'TEMPLE STATES' OF PONTUS: COMANA PONTICA AND ZELA

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ABSTRACT

'TEMPLE STATES' OF PONTUS: COMANA PONTICA AND ZELA

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Before the Roman rule in Asia Minor, under the Hellenistic kings, small communities lived independently within areas surrounding temples with local powers. The temple held together and ruled these communities. Under the Romans these communities were brought and united to form cities in order to govern them by a central power and to take advantage of their unified work force. These communities served the Temple providing it necessary resources to function and provided themselves protection under sacred power. Some scholars have identified term as "temple state", a term originated from the Sumerian communal structure.

This study examines the validity of the use of the term "temple state" in defining Comana Pontica and Zela in the Black Sea region in Pontic region through a comparison with similar examples found in Anatolia. This study also aims to provide a revision to

the meaning of independently structured temples by observing their transformation in time and by examining changes of the properties of their location.

ÖZ

PONTUS BÖLGESİ'NİN 'TAPINAK DEVLETLERİ': KOMANA PONTIKA VE ZELA

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Anadolu'da Roma hakimiyetinden önce, Hellenistik dönemde küçük topluluklar, yerel bir güç olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz tapınak etrafında bağımsız olarak yaşamaktaydılar. Bu toplulukları bir araya getiren ve yön veren güç, tapınak, bir başka deyişle rahiplerdi. Roma döneminde bu topluluklar merkezi bir yönetim altına almak ve güçlerinden faydalanmak amacıyla biraraya getirilerek şehir haline dönüştürülmüşlerdir. Bu işlem Romalılar tarafından da sürdürülmüştür. Kutsal bir yapı etrafında toplanan bu topluluklar tapınağa hizmet verip hem tapınağın devamlılığını sağlıyorlardı hem de kendilerini bu kutsal güç altında güvenceye alıyorlardı. Literatürde bu tür yapılar için bazı bilimadamları Sümer toplum yapısına özgü bir terim olan "tapınak devleti" tanımını kullanmıştır.

Bu çalışmada Pontus bölgesinde bulunan ve "tapınak devleti" olarak adlandırılan Comana Pontika ve Zela'nın bu tanıma ne kadar uyduğunu, Anadolu'daki diğer benzer örnekler ve onları oluşturan unsurlar ışığı altında açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca bu

çalışma, bağımsız yapıdaki tapınakların zamansal ve mekansal değişimlerini ortaya koyarak yeniden anlamlandırmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tapınak devleti, Komana Pontika , Zela, Pontus, Karadeniz, Ma, Anaitis.

To Fago

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Temple States essentially are economically independent religious structures with self-governing powers. Their independent economies and autonomy differentiate temple states and separate them from temples. Besides Comana and Zela, the two temple states investigated in detail here, other temples with similar structure have been identified in Anatolia. In order to emphasize the distinction between temples and temple states, Marinatos divided the types of religious structures into three categories (Marinatos, 1993:230):

1. Urban sanctuaries are frequently located within the city center. The temple of Athena on the Acropolis in Athens or the temple of Athena. In Priene are among the best examples.

2. Extra urban sanctuaries are administered by the city-state but located outside the city. They were intended to mark or enlarge the territorial authority of the city, and to act as regional cult centers. Therefore, these types of sanctuaries brought together rural populations under a "national" cult. The best example for this is perhaps the sanctuary of Apollo at Miletus. It was out of the city yet under the control of a family of Milesian priests (Marinatos, 1993:230).

3. Inter-urban sanctuaries, even though controlled by cities closest to them, were situated further from their administrative rulers. They were neutral places therefore, they became suitable for political communications.

The structure of the sanctuaries at Comana and Zela unfortunately, do not fit in any of these groups exactly, but the closest group could be the extra-urban sanctuaries. An identification of what sort of a system and position these two sanctuaries had under the

kingdom of Pontus and Roman rule, and an understanding of the meaning of autonomy in terms of religious organization, resource management and economy are among the major goals of the thesis.

Temple state is a phenomenon that emerged in Mesopotamia. The term temple state was first suggested by Anton Deimel based on the early Sumerian archival records (Foster, 1981:226 footnote:2). According to him, temple state was the centre of the religious activity for the Sumerians. It organized the population for efficient irrigation and agricultural activity (Foster, 1981:227). This structure was probably the result of the immediate necessities of the area, water and agricultural land. The Anatolian examples were surely not identical to the Mesopotamian examples since the conditions that shaped their development must have been vastly different.

Still, the term temple state for Comana Pontica and Zela was used by numerous scholars such as D. Magie (1950:146), D.R. Wilson (1960:223), B. Virgilio (1981:49), B.C. McGing (1986:9) and C. Marek (1993:39). One of the purposes of this study is to determine the validity of this term for Anatolia. Another purpose is to identify what in fact these structures that are defined as 'temple state' in Anatolia are, if the use of this term is not appropriate.

In this thesis, individual aspects of temple states in Anatolia in the Roman period will be investigated. The first section will include a discussion of the structure of the temple state, the components of it such as sacred slaves, prostitutes, revenues, priest and their transformation in time.

In the second part, Comana Pontica and Zela will be described with the help of ancient literary sources, inscriptions, remains and coins. Comana and Zela will serve as cases for general comprehension of temple state phenomena in Anatolia and indicate the relationship to the road system and the economy of the region.

While the thesis is intended to provide a comprehensive coverage for Comana and Zela, because of the nature of the evidence it does not claim to find answers to all of the questions it raises.

CHAPTER II
DEFINITION OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Geography of the Pontic Region

The Pontic Region under the control of the Pontic Kingdom was bordered on the west by the River Halys, on the east by Cholcis, on the southeast by Armenia Minor and on the southwest by Cappadocia. Indeed, during the Early Imperial period the small area to the east of the river Halys, Phazemonitis (Vezirköprü) around Phazemon that is, was excluded from the territory and was added to Paphlagonia (fig.1). On the coast line, plains of Gadilonitis (Bafra) and Themiscyra (Terme or Çarşamba) were included in the Roman territory (Marek, 1993: 11).

The location of Pontus in ancient geography is described by Strabo (Strabo, XII.1.14). According to him Cappadocia was divided into parts by the Persians. Following the conquests of Alexander, the area Cappadocia was divided into two parts again; *Cappadocia ad Tauros* and *Cappadocia ad Pontus* (Strabo, XII.1.14). *Cappadocia ad Pontus* was called Pontus only and it comprised the land between Paphlagonia and Cholcis (Strabo, XII.1.14). In addition, Strabo calls this territory Euxenios (Strabo, VII.3.6).

The main geographical feature of Pontus is the range of mountains reaching from the hinterland of Themiscyra (Terme) in the west, to Apsaros in the east (Bryer, 1985:2). River Iris runs to the west of Themiscyra. Themiscyra and Iris were mentioned in Strabo's account;

> Themiskyra is a plain on one side it is washed by the sea and is about sixty stadia distant from the city, and one other side it lies at the foot of the mountainous country, which is well wooded and coursed by the streams, that have their sources therein. So one river, called the Thermodon, being supplied by all these streams, flows out through the plain; and another river similar to this, which flows out of Phanaroea, as it is called the Iris. It has its sources in Pontus itself, and after flowing through the middle of the city of Comana in Pontus and through Dazimonitis, a fertile plain, towards the west, then turns towards the north past Gaziura itself (Strabo, XII.3.15)

Main rivers in the region are the Kızılırmak, Yeşilırmak, Çekerek, Çoruh and Kelkit rivers. The Yeşilırmak is connected with the Çekerek River and it passes through Samsun, Amasya and Tokat. Yeşilırmak is also adjoined with another big river, the Kelkit. Yeşilırmak is discharged at Civa Burnu at Samsun. Kızılırmak River starts running at Cappadocia and finishes pouring into the Black Sea two km. to the north of Bafra. The Çoruh river-basin is made up of three rivers; Çoruh, Harşit, Kelkit. The Çoruh starts in Erzurum and it passes through Artvin and Gümüşhane (Strabo 12.3.15).

The chain of mountains in Pontus forms the spine of the Pontic Alps (Doğu Karadeniz Dağları). They line up separating the coast line from the interior areas. The major part of the chain consists of Upper Cretaceous volcanic rocks, while at the eastern end the mountains rise to a height of nearly 4000 m. to the south of Rize at Kaçkar. Communication between the inland and the shore is difficult because mountain valleys' lower parts become gorges, and high passes are blocked with snow most of the year. Only the paths connect the shore with the inland. A warm and humid climate and a fertile flora on shores and impassable forests on slopes and mountain valleys prevail. Caucasus Mountains on the east protect the coast from cold weather conditions coming from the north-east. (Marek, 1993:12)

Lines of high mountains separate coasts and interior areas causing a variety of landscape and climate. Fertile plains extend over broad areas concentrated particularly on the central part of the Anatolian peninsula in the interior Black Sea region (Bryer, 1985:3). The agricultural core of the region must have been Amaseia. The plains within the

territory of Amaseia, such as Suluova, Merzifon, Gümüş and Taşova are known to have been fertile plains in ancient times as well (Strabo, 12.3.39).

2.2. Historical Background of the Study Area

We have scarce information concerning the prehistoric ages of Pontus. The only site which provides information, the Early Bronze Age site İkiztepe, is located in Samsun Province near Bafra. Another excavated site is Maşat Höyük near Tokat which is the ancient Tabigga in Hittite documents and this Hittite city was also a buffer zone between the Kaška tribes and the Hittite territory (Özgüç, 1978:2). The Kaška and Pala lived in the mountains of the Black Sea region. Our knowledge on them unfortunately is limited to the Hittite documents and there is no archaeological evidence to support them (Ertem, 1980:2) According to H.Ertem, the Kaška tribes country was limited to the coast line of Sinop and Bafra and the country of the Pala tribe was located between Osmancık-Vezirköprü (Ertem, 1980:4).

A period about which we know a lot more is certainly the Greek colonization period which begun around 7th B.C. in the Black Sea (Tsetskhladze, 1998:19). Mass colonization began in the 6th century B.C. continuing until the late Archaic period. In this period, both the Greeks and the western Anatolian cities established new cities in coastal Black Sea. The first Milesian colony, Sinope, was probably founded in the late 7th century B.C. according to archaeological data. Amisos, Cotyora, Cerasus and Trapezus were the other colony cities. Colonists probably lived on fishing, agriculture and craft production. Trade was a secondary source of income (Tsetskhladze, 1998:19). Greek colonies located on the coast of Pontus could not have affected the hinterland intensively. The geographical division of Pontus into the coast and interior reflects also a sharp cultural division between Greek and Iranian/native Anatolian (McGing, 1986:9).

The Greek cities of the coast looked regularly towards the sea, and their influence did not go through the interior. Relationship between colonists and local tribes was mainly in peace until the late Archaic period. After the local kingdoms that flourished under Persian rule, the lives of the Greek cities were more or less reliant on these kingdoms (Tsetskhladze, 1998:67).

In the century before the existence of the Pontic Kingdom, the non-Greek population of the countries along the south coast of the Black Sea were made up of local tribes which are overall just names to us now. The third and nineteenth satrapies of Darius controlled these tribes (Herodotus, III.93-94). For the period between 600 B.C. and 430 B.C. our source is Herodotus (Herodotus, I. 74, IV. 92, 94). It seems that the Persians made their authority felt even in the Black Sea. However, we have no detailed information about the Persian hegemony in Pontus. Another valuable source for the Classical period (5th century B.C.) is Xenophon. In his Anabasis, he writes about the native populations of Pontus like the Khalybs, Taokhs, Phasis, Skyths and Moskhos (Xenophon, 6.1.14-15). After this period, the knowledge on Pontus decreases. In order to abolish the Persian hegemony in Asia Minor, Alexander began his expeditions in 334 B.C. This resulted in a large Hellenistic Empire.

At the same time in Pontus, the Persian satrap Mithridates did not want to leave his Persian identity. Furthermore, he was not willing to loose his independence neither to Alexander the Great nor to his successor Antigonos Monophtalmos. He established his hegemony. The kings, who came after him, shared the same name. Mithridates II was killed by Antigonos in 302 B.C., Mithridates III of Cius (Mithridates I Ctistes) took the control of the kingdom (McGing, 1986:15). Becoming the first king of the Pontic Kingdom until 266 B.C., when Ariobarzanes came to the throne we hear of struggles between Mithridates, Lysimachos and Seleucus. There is almost no proof at all for the actions of the reign of Ariobarzanes. However, his son and successor Mithridates II came to the throne and began to fight with the Galatians. In order to build political alliance with the Seleucids, he married with Laodice, the sister of Seleucus II (McGing,

1986:21). His successor Pharnaces I (220-188 B.C.) (Mithridates III) added Sinope to the kingdom's territory and also its colonies Cotyora and Cerasus were added to the kingdom (185 B.C.). From these cities he took the settlers to establish his new city of Pharnaceia. Furthermore, he carried the Pontic capital from Amaseia to Sinope. The pursuit of the Crimean peninsula began under Pharnaces (McGing, 1986:27). The death of Pharnaces marked the end of an era in Pontic history. His successor Mithridates IV Philopator Philadelphus followed a smooth policy. He underlined the Persian origins of the dynasty by minting coins with Perseus' depiction (McGing, 1986:35). This depiction was a brilliant connection between east and west, Persians considered him as an Assyrian and he was absolutely a hero for Greeks (McGing, 1986:35). The next king Mithridates V Euergetes, the greatest rival for a long time, who was the son of Mithridates IV, was less ambitious but still formed an alliance against the Bithynian Kingdom. Mithridates V was also allies with the Romans in the beginning. He helped them in their struggle with Carthage; however, the issue about the Galatian territory disturbed their relationships.

