

SURVEY OF MYKALE (DİLEK DAĞLARI), 3rd CAMPAIGN: THE DISCOVERY OF THE ARCHAIC PANİONİON

*Hans LOHMANN**

The survey of the Mykale (Dilek Dağları) was continued in 2004 in the eastern part of the mountain range in a triangle marked by the town of Söke to the east and the villages of Tuzburgazı and Güzelçamlı with the generous permission of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of Turkey.

North of the Milesian and Latmian gulf mount Mykale rises up to 1200 meters above sea level, in this way forming a natural boundary between northern and southern territories of Ionia (Fig. 1). Between the modern town of Söke and cape Dip Burun (ancient Trogilion) the Mykale extends for more than 30 kilometers from east to west. Its ridge, "Mykale's airy summit" in the words of Homer (Iliad 2,268), is slightly nearer to its southern foot making the slopes less steep in the north whereas those in the south are often extremely precipitous.

Apart from some level ground in Mykale's eastern region there is hardly any room for human settlements within the mountain range. The inhabitants preferred instead the lower slopes and foothills. Little wonder, therefore that in Byzantine times the Mykale like the Latmos (Beşparmak), served as place of refuge. Several important Byzantine churches and monasteries have been known since the days of Theodor Wiegand: examples include Hagios Antonios on top of Dayıoğlu Tepe (900 m above sea level) and the famous Kurşunlu Manastır. The latter consists of a Byzantine church decorated with stucco ornaments in the 18th or 19th century, a large fortification tower with at least three storeys, and a surrounding fortification wall. It was completely mapped for the first time during our 2004 campaign (Fig. 2). Other complexes are less well preserved and in several instances no decision can be made whether a site should be interpreted as large Byzantine farmstead or if because of a remote remote situation some should be seen as monasteries.

The Byzantine period forms an important part of the cultural heritage of Mount Mykale because of the usually good state of preservation of its monuments. The Byzantine fortresses at Atburgazı¹ and Akçakonak (Gümelez Kale)² in the foothills of the southern slopes of the mountain range were mapped and the large Byzantine fortress of Fındıklı Kale high above modern Davutlar intensively surveyed. From the

* Prof. Dr. Hans LOHMANN, Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Ruhr-Universität Bochum/ALMANYA E-Mail: Hans.Lohmann@rub.de.

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1 Atburgazı: W. Müller-Wiener, *Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien*, *IstMitt* 11, 1961, 44ss. fig. 9 (left).

2 Akçakonak (Gümelez Kale): *ibid.* 58s. fig. 12 (left).

enormous amount of pottery visible in holes made by occasional illegal diggings as well as from the huge cistern in the centre it is obvious that Fındıklı Kale³ was more than simply a place of refuge. It might well have been the residence of the local dynast Sabas Asidénos who established himself in the Mykale during the reign of the Latins (1204-1261)⁴.

Prehistoric sites are extremely rare. In 2003 numerous obsidian flakes and blades were observed together with a great number of Late Chalcolithic to Middle Bronze Age pottery sherds on the shore of the beautiful bay at the westernmost tip of Mykale (classical Glauke limen: Thuc. 8,79,2)⁵. It is unlikely that this was a long-term permanent settlement, rather that people came there from time to time in order to do some fishing and hunting. A different picture is presented by a large prehistoric site which was found in 2004 near the southeastern corner of Mykale at Yenidoğan, a few kilometers southwest of Söke. Immediately behind the cemetery of Yenidoğan a hill rises to about 60 m asl to form a terrace of more than 60 m across. The flanks of the terrace are so steep in this otherwise unstable terrain that we have to assume some very large walls hidden within the slope. On top of the hill next to the water depot a modern house has been erected, cutting some extent into the Bronze age strata. With the help of the local authorities of the museum of Balat the site was declared an archaeological area.

Masses of Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery sherds were found at this place mixed with shells of *cerastoderma edule*, a species of edible mollusk which seems to indicate that during the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium B.C. the shoreline was still not far away. The pottery has close relations with the pottery of the Arzawa people in the area north of the Latmian gulf. Surprisingly enough no Mycenaean imports have been found. Furthermore, as no Early Iron Age or Proto-geometric pottery turned up at this place the prehistoric settlement at Yenidoğan evidently had been abandoned before the Greeks appeared. The site of Archaic Priene, which still has not been found, cannot be far away. But it has vanished under the enormous mass of alluvium brought in by the river Menderes since antiquity.

