

**THE RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN BOZBURUN PENINSULA  
DURING CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS**

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## ABSTRACT

### THE RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN IN BOZBURUN PENINSULA DURING CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS

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Located in southwest Caria, Bozburun Peninsula (Carian Chersonesos/ Rhodian Peraea) is a big network of *chorai* with cleverly managed agricultural terraces and rural settlements scattered across an undulated topography and scarce resources whereby spatial patterns must have been formed according to various needs.

The objective of this research is to understand the manner of organisation of rural settlements, the so-called “*demes* ( $\delta\epsilon\mu\iota$ )” which were essentially shaped according to environmental conditions and agrarian motives in Classical and Hellenistic periods and that gave rise to tremendous demographic expansions in 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C, and explain the change process in the rural settlement pattern thereof. The scope area is limited with the southern horizontal border line of Turgut Village until the isthmus on the mainland.

Extensive surveys and aerial applications fused by GIS and photogrammetric techniques have shown that orientation of *deme* centers, which are located at 5 km intervals with 30 km<sup>2</sup> *territoriums* on average, fit to topography and their dispersed patterns but non-random spatial structure was economy driven during the Rhodian colonization.

Projections endeavored for the sampling case of Phoinix have revealed that settlement areas, which are made up of only 2% of terrain, occurred up to 200 m where slope degrees reach 30% over *terra-rosa* soil cover, regardless of aspect. The

general silhouette, as highly affected by fragmented environments and reconstruction of ancient population put forward that the Classical *deme* transformed itself into a dendritic pattern extending as far as 1.3 km and experienced 250% increase as it grew into the Hellenistic period.

Keywords: Rural Archaeology, Carian Chersonesos, Rhodian Peraea, Settlement Pattern

## ÖZ

### BOZBURUN YARIMADASI'NDA KLASİK VE HELLENİSTİK DÖNEM KIRSAL YERLEŞİM DÜZENİ

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Güneybatı Karya'da yer alan Bozburun Yarımadası (Karya Kersonessosu/ Hellenistik dönem Rodos Perası), engebeli bir topografyada ve kıt kaynaklar altında kırsal yerleşimlerin ve akıllıca yönetilen tarım teraslarının yayılım gösterdiği büyük bir kırsal şebekedir; bu bağlamda bölgedeki mekânsal örgünlerin çeşitli ihtiyaçlara göre ortaya çıkmış olması muhtemeldir.

Bu araştırmanın amacı, Klasik ve Hellenistik dönemler boyunca, öncelikle çevresel koşullara bağlı olarak tarımsal üretime dayalı kırsal yerleşimlerin ("deme"ler) örgütlenme biçimini anlamak ve İ.Ö 3- 2. yy'lar arasında ciddi nüfus artışları yaşayan bu yerleşimlerin mekansal yapı değişim sürecini açıklamaktır. Araştırma alanı, Turgut Köyü'nün güney sınır çizgisinden itibaren ana karadaki kıstağa kadarki alanla sınırlanmaktadır.

Ekstansif yüzey araştırmaları ile CBS ve fotogrametrik yöntemlerle birleştirilen havadan arkeoloji uygulamaları, 5 km'lik sıklıkta ve ortalama 30 km<sup>2</sup>'lik *territorium*lara sahip olan *deme* merkezlerinin topoğrafya ile uyumlu olarak yer seçtiğini; Rodos hakimiyeti boyunca düzensiz görünen ancak rastgele olmayan mekansal yapının, ekonomi güdülü geliştiğini göstermektedir.

Araştırmada, Phoinix örnekleme bazında çalışılan kurgular, yerleşim alanlarının, 200 m'ye kadar çıkan ve kırmızı Akdeniz toprak örtüsü (*terra-rosa*)

zerindeki 30 derecelik eęimleri bulan (bakıdan baęımsız) yerlerde, arazinin yalnızca %2'sini oluřturduęunu ortaya koymaktadır. Fiziki aıdan paralı evresel ortamlardan hayli etkilenmiř olan genel silueti ve yeniden yapılandırılan antik nfusu, Klasik Phoinix'in Hellenistik dneme doęru geliřimi srecinde kendini, 1.3 km uzaklıęa kadar aęa dalı desenine dnřtrdęni ve nfus bakımından %250'lik bir artıř sergiledięini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kırsal Arkeoloji, Karya Kersonesos, Rodos Perası, Yerleřim Dzeni

To My Lovely Daphne Venus and Mars

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE	Archaiologike Ephemeris
ATL	Athenian Tribute Lists
DSİ	Devlet Su İşleri (State Hydraulic Works)
PETRAE	Programme d'Enregistrement et de Traitement des Données Épigraphiques
SSIN	Settlement/ Structure Inventory Number
TAY	Türkiye Arkeolojik Yerleşmeleri Projesi
TÜBA	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi (The Turkish Academy of Sciences)
<i>Ibid.</i>	<i>Ibidem</i>

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The countryside has always been valuable in supporting urban centers with logistics and sustaining various population profiles throughout history, regardless of periods and cultures. Although studies yield clues to the details of settlements in the rural context, assessment of reasons for divergent patterning have fallen short of urban aspects. Moreover, from time to time, theories on rural archaeology assumed that the countryside, whether equipped with individual or communal settlements, retained self-sustaining economies more than contributing to nearest urban centers. What is also less acknowledged is that evidence about rural sites can offer new opportunities for the urban context rather than being treated individually.

A regional study should “provide specific, concrete instances of themes and issues”, e.g. physical conditions, socio-economic organisation, definition of territorial borders, peripheral relations, spatial and vertical contacts on a broader scale.<sup>1</sup> It should help building up the archaeological inventory and enhancing previously known resources. Since the ancient Peninsula had been greatly acknowledged as *terra incognita* until the last decade, it is deemed essential to complete the blanks with some predictable patterns. By this way, places often led by biases<sup>2</sup> may be further introduced under new facts. The rationale of this research aims at filling in theoretical gaps due to the selectiveness of surveys carried out throughout the Bozburun Peninsula until today, thus contributing to neglected contexts and more to the foreground.

The growing necessity to understand ancient territories with their *chora/khora* is on the agenda of many archaeologists, particularly operating within the Classical context through self-containment over a long period of time. The Bozburun

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<sup>1</sup> Ma. 2000: 113.

<sup>2</sup> White and King 2007: 3.

Peninsula, as countryside, offers new opportunities to the academic world, being a potential center for rural archaeology studies in Turkey by means of introducing new perspectives and interpreting fragmentary data in light of different methodologies.

Situated between ancient Lycia, Phrygia, Ionia and Rhodes, the region welcomed many cultures beginning with the Late Geometric period. However, it played an important role, particularly during late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, owing to its peripheral status and economic potential in the course of Rhodian control.

The rural condition of the region, which is characterized with scarce resources, comes to the foreground with village or equivalent type settlements, the so-called “*demes*” whose history is traceable back to the Archaic era. Various studies relating to such settlements have been carried out until now but the bulk of work had been published by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, the majority of studies have fallen back to the understanding and adequately explaining the changes in the settlement pattern of the region during pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic era since the main focus was the follow-up of epigraphy.

### **1.1 Objective and Scope**

The aim of this thesis is to understand the manner of organisation of *demes* which were essentially shaped according to the environmental conditions and agrarian motives in Classical and Hellenistic periods and that gave rise to remarkable demographic expansions and explain the change process in the rural settlement pattern thereof.

A supplementary means to attain the mentioned objective is to identify *deme* centers and explain their sphere of influence within the scope of environmental and socio-political contexts. In doing that, estimations with respect to territorial boundaries, size, function, land use and population shall be attempted in order to further understand their spatial development which triggered growing populations in the 2<sup>nd</sup>

century B.C. However, solid projections shall be endeavored as limited to a specific case, the *deme* of Phoinix by reconstructing its general layout and ancient population.

The scope of research is limited with the southern horizontal border line of Turgut Village- Orhaniye Village- Palamut Mountain until the isthmus on the mainland in the south (Figure 1.1). Accordingly, the research area encompasses (from north to south respectively) ancient sites beginning from the *deme* of Hydas and stretching across Syrna, Losta/Hygassos?, Tymnos, Thysannos, Phoinix and the eastern tip of Casarae. Although the *deme* center and/or the *territorium* of ancient Casarae had to be partially ignored as of the scope area, surface observations made in the eastern *territorium* of Casarae lying in proximity to Phoinix have been incorporated into the study in order to assess the integrity of the rural organisation of *demes*. Likewise, secondary evidence regarding the *deme* of Amos and Hydas (whose *territoriums* completely or partially fall out of the scope area) has been put on the agenda wherever deemed necessary.

## **1.2 Location**

Two peninsulas, Datça and Bozburun (former Daraçya) lie in southwest Caria, bordering the coastal line (Figure 1.2). Bozburun Peninsula is namely associated with the location of the modern district of Bozburun, which is roughly situated in the middle, falling into the borders of the Marmaris Sub-Province. Bozburun is approximately 30 km far in the southwest. The natural boundaries of the peninsula begin from Hisarönü which is situated in the south of Datça-Bozburun crossroad, stretch towards the middle and end near Bozuk Village in the very south.

Due to the physical setting being far from more attractive locations in the Aegean, few sites within the borders of the region have been thoroughly identified until now.

## **1.3 Research History of the Study Area**

Ancient Bozburun Peninsula was originally acknowledged within Carian territories.



**Figure 1.1** Scope of Research (1/100.000)

Ancient writers frequently cite to the Carian Chersonesos (hereinafter referred to as the “Peninsula”/ “Carian Chersonesos”/ “Chersonesos”/ “Rhodian Peraea (Rhodia)”/ “Peraea” wherever applicable, concordant with the associated period, ruling authority or citations made by ancient writers).



**Figure 1.2** Location of Bozburun (Daraçya) Peninsula (ESRI ArcGlobe)

The Athenian Tribute Lists (ATL) help to inform us of the geographical history of Greeks with some territorial exceptions.<sup>3</sup> Caria was among the five regions which paid tribute to the Delian League.<sup>4</sup> First registered among the league of settlements in

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<sup>3</sup> Robert. 1946: 506.

<sup>4</sup> Boyana. 2006: 28.

ATL, the Carian Chersonesos took part as an ordinary rural land, probably because of its difficulty in physical access and degraded status vis-à-vis any famous urban attraction center. Limited information comes from writers like Thucydides, Polybius, Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Xenophon, Diodorus, Pausanias, Pomponius Mela and Stephanus Byzantinus.

For recent times, the region appears in the notes of 19<sup>th</sup> century travelers and reports of early 20<sup>th</sup> century archaeologists. Among all, epigraphical evidence- the majority of which are Hellenistic (the island of Rhodes included)- takes the foremost place in the early publications of Dürrbach and Radet, Holleaux, Chaviaras and Chaviaras, Robert, Paton and Myres, Newton and Hicks and Shear. A collection of coins including those of the Carian Chersonesos were studied by S.W. Grose and B.V. Head. However, detailed information demonstrated with rural architecture was provided by G.E. Bean, J.M. Cook and P.M. Fraser beginning from the 1950s. Further references are provided throughout the thesis.

The Greek inscriptions database, subject to updates, makes it available in accessing numerous epigraphical findings from the Peninsula, with the introduction of the PETRAE Project in Paris. Based on the mentioned project, a complete work relating to all the ancient and modern writers, whom had written about the Peninsula and full compilation of inscriptions and translations are owed to Alain Bresson.

Studies on amphora workshops have been carried out and published by Prof. Dr. Ersin Doğer, Prof. Dr. Numan Tuna and Dr. Jean-Yves Empereur. Surveys have been accelerated from 2000 onwards, with contributions from Dr. Zeynep Kuban and Dr. Turgut Saner who conducted research around Kıran Lake in the very south of the region. Surveys which were launched by the German Archaeologist Dr. Winfried Held and his team around Bozuk Village (ancient Loryma) in 1995 lasted for approximately ten years. Meanwhile, Dr. Mathias Benter was busy in conducting a partial survey within the borders of Turgut Village. In the north, further projects were oriented towards Hisarönü Bay under the cooperation of Ege University and Marburg Phillips-University, directed by Dr. Held in 2005.

Surveys, the bulk of which were realized in 1994-1995 in the environs of middle Peninsula, were commenced by Prof. Dr. Adnan Diler and his team. He published articles and communiques on the production of olive and wine as attained through his inner Caria surveys. The current archaeological database of the region is also incorporated into the inventory built up by the TAY Project. Relevant information is provided in the 7<sup>th</sup> folder (Psidia and Caria Regions) of the Project's publications. A special field of research is maritime survey readable from Robert S. Carter, George Bass and Cemal Pulak. The underwater findings of the Serçe Harbour Shipwreck were published in 1987. A final remark needs to be made for the neighbouring peninsula- Datça (ancient Cnidus) where Prof. Dr. Numan Tuna has been conducting excavations for the last decade. Results of the excavations now reveal significant clues on the transformation of rural settlements in ancient Caria.

#### **1.4 Methods and Resources**

Identification and dating of sites, interpretation of geological and environmental data, recent census figures as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century for retrospective estimations, distribution maps, core and periphery models, site sampling, etc. act as some very useful approaches for refreshing the pitfalls of Classical Archaeology<sup>5</sup>, at least limited to the purposes of this research.

Principally, subsequent to reconnaissance studies and works on the general literature, the first comprehensive method applied under the purposes of this research was field work- aided with a hand-held GPS with 5-6 m error, through extensive survey<sup>∞</sup> and compliant with the permission given by the Ministry of Culture for annual campaigns over the last four years. In the course of observations, as a remark, field record sheets were equipped with a spectrum of criteria; e.g. settlement/ structure inventory number, location, type, site size, environmental characteristics, site description,

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<sup>5</sup> Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985: 124-161.

<sup>∞</sup> Regarding financial matters for the acquisition of necessary material (including maps, aerial photographs, etc.) during field work, a "Scientific Research Project Proposal" (Project No: BAP-07-03-2010-00-01) under the official title of this thesis was submitted to the Middle East Technical University and approved accordingly.

surface findings and dating, current condition and human effect, publication (if any) in terms of secondary information. Parallel to field work, photography and sketch drawings were completed to assist indoor work. Since field work was very much based on surface observations (including diagnostic pottery) and geoarchaeological considerations, documentation and enrollment of architectural features and the habitational context took precedence during surveys. Notwithstanding, visual remains pertaining to different form data such as epigraphical evidence, water features, pressing installations (*in-situ* or not), etc. were put into the process.

For the analysis of environmental aspects, quantitative methods of geoarchaeology were applied. The most significant of such has been the use of GIS techniques (Map Info Professional 10.5 version, ArchGIS 10.0 and the operation of tools by using the Universal Transverse Mercator Projection System, Zone 35) for basic map operations. The research utilized different scale maps and aerial photographs of the Peninsula produced by the General Command of Mapping. These include 1:25.000 scale digital elevation maps, 1:5000 topographical maps, 1:20.000 scale aerial photographs (dated 1971) (Plate 2.1.1) and 1:60.000 scale recent digital coloured aerial photographs (dated 2009). Simple geology maps of the Peninsula were put to use to comprehend the environmental background. As a supplementary material, 1:25.000 scale digital soil map, obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture was processed for GIS modelling whilst simple analogue maps, provided by the same Ministry and showing the modern village borders of the Peninsula were partially used for the estimation of *deme* boundaries. As analogue source maps highlight modern borders that were more or less drawn up according to natural characteristics of the region, the territorial extensions were digitized, also taking into account some certain parameters such as dried up water courses, recognizable deep valleys acting as natural corridors, hilltops, steep mountains, etc.

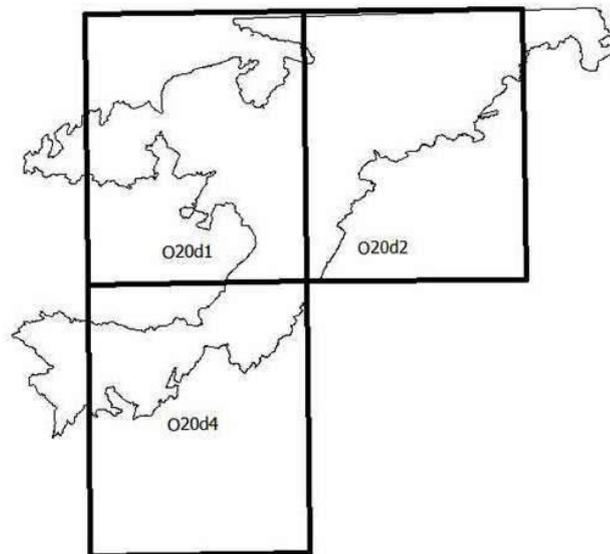
Highly linked to environmental analyses, the methods exploited from aerial archaeology<sup>6</sup> aided with photo-geology study and photogrammetric applications. The

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<sup>6</sup> Further see Jones. 2000: 49-60.

first step was taken to orientate aerial images to real ground coordinates and to eliminate distortions in aerial photography. The next step was to digitize ancient structures and create a digital elevation model (DEM) of the Peninsula from 3D models in order to remedy distortions and relief displacement. A high resolution orthophoto of the Peninsula was produced by using this elevation model.

Much of the field work was indexed to an internal methodology which aimed at tracing suitable areas for settlement. As the initial procedure, water effect was taken into account. Areas, which were well marked with e.g. water features on the maps, were opted to be checked in the first instance. Interviews with the locals acted as real inputs for discovering undisturbed sites until then. Meanwhile, an analogy between modern names and historical toponomical expressions was reassessed for deciding on the order of precedence pertaining to visits throughout survey areas. On the subject matter, all the modern site names used in this study are referred from the base material- 1/25.000 (O20d1, O20d2 and O20d4 Quadrangles) scale map (Figure 1.3). An internal coding was applied to all *demes* and relevant sites in the scope area, according to locations and findings, thus in view of the instructions set by TÜBA. The codes used for the sampling case of Phoinix and sub-divisions are provided in Appendix B. The coding of the sampling case aims at setting up criteria for coherent



**Figure 1.3:** Internal Coding Based on O20 Quadrangles

ordering and smooth interpretation of sites. Regarding the coding instructions published by TÜBA, on different category finds, the sequence<sup>7</sup> follows the common index to which the Peninsula belongs. “A” stands for “Archaeological Inventory”, the last number of three digits (unit’s digit) represents the order of *demes* surveyed.

Tymnos	O20A001
Thysannos	O20A002
Syrna	O20A003
Hygassos	O20A004
Phoinix	O20A005
Casarae (in part)	O20A006

Relevant to general literature, three categories of resources have been the target materials of which are (i) ancient literature; (ii) notes and academic works of 19<sup>th</sup> century travelers, publications on epigraphical evidence compiled up to now, census records of the Ottoman period, (iii) publications beginning from 1930s.

### **1.5 Limitations and Assumptions**

The basic pitfall of the research arises from the scope of research area, impeded for conducting a systematic intensive survey. In accordance with the terms and conditions of the permission given by the official authorities, collection of any original material was prohibited. Efforts were made to enroll the most yielding data, mainly through photography work. However, lack of diagnostic pottery caused growing difficulties in dating. Furthermore, discreteness in spatial patterns observed over territories, which have been disturbed by modern public works for the last 40 (forty) years (as also observed on aerial photographs), exerted similar pressures for interpretation.

As Stanish explains:

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<sup>7</sup> Atik. 2003: 9-21.

“Considerable information among the discrete sites is lost using a traditional settlement pattern methodology. From this perspective, the emergence of landscape archaeology is a welcome trend in the discipline. .... Landscape archaeology represents a different way of looking at settlements. .... As opposed to a somewhat static view of a series of sites connected by political, economic, social and ideological linkages at a particular moment in time, landscape archaeology forces us to view history as a changing set of human interactions that leave a continuous stream of material remains” (2003: 170-171).

The harsh character of terrain and great variations in relief caused time straits during field work. Physical limitations made it difficult to access some more promising spots suitable for settlement. The problem was tried to be tackled with the help of aerial views. On the other hand, no viewshed (visibility) analysis could be made to test estimations of *deme* borders, in order not to shift the focus from the sampling case. As aerial views facilitated the interpretation of suitable lands for settlement and assignment of borders to a great deal, visibility is deemed to have caused no serious limitations.

Scant information about the degraded status of *demes* can be found in ancient resources. Available archives are often concentrated on eastern parts of the Greek mainland and western Anatolia. Inscriptions or similar evidence, which would normally be expected to be preserved in local or national museums, make the situation troublesome. Relating to the abovementioned, the Peninsula was inadequately studied by archaeologists due to a lack of profound knowledge and interpretation in terms of rural contexts. The complex nature of the territory becomes unclear beginning from the Carian era.

Down-slope displacement of settlements and surface materials, thus off-site pottery densities has not been studied thoroughly, either. Obviously, boundaries must have been rubbed up over periods. Materials could have been removed from their contexts by rain, wind or human activity like ploughing. Intensive exploitation via farming, cyclical displacement of the soil matrix and continuous pushing of deposits into subsoil<sup>8</sup> pose difficulties in interpreting the landscape and real settlement decisions.

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<sup>8</sup> Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988: 508-509, 511-512.

Sediments may document direct links between settlements and environment. On the very technical side, biological data, which would greatly help in reconstructing the environmental processes of the region, has been skipped up to now. In spite of strong natural indicators like paleosol and pedological features which generally address the formation of enclaves, microanalyses were not opted for. A real problem with digital soil maps is that they display recent soil characteristics of the Peninsula. Also, some basic components of these maps were found to be incomplete in reflecting land use. The abovementioned issues remain to be dealt with in future investigations.

Finally but not least, safe conjectures for population estimates are yet elusive when they are preferred to be indexed to ancient or recent figures stated for far out geographies, and to census and agricultural records which do not go beyond 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century.

Taking into account limitations so stated, this research puts forward some basic assumptions at the same time. It is reckoned that the *demes* possessed rural territories although some exceptions are attributable to ancient urban settlements throughout history. A second consideration is that environmental conditions were more or less the same in antiquity as opposed to the socio-cultural character and ethnic identity of the region. Finally, Phoinix, chosen as the sample *deme* under the purposes of this research, is postulated to have served as a rural base and taken its final outlook in the Hellenistic period. Arising from chronological weaknesses, a selective approach in favour of the Hellenistic debris has been greatly taken. It has also been taken for granted that the real magnitude of agricultural production did not continue into the Late Roman periods.

## **1.6 Layout of Thesis**

Chapter 2 starts with an introductory part on the general background of the environmental conditions and historical trajectory of the Peninsula. Geomorphological properties of the region and state of art together with regional climate are explained under various factors which played important roles on the

formation of landscape and man-made environments over time. The flow of basic episodes, specifically focused at infiltration of the Carian culture as far as the scope area, the Persian and Greek elements and obviously the interest of Rhodes, and the struggle between numerous ancient polities finally affecting the status of the Peninsula between Classical and Hellenistic periods are summarized to show how the region had to make its faith through the lines of history. The upcoming Sub-part outlines the political organisation and different administrative forms as reflected in the character of leagues which took active role during the Hecatomnid era, and in the *deme* system influenced from the governing model of Rhodes. The last part lays down the economic framework which is key to understanding the mode of agriculture driven by terrace systems and production patterns all over the Peninsula. The role and scale of economy at the local and foreign network is brought to attention in light of ancient literature and recent data collected by scholars for verification of certain products and means of transportation.

Chapter 3 addresses the importance and role of the countryside in antiquity, which has been brought to attention as a long ignored field of archaeology until recently. This part also aims to show that hinterlands of attraction centers and rural territories maintained organic links within the urban context whereby the Peninsula proved the similar. Endeavors for clarifying the key elements of the *chora* and types of settlement in the countryside are tried to be found in the historical reality of *demes* which were introduced much before the Hellenistic era. Common attributes of *demes* and their perception in antiquity are briefly given before introductory information provided for the rustic way of living in the Carian world. Some typical Carian sites, which are highlighted with examples and stylistic attributes contingent with settlements, are briefly discussed. First identified as being part of Caria and accordingly acknowledged as the Carian Chersonesos during the Classical era, the Peninsula is brought to attention with respect to its political and socio-economic status and territorial extent. Numismatic studies and ATL further help to describe its role until the Hellenistic period. The growing interest of Rhodes and efforts for incorporating the region into its peripheral sphere is embedded in the following Sub-part. Socio-political conditions and ethnic identification of its three old *poleis*, the

introduction of the *deme* system and synoecism process at the Island are assessed in one pot with a view to proceed with two interrelated but separate Hellenistic territorial conceptualizations of Rhodes on the mainland (Rhodian Peraea): Incorporated and Subject Peraea. It is taken for granted that in this part and the following chapters, the scope area was always included within the borders of the Incorporated Peraea. As soon as discussions on the boundaries of two territorial forms are conveyed, the readers' attention is called to a general problem about the administrative connection of *demes* to either three old *poleis*. Further, some common features of *demes* are underlined referring to secondary data at hand, such as cultic habits, masonry, burial patterns, economic indicators, etc. Additional information is provided for disclosing political, economic and cultural relations of the Rhodian Peraea and the Island. Social mobility factors and administrative aspects are also given to stress the relational impact of Hellenistic Rhodes on the mainland.

Closely related to human intervention, a theoretical background on the question of settlement archaeology is introduced in Chapter 4. Discussions on size and function of settlements, and land use take the foremost place in preparing the reader for the discussions on the limits of sites, allocation of land to pre-determined activities and motives behind their planning. Divergent debates on spatial theories are mainly articulated from the Greek world. Generic descriptions of settlement patterns, forms of habitation and miscellaneous factors affecting decision making processes in arranging site layouts are questioned to complement the discussions relating to theories and various instances on past population estimates.

Chapter 5 is formulated in a way that locations of *deme* centers and physical boundaries about which scholars have not reached a vivid agreement need to be asked. Problems also arise in terms of identification of names and chronological statements. In tackling epistemological problems, primary and secondary data are laid down in an orderly manner. For the interpretation of data, social factors- as implied by the case of the Peninsula and its hybrid population character are not left out. In order not to skip the general socio-political silhouette, the rich collection of inscriptions is referred. At the same time, field data and their current conditions- as

the primary focus of this Chapter are described. Architectural features together with other types of evidence are demonstrated to elaborate the integrity of rural settlements. In light of current evidence including those documented during field work, a rough settlement typology has been attempted to be created. Estimations on *deme* boundaries, size, function and land use are incorporated into the assessment of the general design within the scope area. Estimations at the macro scale act as the preparatory process for postulations made for the sample case in Chapter 6. Possible intraregional connections are intended to be cross-examined.

Chapter 6 accomplishes the purposes of this thesis most closely. A sampling design is made through the selection of the ancient settlement of Phoinix which abounds in epigraphic inventory and relatively less disturbed architectural debris within the scope area. Easy access to Phoinix makes it available to ask about a set of settlement determinants which are preferable in favour of suitable topographies, a rich number of water features and strong indicators for communication network and human intervention over long periods. Techniques like elevation, slope, aspect, distance analyses are applied to search further about the environmental background and its impact on the settlement and terrace systems. Various contextual data (as given in detail in Appendix H (Plate 3) according to quantity and quality) recorded during field work contribute to the interpretation of settlement structures which ultimately leave a mark on elaborating the manner of land use and vertical behaviors (intra-regional relations), and reconstructing the general plan of the *deme*. On one hand, newly discovered unidentified (presumably pre-Classical) sites are provided to question whether they could have acted in the transition process from earlier times to the Hellenistic period. It is however shown that the ultimate outlook, which is attributable to the Hellenistic period, can be found in the dendritic patterns which were shaped until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Exploiting the theoretical models and comparative data given in Chapter 4, a projection on the population of Phoinix is endeavoured in the light of different variables, however particularly banking on the agricultural potential of the *deme* as linked to the sustaining capacity. Number of evidence pertaining to settlement units recorded during field work, indicators for demographic percentage, cultivation potential according to land use are reconsidered

in conjunction with the most recent complementary census data (Ottoman enrollments). On one hand, literature on recent surveys and related site-sampling procedures were used for establishing analogies, specifically referable to epigraphical sources on e.g. Bouletic quotas, experimental archaeology and productivity records. The carrying capacity of associated land, although disputable, is assumed to be a baseline for projecting the past, somehow depending on the Middle Range approach.

A brief introduction on ancient neighbouring geographies of the Peninsula is provided in Chapter 7, with a view to comprehend the region under the political and socio-economic conjuncture of the old world. General baselines, including selective evidence on the organisation of contemporaneous or far ancient rural settlements from the Cycladic Islands to the eastern Mediterranean are presented however, the limitation of the Peraea to the peripheral sphere of Rhodes is never left out. A comparative discussion is made to show in which respects the Peninsula was distinctive from others and/or which models retained common aspects, if any, in the ancient sense, however, pretentious statements are refrained.

