup>52</sup>. For a brief moment, coastal Cilicia from east to west would appear to have been consolidated under a single authority. However, Antiochos' defeat by the Roman commanders, L. and P. Cornelius Scipio, at the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BC, brought this development and his wider Anatolian ambitions to an abrupt close.

The ensuing Treaty of Apameia between Antiochos and the Roman Senate (188 BC), represents a crucial marker for our discussion. Since the treaty was drawn up by Antiochos' ministers working in coordination with an embassy of ten Roman senatorial legates, its terms were carefully recorded<sup>53</sup>. For our purposes the salient points to the agreement include Antiochos' concession to abandon his claim to all territories beyond the Tauros frontier. In terrestrial terms, this frontier seems to have been defined by a river, or rather, the Kalykadnos river system<sup>54</sup> and its valley, the line of which led to a point on the heights of the Tauros that overlooked Lykaonia. In maritime terms, the new frontier coincided roughly with certain coastal landmarks.

51 The First Syrian War (274–271 BC) represented a major victory for Ptolemy II, extending his authority as far as Caria and into most of Cilicia by 271 BC. He lost ground in Cilicia and elsewhere in south coastal Anatolia during the Second Syrian War (260–253), particularly following the defeat of his navy at the Battle of Kos (261 BC). During the Third Syrian War (246–241) Seleukos II (246–225 BC) appears to have reoccupied Flat Cilicia at the beginning of his campaign in 246/5 BC. This success proved short-lived, however, as Ptolemy III retook Rough and Flat Cilicia and Syria at the head of a large army. See esp. Jerome In Daniel, 9,15 = FGrH 260, 43. The fortress of Meydancikkale was presumably occupied by Ptolemaic forces after the Peace of 241 and possibly represented the »frontier« at that time. The coin hoard buried at Meydancikkale between 240–235 BC, indicates that the bastion was abandoned soon thereafter: G. Le Rider – F. de Cénival – A. Davesne, Gülnar II. Le Trésor de Meydancikkale (Cilicie Trachée, 1980) (Paris 1989). Although there is no record of any major campaigns prior to the Fourth Syrian War (219–217 BC), the peace between the Ptolemies and Seleucids remained precarious and was often punctuated by skirmishes; for a summary of evidence for Ptolemaic control of the south Anatolian coast, see R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 114–119; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1971) 198; Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker loc. cit. (n. 12) 348; N.

K. Rauh – M. J. Dillon – R. M. Rothaus, *Anchors, Amphoras, and Ashlar Masonry: New Evidence for the Cilician Pirates*, in: M. C. Hoff – R. F. Townsend (eds.), *Rough Cilicia: New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007 (Oxford 2013) 67–78.

52 Livy 33,20,4. Porphyry adds Mallos, Korykos, Andriake, Limyra, Patara, Xanthos, and Ephesos to the list: Jerome In Daniel, 11,15,16 = FGrH 260, fr. 43; cf. Jones 1971, 198; Bagnall 1976, 115–116.

53 Plb. 21,43,14; Livy 38,1,10; App. Syr. 38; Plin. HN 5,22,92; Str. 13,4,6; F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius III* (Oxford, 1979) 160. According to the treaty, Antiochos III was obliged to abandon Europe altogether and all of Asia west of the Taurus Mountains; see further, M. Holleaux, *Rome et la conquête de l'Orient: Philippe V et Antiochos le Grand* (Paris, 1957) 226–227, puzzled by this seemingly contradictory clause, since Antiochos III controlled cities west of this point. Antiochos III also had to surrender all the war elephants in his possession, and he was limited to ten warships for the purpose of keeping his subjects under control, though he was allowed to build more if he were attacked; Livy 38,38,6–8. On the naval clauses, see A. H. McDonald – F. W. Walbank, *The Treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.): The Naval Clauses*, JRS 59, 1969, 30–39.

54 A. H. McDonald, *The Treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.)*, JRS 57, 1967, 1–8.

Antiochos' navy was to be limited to 12 small warships, which were prohibited from sailing beyond the twin promontories (Livy's *promunturia*) of Sarpedon and »Kalykadnos«<sup>55</sup>. If the »promontory« of the Kalykadnos is to be identified with the delta of the modern Göksu (the İncekum Peninsula), one needs to look elsewhere for Sarpedon<sup>56</sup>. In light of the remains, Beaufort may have been correct to identify Sarpedon with the rugged headland of Ovacık (Tisan), then known as Cape Cavalière<sup>57</sup>. Short of pinning down the identifications of the promontories at issue in the Apameian settlement, one can discern a certain coincidence between the Seleucid boundaries in Cilicia and the seaboard frontier of ancient Pirindu, the BOGA survey region, including Taşucu, Boğsak, Dana, Tahta Limanı, and Ovacık.

#### INNOVATIONS IN THE DESIGN OF HELLENISTIC FORTIFICATIONS

The bewildering pace of military conflict summarized in the preceding paragraphs serves to illustrate how complex the forces likely were that affected the archaeological landscape of the BOGA survey region during the Hellenistic era. A significant number of Hellenistic actors, including Demetrios, Pleistarchos, Seleukos I and his successors (most particularly, Antiochos III), and/or the Ptolemies are likely to have remodeled or constructed fortification systems in this region over a relatively limited period of time (315–197 BC). The enduring role of Cilician lords must also be kept in mind. Each of these warrants consideration in relation to the remains of the Hellenistic fortifications at Ovacık (Tisan).

Before describing the remains at Ovacık themselves, we need to explain our architectural basis for assigning them a Hellenistic date. Significant innovations in defensive construction enable us to distinguish

between Iron Age or Persian-era fortifications, on the one hand, and those Hellenistic, on the other. Most importantly, Hellenistic warfare witnessed a growing reliance on projectile firing weaponry (*oxybeleis*, *ballistae*; stone throwers, bolt firing machines, etc.; hereafter, artillery). Textual evidence suggests that the use of artillery for defensive purposes became increasingly commonplace during the early 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>58</sup>. The amount of space required by these weapons and their crews (not to mention, the need to protect both from harm, given their exposed vulnerability) led to the incorporation of large (sometimes very tall) towers and artillery platforms to preexisting curtain defenses. Moreover, the advent of mobile offensive weaponry that could be pulled, rolled, or carried into place by assault forces had an even greater impact on design of urban defenses<sup>59</sup>. With their siege trains, the Macedonian kings, Philip II and Alexander the Great, exploited this development to a significant degree by altering the nature of siege warfare. However, the greatest impact was undoubtedly achieved by Demetrios Poliorketes, who employed mass artillery barrages during his naval assaults on maritime settlements such as Salamis in Cyprus (306 BC) and the city of Rhodes (305 BC). Demetrios employed hundreds if not thousands of projectile firing machines during these assaults<sup>60</sup>. Although Rhodes managed to withstand the onslaught of Demetrios' 4000 artillery pieces and his ten-story tall siege towers, the sources indicate that numerous other cities did not. These developments had a transformative effect on the design of Hellenistic fortifications. These changes include the proliferation of a system of urban defenses known conventionally as *Geländemauer*, as well as significant improvements in the masonry technique employed in defensive architecture, and the implementation of towers and artillery platforms in curtain defenses to incorporate projectile firing machinery into the defenses<sup>61</sup>.

55 Livy 38,38,9; cf. App. Syr. 39; Plb. 21,43,14; E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley 1984) 641.

56 The Göksu river delta contains a single ancient settlement, Sichinum. The authors visited the area in 2017 in search of conspicuous headlands or archaeological remains. Only a late Roman or early Byzantine Corinthian column capital was observed (mosque of village of Sökün), already noted by Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 410. Note, however, that medieval sources describe a fortress in the vicinity: H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Wien 1986) 51. A later ancient tradition clearly associates the toponym of Sarpedon with the Kalykadnos Delta (Strabo 13,4,6; 14,5,4; 14,5,9).

57 F. Beaufort, *Karamania: Or a Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia-Minor and of the Remains of Antiquity* (London 1817) 227.

58 Several sites including those as large as Athens and those as small as Patara in Lycia exhibit evidence for artillery already by the mid-fourth century BC: Marsden 1969, 55–57. 66–67; McNicoll – Milner 1997, 209–219; cf. Dünder – Rauh 2017.