This brings us back to the problems of historical topography. From its very beginning the survey in the Mykale which had started in 2001 in the western part of the Dilek Dağları, had contributed considerably to our knowledge of the historical topography of southern Ionia⁶. Many old questions have been answered, others like the localization of the Early Iron age settlement of Priene remained open, and, of course, new ones arose as well. During the Classical period the only ancient town of some importance was Priene which was refounded on the southern slopes of the Mykale in the Late Classical period at about 350 B.C.⁷. The little polis of Thebai near the modern village of Doğanbey in the southwestern part of Mykale and its surroundings had been surveyed and mapped during the first campaigns of the survey⁸. No other ancient settlement was known between these two so far so it was quite a surprise when we found another settlement of high antiquity lying at some distance from the coast on an isolated rock just north of the village of Atburgazi with its Byzantine fortress⁹. The foun-

3 Fındıklı Kale: *ibid.* 62ss. fig. 14.

4 P. Orgels, Sabas Asidénos. Dynaste de Sampsôn, *Byzantion* 10, 1935, 72 note 1.

5 cf. H. Lohmann, Survey in der Mykale, 2. Kampagne 2002, in: *21. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 26 - 31 Mayıs 2003 Ankara (Ankara 2004) 251-264.

6 For full discussion see H. Lohmann, Zur historischen Topographie des südlichen Ionien, *Orbis Terrarum* 8, 2002 [2005] 1-83.

7 For Priene see F. Rumscheid — W. Koenigs, *Priene. Führer durch das Pompeji Kleinasien (1998) with ample bibliography.*

8 D. Müller, Topographischer Bildkommentar zu den Historien Herodots. Kleinasien (1997) 618 Abb. 16. S. 619 Abb. 17. S. 623. 627; H. Lohmann, DNP 12,1 (2002) 294 s.v. Thebai Nr. 4; id., Survey in Theben an der Mykale, 1. Kampagne 2001, in: *20. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 27 - 31 Mayıs 2002 Ankara (Ankara 2003) 247-260; id. Survey in der Mykale, 2. Kampagne 2002, in: *21. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 26 - 31 Mayıs 2003 (Ankara 2004), 251-264.

9 see note 1.

dations of several dozen houses were on three different levels or terraces cut into the living rock (Fig. 3). The abundant Greek pottery found on the spot this settlement goes back at least to the second half of the 7th cent. B.C. The settlement had no more than about 40 houses at most and was occupied down to the end of the 4th cent. B.C. It was evidently not affected neither by the suppression of the Ionian revolt in 494 B.C. nor by the battle at the Mykale fought between Greeks and Persians in 479 B.C. only a few kilometers to the west near modern Doğanbey. Surprisingly no ancient name has been handed down to us which might be applied to it. During the Middle Byzantine period (13th cent. A.D.) a monastery associated with some nearby caves was built atop the ancient village, thereby razing its walls down to the ground. Only the rock cuttings have survived.

Since Protogeometric pottery was also found in sites which later on never became a polis of Ionia, it seems that from the very beginning of the so-called Ionian migration the indigenous Carian population established relations of trade and exchange with the immigrants and started to imitate their pottery. For example, the Protogeometric tombs on the northern flanks of Mykale west of the modern village of Güzelçamlı at the foot of the Kale Tepe, do not necessarily testify to an early Greek or 'Ionian' settlement¹⁰. A well preserved fortification of the early 7th cent. B.C. surrounds the top of Kale Tepe, measuring 205 m from east to west and about 95 m from north to south. Its date is established by subgeometric pottery found in a trial trench near the gate by Hommel and Kleiner¹¹. The site, which was revisited during the 2004 campaign is today heavily overgrown and the trial trenches dug by Kleiner and Hommel are difficult to discern. Nevertheless there can be little uncertainty about the type of this fortification: Close parallels with regard to building technique and plan are known in Caria, for instance on Zeytin Dağ close to the Carian town of Latmos¹², but also near Mylasa, the modern town of Milas¹³, or on the Halikarnassos peninsula. Therefore the circuit wall on Kale Tepe is rather Carian than Greek.

Already in the beginning of the 20th century the renowned philologist U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff¹⁴ correctly identified the fortification on Kale Tepe with the "Karion" sc. phourion (Carian fortress) mentioned no less than eighteen times in the inscription no. 37 from Priene¹⁵. This inscription is among the most important documents as far as the historical topography and the history of Mount Mykale is concerned. It was set up at the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. marking an end to the age-old conflict between Samos and Priene about the chora of Melia after the Meliakos polemos of the 7th cent. B.C.¹⁶.