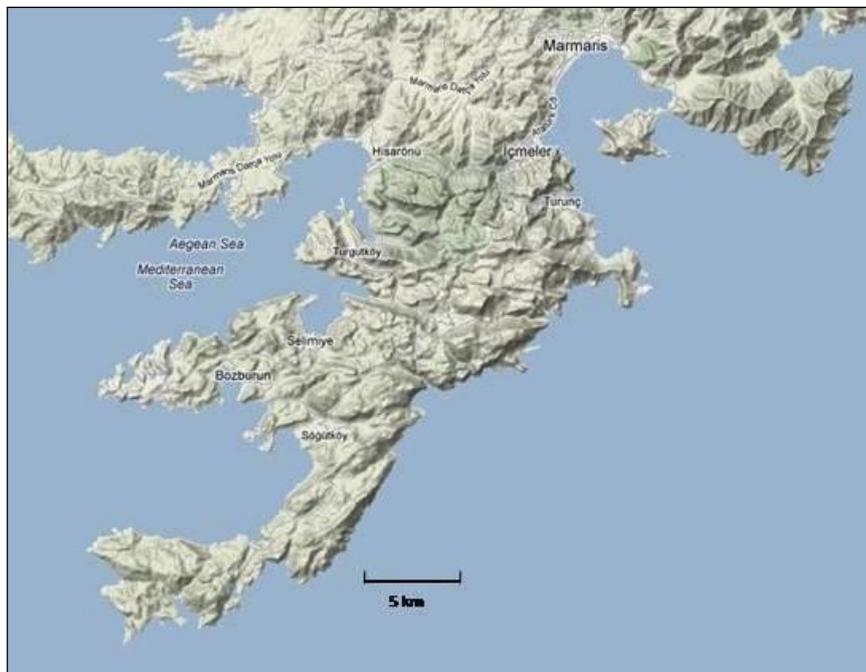
In the last Chapter, evaluations about the settlement pattern of the sample case are presented without disregarding the spatial relations amongst other *demes* all over the scope area. Firm predictions for possibly missed evidence are put aside to trigger new and extended research topics in the coming future. Finally, a set of ideas on the change process and evolutionary phases of the development of Peraean *demes* from Classical to the Hellenistic period is attained.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND ON THE BOZBURUN PENINSULA

#### 2.1. Geology and Environment

The Bozburun Peninsula has a distinctive topography where resources could not have been very extraordinary in the past. The morphology of the scope area presents itself with undulated terrain where internal relief is remarkably high. Elevation values decrease towards the southern part.<sup>9</sup> Although topography is “steepest near the Karayüksek Mountain (ancient Phoinix)”<sup>10</sup>, the entire area is described as “mountainous”, “rocky and steep”, “full of thick vegetation and forests in the north but bare in the south”. There are plenty of small bays along the coastline on the mainland whereas delta formations are concentrated towards the north (Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.1:** Topographical View of the Bozburun Peninsula

<sup>9</sup> Çınar, 2004: 15.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo (14.2.4)

Geologically speaking, the Peninsula reveals the characteristics of Upper Jurassic as far as Hisarönü Bay. The Mediterranean is identifiable with the dominant rock type of limestone on which the karstic processes has had a high impact.<sup>11</sup> Platform carbonates, typical of the Western Taurus Mountain, range mark the impact of sedimentary tectonic sheets in the region where they begin from the south of Bayır Village and the east of Bozburun Sub-district and extend until the very south (Figure 2.2). They appear in greyish, dirty white and whitish colours with 3-5 meter thickness and massive outlook, particularly around Bayır, Söğüt and Taşlıca villages. Transgressive formations are attributable to the vicinity of Bozuk Bay deepening in the upward direction due to periodic sea level changes on the “backreef of platform carbonates”, similar to the case of Rhodes. Specific to limestone, it is observable at the upper sections of hilly and mountainous areas. Beneath the limestone are soft rock formations - generally in red tones on which agricultural terraces lie. In other words, the limestone draws up the limits of terraces and land for grazing.<sup>12</sup>

The Peninsula has been exposed to changes in the sea level over time. The northern Hellenistic harbour lies beneath the modern fields due to the erosion effect in Hisarönü.<sup>13</sup> The morphology of the shore line is much owed to the interplay of coastal processes at Orhaniye (Kızıkkumu), Bozburun, Söğüt and Bozuk. Deposition is particularly observable in Orhaniye where an ashlar wall and remnants of two apses close to the sea are now split by sand affect from the main road. The sea level changed 0.5-1.0 m in Bozburun where groups of sandy islands are positioned in the south. The headland (Figure 2.3; A) with large blocks in the northern tip of Kızıllada, Kiseli Ada possessing the ruins of a church and the mainland at the opposite side experienced coastal change due to sea rise. An almost awash sandbank is traceable around Adaboğazı. In Söğüt, submerged jetties (Figure 2.3; C) of rubble are

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<sup>11</sup> Campbell. 1971: 259.

<sup>12</sup> Ersoy. 1993: 173-176. Platform carbonates are rich in fossils including corals and algs at the very top but poor at the bottom. They may take names as dolomite, dolomitic limestone and crystallized limestone (*ibid.*). Also see Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü (MTA) (General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration). 2010. Muğla İli Maden Haritası (Mineral Map of Muğla), for additional information on the availability of some certain minerals (e.g. manganese) in the northern part of the Peninsula.

<sup>13</sup> Held et al. 2009: 216-217.

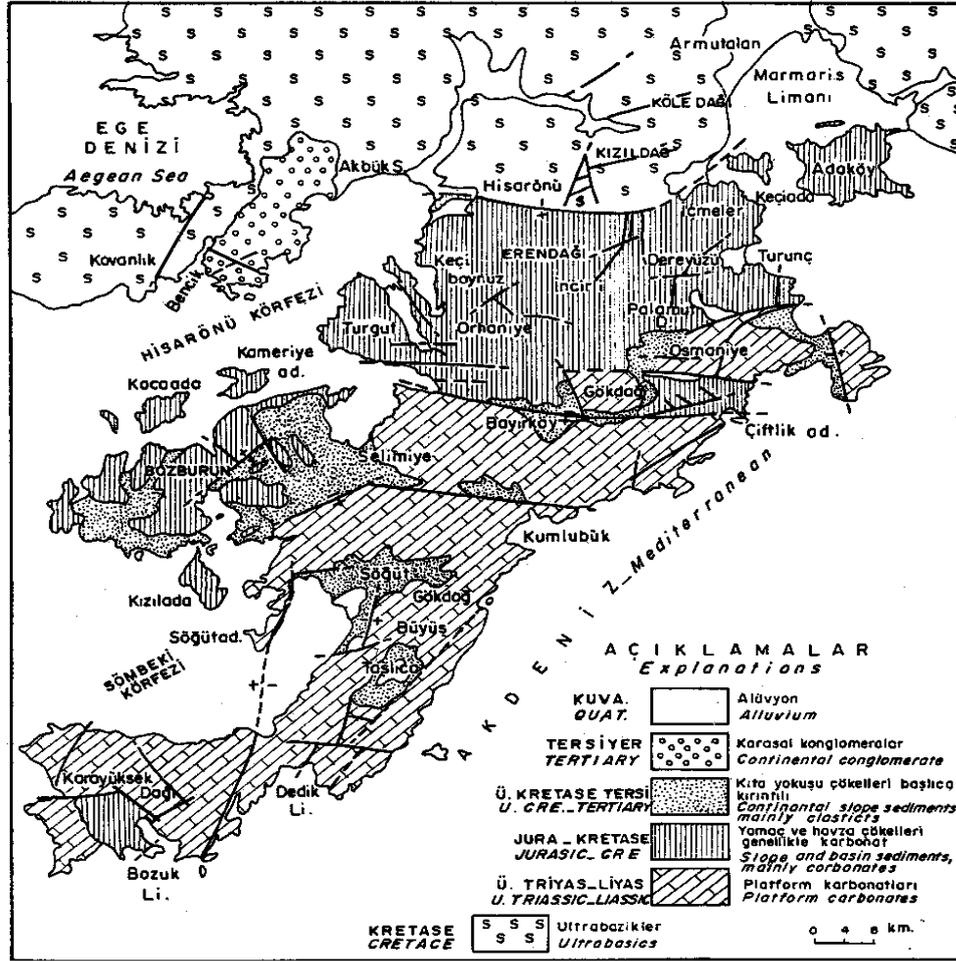


Figure 2.2: Geology Map of Bozburun Peninsula (Ersoy, 1993: 172)

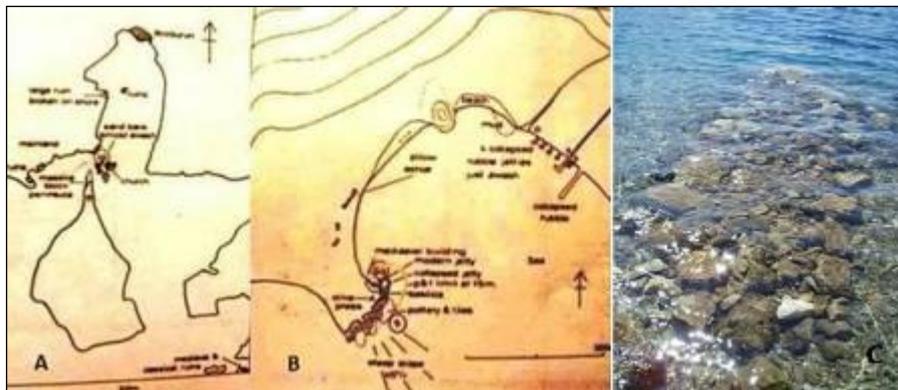


Figure 2.3: Morphology of Bozburun (A) and Saranda (B) (Flemming et al. 1973: 51-52); Submerged Jetty in Saranda (C)

recognizable in the west and north of Saranda shore. The anvil-shaped promontory (Topan Burnu) “blends into a vast mound sloping at 45 degrees into deep water” (Figure 2.3; B, see above) around which walls of Medieval houses rest in 30 cm water level. Submergence occurred around 0.5-1.0 m at Bozuk however, ancient remains are situated away from the coastal area.<sup>14</sup>

Earthquakes were regular in the Mediterranean. Today, the outlook of the Peninsula is sharply interrupted by a fault running across from the westernmost tip of Turgut Village at Delikyol Bay to Çiftlik Bay in the east of Bayır Village.<sup>15</sup> The region is vulnerable to the neighbouring tectonic zones, as well. Affected by the movements of Eurasian, African, Anatolian and Arabian plates, the central area within the “subduction zone” became the Hellenistic trench of Crete, Rhodes and Meis. Tectonic risings caused by the Menteşe fault changed the morphology of Carian lands. A serious result was the silting up of ancient ports and “drying up of water resources or the changing of their banks”. Although the epicenters varied from Rhodes to Lycia, risk factors were always high due to regular aftershocks. Understandable from the periods of mass destruction in the neighbourhood, the Peraea must have been highly affected between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C.<sup>16</sup>

Small and fragmented lands, like the typical terrains in Greece (mainly Attica, Lakonia, Argolid and Boeotia), were formed as a result of tectonic activity.<sup>17</sup> Quaternary alluvium (Qal) deposits formed by the agglomeration of clay, sand and gravel with 7-10 m thickness at most dominate the fragmented territories in the south of the Peninsula.<sup>18</sup>

Similar to the Yatağan region, the Peninsula is an example of karstic reserves, rich in calcium and magnesium (Mg) convenient for drinking and daily usage water. When

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<sup>14</sup> Flemming et al. 1973: 48-53.

<sup>15</sup> Abulafia. 2003: 40.

<sup>16</sup> Erel and Adatepe 2007: 241-245. Earthquakes respectively given with location, date and magnitude (if available) as: *Rhodes and Myra, 142 B.C, 8; Fethiye, 144 B.C; Rhodes, 226 B.C, 8; Rhodes, 344 B.C, 9; tsunami in Cyprus and Crete, 365 B.C; Fethiye and Muğla, 1851 A.D, 9 (tsunami at Rhodes).*

<sup>17</sup> Rackham. 1990: 86-91.

<sup>18</sup> Özüş. 2009: 2.

rocks lying above alluvium do not permit leakage of significant amounts of groundwater, water wells are drilled for industrial and irrigation purposes. On average, groundwater levels measure between 5-10 m whilst karstic cavities are found in “recrystallised limestones”.<sup>19</sup> A lack of permanent water resources in the south has posed pressures on the Peninsula. Hence, it is bound with underground reserves fed by rainfall to a great deal. Drilling had adversely affected the terrain so much until recently that the environs of Bozburun still suffer from diminishing groundwater<sup>20</sup> reserves. Ancient people must have been better-off in accessing groundwater when accorded with moderate population trends.

That the water resources are scarce in the south makes the situation noteworthy from the point of settlement patterning. On the contrary, population figures far exceed in the north. There is a main stream forming a small waterfall in the forest area of Turgut Village. A wetter climatic zone characterized with woodlands (domination of *Pinus brutia*, *Quercus ilex*, *Quercus coccifera* and *Naulus nobilis*<sup>21</sup>) around Bayır is seemingly an advantage, with spring waters welding from the fault between the two mentioned villages. However, the environmental background in respect of the ancient conditions is weak. Even no information on recent periods can be acquired from the geological expeditions of Paton and Myres who travelled all across southwest Caria in 1893.<sup>22</sup>

Dolinas, being typical geomorphologic features of karstic landscapes, project environmental interruptions in the past. They generally fit to small agricultural plots as they retain natural reservoirs of fertile soils. A comparable case is Trieste Bay in Slovenia. It was deforestation which affected the conditions of karstic areas. From the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C, dolinas were affected by overexploitation

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<sup>19</sup> Baba and Birsoy 2001: 249-251, 256.

<sup>20</sup> Özüş. 2009: 12. Also see Devlet Su İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü (DSİ). 1970 (Chapter 12-12). Research for ground water activity map shows 9x10.6m<sup>3</sup> ground water reserves in the northern part of the Peninsula, approximately falling to the west of Marmaris (marked as Selimiye- Tekfuran Barajı, Karaova- Varvil).

<sup>21</sup> Taşlıgil. 2008: 76.

<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to tackle the terminology since the authors pronounce all the local sites in a deteriorated version of Turkish (Paton, W.R. and J.L.Myres 1897. “Researches in Karia”. *The Geographical Journal* 9 (1): 38-54.)

and population pressures.<sup>23</sup> The Peninsula presents similar over interruptions. Heterogeneity of land cover and fragmentation is peculiar to Mediterranean environments. Overexploitation, specifically in the form of overgrazing ends up with land degradation, deforestation and abandonment, as proven in Sardinia<sup>24</sup> (Figure 2.4). Pollen analyses and studies on dendrochronology have shown that deforestation essentially occurred due to the destruction of cedar trees in the Taurus Mountain range.<sup>25</sup> Evidently, the reasons are miscellaneous. Sloping and rolling topographies where heavy rock fragmentation causes soil degradation<sup>26</sup> point to the very first terrestrial attribute of the Peninsula (Figure 2.5).



**Figure 2.4:** View From Land-degradation And Overexploited Pasture in Sardinia (Enne et al. 2002: 71)

## 2.2. Climate

Along with what is stated above, the Mediterranean is explainable with unstable topography, distinct geology, lively tectonics, as wells as diverse human cultures and

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<sup>23</sup> Novakoviç et.al. 1999: 123-126.

<sup>24</sup> Enne et al. 2002: 71-72.

<sup>25</sup> Akkemik et al. 2008: 14-22.

<sup>26</sup> van Wesemael et al. 2002: 131.



**Figure 2.5:** Views From Tavşanbük

undependable climate.<sup>27</sup> Pollen analyses have shown that the climate of the Classical era was almost similar to modern conditions but it was much wetter in the earlier periods. Up to 900 m, the landscape character was almost constant such that the Greeks introduced numerous plants.<sup>28</sup> Arid conditions prevailed in Attica, Cyclades and Peloponnese as well as the Ionian Islands having less than 400 mm (rainfall) annual records.<sup>29</sup>

The typical Mediterranean climatic zone is effective all over the Peninsula. Mild conditions are observed in winter time, temperatures may rise up to 40 °C in arid seasons. High annual variations and hot temperatures threaten water availability.<sup>30</sup> The annual average temperature is 19 °C.<sup>31</sup> Moisture is about 65% in the vicinity of Marmaris.<sup>32</sup> Low pressure (generally below 1013, 2 mb) and windy conditions are peculiar to the region. On the annual average rainfall distribution map released by DSİ, the Bozburun Peninsula rates 1000-1250 mm per year where the moderate maximum values reach 2000 or over 2000 in some other regions (6).<sup>33</sup> Higher records are concentrated in the northern part where forests make up the majority of terrain.

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<sup>27</sup> Abulafia. 2003: 33-34. Rainfall from one season to another may greatly vary since deluges were unstable between 1600 B.C and 700 A.D (*ibid.*).

<sup>28</sup> Rackham. 1990: 86-91.

<sup>29</sup> Osborne. 1987: 33.

<sup>30</sup> Thorne. 2002: 8.

<sup>31</sup> Taşlıgil. 2008: 75.

<sup>32</sup> Muğla 1973 İl Yıllığı (256).

<sup>33</sup> DSİ. 1961: 3-4; 1967: Chapter 4, 10 (Part 4, 10).

Weathering which affects soil type and vegetation during land formation is a critical process for the issue of moisture. As soil is dependent on moisture, rainfall and holding capacity of bedrock<sup>34</sup>, the entire interaction is of value. It seems that the climatic conditions of the Peninsula are connectable to Xerophytes, availability of forests, rainfall records and groundwater. When the level of a water-table is high enough, vegetation can support hydrology but does not have very much effect on the rainfall. Conditions of the region should further be elaborated from the point of dryness as it surpasses wetness in determining the climate. Regular drought patterns make the climate more constant. Jordan experienced a deforestation process during the 1<sup>st</sup> World War but the human and fauna effect were small to speak.<sup>35</sup> That is to say that type of vegetation, mainly the maquis and olives (*Olea europaea*, *Oleaster*, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Quercus coccifera*<sup>36</sup>, and figs (*Ficus carica*) in the southern Peninsula has no notable impact on the rainfall regime however, contribute to penetration into the ground to preserve adequate moist. If so, deforestation could have occurred due to a shortage in rainfall and long periods of drought.

Regardless of the level of the population and possible manipulations over the environment, Marchese underscores the minimal effect of deforestation in northern Caria during the Bronze Age as it was better off in terms of natural vegetation. As may be claimed for sub-regional zones, no great effects caused by human beings on the environmental conditions were there.<sup>37</sup> Held states that the environs of Bozuk Village (ancient Loryma) was abandoned due to deforestation and erosion in the late Hellenistic period.<sup>38</sup> He may well be implying the deforestation of maquis. It is a possibility that the climatic conditions of the past were more or less the same- semi-arid. Yet, we need to stay away from firm statements since studies on the environmental background of Peraea are rather weak. Neither pollen analyses nor climatic research (specific to the region) has been carried out over the entire Peninsula until now. No matter, it is hard to suggest an availability of dense forests in

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<sup>34</sup> Abulafia. 2003: 37.

<sup>35</sup> Raikes. 1967: 65-68, 75-79, 83.

<sup>36</sup> Taşlıgil. 2008: 76.

<sup>37</sup> Marchese. 1989: 30.

<sup>38</sup> Held. 2001: 196

the *demes* of the Peninsula, unless otherwise is proven at some time in the future.

### 2.3. Historical Background

As the Bozburun Peninsula is acknowledged as part of the Carian territories, the Carian era is the first to be appraised. The historical trajectory of the Carians has not been fully completed up to now. Nevertheless, there is need to give the baselines of the associated geography and ramble through the Carian history in order to make a move towards this part of Anatolia and catch up with some developments until the end of the Hellenistic era.

Spread over southwest Anatolia, the frontiers of Caria were limited with the Aegean in the south and west, the Meander (Büyükmenderes) River in the north and the Indus (Kocaçay/ Dalaman) River in the southeast.<sup>39</sup> On ancient settlements (Figure 2.6), evidence has been traced as far as Tralles, Miletus, Myus, Priene and even Samos before the arrival of the Ionians.<sup>40</sup> Under a narrow definition, Caria was bordered up to Meander, neighbouring Ionia, Lydia, Phrygia and Lycia. The Meander, which has lots of things to say about the Carian occupation, was in fact the most attractive arena where the Ionian, Lydian and Carian borders intermingled and which also developed into most urban centers during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>41</sup>

Strabo writes that the Carian Chersonesos occupied 1500 stadion ring, travelling across its territories.<sup>42</sup> Herodotus is the first tier source in writing that the Carians, originally being Lelegian subjects- slaves of Minoans, migrated from the Aegean islands to the western coasts of Anatolia and settled in Halicarnassus and Cnidus. He

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<sup>39</sup> Ratté. 2005: 136.

<sup>40</sup> Uyguç. 1992: 43-46, 73.

<sup>41</sup> Ratté. 2005: 136.

<sup>42</sup> Strabo (14.2.1). McEvedy visualizes the Peninsula outside the borders of the Kingdom of Lydia on 560 B.C Map (p.49) (McEvedy, C. 1967. *The Penguin Atlas of Ancient History*. Manchester: Jesse Broad and Co.Ltd.).

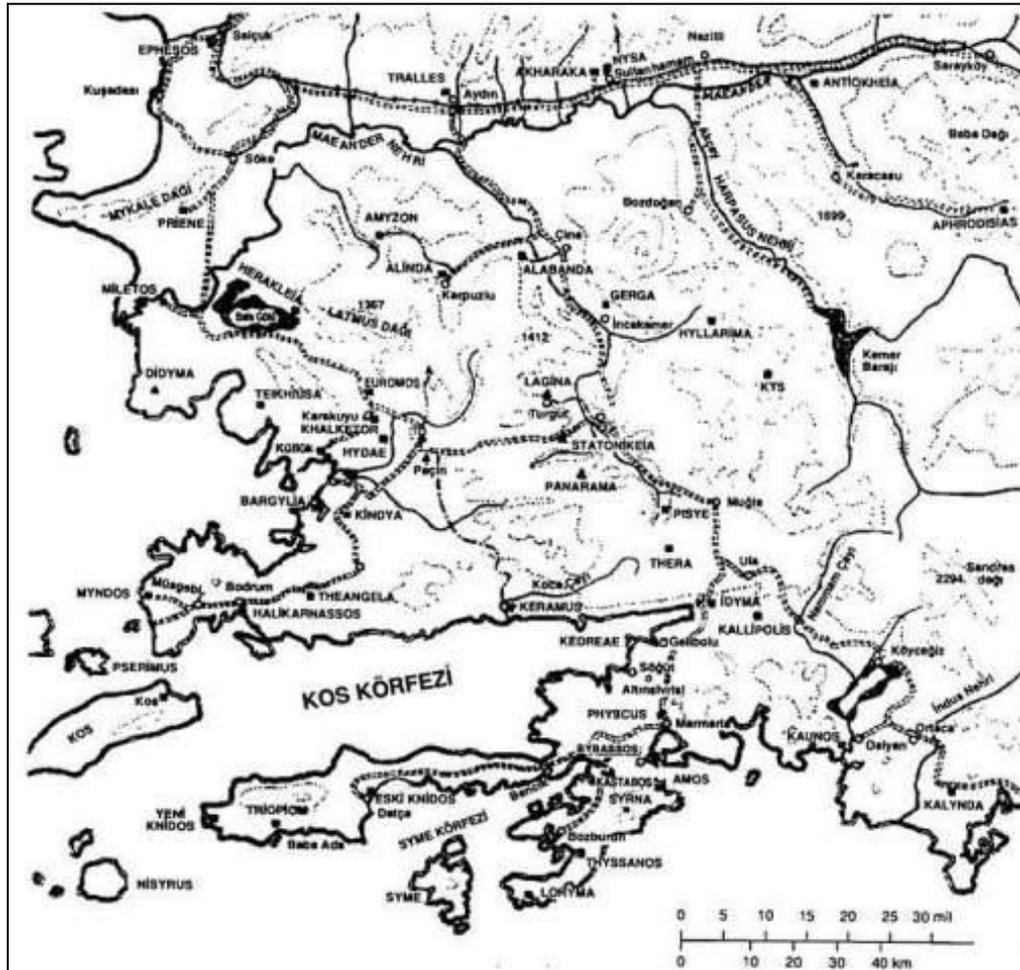


Figure 2.6: The Scope of Carian Settlements (Bean. 2000: xviii)

talks about an ancient temple dedicated to Zeus Karios which was collectively worshipped with Mysians and Lydians<sup>43</sup>, bringing cultic links to attention. Many

<sup>43</sup> Herodotus (1.171); Grant. 1986: 150.

∞ Known as “Karka” in the Persian records of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C, the Carians acknowledged themselves as locals of Anatolia, maintaining kinship ties with the Mysians and Lydians. The symbols of the Carians were crest helmets and shields which could be hung from the shoulder and were painted on the outer surface (Herodotus, 1.171), and the double axe which was perhaps taken from the Lydians or associated with the Cretans whom used the same in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. Another theory associates Carians being heirs to the Luwians due to similarities in language. Yet, no consensus about their origins has been reached (Ratte. 2005: 137; Sevin. 2001: 105). Further on the decipherment of Carian language, see Adiego, I.J. 2010. Recent Developments in the Decipherment of Carian, In van Bremen, R. and J- M. Carbon (eds.), *Hellenistic Karia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia (Etudes 28)*- Oxford, 147-176. 29 June- 2 July 2006. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard. On Carian grammar and bilingual inscriptions found in Sinuri and Stratoniceia, see Ray, J. D. 1990. “A Carian Text: The Longer Inscription From Sinuri”. *Kadmos* 29 (2): 126-132 and Şahin, M.Ç. 2000. “Karia’dan Epigrafik Notlar (Epigraphical Notes from Caria)”. *Archivum Anatolicum (Anadolu Arşivleri)* 4: 225-237, respectively.

scholars now claim Carians, whose borders changed frequently, were the natives of southwest Anatolia, as also accorded in the Hittite tablets. Archaeological record supported with cross finds have suggested that they first migrated to islands and mainland Greece due to population pressures and shortage of land and turned back to their original homeland thereafter.<sup>44</sup> No matter who migrated to elsewhere, probably following the Trojan Wars, a strong interaction amongst Anatolian and Greek cultures which led to social and ethnic changes for both is trustworthy.<sup>45</sup>

Questions regarding the origins of the Carians and Lelegians, whom shared common lands in western Anatolia, continue to be posed. Ancient records mention the Lelegian and Pelasgian<sup>46</sup> tribes in Caria. Whether both were in Troy is debatable but the Carian side is almost certain. A historical reality also comes that the Carian King, Mausolus amalgamated 6 (six) Lelegian cities during the foundation of Halicarnassus.<sup>47</sup> Although little is known about the Lelegians, who are now acknowledged as simply being a group of people who settled in the Carian geography before the heydays of the Hecatomnids, particularly in the environs of the Halicarnassian Peninsula, they established a remarkable share of architectural knowledge with the remains left behind. However, their exact relationship to the Carians is an enigma.<sup>48</sup> Traceable from ancient milestones, general episodes on the mainland need to be compiled hereunder.

Relations of Caria and the Island of Rhodes can be traced as far back as the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C, the Mycenaean Age.<sup>49</sup> Many settlements in the Dodecanese Islands were in fact there until the end of Bronze Age. Although evidence is sparse for an interim period, new settlers appeared as evidenced from Protogeometric pottery

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<sup>44</sup> Boardman. 1999: 23; Küçükeren. 2007: 20; Uyguç. 1992: 34-40.

<sup>45</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 67-69.

<sup>46</sup> Herodotus (1.171); Strabo (13.1.58; 14.2.27); Thompson. 2007: 163.

<sup>47</sup> Varinlioğlu. 1992: 17-18. The Lelegian cities are concentrated in the Halicarnassian Peninsula. However, no Lelegian settlement appears in the south except the village of Sek near Ceramus, which reveals partial evidence (*ibid.*).

<sup>48</sup> Diler. 2007: 26-27. Considerable information comes from the sites of Pedasa and Hydai (Damlıboğaz near Mylasa) where vast data addressing Geometric pottery were retrieved from Lelegian tombs (Diler. 2005: 359-377).

<sup>49</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 9-10.

styles, particularly on the islands of Rhodes and Cos before the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C was a time of reoccupation which continued until the Early Iron Age, as has also been evidenced from the mainland, majorly the Halicarnassian peninsula.<sup>50</sup> Caria “absorbed a great deal of Mycenaean culture and was in constant and regular contact with the Greeks”.<sup>51</sup> That is to say that, with the collapse of the Hittite Empire after 1200 B.C and when the western coasts of Asia Minor began to be “colonized” by three main groups- the Aiolians, Ionians and Dorians at around 1000 B.C, the lack of organized power in Anatolia gave rise to new settlements. With the arrival of the Dorians at Rhodes, Cos, Halicarnassus, the adjacent islands and coastal Caria up to the Meander, Caria, like many of her contemporaries became a land of attraction.<sup>52</sup> Particularly coastal Caria, by then, became a member in the Dorian Hexapolis which was formed by Cos, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros. By the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C, in western Anatolia, Pan-Ionic leagues and kinds of constitutional mechanisms, including the Carians, were formed in the background. When the Cimmerian threat came to an end, the rising power of 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C Anatolia was the Lydian Kingdom whose attacks were strongly felt on Greek cities, being ever more influential than the Phrygians once were in Anatolia.<sup>53</sup> The effect left on the Greeks might be explained with the loyalty they had to offer to the Lydian King. On one hand, Iron Age Caria is full of questions however, it was for the first time the entire Caria was subjugated by the famous expansionist Lydian Kings- Alyattes and Croesus. These dates reciprocate the foundation of the 1<sup>st</sup> Carian *Koinon*, as explainable under the notion of a league or federation, whose meeting place was Mylasa.<sup>54</sup> Although tangible evidence on the presence of Lydians in Caria is scarce (e.g. Lydian inscriptions and painted pottery found in the 5<sup>th</sup>/ 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C Aphrodisias, otherwise pre-Hellenistic Ninoe), the relationship between the two cultures is almost solid due to a quite number of mid 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C graffiti on pottery inscribed in Carian letters and ritual deposits in certain parts of Lydia, but

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<sup>50</sup> Boardman. 1999: 26-27.

<sup>51</sup> Cook. 1962: 29.

<sup>52</sup> Jones. 1983: 29.

<sup>53</sup> Bean. 1979: 2-6.

<sup>54</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 55; Boardman. 1999: 102; Ratté. 2005: 137; Küçükeren. 2007: 71; Reger. 2007: 91.

particularly in Sardes.<sup>55</sup>

In the meantime, we may come down to the presence of mercenary Carians in the Near East and North Africa where they have been documented through inscriptions on rocks, stelae and pottery. The recruitment of Carian and Ionian soldiers in Egypt is somehow traceable from what Herodotus tells and Theocritus depicts in Idyll 17.<sup>56</sup> It is almost known that the Egyptian garrison towns and mercenary camps both welcomed the Greeks and Carians since much of the evidence relating to wares, also recorded from sites like Memphis, revealed a 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C occupation. A famous rock-cut inscription came from Abu Simbel. During the Nubian expedition in 591 B.C, Carians probably had a base in Nubia as inscriptions showed. As far the general background is concerned, the Greek (including the Cypriot Greeks) side is more safely declarable as pottery contributes to what we have been researching about up to now.<sup>57</sup> Remarkable samples of Carian-Egyptian stelae dated to the 540/30 B.C and recorded from Memphis (Saqqara) also pinpoint the presence of Carians in Egypt.<sup>58</sup> Pieces of evidence echoing *Karsāja* or *Bannēšāja* in the late Babylonian language in lieu of a group of Carian mercenaries occupying a fief in Babylonia close to Nippur, probably dating back to the reign of Cambyses, those living in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon, and some other Carians stationed in Borsippa have been retrieved from ancient tablets of the mid 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C. Such particular instances of script suggest a purposeful organisation and state regulated policy of the Persians as to how they knew to meet military needs through the use of foreigners during the 7<sup>th</sup>- 6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Carians living in Babylonia (e.g. those financially supported through taxation of Borsippean citizens) have left almost no doubt that they were those who later became Caro-Egyptians. It has been reported that considerable numbers of young women with children were brought to Babylonia as Persian state pensioners, through rations upon death of their husbands or during conscription in the Persian army. It might well be another possibility that they were those brought from Egypt

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<sup>55</sup> Ratté. 2005: 137.