The Pontic Kingdom's Golden Age is during the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator. The Bosporan Kingdom was taken under the hegemony and the expansion policies in Asia Minor continued. However, the bequest of the Pergamene Kingdom to Rome according to the will of Attalos III and expanding the authority of Rome in Asia Minor were big obstacles for Pontic improvement. Mithridates VI wanted to abolish the Roman hegemony in western Asia Minor and Greece just like the policy of Alexander the Great, fighting against the Persian rule in Asia Minor. In his reign, Hellenization accelerated (McGing, 1986:40).

Mithridates VI was successful in the beginning. Lucullus who was charged with suppressing Mithridates VI could not complete his duty successfully. He was removed from his Asia Minor mission by Rome and the duty was given to Pompey in 67 B.C. Mithridates extended the border of his kingdom, however, he finally could not resist and first lost western Asia Minor and islands, and then most of the Pontic Region. He fled to

the north. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates tried to regain the lost territory but he was not successful either. The struggle of the Pontic kings came to an end with the Battle of Zela against Caesar in August 1st 47 B.C. Caesar celebrated his victory with his famous words "*Veni, Vidi, Vici*" The Roman rule in the Black Sea area continued for a couple centuries through the reign of local client- kings.

2.3 Surveys and Excavations in Subject Area

The earliest archaeological work in central Black Sea region is the survey conducted by K.Kökten, N. Özgüç and T.Özgüç in Samsun province (Kökten, 1945:361). The first and extensive survey was initiated by Alkım in 1971, also in Samsun province. In 1973, Alkım decided to excavate at İkiztepe (Alkım 1975a & 1975b). The excavations at İkiztepe were continued by Ö.Bilgi from İstanbul University. A survey project in Samsun province has been carried out by M. Özsait since 1986. His study area also included Amasya and Tokat (Özsait, 1988:287). A large amount of data are present in annual survey reports (Özsait, 2003:127).

Amphora workshop excavation at Demirci Sinop began in 1993 and is still being carried out by the Sinop Museum and Dominique Kassab-Tezgör. This excavation unveiling amphora kilns aims to determine Black Sea amphora typologies and how they are scattered through out the trade network (Tatlıcı, 1999:449).

Ş. Dönmez carried out surveys in Sinop, Samsun and Amasya in 1997. In 1997 Ş. Dönmez conducted surveys in Sinop, Samsun and Amasya. He tried to establish the nature of culture of the central Black Sea region during the Early Bronze Age II period. Pottery and small artifacts were recovered during surface investigations at Kocagöz

Höyük in Sinop, Dündartepe in Samsun, Tekkeköy, Kavak-Kaledoruğu, and Samsun, Sinop, Amasya and Tokat were studied (Dönmez, 1999:237).

One of the new research projects in the area is the Black Sea Trade Project in Sinop which began in 1996 by F. Hiebert from University of Pennsylvania Museum. It is an inter-disciplinary study of interaction and exchange in Black Sea for all periods. The part survey of this project, The Sinop Regional Survey conducted by O. Doonan is aimed to document the settlement in Sinop province from the Pontic Mountains and the Kızılırmak and Gökırmak river valleys to the coast (Doonan, 1998:367). Continuing studies aim to provide production and consumption commodities of indicated areas and to show the relationship between cities and their environments (Doonan, 2001:142).

Another new study under the supervision of Ö.Bilgi in Pontus area is the "Samsun Area Cultural Development Project". This study began in 2000 and it aims to document the cultural histories of Amisos and its surroundings. In 2000 Kapıkaya, Asarkale, Akalan, Martıkale, Kaledoruğu and Tekeköy were investigated (Bilgi, 2002:290).

A study directly related to the subject area is the survey project that began in 2004 under the supervision of B. Erciyas at Comana Pontica. As well as unveiling the history of the subject area, this survey will also provide information regarding the settlement at Comana Pontica (Erciyas, www.comanaproject.org).

CHAPTER III

DEFINITION OF THE TEMPLE STATES IN ANATOLIA

3.1 Temple States

The concept of 'temple state' derives from religious structure in the Sumerian society in the third millennium B.C. According to the temple state concept in Sumerians, many or all-agricultural land was owned by the temple and therefore, temples controlled the economy of southern Mesopotamia. Political leaders of cities and city-states based their authority on their relationships with gods, functioning as 'theocentric manors' (Foster, 1981:226). The spur of advancement of civilization in Mesopotamia was strongly associated with the development of temples which resulted in the establishment of a temple-centered state (Foster, 1981:226).

Temple states are made up of three components;

1. Religious leader, called the priest,
2. Number of people working for and living around the temple, called sacred slaves (*hierodouloi*),
3. The area around the temple providing revenues for it, called the temple territory.

These three components also are factors separating temple states from temples. Temple states, unlike temple complexes, have self-governing units. The best known examples of Temple States in Anatolia are Comana and Zela in central Black Sea region. Following is a discussion on components mentioned above.

The temple territories probably included lands of independent native communities. Lands from villages, unions of villages or tribes were added to the temple lands.

(Broughton, 1938:641) Temple territories and their inhabitants (sacred slaves) whose sole purpose was to work for the temple, provided temple states with resources necessary for their emergence and survival. According to M. Rostovtzeff, the territory and hierarchy of "great, wealthy and influential sanctuaries" that had many priests, impressive architecture and thousands of people who worked to serve were similar to that of a state (Rostovtzeff, 1941:505). Virgilio implies that temple states had developed complex systems governing religious, political and economic affairs (Virgilio, 1981:49). He states that at the center of the temple states structure of religious, political and economic nature there was the temple which had strong traditions and strict connections with the village, city or state. Strabo's descriptions of the great temples of Comana in Cappadocia, of Comana, Cabeira and Zela in Pontus, Pessinus in Galatia, Venasa and Antiocheia in Pisidia, all coincide with Virgilio's description of the temple states mentioned above (Dignas, 2002: 227,Virgilio, 1981:49).

Following the development of these structures in chronological order and with an historical perspective will provide us further information. First signs of temple states in Anatolia are seen during the Hittite period. The area known as Comana Cappadocia in the Roman Period was in fact the area named Kummami in the Hittite period (Boffo, 1985:15). Inside this area, there was a temple dedicated to Ma in the Roman Period and this area was the site of a temple dedicated to Hepat in the Hittite Period. The religious center and the most sacred area of the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna was also here (Boffo, 1985:17). Temple states in this period were not fully autonomous but had their own governmental structures. They were under the inspection of the kingdom and secured by the Hittite governors in this period. Priests were not of kings kin nor did they have political roles. Temple states' revenues were supplied by areas surrounding the temple as will be seen in our examples.

Usual characteristics of a temple state can be determined based on a testimony of Strabo on Comana of Cappadocia (Broughton, 1938: 641). In his testimony, Strabo states that although the inhabitants of the city were mainly subjects of the King in a general way,

they were in fact practically subjects to the priest in many respects. According to Strabo, the priest ruled over the temple and the temple servants, and he had control over the revenues gained from the temple territories (Strabo XII.3.37). Strabo indicates that these territories were of 'considerable size' and that the priest's authority stretched beyond these territories which were the estates owned by the state. The priest occupied the second rank after the King and usually was from the King's family (Broughton, 1938: 641). However, Strabo does not use the term *'temple state'* for these religious structures. For places like Comana, Zela or Cabeira, he used the term *'polis'*.

As an example, Cabeira, which is also called 'village city Ameria' hosted the temple of Men of Pharnaces. Cabeira was located on the southern foothills of Paryadres, and the place fortified by a citadel, which controlled over the valley of Lycus (Magie, 1950: 180). Cabeira had many temple servants and the revenue from its sacred territory was controlled by the priest. A temple to Selene, similar to those of Albanians and those in Phrygia, was situated in Cabeira. Cabeira was used as a general market, and it gradually developed into a town of some commercial importance. In here, Mithridates Eupator's hunting park and a water mill possibly for grinding grain was present. Cabeira was enlarged into a city by Pompey and was called Diospolis. After Pompey, Pythodoris developed the city and changed its name to Sebaste and started to use it as a royal residence (Strabo XII.3.31). Before Pompey however, Cabeira housed the temple of Men Pharnacou, and it was not a city.

Another temple state which was also a great emporium, Pessinus, was on the border of Phrygia and Galatia, and was home to the temple of the Great Mother. Pessinus formed an independent principality and was ruled by the priest of the goddess. At the end of the first century in Mysia, priest of Zeus Abrettenus ruled the sacred temple territory with power no less than a king (Magie, 1950:141).

The term *'polis'* which is used by Strabo while describing the sites such as Comana Pontica and Zela can in fact be considered correct for his time because these places were

turned into cities and even into market places by the Romans. Before the Roman period places like these were governed as sacred territories.

Most of the time it is not possible to determine the area around a temple or its borders without help from ancient sources. The areas were changed through time by various governmental powers according to their regulations. By adding temple lands to city territories and by establishing relationships built upon dependence and need, the Romans brought under their control the temple territories in interior Asia Minor. This was important because the temple was gaining property by religious donations and inheritance scattered all around. In this respect, small local temples show similarities with large theocratic feudalities (Malay, 1990:390). An increase in the number of temple areas resulted in the plunder of temple revenues by their administrators.

3.2 Temple Revenues

Temple revenues are an important topic for our discussion as well and it is possible to understand the temple revenues, as we know from the ancient sources, in our area by comparing them to the examples in Mesopotamia. In 600-500 B.C. the Mesopotamian cult centers that firmly controlled the economies of cult centers with vast amount of territory were based fully on agriculture, pre-determined fixed payments, textile, and handicrafts (Boffo, 1985:22). People contributed to the temple revenue by turning in one tenth of their first products (Boffo, 1985:22). In the 6th century B.C. the Babylonian temples were very wealthy, detained large amount of lands, possessed hundreds of slaves and they dealt with trade (Dandamayev, 1979:589). The king or important palace officials could give different orders to the temple administration. For example, the king ordered how to use cattle of to the Eanna temple in Uruk (Dandamayev, 1979:591). The king Nabonidus rented properties of the temple of Eanna namely 6000 *kur* (nearly 7410

hectar) of fertile land, 10 talents (30 kg.) of iron, 400 farmers, 400 oxen and 100 cows to two people (Dandamayev, 1979:591). The king also decided food ratios for the temple slaves and divisions of profits from the temple property for the temple personnel. The palace economy and temple administrations were attached to each other, but there is no more information regarding their relationships. On the other hand, we know that some temple officials of high rank had direct relationship to the king through marriage (Dandamayev, 1979:589).

In Anatolia, the revenues were gained from the temple territory. We come across some examples of this in Strabo's accounts for Morimene at Cappadocia (Strabo, XII.2.6). He states that in Morimene, at Venesa (Avanos), there was a temple to the Venesian Zeus, which had a settlement of almost three thousand temple-servants and a sacred territory that was very productive, affording the priest yearly revenue of fifteen talents (Strabo XII.2.6). Strabo's account on Zela also included the violation of the revenues and reduction of the importance of the temples:

> The large number of temple-servants and the honour of the priests were in the times of the kings, of the same type as I have started before but at the present time everything is in the power of Pythodoris. Many persons had abused and reduced both the multitude of temple-servants and the rest of the resources of the temple (Strabo XII.3.37).

Large amount of cash reserves of temples were under divine expenditure and these rich temples played an important role in the economic life of the area during this time (Magie, 1950:142). The revenue and taxes collected from temples' sacred territories and money deposited to these very well protected temples became source for loans commonly used both by communities and individuals (Magie, 1950:142).

In the Hellenistic age, the three kinds of banking, sacred, private, and public, developed into the forms that remained common during the Roman period, in all probability with little change in the relationships between them or in the services they performed (Broughton, 1938:888). The temples maintained their ancient function as places for

deposit of treasure and accumulation of reserves, and tended, often under public or semi-public control, to perform the services of a reserve bank (Broughton, 1938:889).

There were many "temple bank" sanctuaries functioning in similar ways in Asia Minor. Temple of Artemis at Ephesos received deposits on account even during the 5th century B.C. and it had many loans still outstanding at the end of the first Mithridatic war (Magie, 1950:142). Temple divided the money received from the sale of the booty. And the tithe, which they set apart for Apollo and for Artemis of the Ephesians, was distributed among the generals, each taking his portion to keep safely for the gods.

The Artemis Temple in Magnesia on the Meander also possessed sacred land from which she collected revenues in the second century B.C. (Magie, 1950:141). The temple to Hera of Samos collected revenues from her domain on the mainland in the plain of Anaea, and salt-pans near the city were claimed by the temple of Athena at Priene (Magie, 1950:141). Farms owned by Mylasa and Olymus in Caria were rented for cash and payment of other kind. Land in the Cayster Valley was owned by the Ephesian Artemis even in the reign of Augustus (Magie 1950:141). Apollo Lairbenus in south western Phrygia possessed a state and owned a village as late as the second or third century A.D. (Magie, 1950:141). These examples provide us with clear information about revenues of temples, such as where and how they collected it.

Temple of Apollo at Delos was one of the most important temples served as 'temple bank'. In the fourth century B.C., the temple of Apollo at Delos provided large sums to cities in the Aegean and in the third century, the temple gave loans at regular interest of 10 percent to the city of Delos and to private persons there (Linders, 1992:11). This temple also housed a religious festival for Cyclades and around cities. For this reason, Delos provided a market for a large number of goods. It was natural for these temples to serve also as banks as well as providing religious services, because large populations were in constant circulation (Linders, 1992:11).

3.3 Priesthood

We gain most of our information on the status of the priests' the most important element of the temple state structures within temple states' hierarchy from the ancient sources. From these we can deduct who they were as well as their rights and power. While discussing changing political powers in Comana Pontica, Strabo gives information on priests:

> I have mentioned Dorylaus the tactician, who was my mother's great grandfather, and also a second Dorylaus who was the nephew of the former and the son of Philataerus, saying that, although he had received all the greatest honours from Eupator and in particular the priesthood of Comana, he was caught trying to cause the kingdom to revolt to the Romans (Strabo XII.3.33).