10 cf. G. Kleiner — P. Hommel — W. Müller-Wiener, *Panionion und Melie* (1967) 161ss. fig. 102-117 pl. 7-9. IX. Already G. L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (1966) 24 assumed, that the people buried in these tombs might have been Carians.

11 Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener *ibid.* 133ss. For the date cf. also J. M. Cook, *Gnomon*, 41, 1969, 717.

12 A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *Anadolu* 22, 1981/83 [1989] 79-83; id., *Der Latmos* (1996) 22s. fig. 19. 21; id., *Die Arbeiten des Jahres 1994 im Territorium von Herakleia am Latmos, XIII. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, II. Cilt, 29 May_s - 2 Haziran 1995 (Ankara 1996) 212 fig. 2.

13 F. Rumscheid, *Milas 1996*, in: *XV. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, II. Cilt (Ankara 1998) 389s.

14 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Panionion, Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin* (1906) 43 (= *Kleine Schriften* 5,1. Geschichte, Epigraphik, Archäologie [1937, reprint 1972] 133).

15 F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (1906) 37ss. no. 37 line 9. 23. 53. 66. 73. 75. 81. 98. 99. 101. 103-105. 108. 109. 123. 129. 133; H. Lohmann, *Zur historischen Topographie des südlichen Ioniens*, *Orbis Terrarum* 8, 2002 [2005] (in press); id., *Melia, das Panionion und der Kult des Poseidon Helikonios*, in: E. Schwertheim — E. Winter (Hrsg.), *Neue Forschungen zu Ioniens*. Kolloquium 01.03.-03.03.2004 Landhaus Rothenberge / Münster, *Asia Minor Studien* (in press).

16 F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (1906) 37ss. no. 37. — For this inscription cf. also: O. Curty, *L'historiographie hellénistique et l'inscription n. 37 des Inscriptions de Priene*, in: *Historia Testis*. Mélanges d'épigraphie, d'histoire ancienne et philologie offerts à T. Zawadzki (Fribourg 1988) 21-35; C. Franco, *Il regno di Lisimaco* (1993) 75ss. 162ss. (with bibl.).

Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener l.c. (note 10) 78-167.

K. Tausend, *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie. Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland* (1992) 73.

In the 1950s, G. Kleiner and P. Hommel abandoned this hypothesis calling the place Melia instead¹⁷. From ancient sources, as for instance Hekataios of Miletus (FGrH vol. 1, 9 frg. 11) we learn, that Melia was an ancient town or settlement destroyed by the allied forces of the Ionians in the so-called Meliakos polemos before the middle of the 7th cent. B.C. The origin of this war is reported by Vitruvius (4,85), writing that the Ionians formed a coalition against Melia "ob adrogantiam civium". The translation of the Latin term 'adrogantia' by the English term 'arrogance' does not touch the point. As K. Tausend has pointed out, 'adrogantia' is equivalent to the Greek term 'hybris' which always has been the traditional accusation in religious wars¹⁸.

Exploratory trenches within the compound of Kale Tepe dug by Kleiner and Hommel in the 1950s produced no evidence of a settlement. A single apsidal house was found¹⁹, but one house does not prove the existence of a town. A greek inscription²⁰ at the main gate only testifies to the fact that the Greeks were in possession of the site in the second half of the 6th cent. B.C. This is neither surprising nor does it lend support to the identification of the site as Melia.

This could not, in any way, be taken to represent the important site of ancient Melia, since Melia was neither small nor insignificant. Indeed, it took a whole coalition of several Ionian cities to overcome it. Its vast territory extended from the westernmost tip of Mykale as far as Marathesion south to modern Kuşadası. Even in Hellenistic times the island of Samos and the city of Priene were still fighting about the division of the chora of Melia, as we learn from the inscription Priene no. 37 already mentioned. Immediately after the Meliakos polemos destroyed Melia in the second quarter of the 7th cent. B.C., its hinterland was divided among the victorious parties of Samos, Miletus, Priene and Ephesos. The conclusion might be that in the 7th cent. B.C. these four poleis formed the original Ionian League, and that other poleis entered it later. The coast north of Mount Mycale was divided between Samos and Priene yet still caused endless quarrels between the two cities. Samos held the western part of Mycale between Cape Dip Burnu (ancient Trogilion) to the west and modern Güzelçamlı to the east, but also the northernmost part of the former Karaova around Anaia²¹. A large piece of land held by Priene stretched north between these two parts of the Samian peraiia. Was this persistent trouble the reason why during the survey with one exception²² no significant remains of Classical and Hellenistic farmhouses were found in the surroundings of Güzelçamlı and Davutlar?