59 The earliest written reference to this change occurs in 354 BC: Polyae. 2,38,2; Marsden 1969, 58.

60 The battle that occurred between Onomarchos and Philip II: Marsden 1969, 105–107; Murray loc. cit. (n. 49) 107–122.

61 For speculation that the *Geländemauer* system was a Hecatomnid innovation, see McNicoll – Milner 1997, 15–45; I. Pimouguet-Pédarros, *Archéologie de la défense: Histoire des fortifications antiques de Carie (époques classique et hellénistique)* (Paris 2000) 83–92. 217–224. 258–275. 288–297 esp. 314–321; P. Pedersen, *Reflections on the Ionian Renaissance in Greek Architecture and Its Historical Background*, *Hephaistos* 19, 2001, 108–110 fig. 12; B. Schmaltz, *Kaunische Mauern:*



*Geländemauer* fortification systems had earlier emerged as loose circuit walls cast about a space much wider than the inhabited urban nucleus. Now, they were developed in such a way as to both extend further into the rural countryside and enhance the sophistication of the city's defenses by exploiting neighboring heights. Along their extensive perimeters, *Geländemauer* typically exhibited numerous projecting towers, artillery platforms, and fortified gates. Various explanations may account for this significant innovation. Most likely, the primary function of curtain defenses that extended far into rural terrain was to prevent artillery assaults on the urban landscape itself by fortifying and holding the very heights from which these bombardments were most likely to occur. In other words, the *Geländemauer* system placed the city proper beyond the range of ancient artillery<sup>62</sup>.

The threat of offensive artillery also induced significant changes in masonry technique. In general, various less adequate forms of construction (for example, those employing small stone block and mud-brick forms of construction), yielded place to masonry construction employing evenly laid courses of very large, well drafted blocks, particularly Hellenistic ashlar- and polygonal-block masonry. While this development was well underway by the mid-fourth century BC and in some places such as the Long Walls of Athens, and in Rough Cilicia proper, the citadel at Meydancikkale, was already well advanced, the fact remains that more vulnerable construction techniques were still commonplace throughout the eastern Mediterranean at this time, including, as we have demonstrated, along the maritime frontier of late Iron Age Pirindu. Earlier types of fortification, such as the small irregular block construction discussed above, were particularly vulnerable to the destructive effect of stone-throwing machines<sup>63</sup>.

Given the nature of this new threat, not to mention its urgency, settlements and military complexes defended by fortifications such as these required immediate improvements. As Hellenistic engineers attempted to design walls that could withstand the destructive impact of artillery barrages, they focused on a masonry technique employing evenly aligned courses of large, well-dressed blocks. These designs exhibited fewer weak spots to potential impact. Blocks with roughly bossed exterior surfaces tended to deflect projectiles on impact; whereas, carefully protected margins or edges tended to limit the exposure of joins<sup>64</sup>. Hellenistic defensive masonry relied on inner and outer faces (shells) of large block masonry, solidified by an aggregate of small stone chips and blocks, earth, and ceramic fragments at the core. In addition to the weight furnished by rubble fill, the implementation of alternating patterns of headers and stretchers (*emplekton* masonry) lent further solidity to fortification walls, enabling them to withstand the repeated pounding of a siege<sup>65</sup>.

In conjunction with the adaptation to large block masonry came a third development, namely, the increasing implementation of towers and artillery platforms in curtain defenses. Military strategists now incorporated large numbers of projectile firing machinery into their defenses, thereby, converting them from passive to aggressive forms of defense. As the Achaemenid-era towers at Meydancikkale, towers were already a component of Cilician defenses. Nonetheless, the employment of numerous, evenly distributed towers and artillery platforms along the length of Hellenistic curtain walls formed one of the salient features of the *Geländemauer* system. Curtain walls dated to this era tend to bristle with artillery towers evenly spaced along the entire length of the defenses<sup>66</sup>.

Zwischen Stil und Pragmatismus, in: R. van Bremen – J.-M. Carbon (eds.), *Hellenistic Karia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia*, Oxford, 29 June–2 July 2006 (Bordeaux 2010) 318–321; A. L. Konecny – P. Ruggendorfer, *Alinda in Karia: The Fortifications*, *Hesperia* 83, 2014, 709–746; cf. Dündar – Rauh 2017.

62 Marsden 1969, 113: Catapults played an important part in siege warfare from 397 BC onward; cf. McNicoll – Milner 1997, 209; Dündar – Rauh 2017.

63 These obviously include the Iron Age fortifications discussed above. The trend moved away from small and/or irregular block construction to one of large blocks, typically arrayed in uniform courses and exhibiting bossed faces and/or drafted margins or edges to blunt the impact of projectiles: McNicoll – Milner 1997, 220. Due to the high degree of accuracy attained in projectile firing with the capacity to hit the same spot with repeated impact, small blocks and even keyed blocks were vulnerable to breakage at their narrowest points: Marsden 1969, 113;

Dündar – Rauh 2017. Increasing the wall thickness and employing the *emplekton* system of headers and stretchers offered additional mass to withstand the impact of projectiles: Marsden 1969, 145; F. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (Toronto 1971) 84–91; McNicoll – Milner 1997, 170, 222. Philon recommended a wall thickness of 15 feet to withstand the impact of stone projectiles: *Ph. Bel.* 80, 45; Marsden 1969, 97.

64 Winter loc. cit. (n. 63) 85; McNicoll – Milner 1997, 220; Marsden 1969, 96–97.

65 This last mentioned technique tended to absorb and disperse the energy of projectile impact through the wall's core to its interior face; Pimouguet-Pédarros loc. cit. (n. 61) 86–87: a Hecatomnid innovation.

66 Those at Ephesos, Herakleia-on-the-Latmos, Halikarnassos, Kaunos, Knidos, and Patara, to name the most well-known; see McNicoll – Milner 1997, *passim*; for Patara, Dündar – Rauh 2017.

It should be stressed that all these innovations occurred prior to the invention of mortar at the end of the Hellenistic period. The exposed upper courses in many surviving curtain walls indicate that engineers continued to rely on wood or mudbrick superstructures to surmount the stone foundations of curtain walls and furnish defenders with additional elevation and perhaps also crenellated protection. It is important to recognize, therefore, that in many styles of the construction under review, the surviving features represent merely the stone foundations to what were undoubtedly taller, more complex structures<sup>67</sup>.

Examples of this transformation in defensive design are visible in the remains of fortifications along the coast of Rough Cilicia. S. Durugönül and Rauh et al. have treated this problem in detail. Rauh et al. reasoned that the masonry technique of fortifications along the coast of Rough Cilicia appears to be bifurcated between ashlar masonry employing drafted margins or drafted edges in central and western Rough Cilicia (including Hamaxia, Korakesion, Selinous, Lamos, Anemurion, Kelenderis), and a style of Hellenistic polygonal masonry that is visible at Ovacık and further east (including walls at Olba, Korykos Cave, Adamkayalar, Kanytelleis, and Elaïoussa)<sup>68</sup>. Rauh et al. attempted to attribute the first mentioned, ashlar masonry technique to Ptolemaic engineers, and identified Kelenderis and Meydancıkale as the likely frontier zone of Ptolemaic hegemony in the region. Durugönül attributed the latter, polygonal masonry technique to the Teucid dynasty at Olba, who governed the region as client kings to the Seleucids. While recognizing the likelihood of a Teucid role, Rauh et al. pointed to the existence of polygonal masonry technique at locations such as Ovacık and Elaïoussa as proof of an overriding Seleucid influence in these defenses, particularly since the defenses located at Ovacık and Elaïoussa cannot be demonstrated to have belonged to the Teucids. We want to revisit this matter from the vantage point of our recent survey investigations (2015–2017) of the fortifications at Aphrodisias and the southern extremity of the Ovacık Peninsula.

#### THE HELLENISTIC FORTIFICATIONS AT OVACIK (APHRODISIAS)

Two walls present themselves on the Ovacık Peninsula, the one at the northern end of the peninsula, 300 m directly above the settlement of Aphrodisias, and a second wall defending a hidden bay at the southernmost extent of the peninsula. We will address each wall in turn<sup>69</sup>.

The long wall on the heights above the site of Aphrodisias extends east-west along the entire width of the peninsula, approximately 2.2 km in length (fig. 11). Topographically, it was situated to be accessible from a small inlet at the western end of the isthmus. From this sheltered beach, a dry creek bed leads easily into the interior. About 250 m up the ravine (south), one encounters a large rectangular complex situated at the lowest point of the long wall's course. This complex is difficult to reconstruct: although its walls of sturdy ashlar are 2.4 m thick, scarcely more than the foundations remain, in most places preserved to less than 1 m in height. From here, the wall rises rapidly up the slope to either side. Since eastern and western sides of this complex join the long wall, we preliminarily labeled it as a »gatehouse«, given its large size and ease of access. At multiple points in either direction from the »gatehouse« the wall adapts to the steeply sloping terrain with step-like rises (one measured 1.6 m in height).

Proceeding up the slope to the West side of the ravine, the wall rises for ca. 1 km to a peak on a cliff overlooking the sea, where a small rectangular structure resembling a lookout tower is visible. This western section of the long wall exhibits an array of masonry styles, from large polygonal blocks in the wall courses visible near the gate house, to courses of ashlar blocks further along, to a more crude technique in the installations higher up the ridge. At one feature identified as a platform we observed masonry employing minimally dressed quarry stone (one example measuring 0.5 m across), with palm-sized stones wedged into interstices. Rather than tightly dressed joints, significant gaps are visible in the stonework, indicating that the blocks were probably originally set with wet earth. Nevertheless, a tendency toward coursing is apparent.