<sup>56</sup> Herodotus (2.61,152,154); Theocritus (89-90).

<sup>57</sup> Boardman. 1999: 135, 139.

<sup>58</sup> Herda and Sauter. 2009: 72.

when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C.<sup>59</sup>

Nothing is unusual about the Persian involvement in Carian life since the Carians had to succumb to the Persians by the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century B.C, as many other groups did. The Ionian and Aiolian Greeks were cautious to run smooth relations with the Achaemenid power as many were recruited into the army of the Persian Generals during their campaigns to southwest Asia Minor, far as Lycia and Caunos. When the Ionian satrapy was awarded to watch for groups including Caria, the takeover of Carian territories ended up with their annexation to this satrapy.<sup>60</sup> Beginning with Cyrus, the tradition of appointing tyrants, namely satraps to Greek cities through Achaemenid politics was accepted. No great disturbances took place during the reign of Darius into the late 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Caria became not only a satrapy but an ally to Persia; the situation is noteworthy in demonstrating the influence of Persian elements in Carian territories until the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>61</sup> Baran pinpoints that the Persian influence need not be exaggerated, however it completely affected Carian life beginning from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In fact, Carians were already there as a unique culture from very early times. But, the pace of life accorded with reforms was accelerated later, with Hellenism. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, many communities in the Aegean and surrounding geographies were experiencing similar processes but the distinctive thing about Carians is that the Hecatomnid dynasty seems to have been the last ruling authority acting as a “bridge between the Classical and Hellenistic period” and introducing new items into the Carian culture.<sup>62</sup>

Frequently changing position of Caria lay in the political conjuncture that she had to witness numerous hostile powers of the ancient world. A period of unrest began when the Carians were engaged in the Ionian Revolt (499-493 B.C) caused by the dissatisfaction of Greek cities in Asia Minor. The Carians were soon subjugated in the Battle of Lade (494 B.C). When the Persian rule was restored, Xerxes (the son of

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<sup>59</sup> Waerzeggers. 2006: 1-3, 5-7.

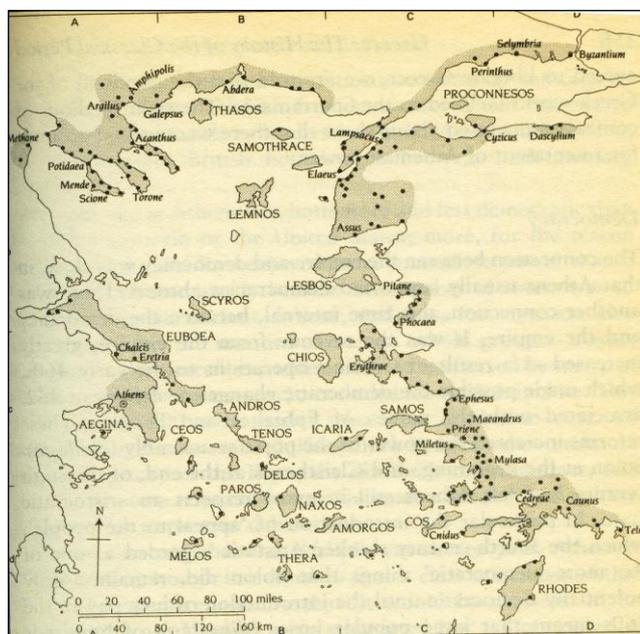
<sup>60</sup> Boardman. 1999: 102-103.

<sup>61</sup> Ratté. 2005: 137; Üzel. 2007: 24-25. Üzel prefers to the word “Kariannes” as ascribed to the adoption of Persian and Greek elements in Caria (*ibid.*).

<sup>62</sup> Baran. 2012: 101-103.

Darius) attacked the Greeks. The Carians aided the Persian army, as others had to do, with 60 (sixty) ships. By then, the name of the first female admiral in the world, Artemisia I is first heard. This Carian admiral, as the first known queen of Halicarnassus, was commanding the naval force of Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyros and Kalymnos during the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C) against the Athenians. Following the failure of the Persians and foundation of the Delian League in 478 B.C thereupon, the Carians opted to join the mentioned League through which colonization was being accelerated by the Athenian supremacy in Asia Minor.<sup>63</sup>

Caria became a country of Athenians (Figure 2.7), credited by Thucydides, as having provided infantry and financial resources.<sup>64</sup> Corresponding to Herodotus' Carian Chersonesos, the Chersonesii (Figure 2.8) was recognized as a member in the Delian League and paid around 3 talents to Athens.<sup>65</sup> Cedrae, Phycus, Pynrus and Erine excluded, 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C Chersonesos is mainly acknowledged with the names



**Figure 2.7:** The Extent of the Athenian Empire (Hornblower. 1991: 155)

<sup>63</sup> Marchese. 1989: 5; Küçükeren. 2007: 71-74; Herodotus (7.99.2).

<sup>64</sup> Thucydides (2.9).

<sup>65</sup> Cook. 1961a: 56-57.



Figure 2.8: Map of Carian Chersonesos (Cook. 1961a: 57)

Amos, Bybassos, Kastabos, Cynus, Syrna and Loryma. The scope of tribute is open to debate since problems arise along with the contradictions between ATL and Rhodian inscriptions.<sup>66</sup>

Heavy tributes of Athens imposed on the members of the League opened the way to revolts provoked by the Milesians whereby active resistance came from the Cnidians in 412 B.C. The Persians were ready to trigger the situation. The aftermath of Athenians in the Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 B.C) caused the annulment of the League and so Caria was left free once. The Persians soon held the flag in Asia Minor with the King's Peace ratified with the Athenians in 386 B.C.<sup>67</sup> The presence of Persians in Asia Minor and the imprints left in cultural and political life must have affected the Carian way of living, particularly until the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The most valuable evidence has been a trilingual script found in Xanthos, mentioning notable numbers of Persian settlers. There were many other inscriptions recalling Persian names that were honored in Carian sanctuaries in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 66.

<sup>67</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 74.

<sup>68</sup> Hornblower. 2002: 72.

Seemingly, Caria was a land of aspiration, back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The history of Rhodes is as complex as that of Caria. The *Stasis* (391-389 B.C) was taking place in Rhodes due to internal conflicts triggered by foreign powers in 411-391 B.C.<sup>69</sup> When the new Athenian Confederacy (2<sup>nd</sup> Athenian League) was formed in 378/377 B.C, the Rhodians preferred to stay on the Athenian side when they were struggling to expel oligarchy on the island.<sup>70</sup> Over time, Byzantium, Cos and Rhodes allied and acted against Athens to protect their political and economic interests which in turn ended up with the Social War (357/6 B.C) and defeat of Athens. In the beginning, Mausolus probably supported the alliance against Athens so that Athenians could not interrupt Caria but there is no direct evidence that the Carians maintained their support. Neither is there evidence for restoring control over Rhodes by Mausolus nor for his support for the establishment of oligarchy at the Island. Referring to historical records, Demosthenes could have been triggering Athens to attack Caria while he was giving a speech on the deliverance of Rhodes. Further, the real history about an attack of Artemisia to Rhodes to retaliate against the attack of Rhodes to Halicarnassus (353-350 B.C), as also later elaborated by Vitruvius, may be fictitious.<sup>71</sup> Torr reports that a Carian garrison was established on the *Acropolis* of Rhodes around similar dates.<sup>72</sup> Questioning the passages conveyed by Demosthenes and Vitruvius on different sides, following the Social War, internal conflicts of Rhodes could have led the way to an oligarchic period around 354 B.C. Although involvement of Caria in the Rhodian politics seems difficult, there is another possibility that the Rhodians could have invited the Carians to the Island when Artemisia set sail to Rhodes. Some scholars now think that Mausolus was already controlling the island of Rhodes after the Social War.<sup>73</sup>

Mausolus was the best known heir to the Hecatomnid dynasty and local power/satrap of the Persian Empire from 367 to 353 B.C. Acknowledged as the famous activist

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<sup>69</sup> David. 1984: 283. Conflicts between the democrats and oligarchs are well known from the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Following synoecism of the Island of Rhodes, the Diagorean family ruled Rhodes until 395 B.C. Under the Diagorean oligarchy, Rhodes was an ally of Sparta (*ibid.* 271-272).

<sup>70</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 10-11.

<sup>71</sup> Demosthenes (15.3); Vitruvius (2.8, 2.14-15); Demir. 2006: 50-51, 69-70.

<sup>72</sup> Torr. 1885: 11-12.

<sup>73</sup> Demir. 2006: 50-51, 59-62.

ruler of transitional 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, he was the one who moved the ancient capital- Mylasa to the coastal line- Halicarnassus and initiated reformist movements by giving it a new status through the incorporation of neighbouring indigenous communities.<sup>74</sup> As long as tribute was forwarded to the central Persian government, there was no problem albeit affront to the local freedom. From 377 B.C, it was an era of wealth and architectural and artistic reforms in late Classical Asia Minor. Great steps were being taken, spectacular buildings were being erected. Being one of the significant actors of the cultural burst and prosperity identified with the so-called “Ionian Renaissance”, we see Mausolus creating a new fashion by importing some Archaic elements and using local patterns simultaneously, specifically in the field of architecture (perhaps being the major result of the King’s Peace in Asia Minor). By mature times of Mausolus around 357 B.C, the Carian satrapy occupied a territory of 25.000 km<sup>2</sup>, campaigns reached as far as Rhodes. Hellenisation in Caria had such a great magnitude that even Alexander the Great, who abolished the Carian satrapy, did not touch the famous Mausoleum in Halicarnassus. When Mausolus passed away in 353 B.C, Rhodian invasions gradually accelerated over the Carian territories.<sup>75</sup>

After a cooling period at the death of Alexander the Great, Caria was shaken with the greedy attempts of his generals. Antigonos and Attalos appeared on the picture, at the close of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C when Rhodes was wise enough to maintain amicable relations with all of them, as conveyed in the diplomatic archives.<sup>76</sup> Caria was ruled by Asandros until 313 B.C and taken over and ruled by Antigonos until 301 B.C.<sup>77</sup> The acceleration in founding colonies was basically a matter of the Seleucids and Ptolemies, especially in the southern part of Asia Minor but there was also a naval power- that of Antigonos far as Cyprus while Rhodes was also acting as a base for shipyards.<sup>78</sup> In 305/304 B.C, Demetrius I attacked Rhodes and plundered the Island

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<sup>74</sup> Jones. 1983: 32.

<sup>75</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 81, 88-97; Pedersen. 1994: 32; Zahle. 1994: 85.

<sup>76</sup> Hauben. 1977: 316-323.

<sup>77</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 102-103. The entire Caria was left to the custody of Ptolemies when Alexander the Great granted the Carian satrapy to Ada Flavius Arrianus (1.23.6-7).

<sup>78</sup> Cohen. 1995: 50.

and the Peninsula with 400.000 soldiers.<sup>79</sup> During struggles among the generals, we hear the advent of Lysimachus in 301-281 B.C. In 268 B.C, the Seleucids took control in Caria for a while.<sup>80</sup> That this could never last longer than expected was mainly due to the Ptolemies who captured coastal cities, Antigonos Doston's (Macedonian Antigonos III) actions after 227 B.C and pressures coming from the Attalids and Rhodians.<sup>81</sup> Actually, Ptolemies were busy capturing (and asking for a tribute of *trireme* annually) coastal Caria, aspiring to Halicarnassus, Myndus, Kalydna and Caunos in 280-195 B.C. Around these times, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Carian *Koinon* in the name of Zeus Khrysaoris was founded (possibly under Ptolemaic influence) near Stratoniceia.<sup>82</sup> A decree issued by the Chrysaoric League well documented its presence in Labraunda and Mylasa. Similar to what the Federation of Troad (whose center was the temple of Athena in Ilion and that it was possibly founded by Antigonos) had to stand in between the crossfire of the Seleucids and Ptolemies during early and middle 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C<sup>83</sup> in one of the most strategic routes between the Hellespont and continental Europe, Carians were exposed to the greed of the Hellenistic kingdoms. As Ptolemies are known to have reached the southern shore of the Ceramic Gulf<sup>84</sup>, they must have watched over the Peninsula.

It seems that the Rhodians benefited from the “periods of political instability to expand their holdings on the mainland” as 280 B.C was a burst period.<sup>85</sup> Between the lines of the Hellenistic episodes, Rhodes is heard as an ally of Antigonos. The wealth of Rhodes is understandable from the votes she paid (*140.000 drachmae*) for defence

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<sup>79</sup> Souza. 1999: 44-45. Rhodians became suppressors of piracy and guardians of merchants in 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C, as far as Black Sea and territories of Byzantium which imposed tolls on passing ships in 220 B.C (*ibid.*49).

<sup>80</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 102-103. Seleucids (Antiochus I) founded the city of Stratoniceia in order to control the Carian League. Inscriptions unveil that the bulk of the population was still Carian (*ibid.*). Three sanctuaries were dependent on Stratoniceia: Lagina, Panamara and Coliorga (Cousin. 1900: 24-69).

<sup>81</sup> Cohen. 1995: 252.

<sup>82</sup> Lloyd. 1997: 173; Küçükeren. 2007: 102-103; Reger. 2007: 91.

<sup>83</sup> Cohen. 1995: 37-38.

<sup>84</sup> Reger. 1999: 77-78. The eastern provinces of Caria were subjugated by the Seleucids around 241 B.C. while the southwestern cities like Amyzon, Latmos, Euromos, Halicarnassus, Myndus and maybe Caunos and Cnidus were in the hands of the Ptolemies. We are informed of Seleucid control in provinces like Stratoniceia, Alabanda, Alinda, Antiocheia of Chrysaoreans, e.g. in central inland Caria. As understandable, the coasts were watched by Ptolemies (*ibid.*).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*92.

logistics. However, things were not smooth as Mithridates and Pharnaces (Chariton depicts Mithridates as the “governor of Caria”, and Pharnaces’ territory in the east of Miletus<sup>86</sup>) reached the Island in around 220 B.C and 182 B.C, respectively. Nevertheless, she experienced the greatest loss with the march of the Macedonian King, Philip V until peace was established with Roman involvement in 205 B.C.<sup>87</sup> Although Antiochus the Great was also occupied with seizing Ptolemaic possessions in Caria between 203 B.C and 197 B.C, this probably did not obscure the situation as Philip V acted as a counterbalance, from the viewpoint of Rhodians and possibly from that of the people of the Peraea.<sup>88</sup>

In 201 B.C, around the advent of Philip V, the Rhodians and Attalids were trying to maintain their garrisons in Asia Minor.<sup>89</sup> Talking about the affairs of Macedonia and Greece, Polybius mentions the Romans’ will that Philip should “withdraw from the whole of Greece” and evacuate the Peraea which he had taken over from Rhodians.<sup>90</sup> It is likely that the Carian mainland which was probably in the hands of Rhodians was recaptured by Philip V.

Not that difficult to fathom, there was certainly the clash of interests between the Rhodians, Ptolemies, Seleucids and Macedonians between 204-196 B.C.<sup>91</sup> Aided with the allied forces of Rhodes and Pergamon, the Romans, under the leadership of Flaminius, could finally defeat Philip V in 197 B.C, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Macedonian War. We hear of a Rhodian general, Pausistratos, who regained the Carian mainland with around 3000 mercenaries and preferred to occupy the villages and outposts previously lost, rather than marching for Stratoniceia which had the chief fortress in south Caria. Peraea, as one critical region, was returned to Rhodes by the

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<sup>86</sup> Chariton (4.1).

<sup>87</sup> Torr. 1885: 14, 16, 18. 220 B.C seems to have been the great expansionist period of Rhodes in Caria as a result of defeat of Seleukos II by his brother Antiochus Hierax whom used Gaulish mercenaries, at Ancyra which finally resulted in the withdrawal of Seleucids in Caria and the accession of Attalids in northwest Caria in around 227 B.C. We are also informed of the advent of Antigonos Doson and endeavours of Olympichos between 204-196 B.C (Polybius (5.90.1); Reger. 1999: 81-82, 86-87).

<sup>88</sup> Reger. 1999: 88.

<sup>89</sup> Polybius (5.16.24).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid* (5.18.2).

<sup>91</sup> Reger. 1999: 86.

Macedonians while other requests were turned down. Evidently, the restoration of the Peraea marked an altered policy in around 197 B.C before Stratoniceia was granted to Rhodes.<sup>92</sup> Along with the ratification of the Peace of Apameia (188 B.C), the Seleucids also had to step back in western Anatolia and cede all their dominions to the Romans. What was left at hand for the Rhodians was the south of Meander while Eumenes had to be contented with Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia and Ionia and all the villages and towns up to the Meander including important cities like Ephesos and Tralles.<sup>93</sup> Terms of grant of the south Caria to Rhodians with the Peace of Apameia excluded some autonomous cities like Alabanda, Herakleia, Miletus and Mylasa. It is perhaps why “Rhodian mildness” was preferred in Caria.<sup>94</sup>

Beginning with the Peace of Apameia, disputes between Rhodes and Caria continued. Caria joined the revolts invoked by Caunos and Mylasa against the Island until they were liberated by Rome.<sup>95</sup> A principal reason may be laid on the physical and psychological tensions between Rhodes and Lycia.<sup>96</sup> Polybius attests that when envoys from Lycia were dispatched to Rhodes, the Rhodians were ready to send some of their officials (as citizens) to Lycia and Caria. Moreover, the Rhodian magistrates took an active role during quarrels between Lycia and Rhodes in the Rhodian Assembly.<sup>97</sup> Apparently, Rhodes must have felt that she was about to lose almost all of its territories on the mainland with the advent of Rome in 167 B.C.<sup>98</sup> Limited Rhodian suzerainty over Caria and Lycia between 188-167 B.C finally came to an end when Lycia was freed from Rhodian control in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Macedonian War in 168/7 B.C.<sup>99</sup> Caria, by then, did not hesitate to celebrate her good luck by declaring a sense of itself with friezes and local cults depicted in the Temple of Hekate at

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<sup>92</sup> Torr. 1885: 19-20.

<sup>93</sup> Jones. 1983: 51. It is what we hear from Diodorus Siculus about the inclusion of Caria and Lycia to the Rhodian domain in around 188 B.C. (29.11).

<sup>94</sup> Torr. 1885: 66.

<sup>95</sup> Küçükören. 2007: 103-104. In the late Republican period, the degree of autonomy is debatable. “The liberty of dispensing justice was a mark of freedom”. When a city or a region was liberated, all the legal cases between the natives were to be remedied under native laws. But such a case was also limited to certain nations. Any type of intervention was possible (Palaz Erdemir, H. 2004. “Roma’nın Anadolu’da İdari Bir Meselesi: Bağımsız Şehirler”. *Adalya* 7: 171-184.).

<sup>96</sup> Torr. 1885: 23.

<sup>97</sup> Polybius (5.22.5).

<sup>98</sup> Torr. 1885: 23.

<sup>99</sup> Sherwin-White. 1984: 50-51.

Lagina.<sup>100</sup> Before declaration of Delos a free port in 164 B.C, Lycia and Caria were paying almost half million drachma from harbour dues as tribute to Rhodes. Including economic interests, Rhodes was finally deprived of Stratoniceia and Caunos around these days. Presumably, her declaration of war against the Cretan pirates after 167 B.C and fighting against Mithridates in around 88 B.C caused the Romans (under Sulla) to restore Caria and Lycia to the Rhodians for their fidelity. However, all was lost by the time of Pompey in 67 B.C.<sup>101</sup> Reforms culminated in Caria during the reign of Augustus when it became the only fully autonomous region.<sup>102</sup>

## 2.4 Political Organisation

Although evidence on the nature of organisation is very weak for early Iron Age Caria<sup>103</sup>, on the discrete picture, preliminary evidence about the political organisation of the Peninsula comes from the Archaic period. Caria was a land of villages created in a decentralized manner and diverse land-hinterland interactions before the arrival of the Greeks. When it was connected to the Greek world, various political forms prevailed until the end of the Hellenistic age.<sup>104</sup>

Three forms of territorial organisation fit to the Carian way of life at different phases of history. First founded in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C, *koinons*, majorly a significant reflection of ethnic identity, were almost equivalent to a territorial integration of states on voluntary basis under a half religious character, specifically in south Caria.<sup>105</sup> Two decrees about a local formation at Panamara have brought to light the presence of a *koinon* of Laodikeis through which the son of Chrysaor- Leon was honored probably during the Rhodian rule. The names of local magistrates were commemorated following the eponymous priest of Helios. As a matter of fact, the names could have belonged to the local magistrates of Panamara or to a body of

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<sup>100</sup> Reger. 2007: 94.

<sup>101</sup> Torr. 1885: 27-28; 66.

<sup>102</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 103-104.

<sup>103</sup> Diler. 2007: 27.

<sup>104</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros. 1997: 119-120; Ratté. 2005: 136.

<sup>105</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros. 1997: 121-127; Reger. 2007: 91.

citizens from Laodikeia who were residing at Panamara (perhaps attributable to a Seleucid foundation). No matter which special group these decrees addressed, there lay a reality of the ancient world, the *koinon* type formations or equivalents, widely practiced in Caria.<sup>106</sup> Whether or not it was a *koinon*, the nature of political unions could have been different in the ancient periods. To exemplify, the western Lycia, as has been evidenced through numismatic study, was different than the eastern Lycia. Presumably, harsh topographies impeded communication patterns to a great extent. The communities of the eastern Lycian peninsula, where small numbers of Rhodian colonies like Phaselis were situated, seem to have dwelled on self-sufficiency in the course of conducting political affairs whereas the western part, basically the environs of Xanthos, united in the early times forming a “one body” community.<sup>107</sup> As a matter of fact, federative structures identifiable with *koinon* type polities are known from the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C Corinth- concentrated around the isthmus area<sup>108</sup> and the league which was formed by II. Philip thereafter<sup>109</sup>, or from Classical and Hellenistic Boeotia, Thessaly and Aetolia although a magnitude of Carian organisations could never be comparable to these great political unions.<sup>110</sup> The rise of loose federative foundations in districts like Achaia, Arcadia or Aetolia in the 4<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C was a result of defensive action following the disastrous effects of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>111</sup> For the purposes of this research, we shall refer to those which retained political unity rather than leaving space for alliances that gathered for pure religious purposes- the *Amphiktyone* (e.g. the *Amphiktyonic Council* referring to a member of the Chrysaoric League- Antioch Alabanda, in a decree of 203 B.C<sup>112</sup>) or for recreational activities such as regional festivals but absolutely disregarding *symmachia*- a temporary gathering to act in one body concept during wars, at the same time.<sup>113</sup> The Greek state of Epirus (Ἀπειρος) presented some contrasts between

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<sup>106</sup> Ma. 1998: 9-10. Despite different theories on her foundation, as may be valid for many Hellenistic “colony” cities, Laodikeia (on the Lykos) was founded by Antiochus II somewhere between 261-253 B.C. It was already civic, maintaining amicable relations with Priene and Magnesia on the Meander, at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C (Cohen. 1995: 309; Corsten. 2007: 131).

<sup>107</sup> Keen. 2002: 34.

<sup>108</sup> Davies. 2001: 223.

<sup>109</sup> Walbank. 2002: 236.

<sup>110</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 54.

<sup>111</sup> Walbank. 2002: 250.

<sup>112</sup> Cohen. 1995: 248.

<sup>113</sup> Walbank. 2002: 244.

the 4<sup>th</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C within the changing political conjuncture. When Pyrrhos from the dynasty of Molossian Aeacide came to the throne in 296 B.C, a system of coalition made up of *koinons* had already been achieved but the point to note is that it survived down to 272 B.C under a non-flexible character when compared to loose *koinon* systems in some other parts of the Greek world, including Asia Minor. The Epirotes were very familiar with rural life on the frontiers of the Greek world and Illyrian communities. Including the Diadochi period, the challenge of monarchical power on the authority of the Epirote League seems to have encouraged a second level of government, as has been testified through numismatic and epigraphical material. Restrictions of political sovereignty in the federal sphere might have been caused by various arenas of conflict however, the relevant remaining issues are out of the scope by now.<sup>114</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Carian *Koinon* was a loose national federation of self-organized villages which gathered in Leukai Stelai (White Steles) near the Marsyas River with the approaching threat of Persians.<sup>115</sup> Though it may seem anachronistic to question the relationship of the Carian League to that of the Ionians (from which the Carians could have been inspired), the distinctive thing about the Carian *Koinon* was that the rural way of living was the key to the formation of such a mechanism of solidarity and it was probably much older. There is also the fact that the pace of development of the Carian *Koinon* could have had the rationale in geographical characteristics and Archaic settlement patterns. Hence, village based *koinons* were most probably the driving force in the making up of the *poleis* down to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C but they absolutely survived side by side with *poleis* according to changing conditions in which case the *koinons* of Koarendeis, Plataseis and Telmisseis functioned along with the permit of Mausolus during and long after the Persian rule.<sup>116</sup> When the Hecatomnids were gradually swept into the reformist sphere of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Carian communities were transformed into a quasi-autonomous state during the times of Persian rule.<sup>117</sup> As well as *koinons*, there were other communities (e.g. those

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<sup>114</sup> Funke. 2000: 108-109, 120-121.

<sup>115</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 55; Sevin. 2001: 107; Reger. 2007: 90.

<sup>116</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 55-57, 63-65.

<sup>117</sup> Jones. 1983: 30-32.

of Tralles, Pelekōs and Kildareis) which were neither surpassed by Mausolus and his successors nor abolished, most probably because of Achaemenid policy, as documented from Mylasa.<sup>118</sup> The institution of satrapy in Asia Minor was influential enough to surpass local autonomy, however, there are instances where communities had certain degree of autonomy in internal affairs as long as they forwarded tribute to the Great King of Persia. In fact, they were fledged with military authority. In making such a system they were supposed to act with deference to the King whenever there was diplomatic affair although there appears to be no such explicit rule in the inscriptions read up to now. Treaties signed by Mausolus and the city of Phaselis or Knossos' privileges granted by Mausolus seem to abort the rule. It is also explainable with a change of perceptions, thus the policies of Persians in favour of local administrators, two of whom were Carian origin men appointed to the Xanthos office, and the others appointed to the satrapy of Caria from the local Hecatomnid dynasty (rather than appointing Persian origin satraps), after 400 B.C in Asia Minor.<sup>119</sup>

In the course of mature Hellenism, *les territoires communautaires* which marked a zone with their *chora* maintained exclusive relations within themselves, e.g. Cnidus, Mylasa, indigenous villages or group settlements.<sup>120</sup> Despite the upheaval of Hellenism, inland Caria was concerned with surviving the customs and ancient lives. The 2<sup>nd</sup> *Koinon*, founded in Stratoniceia in around 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C was a "Khrysaoreon"- a federation represented with numerous villages and cities. The practice of worshipping Zeus Karios was replaced by Zeus Khrysaoreis.<sup>121</sup> Şahin clarifies that this *koinon*- namely the Carian Chrysaoric League, is of utmost importance that the reason lay in the system within which confederations (e.g. Chrysaoreis Confederation, Idriaic Confederation) had the right to vote based on the number of city and village federations (e.g. Chrysaoreis, Panamareis, Koranzeis,

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<sup>118</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 68.

<sup>119</sup> Hornblower. 2002: 70-71.

<sup>120</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros. 1997: 121-127.

<sup>121</sup> Küçükveren. 2007: 26-27; Carstens. 2011a: 121. The date of foundation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Koinon* is speculated to before the Carian revolt in 494/493 B.C in the city of Chrysaoris which most probably lay 200 m east of Stratoniceia (Şahin. 1976: 28).

Londargeis, Ardyreis). These federations held assemblies for political and religious representation.<sup>122</sup> A decree inscribed in Greek and recovered in Mylasa (dated to 367 B.C) is amongst the most valuable piece of evidence displaying the federative structure of Carians who sent a group of representatives to the Great King of Persia, in the name of the League of Chrysaoris.<sup>123</sup> A member of the Chrysaoric Confederation- Ceramus (situated in the northern coast of the Ceramic Gulf) has helped to add to our knowledge through the earliest coins dated back to the 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C, as also depicted by the basic figure of Zeus.<sup>124</sup> Not that far from the Ceramic Gulf, a *koinon* formed by Pladaseis and Pisyetai, as unveiled through a fragmentary inscription, has addressed the presence of similar formations in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>125</sup> Following the Peace of Apameia, the Carians gathered to change the character of their league. The reformist action ended up with dividing the country into regions based on *phylae*. The decisions of the assembly were taken by the representatives of each *phyle* which were purely of Carian origin.<sup>126</sup> By the time the name “Rhodian Peraea” was being widely used in lieu of the Carian Chersonesos, we understand that the Peninsula was administratively connected to the Rhodian League and divided into village type settlements, namely *demes* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C with the diplomatic onset of Rhodes.<sup>127</sup> The Carian *Koinon* (ὁί Κάρες) embraced regional equivalents<sup>128</sup> one of which was the *Koinon* of Chersonesos. Under this regional League, local *koinons* were organized. For Held, these were Loryma, Amos, Bybassos, Tymnos, Phoinix, Thysannos, Hygassos, Syrna, Hydas and Casarae. He attests that each local *koinon* of *demes* was politically organized in the form of a *chora* around a central settlement. In brief, the Carian “*Koinon* system”, as the highest political phenomena, was the nexus for regional *koinons* one of which was the Chersonesos *Koinon*.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Strabo (14.2.25); Şahin. 1976: 29-32.

<sup>123</sup> Jones. 1983: 30-31.

<sup>124</sup> Head. 1963: 613.

<sup>125</sup> van Bremen. 2009: 111.

<sup>126</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 103.

<sup>127</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros. 1997: 129-130.

<sup>128</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 53-67.

<sup>129</sup> Held. 2005: 86-87, 96.