The important role of the Ionian league for the formation of the Ionian tribe and the cultural identity of the Ionians was already noted by Herodotus, and was stressed by Wilamowitz and others in the 19th and early 20th century. However the Ionian League has almost completely put aside for some time for reasons we will hope to explain presently. The Panionion, a sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios, has always been considered the cult centre of the Ionian league²³. Already in antiquity scholars

17 Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener I.c. (note 10) 166ss. fig. 62.

18 K. Tausend, *Amphiktyonie und Symmachie. Formen zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen im archaischen Griechenland* (1992) 73.

19 Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener I.c. (note 10) 166ss. fig. 62.

20 Hommel in: Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener I.c. (note 10) 127ss. fig. 68-70 (1st half of 6th cent. B.C.).

21 For details see: H. Lohmann, *Zur historischen Topographie des südlichen Ionien*, *Orbis Terrarum* 8, 2002 [2005] (in press) s.v. Anaia, Anaeitis Chora.

22 This exception concerns the so-called 'Kastell' — see Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener I.c. (note 10) 37ss. figs. 15-19; p. 63ss. figs. 26-33 — which instead is obviously a Classical and Hellenistic farmhouse with tower. Since the Early Classical period this type of farmhouses is very common in Greece, especially in Attica and in the Megarid, and on the Greek islands. They spread into Caria during the 4th cent. B.C., but so far the type seems to be rare in Ionia. Only a few examples are known. Another was found during the campaign thanks to a hint by W. Raeck on top of a hill some 500 m west of Priene.

23 cf. H. Lohmann, *Zur historischen Topographie des südlichen Ionien*, *Orbis Terrarum* 8, 2002 [2005] (in press) s.v. Panionion.

debated the question whether the god owed his name to the town of Helike in the northern Peloponnese or to Mount Helikon in Boeotia. From an etymological and philological point of view it is obvious that the epiklesis of Poseidon from Helike should read 'Helikeios' while Poseidon Helikonios could signify only that he was from Mount Helikon²⁴. Poseidon is a very old deity in the Aegean world. His province was not restricted to the sea before the arrival of the indoeuropean cult of Zeus. He struggles with Athena over the possession of the Attic land, and Homer frequently calls him the "gaieochos", the earth-mover. Earthquakes were supposed to be his work.

Homer (Iliad 20, 403 ss.) alluded to the cult of Poseidon Helikonios, comparing the groaning of a hero killed by Achilleus with the groaning of the bull killed as an offering to Poseidon Helikonios. Differing from the typical Greek sacrifice, in which much care was taken in that the animal willingly walked to the altar bending its head to signal its submission, in the cult of Poseidon Helikonios young men dragged the bull to the altar forcibly; the more the animal groaned and roared the better was considered the omen.

Homer, it has to be said, mentioned neither the Ionians nor the Panionion. This has in later times given support to the theory that the Ionian League was not founded prior to the 7th cent. B.C. much less one year after the Trojan war, as asserted on the Marmor Parium, the Early Hellenistic marble chronicle from the island of Paros (IG XII,5,444)²⁵.

This sacrifice, where did it take place? As early as 1673 Pickering and Salter found an inscription concerning the Panionium in a Byzantine church on the sea-shore near the village of Güzelçamlı at the northern foot of Mount Mykale. The middle Byzantine church, where the inscription was found belongs with a huge Byzantine tower, both monuments together forming a Byzantine estate of some importance²⁶. At present both monuments are situated within a holiday camp of the Jandarma and not accessible.

In 1900, Theodor Wiegand, the first excavator of Priene and Miletus, localized the Panionion at the so-called Otomatik Tepe to the east of that village²⁷. At that place remains of a semi-circular theater cavea and an altar above it were visible in the western flank of the hill. No excavations were carried out until the 1950s when G. Kleiner and P. Hommel took a fresh interest in the site. Shortly after their excavation they published an extensive report giving full details²⁸. Irrespective of the fact that they found neither archaic pottery nor any inscriptions they had no hesitation of identifying it as the 'Panionium,' the central cult place of Poseidon Helikonios mentioned by Herodotus and other ancient writers.

J.M. Cook in his review of their paper summed up the disappointment of the scientific community about such meager results in writing "There was every reason to expect new light on early Ionic history"²⁹. But should we really discard an imminent ancient author of Herodotus' standing and call him a liar, simply because some archaeologists did not find what they had expected to find? Strangely enough, the results of that excavation of 1956 were never subjected to a comprehensive critique despite the fact that there was sufficient ground for concern.