67 Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 143: sites with Hellenistic fortifications are Kelenderis, Holmoi, Seleukeia, Soloi, Tarsos, Adana, Mopsuestia, Mallos, Issos, Alexandria, and Myriandros.

68 S. Durugönül, *Türme und Siedlungen im Rauhen Kilikien: Eine Untersuchung zu den Archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften im Olbischen Territorium* (Bonn 1998) 107–118; Rauh – Dillon – Rothaus loc. cit. (n. 51).

69 The fortifications were previously inspected by R. Heberdey

– A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (Vienna 1896) 97–98; G. E. Bean – T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964–1968* (Vienna 1970) 193–194; Budde 1987, 15–17; C. Toskay-Evrin – V. Evrin, *The Cilician Coast Archaeological Underwater Surveys – 2005: Tisan (Aphrodisias) – Dana Adası – Mavikent – Boğsak Coastal Survey, Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri 4*, 2006, 112. We draw on these publications for important details but rely chiefly on our own inspection.

In its present state, the western extent of the north wall is so ruinous in stretches that its course is exceedingly difficult to follow. However, the team identified at least four towers, two of which are adjoined by large raised platforms, presumably artillery platforms. The larger of these platforms measured 4.27 m wide x 5.95 m thick. It was accessible by a stairway of seven stone-constructed steps. Built into the slope the platform stands more than 4.5 m tall on its exterior face. Given the array of masonry techniques on display along the western stretch of the wall, it would appear to have undergone multiple phases of construction, remodeling, and repair.

Returning to the ›gatehouse‹ in the ravine and following the wall up the opposite eastern slope immediately opposite, the fortifications ascend steeply to the crest of the ridge. From here, the wall extends some 1.2 km to the sheer cliff overlooking the eastern end of the peninsula. This stretch of the wall exhibits 15 towers, 12 of which were attached to the kind of raised platforms that are also visible on the west side of the ravine (fig. 12)<sup>70</sup>. Overall, the height of this well-preserved section of the wall measures approximately 1.8 m tall (based on 5 measurements) and 2.4 m thick (based on 9 measurements)<sup>71</sup>. Its modest height and the lack of settings on the uppermost surface of the wall (and particularly the lack of any evidence of roof tiles near the towers) indicate that it most likely possessed a superstructure constructed of wood or pounded earth. The towers (which are better preserved here) are all rectilinear (approximately 11 m per side); they are of the same height, masonry, and wall thickness as the curtain wall, and each has a door allowing access from the interior<sup>72</sup>. The preserved bases of the towers frequently exhibit megalithic ashlar/trapezoidal masonry. The two largest platforms measured 14 m long, 5 to 7 m thick, and 3 to 4 m in height. Again, each of the platforms exhibits a stone-constructed stairway to its heights. At the easternmost end of the wall stands a large rectangular complex, densely obscured by the forest. Situated on a cliff above the sea, the dimensions of this rectangular ›bastion‹ are 13.5 x 14.6 m, with a wall thickness of 2.74 m. It is important to observe that all the towers along this curtain wall face south, toward

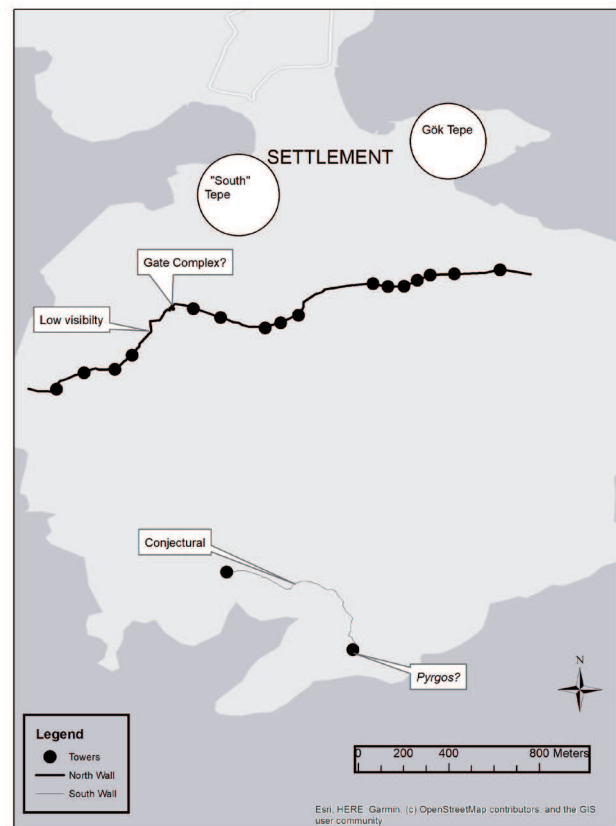


Fig. 11: Aphrodisias (Tisan and the Ovack Peninsula) (Noah Kaye)

the broad forested interior of the peninsula. In other words, the purpose of this wall was to defend the settlement of Aphrodisias from a perceived or anticipated threat arising from the southern end of the peninsula.

In contrast to the masonry style visible along the western stretch of the fortification wall, for the most part, the long eastern line of the wall exhibits a distinctive style of finely joined courses of large-block polygonal masonry. However, at least one closely examined stretch could be described as coursed polygonal (fig. 13). Where large-block polygonal obtained, the irregularly dressed blocks employed in the exterior and interior faces, or shell, display comb picked edges to form nearly perfect joints with a mortar-less fill of small fragments of quarried stone and earth (fig. 14).

70 Count includes 2018 observations of three towers, which are not recorded among the verified locations of towers depicted in map fig. 11.

71 During one visit in 2009, Rauh recorded the following: wall thickness measured at several points along the wall ranged from 2.06 to 2.85 m.; near one tower where the top surface of the wall was level and appeared to preserve its full height, he obtained a height of 2.10 m. Budde 1987, 15–16, records his wall measurements as 1.7–3.6 m tall, 2.7 to 3.2 m thick.

From his description it is impossible to know whether these measurements include the heights of raised platforms.

72 Our measurements: Tower entrances varied from 1.11 to 1.9 m wide. One tower measured approximately 6 m on each side. Budde 1987, 16 records the towers are spaced every 117 m. His measurements show the towers were generally 5.1–6.4157 m across, 1.7–1.9 m tall. He refers to one of the larger features on the wall (2.1 m thick, 11.3 m long) as a ramp. This is probably one of what we designate as stepped platforms.



The stonemasons appear to have deliberately left the exposed exterior surfaces of the blocks quarry faced, or bossed, either because they dressed them rapidly or because the rugged surfaces were believed to render them less vulnerable to damage from projectiles. The measurement of a particularly large block, randomly selected for its size, was 1.45m length x 0.89m width x 0.45m height. Since this masonry technique is visible along the entire eastern extent of the wall, it appears to represent the predominant and perhaps the original design of the fortifications. As we noted above, the western end of the fortification wall displays an array of masonry techniques, in places poorly dressed, far less tightly joined, and less discernible as courses. It is also more thoroughly damaged, to the point of being undetectable in places. Inconsistencies are visible along this eastern stretch of the wall as well. One is evident along the steep slope ascending from the ravine in the west. A tall platform generally displays a polygonal masonry technique, while blocks on the next to uppermost

course have been lain on their sides, upright, possibly as stretchers, just below a large ashlar block. This would appear to be an instance of repair. Further to the east, another wall-segment displays make-shift courses of crudely dressed slabs (one sitting upright to the left and two lying flat above the same course), as well as at least one course of alternating headers and stretchers. Still another wall section displays blocks with flatly dressed faces, in contrast to the more typical quarry-faced bossing visible elsewhere. Such variations in Hellenistic fortification systems is common and only to be expected in fortifications that were employed over a long period of time. Nonetheless, the predominant style of the eastern stretch of the wall (that being the longest and best preserved part) is the tightly joined courses of bossed polygonal masonry described above. The extent to which this wall was remodeled or repaired cannot be determined at this time, though the heavy damage the wall incurred in the area of the ravine itself is worth noting<sup>73</sup>.



*Fig. 12: View of Platform at Tower 15 (Remains of Tower in Foreground, Remains of Stairway to the Right), Aphrodisias North Wall*

73 Based on our preliminary assessment the change in masonry occurs midway up the eastern slope from the ravine; this was noted already by Budde 1987, 16.