Here, as well as understanding who the priest of Comana was, we also learn about his powers and authority over the public. In another account of Strabo the succession of the priests at Comana is clearly explained: Now the times of the kings the affair of Comana were administrated in the manner already described, but when Pompey took over the authority he appointed Archelaos priest and included within his boundaries, in addition to the sacred land, a territory of two schoeni in circuit and ordered the inhabitants to obey his rule. After Archelaos' death, his son succeeded to the priesthood; and then later, Lycomedes, to whom was assigned an additional territory four hundred schoeni; but now that has been deposed, the office is held by Dyteutus, son of Adiatorix, who is thought to have obtained the honour from Caesar Augustus because his excellent qualities (Strabo XII.3.34-35). Although we have some information on priests of Comana, we do not know anything about priests of Zela.

Priests were responsible for temples' administration and came second after the king in rank. To illustrate, the priest of Ma in Comana Cappadocia wore a diadem and after the

king was second in rank in kingdom hierarchy (Strabo XII.3.32). Therefore, it is not surprising to discover that priesthood was a gift from the king.

The king and landlords were not the owners of the lands. Huge territories of land were also owned by the gods. In the first century B.C., the principal temples still held great areas of land in the kingdom of Pontus and Cappadocia and their priests ruled over these vast domains as the representatives of the deities and the revenues and resources supplied from these lands (Magie, 1950:139).

According to an inscription that was recorded by Waddington in Cappadocian Comana, a priest from Comana is identified as also a *Cataonian Strategos* (Waddington 1883:127). *Cataonian Strategos* was one of the ten *strategia* in Cappadocia (Strabo XII.1.2). This means that the priest also had a role in governing. Furthermore, Strabo writes that the priest belonged to the king's family and he came second in rank after the king (Strabo XII 2.3). The priest also was responsible for the territory belonging to the temple and the revenue collected from this land. Six thousand temple slaves from both genders were subject to the priest and revenues gained from the temple territories were used by priests (Strabo XII 2.3). The priest, however, had no right to sell these temple slaves (Strabo XII 3.34). It is thought that Orestes, with his sister Iphigenia brought these sacred rites here from the Tauric Scythia, the rites in honor of Artemis Tauropolus (Strabo XII 2.3). The priest and the priestess lived in the sacred territory (Strabo XII. 8.9).

In the Roman period we see that priests were appointed by hegemonial powers. Strabo also states that when Pompey took control over Pontus, he appointed Archelaos as the priest to the temple of Comana Pontica and ordered the inhabitants to obey Archelaos' rule (Strabo XII.3.34).

An inscription on the priest's authority was found in the field near Büyüktaşlı Höyük's north-eastern part (near Yeşilova at Aksaray), and is now in Aksaray museum (Aydaş

2002:24). In this inscription, which is the priest's will, it is commended to those set free by him and to those under his rule that, descendents of the freed be protected and that his tomb be secured (Aydaş, 2002:24). From a few inscriptions found at Comana Cappadocia dated to the first century B.C., we understand that priesthood was firmly interwoven with governmental authority, as was the case in the Hittite Period (Boffo, 1985:25). Under Augustus' reign authority over sacred territory belonged to the higher level governors. However, the priests continued their control over the *hierodouloi* and over the revenue collected from territories of the temple. Priest also occupied an important place in local political hierarchy. (Boffo, 1985:25)

3.4 Sacred Slaves (*hierodouloi*)

One of the important components of the temple states was the sacred slaves *(hierodouloi).* In Strabo, the size and importance of temple states were explained in terms of the number of *hierodouloi* inhabiting the territory (fig 2). People who lived and worked in the rural areas can be considered as 'serfs' who serve the landowner with their labour and produce and in many ways were similar to the sacred slaves mentioned by Strabo (Dignas, 2002: 233). The best source of information and the most detailed record explaining the status and rights of the *hierodouloi* is an inscription by King Antiochos I of Commagene:

> Let nobody, neither king nor dynast nor priest nor magistrate, be permitted to enslave to himself these hierodouloi whom I have consecrated to the gods of my ancestors according to the will of the gods, nor their children nor their descendants, who are the successors of this group for all time, nor to alienate them anyone else, nor to maltreat them in any fashion, nor to drag them away from this service; but let the priests take them in their charge and let kings, magistrates, and all private individuals protect them, who will receive the gratitude of the gods and heroes for their piety (Dörrie, 1964:85).

As we see in this document, sacred slaves had inviolability and they enjoyed a privileged and protected status. Therefore, they were doing important work for everybody like constantly pleasing the gods. Dignas states that the sacred slaves dedicated to the goddess Artemis in Ephesos were part of the free people (Dignas, 2002:194). Dignas also suggests that these people had possibly come together and dedicated themselves to Artemis with their own will hence, calling them slaves could be wrong (Dignas 2002:194). In short, religious service itself determined the social position of these people. Although sacred slaves were under the priest's rule, they belonged to the temple and the priest had no authority to sell them.

Sacred slaves, appearing as an integrated section of their society in Greek culture seem to have survived and expanded after Alexander's conquests. As early as the Hittite period, these sacred groups were provided with privileges mainly with exemptions of taxation (Debord, 1982:88).

3.5 Temple Prostitutes

Young women, hostesses to many, handmaidens
Of attraction in wealthy Corinth,
Who burn the golden tears of fresh frankincense
Often you soar in your thoughts
To Aphrodite in the sky,
The mother of loves. (Pindar, The Odes, 388-9).

It is known that sacred prostitution was performed also in the east where Aphrodite had very strong presence. We gain an understanding of sacred prostitutes by conjecture. According to Debord, just like in Egypt, daughters of women dedicated to the service of

gods, serving as temple prostitutes inherited their mother's name and continued their profession (Debord, 1982:97).

On an inscription found in Hierocaesareia in Lydia names of slaves possibly dedicated to the goddess Anaitis, also known as Artemis Persike in Lydia was inscribed. According to this inscription, during the reign of Tiberius Cladius (41-51 A.D.) under the governorship of Publius Cornelius Scipio in Asia province, while Kretines, son of Artemidoros, and [Bit]on, son of Rhustios, were officers of *hieronom*, sacred slaves dedicated to the goddess were listed as follows; 14 year old (girl) Olympias dedicated by Aphia, daughter of Agathion; 8 year old (girl) Prepusa by Terentia Sosille, daughter of Gaius; 12 year old (boy) Apollonios by Menandros, son of Papias; 40 year old (?) (Slave woman) Syntyche by Publicia Saturna; 13 year old Synete and 10 year old Kyklas (girls) by Octavia Ventusa, daughter of Leukios (Bakir-Barthel, 1986:25).

The people whose names and ages appeared in this inscription were submitted to unconditional service to the goddess and the temple. Dedicated girls would have probably served as temple-prostitutes later on.

In another account of Strabo we came across some passages discussing temple-prostitutes:

> Now the sacred rites of the Persians, one and all, are held in honour by both the Medes and the Armenians; but those of Anaitis are held in exceptional honour by the Armenians, who have built temples in her honour in different places and especially in Acilisene. Here they dedicate to her service male and female slaves. This indeed is not remarkable thing; but the most illustrious men of the tribe actually consecrate to her their daughters while maidens; and it is the custom for these first to be prostituted in the temple of the goddess for a long time and after this to be given in marriage; and no one disdains to live in wedlock with such a woman. Something of this kind is told also by Herodotus in his account of the Lydian women, who, one and all, he says, prostitute themselves. And they are so kindly disposed to their paramours that they not only entertain them hospitably but also exchange presents with them, often giving more than they receive, inasmuch as the girls from wealthy homes are supplied with means. However, they do not admit any man that comes along, but preferably those of equal rank with themselves (Strabo XI.14.16).

In this account, the position of the temple prostitutes especially in temples dedicated to Anaitis in Lydia and Armenia are clearly described. In addition to this, Herodotus records his impressions from Lydia on the same subject matter in his first book, sections 93, 94 and 199. In 199, he mentions a similar structure in Babylon organized for the goddess Mylitta (Aphrodite) (Herodotus I.199).

In Corinth, as well as sacred prostitutes dedicated to Aphrodite there were also secular prostitutes. These secular prostitutes were removed by Periander for the reason of corrupting the moral landscape (Salmon, 1984:399). This decision was probably taken to get rid of competition and protect sacred prostitution (Salmon, 1984:399). Periander's action against secular prostitution was not very successful since secular prostitution later became abundant (Salmon, 1984:400). The same problem rose in Ptolemaic Egypt where private brothels were harming the 'houses of Aphrodite' (Salmon, 1984:203).

While describing the city of Comana Pontica, Strabo mentions that

> there was a multitude of women who make gain from their persons, most of them are dedicated to goddess, for in a way the city is a lesser Corinth (Strabo, XII.3.36).

These women dedicated to the goddess Ma, were probably prostitutes. According to Çapar, it is interesting for these prostitutes to be included in the goddess' cult (Çapar, 1985:593). Çapar states that this symbolizes a magical contribution to the motherhood, the nature of goddess' basic function of fertility and creativity (Çapar, 1985: 593).

CHAPTER IV

TEMPLE STATES OF PONTUS

4.1 COMANA PONTICA

Interior Pontus was isolated by mountains, so the region remained unaffected by Hellenism which was widespread as a result of the colonization movement over the coasts of Black Sea. Before the Romans, the domain-land system was continuing in Anatolia where the king or nobles of his choice owned the land (Magie, 1950:179). Villages around strongly fortified residences of the king and nobles were the economic centers. Other than these domain-lands there were large areas of land belonging to great sanctuaries. McGing divided the Pontic territory into three main types: king's land, city land and temple land within which serfdom being widespread (McGing, 1986:8). People that worked on these royal or sacred lands had to pay taxes to the king or the priest (Magie, 1950:180). From this, we can deduct that the system of temple states originated or was at least strongly affected by this ancient system.

The temple state of Comana Pontica which yields details on the concept of temple state was a busy market place in interior Pontus. Strabo describes Comana as;

> Now Comana is a populus city and is a notable emporium for the people from Armenia; and at the times of the exoduses of the goddess people assembles there from everywhere, from both the cities and the country, men together with women to attend the festival. And there are certain others, also who in accordance with a vow are always residing there, performing sacrifices in honour of the goddess. And the inhabitants live in luxury, and all their property is planted with vines; and there is a multitude of women who make gain from their persons, most of whom are dedicated to the goddess, for in a way the city is a lesser Corinth, for there too, on account of the multitude of courtesans, who were sacred to Aphrodite, outsiders resorted in great numbers and kept holiday. And the merchants and soldiers who went there squandered all their money, so that the following proverb arose in reference to them: Not for every man is the voyage to Corinth (Strabo XII.3.36).

6000 sacred slaves (*hierodouloi*) were dedicated to the service of Ma by taking oaths and these were working the fields of the temple territory (Strabo XII.3.34).

Comana Pontica currently called Hamamtepe is located near Yeşilırmak (Iris) River next to DSI (State Hydraulic Works) regulator and is a mound coinciding with the lower part of Kılıçlı Village (fig.3). According to the survey conducted in fall 2004, Hamamtepe is a triangular mound, with its wider side next to the river (250 meters to 150 meters) on Tokat-Niksar and Tokat-Almus highways and is situated 9 km. northeast of Tokat (fig.3). Details of the survey study can be found at a web site prepared by survey supervisor Dr. Burcu Erciyas (www.comanaproject.org). This area is still called Kumanat by the villagers. Unfortunately, the regulator construction destroyed the bridge that once crossed the Iris River (fig.4). Hamilton recorded the Roman Bridge and some post-Roman buildings in his travels at Comana in the 19th century, but these no longer survive (fig.6) (Hamilton, 1842: 350). During Hogarth and Munro's visit to the area, there were no villages around the mound of the temple of Ma, only scattered farms were located around the area (Hogarth and Munro, 1893:735).

The territory of Comana lay along the Iris, which provided for her both agricultural area and her means of communication with Armenia and with other cities of Pontus (fig 4 and 5). Being located at an important place on a dense trade network and being a very important religious center, Comana Pontica a large and significant center. It owed some of its significance to being the closest trade center to Armenia Minor.

The plain of Dazimonitis (Kaz Ova) watered by the headwaters of the Scylax (Kelkit), or Artova, was an important area which did not have direct communications with the Iris. The natural center of the Iris valley was not Comana. Dazimon at Tokat, the village which gave its name to the plain of Dazimonitis, was better equipped by nature to be the city in this region. Dazimon lay at the mouth of a pass to the south and a fortress typical of Pontic Mountains was built there. Dazimon's significance, though, was over-

shadowed by Comana. Dazimon's importance began to increase and Comana's decline with the coming of Christianity (Wilson, 1960: 232).

Hogarth and Munro suggested that the western part of the plain had originally been part of the temple domain of Comana that was taken away by the earlier kings of Pontus to form land around the royal castle of Gaziura, based on an inscription recording the attendance of a royal estate of the emperor Maurice in Dazimonitis (Kaz Ova). This land around the royal castle later became to be known as *ager publicus* and eventually became imperial area (Hogarth and Munro, 1893:736). Besides the danger of following it back from Maurice through all the emperors to the Republic and Pompey's settlement and of calculating from there the temple lands of a century or more before, there is also a difficulty that arises from attributing Dazimonitis to the temple of Comana. If this district were Comana's already, what were the lands lost by Zela when it resumed its status as an independent temple under Antony? (Wilson, 1960:232). We have already seen that the upper Scylax valley was also largely sacred territory, it is difficult to see what could be meant by Strabo's sentence; εμειωθη δε και η παρακειμενη χωρα μερισθεισα εις πλειους δυναστειας: *"The adjacent territory also was reduced, having been divided into several domains"* (Strabo XII.3.37). There is no valid reason for supposing that Maurice's estate had been in imperial possession for any great length of time (Wilson, 1960:233).