The Carian political institutions and posts have been proven on numerous inscriptions. The most yielding have been those retrieved at Iasos where the vast majority addressed the early Hellenistic period. *Magistrates* were the highest officials. Among them were the *archontes*, *neopoiai*, *prostatai*, and *prytaneis*. *Archontes* were the highest status officials of city federations, *demarchos* was the equivalent of an archon in village federations.<sup>130</sup> Each *deme* in the Peraea fulfilled the function of a *polis*. The situation seems to have been a mixed form as the Peninsula neither resembled *demos* of Rhodes nor Cnidus during the Rhodian control.<sup>131</sup> Certain cases are explainable with non-uniform Hellenistic models; e.g. the basic administrative units, namely *nomes*, did not have councils, nor did they collect taxes in Egypt.<sup>132</sup> The entire Peraea, on one hand, demonstrated a loose hierarchy but performed the functions of a *polis* as a whole.

The Rhodians should always be seen as potential agents in the Peninsula.<sup>133</sup> As evident from epigraphical material and use of demotics, the Peraean *demes* maintained close connections with the Rhodian administrative model.<sup>134</sup> The government model of Rhodes was typical of a commonwealth in which people could enjoy any type property. The system was based on regular rotations in post holders, limited to certain months of the year. Similar to the case in Attica, *ktoina*- the smallest political unit based on territorial division, was the oldest institution.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, Peraea was the miniature of Rhodes in terms of administration. Out of ten *stratego*i whose duties were military, “στραταγός ἐπὶ τὰς χώρας τὰς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις” was appointed to the Rhodian Peraea. Under this *strategos*, *hegemons* functioned in the name of various titles. On the administrative side, evidence has been recorded for the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C until the Domitian reign (81-96 A.D) and perhaps from the epoch of Septimius Severus. An inscription dated to a little later than the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C mentions about *hegemons* (ἄγεμόν) who were responsible for the Peraea. Such

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<sup>130</sup> Fabiani. 2010: 467-468; Şahin. 1976: 27-28.

<sup>131</sup> Cook. 1962: 30.

<sup>132</sup> Woolf. 1997: 2-3.

<sup>133</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 52.

<sup>134</sup> Sherk. 1990: 285.

<sup>135</sup> Berthold. 1984: 41.

posts were identical to those of the three old *poleis* of Rhodes.<sup>136</sup>

## 2.5 Scale of Ancient Economy

The scales of ancient economies can be traced from various sources as long as aided with substantial evidence. The archaeology world has great corpus of patterns in the economic context derivable from communication networks, in particular, since the Late Bronze Age. The basic flow of interregional and interregional relations might be found in continuous contacts that took place from the Black Sea to the Eastern Mediterranean. The use of sea routes and the flow of trade from the Aegean islands to Cyprus and Levant by the mid 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C indeed bear clues as far as the position of the ancient Peninsula and the neighbouring lands is concerned.

The adoption of the Phoenician alphabet, which accelerated cultural-economic relations in the background; the colonization of the western coasts of Asia Minor, the Black Sea and even Egypt; the formation of city-states or foundation of *emporía* by the Greeks as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C were some milestones that triggered expansionist movements in the Aegean. Several cases have been testified by continuous introduction of related archaeological material. Of these, the island of Rhodes, which is almost situated at the heart of the Mediterranean, has disclosed the extent of economic relations which become clearer in the historical context, beginning with the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. For instance, early relations, which go far as the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C, with Athens is attributable to the northern settlement of Ialysos while the western shores, identifiable with the settlement of Kamiros, proved contact with the eastern Greek islands of Samos and Chios and further with Corinth at around the same period. Based on accumulated evidence, cultural interactions reinforced with trade relations are also attributable to the Mediterranean and Thracian hinterlands and Black Sea routes that culminated around the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>137</sup> The development and spread of viticulture in the Gaul before

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<sup>136</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 82-86.

<sup>137</sup> Ainian and Leventi. 2009: 214-215, 225, 228, 234.

the Roman conquests was an outcome of newly offered tastes to the Gallic markets. The way opened by Mediterranean imports was seemingly a proliferation of local products manufactured as imitations of different forms of the typical Samian ware-*terra sigillata* throughout the Gallic region.<sup>138</sup> When the Persians were ruling Asia Minor and cooperation with the Ionians was already taking place in the background, the trade patterns of Greeks seem to have matured as they visited Persian bases, e.g. Naucratis and Al Mina in Egypt.<sup>139</sup> The involvement of Rhodian settlements like Ialysos and Lindos in the 6<sup>th</sup>- 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C in commerce via seafaring has already been evidenced through the coins minted in the Phoenician standard. When many cities were relieved from the Athenian rule at the close of the Peloponnesian Wars, the Chian standard coins replaced the Attic standard. The role Rhodes played in the monetary policy and weight system is attributable on dates corresponding to the advent of Alexander the Great when the allies of Rhodes, almost all the Ionian cities and Caria began to adopt the same. Hence, the importance of Rhodes may primarily be found in the new weight, thus coinage system which was introduced to the commercial world. Trade was vital for Rhodes as she is known to have travelled distant areas. However the golden age of commercial activity was 305-304 B.C which continued into the next siege as it became the greatest money-maker with many private entrepreneurs all over the Mediterranean.<sup>140</sup> The content of trade supporting any scale economies was priorly based on agrarian products, however, a wide spectrum of goods and services such as metals or prestigious objects were being transported across regions at the same time.

As a matter of fact, trade in classical antiquity has more to be explored although it cannot be comparable to trade in the modern sense. Trade had connotations in the context of redistribution economies but the bulk of transactions across regions involved pre-industrial agrarian communities. The meaning of luxurious changed at the expense of the elites but certain goods and basic diets travelled in huge quantities, particularly for supplying the *poleis* and armies. The need to emphasize what trade

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<sup>138</sup> Woolf. 2001: 54.

<sup>139</sup> Boardman. 1999: 102.

<sup>140</sup> Berthold. 1984: 48-50.

could have meant to various societies in fact lies in the social, economic and even ecological reasons. Hence, for a specific sphere of exchange or geography, “the distinction between short and long-distance distributions” finds explanation in the relative importance of ecological conditions to political boundaries or visa-versa in the ancient periods. Unstable climatic conditions, gradual changes in the new patterns of consumption, relative abundance or scarcity of certain goods (e.g. for building, prestige), etc. all fell into the agenda of the Phoenicians and the Greeks, who travelled as far as Italy and Spain and turned it to their advantage from the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>141</sup> However, the impetus of trade and the scale of economy, as Wilson pinpoints, would not have been expected to be identical to, for example, 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C Athens and the Roman world since the eradication of less predictable factors like piracy could have offered rising opportunities throughout a magnificent geography.<sup>142</sup> When Berthold makes a mark on the limited resources both on the Island of Rhodes and the mainland, he is agreeable on quite terms as he pinpoints the exceptional cases of honey, olive oil, vine and fruits. In return, export goods like grain and timber were favoured. Presumably, it was not the nature and content of the goods exported or imported but Rhodes’ strength in the profitable business-commerce and trade network.<sup>143</sup> That Rhodes lacked grain and had to sustain a densely populated city could have stimulated her into becoming a real merchant state until the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>144</sup> Not to be missed, the Aegean connections of Rhodes were there during the Bronze Age. As suggested by Mycenaean pottery to a great deal, westward trading in the Aegean receded in LH IIIC. Yet, Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus survived their contacts through the importation of e.g. “spouted conical cups”, fibulae, amber beads, etc.<sup>145</sup>

If we turn back to the scope area, the Peninsula was a real countryside where the type of production was essentially based on agrarian economy. Initial evidence on the financial status may be found in ATL and Persian tribute lists.

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<sup>141</sup> Morley. 2007: 4-5, 11, 24, 91.

<sup>142</sup> Wilson. 2001: 272.

<sup>143</sup> Berthold. 1984: 47-48.

<sup>144</sup> Morley. 2007: 25.

<sup>145</sup> Souyoudzoglou-Haywood. 1999: 142.

ATL were “audited records of *aparche* (first fruits of the harvest) paid in the name of Delian League members to the goddess Athena”. Caria’s inclusion in ATL becomes clear in the accounts of Eurymedon’s campaign. The series of the list begin in 454/453 B.C and continues for 40 (forty) years until new financial strategies were launched. Lists erected on the *Acropolis* in Athens had names and *aparche* which made up 1/16 of the tribute paid by each member. In spite of unreliable amounts, it is certain that small Carian towns which “joined or rejoined” later were included in the list.<sup>146</sup> Meritt refreshes that there were reassessments in the tribute lists at some time between 439/8 and 436/5 B.C that the idea of grouping quota lists according to 5 (five) geographical divisions may now be left to 4 (four). That is, Caria and Ionia should be put in the same basket, as a single merged list under the title of *Ἰωνικός*.<sup>147</sup>

Neither the Carian Chersonese nor Rhodes and cities beyond belonged to the Delian League before Cimon’s successful campaign. Also, about 40 (forty) *poleis* of Caria were removed from the registration list in 440 B.C. It may be that the *poleis* were reluctant to pay tribute or they were unable to do so for various reasons by that time. Sporadic records may have been affected by diminishing loyalties of inland Carian cities which were influenced by the Persian influence, as well. Payments of many are still open to question, e.g. Alinda as to whether it was her choice not to pay any more in view of the Persian reality.<sup>148</sup> Firstly, the scale of the ancient economy of the Carian Chersonesos was relatively small when compared to contemporaries in ATL. Tuna helps grasping the ranges of population in relation to tribute payments in ATL<sup>149</sup>, as given in Chapter 6.

In the meantime, we may have some idea looking at the Persian tribute system within which Carian tribute figures were based on (thirds and fourths) partial payments to the Persian Empire. Thompson explains that “there are two ways of interpreting the

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<sup>146</sup> Meritt et al 1939- 1949- 1950- 1953 (vol.3): 209; West. 1930: 267-269.

<sup>147</sup> Meritt. 1925: 292. List 5 (consolidation list) “as a whole” leads to a classification according to districts in Period I as Ionic, Karic, Thracian, Hellespontine, Insular. Quota lists of Period II and III reveal good traces of groups (*ibid.*31-37).

<sup>148</sup> Meritt et al. 1939- 1949- 1950- 1953 (vol.3): 210-212; Marchese. 1989: 5.

<sup>149</sup> Tuna. 1978. Erine apparently falls into the category  $\leq 2000$ .

Carian panel” – payments made according to base levels and amount of taxes paid. Both payment types relate to coins minted in the Aeginetic and Persian standards in the first half of 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>150</sup> Herodotus notes that Carians and islands large off the coast dispatched around 60 (sixty) Babylonian talents (70 (seventy) Attic talents) while 80 (eighty) Babylonian talents was paid by the inland villages out of the Athenian domain. It could be that by the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, 80 (eighty) talents was the figure within which part of or the entire Chersonesos was included.<sup>151</sup>

Small but remarkable, the economic potential of the Peninsula is also discernable from the ancient terrace systems. Terraces have been brought to forth as the basic indicators of agrarian economies that require manpower aided with a highly organized institution of slavery.<sup>152</sup> They must have been run for various types of products. Cereals were vital for the Persians and Greeks during the Peloponnesian Wars whilst fodder was the essential logistics. It is hard to speculate on the extent of cereal production, however, it could have played role during marches of troops in Asia Minor at wartimes. Presumably, transport amphorae were used for the shipment of supplies via naval traffic.<sup>153</sup> The Peninsula may then be put into a favourable position for sustainability, particularly during Peloponnesian campaigns of the Athenian navy which used the waters of Bozuk Bay (Loryma) as a shelter.

Economy and trade are inseparable. An amphora, often filled with wine, olive oil and

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<sup>150</sup> Thompson. 1981: 96-98. Firstly, the towns may have been categorized on two scales as the “basic and augmented” that many paid as increments to a base level while some others paid based on a higher scale, e.g Idyma. Or some paid on the basis of both. For the whole sum, Caria could have been divided into “fractions of 60 or some multiple thereof” where Idyma paid a larger fraction whereas smaller towns paid one or more sixtieths. However, following 453/2 B.C, towns in Caria paid rounded figures like 500 or 1500 drachmae according to a new monetary policy of Athens.

Secondly, taxes paid to Persia can be leading to understand how the taxation was realized. Towns which paid in silver coins of 3.7 g. – the so-called Phoenician Standard- after the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C (in around 420 B.C) in the two hoards, on the other hand, were minted in the Aeginetic Standard containing local staters. The “Asyut” hoard retains coins ascribed to Mylasa and being heavier than those “siglos” of the Persian style with a forepart of a lion although no sigloi appear in two major Carian hoards (Idyma) but model it. This may take the issue to the presence of Persian style coin representation (*ibid.*). For Herodotus, Carians contributed to a tribute of 400 talents of silver to the Kingdom of Darius, as the first source tax province (3. 90).

<sup>151</sup> Thompson. 1981: 99-100. Foreign silver was determined for Attic equivalence in 409/8 B.C.

<sup>152</sup> Taylor. 2001: 29.

<sup>153</sup> Barker. 2005: 20-24.

garum (fish sauce), is a very good indicator of trade overseas and between regions.<sup>154</sup> In spite of the fact that it is a valuable material for ancient economics, statistical studies sometimes provide a weak insight when there is no well-established system of stamping (e.g. verifiable by the case of Italian products during the Roman Republican era).<sup>155</sup> Amphorae marked notable expansions in the Hellenistic era. In seeking the economic scale of the Peninsula, one has to look at a larger geography for amphora traffic. Agricultural production had to flourish in Cos, the Peninsula and elsewhere which were located on the main route flowing from the Black Sea to the East. Following her synoecism in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Cos fell into the orbit of Rhodes and Alexandria and began to produce Rhodian amphora imitations.<sup>156</sup> Close ties between the Ptolemies and Coans seem to be the basic reason why Coan wines were found in large quantities in the eastern Mediterranean. That the magnitude of export could have been much more than expected now seems to be favourable with recent studies on until now skipped capacity of Coan amphorae attributable to the Hellenistic period. The practice of stamping amphorae has also been documented from Hellenistic Cos which is frequently detectable with (except for a few which were not stamped) double-barrelled and white flat single-barrelled handles. Two contexts found in Tell Anafa have shown that a large percentage of unstamped amphora datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C and from the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D onwards be of possibly Coan provenance.<sup>157</sup> Traceable back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Halicarnassus also seems to have found her place in amphorae production in the neighbourhood.<sup>158</sup>

Aspirations of Rhodes in order to grab territories in the Archaic period made her fortune through the implementation of colonies at Phaselis, the eastern Lycia and Soli in Cilicia.<sup>159</sup> She then became a prosperous city earning from trade of grain and slaves, beginning from 323 B.C. She offered distinguishable amphorae with fine and

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<sup>154</sup> Briese. 2005: 184-185. It is further suggested to read works on “Koan double-barrelled handle amphorae of Halicarnassus which developed in Cos in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C and spread over the Mediterranean”. They were commonly used in the Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods (*ibid.*).

<sup>155</sup> Rauh. 1999: 163.

<sup>156</sup> Georgopoulou. 2005: 179.

<sup>157</sup> Johnsson. 2004: 142-145. Johnsson marks the capacity of common Coan amphorae as 41-45 lt. which was high above (nearly double) the standard Rhodian amphorae (*ibid.*).

<sup>158</sup> Briese. 2005: 193.

<sup>159</sup> Keen. 2002: 27.

light coloured clay with all stamped on the handles.<sup>160</sup> The Rhodian stamped amphorae became known to many parts of the ancient world from western Mesopotamia and Ptolemaic Egypt to the Black Sea, Crimean Peninsula, Illyria, Italy and Sicily. The scale of grain production was notable in Cyprus and the Nile where Rhodians succeeded in creating a monopoly market by using their great potentials of grain production in the 3<sup>rd</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. Rhodians were so good at dealing with business and granting loans that even Pontic granaries, which were directly dispatched to the Aegean, were run by the famous bankers of the Island. The ability of Rhodes to regulate the vast majority of markets for grain and the circulation of currencies helps to fathom the scale of economies in a particular place on the mainland and elsewhere.<sup>161</sup> Although stamped amphorae handles, which are known to have travelled from Cos to Labraunda between 108-80 B.C, might leave a mark on the loss of Rhodian control over Carian cities along with the declaration of Delos a duty free *emporium*, the distribution of Rhodian amphorae to some other places could have enabled her to continue into the Imperial period.<sup>162</sup>

Split into various periods, Proto-Rhodian amphorae have been first recognized from first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C with shortened lengths. They began to be produced in taller and canonical forms, with narrow bodies by the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>163</sup> Lund attests expansions in amphora production both at Lindos and Kamiros lying on the Island, by displaying the chronological distribution of double-stamped amphorae handles which reached their peak roughly between 200-190 B.C. These continued to be produced, however at no dramatic decreases (except differences/slight differences according to site) all over the Island until 180 B.C.<sup>164</sup> The remark is that 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C amphorae of Rhodes were well known to almost every market. Evidence recalls a notable infiltration of Rhodian exports to the Levantine cities, during the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. It is worth emphasizing that when Delos was declared duty-free, Rhodes experienced a decline in the number

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<sup>160</sup> Evans. 2008: 78-79.

<sup>161</sup> Berthold. 1984: 50-51.

<sup>162</sup> Georgopoulou. 2005: 182.

<sup>163</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol. 2006: 111-114.

<sup>164</sup> Lund. 1999: 189-196.

of trade partners, but not in catastrophic terms, while the rival economies (e.g. Chios, Cos, Cnidus) supported with piracy were growing in the Mediterranean. Although Cnidian amphorae and jars of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C replaced the Rhodian types following the new status of Delos, Alexandria was still famous with the overwhelming dominance of Rhodian amphorae on the Cnidian and Roman types. Export wine figures continued to rise even after 166 B.C. Why Alexandria (where Italian and Coan wines were also prevalent) was still a place of attraction for Rhodes might be that the Island had to play to her strengths and cling to the idea of sustainability within the context of economic partnership (visa versa) such that Alexandria offered compensation for trade losses “at the expense of other long-established markets in the Aegean and elsewhere” in the course of decline of Rhodian exports after 166 B.C.<sup>165</sup> Trade on the Island was so systematized that there are instances for double-stamped amphorae on which names addressed either a fabricant/merchant or a magistrate. The well established market of Rhodes is the best explanation for such. Hence the Peninsula could have been affected by trade and administrative patterns which were shaped according to new conditions as recent evidence has put forward a similar situation.<sup>166</sup>

That Rhodes had a notable share in the international markets may be examined in respect of rival economies in the Mediterranean basin. One of the famous shareholders was Cnidus which showed dramatic increases in the wine market by the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Tuna makes a remark on about 40% (forty percent) share of the markets which indicate gross production in Cnidus in the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. Such an economic scale in terms of wine must have been achieved by a considerable work force- majorly driven by slavery and intermediaries, undoubtedly merchants to conduct smooth operations between the regions.<sup>167</sup> Likewise, Rhodes must have experienced the similar in order to ensure the survival of her markets which were directly or indirectly supported by the peripheries, including the Peninsula. When

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<sup>165</sup> Rauh. 1999: 162-166, 168-169. The degree of dominance of Rhodian amphorae in Alexandria was high enough during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C but it seems impossible to mark a “steep rise” in light of recent evidence (Lund. 1999: 199).

<sup>166</sup> Tuna and Empereur 1989: 289.

<sup>167</sup> Tuna. 1999: 487.

Roman influence expanded throughout the Aegean and Asia Minor after 167 B.C, there occurred an increase in the production of different provenance wine, especially those of Cos, Cnidus and Chios (taking into account the relative autonomy of certain cities in the course of limited or lack of Rhodian control or cooperation of autonomous cities like Cos, Cnidus, Caunos, Chios with Romans against prohibitive policies of Rhodians (prohibition of access of merchants to Rhodian harbours following the said period) as opposed to declining figures in Rhodian exports.<sup>168</sup> These instances might bear similar implications for the scale of the Peraean economy. It was only until the reign of Claudius and the total absorption of Rhodes into the Republic that Rhodian wine exports hit the old figures prior to 167 B.C, as far as Britain.<sup>169</sup>

By 300 B.C, the practice of stamping amphorae began on the Island and the periphery.<sup>170</sup> In the Peninsula, Hisarönü, Orhaniye (Çubucak), Karaca-Naltaş, Çamlıçınar were specialized in amphora production.<sup>171</sup> Evidently, the bulk of the economy was dependent on the exportation of wine. Huge amounts of Late Rhodian discards reported from Hisarönü, Turgut and Bayır verify the Rhodian effect. These were stamped amphorae with thick bases and mushroom rims (of a potter, Hieroteles), dated to end of the 4<sup>th</sup>- beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. The atelier found in Çamlıçınar near Kallipolis bore eponyms with NI signs, probably in connection with Nikon.<sup>172</sup> However, chronological and methodological problems with amphorae prevent firm estimations on the scale of trade in the environs. That is, the ratio between stamped and unstamped amphorae should be further

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<sup>168</sup> Rauh. 1999: 175-176.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.* 179.

<sup>170</sup> Mattheson and Wallace 1982: 294-301. Statistical research has shown that the capacity of a Rhodian amphorae was 25.5 lt. in around 300 B.C, excluding some other 100 years change which may not mean a notable turnover, and over 24.5 lt. in around 200 B.C. The Rhodian amphorae were not larger than the Chian amphorae but smaller than those of the Coan. That capacities affected wine amphora, to an extent, can be explained with the changes in coin standards although it is still unclear whether the Greeks normally changed all standards of weight, length and capacity from one system to another. The Rhodian State could have taken action in the promulgation of official standards of capacity over time (*ibid.*).

<sup>171</sup> Tuna. 1990: 371; Doğer. 2004: 179.

<sup>172</sup> Tuna. 1990: 357; Doğer and Şenol 1996: 59; 61-65. The Cnidian effect (in the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) was observed on amphorae with tape additions on bases at Apollonidas atelier found near Karaca-Naltaş. Such were not attributable to Rhodes (*ibid.* 69-70).

investigated<sup>173</sup> considering Rhodian state imposed productions. On the other hand, there is yet no systematic survey on how the production patterns of the Peraea could have been after 67 B.C under the political and commercial policy of Rome.

Caria was among the most productive centers of olive in Anatolia. Landscape characteristics caused terracing which was suitable for olive plantation whilst grain was cultivated on alluvial plains. Two modes of olive oil production took place, local and urban. Local production was realized in inland areas whereas the urban type which was peculiar to the coastline geared towards commercial needs as associated with transport amphorae. Urban type production was implemented near olive groves in order to minimize transportation costs and meet household needs at the same time.<sup>174</sup> These were large scale production centers for export, generally located along the coastline. The region stretching from the eastern Cilicia until Cnidus Bay evidenced outstanding samples for the usage of *mola olearia* (oil mills) and *trapetum* (*developed form of oil mills*) which are known from the 5<sup>th</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. That inner Caria was oriented towards domestic production<sup>175</sup> points to the very fact that local types had strong connotations for self-sufficiency. As Morley puts forward in the most general context of trade in ancient times and that basic diet or certain materials like wool, timber or clay could be found elsewhere in the Mediterranean, there was perhaps no further need to have a “comparative advantage” in the production of the Peninsula that similar places could have aimed at self-sufficiency at the expense of transportation costs. Except for distant cases, the persistence of “market-oriented” villas, which became professionals of olive, wine or grain producers in Roman Italy, may also be offered to self-subsistence debates in searching the ancient scales of economy.<sup>176</sup> Likewise, the essential customers of

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<sup>173</sup> Lund.1999: 187-188.

<sup>174</sup> Diler. 2004: 55, 57. The rock-cut basins and portable installations, datable to the Hellenistic and Roman eras, were widespread all over Caria. The rock-cut basins were connected with cylindrical stone rollers (generally rectangular and did not exceed 1.5 m width) while the portable ones appearing as single block of stones were used for processing at farmsteads. Although types of press stones changed in many respects beginning with Hellenistic and Roman periods, they are still similar to the most modern ones (*ibid.*58-59).

<sup>175</sup> Oybak. 2005: 19, 34, 79. Large scale production evidencing international trade with stamped amphorae as far as Corinth, Athens, Egypt and south Russia between the 4<sup>th</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C, mark the character of production (*ibid.*24).

<sup>176</sup> Morley. 2007: 19, 33.

Gallo-Roman products, especially in terms of wine and ceramics, were themselves in which case these goods were not affordable to privileged groups.<sup>177</sup>

Limited to the scope of research, there is information on the extent of olive oil production generally associated with terracing in the Peninsula. Press beds associated with 7<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C wall remains and three samples with spilling channels and a mortarium in the vicinity of Bayır Village; double ancient press in Turgut; eight samples found around the ancient harbour (in ancient Elle Village) between Selimiye and Turgut and marking large scale agricultural production in the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman periods; agricultural terraces and press weights addressing the *Acropolis* of Asarcık (4 km northeast of Selimiye, falling to the environs of Güncebaşı Tepe) and a farmstead with mortarium and press weights with spilling channels near Kozaktaş (in Kızılköy) have been reported so far. A workshop found at İntaş location (Bayır) has been documented to retain a socket of a press sleeve and a press bed so far.<sup>178</sup> Further south, Taşlıca and the environs of Bozuk Village abounds in terraces and press stones.

At the minimum scale, resources of the Peninsula would be expected to be dependent on various kinds of economic activity such as maritime occupation. We may refer to Strabo mentioning a far neighbour- Iasos which made its living from sea products and fishery.<sup>179</sup> Underwater archaeology has helped speculating on the position of the Late Classical Peninsula in naval traffic. A shipwreck dated to as early as the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C and found in Serçe Bay has shown the extent of transportation on a single event along with different types of amphorae and many others.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Woolf. 2001: 58.

<sup>178</sup> Oybak. 2005: 23-24.

<sup>179</sup> Strabo (14.2.21).

<sup>180</sup> Pulak et al. 1987: 35-49. Further on late evidence on the investigations of a hull (9<sup>th</sup> century A.D) found in Bozburun, see Harpster, M. 2009. "Designing the 9<sup>th</sup>-Century-AD Vessel From Bozburun, Turkey". *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 38 (2): 297-313).

## CHAPTER 3

### COUNTRYSIDE IN THE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC WORLD

#### 3.1. The Notion of Urban and Rural

On making a distinction between the urban and rural, there is strong need to refer to the concept of city in the ancient sense. The definition of a city is very much dependent on transformations across space and time. Scholars often agree on describing it as an aspect of urbanism, as opposed to a standard political organisation and multi-faceted traits.<sup>181</sup> The main difference between an urban and rural settlement is the “conceptual and spatial” distinction albeit their symbiosis.<sup>182</sup> Either town or city, townscapes or ruralscapes, a relationship with the hinterland is there.<sup>183</sup> Under a processual explanation, Trigger elaborates hinterland<sup>184</sup> through functional approach on communal grounds that it is based on settlement, performing numerous functions linked to broader space. The relationship between core dwellers and those of the hinterland can be diverse, even antagonistic, when viewed with the notion of interdependency.<sup>185</sup> Whatever the case, relation of a settlement to its hinterland has been accepted as a recent concern of modern archaeology.<sup>186</sup> Although a criterion for distinction between the city and countryside could be based on administrative/ political and topographical aspects in the Greek world, it could have been perceived adversely within the cognitive realm. This is somewhat explicit from the itinerary of the sacred procession which connected the sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Delphinios in Miletus and the outlying Apollo sanctuary in Didyma. The key to the absence of

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<sup>181</sup> Hansen. 2008: 67-69. In the economic sense, cities are functionally recognized as nucleated settlements distinguished from their hinterland, centers of trade that give rise to considerable division of labour and specialization, and genuine central places (*ibid.*).

<sup>182</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 353.

<sup>183</sup> Shipley. 1996: 9-11.

<sup>184</sup> Trigger. 2008: 55-57.

<sup>185</sup> Marcus and Sabloff 2008: 333.

<sup>186</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 349.

opposition between these two places seemingly arose from the joint picture of religious space which also covered multiple extra-urban religious localities in varying character. From a socio-territorial point of view, for example, deities often associated with the countryside would not necessarily draw up rigid lines from the urban as they could be found up on *Acropoleis* (e.g. Pan often identified with cave life, Poseidon widely acknowledged as a deity residing in coastal sites). Notwithstanding, relations within the socio-territorial context still need to be treated on relative grounds as inhabitants in the periphery could have been tempted to create a polytheistic matrix; adopt deities, place altars of others' in their sanctuaries, and even build up additional temples under special circumstances such as *synoecism*, internal "colonization", etc.<sup>187</sup>

Rural land did not necessarily fall apart from the physical borders of an urban area in the ancient Greek world. Milestones on the ruralization of *poleis* can be traced back to Classical Athens as it was encouraged by the first reformers, Solon and Cleisthenes, in order to normalize discrepancies between the rich and the poor.<sup>188</sup> The Late Roman period was another shift process for the turning back of rural life when numerous small sites reemerged.<sup>189</sup>

### 3.1.1 *Polis* and Countryside

Although they may be used interchangeably by scholars, terms like *polis*, *chora*, *demos*, *kome*, *asty*, *katoikia*, *oikos*, etc. are related to settlement. Different settlement types have marked divergent socio-cultural organisations throughout the history but not all of them are annotated in traditional forms and content.<sup>190</sup>

The origins of the ancient term *polis*, as widely used in the Greek world, can be explained with political and administrative developments of antiquity. It has political

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<sup>187</sup> Polinskaya. 2006: 85-90.

<sup>188</sup> Southall. 1998: 59, 66.

<sup>189</sup> Alcock. 2007: 136.

<sup>190</sup> Akalin. 2005: 70. The Peloponnesian Wartime was a turning point during which *poleis* were referred with names like Athenians, Megareans, Melians, etc., instead of generic names, even during the Persian invasion (Marcus and Sabloff 2008: 25).

and geographical connotations when *asty* is viewed from inside.<sup>191</sup> A narrower meaning of a *polis* is attributable to its political, religious and cultural functions serving a rural area, namely the countryside.<sup>192</sup> When limited to a political mission, *polis* falls behind the statement of an egalitarian type of society of the modern world. A striking case was obviously Classical Athens.<sup>193</sup> The political implication of a settlement was the number one criteria among the Greeks because they did not bother whether it was equivalent to villages or farmsteads or had a particular settlement pattern. Hence, they were not interested in the *chora*. The degree of urbanization could have been highest in smaller *poleis* while few larger ones could have possessed high numbers of dwellers outside.<sup>194</sup>

An orthodoxy is that any *klerouchy* of Athens was not a *polis*.<sup>195</sup> The need to leave a remark on the political identity of *poleis* is perhaps derivable from the 6<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C Anatolia where urban developments were taking place as a result of “colonization” and melting of indigenous groups with Greek cultures.<sup>196</sup> *Poleis*, whether old back to pre-Hellenistic times or newly founded in the upcoming periods (particularly until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) were the essential drivers of civic life. However, the shift from Greece to the Eastern Mediterranean affected *polis* life and different constitutional mechanisms that were mainly caused by the oppositions between the new kingdoms and old *poleis* during the Hellenistic period. Numerous colonies were planted between the late 4<sup>th</sup>- early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C while the power of many like Sparta, Athens or Thebes gradually declined.<sup>197</sup>

When colonization or forms of control take their place under the discussions of *polis*, we may need to refer to *poleis* in the *peraia* or those organized far outside the territorial borders of a *polis*. In this case, the realities of the ancient world and nomenclature are to be referred, e.g. *emporion*, *perioikic* communities, dependent

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<sup>191</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 351.