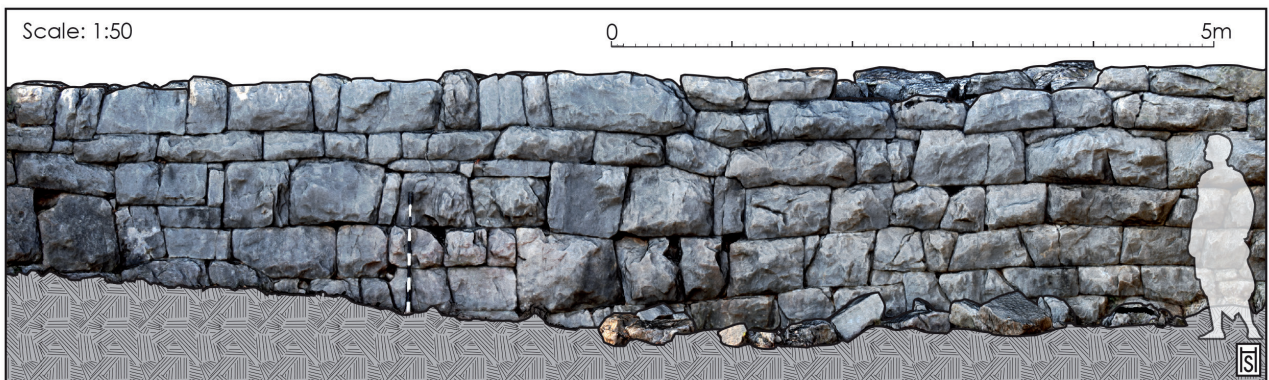


Fig. 13: North face of Aphrodisias North Wall (Samuel Holzman)



Fig. 14: Polygonal Masonry Technique, Interior Face of Platform Adjoining Tower 15



From end to end, the fortification wall on the heights overlooking the isthmus of Ovacık and the site of Aphrodisias presents itself as a single-story rampart with at least 17 towers and 13 raised platforms along its length. Preliminarily, we can state that this wall meets the criteria for Hellenistic defensive masonry mentioned above. It presents itself as a *Geländemauer* in design, purposefully occupying the entire extent of the high ground above the site of Aphrodisias, its associated isthmus, and small inlets, thus, placing the settlement safely out of reach from potential bombardment from the heights directly above. It is bristling with thick-walled towers (approximately 117 m apart) and artillery platforms. Although its low profile would have offered limited protection for its defenders, it also rendered the structure more difficult to strike and reduced the risk of collapse that was commonplace with multistory parapets and towers. In addition, the 2 m thick, large block, well drafted, and finely joined polygonal style of masonry projects a rugged, seemingly impregnable façade, capable of withstanding the most withering artillery barrage. Last, the 2.2 km length of the fortifications would have required the deployment of a very large military force. In this respect, McNicoll and Milner theorized that polygonal masonry offered the advantage of rapid, on-site construction from stone quarried in the immediate vicinity, directly fitted to an idiosyncratic masonry pattern, provided stonemasons enjoyed the benefit of a sizeable labor force<sup>74</sup>. The masons could quickly adapt irregularly shaped quarry blocks to their needs by focusing efforts on the joining of edges, with the blocks themselves likely generated in the immediate vicinity by a large force of accompanying laborers.

Investigations by the BOGA architectural team in 2018 revealed additional features to this wall, indicating its design as an aggressive defense. Although the wall fall obscures many of its features, door-like gates, ca. 2 m wide, and three narrow doorways or »alley ports« were identified along the length of the wall<sup>75</sup>.

These features would have allowed the defenders to mount their own preemptive assaults against aggressors. In addition, joist ledges, measuring between 34 and 56 cm in width, are visible on the interior wall faces of six of the towers, indicating that they once exhibited an upper story. Like the unfinished upper surfaces of the platforms, the upper stories of the towers were probably constructed of pounded earth, unbaked brick, or wood. They were intended to serve as foundations for artillery as well as a screen to protect defenders. In fact, the »cookie-cutter« design of the 13 surviving towers with adjoining platform-stairway installations suggests that the garrison stored its artillery components inside the ground-floor rooms of the towers, where they would have been protected from the elements, and carried them to the adjoining platforms via the stairways. Once on top, they could be assembled for use on the platforms and the adjoining towers (fig. 15).

As we noted earlier, what makes this line of fortifications particularly interesting is the fact that its masonry technique conforms to those of fortifications and monuments located at several additional sites in Eastern Rough Cilicia, including walls surviving at Olba, the Korykos Cave, Adamkayalar, Kanytelleis, and Elaioussa-Sebaste. These walls are generally dated to the Hellenistic era, and at least one of them, the structure at Olba, possibly survives from a monument funded by Seleukos I<sup>76</sup>. What we cannot determine at this time is the character of the settlement that this imposing fortification system was intended to protect. 300 m below the fortifications lies a narrow isthmus, a small island, and the remains of the site of Aphrodisias on a headland. Aphrodisias is first mentioned by Pseudo-Skylax in the Persian period<sup>77</sup>. Several scholars have called attention to his description of Aphrodisias as a harbor (*limén*) in association with another harbor (*limén heteros*). This seems to accord with the landscape of the isthmus at Tisan with its twin natural harbors<sup>78</sup>.

74 McNicoll – Milner 1997, 152. 170. 209. 221. Extensive evidence of quarrying is visible in the area immediately inside the wall.

75 Measuring 0.6 m wide, the »alley ports« are situated directly beside the towers on their west sides, opposite the adjoining platforms.

76 A 2<sup>nd</sup>-cent.-BC dedication by the high priest at Olba (Diokaisareia) alludes to his repairs to the roof of a monument at the site that was originally constructed by Seleukos I. See S. Hagel – K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften nach den Scheden der Kleinasiatischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien 1998) 331 no. 36; Hild – Hellenkemper 1990 239. Durugönül 1998, 117 argues that Seleukos' dedication was probably a portico near the original temple. The high priest, Zenophanes son of Teukros, and elements of his family are mentioned by five additional dedications at the site (Hagel – Tomaschitz, nos. 59. 86. 91. 92. 93.

In one of these (92) he was honored by the city of Antioch.

77 Scyl. 102: Κελένδερτις πόλις, καὶ λιμὴν Ἀφροδίστιος καὶ λιμὴν ἕτερος.

78 Ps.-Skylax indicates that the traveler who passes Kelenderis from the west alights upon the *limén Aphrodisios* and *limén heteros* in rapid succession. It is therefore necessary to recognize these harbors as the west and the east sides of the isthmus at Tisan. Budde 1987, 9; G. Shipley, *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus: The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World* (Exeter 2011) ad loc: ἔρημος means that the *settlement* of Sarpedon (which he places on İncekum Peninsula) was unwallled, such is the ancient author's use of this word with regard to harbors on Cyprus. In other words, the harbor is insecure. An Achaemenid-era author's impression of an insecure coastscape is an interesting one to contrast with the early Hellenistic fortifications at the double-harbor of Aphrodisias.

In addition, an anepigraphic silver coin type, attributed very tentatively to Aphrodisias, offers a potential date of 380–375 BC for activity on the site<sup>79</sup>. Otherwise, little is known apart from the results of a 1970s excavation of a Late Roman basilica near the eastern shore of the isthmus<sup>80</sup>. Ceramic and stray wall remains protrude from the surface of the low promontory itself, and additional remains of a second Late Roman church are visible at the south end of the isthmus. Beaufort reported seeing a waterway dissecting the isthmus<sup>81</sup>. Prior to the pedestrian survey we conducted in 2017, however, the massive fortifications on the heights above the site lacked an archaeological context.

For this reason, in 2017 the survey team conducted a series of 23 grab collections (employing a 30 m radius per collection) on two prominent hills, Göktepe and what we called ›South Tepe, as well as the saddle between them<sup>82</sup>. Focusing efforts on rapid, large-scale grab collections, the team processed more than 600 sherds to generate sufficient ceramic data to characterize the peak moments of the settlement (fig 16). Our results largely conform to the likely dating furnished by the masonry technique of the fortifications themselves.

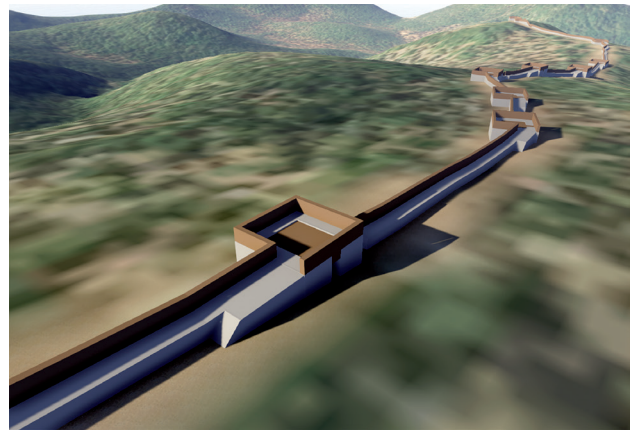


Fig. 15: 3-Dimensional Model of North Wall, Aphrodisias (Matthew T. Konkoly, Purdue University)