First, the archaic age of the altar on top of the Otomatik Tepe could well be called

24 For full details see H. Lohmann, Melia, das Panionion und der Kult des Poseidon Helikonios, in: E. Schwertheim — E. Winter (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zu Ionien, Asia Minor Studien* (in press).

25 K. Meister, s.v. Marmor Parium, *Der Neue Pauly* 7 (1999) 938.

26 Similar Byzantine towers are frequent at the Bafa Gölü and in the environs of Miletus: H. Lohmann, Survey in der Chora von Milet, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1995, 327s.; id., Milet und die Milesia, in: F. Kolb (ed.), *Chora und Polis* (2004) 355s. fig. 15.

27 Th. Wiegand in: id. — H. Schrader, *Priene* (1904) 24ss.

28 G. Kleiner — P. Hommel — W. Müller-Wiener, *Panionion und Melie* (1967).

29 J. M. Cook, *Gnomon*, 41, 1969, 717.

into question since no architectural fragments of the archaic period were found. Second, the half-circle cavea of the theater is a construction dating to the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. Such semi-circle caveas were first conceived for the theater of Dionysus at Athens, built under the archonship of Lycourgos, and from there spread all over the Greek world³⁰. The theater at Güzelçamlı cannot be supposed to be earlier. As W. Müller-Wiener³¹ has pointed out, its measurements resemble closely the theater at Priene which has been dated around 300 B.C. by A. von Gerkan³². More importantly, no archaic pottery was ever found at Otomatik tepe; while elsewhere excavations of Archaic Greek sanctuaries have consistently yielded vast quantities of such pottery.

From the results of the survey of the site in 2004 I wish to offer another explanation of these findings: The so-called 'Panionion' in Güzelçamlı has never been in use and it was left unfinished. Looking more closely at the so-called bouleuterion it will quickly be discerned that the cutting of the rock within the koilon or cavea was never finished. In many places the underlying rocks are even today protruding into the seat rows³³. Furthermore large gaps, clefts and fissures interrupt the rows and wait to be covered with nicely worked marble seats which, however, never arrived. It seems highly improbable that the ambassadors of the twelve Ionian cities were forced to sit on natural rock without any properly fashioned seats. Looking at the present state of the place it seems almost unbelievable that in the course of more than fifty years since Kleiner and Hommel's publication nobody realised that the sanctuary at Güzelçamlı was still under construction and never finished.

The attempt to renew the cult of Poseidon Helikonios and the festival of the Panionia in the middle of the 4th cent. B.C. may well have been in connection with the re-foundation of the town of Priene. Diodorus (15,49) provides important testimony to the re-founding of the Panionion: "Formerly the Panionion was in a lonesome place, later they re-founded it in the neighbourhood of Ephesus". His mention of Ephesus as a point of reference for his Roman audience should not distract from the fact that he explicitly speaks of two Panionia, an older and a younger one.

Herodotus (1,148) noted in a famous, frequently quoted passage that the Panionion is a holy place in the Mykale, extending or protruding to the North, a formula which in no way could be applied to the topographical situation existing at Otomatik Tepe near Güzelçamlı.

In short, these critiques imply that the site of Archaic Melia and of the Archaic Panionion are still in question.

During our exploration of the Mykale we found a site 2 kilometers east of Fındıklı Kale which despite its enormous extension and its marvellous state of preservation has so far been completely overlooked. Between Çatallar Tepe and Belenkuyu Tepe some walls up to 3 m wide form a huge triangle, its tip pointing to the north and its base in the south, altogether covering a space of more than 7 hectares. The whole site was completely mapped in two days by means of GPS-realtime-kinematik (Fig. 4).

The southern wall has almost completely collapsed (Fig. 5). There were neither towers or bastions. The main gate is difficult to make out among the huge mass of collapsed stones, but two wall-ends can be seen to overlap for a couple of meters. These walls form a primitive tangential gate characteristic of fortifications of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The southern wall connects to separately walled enclosures on marked elevations in the southwest and the northeast (Fig. 6). The walls have been built in the

30 K. Junker, Vom Theatron zum Theater, *AntK* 47, 2004, 10ss. esp. 11 (with bibl.).

31 W. Müller-Wiener in: Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener l.c. (note 7) 36.

32 A. von Gerkan, *Das Theater von Priene als Einzelanlage und in seiner Bedeutung für das hellenistische Bühnenwesen* (1921) 61ss. (esp. 62: about 300 B.C. at the latest); W. Koenigs — F. Rumscheid, Priene. Führer durch das "Pompeji Kleinasien" (1998) 161ss. esp. 173s.