<sup>192</sup> Liebeschuetz. 1999: 1.

<sup>193</sup> Akalm. 2005: 71-72.

<sup>194</sup> Hansen. 2004: 78; Hansen. 1995: 46.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*45.

<sup>196</sup> Keen. 2002: 38.

<sup>197</sup> Cohen. 1995: 22-23.

colonies. Aktaian *poleis*, which were under the control of the Mytilenaians (during the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C), were situated in the *peraia*. Likewise, Thasian *emporía* treated as *poleis* in the *peraia* were situated within the territories of a larger *polis*-Thasos, in the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. *Emporia* of *poleis* like Thasos, Sinope, Rhodes and Cnidus have been safely identified through “timrage amphorique”.<sup>198</sup> The Island of Kythera was a *perioikic polis* in Lakonia while at the same time was controlled by a *polis* situated on the mainland. Interestingly, all the Lakonian *perioikic* communities lay within the territories of Sparta. As another, Hephaistia in Lemnos was an Athenian *klerouchy* or perhaps a colony.<sup>199</sup>

On the emergence or transformation of *poleis*, we are usually stuck with the term *synoecism*- *synoikismos*, which is often referred within the physical context such that a *polis* could have been created by merging or absorbing other *polis/poleis* and/or *demoi* or *komai*. When viewed in a broader context, it is not helpful unless a political context is attached. In 471 B.C, Elis absorbed a number of *komai* and *poleis* and continued thereafter however, *synoecism* was not the direct effect in making it a now larger *polis* since it was already a *polis* in the physical and political sense before 471 B.C. It seems that the self-governance and dependency of a settlement- generally referable as *kome*, on a larger *polis* or territory contains a core of truth when any case is the matter of political status.<sup>200</sup> Occurrences on the word of *polisma* may be of interest as it is frequently used for “barbarian towns” or those lying in “border areas” in the ancient sources, e.g. Iasos in Caria.<sup>201</sup> Flensted-Jensen interprets *polisma*, (not necessarily to be used in the political sense) as attributable to “towns in border areas”, however seems to be stuck also with those quoted as “barbarian”.<sup>202</sup>

The next question comes as to whether all the city states were *poleis*. There is information about the relative strength and conditions of the members registered in the Delian League of the Classical world despite ambiguity about their status. When

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<sup>198</sup> Garland. 1993: 101-102; Reger. 2004: 767.

<sup>199</sup> Hansen. 2004: 87.

<sup>200</sup> Hansen. 1995: 58-60, 81.

<sup>201</sup> Thucydides (8.28)

<sup>202</sup> Flensted-Jensen. 1995: 131.

considered in terms of size and territory, it seems that many of them would not fall into the category of a *polis*. Phokis, which lacked a communal body like a theatre, *agora* or *prytaneion*, was one example.<sup>203</sup> Also, the notions of city state and territorial state might be laid down. A city state was a network whose elites tended to compete often on military grounds and control trade routes and resources. However, the criterion was the sharing of common beliefs and symbols. City states varied in size but most of them probably controlled a territory of only 100 km<sup>2</sup>. Larger ones might have had small or secondary administration centers surrounding a capital, as well as numerous farming villages and hamlets. Territorial states, on the contrary, relate to larger polities governed by a hierarchy of officials operating at the central, regional and local levels. Various urban centers were occupied by a smaller portion of the population, usually less than 10 % (ten percent) in antiquity. The control of production and the distribution of raw materials and luxury goods by the central authority played a major role in holding territorial states together. Hence, they developed a two tier economy based on distinct urban and rural components and functional relations were performed between higher and lower order centers.<sup>204</sup>

There are different interpretations about the key elements of the countryside. Was it simply a rural way of living? Is it necessarily linkable to a *polis* or equivalent type settlement? As Plato states, the idea of self-sufficiency was a pioneer aspect for depicting the countryside.<sup>205</sup> In the Levant, many villas were linked to central settlements, intermingled among farmsteads positioned nearby the surrounding suburbs. “Large and well populated villages (*lomai*) exchanged their goods and crafts through festivals (*panegyreis*) having little need of the city (*mikra tes poleos chreizousai*)” in the vicinity of Antioch. Arabia was, for all the essential purposes, a world of villages.<sup>206</sup> The threshold between the urban and rural in Cyprus appeared as reinforced by the contrast between the coast and the hinterland. Rural Cyprus was best known to Roman authors as a passive landscape with mineral resources and

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<sup>203</sup> Akalm. 2005: 72-73.

<sup>204</sup> Trigger. 2008: 55-57.

<sup>205</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 349.

<sup>206</sup> Graf. 2001: 219, 227-228, 239. Further on festivals, see Walbank, M.B 1982. “Regulations for an Athenian Festival”. *Hesperia* Supplement 19: 173-182.

agricultural bounty. The ancient pressing equipment has very much reflected the function of inland locales nearby the coastal cities. The oil and wine remains found in transport amphorae that were worked at various rural and suburban kilns have helped to understand the active position of the countryside.<sup>207</sup>

When supported by ancient texts, farmsteads imply the countryside and reveal about the *chora* and *agroï* (fields). The isolated farmsteads of Classical Athens, *poletai lists* (records of public sales), *horoi* and *chorion* (plots) have disclosed valuable information about the countryside.<sup>208</sup> These often refer to close connections with landholding during the Classical Age. The wealthiest portion of Attica was generally associated with *horoi* and liturgies. The *horoi* which had strong links with the *chora* were limited to three types of property: house, land, and house and land together. The last type was biased towards the countryside.<sup>209</sup>

### 3.1.2 Types of Rural Settlements

Some widely used terms which relate to the countryside, thus are often associated with rural settlements, need to be checked hereunder.

Ps.-Skylax uses the term *chora* to refer to a region instead of part of a polis. He could well be defining a group of peoples, e.g. the *chora* of Corinthians.<sup>210</sup> *Chora*, usually referred to as the “land, country, area” in Greek, addresses a settlement area limited with the borders of a polis. Some describe it as *territorium*, meaning rest of the land outside a center, often a polis. *Chora* implied a political solidarity in the 5<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C and at the same time, it was used on Hellenistic inscriptions within the physical and socio-cultural context. *Kome*, generally definable as a village in the physical and socio-cultural sense, addresses small settlements within a *chora* as attached to a larger settlement.<sup>211</sup> We may frequently hear of the term *kome* at places

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<sup>207</sup> Rautman. 2001: 242-244.

<sup>208</sup> Jones. 2004: 22-24.

<sup>209</sup> Osborne. 1985: 59-63.

<sup>210</sup> Shipley. 2008: 288.

<sup>211</sup> Akah. 2005: 74.

in western Asia Minor or in those which fell into the influential sphere of the Dorians. Particular instances come from the Boeotian land, e.g. the settlement of Mykalessos while the nomenclature is scarce, almost absent for Attica and the Cycladic Islands. *Komai* was a reality of the ancient world which continued into the late Classical period. Epigraphical evidence has frequently addressed the cohabitation of *polis* and *komai* until the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C in Ionia.<sup>212</sup> Although the meanings *kome* left to the stage varied to a great extent in the historical sources (e.g. Strabo, Aristotle, Thucydides and Pausanias), Hansen tries to make a clarification in the contemporary context by viewing it in the topographical as well as political sense, even questioning its place in “barbarian” communities. Opposed to ancient prevailing views, which could accept any settlement as a *kome* when not a *polis*, it might well have had a political status.<sup>213</sup> The thing is, an ancient settlement in Caria could be perceived differently whereas the same was termed as *kome* in Hellas.

The change in the countryside is often observed with the rise of the *polis* during the Archaic period with the unity of *chora* and *asty*<sup>214</sup> which addresses a centre up on an *Acropolis*. However, it is also related to a location where elites resided on improved, constructed locations.<sup>215</sup> *Chora* developed and culminated during the Classical and Hellenistic era. Regarding the inclusion of rural areas into newly founded cities during the Greek colonization of 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C, spatial developments in the Kingdom of Bosphorus, particularly on the Kerch and Taman peninsulas were interesting. Many Greek cities like Nymphaeum, Theodosia, Hermonassa, Panticapaeum, etc. were founded along the coasts of the Strait of Kerch, the northeast of which abounds in small agrarian rural sites (e.g. Chersonesos of Zeno associated with the city of Panticapaeum). As the Kingdom expanded with small towns, the countryside took an active role in supporting and shaping the agricultural lands of the Bosphoran *poleis*. A similar development has been recorded for the *chora* of Nymphaeum which counted about 35 sites in the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. In fact, the basic idea for the dense dispersion of all the small sites, both on the Asian

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<sup>212</sup> Tuna. 1999: 477; Hansen. 2004: 23.

<sup>213</sup> Hansen. 1995: 61, 70-71.

<sup>214</sup> Alcock. 2007: 131.

<sup>215</sup> Akalin. 2005: 75.

and European side, was to strengthen the status of large Greek cities, thus the Bosporan influence. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, sites in the chora of Panticapaeum and Nymphaeum went as far as the distant regions of the peninsula, even stretching across the Azov coastline. The earliest pottery fragments in the territoriums of Nymphaeum or Panticapaeum have shed light on the possible earliest contacts of the Bosporan Greeks and the Scythians which ended up with the creation of Helleno-Scythian groups. The enlargement of any chora through implementation of contacts and possession of new lands from the Scythians was a new regime of politics as many other Greeks did in Asia Minor. However, the real flourishing of the Kingdom of Bosphorus occurred in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Observed in the territory of Nymphaeum, larger farm complexes were the administrative units of the *chora* while smaller estates were the subordinates which could be owned by each citizen. Country estates and farmsteads began to appear in Panticapaeum where farms became part of the fortified areas in the *chora*, by 370 B.C. A system of new control was ready under the custody of official administrators. What made up the basic elements of the newly founded system were the small farms composed of buildings made of stone - the *oikoi* many of which belonged to private holders like regional governors, the trading bases- *emporioi* to conduct trade with the natives of the interior lands, and the *komai* of native Scythians generally residing in the distant chora.<sup>216</sup>

The destructive process brought by wars during the Classical period probably affected many groups in Asia Minor. The term- *dioikismos* which perhaps best fits to the case of Smyrna following her synoecism<sup>217</sup> or *dioikismos* of Phokian *poleis* in 346 B.C might hold clues for Caria. Urban projects (construction/ reconstruction of cities like Priene, Latmos, etc.) launched through synoecism attempts by the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C in Hecatomnid Caria, as a result of the Ionic Renaissance, aimed at bringing dispersed communities (mainly the *komai*) together under pre-planned policies. However, as Caria developed into the Hellenistic era following the decline of Mausolus' and his successors' power, we may speak of a reorganisation in the

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<sup>216</sup> Saprykin. 2004: 186-201.

<sup>217</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 80-81; Tuna. 1999: 479-480; Hansen. 1995: 75.

sense of *dioikismos* such that the remote memory of Carians were rekindled via community reflexes inherited from the early Classical period. The *demes*, as newly invented practices of Rhodes, might have recalled the historical experiences attributable to past ways of living in the form of *komai*.

Numerous villages named under “distant” *chora* were made up of local rural inhabitants in antiquity.<sup>218</sup> In close relation to the countryside, *aule* identifies a micro-settlement/ farmstead where few families resided<sup>219</sup> and is usually considered to be a smaller scale settlement (less than 0.5 ha) with signs of domestic activity (storage, cooking, weaving, always roofed structures with tiles, etc.) from the Archaic period until Hellenistic times.<sup>220</sup> Unusual structures generally found inland, up in the mountainous regions also associated with the *chora*, e.g. the Archaic formations looking like “herding stations” situated in the *chora* of the Milesian Peninsula. Some with conspicuous tombs, though may seem urban, are roughly built complexes enclosed by walls and surrounded by oval and rectangular structures.<sup>221</sup>

The perception of village gets hazy in the historical documents, particularly those referred in the Archaic and Classical sources. Sometimes it is *demos*, sometimes described at the *hamlet* scale, sometimes a *kome*.<sup>222</sup> *Demos* stands for “public” in Greek. Inscriptions in west coastal Anatolia, specifically the late Classical- early Hellenistic samples, decipher a particular folk living in a certain place. They even give the location where the *demos* lived.<sup>223</sup> *Demos* addresses a piece of land sustaining a population and signifying a territorial and political unit<sup>224</sup>, in other words relates to a well-defined territory in which all the inhabitants were free people. It is, at times, defined only with the people living within the boundaries of a territory.<sup>225</sup> As *demos* and *kome* were the main civic subdivisions within a

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<sup>218</sup> Visy. 2001: 172-173.

<sup>219</sup> Akalın. 2005: 76-77.

<sup>220</sup> Alcock. 2007: 126.

<sup>221</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 366.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.* 351.

<sup>223</sup> Akalın. 2005: 75.

<sup>224</sup> Thompson. 2007: 316.

<sup>225</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 351, 356.

territory<sup>226</sup>, the Peninsula as a whole may be assessed under Homeros' *demos* and the term of *polis*. Jones resuggests the notion of *ktoina* to be assessed with *demos* and *kome* since "localized occurrences" of the Rhodian state including the *demes* of the Peninsula<sup>227</sup> might also relate to this category.

*Katoikia* was introduced by the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Although its civil meaning was not attributed until the late Hellenistic times, they were originally formed as bases for military purposes. Military colonies without a *chora* at the outset on strategic points have been reported through many inscriptions.<sup>228</sup> Down to the middle 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C, settlement in the European Bosphorus vanished which was possibly due to the Sarmatian attacks. The appearance of fortified settlements with robust ramparts along the Strait of Kerch coincides with these dates. Usually erected on rocky topographies, the fortresses of the middle 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C in the Bosporan Kingdom have been identified with oblong shaped buildings with one or two rooms. The citadels formed the main body (also representative of those of Pontic Cappadocia and Paphlagonia) of these types of constructions. The inner part of the fortifications generally measured between 0,5-2 ha. With the advent of Mithridates VI in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C, no radical changes to the land system seem to have occurred, probably because he was short of time due to the Roman threat, with the exception of the middle 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C when a number of farms dramatically decreased in the *chora* and all were incorporated into the royal domain. The fortresses proposing the type of *katoikia*, on the other hand, retained their Hellenistic character. The military bases having an economic function could be built in any agrarian territory, serving the interests of the new royal posts. This was a somewhat reflection of the new atmosphere within which only *polis* and *katoikia* type settlements replacing the *chora* were the basic categories of land.<sup>229</sup> Although the exact place is still unfixed for the military character settlement, a profound example for the Hellenistic *katoikia* comes from those of "Aigosages"- the Galatian mercenaries whom had first stationed in Thrace under the directions of Attalos I

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<sup>226</sup> Hansen. 2004: 95.

<sup>227</sup> Jones. 2004: 17.

<sup>228</sup> Akalin. 2005: 76-77.

<sup>229</sup> Saprykin. 2004: 204-209.

during his campaigns in 218 B.C. It was again Attalos I who finally decided to let them settle in the Troad region.<sup>230</sup>

*Peripolion*, particularly known from the Classical period, defines an outpost, patrol station to fortify or strengthen strategic points. Reliable inscriptions have been documented particularly from Lycia and the islands. Rhodian and Coan inscriptions have shown that they were also used as border settlements where civilians and military people resided together. Those affiliated with fortifications during the Classical and Hellenistic eras were called *korion*.<sup>231</sup> On one hand, notions like “suburb or township” are implied when a settlement, e.g. Euromos, which is approximately 12 km from Mylasa, is acknowledged as a “dependent” in the form of a *peripolion* of Mylasa by Strabo. That the settlement made up a *sympolity* together with Hydae, Chalketor and Olymos and was attached to Mylasa by the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C requires consideration, though. This town is recognizable with ashlar type city walls equipped with towers, possibly dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>232</sup>

### 3.1.3 History of *Demes*

Inspired from the standard image of an Archaic city, *demes* of the Classical period were typical rural elements of the countryside.<sup>233</sup> *Demes* can be tracked as far back as Solon and Cleisthenes, at the close of 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The power of the popular assembly (*Ekklesia*) in Athenian life was the key to state administration. Over time, various ways of clearing the importance of *Ekklesia* affected the rise of *deme* life in which case decrees issued by the *demes* are notable enough to prove the situation. Around 140 (hundred and forty) *demes*, which were attached to Attica, supplied members to the *Boule* (Council) proportionate to their populations.<sup>234</sup> The fact concerns about small settlements equipped with 150 (hundred and fifty) buildings tightly packed. The public buildings stood around an open area. The headland of the

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<sup>230</sup> Polybius (5.78); Cohen. 1995: 145.

<sup>231</sup> Akalm. 2005: 76-77.

<sup>232</sup> Strabo (14.2.22); Bean. 2000: 31.

<sup>233</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 351-353.

<sup>234</sup> Hornblower. 1991: 156-158. The exact number, though open to updating, was 139 (hundred and thirty-nine) (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 447).

town was usually embraced by the sea from three sides. Habitation sometimes stretched outwards (maybe out of city circuits, walls) in a dispersed way probably because the bulk of the population made their living from the surrounding *agrois*.<sup>235</sup>

Priestly families usually denoting a clan (*gene*) and kinship groups under patronymic names (*phratries* which often denote brotherhood but not necessarily a family<sup>236</sup>) which were long recognized before Cleisthenes reforms, were not at all times involved in the administrative process.<sup>237</sup> It was only after Cleisthenes reforms that each tribal area (*trittys*) transferred itself into regional clusters of *demes*, either forming a *polis* or settling in coastal areas and inland regions. *Demes* were made up of ten *phylae* (relating to a tribe) by then<sup>238</sup> but names assigned to *phylae* could have had their roots in different contexts. Megalopolis was made up of six *phylae* which were named according to the most significant cultic figures.<sup>239</sup> Although the cosmopolite structure of *demes* was different in antiquity, a common aspect was that each *trittys* was composed of one or more *demes* where the criterion for holding a citizenship was based on kinship groups. The citizens had the right to join the *Ekklesia* in Athens. The *Boule*, composed of 500 (five hundred) members who were chosen from among the *demes* proportionate to their populations, made the ultimate decision.<sup>240</sup> *Phylae* and *phratrai* were in any case two instant social models in many *poleis*, which essentially transformed themselves to new sub-divisions (except for cases possessing nothing new or e.g. no *phyle* of Aiolians is known at least to match those of the Dorians) that “were often purely artificial but earliest kinship ties must have been observed.”<sup>241</sup>

The last sub-tribal division of *demos* was the *deme*, not further. They elected their own magistrates among which *demarch* was the most important. Different post magistracies were there but not necessarily found in every *deme*; these could be

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<sup>235</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 351-353.

<sup>236</sup> Hansen. 1996: 170.

<sup>237</sup> Osborne. 1990: 271.

<sup>238</sup> Jones. 2004: 17; Hansen. 1996: 170.

<sup>239</sup> Nielsen. 1996: 60.

<sup>240</sup> Osborne. 1987: 128.

<sup>241</sup> Hansen. 2004: 96.

*tamiai* (stewards), *grammatues* (secretary), *antigraphus* (recorder), *logistai* (accountants), *phylarchs* (military officials), *paredroi* (accessors), *epitimetes* (estimator), *synegoroi* (advocates), *kerykes* (heralds), *hieropioi* (sacristans).<sup>242</sup>

In explaining the term *deme*, Hornblower and Spawforth refer to “local territorial districts- villages, in effect- in Greece, and, by extension, the inhabitants or members thereof”. *Deme* structures varied greatly according to size, from hamlets to larger towns.<sup>243</sup> Absolutely defined as a geographical unit, a *deme* possessed more than one settlement, each having its own *necropolis*. *Demes* situated in coastal areas were involved with maritime activity and transportation of products but normally they were specialized in agriculture and animal husbandry.<sup>244</sup> Boeotia had 139 (hundred thirty-nine) *demes* while similar importance was thrown onto *demes* in three large *poleis* (Eretria, Oreos and Chalkis) in Euboea. A remark needs to be made at this point such that sub-divisions in the form of *demes* were not peculiar to large *poleis* in ancient times. Adversely, a site having the status of *polis* in its early stage could have become a civic sub-division late after. The Archaic *polis* of Leros (a member to the Delian League in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C) became a Milesian *deme* in the Hellenistic period.<sup>245</sup> Achaia is divisible into four sub-regions in the geographical and political context. Dyme was one of them where neither epigraphical source has attested the existence of *demes* apart from the mention of three *phylae*. What is dubious is that there could have been physical existence of *demes* in the Archaic period while their organisation could have vanished following synoecism.<sup>246</sup>

Although difficult to suggest for *demes*, additional structures like gymnasiums, theatres, forts, sacred buildings, etc. were the products of the Classical period. Very large *demes* such as Eleusis and Thorikos had theatres, forts, harbour features and sanctuaries whereas smallest ones in the form of tiny hamlets were identifiable with group of dwellings. Interestingly, rare cases have shown that *agoras* were the

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<sup>242</sup> Osborne. 1990: 269-271.

<sup>243</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 446-447.

<sup>244</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 31.

<sup>245</sup> Hansen. 2004: 96, 114.

<sup>246</sup> Morgan and Hall. 2004: 473.

political gathering center in *demes*. Wherever distinguished buildings were found, *demes* overtoned self-sufficiency and independence.<sup>247</sup>

The complexity of regulations and by-laws were necessary for the continuation of *deme* life. Pergamon inscriptions have introduced numerous instructions on penalties for extracting gravel via digging up roads and sanctions for destroying public walls, clearing conduits and keeping water routes clean, etc.<sup>248</sup> *Demes* were fledged in levying taxes, organizing local cults and festivals and issuing decrees.<sup>249</sup> They simply achieved the miniature position of a *polis* in enjoying a very flexible degree of self-determination within the political context. They could honor certain people but could never grant membership. In this respect, they were different than *demos* which had the right to grant citizenship.<sup>250</sup> Nevertheless, *demes* were open to membership even from distant geographies. Although *genes* and *phratries* were deemed superior, they were the real drivers of democracy based on equality in political terms. Language was one limitation for *demes* in that it had to be common in formal procedures.<sup>251</sup>

*Proxenoï*, generally regarded as an institution of a *polis*, is a notable term for appraising the affairs of *demes*. Indeed, *proxenoï*, either identified by city-ethnics or sub-ethnics was a “public guest friend” as frequently attested in the Hellenistic world. A *polis* could bestow a citizen of another *polis*. In most cases, they were honored by a decree.<sup>252</sup> *Demes* were autonomous in similar instances, particularly in honoring foreigners. A limitation for autonomous action was that they had no foreign policy while military aid was an obligation for each.<sup>253</sup>

With the Spartan involvement in Asia Minor after 404 B.C, the rules applicable to the system changed as would be expected. Also, transformation of civic life via

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<sup>247</sup> Osborne. 1987: 128-130.

<sup>248</sup> Cook. 1962: 191-194.

<sup>249</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 447.

<sup>250</sup> Osborne. 1990: 273.

<sup>251</sup> Osborne. 1985: 74, 80.

<sup>252</sup> Hansen. 2004: 98-99.

<sup>253</sup> Hornblower. 1986: 138.

Hellenism was a turning point for *deme* life. When oligarchic treatments and tyrannies under the Persian rule were abolished with the advent of Alexander the Great, the Hellenistic monarchs began to adopt magistrates, councils and popular assemblies which in return affected the organisation of *demes*. On one hand, no system of *demes* was introduced in the course of Carian synoecism attempts.<sup>254</sup> Although there is evidence on the presence of religious hierarchies which acted as bonds for gathering *koina* or small native *poleis* with dependent *demes* in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C (“if not a century earlier”) in central Caria<sup>255</sup>, these never go beyond presenting a thorough assignment of Carian organisational life to a world of *demes*.

### 3.2 The Carian Countryside

Caria was a land of inspiration as well as the survival of traditional items. Unique architectural elements, which added to the development of Archaic Aeolic and Ionic architectural styles, have been reported from various sites in the Halicarnassian Peninsula, Cnidus, Iasos, Mylasa (particularly from Beçin) and Cos. This helps archaeologists to reconsider that reforms must have taken place earlier than the Hellenistic era.<sup>256</sup> Based on evidence on more attractive sites, we may rely on a few architectural fragments and remains left behind three sanctuaries at Iasos; a crown block from Bargylia, the temple of Apollo at Halicarnassus; frieze revetments around the temple of Zeus in Euromos (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C) in inner Caria; the Ionic capital of 500 B.C and *cella* displaying the earlier phases of the temple of Zeus at Labraunda; various architectural and sculptural fragments from the old capital- Mylasa, and particularly the remains of a stairway and Ionic capital fragments with concave volutes. These instances seem to suffice to express a certain level of accomplishment in architecture in particular, in Archaic Caria. Debates are in still in effect whether the reformist atmosphere of the Hecatomnid period is totally owed to the so-called Ionian Renaissance as an expression of pure revival and self-consciousness. Also, discussions take place whether earlier architectural know-how and the introduction

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<sup>254</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 85-86; Price. 1986: 332.

<sup>255</sup> Marchese. 1989: 39.

<sup>256</sup> Baran. 2010: 156-158.

of unique styles continued into the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C as mature forms. It might be that Hecatomnid Caria could have been a regular follower of contemporaries as many parallels may be pinpointed in favour of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C architecture. The problem appears with the chronological sequence in essence that no place is a real reference for another and that Caria could well have been a leading base for Archaic Aeolic and Ionic architecture.<sup>257</sup>

As a matter of fact, evidence on the early Carian *poleis* and the countryside is quite obscure when compared to the era of Hecatomnid dynasty. It is likely that following the plantation of first Doric colonies, the Carians established fortresses or organized themselves in the form of cantons known as κώμαι<sup>258</sup> and were involved in herding.<sup>259</sup> On one side, the matriarchal character of the Carian culture was highly associated with sedentary life style based on agriculture. A milestone on the transformation of rural settlements began with the alteration of traditional patterns by Mausolus and the creation of Greek spirit in art, language, architecture and administration. However, rural Caria was even more conservative in surviving traditional architecture.<sup>260</sup> This was perhaps due to discrepancies between the western Caria which was distinguished with its openness to Greek life (Ionians and Dorians) and countryside-oriented northern and central Caria. Relationally, a “two-tier urban system” seems to have developed in Caria during the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C; the first one is to be owed to the flourishing of urban centers under Greek inspiration, particularly in the west whereas the other is attributable to “temple commonwealths” located inland and rather inherited from the old traditions.<sup>261</sup>

Far from the patterns of a *polis* in the archaeological sense, traces of Carian dynasts and associated Classical settlements were overwhelmingly situated in the Halicarnassian Peninsula. Many have been reported from sites where dynastic tombs were erected. A principle and possible earliest settlement was Termera- a place

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<sup>257</sup> Baran. 2009: 293-311.

<sup>258</sup> Hicks. 1890: 117.

<sup>259</sup> Cook. 1962: 29.

<sup>260</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 27, 196.

<sup>261</sup> Marchese. 1989 : 4, 56.

where the heir of Tymnes- Histiaeus possibly resided in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, in the west of the peninsula. Coinage, as well as the dynastic tombs has revealed the presence of a dynastic family with the readings of TYMNOS and TEPMEPIKON on the obverse and reverse, respectively. On the west near Theangela, imprints left by another dynast led to further questions relevant to a Classical vaulted chamber tomb within which 5<sup>th</sup> century Attic vases and silver coins were reported. Indicators about another dynast have come from the Classical spots of Idyma where the coins addressed the half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C but the style of tombs suddenly change into rock-cut tombs. The situation is in fact more specific to the sites situated in the environs of the Ceramic Gulf. At Elmalı, we are informed of another significant dynastic site most probably attributable to Cyllandus, which paid around two talents to the Athenian League in the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Aided with inscriptions, it seems that Kildara in the vicinity of Cindya was one potential spot.<sup>262</sup> There is a need to rethink about this site where the first attested King of Caria, namely the ruler of Mylasa but perhaps Herakleides known from the Persian wars, was replaced by the newly coming Cindyan dynasts of the Hecatomnids in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>263</sup>

The simple rustic architecture (Figure 3.1; A) with skilful use of timber was typical of rural Caria. The countryside was full of constructions with slabs of tabular rocks on top of which branches were placed. Beams rested on a timber post which was erected from the middle of a building. The Cnidian Chersonesos, even today, is attractive with grain shelters (Figure 3.1; B), constructed with pine logs and beams and protected with ridged roofs against rainfall.<sup>264</sup> Sacred areas were often designed in the form of artificial terraces during the Hecatomnid period.<sup>265</sup> Primitive elements were not necessarily characteristic of the rural domain but were generally linkable with Carian way of living. The habit of constructing rock carved press stones was widespread inland.<sup>266</sup> The rural character of the country is reflected in many sites involved with local economies.

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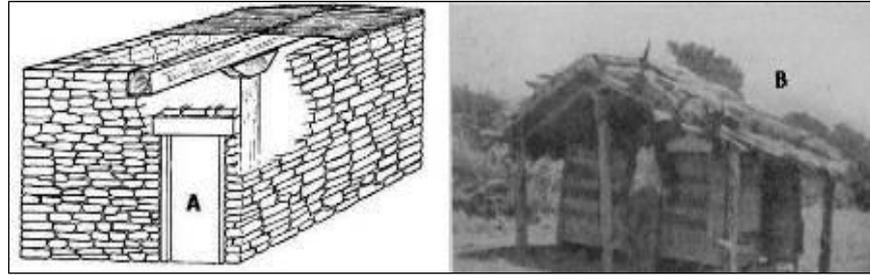
<sup>262</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 143-146.

<sup>263</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 59.

<sup>264</sup> Brice. 1954: 47.