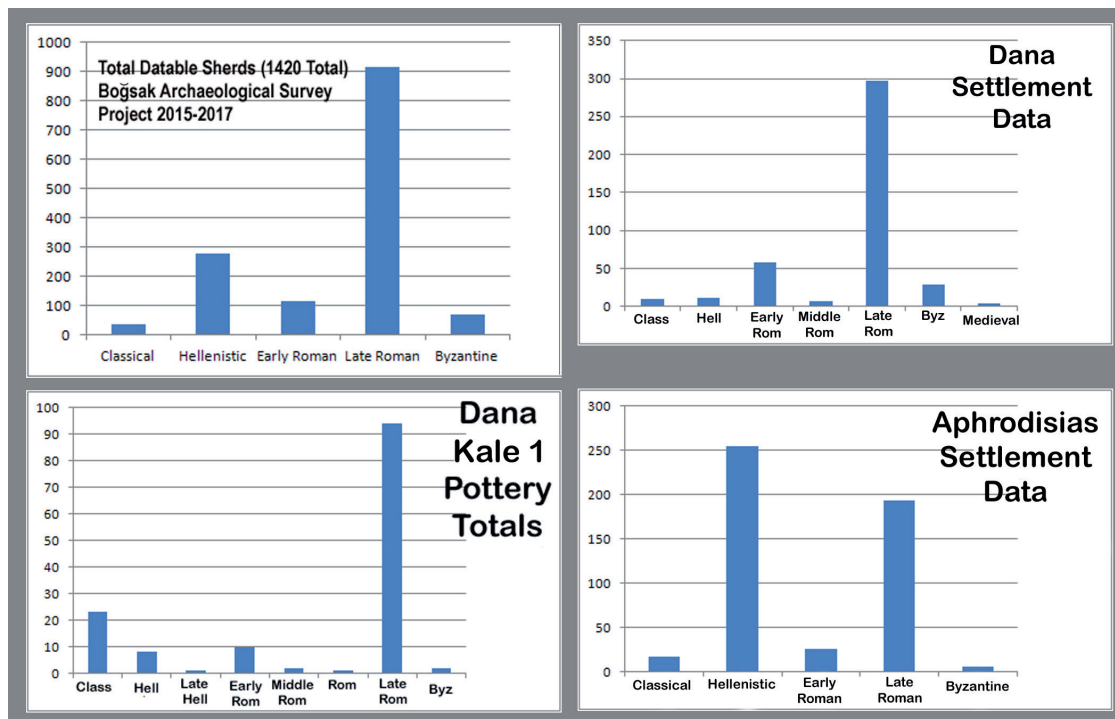


Fig. 16: Diagnostic sherd counts from Boğsak Survey, Dana Kale One, and Aphrodisias

79 The study suggests the coin was minted sporadically: Casabonne 2004, 118.

80 Budde 1987, 13. 17, on architectural remains, 6<sup>th</sup>-cent.-BC small finds, and the recovery of a signet ring displaying the medallion of Berenike I or II (early – mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC).

81 Beaufort op cit. (n. 57) 204; cf. Toskay-Evrin – Evrin loc. cit. (n. 69) 112, on arrangement of storage rooms between harbors as evidence for a channel.

82 Looted features indicate that the terrace-like slopes above the isthmus were houses.

The team encountered a high percentage of Early Hellenistic ceramic remains in the grab collections. These include numerous Hellenistic black slipped kraters, incurved rim bowls, and rolled rim plates, as well as basket-handled amphoras, Rhodian, Knidian, and Koan amphoras, and handles from Hellenistic Cypriot amphoras<sup>83</sup>. The combination of Hellenistic finewares and Cypro-Phoenician amphoras places several of the assemblages squarely at the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC<sup>84</sup>. This finding stands in dramatic contrast with the generally Late Roman date of the ceramic concentrations that typify samplings conducted elsewhere in the survey area, especially those conducted in 2016 and 2017 at Dana Island. It also implies that the Early Hellenistic period represented the peak period of occupation for the settlement of Aphrodisias<sup>85</sup>. In short, the pottery remains sampled at the site of Aphrodisias serve to contextualize the likely Early Hellenistic date of the *Geländemauer* fortification system on the heights above the site.

#### SOUTHERN FORTIFICATION WALL AT THE HIDDEN BAY

As impressive as these remains are, they represent just the first of two lines of defense on the peninsula. Approximately 1.7 km away, at the southern end of the Ovacık Peninsula, a second fortification wall overlooks a hidden bay, furnishing an additional line of defense<sup>86</sup>. To arrive there from the »gatehouse« in the ravine, one must traverse more than a kilometer of the densely wooded, low-lying interior of the peninsula and ascend the ridgeline at the southern end of the peninsula. Scattered remains of walls are discernible along the route, including what appear to be long stretches of a low

terrace wall to support a road heading in the direction of the southern defenses<sup>87</sup>. At the south of the peninsula, overlooking a small bay stands a second fortification wall. In aerial photography of the Ovacık Peninsula taken in 1990, the wall appears to extend at least 1.4 km along the heights above the bay<sup>88</sup>. Due to the wall's extreme difficulty of access, the team has successfully investigated only 0.5 km of this wall, pursuing its line from the heights above the hidden bay near its center to the tower first recorded by Heberdey and Wilhelm at its eastern extent. Our preliminary description must necessarily rely on observations obtained from this limited portion of the defenses.

This second wall sits below the crest of the ridge overlooking the bay, indicating that its purpose was to prohibit landings in this narrow inlet<sup>89</sup>. Although the wall exhibits approximately the same dimensions as the main wall (approximately 2 m tall, 2.2 m thick), its course is less linear and seems to meander below the ridge, adapting to the steep sloping terrain<sup>90</sup>. It also displays a more primitive style of masonry technique, with a shell (inner and outer faces) of undressed quarry blocks of various sizes and a thick core of small stone chips and rubble. More importantly, the wall lacks towers, apart from one lone tower situated at its eastern extremity<sup>91</sup>. For the present, we must focus our attention on the lone tower standing conspicuously on the projecting headland overlooking the eastern side of the bay, the same tower that Heberdey and Wilhelm first inspected ca. 1892.

Overlooking the eastern side of the bay, this tower, like several of the towers of the north wall, directly adjoins a large high platform (fig. 17). The dimensions of the tower (walls more than 2 m thick; preserved height 3.1 m)<sup>92</sup> are comparable to those of the main wall to the north.

83 Interestingly, we encountered no mold-made bowls.

84 With remarkable similarities in forms with those identified by Dündar at the late Classical bastion at Patara (Dündar – Rauh 2017, 535–543). The destruction of that bastion is dated by the find of an inscribed sling bullet to 334 BC.

85 It should also be noted that the Late Roman concentrations of the survey pottery are clustered in a circumscribed area around the eastern end of the harbor, where the remains of many Late Roman houses and the churches are also situated. Note also that Late Roman sherd scatters were seen north of the western bay.

86 This is described preliminarily by Heberdey – Wilhelm loc. cit. (n. 69) 97–98; Budde 1987, 15; Toskay-Evrin – Evrin loc. cit. (n. 69). The plan presented by Budde is inaccurate.

87 Large blocks from these ruined walls measured up to .5 m per side.

88 Although the accuracy of Budde's plan of the south wall is suspect, our own investigation is too preliminary to furnish an alternative.

89 Otherwise, it sits well below the crest of the ridge and could have been easily assaulted from above.

90 Tallest preserved height: 2.08 m; wall thickness: 2.79 m; measurement of large block: 0.91 m x 0.91 m. Many of the blocks on the exterior face of the wall are as large as those on the main wall; they simply are not dressed as carefully at the joins. The wall consists of inner and outer faces of large rough-hewn blocks with small chipped rock rubble as interior fill; no mortar; wall faces are not as finely drafted as the Hellenistic polygonal wall above Aphrodisias. Accordingly, there are significant gaps in the joins. The wall and the tower at the east end were visited and described by Wilhelm – Heberdey loc. cit. (n. 69), who identified it with the pyrgos on the Zephyrion promontory (Stad. 185).

91 A continuous line of towers evenly spaced every 117 m (as portrayed in Budde's plan) simply does not exist.

92 Tower masonry employs rough-hewn ashlar blocks in *emplekton* (headers and stretchers) format. Wall length is approximately 7 m per side; wall thickness measured 2.2 m thick on west side, 2.4 m thick on south side; 2.6 m thick on north side adjoining platform. The east wall was collapsed. We saw no evidence of a door; the tower was possibly entered from the platform level.



The masonry of the tower differs, however, in that it appears to employ courses of ashlar/trapezoidal masonry with an *emplekton* style of roughly hewn headers and stretchers. This masonry technique contrasts significantly not only to the coarse polygonal masonry of the curtain wall, but also to the polygonal masonry of the main wall to the north. It is possibly another example of remodeling over time. Unlike the meandering path of the curtain wall to which it is attached, the combined features of the platform and tower are noticeable straighter, the wall thickness is thicker, and the corners of the tower itself sharply defined. Despite its size, the adjoining platform displays a crudely arranged masonry technique employing large and small irregularly cut blocks with no apparent courses and significant gaps in the interstices. This technique appears to resemble the remodeling visible in the tower-platform complex observed at the western end of the north wall. In other words, the south wall overlooking the bay appears to display a similar array of repairs and remodeling over time. Short of ceramic contexts of any kind and constructed of varying styles of stonework, it remains difficult to assign a date to the construction of the tower-platform complex or the meandering wall to which it is attached. And since there are other features at the western end of this wall that remain uninvestigated, we must refrain from forming any further conclusions about its history.