33 cf. esp. Kleiner — Hommel — Müller-Wiener l.c. (note 7) 28ss. fig. 11-14.

usual manner with two outer surfaces and a filling of rubble and mud in between, but the stones are unworked as is the underlying rock; the stones are more thoroughly worked only in special places, like the small gate in the northeast circuit. The entire manner of construction suggests Carian rather than Greek workmanship. We are obviously dealing with another Carian fortification. The earliest pottery collected on the site may be dated to the early 7th cent. B.C. The discovery of this Carian site, formerly completely unknown, nicely fits with the lines in Homer (*Iliad* 2,867 ss.), where, in enumerating the allies of the Trojans, he mentions the Carians holding Mount Grium, the Maiandros, Miletus and "Mykale's lofty heights".

Looking at the enormous extent of this place and the amount of pottery spread everywhere it is evident that this was a settlement of no little importance. Furthermore, the walls show clear evidence of intentional destruction; they have evidently been razed to the ground. The only explanation for this is a siege; we are immediately reminded of the fate of Melia which was conquered by the Ionian league and its chora divided among the victors.

Even more remarkable finds were documented here. North of the southern wall a rather even terrace is surrounded by untouched rock. In the southeastern part of this area a low elevation has evidence of a collapsed temple (Fig. 7). The surface is covered with architectural fragments, stones and many roof tiles. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say whether the plan was peripteral, amphiprostyle or simply that this was a templum in antis before excavating. The sheer amount of column fragments points at least to a prostyle front.

Most of the architectural fragments were carved out of coarse crystalline white marble and can be dated to the second half of the 6th cent. B.C. The fragment of a small torus belongs to the east-ionic type with canelures, which are each separated by a burr, but cannot be dated any more narrowly. The columns have only partially been smoothed, but fluting was never intended (Fig. 8). The volutes of the ionic capitals have not been sculpted in the round (three-dimensionally). Instead, clearly incised lines mark the volutes (Fig. 9). A similar technique is employed for many late archaic grave stones in Attica.

The walls of the cella have not been built from large ashlar blocks but from small stones of the grey-blue marble typical for the Mykale. They show regular traces of a pointed chisel. Patterns which look like ornament might easily be explained as an attempt to improve the adhesion of plaster covering all the walls of this temple.

The roof tiles belong to a Corinthian roof, of a type called C2 by Ö. Wikander³⁴. Typical for these is the recessed posterior part where the next tile was intended to hook on. Roof tiles of this type are not confined to the Archaic period.

The best evidence for the date of the temple is provided by two antefixes showing lion heads which can easily be dated to the years around 540 B.C. (Fig. 10). Three identical antefixes which are evidently made from the same mold were donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York in 1992, but came evidently from this site³⁵. Two similar, but slightly more recent antefixes have been found at Didyma and at Miletus³⁶. These antefixes may therefore be based on a Milesian prototype.

Several architectural elements, as well as fragments of the roof tiles are heavily burned. The latest fragments of pottery found at the temple belong to the end of the 6th cent. B.C. — a date which immediately recalls the catastrophic collapse of the Ionian revolt and the disastrous end of Miletus. However, no similar fate is attested by

34 Ö. Wikander, Ancient roof-tiles. Use and function, *Opuscula Athenensia* 17, 1988, 210s. fig. 4 ("C2").

35 Unpublished, but see: www.insecula.com/oeuvre/O0009435.htm, [/O0009436.htm](http://O0009436.htm), [/O0009437.htm](http://O0009437.htm). I wish to thank Dr. V. Kästner (Berlin) for this indication.

36 1) Didyma F 671: H. Knackfuss, *Didyma I: Die Baubeschreibung* (1941) pl. 223; Å. Åkerström, *Die Architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (1966) pl. 57,2. — 2) Milet, Kalabaktepe: *Milet* 1/8, Beil. IIA; Åkerström *ibid.* 103 pl. 53,1.