<sup>265</sup> Sevin. 2001: 119. Zeus priests of the Hellenistic period were responsible for the administration of sacred lands which belonged to temples (*ibid.*).

<sup>266</sup> Diler. 1995: 320-321.



**Figure 3.1:** Sketch of a Simple Barn for Sheep in Çine (A) and Grain Store in Erküz Village Near Marmaris (B) (Brice. 1954: 47)

In ancient times, a sense of identity for numerous communities developed by preserving a common cult- e.g. the Hellenized Laodikeia where indigenous village cults were elevated to city cults in which case *Baba kome* possibly took the form of Zeus.<sup>267</sup> Rural ways of living can be found in the cultic codes of Caria. As the countryside is less exposed to external effects, the cults of *demes* were probably not very much affected from the outside. The very social aspects and cultic practices remind the rural elements in Phrygia.<sup>268</sup> Gods and goddesses were purely local in the Carian countryside<sup>269</sup>, variants of Zeus are known to many parts.<sup>270</sup> However, one good example, perhaps attesting close cultural contacts between two neighbouring regions may be Zeus Labraundos and that of the Lydians holding the *labrys*.<sup>271</sup> The head of gods, Zeus Karios (Κάριος) was widely accepted by the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. A decree from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C well stressed that he was the guardian of *demos*. In return, he was offered votives in the form of 100 and 300 drachmae value of “*phiale*”. The social identity of Karios, to whom beasts like bulls, pigs, goats and roosters were offered, was highly internalized in the countryside and

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<sup>267</sup> Corsten. 2007: 134-136.

<sup>268</sup> Şahin. 2001: 191-192.

<sup>269</sup> Uyguç. 1992: 100-103.

<sup>270</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 50.

<sup>271</sup> Herodotus (1.171); Ratté. 2005: 137. Ratté mentions that local elements disappeared both in Caria and Lydia during the Hellenistic period but their survival in the Roman period needs reconsideration (*ibid.*135). He might well be giving importance to some certain components of the local culture, e.g. the cultic practices however, the altered policies and new administrative forms which predominantly affected the political life of south and southwest Caria and continued into the Roman period might not necessarily have led to radical changes in the perception and cognitive context of the local communities since the preservation of old administrative patterns survived as embedded in the *deme* system imposed by Rhodes (See Sub-part 3.3.2.4).

elsewhere. The barren valleys of the Peninsula already shelter such kinds of animals. Karios lost its fame with the introduction of Zeus Labraundos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C but was not left completely until the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. What is almost certain is that he was the chief figure of the Carian *Koinon*, however, Apollo and Artemis were also the two most important figures. Apollo was multifunctional as he could be found elsewhere. Wherever a temple was erected in his name, it was used as a center for prophesying. He is especially known from the Aeolic coasts.<sup>272</sup> Whether imitated or not, the native equivalents of Hellenic deities could be there or “replaced by Greek counterparts”, often adapted to Artemis, Apollo and Zeus, as also accorded with the adoption of foreign linguistics.<sup>273</sup> A version of Apollo, the cult of Apollo Erethimios which is frequently encountered in Rhodes, was associated with agriculture.<sup>274</sup> As for Leto, her name is so well known in southwest Anatolia that she is frequently come across in Caria and Lycia but evidence is almost absent from Rhodes. Relevant to the Rhodian Peraea, Physcus is amongst the most popular sites.<sup>275</sup> Also important for the Peraea, *Asclepius*, the son of Apollo, was the god of health in Caria.<sup>276</sup> Another cultic figure, perhaps non-detachable from the mentioned figures and particularly attributable to Caria was Hekate. A boustrophedon inscription dedicated to Hekate in the Apollo Delphinios in Miletus (possibly dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C); the Hekate cult already dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C at Lagina and, relational scenes diagnosed from lateral sima plaques of the late Archaic period at Koranza near Lagina and pedimental sculpture finds are some of the tangible precedents of Carian cultic elements in southwest Asia Minor. Also treatable as the goddess of crossroads, figures like Hekate<sup>277</sup> or those like Aphrodite which is generally linkable to “urban” areas like Cnidus, have a great share in the Carian way of living as reflected in many other aspects of life.

### 3.2.1 Typical Settlements

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<sup>272</sup> Şahin. 2001: 68-69, 195-196; Herda and Sauter. 2009: 100; Cook. 1961b: 9. Today, numerous flocks of bulls live nearby Serçe Bay in the Peraea.

<sup>273</sup> Marchese. 1989: 7, 57.

<sup>274</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 40.

<sup>275</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 79.

<sup>276</sup> Uyguç. 1992: 52, 98-109.

<sup>277</sup> Ateşlier. 2011: 282-284.

The organisation of settlements in Caria predates the Bronze Age, however, predominantly concentrates in the northern sector, rolling around the Meander with a handful of sites (e.g. Aphrodisias). Furthermore, although settlement patterns in the Early Iron Age do not present a joint picture, the period down to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C is, to an extent, informative with some degree of identity expressed in a limited image of *koina* life.<sup>278</sup> As a beginning, the content and nature of relationship with the neighbouring communities may be pinpointed. For example, as the extent of penetration of the Lydians in Carian territories, particularly during Archaic and Classical periods, has not been completely explored, assumptions are often made by looking at affinities in settlements and burial customs. An interesting amount of evidence along Morsynus and Harpasus Valleys in northeast Caria has been introduced with *tumuli*, tombs decorated with phallus markers, lion statues and anthemion stelae, which still involve questions about a Lydian occupation (whether the deceased were temporary settlers coming outside Sardes or members of a local community) or settlement components as also reflected through the adoption of Lydian burial styles.<sup>279</sup> Such examples were possibly some indicators of an exchange of cultural traits in the southern part of the Meander.<sup>280</sup>

The landscape in Caria, like that of the Lycians, was organized with a limited territory of minor dynasties conditioned by constraints on the land. Like the Lelegians, the Carians preferred to live on hilltops. All Caria, particularly inland, was famous with fortified settlements located at high codes where dynasties rested in *pyrgoi*.<sup>281</sup> By far, the small fortified site of Harpasa (6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C) in central northern Caria is amongst the most favourable archaeological records.<sup>282</sup> Datable fortifications- majorly to the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, are conspicuous with coarse polygonal masonry in the Carian Chersonesos, Myndus, Ceramus, Stratonicieia and Halicarnassus<sup>283</sup> but the main dynastic spots have been identified in

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<sup>278</sup> Marchese. 1989: 27.

<sup>279</sup> Ratté. 2005: 147.

<sup>280</sup> Marchese. 1989: 5-6.

<sup>281</sup> Strabo (12.7.2); Üzel. 2007: 31. The term *pyrgoi* here indicates a kind of a fortified *deme*.

<sup>282</sup> Marchese. 1989: 41.

<sup>283</sup> Tirpan. 1994: 372.

Termera, Syangela, Halicarnassus, Theangela, Myndus, Cindya and Mylasa in western Caria (Sub-part 3.2).<sup>284</sup> In the course of the Hellenistic period, full military character fortresses were introduced.<sup>285</sup>

As a matter of fact, the impact of Hellenism was earlier than the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C which is reasonably incumbent on the age of Greek migrations and the colonization of the western coasts of Asia Minor where Greek control became “politically” active and that some main co-operators were Miletus, Samos, Ephesos and Smyrna in the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Before the assimilation of Carian life to *poleis* in the real sense in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, evidence about the early Carian settlements is rather concentrated in the central and northern section of the territory. However, we may see no reason why Mausolus should not have tempted to trigger *synoecism* to some certain parts in the rest of western Caria as evidence now tells more about the formation of *koina* under the *polis* title around Çine River (in central Caria). Indeed, evidence is not subtle about the reorganisation for the northern communities, specifically in Alinda, Alabanda and Amyzon and those situated in the west of Physcus and Tralles. Considering the most effective processes, the northern Caria owes much to the Seleucids who accelerated the increasing number of *poleis*. A *polis-oriented* world was mature by the time the Romans initiated the mechanisms to create a world of municipal lots.<sup>286</sup>

The dynasty of Mausolus in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C lay between the “Lydian Tralles to Lycian Xanthos along the Tralles-Physcus road.” One of the three famous sites which featured notable development in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C is Amyzon where fortifications constructed with ashlar masonry and the Doric order temple dedicated to Apollo and Artemis are characteristic of the same period. The vast majority of ruins in Alinda which was possibly a nexus for Mausolus’ expansionism are of Hellenistic date as semblance also need to be put forward for Alabanda. Situated in central Caria, Hyllarima- famous with bilingual religious inscriptions has attracted

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<sup>284</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 143.

<sup>285</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros. 2005: 627-628.

<sup>286</sup> Marchese. 1989: 3, 6-8, 47-48, 54.

attention for once serving as a *koinon*- also known as a “temple commonwealth” rather than a *polis* and possibly being autonomous by reason of having a chief status for gathering. It fell into the orbit of the Greek world in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Hiera Kome, namely the Sacred Village, which appeared in Stratoniceia inscriptions is perhaps another reference featuring the mission of specific centers in the sense that they could be acting as political bodies for the incorporation of smaller sites within the process of *sympoliteia* and were readily there to be reorganized in the urban landscape particularly under Hecatomnid rule and thereafter (under the Attalids as the final heirs of Hellenistic kingdoms). A best case, however, is Aphrodisias which experienced *sympoliteia* later, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>287</sup>

Information on minor fortifications is generally haphazard, however a bit of information has been acquired from northern Caria, specifically from those situated on hilltops in Kurun Dere, Ören, Bağacık, At Yaylası and Teke Kale. These structures almost form a network of “signal stations” between Tralles, Mylasa and the rest of western Caria. Presumably, they served for sustainability within the context of warfare as the northern Caria was vulnerable to hostile powers, particularly during the Ionian Revolt. In order to withstand Persian threats, they were supported with lookout posts which had a physical proximity to arterial routes. Also, they must have watched for strategic links- mainly targeted at ensuring commerce between inland Anatolia and the western coasts. Although the type of masonry differs in curtains and lookout posts, possibly because of the date of construction, commonalities regarding the fortifications might be of interest. Indeed, many are Hellenic works. Relating to minor fortifications underscored above, similar occurrences may also be traced in other inland and maritime settlements of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Isodomic ashlar and headers and stretchers were frequently applied. Although instances in Myndus reveal a much heterogeneous character, thus less comparable to Halicarnassian masonry applied on fortifications, quick solutions of Mausolus might be a plausible answer. That is to say, workmanship out of the newly designed *polis* of Halicarnassus seems to have superseded in form and style and that

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<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.* 50-52, 54, 73-74.

earlier constructions over the Myndian fortifications or in further north are to normally be assumed as contemporaneous. Furthermore, defense might have been the basic motive. The Myndian fortifications were designed to ensure the safety of the entire population (like Erythraean walls) whereas Halicarnassian walls were primarily constructed to ensure the safety of the dynast. As no single site presents uniformity, unusual masonry applied on Carian fortifications (e.g. Alindan defence system reminiscent of those of the older hilltop settlements) whether they be smaller or bigger seems to be associated with the new techniques of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>288</sup> The fortress at Teke Kale is amongst the fine examples of application of header and stretcher masonry.<sup>289</sup> Initially built in the 4<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C, the surroundings of Labraunda, which formed a natural barrier with the Latmos Mountain range, hosted many fortresses until the Byzantine era since levels of occupation excavated until now have revealed a great deal about its survival into the 12<sup>th</sup>- 13<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. The fortification system in this part of Caria maintained quite advantage looking over the most strategic routes running between Mylasa and Latmos but these strongholds were mostly situated along the southern slopes with a reasonable vision of the Mylasa Plain. All seem to have undergone a revival process during periods of unrest in the Hellenistic era, e.g. additional towers in Labraunda calls attention to altered or renewed parts.<sup>290</sup> Inland Ceramus was full of small scale fortified *komai*. A rich number of tombs and presses (especially used for olive processing) were designed to present integrity with the buildings.<sup>291</sup>

Opposed to individual settlements on hilltops, *koinons* of *komai* were situated on plain areas.<sup>292</sup> Presumably, these types of Archaic settlements fit to the organisation of *κοινά* and were modelled from the Ionians or they could well have survived under

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<sup>288</sup> McNicoll. 1997: 40-45.

<sup>289</sup> Marchese. 1989: 54.

<sup>290</sup> Karlsson. 2011: 247-249.

<sup>291</sup> Kızıl and Öztekin 2009: 359-364. Further on some other Carian towns, see Meritt, B.D. 1900. *Karic Towns in the Athenian Empire*. In W.M. Calder and J. Keil (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, 187-189. Manchester.

<sup>292</sup> Şahin. 1976: 27. A real sample where village *koinons* were gathered around a common sanctuary was Panamareis (*ibid.*).

satrapies. But the nature of κοινά must have been different as the Ionian Revolt of 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C actually involved the πόλεις.<sup>293</sup>

By the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, the “semi-settled in dispersed *komai*” forms began to decline due to the destructive results of Peloponnesian Wars and the ratification of the King’s Peace in 378 BC. The peaceful atmosphere showed its effects towards a change in settlement patterns.<sup>294</sup> Rural life was gradually changed by the time Mausolus invited mountain people to newly designed cities merged with Greek cultural and political life.<sup>295</sup> He put synoecism into effect by incorporating the Lelegian *komai* into the domain of Halicarnassus; it was probably him who let the other κοινά co-exist and compiled all of them for the creation and development of πόλεις. He transformed inland Caria into a territory where *komai* and πόλεις co-existed, forming a half-*polis* pattern. Some early inscriptions (e.g. Hyllarima) disclosed hints such that the co-habitation of κοινά and πόλεις also applied to the coastline.<sup>296</sup>

What makes up a typical Carian settlement? Unsurprisingly, the geographical boundaries of Caria can be imperceptible due to a “mixture of races” across the Meandros line. It is why we may opt to bank on theories focusing on ethnic identity rather than physical limits.<sup>297</sup> Difficulty in fixing a thorough number of settlements arises from the Carian language which still has not been completely translated, however, the origins of some settlements have been questioned through linguistics. Names containing SS, ND and ASA (e.g. Bybassos, Halicarnassus, Thyssanos, Kolossia) are now accepted to have had etymological expression in Anatolian languages.<sup>298</sup> We also have reasons to judge whether a site could be of Carian origin by looking at onomastics as a strong adoption of ethnic identity- if locals made up

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<sup>293</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 53-57, 63-67. The importance of the role of πόλεις, probably datable to the reign of the Hecatomnid dynasty, comes from Mylasa which made the city be transformed from the status of a village into a πόλεις (*ibid.*52).

<sup>294</sup> Üzel. 2007: 31-35.

<sup>295</sup> Cook. 1962: 148-149.

<sup>296</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 53-57, 63-67.

<sup>297</sup> Reger. 2007: 92.

<sup>298</sup> Uyguç. 1992: 57. Around 100 (hundred) Carian settlements have been detected within the geographical borders of Caria until now (*ibid.*).

the vast majority. Reger draws attention to the usage of dual names in Greek and Carian during the Hellenistic period and that co-usage could even continue into the Roman times. Notable examples come from cities like Mylasa and Stratoniceia where local Carian names such as Thyssos, Silbou or Koldoba have been recorded.<sup>299</sup>

It is hard to trace typical settlements with distinctive pottery but some very early local samples are represented in northern Caria (in the environs of Aphrodisias), which is supposed to have been part of culturally an “extensive southwestern Anatolian tradition” in which case possible “regional” parallels (if not sub-regional at once) with Beycesultan are under question. On the contrary, the survival of intra-regional contacts has been testified from Iasos and Miletus with substantial amounts of Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery which also presented continuum into the Early Iron Age. Preliminary evidence on Protogeometric, Geometric, Subgeometric and Lydian as well as eastern Greek styles finds place in northern Caria where Aphrodisias is a prolific site.<sup>300</sup>

When the Carians were subject to Athenian rule, they could have internalized many aspects.<sup>301</sup> Notwithstanding, the local pottery was probably produced by the beginning of the late Protogeometric period whereon a widely encountered group of finds reflecting a regional character are attributable to the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>302</sup> The mature Geometric pottery is, on the other hand, multi-dimensional. External influence in form and shape is sometimes observable on Rhodian styles. In terms of decoration, ornaments appeal to a wide geography e.g. Phrygia, Ionia, Dodecanese, Cycladic Islands, Argos, Attica and perhaps Boeotia whereas firm designs are attributable to the Dodecanese. Triangular ornaments, horizontal and vertical zigzags (Attica origin and Rhodian styles with which the Carian invention becomes mature); intersecting diagonals, meanders, overlapping concentric circles reminiscent of those found at Rhodes; rarely encountered leaf, linear line clusters ranging one below

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<sup>299</sup> Reger. 2007: 91.

<sup>300</sup> Marchese. 1989: 30, 37, 41.

<sup>301</sup> Long. 1958: 302-303.

<sup>302</sup> Arslan. 2007: 51-52. The ceramics exhibited in Mersin Museum give idea about some similar forms of the Carian Geometric pottery (majorly recorded from Ceramus, Iasos, Stratoniceia, Lagina, Beçin, Dirmil, Mylasa, Sinura up to Euromos).

another as typical of Caria; animal designs, particularly the snake (peculiar to Carian potters who invented their own) may all be identified as relating to aspects of Carian pottery.<sup>303</sup> Although we see a wide distribution of some Late Bronze Age (LH IIIC) kraters decorated with animal figures (e.g. goat, bird, fish) and extending from Iasos and Miletus to Seraglio and Cos, it is rather difficult to comment on the real provenance of these materials.<sup>304</sup> Such present too simple a picture and shall remain premature unless any specific suggestions are brought, e.g. for Protogeometric samples. Obviously, the “Dark Age” could have continued at different speeds or magnitudes in various parts of the Mediterranean or Ionian Islands. Many Ionian Islands were thriving in ceramic production between LH IIIC and Protogeometric corresponding to the Dark Age of Greece. Or, interestingly, Protogeometric pottery production in Ithaca showed persistence under Mycenaean influence. From Late Bronze Age onwards, Rhodes continued to produce local assemblages (jugs, kraters, kylixes, etc.) characterizable with Mycenaean pottery (Figure 3.2).<sup>305</sup>

Asarlık has been a typical site where Geometric amphora samples with circular decorations established part of the assemblages found in burials.<sup>306</sup> The Geometric pottery (in particular) introduced by Diler from the Lelegian sites of Hydai and Pedasa puts emphasis on some early forms practiced in Carian territories and contributes further to the context of burial assemblages in the Halicarnassian Peninsula (Figure 3.3).<sup>307</sup> Broad *oenochoe* with a round mouth and decorated with oriental features establish part of the findings between Late Geometric and Late Wild Goat styles.<sup>308</sup> Rhodes is one other prolific site which had proved nice samples of the Wild Goat styles representing a transition to the Archaic period. In Figure 3.4, *oenochoe* dated to the first half of 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C and a plate (ca. 600 B.C) along with many others appear with ducks, grazing goats, deers, owls, bold lotus flowers, etc. painted on a cream-coloured slip, typical of the said style. The development of

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<sup>303</sup> Özgünel. 1979: 17-47.

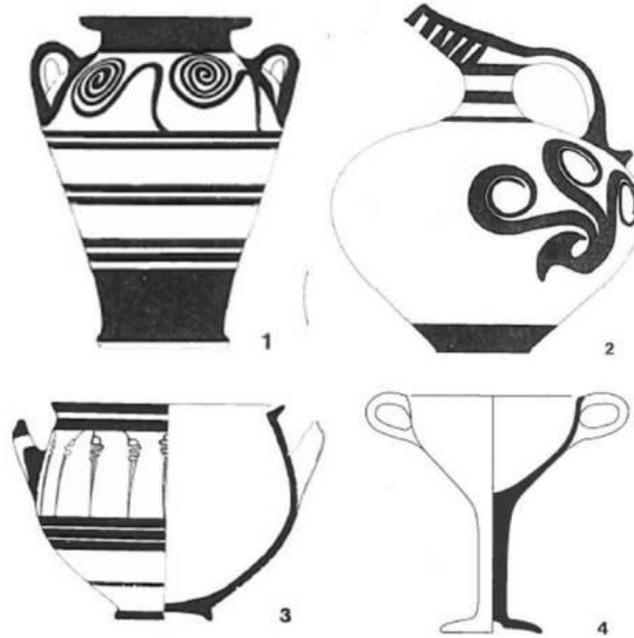
<sup>304</sup> Mee. 1982: 91. According to the author, Cos was the origin of these kraters (*ibid*).

<sup>305</sup> Souyoudzoglou-Haywood. 1999: 142-143.

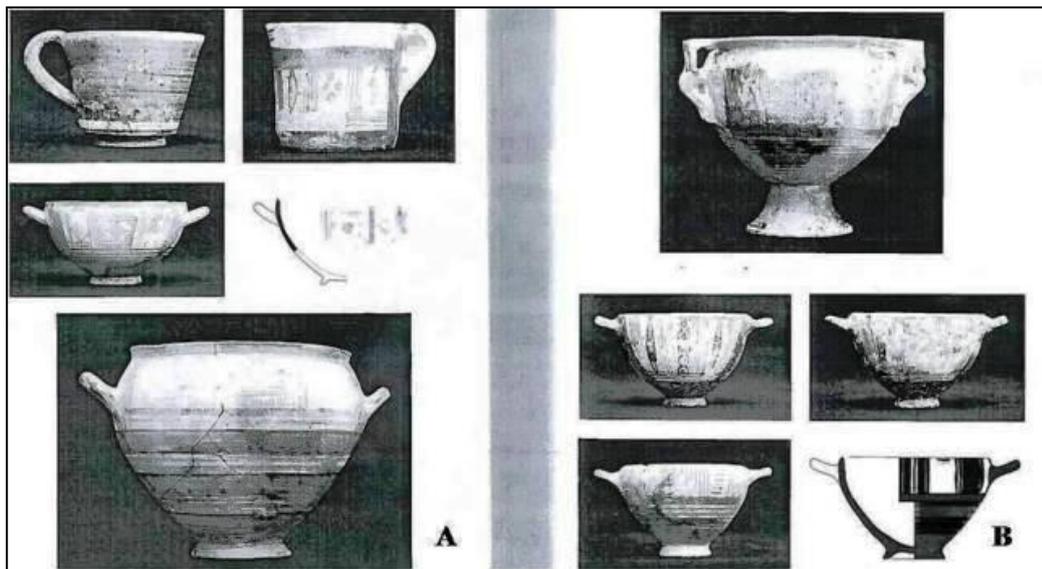
<sup>306</sup> Carstens. 2011b: 488-489.

<sup>307</sup> Diler. 2005: 366-367.

<sup>308</sup> Cook. 1999: 79.



**Figure 3.2:** Samples of Mycenaean Pottery from Ialysos (A,B) (Mee. 1982: Plates 3, 21-22)



**Figure 3.3:** Samples of Late Geometric (A) and Subgeometric Pottery (B) from Hydai (Diler. 2005: 366-367)



**Figure 3.4:** Samples of Wild Goat Style Pottery From Rhodes (7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C)

the geometric tradition reminiscent of the eastern Greek Wild Goat style in interior Caria, particularly from the northernmost part during the 8<sup>th</sup>- 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C may perhaps find explanation in “personal interaction” but the case is not devoid of meaning when such styles were heralds of radical changes<sup>309</sup> in Caria.

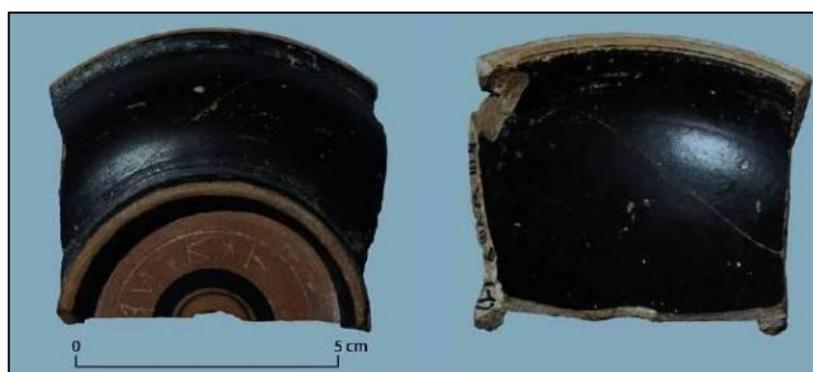
In view of metal finds or assemblages, Carstens deems that certain aspects of the Carian culture are reflected through sepulchral architecture as in the case of Asarlık and Dirmil sites in the Halicarnassian Peninsula. Such sites provide clues on continuous debates about the migration of peoples from the Aegean, particularly from the Attic region and highlight links with the Submycenaean and Protogeometric period. Samples evidenced from tombs at least provide a particular insight into foreign influence. Although some fine pieces of e.g. fibulae, revealing Cretan and Cypriot characteristics or Dodecanisian and Ionic Geometric pottery styles seem satisfactory for an external influence, many scholars now seem to have agreed on

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<sup>309</sup> Marchese. 1989: 3.

local touch and Carian traits as a result of transitional processes into the Early Iron Age.<sup>310</sup>

Distinguished pottery fragments with graffitos owe much to 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C Miletus where Carians are known to have been stationed (Figure 3.5).<sup>311</sup> Another site which



**Figure 3.5:** Part of A Late Classical Carian Calyx with Graffito (Herda and Sauter 2009: p.52)

is representative of Caria during the Classical and later periods is Labraunda where an intensive building activity was initiated during the Hecatomnid period as also evident through epigraphical evidence. Some objects dated to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C are indicative of “Archaic trade relations”. Classical lamps and import pottery (within which few numbers of low quality red-figure styles take place) grabbed in the terrace levels of the sanctuary of Labraunda address Attica but the real increase in such finds dates back to the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C when Mausolus and Idrieus held the crown. Black-glazed ware with fine decorations outweighs among Classical pottery finds. We are rather stuck with import pottery (predominantly Megarian bowls, low quality lamps, etc.) from relatively short distance areas when the Hellenistic period is under discussion. Labraunda witnessed the second revival

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<sup>310</sup> Boardman. 1999: 27; Carstens. 2011b: 491-492.

<sup>311</sup> Herda and Sauter. 2009: 52.

during the Roman period (particularly in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D). The building activity was accorded with increasing quality of pottery finds from the east and west. The deposits strongly revealed about Roman productions besides eastern *Sigillata* wares including the Samian type. Following the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C, the dominance of low quality Roman red pottery seems to have replaced all.<sup>312</sup>

### 3.2.2 The Carian Chersonesos

As reflected through inscriptions, some Carian cities, by decision of the Chrysaoric League, made alliances with Rhodes during 2<sup>nd</sup> Macedonian War, along with information about the Carian troops under the commandership of Rhodian generals. Hence, the wartime was a critical bend for the acknowledgement of the Rhodian mainland. It seems that the Carian Chersonesos may now be taken a few generations back, as also of Rhodian descendants, which was perhaps officially acknowledged by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>313</sup> Mention of Polybius about the “already there” landholdings of Rhodian citizens in Caria and Lycia after 164 B.C<sup>314</sup> might aid the chronological puzzle to an extent.

Written sources largely neglect inland *chora*, as may apply to the case of the Classical Peninsula. If Diodorus was right, the borders of the Carian Chersonesos were controlled by the Carians.<sup>315</sup> Strabo writes that it began from Daedala and ended at the Phoinix Mountain in the south.<sup>316</sup> It was perhaps Hursanasa (Daraçya), so mentioned in the Hittite tablets.<sup>317</sup> Newton defines Chersonesos as ancient Triopium.<sup>318</sup> The western part of the Chersonesos was called Apeiros (Plate 2.1.2), meaning the mainland.<sup>319</sup> Diodorus conveys that it could have had origins from a ruler, mentioning five Curetes who had sailed from Crete and divided Caria into five

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<sup>312</sup> Hellström. 1971: 1-3.

<sup>313</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 31-39.

<sup>314</sup> Polybius (6.31.4).

<sup>315</sup> Diodorus Siculus (5.62). By that time, the cult of Hemithea (also mentioned as “Molpadia”) was worshipped in the Sanctuary of Hemithea at Kastabos by all the dwellers of Caria (*ibid.*62.1, 63.1).

<sup>316</sup> Strabo (14.2.1-4, 14.3.1).

<sup>317</sup> Sevin. 2001: 127.

<sup>318</sup> Newton and Pullan 1863: 812.

<sup>319</sup> Bean. 1971: 157.

where each man founded a settlement.<sup>320</sup> Pausanias depicts it “lying offshore” which was crossed by a bridge.<sup>321</sup> Paton reckons that the inhabitants of the Cnidian Chersonesos travelled from the rest of the Carian Chersonesos.<sup>322</sup> Aydaş claims that the Peninsula was not organized in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C vis-à-vis speculative information given by the ancient writers for the approximate period.<sup>323</sup> Plutarch notes that when Alcibiades was living in a fortress in the “Chersonese”, he censured his generals due their bad choices for camping on an open beach, at times of the Athenian General- Conon.<sup>324</sup> It is open to question whether the land he mentions was the Carian Chersonesos.

Chersonesii, just as referred to in the ATL, was the adjoining part of the Cnidian Chersonesos.<sup>325</sup> Although there remain unknown sites paying tribute in Caria, the Carian Chersonesos was depicted as Χερρονήσιοι (Cherronesioi) being almost at the end of the list.<sup>326</sup> The city-ethnic was Chersonesioi/Chersonesions (Χερρονήσιος) while the toponym was recorded as Chersonesios (Χερρόνησος). XEP is readable on the coins of 500 B.C. Based on divergent views, Flensted- Jensen puts it (Chersonesios) into the status of a polis. The reason seems that it appeared in ATL from 452/1 to 429/8 B.C. It was registered twelve times, twice completely restored, and paid a *phoros* of 3 talents until 447/6 B.C. From 444/3 to 441/0 B.C, the payment decreased to about 2 talents. It repaid a tribute of 3 talents in 433/2 B.C.<sup>327</sup> With additions and corrections, nearest approximations made by Meritt et al. show that 2 talents (4200 drachmae) were paid by the Chersonesos in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The situation is a little contradictory, also under the scope of this research, since it was an original member of the League in 478/7 B.C, was reassessed in 450 B.C and stood on the quota list of 454/3 B.C and defined as “part of the city of Cnidus”.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Diodorus Siculus (5.60).

<sup>321</sup> Pausanias (5.24.7).