With respect to this southern wall, three ancient texts are worth discussing. Diodorus Siculus records a naval battle that took place near Aphrodisias ca. 315–313 BC between rival Antigonid and Ptolemaic naval forces. Polykleitos, the admiral of Ptolemy, reportedly ambushed an amphibious force commanded by an Antigonid commander named Theodotos, by attacking him from a hidden bay in the vicinity. »Polykleitos disembarked his soldiers and concealed them in a place where the enemy would need to pass. He then sailed with all his ships and took cover behind a promontory while waiting for the enemy. Perilaos' force was ambushed on land and Polykleitos successfully captured Theodotos' fleet as well«<sup>93</sup>. Without speculating further about a



Fig. 17: View of North Face of Tower on South Wall, Aphrodisias

connection between the location of this confrontation and the presence of this wall, we merely call attention to the fact that a major military encounter took place in the vicinity<sup>94</sup>. The second text returns us to Livy, once again, who refers to Aphrodisias as a *castellum*, that is, a fortified place<sup>95</sup>. Apparently, it had risen from relative obscurity during the Iron Age to a position of prominence at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. By that time, it presented itself as one of the most heavily fortified places on the Cilician coast. Pliny (NH 22,92) supports this by referring to the settlement at Aphrodisias as the *promunturium et oppidum Veneris a quo proxime Cyprus insula*, thus, invoking the peninsula as well as the settlement. Although by Pliny's day the word, *oppidum*, had come to mean »town«, it continued to convey its original sense of »a fortified settlement«. Finally, Stephanos of Byzantion (150) recognized the significance of Aphrodisias in his day (AD 6<sup>th</sup> century), by ranking it first among all the Greco-Roman cities by that name in his geography. Against this background, the notion that the Sarpedon *akra* of the Treaty of Apameia may have been understood as the fortified Ovacık Peninsula stands on increasingly solid ground. If correct, this identification helps to situate the Sarpedon *akra* vis-a-vis the sites of Aphrodisias itself, nearby Dana Island (Pityoussa), and the *akra* of the Kalykadnos.

However, we saw no visible stairs near the platform either, though the brush there was very dense. The surviving north-west corner of the tower stands 3.1 m; we measured a large block on that corner at 1.7 x 0.44 m. It is important to note that the masonry differs significantly with that of the rest of the wall and employs an *emplekton* style of roughly hewn headers and stretchers. A similar form of headers and stretchers is visible in a short stretch of remodeling or repair on the main wall at the north end of the peninsula.

93 Diod. Sic. 19,64,5.

94 For example, the dating of the coins of Aphrodisias to 380–375 BC allows for a possible Achaemenid date for the construction of this wall, as part of the Persian reinvestment in defenses; see M. Dunand, *La défense du front méditerranéen de l'Empire achéménide*, in: W.A. Ward (ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*. Papers Presented to the Archaeological Symposium at the American University of Beirut, March 1967 (Beirut 1968); G. Capecchi, *Grecità linguistica e grecità figurativa nella più antica monetazione di Cilicia*, *QuadStor* 26, 1991, 67–103.

95 Livy 33,20,4.

A converging array of evidence, then, supplies a date for the fortifications on the Ovacık Peninsula in the early Hellenistic period, when the lessons of large-scale naval warfare had recently been learnt. The *Geländemauer* design of the main wall bristled with artillery emplacements and exhibited the tactical requirements of an aggressive defensive system. As far as can be determined at present, it was constructed to defend the isthmus and the small settlement of Aphrodisias below the heights. If we are correct about the Seleucid origin of the main wall at the north end of the peninsula, then it stands to reason that Seleucid engineers identified the isthmus at Aphrodisias, with its opposite facing harbors and its protective heights, as a suitable location for a naval station. Although the more primitive looking fortifications at the southern end of the peninsula remain uncontextualized, conceivably, the Seleucid engineers who constructed the north wall were encouraged to build here by the presence of these preexisting fortifications. The aggressive character of the fortifications above the isthmus demonstrates that a sizeable military force occupied this installation, and it seems unlikely that the small and seemingly insignificant settlement at Aphrodisias is adequate, in and of itself, to account for this decision. More likely, the location was useful as a forward naval station from which maritime traffic heading in the direction of Seleukos Nikator's newly founded settlement at Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos could be monitored, and if need be intercepted. Regardless of our limited understanding of the significance of the settlement at Aphrodisias, in other words, the scale and complexity of the fortification system on the Ovacık Peninsula and its relative proximity to the settlement at Seleukeia allow us to conclude that these fortifications played an important role in Seleucid frontier defense.

96 It is important to note in this regard that the Teucid priests were honored at Olba by the city of Antioch as well as by king Philip I, the last king of the Seleucid dynasty (94–83/75 BC); hence, they remained loyal partners until the close of the dynasty. See K. Trampedach, *Tempel und Grossmacht: Olba in hellenistischer Zeit*, in: E. Jean – A. M. Dinçol – S. Durugönül (eds.), *La Cilicie: Espaces et pouvoirs locaux (II<sup>e</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. – IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 2–5 Novembre 1999, *Varia Anatolica* 13 (Istanbul 2001) 269–288.

97 Rauh – Dillon – Rothaus loc. cit. (n. 51) 73. According to Durugönül 1998, 122, Teucid authority is implied not only by the consistency of polygonal construction technique employed in these defenses but also by the repeated occurrence of Teucid relief symbols (lightning bolts, caducei, sword and shield panoplies, Dioscuri caps, and phalli) placed above the entrances to

#### CONCLUSION – THE DEVELOPMENT OF FORTIFICATION SYSTEMS IN EASTERN ROUGH CILICIA

So far, we have focused our attention on the differences between Iron Age and Hellenistic modes of fortification in the region of eastern Rough Cilicia. It is important to note important aspects of continuity as well. We conclude by briefly addressing three issues – the continuity of native dynasties of Rough Cilicia that cooperated with external powers, the fact that the region remained a frontier zone throughout its history, and finally, the dramatic fluctuation in settlement patterns that occurred in this maritime landscape over time.

First, we must return to the important synthesis provided by Durugönül regarding the cooperation of the Teucid priest-kings of Olba with the Seleucid dynasty. Durugönül associated this particular style of polygonal masonry, visibly employed in sanctuary precincts, »tower farms«, and garrison structures throughout the region, with the Olban priestly hierarchy that governed eastern Rough Cilicia as proxy rulers for the Seleucids<sup>96</sup>. Durugönül categorizes the tower complexes in a number of ways, and she argues convincingly that the towers served as residences for members of Teucid priestly clans, including members of the royal family and regional administrators such as tax collectors and garrison commanders<sup>97</sup>. In a recent paper, Rauh questioned this conclusion largely by pointing to the fact that defenses employing this masonry technique are visible not only at Aphrodisias, but also at Elaioussa-Sebaste, neither of which can be demonstrated to have stood in the Olban territory<sup>98</sup>. However, Rauh's argument failed to grasp the significance of this relationship from the perspective of regional governance. Returning, therefore, to Durugönül's argument, we call attention to her incisive observation regarding the Teucid repairs to the roofs (*stegai*) of the monuments that were originally constructed by Seleukos Nikator at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olba. She observed that this inscription points to Seleukos' likely incipient role in the construction of stone-built edifices in the region<sup>99</sup>.

these towers. The presence of Teucid relief iconography is made doubly important by its appearance on towers employing a second masonry technique, namely, smooth faced or isodomic ashlar construction (Vitruvius' *lapis quadratus*).

98 Cf. polygonal masonry in defensive walls and tomb at Elaioussa: E. Equini Schneider, *Elaioussa Sebaste I. Campagne di scavo 1995–1997* (Roma 1999) 168.

99 Durugönül's argument (1998, 112) is that before this time there were none. Naturally, she was unaware of the Iron Age forts at Dana, Tahta Limani, and Boğsak.

In other words, the Hellenistic king who founded the new colony at Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos did his best to accommodate local religious sensitivities by embellishing important religious centers, such as Olba, (and perhaps) Kanytelleis and the Korykos Cave, even as he worked to reorganize regional settlement<sup>100</sup>. The history of empire in the Trans-Euphrates will have taught Seleukos and his successors that control of Rough Cilicia required a significant investment in permanent occupation. Moreover, unlike previous Near Eastern rulers, they had a different interest in engaging in power politics at sea. By imitating the polygonal masonry on display at Aphrodisias and other sites, the Teucrids marked their territory monumentally by characterizing it as a partnership with their Seleucid overlords. With this observation, we come full circle and return to the example of political ›creolization‹ demonstrated by the Iron Age dynasty of Appuašu of Pirindu at Meydancikkale. The employment and repeated imitation of this distinctive style of masonry in more than a dozen towers, religious sanctuaries, and fortresses essentially ›branded‹ this region as Teucid, albeit Teucid working in close cooperation with Seleucid interests. Not only did these stout walls of ruggedized blocks exude an aura of strength and permanence, but by dominating the landscape, they also articulated semiotically the identity of regional authority that was at play<sup>101</sup>. This, in turn, demonstrates the continuing importance of local dynasties in Rough Cilicia. Be that the dynasty of Appuašu of Pirindu, Syennesis of Tarsos, or Teukros of Olba, from the Iron Age into Roman times, the local Cilician lords endured. Their willingness to accommodate external powers may have varied. Much like the Achaemenid relief at Meydancikkale, in other words, the employment of Hellenistic polygonal masonry throughout the region of eastern Rough Cilicia served to express a cooperative message of control.