Pompey kept Comana as an independent temple making it into a principality because he thought of its sanctity and prestige to be too great for secularization. Strabo wrote about that:

> Now the times of the kings the affairs of Comana were administered in the manner already described but when Pompey took over the authority, he appointed Archelaos (in 64 B.C.) priest and included within his boundaries, in addition to the sacred land, a territory of two schoeni (δίσχοινον κύκλω) that is, sixty stadia in circuit (Strabo XII.3.34).

The term *'schoeni'* is explained by Pliny as: "*…Other writers say that it is forty schoeni in length, making the schoenum to be thirty stadia*" (Pliny, V.6.9). More detailed description of this term can be found in Strabo:

> According to Artemidorus, the voyage up the river is twenty-eight schoeni, that is, eight hundred and forty stadia, reckoning the schoenus as thirty stadia. When I made the voyage, however, they used different measures at different times when they gave the distances, so that even forty stadia, or still more, was the accepted measure of the schoenus, according to the place. That the measure of the schoenus among the Aegyptians in unstable is made clear by Artemidorus himself in his next statement; for from Memphis to Thebai each schoenus, he says, is one hundred and twenty stadia, and from Thebai to Syene sixty, and, as one sails up from Pelusium to the same vertex of the Delta, the distance, he says, is twenty-five schoeni, that is, seven hundred and fifty stadia, using the same measure (Strabo XVII.24).

As we see above, the term of *kuklo (κύκλῳ)* in Strabo is translated as *schoeni.* Wilson in his thesis translated the term *kuklo* in Strabo XII.3.34 in the sense of radial measurement. Magie suggested that the term refers to circumferential measurement (Magie, 1950:371). However, the circumference of 60 stadia gives a diameter of 2 1\2 statute miles which is unlikely to be right because of its insignificance of size. Even with a 60 stadia radius added to existing temple land Comana's territory was minute in comparison with the *civitates* of the province, though as a temple state it was inconsiderable. Four *schoeni* of land was added to Comana's territory by either Caesar or Antony (Wilson, 1960:233).

Epigraphic documents of Comana Pontica enlighten the history of this temple state. The Roman Bridge touched the hill, which housed the temple to Ma, has two reused civic inscriptions on its feet. Only several courses of one of the feet of the bridge is still visible in the modern construction of the regulator (fig.7). Two civic inscriptions are clearly visible during times of low water levels (fig.8).

One of these inscriptions located on the base of the Roman bridge possibly as reused material date to 160s A.D.

[Αύτοράτοριν Μ. Αυρ. Άντωνείνώ Σεβαστώ Καίσαρι κ]αι Αύρηλίω
Ούή[ρω Σ] εβ[α]σ[τ]ω Κα[ίσ(αρι   ] ή Ίερ[οκαι]σαρέων Κομανέ[ων
νεωκόρος] καί άσυλ[ος πόλις,.….]ος αύτή[ς] Άθη[νίων]ος Κρισπείνου
έ[πί άντιστ]ρα[τήγου?] Αίλίου Πρόκλου **²** (Ramsay, IGR III, no:106).

The inscription was firstly mentioned by Ramsay to indicate the name of the city as Hierocaesareia (Ramsay, 1882:153). From this inscription, we understand that the city of Comana had the title "asylum". Another inscription which is possibly important for the city was found at Gümenek by Wilson in 1958 (Wilson, 1960:233). The inscription was on three moulded gray marble fragments of an architrave. These fragments are now in Tokat Museum's garden (Remy, 1990:521). The inscription was recently published in S.E.G;

Αύτοράτορι Καίσαρι θ[εού Νερούα Τραιανώ Σεβαστώ Γερμανικ]ώ
Δακικώ [Παρθικώ αρχι]ερεί μεγίστώ δεμαρχικής εξουσίας [τό κ' or
κα', αύτοράτορι τό ιγ', ύπατω τό ϛ', πατρι πατρίδος ή] Κομανέω[ν
ίερα καί άσ]υλος πόλις (*SEG*, XLII:339).

Dedication to Emperor Traian: the son of deified Emperor Caesar Nerva, Nerva Traianus Augustus the conqueror of Germania, Dacia, Parthia, the highest priest, father of a country with 11 Emperors, 6 consuls, in the 20ᵗʰ (or 21ˢᵗ)year of public councils authority Comana the sacred and inviolable city (dedicates) (EA 19, 1992:120).

Presumably the inscription belonged to after 116 A.D. because, the epithet of Παρθικος for Traian was used from 21 Febr. 116 A.D (SEG, XLII:339). This inscription indicates

that the city of Comana had the rights of "sacred and inviolable" or "ἵερα καί άσυλος" in the early second century.

"Right of Asylum" was more an indication of the prestige of a sanctuary than of the importance of the city linked with it (Broughton 1938:710). One of the most important functions of the sanctuaries was to give protection to political refugees (Marinatos, 1993:232).

Extra urban cult centers were perfect for asylia. Some temples are constructed to serve as asylum and some are ideal to become asylum. Temples surrounded with wide territories are also ideal for asylia (Marinatos, 1993:232).

Confirmation or recognition of such grants was not a regular practice for Hellenistic kings. These grants were part of a panhellenic recognition, and this recognition was definitive. The title presented was not decided upon by a single king and it did not come from one authority. It was the Greek public opinion that determined factor and held as the highest source of law for deciding upon questions of civic status and entitlements in the Greek world (Rigsby, 1995:78). Following the Roman conquests this authority was replaced by the Roman State. Therefore, it is seen that there was no need for confirmation of this title by a king or his successors in the Greek world. For Romans however the title "sacred and inviolable" meant "the right of asylum", of refuge and immunity from the law. With an understanding as such they became very suspicious about the title "sacred and inviolable". Recognitions of the title and confirmations of existing titles are idiosyncratic mainly to Roman texts where we find evidence of careful assessment and confirmation of this title (Rigsby, 1995:78).

The great temple of Comana Pontica and Comana Cappadocia doubtless retained this right, which was possessed as a matter of course by temples of the imperial cult (Broughton, 1938:710). A number of cities carried into the empire the memory of grants

from the kings making the whole city an asylum, an evident protection in case of war (Broughton, 1938:710).

One of the most important temples of the Kingdom of Pontus was at Comana and was dedicated to the goddess of Ma. The cult of Ma was carried on here from Cappadocian Comana. The citizens of Comana acquired great wealth from the vineyards and from the merchants and their customers who came to the city during the grand festival which took place twice a year (Magie, 1950:181).

The temple of Ma stood on a low hill overlooking the Iris, a few miles above the plain of Dazimonitis (fig. 12&13). It was possibly surrounded by the royal fortresses, and was a town in which lived the servants of the goddess and the priests. As we can see by looking at coinage the temple was tetrastyle (fig. 9&10). The temple might have included the eight gray columns that today support the roof of 16th century Ali Paşa Camii in Tokat (Wilson, 1960:233).

The name Ma was used as early as the second half of the III. Millennium B.C. Its many forms such as MA-GU-LA (-AN-NA), MA-GUR, MA-KUR-RI, MA-BAN-DA-AN-NA are found cuneiform scripts discovered in Mesopotamia (Çapar, 1995:585). Although the oldest documented form of the name Ma belongs to Mesopotamia we can not reach definite conclusions on its origin. Her first appearance in Anatolia is also unknown.

Due to her warlike characteristics, goddess Ma has been identified with Enyo and Bellona (Çapar, 1995:584). Goddess Ma carries the epithet of "invincible" and "goddess of victory" in Cappadocian Comana and on various inscriptions. The inscriptions recorded by Waddington in Cataonia enlighten us about the epithets of the Goddess. To illustrate; ἱερέ]α της Νικηφόρου Θε[ας καί] στρατηγόν Καταονία[ς, ηγ-ηαάμενον αύτων ἐπιεικ[ως] καί εὐεργετικως (Waddington, 1883:127). The term Νικηφόρου Θε[ας] undoubtly represents the goddess Ma (Ruge, 1930:1127). On coinage minted during Caligula's, Trajan' and Septimus Severus' reigns we see that the Goddess is depicted

holding a spear and a shield (fig 11). A mythological occurrence of Ma's warlike characteristics is represented in a dream of Sulla, who carried the cult of Ma to Rome. Ma gives Sulla lightning to destroy his enemies in the dream (Çapar, 1985:596). This myth was probably produced in order to gain advantages over the people of Pontus and to encourage Sulla's soldiers.

In 204 B.C., the mother goddess of Pessinus was moved to Rome as the mother protector of the city. This cult had a large number of worshippers. In rituals held in the name of the goddess, this group ran around unconscious holding double axes and hurting themselves in the streets of Rome. During this ceremony, they covered the goddess' figurine with blood from their bodies (Çapar, 1985:594). The double axe might have been an attribute of Ma, indeed she did have warrior characteristics as well (Çapar, 1985:594). People worshipping goddess Ma in Rome were called *'fanaticus bellonea'* (CIL VI, 2232).

Strabo writes about two cult cities dedicated to Ma, one was in Pontus and the other was in Cappadocia (Strabo XII.2.3, 3.32). In inscriptions from 1st century A.D., Cappadocia Comana is referred to as Hieropolis; …Τρ]αιανόν Ἀδριανόν Σεβαστόν Ἱεροπολειτων ἡ βουλη καί ὁ δεμος ἐπιμελεία Μαιβουζάνου πρυ[τάνεως], ἔτους δ' (Waddington, IGR:. 121). In the 2nd century A.D. it was renamed as Hierocaesareia. (Çapar, 1985:587)

As I already mentioned, the cult in Comana was derived from a cult in Comana Cappadocia which is older than the cult in Comana Pontica. Strabo described the temple of Enyo in Comana Cappadocia as: "*In this Antitaurus are deep and narrow valleys, in which are situated Comana and the temple of Enyo, whom the people there call Ma*" (Strabo XII.2.3). We see Enyo depicted as Ma on coinage belonging to Comana Pontica from the Roman Imperial period (LIMC III, 1986:746). In Rome, temple of Bellona is named Enyo (Çapar 1995:584). In Thebai and Orkhomenos a festival named "Homoloia" was held dedicated to Zeus, Demeter, Athena and Enyo (Çapar, 1995:584).

Goddess Ma was worshipped in Macedonian Edessa and Lydian Hyrcanis as well as Pessinus (Çapar, 1985:590). In Macedonian Edessa, temple of goddess Ma housed the worship of Meter Theon. There, Ma was possibly identified with Meter Theon. She was at the same time worshipped as Partenos, assimilated with the Syrian goddess (SEG, 1995:187). The name Ma was brought to Asia Minor by the Phrygians (SEG, 1995:187). The Macedonians assimilated Ma with Artemis, Demeter, Meter Theon, Pasikrata, En(n)odia and Partenos and spouse of Dionysos, Zeus\Dionysos, and Zeus Hypsistos (SEG, 1995:187). The cult of Zeus Olybreus which is also widely known in Asia Minor, is seen in Comana Cappadocia in Roman period and may be indicative of Ma's relation with Zeus (Nikitin, 1994:110). The inscription found in Comana Cappadocia is also a proof of the worship of the Zeus Olybreus: Διί Ὀλυβρε[ι] κε Ἐπηκό[ω] (Harper 1969:27). In Rome, a Temple to BELLONAE PULVINENSIS and a VICUS BELLONAE may be an indication of the worship of the Goddess in Early Imperial Rome (Çapar, 1985:590).

4.2 ZELA

The temple at Zela was dedicated to Anaitis and built probably in the late Achaemenid period, c. 4th century B.C. (Boyce, 1985:288). The worship of the goddess Anaitis was first introduced to Asia Minor in the 6th century B.C. by the official and private Persian power (Corsten, 1991:164). It is possible that the temple was developed in time by the Pontic kings. We learn from Strabo that Pontic people came to this place to take oaths concerning matters of greatest importance (Strabo XII.3.37). Our knowledge about what kind of a temple Zela had is limited to the remains of a Corinthian type white marble piece and Zela's coinage minted during the Roman Imperial period. This coinage also informs us about the fire cult that existed here until the 3rd century A.D. On this coinage belonging to the reigns of Septimus Severus (193-211) and Caracalla (211-217),

crenellated courtyard gate with the temple's pediment raising behind it and on others the pillared portico that belonged to the temple itself represented in stylized fashion with either four or six pillars are depicted. (fig. 16). As commonly seen, from between the columns in the middle, a flame is pictured rising on a column as the cult's symbol. Flame as cult symbol is similarly represented on coinage from Hypaipa in Lydia (Boyce, 1985:288).

Julius Caesar, in his De Bello Alexandrino, wrote:

> Zela is a town of Pontus, well fortified, though situated in a plain; for a natural eminence, as if raised by art, sustains the walls on all sides. All around are a great number of large mountains, intersected by valleys. The highest of these, which is celebrated for the victory of Mithridates, the defeat of Triarius, and the destruction of our army, is not above three miles from Zela, and has a ridge that almost extends to the town (Caesar, 72). (fig. 14).

Zela's importance was greatly increased with a road coming from Tavium going to Comana Pontica and Neocaesaeria which passed through the city. Zela was also on the trade route coming from Amaseia (fig 21). The re-direction of this trade route under the Roman rule, so that it passed through Tokat, resulted in the re-emergence of Gaziura under the Roman rule (Turhal) which was a medium sized city (Munro, 1901:53).

On the north-east side of the hill where the temple stood, a small theater was built partly by stone and wood, and by carving the hill itself and including it in the structure. The only remaining part of the theater to this day is the seats carved on the bedrock and some structures belonging to orchestra. Other remains of the city include a tomb and some architectural pieces (Wilson, 1960:215).