<sup>322</sup> Paton. 1889: 422-423.

<sup>323</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 21-25.

<sup>324</sup> Plutarch (4.Lysander.10).

<sup>325</sup> Jones. 1983: 29.

<sup>326</sup> Meritt et al. 1939- 1949- 1950- 1953 (vol.1): 458. Cherronesioi is another variant of Χερρονήσιοι used in the lists depicting a Carian land. Chersonesos in the Black Sea is given as Cherronesitai and distinguished under this name with a slight difference in script (*ibid.* vol 1: 26).

<sup>327</sup> Flensted- Jensen. 2004: 1114.

<sup>328</sup> Meritt et al. 1939- 1949- 1950- 1953 (vol.2): 122-123; *ibid.* vol.4: 26.

Assuming the whole Peninsula as a *polis*, the status may be owed to the internal organisation of the Chersonesos *Koinon*.

Greek coin catalogues reveal about the styles used by the Carian Chersonesos. Classified as “Uncertain of Caria” minted in silver, we are informed of the forepart of a lion with open jaws on the obverse (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C). On such silver coins, on the reverse, incuse square is divided with a narrow band with uneven surfaces. This lion style suggests the early coinage of Chersonesos and Cnidus whereas the reverse suggests electrum coins of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C Lindos and Posidion coins.<sup>329</sup> Datable to 700-480 B.C, a coin (183.4 gr.) from the Chersonesos depicts a lion’s head and foreleg beneath XEP on the obverse, and the head and neck of a bull on the reverse. The Chersonesos *Koinon* appears separately from Cnidus in ATL (Figure 3.6; A). The coins looked like as if they were all anterior to 500 B.C, reflecting the Aeginetic standard. The early Cnidian coins also held the same.<sup>330</sup> The similarity exhibits a connection between the two as included on the Carian panel.<sup>331</sup>

An interesting group of silver coins of Caria within which early staters (5<sup>th</sup> century B.C) with crude punches on the reverse depicting a winged deity were minted in the Aeginetic standard, has shed light on the early coins of Caunos. Some later mints with the Carian script within an incuse square are also informative from this Carian-Lycian border line.<sup>332</sup> Though sometimes slightly reduced, the Aeginetic standard used in parts of Caria primarily marks the extent of the influential sphere of a profitable means of exchange during the Classical period.

Comparable to those of Miletus, the earliest (395-377 B.C) coins of the Hecatomnid dynasty were in the Attic standard. The bronze coins of Mylasa depicting a lion’s head and foreleg were purely Carian although Persian figures continued to be

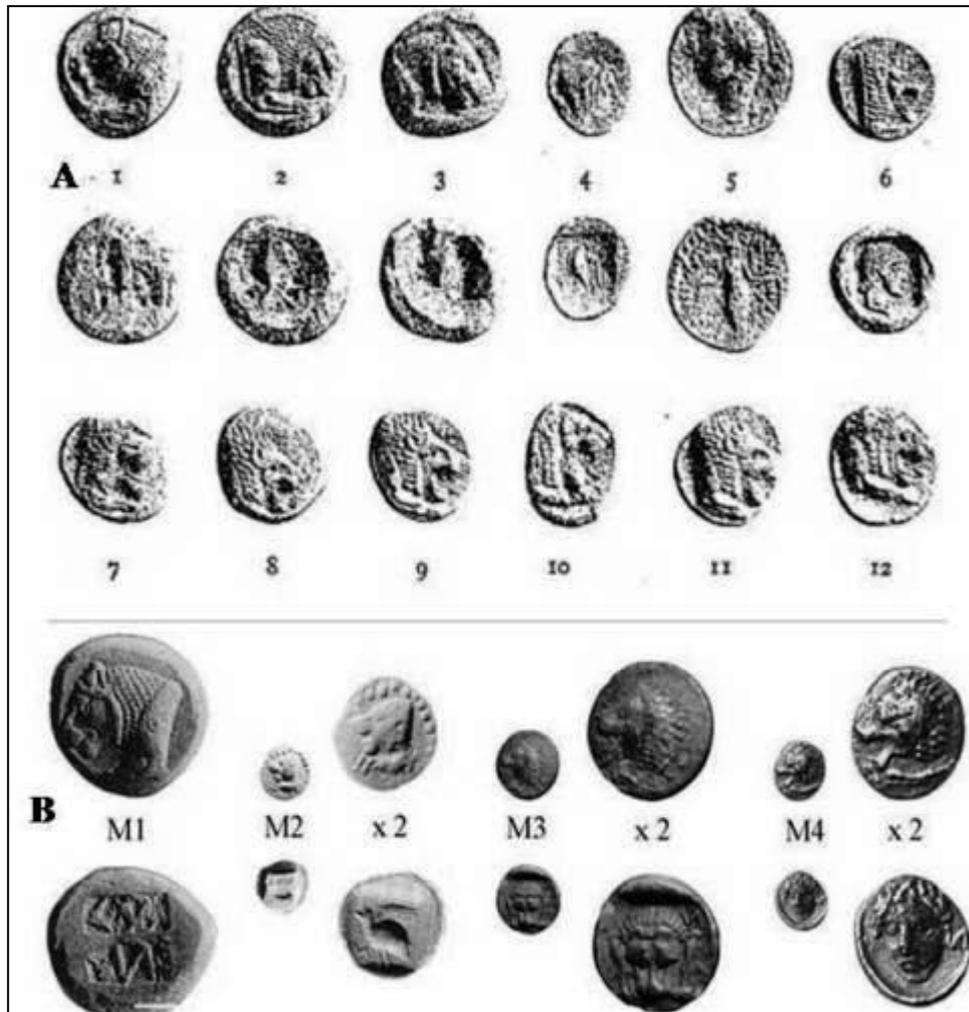
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<sup>329</sup> Grose. 1929: 200, 208. Cnidus was one place where coins classified under “the unknown series” could have belonged to Chersonesos (183).

<sup>330</sup> Head. 1963: 614; Head. 1968: 6.

<sup>331</sup> Cook. 1961a: 61-62.

<sup>332</sup> Konuk. 1998: 197.



**Figure 3.6:** Coins of Caria; Chersonesos Included (A) (Grose. 1929: 296) and Depictions of Lion on Early Samples (B) (Konuk. 2007: 523).

depicted. Apollo and Zeus Labraundos appearing with Mausolus are visible on coins minted minted between 366-351 B.C.<sup>333</sup> Depiction of Persian figures, e.g. the Persian archer found on coins of a series was most likely the expression of loyalty through royal imagery.<sup>334</sup> There also comes a series of coinage bearing the name of various dynasts of Caria- Idrieus, Pixadoras and Orontobates from the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C to Alexander the Great's conquest. It seems that the monopoly of the Hecatomnid financial policy went as far as the Bargylian Gulf and Stratoniceia in the early 4<sup>th</sup>

<sup>333</sup> Head. 1963: 628-629; Head. 1968: 39. On the reverse, ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ is seen with Zeus Labrandeus with a double axe and sceptre (*ibid.*).

<sup>334</sup> Zahle. 1994: 86.

century B.C. We see no further coins struck by the ancient capital of Mylasa until the advent of Alexander the Great.<sup>335</sup> When Halicarnassus replaced Mylasa, the Rhodian standard bearing Mausolus' name began to be struck.

Before the absolute colonization by Rhodes, cities minted coins using their local symbols. Unknown for Cos, the forepart of a lion on tetradrachms might have had links with the Carian Chersonesos or Cnidus, however, no claim has yet been brought.<sup>336</sup> Lion depictions were popular in some other cities, for instance we come across the stable figure with Apollo in changing positions at three different phases of the Milesian coins during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>337</sup> Head states that there was no coinage in inland Caria whereas coastal districts like Cnidus, Chersonesos, Idyma, Termera, Astyra and maybe Caunos minted coins until the suzerainty of Mausolus.<sup>338</sup> Numerous coins housed by museums and private collections were minted with letters in Carian script. Among these, the earliest coinage (the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C) is presumably attributable to those minted with the forepart of a lion (Figure 3.6; B, see above) in Mylasa and Caunos in the Lydian weight (Persian standard), as may also be tracked with the beginning of the letters of ethnics in certain instances. Those attributable to the Milesian standard may also appear with lion depictions however, they bear nuances in the posture of the lion.<sup>339</sup> Caria and most of the Ionian cities accepted the Rhodian coinage standard by the advent of Alexander the Great<sup>340</sup> in which case ΠΟΔΙΟΝ, ΔΙΟΙ, ΠΟΔΙΩΝ appeared on Carian coins among which the Chersonesos appeared as ΧΕΡΣ, being autonomous.<sup>341</sup>

Similar to what Cos and Calymna did under the Ptolemies, minting somehow refers to the ideological world of communities.<sup>342</sup> That local civic coins were issued in the

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<sup>335</sup> Head. 1963: 618, 622.

<sup>336</sup> Kraay. 1966: 359. Also see Plates 188-189, in between nos. 639- 641.

<sup>337</sup> Kinns. 1998: 176.

<sup>338</sup> Head. 1963: 606.

<sup>339</sup> Konuk. 2007: 471-473.

<sup>340</sup> Berthold. 1984: 48-49.

<sup>341</sup> Florance. 1966: 78, 96.

<sup>342</sup> Carlsson. 2004: 114.

Carian Chersonesos may address the degree of autonomy despite certain restrictions imposed by the royal elite whom had decided on default figures of the relevant era.

### **3.3 Rhodes and Its Periphery**

Back to far earlier times- at different phases of the Mycenaean Age, the historical trajectory about the plantation of settlements on the Island of Rhodes is somehow understandable by looking at well documented cemeteries of Ialysos. This part of Rhodes witnessed a maximum number of settlements in the 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C, namely during LH IIIA2 period at the Island. A distinguished site is Trianda/ Ialysos where excavations brought into light disturbed Mycenaean levels following the Minoan touch. In the southeast, toward Lindos and Pylona, settlements possibly spread out where maritime activity and agricultural inland sites co-existed.<sup>343</sup> When Mycenaean settlements (priorly colonized by Minoans) are taken into account, there seems to be a possibility that Trianda, situated in the northwest corner of the Island of Rhodes, was an optimal site for taking interests on the mainland at the opposite (the channel where Bozburun Peninsula reaches Marmaris).<sup>344</sup>

Chamber tombs and assemblages (e.g. jars, bronze swords, and a late Cypriot dagger from Tolo) uncovered on the hills of Makra and Moschou Vounara (including some more from the environs of Kamiros) also constitute the bulk of evidence for earliest settlement in the Bronze Age. The appearance of more archaeological records, which took the form of high quality pottery (e.g. stirrup jars, tin-incrusted kylix) and glass ornaments, relate to a large-scale occupation on the island as it grew into subsequent sub-periods. Interestingly, a dramatic decrease in the number of cemeteries occurred around Ialysos associated with LH IIIB but exceptions are attributable to the rest of the Island. However, the problem of large scale decrease in number of pottery in many parts of the Island now poses further difficulties in seeking the real scenario. There is almost no evidence that the islanders around Ialysos could have flown to another site, for example to the opposite mainland or elsewhere since the provenance

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<sup>343</sup> Mee. 1982: 80, 83; Karantzali. 2001: 13.

<sup>344</sup> Mee. 1982: 82-83.

of pottery remains found e.g. in Loryma, were never understood. The next issue- about the burial patterns also remains vague since there was an unexpected increase in the number of tombs in LH IIIC, following the decline period noted short above. Although debates on new immigrations and reuse of earlier tombs continue, very early patterns of settlement have never been fully understood until now.<sup>345</sup>

Peripheral development encompassing the Ionian Islands was an indispensable aspect of the Mycenaean culture. Connections have been further brought up with tomb architecture which restores some main analogies between the *tholoi* of Messenia and Zakynthos and Kefalonia. Pre-Mycenaean culture in the peripheries is rather distinguishable with handmade pottery, monochrome vases, buildings revealing curvilinear masonry, simple pits forming chamber tombs, etc. However, the greatest levels of cultural development, mostly associated with tomb architecture, are found in Kefalonia in that it may be looked at in a somehow parallel context. Notable demographic increases linked with “cave-dormitory” type tombs and stylistic pottery has been reported from this site from the beginning of LH IIIC albeit regional variances. Argostoli- Livatho- a cemetery district was the focal site of habitation (perhaps a premature kind of “*synoecism*” or socio-political alliance of the Mycenaeans) during LH IIIC while the reason of abandonment is still an enigma.<sup>346</sup> If we return to Rhodes, evidence on the early Rhodian tombs is still quite valuable in terms of knowledge they generated. For instance, a certain degree of relations conducted with the eastern Mediterranean in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C (Late Cypriot II) came along through the recovery of White Slip bowls from Ialysian tombs. Presumably, these type of bowls, which are also known to Asia Minor, Cos, Crete, Syria and Palestine, travelled to the Dodecanese and Rhodes over or from Cyprus. The role Rhodes might have taken during the Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus in the Bronze Age and/or opening the way to migrations remains uncertain unless links between the regions are reinforced with additional records.<sup>347</sup> Notwithstanding, Cypriot imports from Rhodes and the presence of Cypriot tombs at

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<sup>345</sup> Benzi. 1988: 59-69.

<sup>346</sup> Souyoudzoglou-Haywood. 1999: 138-141.

<sup>347</sup> Ästrom. 1988: 76-78.

Ialysos put emphasis on some early links. The peripheral contacts of Rhodes, beginning from the earliest times was there but perhaps not merely based on firm trade patterns. As Mee attests:

“Obviously the extent of prehistoric trade should not be exaggerated but the Eastern Mediterranean provided essentials, such as copper and tin, which the Mycenaean lacked” (1982: 85).

On one side, similar engagements might appoint the Island to an early *emporium* as there is evidence on pottery imports from the mainland Greece and the Peloponnese.<sup>348</sup>

Rhodes, a member of the Delian League in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C turned into an independent status in 408/7 B.C, synoecising the three old “cities”: Ialysos, Kamiros and Lindos.<sup>349</sup> The new federal country under the name of the Rhodian State- an ally to Sparta until 395 B.C, now had numerous *demes* which were allocated to these three *poleis*.<sup>350</sup> When *demes* on the Island and mainland Caria officially fell into the periphery of Rhodes, a tense atmosphere and struggle for power was already taking place in the Mediterranean.

The seizure of Rhodes by Demetrius I at the close of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C was a threshold for designing sustainable policies for the mainland and securing it from marine attacks. Plundering of Rhodes and the Rhodian Peraea was achieved with the help of pirates sailing on “undecked vessels” and approaching by land. The name of a Rhodian admiral, Amyntas is heard in the incident when he had to face them all while sailing to the Peraea.<sup>351</sup>

Piracy, a reality of the Classical world, developed into the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C and was widely applied in the Hellenistic era. Actually, the institution of piracy might be a hint to to speculate on the beginning of peripheral relations of Rhodes with the

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<sup>348</sup> Mee.1982: 85.

<sup>349</sup> All are assumed as Dorian Greek *poleis*.

<sup>350</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 1316.

<sup>351</sup> Souza. 1999: 44-45.

Peninsula. There is evidence about anti-piracy, showing mature relations with the Peninsula as reflected on some Rhodian inscriptions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. One of them is striking as it relates to the mainland. Accordingly, along with other seamen, a Rhodian officer- Polemarchos whose origin was from the *deme* of Casarae (Kasareis) in the Peraea, was honored for defending the island of Aigila, in around 305 B.C.<sup>352</sup> Rhodes had to maintain strong relations with the Ptolemies, as a trading partner in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C, its active role in fighting the pirates replacing the Ptolemaic navy shows her prosperity.<sup>353</sup>

The peripheral relations of Rhodes can be traced on coinage. Her pre-Hellenistic economy is reflected on 6<sup>th</sup>- 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C coins when Lindos and Ialysos began to mint in the Phoenician standard. Under Athenian influence, the Island used the Chian standard in 404 B.C, just before adopting its own standard. The boom in the power of wealth and commerce was obvious around 305-304 B.C when she “became the clearing house and banker of the Eastern Mediterranean”. The wealth of the Rhodians was acquired through income running from mainland Caria and Lycia. However, the best evidence has been recorded with the help of the wide distribution of Rhodian coinage and stamped amphorae between Egypt and the Black Sea.<sup>354</sup> The success of Rhodians, however, lied in their foreign diplomacy or interstate affairs.<sup>355</sup>

The concept of “peraea” was not, for sure, limited to a single case of Rhodes. The absorption of mainlands from other island communities has been documented in numerous cases. Some famous places were Tenedos, Thasos, Samothrake, Lesbos and Mytilene. Many, which had strong links or exercised power over their dominions, often watched for economic aims or based their interests on strategic reasons.<sup>356</sup> Living under the imperial sphere of Rhodes, the Peraea had a reputation in serving the interests of the Island. However, a little earlier, there were private entrepreneurs like Zenon who was of Carian origin but acknowledged as a Greek. He

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<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.* 41, 50-51.

<sup>353</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 1316.

<sup>354</sup> Berthold. 1984: 48-53.

<sup>355</sup> Hansen. 2004: 100.

<sup>356</sup> Funke. 1999: 45-55.

was the general factotum of Apollonius, the minister of finance and much else in the government of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282-246 B.C). We find him travelling through Syria on business for Apollonius.<sup>357</sup>

Diodorus mentions about the arrival of Rhodians in the Peninsula. He informs about Triopas who settled in Triopium in Cnidus and flew to Chersonesos to establish a base there.<sup>358</sup> Soon after the Peace of Apameia, the Rhodians reached the Maiandros River and almost all Lycia.<sup>359</sup> Chersonesos was a Hellenized colony by then.<sup>360</sup> The periphery extended to the island of Megiste near the mainland of Lycia, near Patara. Numismatic evidence as reflected through images of Helios' head and rose support the status of Megiste as a "colony" in the modern sense.<sup>361</sup> On marking Hellenisation on the social profile of the mainland, Hansen divorces Amos and Chersonesos as Hellenized indigenous communities.<sup>362</sup> However, such a case may not relate to an aggressive colonization through the "destruction of a native population and rapid marking out of a territory."<sup>363</sup> Despite little evidence, the Peninsula reveals about Hellenistic influence before a well-established Rhodian infiltration.

### 3.3.1 Three old *poleis*

The influence of *chorai* on the formation of *poleis* has brought new perspectives to the Classical archaeology. The power of Athens was owed to the integration of its *demes* into the political organisation. However, there is no map marking the borders but the process of unification of dispersed small groups is generally explained under

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<sup>357</sup> Evans. 2008: 87.

<sup>358</sup> Diodorus Siculus (5.61).

<sup>359</sup> Sevin. 2001: 127.

<sup>360</sup> Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1395. We may be skeptical and avoid using colonialism under anachronistic terms. As the practices of colonization were different under different trajectories, the so-called word might apply to an *emporion* when the Peraea is subject to discussion.

According to Hornblower, the colonization attempts of Rhodes need to be defined with physical, geographical and architectural motives (Hornblower. 1982: 81-83).

<sup>361</sup> Head. 1963: 635.

<sup>362</sup> Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1395.

<sup>363</sup> Wilson. 2006: 34.

the notion of synoecism.<sup>364</sup> Classical synoecism was politically driven, synoecism in the Hellenistic period was a tool to have access to physical resources and overcome poverty.<sup>365</sup>

*Genos* is based on kinship. It does not apply to a culture or established relations over time just as the Classical Hellenes once perceived in the same context. For instance, the acceptance of the Argead rulers of Macedonia into the Olympic Games was based on similar grounds.<sup>366</sup> Early Rhodes was a land of *genos* formations, in which three old *poleis* corresponded to three *phylae* living in *komai*. These *poleis* possessed sub-districts which evolved into their latest status in the form of *komai* clusters.<sup>367</sup> Unlike the three basic Dorian *phylae*, Papachristodoulou favours “two distinct strata” of *phylae* in Rhodes that one must have originated from older forms and the other was formed during later times of the Rhodian constitution.<sup>368</sup> Rice envisages that the gentilicial structure of Rhodes before the introduction of the *deme* system could be identified with *patrai* which made up three basic social divisions on the Island.<sup>369</sup> Hansen puts three old cities into the status of “dependent *poleis*” in the urban sense<sup>370</sup> because they continued to exist as separate states following their unification under a federal assembly (*sympas damos*).<sup>371</sup> They were urban because they had *Ekklesia* and *Boule* and that citizens could be appointed as *proxenoi*. Actually, synoecism was partial<sup>372</sup> as civic subdivisions had some things in common.

A stable constitution and the efficient state organisation of the Island were the products of synoecism. Accordingly, three *poleis* together with their *demes* were equal on political terms.<sup>373</sup> The Rhodian Peraea and islands were subject to the procedures of the federal law during elections, as attested in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C

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<sup>364</sup> Snodgrass. 2000: 6-11.

<sup>365</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 81-83.

<sup>366</sup> Walbank. 2002: 241.

<sup>367</sup> Thompson. 2007: 342-345.

<sup>368</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 30.

<sup>369</sup> Rice. 1988: 140.

<sup>370</sup> Hansen. 2004: 87-88.

<sup>371</sup> Gabrielsen. 2000: 196.

<sup>372</sup> Hansen. 2004: 91; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1366.

<sup>373</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 29-30.

decrees of the Kamirans. Although the three *poleis* were free in controlling the affairs of their own *demes*, synoecism could have posed limits on self-regulation. Either *polis* could impose restrictions on participating in religious or civic life, e.g. only *demesmen* of the *demes* on the Island were eligible for the priesthood of Athena Lindia. Presumably, the Rhodian Peraea was exempted from such a process. Likewise, a *polis* could have acted lavishly in regulating the relations of a *deme* with another *polis*.<sup>374</sup>

Before synoecism, *Damos* was used for the local councils. When the Island was synoecised, the co-usage of *Damos* and *Boule* was possibly there. The common eponymous official of the State was the priest of Helios whereas each city had its own eponymous officials.<sup>375</sup> The priesthood for Helios was based on rotation from the three old *poleis* on equal basis, though.<sup>376</sup> The introduction of the *deme* system after 408 B.C can be elusive since physical synoecism cannot be related to the establishment of a “must be well developed system”.<sup>377</sup> Megalopolis was one case for physical integration whereas Athens was more involved in the political unification until the beginning of Peloponnesian Wars. Rhodes and Cos, on the other hand, seems to have practiced both in which case it is plausible to attribute the Carian synoecism into the similar context.<sup>378</sup> Peraea, probably before synoecism was composed of *demes* assigned to one of those three old *poleis*.<sup>379</sup> Relevant to the *demes*, two levels of organisation were essential: (i) three *poleis* had *demes* which were also attached to the Rhodian State and (ii) the Rhodian Peraea and incorporated islands like Chalke and Karpathos possessed their *demes*. The Rhodian *demes* were larger in size and form than the Attic *demes* but those of the Rhodians were smaller in number. Papachristodoulou reports a total number of 67 *demes*, of which more than 36 were on the Island.<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> Gabrielsen. 2000: 193-195.

<sup>375</sup> Sherk. 1990: 279-280.

<sup>376</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 29.

<sup>377</sup> Gabrielsen. 2000: 188-189.

<sup>378</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 83-84.

<sup>379</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 1316.

<sup>380</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 29-30, 39.

The three *poleis*, all registered within the region of Caria, were probably among the first members of the Delian League.<sup>381</sup> Ethnics were attested on 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C coinage. Ialysos, located on the northwest coast, is famous with decrees found at the *Acropolis*.<sup>382</sup> Following synoecism, Rhodes replaced the ancient *polis* of Ialysos. Names of hundreds of priests appeared on amphora handles and coins at Rhodes. It was Ialysos where names did not change frequently.<sup>383</sup>

Located in the east of the Island, Lindos is known to have possessed colonies in the Mediterranean, including Egypt, as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. It is doubtful if Megiste, off the Lycian coast, belonged to her but evidently they had a connection as reflected through coinage.<sup>384</sup> *Strategoï*, *prytaneis* who served annually and a board of *epistatai* were among the important institutions. The presence of *matroxenoi* through their foreign mothers is datable to the Hellenistic era. Epigraphical evidence has put forward that they were there by the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. What we also know about this *polis* is that a group of free women were married to Lindian citizens but the issue needs to be reconsidered as the opposite could also be true. There is reason to attribute a prestigious position onto Lindos. The Kamiran archives and the celebration of victories of Diagoras of Ialysos at Lindos<sup>385</sup> now force us to think about the advantageous status of Lindos over the others, also due to its relatively old history.

Kamiroi lies on the western part of the Island. This *polis* began to issue electrum and silver coins in the Aeginetic standard by the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. We hear about a lion's head with open jaws on the obverse and incuse square on the reverse (also used at Ialysos), well matching the coins of the Carian Chersonesos. A *damiourgos*, a board of *epistatai* and the office of *prytanis* were attested on 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C inscriptions.<sup>386</sup> On a 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C inscription, the name of the eponym of the State and *damiourgos* of Kamiroi were seen together. Evident from the inscriptions, the post

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<sup>381</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1196.

<sup>382</sup> Torr 1885: 3.

<sup>383</sup> Sherk. 1990: 283-284.

<sup>384</sup> Torr. 1885: 35-36.

<sup>385</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1203-1204.

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.* 1201-1202.

functioned in the religious sphere until the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>387</sup> As opposed to Lindos, being a *damiourgos* in Kamiros was not confined to *demesmen* of the Island. Every region was eligible for this post.<sup>388</sup> Taking into account what has been provided up to now, information on the basic attributes of the three old *poleis* is given in Table 3.1:

**Table 3.1:** Attributes of Three Old *Poleis*<sup>389</sup>

	<b>Ialysos</b>	<b>Lindos</b>	<b>Kamiros</b>	<b>Rhodian State</b>
<b>Membership in ATL</b>		454/453 B.C- 415/414 B.C	454/453 B.C- 415/414 B.C	
<b>City ethnic</b>	Ἰελεύσιος (5 <sup>th</sup> century B.C)	Λίνδος (6 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> centuries B.C)	Καμπεύς (5 <sup>th</sup> century B.C)	Ρόδιος (5 <sup>th</sup> century B.C)
<b>Civic subdivisions</b>	<i>Pyhlae</i>	<i>Pyhlae, demoi, ktoinai</i>	<i>Pyhlae, demoi, ktoinai, patrai</i>	
<b>Representation of demotic in deme system</b>	3 <sup>rd</sup> part of personal names (H)	3 <sup>rd</sup> part of personal names (H)	3 <sup>rd</sup> part of personal names (H)	
<b>Main cult</b>	Athena Polias & Zeus Polias (4 <sup>th</sup> century B.C)	Athena Lindia as early as (8 <sup>th</sup> century B.C)	Apollo Pythios (A-C)- Athena Polias & Zeus Polieus	
<b>Eponymous official</b>	Numerous priests holding office lifelong	Athena Polias (3 <sup>th</sup> century B.C) Athena Lindia (4 <sup>th</sup> century B.C- 3 <sup>rd</sup> century A.D)	Damiourgos (5 <sup>th</sup> century B.C)	Helios
<b>Colonies</b>		✓ Soli ✓ Phaselis ? Megiste ✓ Gela (Sicily)		
<b>Proxenia</b>	Giving	Receiving		Giving

\*A (Archaic); \*C (Classical); \*H (Hellenistic)

<sup>387</sup> Sher. 1990: 280-281.

<sup>388</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 32-40; Jones. 1987: 243, 245, 249.

<sup>389</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1198- 1206; Sher. 1990: 280-281, 283; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1344, 1347.

### 3.3.2 The Rhodian Peraea

“The Distribution of the Tribes Map” during early migrations shows that the Rhodian Peraea fell into the domain of the Doric culture which covered Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Cos, Crete, Messenia, Lakonia, Thera, Melos and some other Cycladic Islands.<sup>390</sup>

The form of Athenian interference and control was territorial during the Classical era. The wealthy Athenians owned land in the allied territory. This type of land grabbing was a major benefit except for the negative effects of tributes paid to the Empire. The Carian Chersonesos probably served the similar interests of the Athenian elite under the indirect control of the Empire. Sparta, having ruled for about 60 years following the Peloponnesian Wars, was indeed one threat for the entire Caria. From the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C until the Hellenistic period, nothing was longer than Rhodian control on the mainland and it gradually became known under the generic term of the Rhodian Peraea.<sup>391</sup> Cousin and Deschamps mention that the Rhodian Peraea was named beginning from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>392</sup> Some early travellers limit it until Caunos (included).<sup>393</sup> Fraser and Bean attest that the entire Lycia and the southern part of the Meander, falling into Caria, fell into full control of the Rhodians after the Peace of Apameia.<sup>394</sup>

The scholars have introduced two terms with respect to the Rhodian Peraea: Incorporated Peraea and Subject Peraea. Fraser and Bean clarify the status of Bozburun Peninsula as included in the Incorporated Peraea. In the words of authors, it was “the territory forming the integral part of the Rhodian State which participated in the *deme* system and whose inhabitants were ranked as politically equal” to those of Rhodes. The case of the Subject Peraea (Deadala, Megista and Karpathos ignored) was somehow different such that it addressed the “territory acquired and lost at

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<sup>390</sup> Van der Heyden and Scullard 1959: 20.

<sup>391</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 52; Hornblower. 1991: 153-154. The Peninsula is mentioned as the “Rhodian Peraea” when the Ptolemies are narrated by Polybius (6.31.17).

<sup>392</sup> Cousin and Deschamps 1886: 487.

<sup>393</sup> Collignon and Duchesne 1877: 362-363.