Our remaining two points were previously addressed in a recent publication and will be summarized briefly<sup>102</sup>. As we noted elsewhere, the Taşucu Gulf of the BOGA survey area remains conspicuous for its array of fortified complexes dating to a variety of eras. In this respect it appears to have functioned as a border land or frontier zone over time<sup>103</sup>. If the fortifications of the Ovacık Peninsula are to be identified with the Sarpedon *akra*, then the remains at this location assume even greater significance due to their association with the Hellenistic frontier delineated by the Treaty of Apameia in 188 BC. Admittedly, the entire question of territorial frontiers and boundaries in the ancient world remains debated, given their notoriously porous character, and the variety of polities of different sizes and stature that boundaries would by necessity delineate. Nonetheless, as V. Kolossov observes, political boundaries represent the scars of history that existed in the remote past and that frequently left a visible imprint on the physical landscape<sup>104</sup>. The terrain being investigated by the Boğsak Archaeological Survey appears to represent a boundary zone throughout much of its history, defined in large part by its topography and its built environment. From the Iron Age fortresses discussed above, to the Medieval castle at Tokmar on the ridge overlooking Tahta Limanı, the peculiar characteristics of the topography, the currents, and the winds of this landscape appear to have rendered the narrow sea lane from Taşucu to the Ovacık Peninsula a strategic waterway<sup>105</sup>. One of the objectives of the survey project is to investigate the evolving character of this frontier and its likely impact on maritime communities.

100 One could add that the masonry technique visible in the surviving precinct wall that surrounded an earlier temple at the Korykos Cave is identical to that of the north fortification wall above Aphrodisias; see J. T. Bent, *A Journey in Cilicia Tracheia*, *JHS* 12, 1891, 206–224; Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 313; Durugönül 1998, 85–87.

101 Durugönül 1998, 122.

102 G. Varinlioğlu – N. Kaye – M. R. Jones – R. Ingram – N. K. Rauh, *The 2016 Dana Island Survey: Investigation of an Island Harbor in Ancient Rough Cilicia by the Boğsak Archaeological Survey*, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 80, 2017, 50–59.

103 In all, potentially ten fortifications dating from the Iron Age to the Middle Ages are visible along this coast: Aphrodisias (2),

Palaia (1), Tahta Limanı (2), Dana (2), Tokmar (1); Kavurkıklık (1), Limankalesi (1). This concentration of fortifications seems noteworthy, given the apparent absence of any significant pre-Roman settlements in the same vicinity. Viewed from a wider vantage, the central region of Rough Cilicia between Kelenderis and Holmoi appears remarkably unsettled.

104 V. Kolossov, *Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches*, *Geopolitics* 10, 606–632.

105 The effect of the creation of the Islamic–Byzantine frontier on Rough Cilicia: A.A. Eger, *The Islamic–Byzantine Frontier: Interaction and Exchange Among Muslim and Christian Communities* (London 2015) 170–171.



Last, our findings display a remarkable tendency toward the »rollercoaster demographics« typical of small Mediterranean islands with limited carrying capacity<sup>106</sup>. With the exception of the sudden development of Aphrodisias in the early Hellenistic era, settlement in the Taşucu sea lane tends to peak in the Iron Age (based on the number of fortifications), decline in the intervening eras, and resurge with vigor during the end of antiquity. This suggests that in most periods the landscape of the BOGA survey region furnished an occasional, opportunistic network of ports, moorages, and refuges for passing sailors<sup>107</sup>. We could go even further to insist that settlement on the barren, rocky off-shore islands and peninsulas of this region, separated from the mainland as they were by looming coastal ridges, was sustainable only through significant connectivity with settlement on the mainland. Gaps in occupation over time appear to furnish important clues regarding the inherently strategic decisions that motivated development in this rugged, inaccessible landscape in the first place.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### **Budde 1987**

L. Budde, *St. Pantaleon von Aphrodisias in Kilikien* (Recklinghausen 1987)

### **Casabonne 2004**

O. Casabonne, *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide* (Paris 2004)

### **Desideri – Jasink 1990**

P. Desideri – A. M. Jasink, *Cilicia: Dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista macedone* (Firenze 1990)

### **Dündar and Rauh 2017**

E. Dündar – N. K. Rauh, *The North Bastion on the Tepecik Acropolis at Patara: Dating »Early Hellenistic« Fortification Walls in Southwestern Anatolia*, *Hesperia* 86, 2017, 509–581

### **Hellenkemper – Hild 1990**

H. Hellenkemper – F. Hild, *Kilikien und Isaurien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 5* (Vienna 1990)

### **Marsden 1969.**

E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery: Historical Development* (Oxford 1969)

### **McNicoll – Milner 1997**

A. McNicoll – N. P. Milner, *Hellenistic Fortifications from the Aegean to the Euphrates* (Oxford 1997)

### **Postgate 2007**

N. Postgate, *The Kilise Tepe Area in Pre-Classical and Hellenistic Times*, in: N. Postgate – D. Thomas (eds.), *Excavations at Kilise Tepe, 1994–98: From Bronze Age to Byzantine in Western Cilicia I* (Ankara 2007) 15–18

### **Zoroğlu 1994**

L. Zoroğlu, *Kelenderis I. Kaynaklar, Kalıntılar, Buluntular* (Ankara 1994)

106 A. Bevan – J. Conolly – A. Tsaravopoulos, *The Fragile Communities of Antikythera*, *Archaeology International* 10, 2007, 33–34.

107 We should also rethink any conjecture of a significant population of Crusaders or Provençale merchants resident on the island. Rather, the knights may have used the island as a stronghold and watch point; cf. the Hospitallers' imprint on the Dodecanese: N. Zarifis – D. Brokou, *GIS and Space Analysis in the Study of the Hospitallers' Fortifications in the Dodecanese*, in: G. Burenhult – J. Arvidsson (eds.), *Archaeological Informatics: Pushing the Envelope CAA 2001: Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Proceedings of the 29<sup>th</sup> Conference, Gotland, April 2001* (Oxford, 2001) 149–156.

# EIGENVERLAG DES ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN SEMINARS

DER PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITÄT MARBURG

---



---

**KONTAKT- UND BESTELLADRESSE:**  
EIGENVERLAG DES ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN SEMINARS  
BIEGENSTRASSE 11  
D-35032 MARBURG  
E-MAIL: [archverlag@uni-marburg.de](mailto:archverlag@uni-marburg.de)

**Im Abo sparen Sie 25%**

Lieferbare Titel finden Sie unter: <http://www.uni-marburg.de/de/fb06/archaeologie/publikationen>

Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg  
FORSCHUNGEN AUF DER KARISCHEN CHERSONES  
BAND 1



Winfried Held

Die Karische Chersones vom Chalkolithikum  
bis in die byzantinische Zeit

Beiträge zu den Surveys in Loryma und Bybassos

# FORSCHUNGEN AUF DER KARISCHEN CHERSONES BAND 1

Winfried Held (Hrsg.)

Die Karische Chersones vom  
Chalkolithikum  
bis in die byzantinische Zeit

Beiträge zu den Surveys in Loryma und Bybassos

(440 Seiten, 310 Farbabbildungen, 450 s/w Abb.,  
1 Faltpfan)

2019

ISBN: 978-3-8185-0537-0

Preis: 119,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)

## Inhalt

### Winfried Held

Die Surveys Loryma und Bybassos.  
Ein Überblick über die Ergebnisse

### Christoph Gerber

Die Karische Chersones in prähistorischer Zeit.  
Ergebnisse der Begehungen in Loryma 2001  
und Bybassos 2006

### Ulrich Schüssler – Kirstin Kasper – Helene Brätz – Christoph Gerber

Obsidian Artefacts from the Prehistoric Caria,  
West Anatolia

### Winfried Held

Karische Fluchtburgen und die Entstehung der  
Siedlungen auf der Karischen Chersones

### Ahmet Kaan Şenol

Ceramic Production on the Karian Chersonesos

### Gonca Cankardeş Şenol

Stamped Amphora Handles from the Carian  
Chersonesos: Loryma and Bybassos

### Ayse Devrim Atauz

Ceramic Assemblage from the Harbor of Kasara on  
the Carian Chersonesos

### Matthias Nöth

Die Hafenfestung von Loryma

### Sophia Şener

Dach- Ziegel und Konstruktionen

### Winfried Held

Der Gebäudekomplex bei der Hafenfestung von  
Loryma

### Christian Hübner – Ralph K. Pedersen – Birthe Hemeier

Geophysical and Theoretical Considerations on the  
Harbors of Bybassos in the Hellenistic Period