Strabo states that in earlier times, kings had ruled Zela not as a city but as a sacred area to the Persian goddess. A priest ruled over the whole area. This sacred area housed many temple-servants and priests (Strabo XI.8.4). Characters mentioned above on governmental organization of Zela show many similarities to Strabo's account of Comana's organization in Cappadocia.

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Strabo indicated that rituals held in Zela possessed greater sanctity and that a traditional festival was organized to be celebrated only once a year. We understand from Strabo at XI.8.5 that, the Temple in Zela was built to celebrate the defeat of the Sacae by Cyrus. The story takes part in Strabo's accounts:

> The Sacae, however, made raids like those of Cimmerians and Treres, some into regions close to their own country, others into regions far away. For instance, they occupied Bactriana, and acquired possession of the best land in Armenia, which they left named after themselves: Sacasene: and they advanced as far as the country of the Cappadocians, particularly those situated close to the Euxine, who are now called the Pontici. But when they were holding a general festival and enjoying their booty, they were attacked by night by the Persian generals who were then in that region and utterly wiped out. And these generals heaping up a mound of earth over a certain rock in the plain, completed it in the form of a hill, and erected on it a wall, and established the temple of Anaitis and the gods, who share her altar –Omanus and Anadatus (Strabo XI.8.4) (fig. 15).

A festival was also organized for celebrating the defeat and it was named Sacaea (Strabo XI. 8.5). Strabo indicates that this festival was a kind of Bacchic festival where *"men dressed in the Scythian garb, pass day and night drinking and playing wantonly with one another, and also with the women who drink with them"* (Strabo XI. 8.5). This festival was also celebrated wherever a Temple of Anaitis was present. From Strabo's statements on the subject, it may be suggested that this festival was Persian in origin (Strabo XI.8.5). Also from his statements it might be possible to deduce that the temple of Anaitis was established under rule of the Persians (fig. 16).

We come across other pieces of information in a couple of writings of Athenaeus. In these, he states that in a Babylonian history book written by Berosus, it is mentioned that in Babylon, at the 16th day of the month of Loos a festival was held lasting five days named Sacaea (Athenaeus, Book XIV. 639c). It is also mentioned that it was the tradition of the festival that masters were ruled by the slaves and where one of the slaves was dressed in clothing similar to that of king's and acted the role of the master of the household. This slave was called *'zoganes'*. In a book named Persian History written by Ctesias, this festival is claimed to have a Babylonian origin (Athenaeus, Book XIV.

639c). Ctesias' approach to the origin of the festival also seems reasonable when we take into account the two hundred years long Persian rule in Babylon (Boyce, 1989:290). This may suggest that, the festival was of Persian origin. Based on this, it is also thought that the unexplained term *'zoganes',* is also of Persian origin (Boyce, 1989: 290).

Linking the origin of word "sacaea" to the word "sacas" has been considered to be incorrect by researchers (Boyce, 1989:290). In spite of this the word is identified in Hesychios' Lexicon as a Scythian festival and this helps linkage of the word to "sacas" origin (Boyce, 1989:290). The Scythian costumes to be worn during the festival in Zela mentioned by Strabo is a reason to reconsider (Strabo XI.8.5).

Strabo also demonstrates the importance of Anaitis, Ma and Men in Pontic social life. Kings of Pontus proved their loyalties to these three gods in temples dedicated to them (Strabo XII.3.31). Regardless of the rulers own beliefs, polytheism was promoted as a government policy. The kings made an effort to incorporate themselves in the Hellenic world through worship of Greek deities, Mithridates VI was known for his lavish gifts sent to Delos and his worship of Apollo (Boyce 1989:304). Others most likely kept the worship of Greek gods (Boyce, 1989:304).

We understand with the help of the inscriptions that the worship of Anaitis in Asia Minor spread under the Persian Rule. Although it is necessary to recognize the significance of worship the goddess at other temples in Asia Minor, we do not come across a similar structure at any other temple to Anaitis like at Zela. Simply most are just temples not far from the cities.

As already mentioned above, according to T. Corsten Anaitis was first seen in Asia Minor in the 6th century B.C. by the Persian power (Corsten, 1991:164). In Western Anatolia, among Goddess' locally worshipped, Anaitis is known as Artemis Anaitis. Anaitis was regularly interpreted in Anatolia as Artemis rather than as Aphrodite, that is, as a fertility goddess, presumably because she was worshipped predominantly as a river-

divinity, hence as a source of productiveness (Boyce, 1989:211). In Lydia, Anaitis was identified with Cybele whereas she was identified with Aphrodite by the Greeks (Corsten, 1991:165). Artaxerxes II ordered the official worship in Lydia of Ahura Mazda and Anahita in the mid 4th century B.C. (Corsten, 1991:165). After the end of the Persian rule, Anahita was identified with Artemis rather than Aphrodite (Corsten, 1991:165). Based on the epigraphic documents the territory of worship for this goddess can be deduced to be limited to Hermos valley and Kula area. Local mythology and a number of votive stones indicate that Artemis Anaitis and Men, another Anatolian god, as mother and son (Malay, 1990:390). In this region, cities of Hieracome (Hierocaesareia), Sardis and Hypaipa are important centers of worship for the cult of Artemis Anaitis.

From the modern village Sarıçam at Manisa, came an inscription that included a letter written by a monarch, to a city concerning the privileges of its temple of the Persian Goddess. This inscription was from the Hyrcanian plain in Lydia and has been known since 1886. It is now lost (Rigsby, 1995: 77).

The inscription found at Sarıçam, was at first thought to have been addressed to the city of Hieracome. The city of Hieracome lies across the Hyllos River from Sarıçam on the eastern side of the Hyrcanian Plain. It took the name Hierocaesareia after A.D. 17. Hieracome was well known for putting great emphasis on the "Persian Goddess" Anaitis-Artemis. The first Zoroastrian temple to be built in Asia Minor was probably here (Boyce, 1989:202). The cult of this goddess was prominent in the lives of the people of Hieracome. Rigsby demonstrates this fact by listing several examples from the city. On an inscription was a dedication of one of the city gates to the emperors and Persian Artemis and the people (Rigsby, 1995:80). The goddess' image also dominated the civic coins. Rigsby also wrote about the prominence of Great Artemisia, games dedicated for the Goddess, and suggested that the name Hieracome proved the extreme role the cult of this Goddess played in this city (Rigsby, 1995:80).

Tacitus also writes about the great importance of the "Persian Diana" for the city of Hierocaesareia. He mentions in his account of the Senate's review of asylia in A.D. 22 (Tacitus, III.63)

> Hierocaesareia went back to a higher antiquity, and spoke of having a Persian Diana, whose fane was consecrated in the reign of Cyrus. They quoted too the names of Perperna, Isauricus, and many other generals who had conceded the same sacred character not only to the temple but to its precincts for two miles (Tacitus Book III, 63).

Actually, the scholars were in dispute about the location of the inscription; whether it was found in Sarıçam or not (Rigsby, 1995:81). Rigsby suggested that the inscription was not moved there by chance but that it was found at its intended destination, Sarıçam, site for another ancient city with a name unknown to us today.

The temple for the Persian Goddess was probably not inside the Hierocaesareia proper. Since a sacred territory of that size would not be allowed by Romans to exist in city territory, the temple of the Persian Goddess should be somewhere out in the countryside (Rigsby, 1995:82). The expansion of the radius of inviolability mentioned in the text of Tacitus is a feature of large inviolable properties common to rural temples not to urbans. Example of great and important temples existing outside the city proper is a common situation in the Greek world. Eleusinian cult outside of Athens and Asclepius outside Epidaurus are such examples (Rigsby, 1995:82). Sarıçam, had been the location of the temple of the Persian Goddess of the Hierocaesareians. A similar example is surely Didyma which was an important cult center where also public inscriptions were erected (Rigsby, 1995:82).

Another city which indicated Persian impact in religious activity was Hypaipa. The temple dedicated to Anahita that stood high above the ravine, and remains of a great colonnaded temple, which would have been visible to all who traveled the much-frequented road between Ephesus and Sardis, became famous, it seems, among Greeks (Boyce 1989: 204). It was presumably because of this that Anahita (sometimes identified

as the Persian Artemis) came to be called the 'goddess of Tmolus' as is attested by a citation from the little known poet Diogenes (Boyce 1989: 204). This temple of Anahita may have helped to make Hypaipa itself widely known.

The other temples to Anahita in Lydia are, at Gölmarmara and Philadelphia. Both of these were founded under the Achaemenids (Boyce, 1989:205). These temples were most likely founded by noble Iranian families of Lydia. They were competing with one another to gain power over the new cult and rivaling to follow royal example. These temples survived and prospered for centuries like the temples at Hieracome and Hypaipa, and they became powerful religious centers for the Zoroastrian community and they housed a large number of priests (Boyce, 1989:205).

Philadelphia stood on the further side of the Tmolus range from Hypaipa and commanded the valley of the Cogamis. The valley provided an important route linking those of the Hermus and Maeander. In Roman times coins of the city indicated that its chief divinity was Artemis Anaitis (Boyce, 1989:215). It may be assumed that a temple to Anahita already existed in this part of the Cogamis valley and that the Hellenes whom Attalus settled there came to worship the Persian goddess as the chief local divinity (Boyce, 1989:215). A remarkable number of inscriptions belonging to the Roman period were found, which indicated that there was a temple to the goddess somewhere in this region. However, no trace of such a sanctuary has yet been discovered. The representation of Anaitis in Philadelphia can be seen on coinage minted during the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.) (Imhoof-Blumer, 1901:180). We see a goddess, wearing a *polos*, seated on a throne, a lion at her feet and touching small animal standing on her lap, possibly a stag. Anaitis was represented as a *meter*, sitting on a throne and accompanied with lions (Imhoof-Blumer, 1901:180). (fig. 17)

Another temple to Anahita was to the north of Sardis, near Gölmarmara. Evidence of Anahita's worship here is furnished by a marble slab on which is carved in large letters "Artemis Persike". Gölmarmara would have been a natural staging post for pilgrims

taking the shortest way from Sardis to Hieracome. Pilgrimage is a part of Zoroastrian tradition and the Iranians of Lydia may be expected to have visited all their local temples and shrines on the appointed feast days (Boyce, 1989:218). Sardis itself was more or less at the centre of the network of Anahita's temples. However, there are a few remains from the Hellenistic period and little is known of its religious life at that time (Boyce 1989:218).

The final example of worship to Anaitis appears at Ortaköy, north of Aksaray, probably ancient Nitalis. In here, there is an altar dedicated to Artemis Anaitis: Ἀγαθη ννν τύχη Θεα Μεγίστε Ἀναείτιδι Βαρζοχαρα νν Φωτίδα καί Θεωνα καί Πρειμαν τήν καί Γαρσην ἱεροδούλους ἀνεπηρεάστους ἐκ παντων μετ' ἐπιγονης δια βίου | Φλαουία Πρειμα (Harper, 1967:194).

We see in Lydia, god Men accompanying the worship of Anaitis. In Catacecaumene (Kula) we come across *stelai* with Artemis Anaitis' and Men Tiamou's names mentioned together (Diakonoff, 1979:152). A similar occurrence was mentioned above taking place between the goddess Ma and Zeus.

Expansion of Anaitis temples in Lydia where Persian influence is evident clearly demonstrated with the examples given above. There is no doubt that the cult of Anaitis entered Anatolia during the Persian rule. This cult continued with different epithets long after the Persian rule and was transformed into a local cult. In Lydia it is possible to come across the cult of Anaitis on coinage and inscriptions from the Roman period as *Artemis Persike, Artemis Anaitis* or *Meter Anaitis.* Containing within properties of Cybele cult should prove the localization the cult had gone through. (fig. 17) Our main source of information on temples to Anaitis is comes from coinage because of the lack of architectural evidence. This is also the case in Zela. There is no record on the establishment of the temple other than a mythical source. Examples in Lydia provide the only example to the worship of Anaitis.

4.3. The Importance of Comana Pontica and Zela in the Roman Road Network

Any definition of self-sufficient temples excluding respective connections with their surrounding settlements would yield only an incomplete point of view. In fact, existence of these temples depended upon their location near or within a trade network, in other words they needed to be part of a macro-scale settlement network in order to function.

Understanding the Roman road network in the area serves us best in figuring out details of the settlement network in which Comana and Zela were apart. It is very hard to define fully the Roman road web in Pontus. The map prepared by W. Ramsay, who did the first studies Roman roads in the area, indicates possible routes (Ramsay, 1890: pl. 1). D. French did the most comprehensive study on Roman roads (French, 1988: pl. 12 & 13). His study, which began in the 1980's, defined possible Roman roads using milestones that have survived to this day.

In this study, SRTM (Shuttle Radar Topography Mission) data was used in conjunction with the more traditional ancient road studies. SRTM obtained elevation data on a near-global scale to generate the most complete high-resolution digital topographic database of Earth. SRTM is an international project spearheaded by the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA) and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) (www2.jpl.nasa.gov/srtm). Part of Pontus region is shown on DEM (Digital Elevation Model) data produced from SRTM data. Two DEM data of same region were overlapped. Data on top represented earth tones and data on bottom represented elevation values. The current road network is shown in black on DEM data. The Roman road network map is selected from a study by D.H. French and overlapped on DEM data represented with red. The overlapped Roman Road network maps produced by French and the STRM data demonstrated that Roman roads' complied with the topography (figs. 18 & 19 & 20). The aim of this study was to see the relationship between the roads and the topography. The resulting map shows that roads mostly passed from valley beds

(fig 21). This result in fact, shows that topography played a leading role in the construction of cities as well.