Herodotus for the Panionion, although we might have expected him to mention such a heinous crime. Having spent three campaigns surveying in the Mykale I am ready to confidently state that no other candidate for the Archaic Panionion is to be seen in the Dilek Dağları. The site at Çatallar Tepe agrees with what we would postulate both for the Archaic Panionion and for Melia. It has an enormous extension to the north and it is a lonesome place. The site commands an overwhelming view of the whole of Ionia which correlates nicely with Herodotus' enthusiastic words about the beauty of Ionia. Moreover, the whole situation exactly fits the thesis of Wilamowitz who in 1906 and without any archaeological evidence was convinced that Melia and the Panionion occupied the same spot. We also should not be too much surprised that Poseidon Helikonios was venerated on top of a mountain. Samian inscriptions³⁷ testify to the fact that also on the island of Samos a sanctuary called 'Helikonion' (i.e. a cult place of Poseidon Helikonios) was a mountain peak sanctuary³⁸.

Be this as it may, it seems obvious that the fortification atop Kale Tepe at Güzelçamlı could never be seen as the ancient settlement of Melia; we are faced with the existence of at least two Panionia, an Archaic one on the one hand and a later one of Classical date. Nevertheless, whatever the role of the Panionion in furthering the formation of the Ionic tribe and the cultural identity of the Ionians, our discovery has suddenly and unexpectedly moved its location back into the spotlight of classical scholarship. But in the light of the severe damage which has been done to the site by illegal diggings throughout the last decade an immediate rescue excavation of the temple seems imperative.

37 cf. IG XII 6 nos. 132, 168, 466, 467.

38 I wish to thank K. Halloff (Berlin) for this important information. With respect to the frequency of the visits payed by the Samians to their Helikonion I would comply with L. Robert, *Inscriptions de Lesbos et de Samos*, *BCH* 59, 1935, 471-488 esp. 480, who localized it on Samos itself. — For cult places of Poseidon Helikonios outside the Mykale see L. Robert *ibid.*



Fig. 1: Mykale. Rough sketch indicating important sites mentioned in the text (G. Kalaitzoglou)

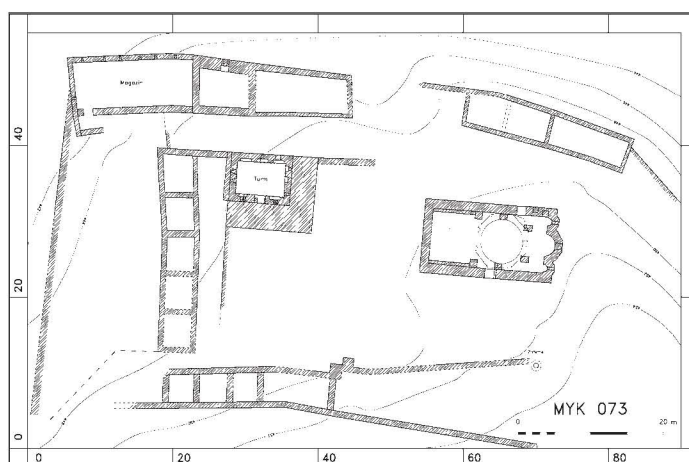


Fig. 2: MYK 73 Kurşunlu Manastır, map



Fig. 3: MYK 238 Ancient settlement north of Atburgazı, later transformed into a Byzantine monastery

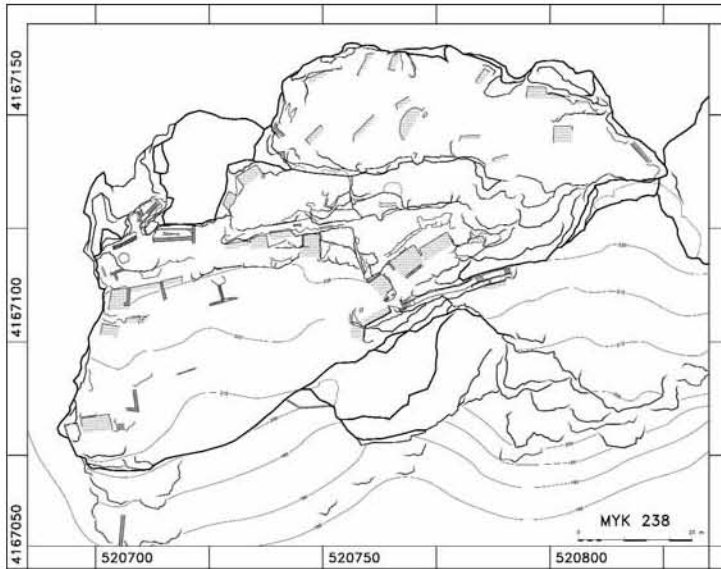


Fig. 4: MYK 138 Melia? Carian fortification at Çatallar Tepe map



Fig. 5: MLK 138 Melia? Carian fortification at Çatallar Tepe as seen from southeast