### Camilla Lundgren

Die antiken Spolien der Kirche in der Martı Marina  
von Orhaniye

### Carola Jäggi – Ute Verstegen

Die Kirche in der Martı Marina in Orhaniye. Ein  
Beitrag zur frühbyzantinischen Sakralarchitektur in der  
Südwesttürkei

### Iris Engelmann

Sanierungskonzept Kirchenruine Orhaniye –  
Empfehlungen zum denkmalpflegerischen Umgang

### Publikationsverzeichnis Loryma und Bybassos

## Bestellungen richten Sie bitte an:

Eigenverlag des Archäologischen Seminars, Biegenstr. 11, D-35032 Marburg oder Mail an: [archverlag@uni-marburg.de](mailto:archverlag@uni-marburg.de)



Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg

FELIX BERYTUS  
BAND 1



Helen Reinhardt

**Glas aus Beirut**  
Die Glasfunde aus der römischen Therme in BEY 178

MARBURGER  
WINCKELMANN-PROGRAMM  
2018–2019



Archäologisches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg

**FELIX BERYTUS**  
**BAND 1**

HELEN REINHARDT

**Glas aus Beirut**  
Die Glasfunde aus der römischen Therme  
in BEY 178

(128 Seiten, 28 Farbabbildungen, 52 s/w Abb.)

2019

ISBN: 978-3-8185-0538-7

Preis: 69,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)

**MARBURGER**  
**WINCKELMANN-PROGRAMM**  
**2018–2019**

Herausgegeben von

Rita Amedick, Heide Froning,  
Winfried Held

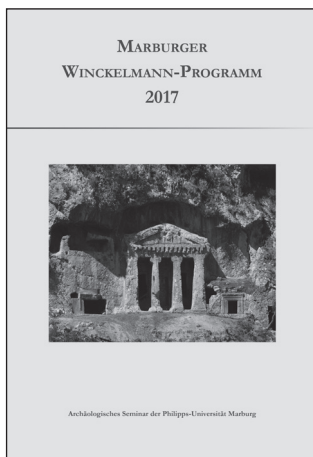
(176 Seiten, 65 Farbabbildungen, 105 s/w Abb.)

2019

ISBN: 978-3-8185-0549-3

Preis: 89,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)

**Die Inhaltsverzeichnisse der einzelnen Bände finden Sie unter:**  
<<https://www.uni-marburg.de/de/fb06/archaeologie/publikationen>>



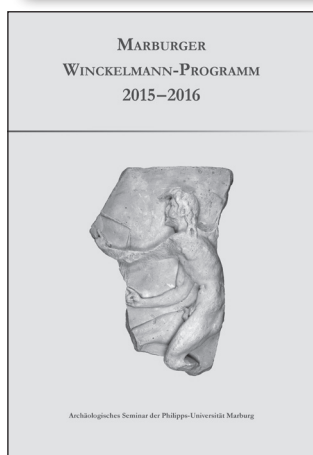
## MARBURGER WINCKELMANN-PROGRAMM 2017

Herausgegeben von

Rita Amedick, Heide Froning,  
Winfried Held

(152 Seiten, 55 Farbabbildungen, 27 s/w Abbildungen)

2017 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0535-6 Preis: 89,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)



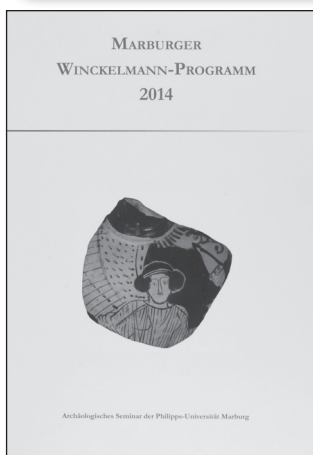
## MARBURGER WINCKELMANN-PROGRAMM 2015–2016

Herausgegeben von

Rita Amedick, Heide Froning,  
Winfried Held

(224 Seiten, 76 Farbabbildungen, 176 s/w Abbildungen)

2017 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0530-1 Preis: 98,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)



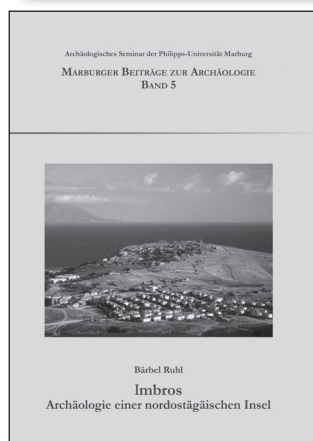
## MARBURGER WINCKELMANN-PROGRAMM 2014

Herausgegeben von

Rita Amedick, Heide Froning,  
Winfried Held

(162 Seiten, 184 s/w Abbildungen, 26 Farbabbildungen)

2014 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0513-4 Preis: 89,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)



## MARBURGER BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE BAND 5

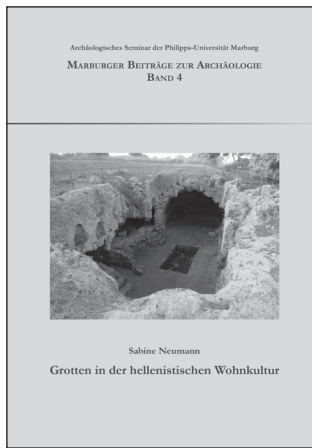
BÄRBEL RUHL

Imbros  
Archäologie einer nordostägäischen Insel

(320 Seiten, 3 Farbabbildungen, 393 s/w Abbildungen)

2018 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0536-3 Preis: 89,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)

Die Inhaltsverzeichnisse der einzelnen Bände finden Sie unter:  
<<https://www.uni-marburg.de/de/fb06/archaeologie/publikationen>>



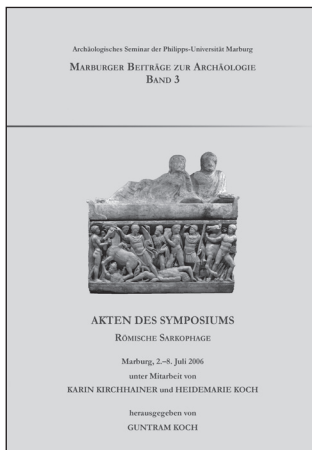
## MARBURGER BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE BAND 4

SABINE NEUMANN

Grotten in der hellenistischen Wohnkultur

(240 Seiten, 116 Farbabbildungen, 108 s/w Abbildungen)

2016 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0528-8 Preis: 98,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)



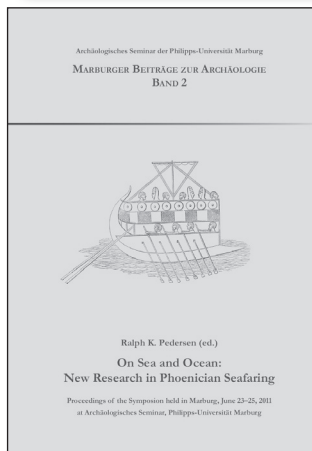
## MARBURGER BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE BAND 3

GUNTRAM KOCH (Hrsg.)

Akten des Symposiums Römische Sarkophage  
Marburg, 2.–8. Juli 2006  
unter Mitarbeit von Karin Kirchhainer und Heidemarie Koch

(320 Seiten, 15 Farbabbildungen, 405 s/w Abbildungen)

2017 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0521-9 Preis: 98,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)



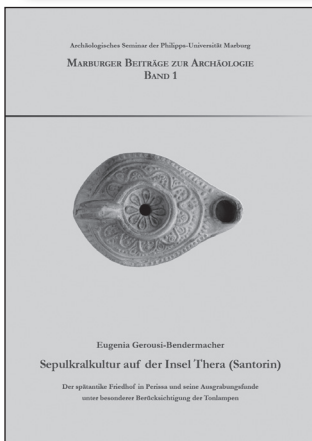
## MARBURGER BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE BAND 2

RALPH K. PEDERSEN (ed.)

On Sea and Ocean: New Research in Phoenician Seafaring.  
Proceedings of the symposium held in Marburg, June 23–25,  
2011 at Archäologisches Seminar, Philipps-Universität Marburg

(138 Seiten, 38 Farbabbildungen, ca. 99 s/w Abbildungen, )

2015 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0516-5 Preis 69,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)



## MARBURGER BEITRÄGE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE BAND 1

EUGENIA GEROUSI-BENDERMACHER

Sepulkralkultur auf der Insel Thera (Santorin) Der spätantike  
Friedhof in Perissa und seine Ausgrabungsfunde unter  
besonderer Berücksichtigung der Tonlampen.

(221 Seiten, 479 Farbabbildungen, 16 s/w Abbildungen)

2013 ISBN: 978-3-8185-0510-3 Preis: 98,- € (zzgl. Versandkosten)

Die Inhaltsverzeichnisse der einzelnen Bände finden Sie unter:  
<<https://www.uni-marburg.de/de/fb06/archaeologie/publikationen>>