There were five main trade routes in interior Pontus. The road coming from Amisos to Zela was probably commercially important. Because, it connected the coast with the inlands of the country. It was the main road from north to south in Pontus (Munro, 1901:53). However, although this road was of great importance, it was not the main route of communication within the country. This road was mainly used for external trade and communication but its location rendered it less useful for communication within the country (Munro, 1901:53). When we follow the road from the coast to the interior, the next stop Neoclaudiopolis. Neoclaudiopolis lay on the great trunk road between Nicomedeia in Bithynia to Satala (Wilson, 1960:187). The road arrived at Amaseia, where many routes from north-east, north-west, west, south-west and east intersected (Wilson, 1960:204). It was the gate to sea trade from the interior Pontus. Neocaesareia was located on the important trunk road through the Lycus valley between the Euphrates and Amnias Valley to the west, and the fertile plain of Phanaroeia (Wilson, 1960:242). The road seems to have kept to the valley bottom. An easy road led southwards to Comana Pontica which was itself linked directly with Sebasteia (Wilson, 1960:242). Evidence of a road from Amaseia to Comana is presented by Ramsay (Ramsay, 1890:158). However, there is no evidence of a road from Comana to Sebastea, only a vague identification of Verisa and Bolus (Ramsay, 1890:158). The possible direction from Comana to Neocaesareia is mentioned by Hogarth and Munro (Hogarth and Munro, 1893:734). A short but important road passed across Dazimonitis, the upper most terraces. The Iris enters the plain at Comana from a passage in the hills (Munro, 1901:54). Thus, the best logical eastern entrance is the road on the north west of Amaseia and the south west of Zela.

The intensity of the road network in interior Pontus indicates an interrelated settlement structure and that the cities in this location were possibly engaged in a trade relationship to which the clues can be found in minting policy in the Black Sea area.

In Pontus, coinage begun as early as the 5 century B.C. on the coasts and spread to the interior regions during the reign Mithridates VI (120-63 B.C.) (Erciyas, 2001:158). Under his rule, all the cities in interior Pontus (Amisos, Amaseia, Sebasteia, Neocaesareia, Comana Pontica, Zela, Gazioura, Taulara etc.) began minting coins with similar iconographies with their names inscribed on the reverse. These bronze coins were circulated within the kingdom only. It has been suggested that, this was an indication of economic integration of the region, and Comana Pontica and Zela were also a part of interconnecting settlements since they were important trade centers as well as religious center (Erciyas, 2001:194).

Even if at first, minting of coinage for Comana Pontica and Zela might suggest autonomy, the types indicate royal control on the coinage under Mithridates VI. First of all, the coins are all identical not only in fabric and in standard but in their types, which mostly have reference to the divine ancestry of the royal house. In secondly, while some of the mints are Greek cities and important towns of the interior, which might possibly have enjoyed autonomy, others are merely provincial capitals or royal fortresses, such as Gazioura and Taulara (Jones, 1971: 156). It looks as if Mithridates, as a *philhellene*, wished to be considered founder of cities and he therefore issued a series of pseudo-civic coins in order to create a good impression in the outside world (Jones, 1971: 156).

Besides the road system and the trade network, a territory with rich resources may have required an integrated economic structure that leads to the exchange of goods between the cities. Since Comana Pontica and Zela were also part of the road network and minted coins of the same types, it would not be wrong to suggest that they had a role in trade networks. Ancient sources also support this suggestion (Strabo XII. 3.36).

4.4 Reduction of 'Temple-States'

The strict authority of the temples weakened in time in Pontus and gave the Kings and the Romans more control over the temple states (Broughton, 1938: 642). Strabo in Book XII writes that Archaelaus was appointed priest when Pompey took authority and added to the temple territory and added to the sacred lands, an area in size of a 60 stadia. In these newly added territories, inhabitants were ordered to serve their new Kings. Although he was not allowed to sell the temple servants, he was their new master (Strabo XII.3.34).

The resources of the temple and the temple servants were reduced and abused. The previously united lands became divided and therefore, the adjacent territory was reduced. Zela for example, as we are told by Strabo, was governed by a priest. It was not thought of or governed as a city but as a sacred precinct of the Persian goddess Anaitis. The priest and his many attendants ruled over the sacred territory. Temple servants and priest who lived in that territory had enormous resources (Broughton, 1938: 642). Strabo implies that Zela was a city that looked like a sanctuary and it belonged for the most part to the temple-slaves (Strabo XII.3.37, XI.8.4). The independence of the priest's policies gave the city the features and characters of a sanctuary rather than the features and character of a polis. Religious life in these settlements was condensed in a social context. Romans saw the power of religion and religious structures over the society and made use of this control element to gain control over the inhabitants.

Examples of the reduction of the temples are found also at Pessinus of Galatia and the Pisidian Antiocheia. Pessinus was an ally of Romans and it was not logical to attack it directly. Pessinus was also a native temple state and a very old place of worship (Broughton 1938: 643). Strabo writes:

> Pessinus is the greatest of the emporium in that part of the world, containing a temple
> of the Mother of the Gods, which is an object of great veneration. They call her

Pisidian Antioch which was first a Seleucid colony provides us information on the history of the temple territories. The destruction of the cult of Men in Antiocheia in Pisidia is also an example of the reduction of the temples during the Roman Period (Broughton 1938: 643). Strabo states that, there was a temple to Men of Ascaeus in Antioch that had sacred places and temple slaves, and that it was destroyed after the death of Amyntas by his successors (Strabo XII.8.14) Amyntas probably had claimed ownership of the temple lands and later Augustus used the lands for his Galatian colony. After the temple lost its political powers, the temple servants and serfs dissolved into the body of residents (Broughton 1938:643). However, the cult carried on its importance until the late Roman period. After Romans took control of the sanctuary, they appointed an officer responsible for the financial affairs of the sanctuary (Dignas 2002: 226).

It is not clear where the temple territories originated, and if lands for this and other foundations were taken from sacred territory (Broughton 1938: 644). The only the information about them being is the fact that they were situated next to the old Anatolian shrines (Broughton 1938: 644). This is seen with the Seleucid and Lydian settlements, for example, Doidye, Thyateira, Hyrcanis near Hieracome, Hierocaesareia, Laodiceia on the Lycus and Antiocheia on the Meander near the temple to Men Carou, Laodiceia Cataeccaumene near the temple of the Zizimmene Mother, and Seleuceia on the Calycadnos near the temple to the Zeus of Olba. Furthermore, Nysa on the Meander, a synoecism of the villages near Plutonium and Stratoniceia of Caria, included the lands both of Zeus Panamarus and Hecate of Lagina. In the land of the Attalid Kingdom, Apollonis, like Thyateira near Hieracome and also near the temple to Aspordene Mother, Hierapolis at Plutonium and near Apollo Lairbenus, Dionysopolis near the temple to Apollo Lairbenus had the temple inside the city territory (Broughton 1938: 644).

By incorporating temples and their lands into the territories of the cities or by reducing them into a position where they became dependent, the temple territories in most of the interior of Asia Minor were brought under royal control. In the same way, the great temples of the Greek cities of the west had already been affected and they became connected to the urban system. By the time Attalids were in control, few independent temples were left and these independent temples were kept firmly under the control of the governors. An example to these rare independent temples under the Attalids is Apollo Tarsenus (Broughton 1938: 644). According to the text related to Apollo Tarsenus in 185 B.C.;

> The chief priest of Apollo Tarsenus and accompanying inhabitants of the…delivered to us a petition making a just request and we have granted them tax exemption on their sheep so that they are no longer to pay the tithe due from them (Welles 1934:193).

Attalus possessed the authority to grant tax exemption. The official had authority over the temple property, and was charged with supervision of the finance of the temple.

The attachment and assimilation of the temples and their lands to the urban system did not end the peculiar economic lives as individual entities of the temple states. An example for this is the Artemis of Ephesos (Broughton 1938: 645). Since the possessors of the land began to be considered as leaseholders or tenants rather than serfs, it became easier for the temples to acquire land on mortgages and pledges in the course of ordinary business investments (Broughton 1938: 645).

By the Roman period, few independent temples were left. Although in most cases the temples and their villagers, who had then became settlers or tenants remained as important units, the primitive system of temple territories with their sacred villages of serfs and political authority over extensive areas were changed in the west with the urban system. For instance, when Pompey made Zela a city he increased Zela's territorial authority. By doing this, scattered temple lands were united and the priest who was selected by Romans and who had authority to govern these lands took under

his control the temple territory and its inhabitants. Seleucid and Attalid policy gave very little chance and space for change from the older system in the east. The change farther east took place later and was less thorough. The old system in Cappadocia still continued and flourished almost unimpaired (Broughton 1938: 645). Smaller communities carried on their existence as they had for centuries and followed to exist in a less complicated way. By the second century A.D. this transformation was finished (Marchese, 1989:108).

This difference between the western and the central or the eastern parts of Anatolia can be explained through the presence of Greek culture and settlement (Debord 1982:99). In the west however, the difference was basically rooted in the conflict between urban and rural societies and not as much in being Greek or not. In other words, rural sectors remained mostly untouched by reforms and preserved a social structure similar to an archaic one (Debord 1982:99). The type and kind of a religious center however, do not depend on this. Just as a Hellenized *polis* could show theocratic features, a temple state could also be both urbanized and have Greek characteristics. The Romans were very interested in transforming important cult centers into *poleis* since these centers could be of great use with their influential sanctuary, quasi-civic organization and their common role as a market place and trade center (Dignas 2002:244). The transformation of a settlement into a polis did not lessen the power of the previous system of religious structure and the administrators of that system (Dignas 2002:244). As well as encouraging trade, this method was also designed to collect taxes from cities previously held exempt from taxation. Romans supported and strengthened or brought to power the priests who suited them, hence gained power all over the land and controlled the inhabitants.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The concept of 'temple state' was introduced by the scholars studying the Sumerians in order to define temples that possessed all regional authority in the Sumerian society. The concept of the 'temple state' must have evolved slowly. In time, temple states in the Sumerian society flourished as the main source of an economy based on irrigated agriculture.

Although this concept was borrowed from the Sumerian system and was generously used to describe Classical temples that controlled certain amount of land, in reality it would be faulty to adopt it to the Anatolian models. The first reason for this is the geographical differences that have a direct impact on administration of land and water resources. Anatolian landscape is a lot generous in many ways compared to parts of Mesopotamia. Secondly, there seems to be a huge difference in system of governance. Our study indicated very clearly that, the so called 'temple states' of Comana Pontica and Zela were not autonomous as with cases in Mesopotamia but may have been semi-autonomous as a result of their partial dependence on or responsibility towards first the Pontus kingdom, and then the Roman Empire.

The territories surrounding the temples and the concept of "governing priests" are possibly the factors that resulted in a misinterpretation for Anatolia. The definition of temple territories in our cases is an extremely difficult problems, since there are no records to clarity to whom they belonged. It is often supposed that the territories were left to the temples as donations or through inheritance. They are also sometimes defined as "autonomous temples" that have temple centered communities, which probably could be called 'sacred villages'. According to this, temple territories are in fact, territories

used by sacred villages and this is probably a good indication to the native and traditional Anatolian practice.

Our detailed study of the priests revealed that they had administrative powers. The priest's administrative power is probably comparable to that of a wealthy landowner in the medieval period rather than a priest's regional powers limited within the temple's land. The territory surrounding the temple was under the priest's responsibility. As mentioned above, the priest was second in rank after the king. Therefore, it would not be correct to speak of a full independence. The priest had responsibilities to the king and was under the supervision of the king or the Roman rule. So, the territory was in fact controlled by the governing power. Consequently, these temples were part of the kingdom. It is also known that priests were sometimes chosen from amongst the king's family which strongly suggests that the kingdom wanted to control these temples and their territory as well as the priests themselves. Truly, another assumption connecting these autonomous temples to the kingdom would be to consider that priests were also *magistrates.* Proving this hypothesis would require further investigation.

Thus, it can be considered that these semi-autonomous temple structures were in fact temple centered communities and merely were a stage in the transformational phase into urbanization. According to Marchese, before hellenization, these temple centers had attached *demes* and villages. In Caria, temple centers or 'sacred villages' were an ordinary feature of the urban landscape (Marchese, 1989: 73). In the Hellenistic period significant ones were promoted to the status of a *polis.*

The Hellenization process included a reorganization of native communities' and their development into Greek *polis.* Unification, governance and transformation continued under the Romans. The transformation of temples with large territories into cities by the Romans was an approach dependent upon local situation. The local authority in Pontus that flourished under the Pontic kingdom diminished when the province was reorganized first by Pompey in 64 B.C. This reorganization included transforming settlements into cities, adding territories, combining regions etc. However, the organization differed

depending on different conditions in different cities and regions. Comana Pontica and Zela demonstrate these different attitudes towards different structures providing different services.

Comana Pontica where the temple and its territory were preserved was not transformed into a city. In fact, the control of the temple was extended with the addition of new territory. This settlement that was also an important trade center was given *asylia* and its autonomy was preserved under the rule of a priest selected by the Romans. Pompey in his reorganization of Pontus, kept Comana as an independent temple making it into a principality, because he thought that its sanctity and prestige was too great for secularization. Zela's borders on the other hand, were extended and it *was* transformed into a city by Pompey. Why Zela did not preserve its autonomy however, is a difficult question.

As well as encouraging trade, the transformation of settlements or autonomous temples into cities was also to collect taxes from cities previously exempt from taxation. Romans supported and strengthened or brought to power the priests who suited them, hence gained power all over the land and controlled the inhabitants.

In this regard, the contribution of autonomous temples to regional economies should not be underestimated. It is clear that, huge revenues were summoned by employing thousands of slaves in fertile territories. It can also be speculated that, the kingdom used these revenues as it wished. Furthermore, operating these revenues in a manner similar to that of a bank, further advanced the wealth of temples with huge territories. In fact, the increasing wealth of these temples with enormous amounts of people in constant circulation was expected. It was a natural development for these temples to serve people and cities as banks. It probably suited the Romans well to keep the temple at Comana Pontica autonomous, since this was an important market place generating large sums of income.