Fig. 6: MYK 139 Archaic Panionium? Fragment of Ionic volute with incised spiral volute (2nd Half of the 6th cent. B.C.). Marble

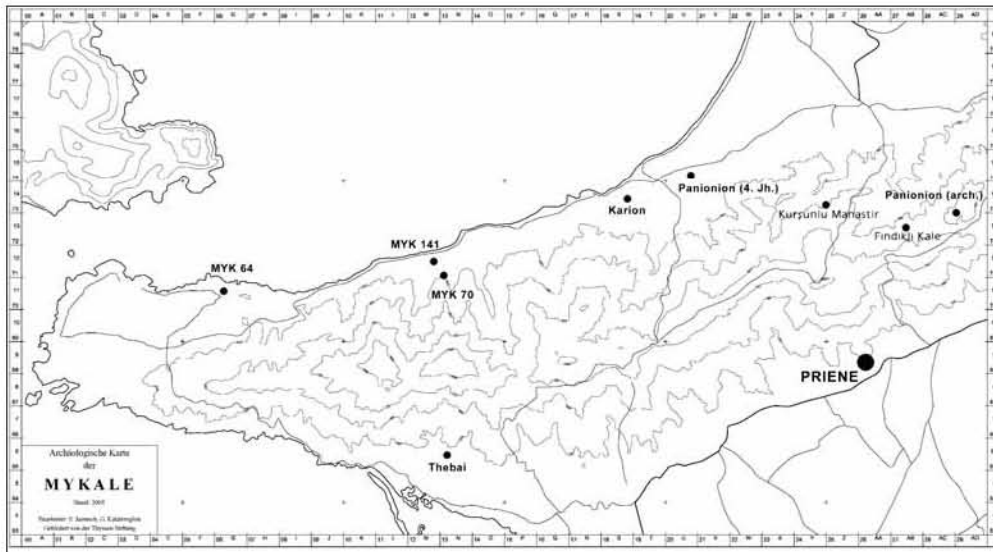


Fig. 7: MYK 139 Collapsed remains of a late Archaic temple-the Archaic Panionium

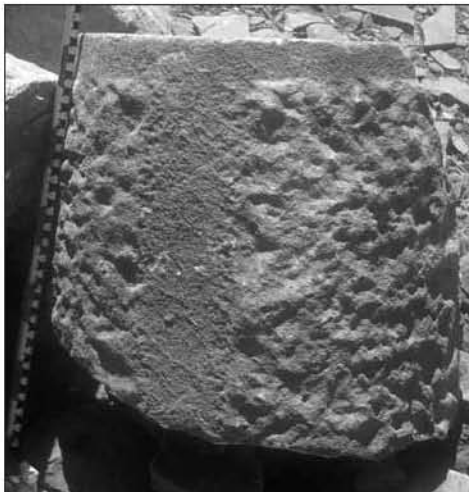


Fig. 8: MYK 139 Archaic Panionium? Fragment of an unfinished marble column



Fig. 9: MYK 139 Archaic Panionium? Lionhead Antefix, ca. 540 B.C.

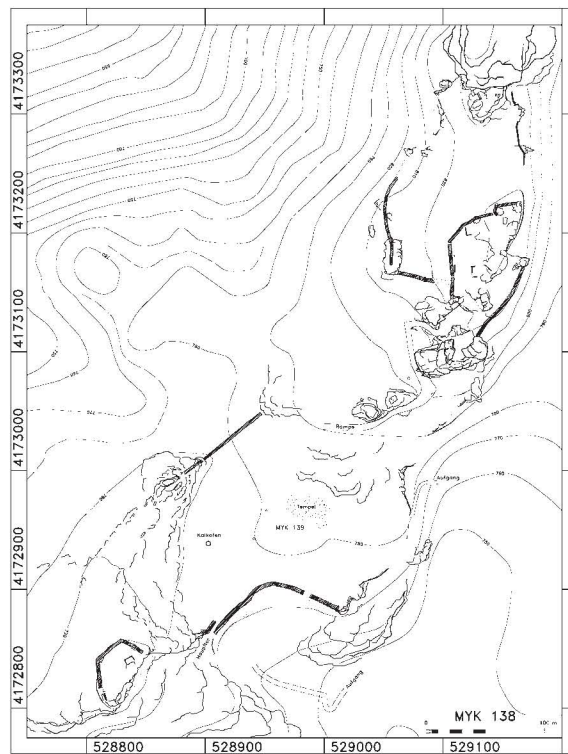


Fig. 10: MYK 138: Melia? Northeast acropolis as seen from the Çatallar Tepe