It has been previously mentioned that the Greek influence through the colonies, on coastal Pontus, was unable to penetrate into the interior Pontus where local tribes lived. This phenomenon is also observed in religious activities. A local Goddess, Ma was worshipped in Comana Pontica. We do not know how this cult came to appear in Pontus, but it probably is a variation of a cult of the Hittites in Anatolia. The local character of this central sanctuary in Pontus therefore, is significant. For Zela, worship was intended for Anaitis whose origin is based in Persia. Its origins may be traced back to the Pontic kingdom. We know from the historical sources and various studies that the Pontic kingdom claimed origins in Persians as well as Greeks (Bosworth and Wheatley, 1998:156). This link, of course, is the result of the presence of the Persians in Anatolia for over 150 years. Although, it is in most cases impossible to find architectural evidence to this powerful presence, religious activity may prove that they were involved in local populations and resulted in multi-ethnicity in areas. Zela is probably the best example for this. While the Persian rule centered around Sardis and its environs established Persian cults in those areas, the temple at Zela proves that the influence was not limited to that area. Pontus, with the presence of a kingdom claiming origins in Persian dynasty, must have been a good area for such establishments.

'Temple state' concept is a varied concept according to region and period. For this reason, the term 'temple state' should be reconceptualized. These types of settlements with autonomous structures, like Zela and Comana Pontica in Pontus, would better be named as "autonomous temple structures".

The information on autonomous temples comes from Hellenistic period sources mainly from western temples and possibly new archaeological studies will be helpful to understand their components and their functions in interior Anatolia. Identifying autonomous structures that maintained their individual structures in internal areas where effects of Hellenization were less prominent would serve to provide a different perspective to the problem of the understanding city-states.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Fig. 1 Topographical Map of Northern Turkey (Erciyas, 2001:264).
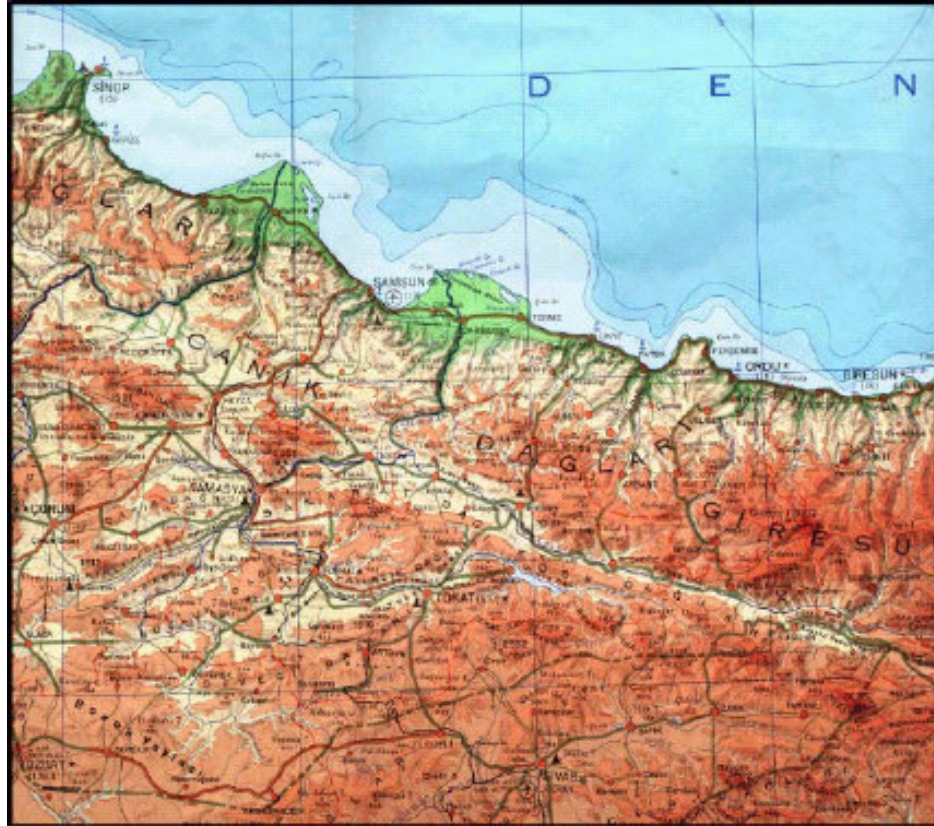
Appendix B

Fig.2 Distribution of the Temples and the Sacred Population (Debord, 1982: 79).
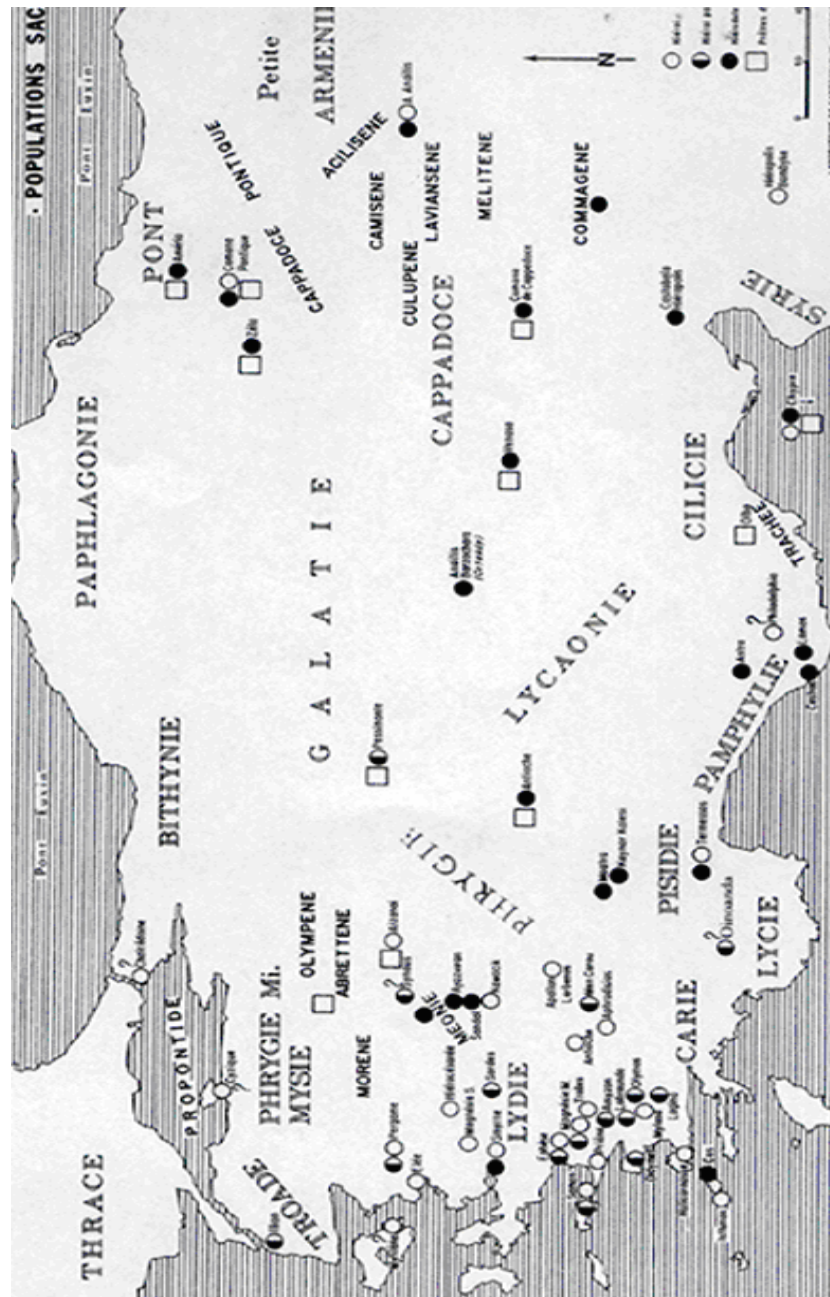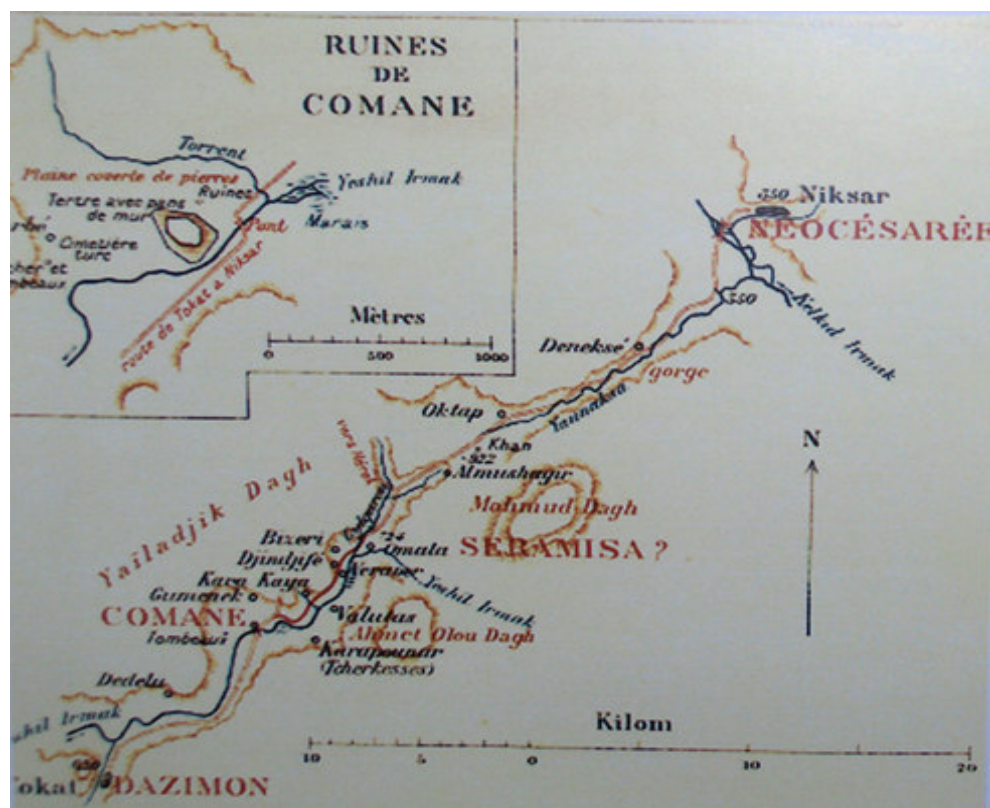
Appendix C

Fig. 3 A North-West View of Hamamtepe

Appendix D

Fig. 4 Location of Comana Pontica (Anderson, 1903:pl.2).

Appendix E

Fig. 5 A View of IrisValley (Anderson, 1903:62).

Appendix F

Fig.6 The Roman Bridge existed previously at Comana Pontica (Cumont, 1906:249)

Appendix G

Fig. 7 Reused civic inscriptions at the base of the Roman Bridge (Cumont, 1906:250)

Appendix H

Fig. 8 The civic inscription located at the base of the Roman Bridge

Appendix I

Fig 9 Comana Pontica coin representing temple of Ma (SNGvA 126).

Appendix J

Fig 10 Comana Pontica coin representing temple of Ma (Amandry,1999:pl.2).

Appendix K

Fig 11 Comana Pontica coin representing goddess Ma (Enyo) (Amandry, 1999:pl.2).
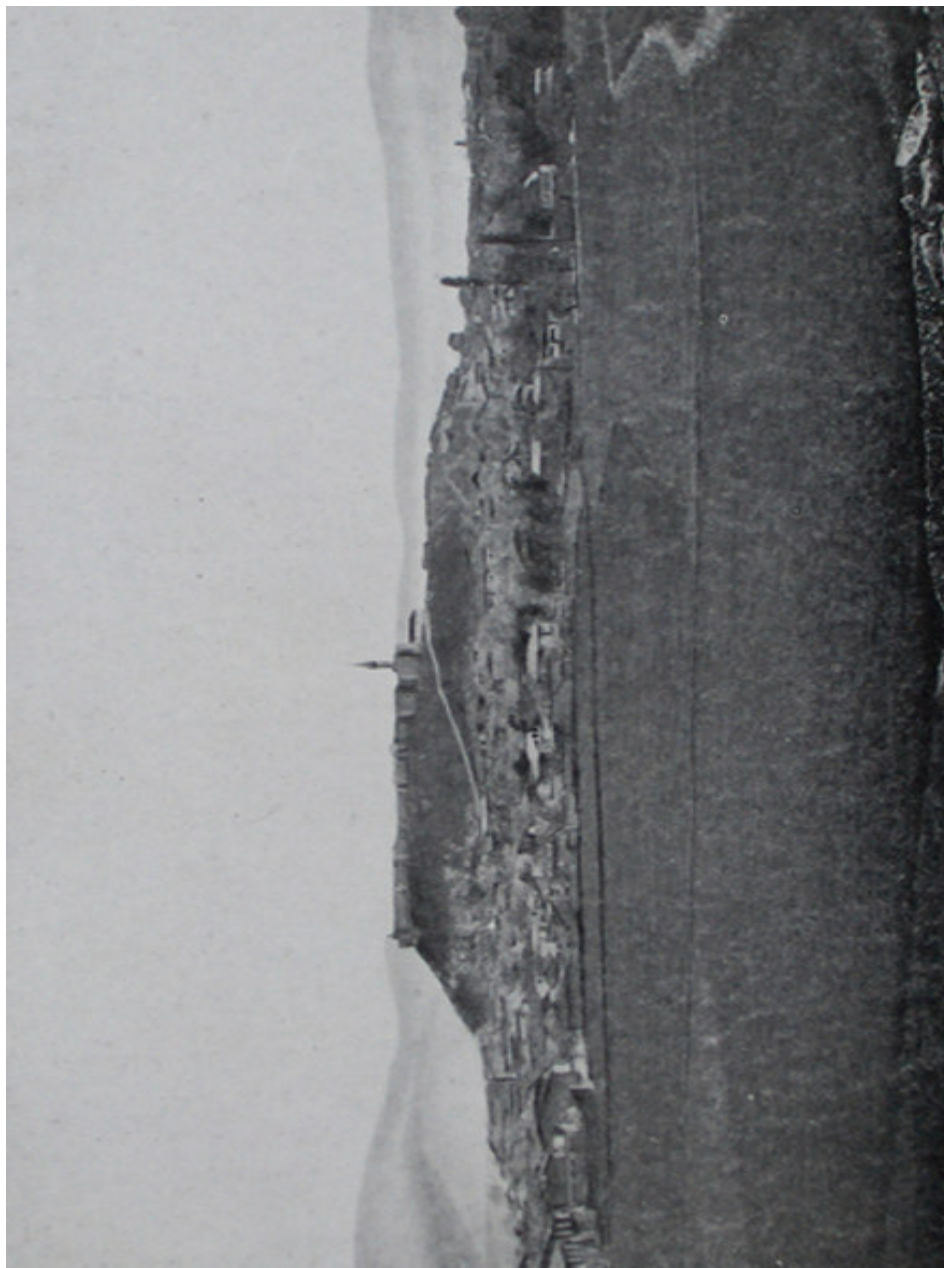
Appendix L

Fig. 12 Detail from Hamamtepe

Appendix M

Fig. 13 Aerial view of Hamamtepe

Appendix N

Fig. 14 Zela (Cumont, 1906:189).

Appendix O

Fig 15 The coin representing the altar of Temple of Anaitis at Zela under the reign of Caracalla 205-6 A.D.(Price and Trell, 1977:174).

Appendix P

Fig 16 The coin representing the temple of Anaitis at Zela under the reign of Caracalla 206-7 A.D.(Price and Trell, 1977: 102).
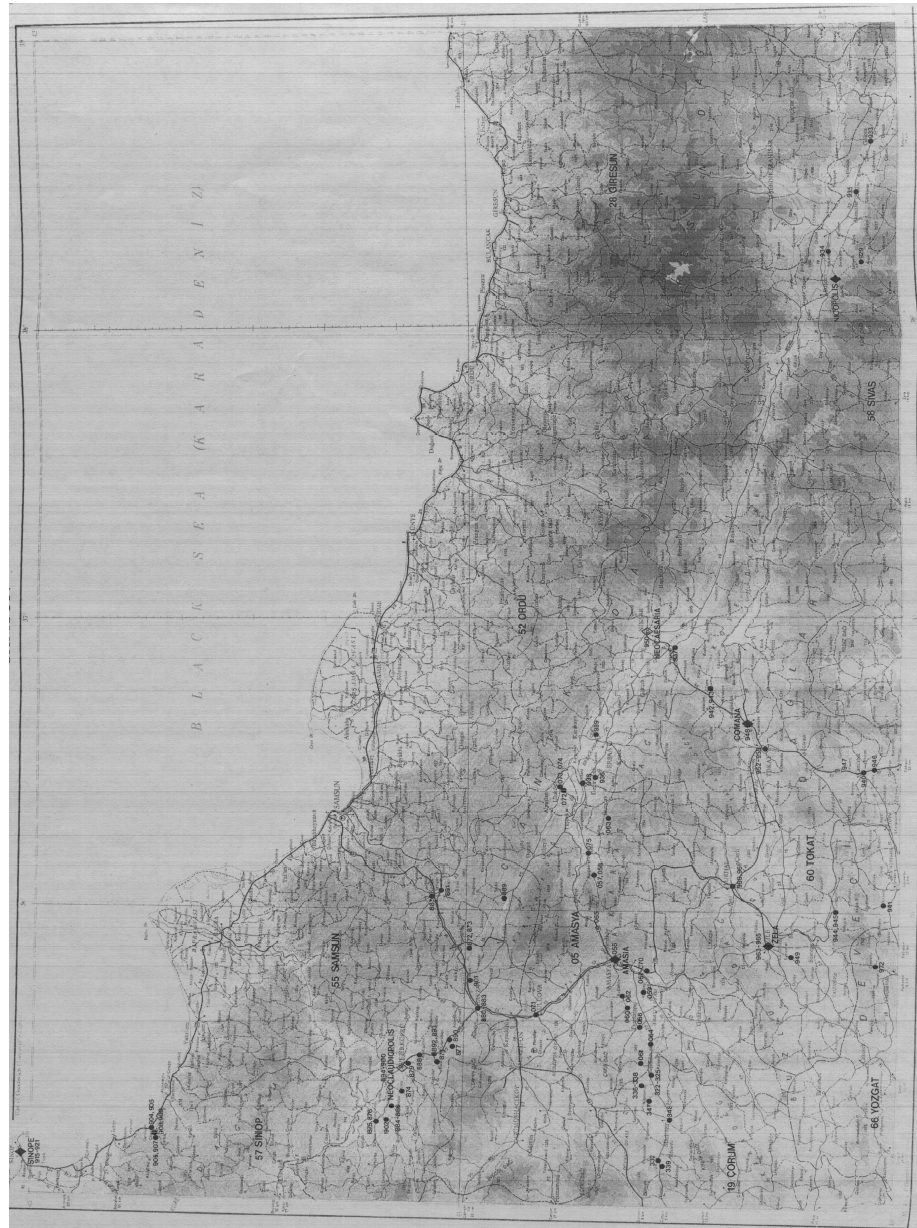

Appendix Q

Fig. 17 The coin from Philadelphia representing the goddess of Anaitis as Cybele (Imhoof-Blümer, 1901:pl.6).
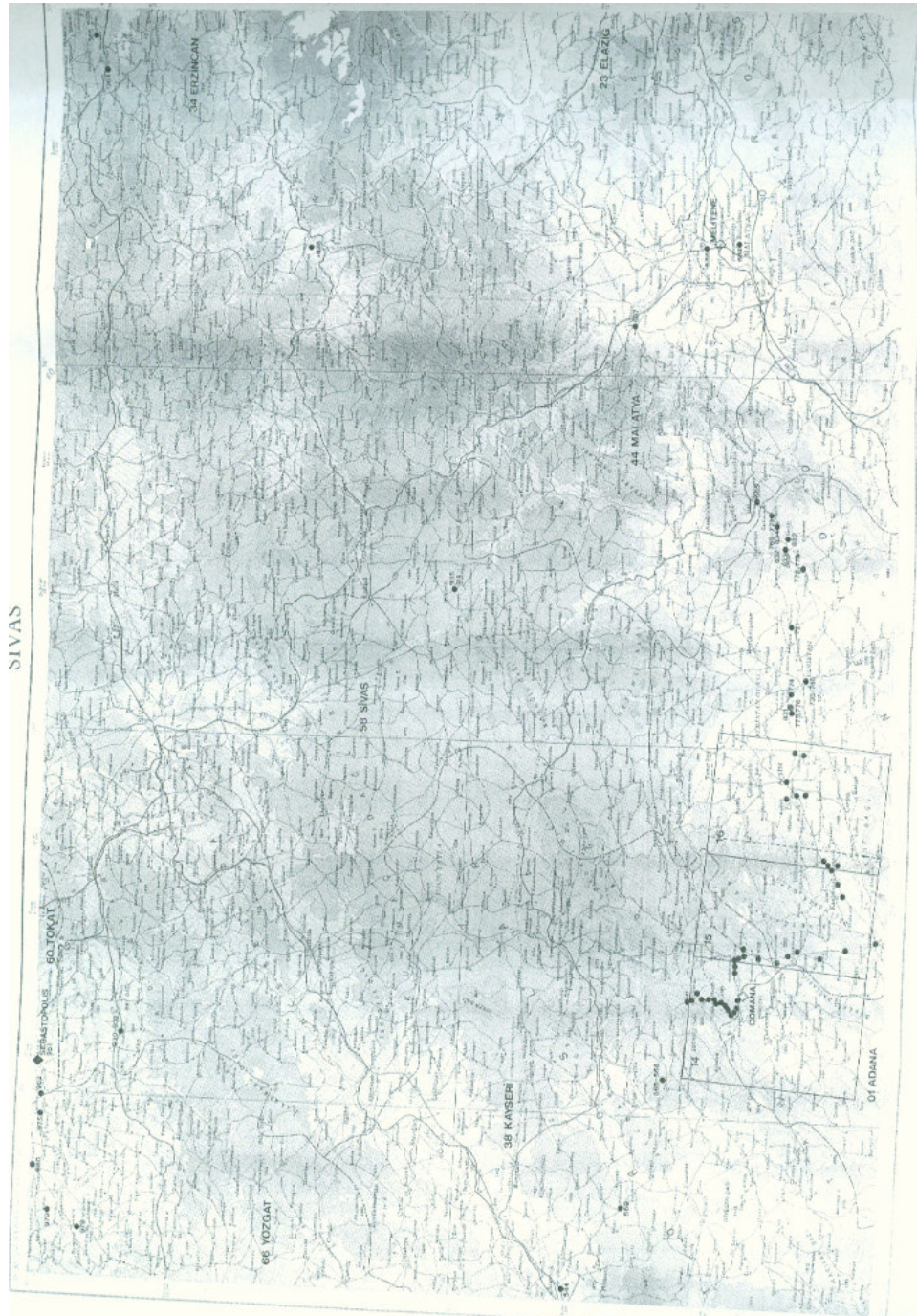
Appendix R

Fig. 18 Distribution of the milestones and Roman Roads in the Black Sea Region (French, 1988: pl.12).
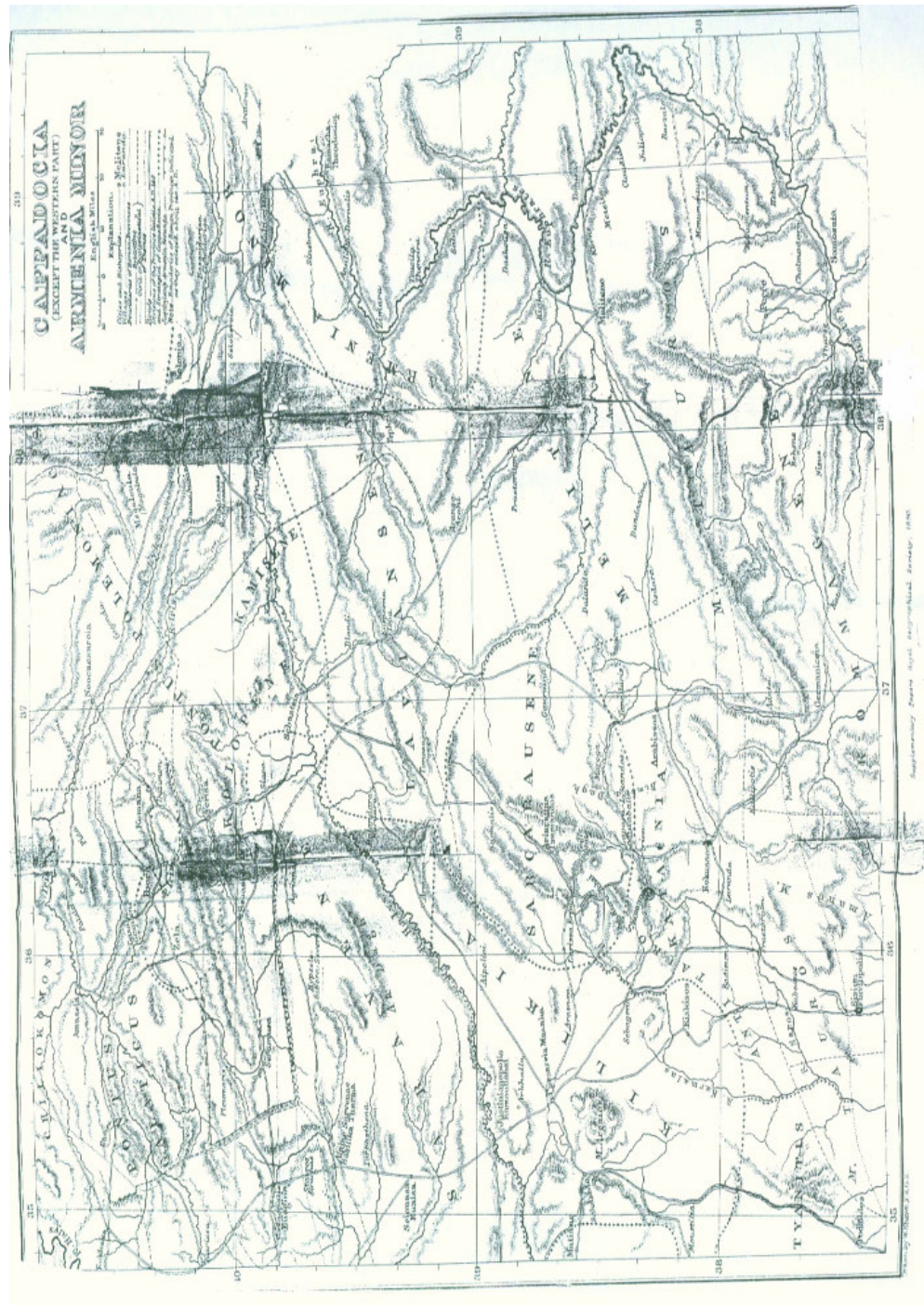
Appendix S

Fig.19 Distribution of the milestones and Roman roads in interior Black Sea Region (French, 1988: pl.13).

Appendix T

Fig. 20 Distribution of the Roman roads in Cappadocia and Armenia Minor (Ramsay, 1890: pl.1).

Appendix U

Fig.21 DEM Data representing the Roman roads in Pontus region

_____Roman Roads
_____Modern Roads