<sup>394</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 70.

various times by Rhodes, whose inhabitants stood as subject to suzerain”. Hence, the Subject Peraea was “a nation controlling another nation in international affairs” but domestic sovereignty was not prohibited whereby landlords were tolerated.<sup>395</sup> When van Bremen makes his notes on the Incorporated Peraea that it was possibly taken over by Rhodes before the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, he is in agreement with Fraser and Bean that it reached the territory covering Kallipolis in the north and Caunos and Cnidus in the east and west, respectively.<sup>396</sup>

Berthold makes a differentiation according to period in that the concept of Subject Peraea was invented after the death of Alexander the Great. However, the mainland was already under the Rhodian influence in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C and that it extended until Cedrae, the east of Physcus and Daedala (the border reaching Meis/ Castellorizo Island). If correct, the Subject Peraea was a ruling scope while the Incorporated Peraea was the cement.<sup>397</sup> Subject Peraea is always problematic when it comes to finding answers. Fraser and Bean also assign it to Ἀπειρος (north of Physcus until Cedrae and the region in the east of Caunos which was probably not included in the mainland) which appeared on 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C Rhodian inscriptions. Three major sub-regions are then spoken for the Subject Peraea: The southeast of the Incorporated Peraea where Caunos and Calynda were the principle cities and that Physcus and Pynus just stood between the borders; the north and northeast of Stratoniceia attributable to north Caria, and the sub-region between Stratoniceia and Cedrae.<sup>398</sup> The heart of the Subject Peraea seems to have rolled around the north of Ceramic Gulf- the region between Muğla, Pisye, Stratoniceia, Hyllarima, Ceramus and Idyma. However, evidence relating to two cities- Caunos and Stratoniceia is relatively satisfactory. Rhodes had to pay 200 talents to Ptolemy’s generals in order to buy the former one situated near the Lycian border in around 197 B.C or following the said date whereas the latter which was founded by the Seleucids somewhere between 260-250 B.C was acquired almost a decade after. What is almost certain is that the Rhodians withheld these two until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Macedonian War in 168/7 B.C but were

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<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*53; Jones. 1983: 49.

<sup>396</sup> van Bremen. 2009: 109.

<sup>397</sup> Berthold. 1984: 42-43.

<sup>398</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 68-71.

likely controlling the region between Stratoniceia and Ceramic Gulf by the time Stratoniceia was captured. A fragmentary inscription (dated to 275-225 B.C) recovered in the environs of Pisye mentions a list of donators to the construction of *neoria* as well as *demos* of Rhodians within the territory of Pladasa (Sub-part 2.4). That the Rhodians could have been involved in the process of building activity might shed light on the Rhodian holdings over some major settlements in the north of the Ceramic Gulf. Presumably, a network of *koina* was continuously watched for through various mechanisms whereby van Bremen quotes the nature of control over the Subject Peraea as “arrested development”.<sup>399</sup> The frequent violation of Rhodian holdings, particularly in the east, must have been a basic problem for Rhodes since we hear of aggressions by dependencies of Cibyra which were also aspiring to Psidian and Lycian borders around those dates or soon later.<sup>400</sup> Within the social context, a vivid separation has been made by Hornblower & Spawforth that the Incorporated Peraea did not outline a territory but rather it covered all the citizens of equally treated *demes*. The Subject Peraea, on the other hand, covered a territory administered by the Rhodian officials, excluding the grant of citizenship.<sup>401</sup> Implicitly, the Subject Peraea, which acquired Stratoniceia and Caunos later, was not subject to incorporation into the Rhodian state in around 281 B.C. Reger reinforces the picture claiming that the Subject Peraea was a long recognized one.<sup>402</sup> Nevertheless, the distinction between the two is not clear. The use of names may be the criterion that the Rhodians were identified by demotics in the Incorporated Peraea whereas they were identified by their ethnicity in the Subject Peraea.<sup>403</sup>

Various demotics are attributable to Rhodian presence<sup>404</sup> albeit problems with the borders. An inscription found in Fethiye dealt with territorial conflicts of the Roman province of Lycia as to whether the land belonged to Rhodes or Lycia. Apparently,

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<sup>399</sup> van Bremen. 2009: 111-113.

<sup>400</sup> Jones. 1983: 49.

<sup>401</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth 2003: 1316.

<sup>402</sup> Reger. 1999: 78-79. The word is problematic when we see texts and inscriptions mentioning *hegemons* or *epistatai* and *strategoï* since they may denote different administrative organisations. Caunos appears to have been under the control of a *hegemon* while Stratoniceia was controlled by *epistatai* (*ibid.* 80–81).

<sup>403</sup> Constantakopoulou. 2007: 243.

<sup>404</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 54.

the dispute addressed possible locations for the easternmost *deme* of the Rhodian Peraea- Daedala. In fact, the problem arose from a dispute for physical possessions against the real ownership of the property.<sup>405</sup> The issue remains unresolved as to whom the property belonged.

### 3.3.2.1 The problem of generic identification

Different sources recall different Peraean names which in the end raise problems on their assignment to the three old *poleis*. There is evidence on the number of Rhodian *demes* listing 55 certain names and possible or uncertain 12 names. Out of these, 33 were located at the Island of Rhodes, 13 in the Peraea, 7 in the islands while the rest are still unidentified. It is almost certain that Lindos had 12 *demes*. That a safe number of 12 *demes* were attached to Lindos on the Island needs reconsideration since she could have had other *demes*. But it is certain that Αμιοι, Κασαρεῖς and Βρυκούντιοι, located in the Rhodian Peraea, were attached to her. Out of 19 *demes* of Kamiros, 5 belonged to the Kamiran territory in Rhodes, 6 *demes*, with certainty, to the Peraea and 1 in Chalke. The remaining 7 *demes* were probably located in Rhodes.

Casarae was previously attached to Lindos but late periods pose difficulties for a thorough assignment. The situation is very debatable for Ialysos since the new *asty* was founded within the city of Rhodes during synoecism. It is almost certain that 9 *demes* were located on the Island while 2 were left to the Rhodian Peraea. No *deme* has been evidenced for the dependent islands. Out of those 2, Cryassus has been identified in favour of the Rhodian Peraea with certainty but is still unlocated. Along with the inscriptions, the location of Patyreis has been reported for the same, as well. Anyhow, *demes* of Ialysos in the Peraea are problematic. In spite of various tenets, Papachristodoulou suggests that Ialysos had a total number of 12 *demes*. Then 12-*deme* model applicable to the Island might be a good start based on equal representation.<sup>406</sup> However, the problem with these numbers is that, if equality was

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<sup>405</sup> Köktürk and Milner 2003: 131-132.

<sup>406</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 32-40; Jones. 1987: 243, 245, 249.

the criterion for the three old *poleis* at all terms, then each could have possessed the same number of demes in the Peraea, as well. Unfortunately, nothing new has supported the theory.

Held limits the number of *demes* to 10 (ten) in the Incorporated Peraea. The reason for this number appears to be that his criterion is based on fortified settlements.<sup>407</sup> Limited to the Rhodian Peraea (considering some other associated *demes* having close proximity), problems on the generic identification of *demes* or any other relevant may be tackled tracing them from the north to the south. A *deme* of Lindos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Phycus formed the core of the Rhodian Peraea, as the largest *deme* with a spectacular harbour. The *Acropolis* is associated with the remains of Hellenistic and earlier walls in the northern part of where modern Marmaris now lies.<sup>408</sup> A purely Carian town and possibly retaining the most civic tradition in the Peraea<sup>409</sup>, Cedrae where the first settlements have been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, was an important base. Also known through inscriptions, Hellenisation in Cedrae with sanctuaries, a theatre and *agora* originally built in the Rhodian fashion, was completed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. It then came under Rhodian rule in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C following the unrest between Rome and the Seleucids.<sup>410</sup> There lay Erine and Amos in its south, Syrna, Tymnos, Thysannos, Phoinix, Casarae and Loryma in the southernmost part of the Rhodian Peraea.

Marked as a *polis* by Stephanus Byzantinus, Amos was a Lindian *deme*<sup>411</sup> which was much later incorporated into the Rhodian domain. Fraser and Bean and; Sherk restore Cryassus and Erine to Ialysos in the Peraea<sup>412</sup> while Meyer locates Erine to Lindos.<sup>413</sup> The status of Euthena is doubtful although it occurred in the demotic lists of the Kamirans.<sup>414</sup> Bybassos was another *deme* located near Rena (Erine) Bay.<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> Held. 2005: 86.

<sup>408</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 57, 79.

<sup>409</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 68; Bean. 1971: 154.

<sup>410</sup> Diler. 2007: 9, 32.

<sup>411</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus (A-Αμοϛ); Rice. 1999: 46.

<sup>412</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 80-81; Sherk. 1990: 285.

<sup>413</sup> Meyer. 1925: 51.

<sup>414</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 80.

<sup>415</sup> Cook. 1961a: 62.

The status of Hygassos is also uncertain but was probably associated with either three *poleis*. Along with some others (e.g. Cedrae), it could have maintained a special status under late incorporation.<sup>416</sup>

Thysannos and Tymnos were Kamiran *demes*.<sup>417</sup> Mention of Kleinias as the eponymous official and a religious decree (probably 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C) found in Tymnos has associated this *deme* with its dependency on Rhodes. The Rhodian word κτοίνα may confirm the status.<sup>418</sup> Meyer and; Fraser and Bean assume that Phoinix was also attached to Kamiros, being the second largest *deme* after Physcus.<sup>419</sup> On writing about a Hellenistic epigramme from Lycia, Robert distinguishes between two similar ethnics in reading. “*L’ethnique Τλώιος chez Etienne de Byzance repose sur une confusion. Les Τλώοι sont fréquents dans les inscriptions de Rhodes et on les classait à la ville de Tlos. La question fut résolue par Hiller von Gaertringen: c’était une subdivision de Kamiros située dans la Pérée rhodienne et qui groupait les gens de la région de Phoinix. Le «ctétique» est confirmé par des papyrus qui parlent de l’ail de Tlos, σχόρδα Τλωίχά*”. Hearing from the lines, Tloans of the Peraea could have belonged to genealogies of Phoinix as attached to Kamiros since Tloans appeared in the list of *damiourgoi*, priests with demotics.<sup>420</sup> Also, inscriptions mentioning Athena and Zeus Polieus in the *deme* put it on to the Kamiran side.<sup>421</sup>

Sherk assumes that Casarae was a Lindian *deme*.<sup>422</sup> On one inscription, there appeared a name, Aristomachus who was the priest of Athena Lindia but adopted the son of Telestes who was of Casarae origin. However, regarding Aristomachus of Casarae origin<sup>423</sup> would prove futile. Syme (Sömbeki) and Elaeoussa (Kızılada) fall into the borders of the Rhodian Peraea, as well.<sup>424</sup> Syme, not holding a *deme* status,

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<sup>416</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 81; Papachristodoulou. 1999: 38.

<sup>417</sup> Meyer. 1925: 50-51; Jones. 1987: 251; Dmitriev. 1999: 250.

<sup>418</sup> Sherk. 1990: 287. *Hierothytas* was probably the eponymous official before incorporation to Rhodes (*ibid.*).

<sup>419</sup> Meyer. 1925: 50; Fraser and Bean 1954: 80.

<sup>420</sup> Meyer. 1925: 50; Robert. 1983: 257; Fraser and Bean 1954: 80.

<sup>421</sup> Flensted-Jensen. 2004: 1110.

<sup>422</sup> Sherk. 1990: 285.

<sup>423</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 79.

<sup>424</sup> Sevin. 2001: 128.

was attached to the Peraea in the late Hellenistic period.<sup>425</sup> Hansen codes her as “collective external” under the city-ethnic.<sup>426</sup> The island needs to be discussed according to datable documents (one dated back to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C). It is a possibility that the Symaeans were attached to the administration of Casarae using the demotic *Κασαρεύς* also because it has never been evidenced until now that the demotic *Συμαίος* was indicated in the Rhodian State.<sup>427</sup> Lindos inscriptions have revealed that Loryma was attached to Casarae.<sup>428</sup> It is worth discussing that the site was indirectly attached to a mother *polis* which was presumably Lindos.

For Hydas, there is one thing to consider in favour of Kamiros or Ialysos because a tomb recorded in a cave below its *Acropolis* proved parallels with those detected in Kamiros and Ialysos of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>429</sup> However, it shall remain uncertain unless new evidence is brought to light.

In the views of Calder and Bean, the *demes* of the western Peraea belonged to Kamiros while those lying in the east were attached to Lindos.<sup>430</sup> If so, easy access to the bays and locations of harbouring facilities could have been the basic reason for such formulation. Nowhere has any information been recorded on the status of other settlements which fall into the scope of this research. From all of the above and on the availability of *deme* information, the most possible statuses are inferable in Table 3.2.

Although the eastern part of the Peraea is poorly occupied with *demes*, one should not be stuck with the density of *demes* or conceptualizations like *terra incognita* under which off-site regions are generally defined, however, the case might still relate to a reality in many instances as Bintliff well clarifies.<sup>431</sup> It also seems necessary to ask through scholarly anecdotes whether specific sites could be

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<sup>425</sup> Cook. 1961a: 59.

<sup>426</sup> Hansen and Nielsen. 2004: 1314.

<sup>427</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 86; Papachristodoulou. 1999: 38; Jones. 1987: 250-252.

<sup>428</sup> Meyer. 1925: 51.

<sup>429</sup> Benter. 2001: 177-179.

<sup>430</sup> Calder and Bean. 1958.

<sup>431</sup> Bintliff. 2000b: 201.

**Table 3.2:** Status of *Demes* and Mother *Poleis*

<b>Ialysos</b>	<b>Lindos</b>	<b>Kamiros</b>
Hydas? Cryassus? Erine?	Phycus Amos Casarae - Syme - Loryma	Tymnos Phoinix Thysannos? Hydas?

components of *terra incognita* or *demes* are identifiable in light of miscellaneous views. Efforts on their identification also need to exploit from the recent discussions relevant to amphora findings<sup>432</sup> and social groups under ethnic names. When applicable, such shall be provided in Chapter 5.

### 3.3.2.2 General attributes of Peraean *demes*

Architectural features are the vital components in the making of a settlement. The beginning of settlements with large and rectangular wall types is owed to the Archaic period. Those without walls are time to time associated with the mode of warfare.<sup>433</sup> Walls were not necessarily indicators of urbanization. They were built, as early as 900 B.C, for defensive purposes in small Cycladic villages. However, several cases attributable to rural settlements have been recorded.<sup>434</sup> Widely displayed in Lelegian settlements, samples of masonry far from elegant technology were typical of rural Peraean territories. The distinguished character was embedded in the “massive, rubble look, shaggy and crude” techniques.<sup>435</sup> Firstly, the technique applied on Carian masonry is typical of the Hecatomnid era and that it began to be applied all

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<sup>432</sup> Constantakopoulou. 2007: 244.

<sup>433</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 363-365. There are four types of Archaic fortifications: “Walls constructed on hilltops or acropolis, e.g. Chios”; “walls across the neck of a peninsula, e.g. Zagora”; “separate fortified enclaves within the settlement area, e.g. Corinth, Miletus”; and “defensive systems” at a larger scale (*ibid.*).

<sup>434</sup> Morris. 2000: 40-41.

<sup>435</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 91-92.

over the western Anatolia in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>436</sup> New attempts taken by Mausolus during the Ionian Renaissance are often associated with architectural styles, thus the appearance of walls which absorbed many elements from the Ionian and Lycian models. An outstanding example is the famous Maussoleion displaying influence from former Doric elements as well as from the Archaic architecture of Ephesos, however the result is a pure reflection of Anatolia with sculptures stressing kinship and highlighting the true power of local elites and rulers of the 5<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>437</sup>

The Peraea presents a wide spectrum of wall constructions and types. Polygonal walls sometimes worked with undressed stones, as also witnessed in Aeolis, were frequently achieved with cruder work. They were generally used for supporting terraces. Examples come along with the usage of walls on which courses were traced in distinct and horizontal forms. In this type, order begins to be disturbed by a stone that does not fit. Angled walls, as another type, fit together precisely as well as more accurately. Contrary to amorphously dressed facades, the sides are cut smoothly. They were applied to buildings which were vulnerable to attack.<sup>438</sup> However, the classification of walls and the use of terminology may differ as may be understood in the works of many scholars. A rough generalization on three basic types of masonry may be favoured in terms of dry rubble, quadrilateral and multilateral walls. When classified according to shape of blocks and coursing, multilateral and quadrilateral walls need to be considered. For the treatment of faces and joints of walls, it seems that many sub-categories must be referred. Perhaps, the conspicuous and most elegant of all is isodomic walls which fall into the category of quadrilateral blocks.<sup>439</sup>

Greeks sometimes used *isodomic* walls worked in identical dimensions. When these stones varied in thickness but appeared as if identical, they were called “*pseudoisodomos*”. The “interwoven (*emplectos*)” style was applied when faces were dressed while the rest were randomly laid. Another Greek style for ensuring strength

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<sup>436</sup> Üzel. 2007: 46-47, 169.

<sup>437</sup> Pedersen. 1994: 32. Major works were undertaken by the famous architect- Pytheos during the reign of Mausolus (*ibid*); Vitruvius (2.8.14-15); Zahle. 1994: 86.

<sup>438</sup> Ramsay. 1881: 306.

<sup>439</sup> Scranton. 1941: 16-25. Dry rubble walls may further be replaced with the ancient Greek term “*logaden*” (Akarca. 1972: 113).

was applied such that some walls were bonded horizontally on a wall line.<sup>440</sup> Various Hellenistic sites reflect the abovementioned styles in the Peraea. As one good example, Amos situated on a hill called Asarcık/ Hisarburnu (Turunç) is affiliated with coursed polygonal fortification walls. It is a reflection of typical Hellenistic architecture<sup>441</sup> as the majority of the inscriptions (dated to 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C) left no doubt on its Hellenistic character.<sup>442</sup> Far up, the isodomic walls of Cedrae which have been dated to the Classical and Hellenistic periods of the latest<sup>443</sup> demonstrate some common techniques with those observable in the Peraea. Since it is also difficult to distinguish between variances in polygonal works which are generically dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, combinations of old and new techniques and the replacement of quarry faced ashlar walls (also definable as trapezoidal isodomic)<sup>444</sup> might be those echoed by scholars for the Hellenistic Peraea. Frequently encountered in the Peraea and southwest Anatolia, what Scranton defines as Lesbian (multilateral walls) worked without mortar in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C<sup>445</sup> may correspond to polygonal walls worked like/with Cyclopean size Lelegian influence and displaying a rough finish and quarry faces (e.g. Loryma<sup>446</sup>) in southwest Anatolia. Akarca considers that the 5<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C hilltop settlements in Caria reveal the techniques of *logaden*<sup>447</sup> but it might be safe to call similar ones under a very broad expression of coarse polygonal masonry, if not all are Cyclopean or any other classified according to criteria like shape or treatment.

Typical architectural marble blocks of Caria were worked in the Hellenistic Peraea. Blocks recorded in the vicinity of Panamara and modern Gurbetköy around Stratoniceia (Figure 3.7; A, B) are identical to those observable in the Peraea.<sup>448</sup>

A common cult was the cement in the Peraea. Although diverse figures make the

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<sup>440</sup>Pliny (36.51); Vitruvius (2.8.5,7).

<sup>441</sup>Fraser and Bean 1954: 57; Bean. 2000: 164.

<sup>442</sup>Bresson. 1991: 83; Rice. 1999: 46.

<sup>443</sup>Diler. 2007: 46.

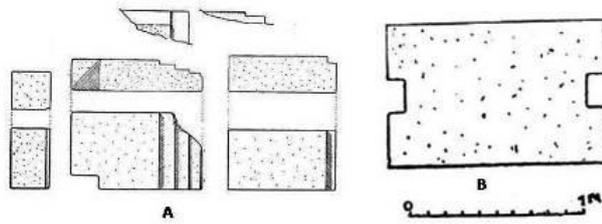
<sup>444</sup>Scranton. 1941: 62, 68, 140.

<sup>445</sup>*Ibid.* 27. The Carian Myndus is one of those reflecting Lesbian influence (161).

<sup>446</sup>*Ibid.* 163.

<sup>447</sup>Akarca. 1972: 196.

<sup>448</sup>Laumonier. 1936: 321, 325.



**Figure 3.7:** Sketch of Typical Architectural Blocks (Laumonier. 1936: 323, 325)

situation uncertain about the origins of Carians<sup>449</sup>, Diler states that some Peraean *demes* are identifiable with typical burials (i) which look like podest tombs separated with common walls and usually carved into rocks or made of stone blocks (e.g. in Hellenistic Cedrae); (ii) constructed below ground level (subterranean) and (iii) worked as chamber tombs.<sup>450</sup> Another aspect of burials relates to typical Peraean lids which have been dated to Classical and Hellenistic periods.<sup>451</sup>

Rock-cut chamber tombs which “developed at places where workable rock formations existed” are peculiar to different regions and do change in form. On the matter of Greek influence, rock-cut façade tombs from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C down to the Roman period in Paphlagonia and Cyrene in North Africa show persistent, “stereotyped patterns” but any type rock-cut tombs are often datable far back to the Bronze Age, extending to the Near East. Although few, small chambers with rectangular openings have been recorded in the Peraea but the situation is even complex.<sup>452</sup> Close relation of Peraean rock-cut chamber tombs to those of a mother *polis* at Rhodes may be found in the widespread burial customs of Kamiros.<sup>453</sup> In fact, rock-cut samples in the form of simple pits, rock-cut *sarcophagi* and cist graves survived from Labraunda to Teke Kale or Ancinköy nearby, in Caria datable to somewhere between the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C and Late Roman periods. Amongst

<sup>449</sup> Cook. 1959-1960: 50.

<sup>450</sup> Diler. 2007: 80.

<sup>451</sup> Benter. 2010: 663.

<sup>452</sup> Fedak. 1990: 21, 47, 52-53; Roos. 1987: 63-64.

<sup>453</sup> Ainian and Leventi. 2009: 228.

these, rock-cut *sarcophagi* which began to appear in the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C seem to have prevailed as the common form, somehow expressing the level of architectural development and kind of reform in rituals, in Hellenistic Caria.<sup>454</sup> Cedrae is one site where *sarcophagi* have been reported from a small island nearby.<sup>455</sup> Despite there being little evidence on the cremation habits, the majority of inhumation practices are found in the Halicarnassian Peninsula where particular cases were recorded from a Mycenaean cemetery at Müsgebi. It may be of interest since Mycenaean type pottery findings, which are highly representative of Miletus, have long raised questions on relations with the Dodecanese (particularly Rhodian) and Caria in terms of “local production and imported ware”. The stone *tumuli* usually worked with dry stone masonry also deserve further debates on questioning the Lelegian effect in the Halicarnassian Peninsula where Gökçeler may still need a quick look in investigating Archaic Caria. Having variations in form but commonalities in technical solutions and building materials, such *tumuli* have raised powerful questions on a certain level of interaction between the Archaic Lycia and Caria. Also, the variants of *tumuli* in the Milesian and Halicarnassian Peninsula may relate to stronger connotations regarding the organisation of two Carian hinterlands.<sup>456</sup>

Being one of the basic forms of tomb architecture, *tumuli* date back to the pre-Iron Age and are noticeable with “Mycenaean beehives or *tholoi*” and Trojan *tumuli* in the Aegean. They later proved expansion in other parts of Asia Minor (e.g. Phrygia) and far distant geographies such as Etruria, the northern part of the Aegean and Russia during the 8<sup>th</sup>- 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. These structures could have been used as “landmarks” or were built to express somewhat a prestige (e.g. that of Alyattes in the vicinity of now-called Bintepeleler in Lydia). The Tomb of Tantalos near Bayraklı in the old Smyrna is indicative of a Bronze Age Mycenaean *tholos* with its oval plan. Such finds augment our knowledge of burial customs and their growing popularity in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C Asia Minor and from Olbia to Cyrene and rest of the eastern Mediterranean. They began to change into smaller circular forms as they

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<sup>454</sup> Henry. 2011: 159-168, 175.

<sup>455</sup> Diler. 2007: 81.

<sup>456</sup> Carstens. 2008: 61-63, 93; Mee. 1982: 90.

became associated with hero cults during the most mature periods- the Classical and later periods.<sup>457</sup> Unfortunately, evidence about any kind of *tumuli* is absent in the Peraea.

A reality lies in the Greek contribution to monumental tomb architecture in Asia Minor. However, such a contribution may also be expected to be rooted in the Achaemenid sepulchral workmanship. Over evolutionary processes in tomb construction, the western coasts of Asia Minor are perhaps the most valuable in presenting the highly developed “built tombs” beginning from the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The last known example was the Maussoleion in Caria however, on the monumental scale. Another one was the famous Nereid Tomb in Lycia where we see the formation of “Greek type” monumental tombs of the 5<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. The tomb of the Ptolemies at Rhodes is exclusively of Belevi Tomb influence. The architecture of built tombs reached a peak where Hellenism existed. Cos is another place where the Charmyleion- comparable with the Lion Tomb in Cnidus and the heroon in Miletus, highlights the influence of monumental tombs of Asia Minor. Although we see no monumental tombs in the Peraea (an exception is the modest tomb of Çağ Baba as is explained in Sub-part 5.1.1), eclectic tendencies are well noticeable, particularly in Caria and Lycia.<sup>458</sup>

We may further refer to the near land Rhodes and have idea about some stylistic attributes of funerary monuments in order to ask about, if any, possible parallels with those of the Peraea. A rock-cut façade tomb (to commemorate Archokrates and his family in the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) with decorative elements and Doric columns uncovered in Kampana region at Lindos leads to an analogy with the ground designs of Mycenaean subterranean tombs. However, the most interesting aspect of the monumental tomb, from the viewpoint of our case, might to be the “T-shape burial place” beneath the western podium. Another rock-cut but completely free standing structure (revealing Doric order which was widespread during the Hellenistic era), the Rhodini tomb, is rather typical of monumental architecture.

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<sup>457</sup> Fedak. 1990: 56, 58-63, 65.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*16, 29-31, 82.

There is need to stress some parallels with the Belevi Tomb near Ephesos in Selçuk in that the Belevi Tomb could have been the prototype for similar tombs having pyramidal roofs and columns found at Rhodes.<sup>459</sup> In late 4<sup>th</sup>- early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C, plain stelae without relief became widespread in Rhodes. However, evidence about monuments for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C is sparse except some good finds noted above. For late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, cremation habits, particularly in the form of stone cinerary caskets may be found in certain areas including Rhodes (substantial evidence on Archaic cremation burials and Classical *pithoi* comes from Nisyros<sup>460</sup>), occasionally in the Peraea, as may sometimes relate to the other parts of Asia Minor, notably Pergamon and Sardes. Amongst these, Rhodian variants are distinguishable with a lack of decoration. Tombs diagnosed with rectangular altars, on the other hand, are specifically attributable to the Peraea and the islands, especially to the sub-regions of Bozburun, Karaça, Loryma, Nisyros and Chalke, beginning from the period of their incorporation to Rhodes. To Fraser, such features seem to highlight cultural importation. Another class of funerary monuments but basically in the form of tombstones is owed to cylindrical altars, with bucrania and garlands, which are mainly scattered throughout the Dorian settlements of Rhodes, Cos, islands in the Dodecanese, Cnidus and even Halicarnassus, datable to the late Hellenistic- early Imperial period. This type is not a genuine work of Rhodes itself. On the other hand, no samples have yet been recorded in the Peraea.<sup>461</sup>

When found near tombs, altars essentially imply the “heroization of the deceased”, which are often attributable to the Roman era.<sup>462</sup> However, Höghammer mentions that famous cylindrical Coan altars, which were sent to export and were highly appealed for aesthetic reasons, were produced for the mainland where Iasos, Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Nisyros revealed the outstanding examples. Unless new evidence is brought, we may need to take it for granted that the Peraea was deprived of such (luxurious) goods or had produced its own, if similar were adopted as a

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<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.* 83-86.

<sup>460</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1988: 208.

<sup>461</sup> Fraser. 1977: 9-13, 23-25, 33.

<sup>462</sup> Fedak. 1990: 25-26.

fashion.<sup>463</sup> Regardless of type, the identification of Peraean tombs, according to Bilde, can be best achieved through the observation of (i) a cluster of tombs (presumably belonged to families or *ktoina*) sometimes constructed in hybrid techniques and surrounded by a temenos wall and, (ii) tombs with peristyle courts constructed with mixed techniques and the frequent use of *loculi* as may normally be seen in Cyprus, Crete, Cos, Palestine but are majorly common in Hellenistic Egypt.<sup>464</sup> Presumably, as observable far up to Cedrae, the settlement areas and *necropoleis* were unwalled.<sup>465</sup> The “terrace graves” of the Peraea were probably contemporaries of subterranean graves which had no stelae or could not survive. Cremation habits set aside, inhumation was a custom in the Peraean *demes* due to appearances of tombs in form and length.<sup>466</sup> There is evidence on non-monumental Hellenistic burials all over the countryside, which were often located nearby ancient large isolated dwellings.<sup>467</sup>

Three and four stepped pyramidal blocks are typical architectural features in the Peraea. Bean puts forward that they could have been the bases of altars.<sup>468</sup> Still, no consensus has been reached on the function of such blocks. The Peraea is poor in regards to theatres. The exceptions are Amos (Figure 3.8; A,B), Kastabos and Cedrae<sup>469</sup> which probably signify a distinguished status among all the other *demes*. Hoskyn addresses the ancient ruins of Physcus with Middle Age castle ruins on the summit, with the coarse remains of a theatre and small platforms.<sup>470</sup> No less important, the sanctuary and the theatre of Kastabos (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C) is still the most famous ritual spot in the Peraea.<sup>471</sup>

Festivals arranged in the name of cultic figures were inevitable aspects of Peraean

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<sup>463</sup> Höghammer. 2004: 80.

<sup>464</sup> Bilde. 1999: 228. The cemetery at Sidi Gaber in Hellenistic Alexandria is one of the best representatives of *loculus* arrangements which were the changed forms of single *klinai* burials (Fedak. 1990: 25, 50).

<sup>465</sup> Diler. 2007: 77.

<sup>466</sup> Held. 2000: 154. Those which did not survive could be remnants of the 6<sup>th</sup>- 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.

<sup>467</sup> Bilde. 1999: 227.

<sup>468</sup> Bean. 2000: 168.

<sup>469</sup> Rice. 1999: 46.

<sup>470</sup> Hoskyn. 1842: 147.

<sup>471</sup> Flensted- Jensen. 2004: 1109.



**Figure 3.8:** Theatre of Amos

*demes*. The relics of *Asclepius* in Syrna were related to public spectacles and worshipping.<sup>472</sup> During independent times, there were associations which were most probably subject to the Peraea, as diagnosed from the Gulf of Syme. It is uncertain whether all attributable to Syme were also bound with the Peraea.<sup>473</sup> A side note on sports can be heard from Pindar mentioning a Peraean Diagoras in that this man was sent to Olympia.<sup>474</sup> On one inscription, a Peraean athlete was honored for his victory.<sup>475</sup> Unfortunately, the dating is not satisfactory.

The *demes* of the Peraea had strong involvement in amphora “industry”. Many deposits had expression for a dynamic economy from the vicinity of Hisarönü. During 1995 excavations, workshop(s) of potters were documented, covering most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>476</sup> Gates clarifies as:

“Their dumps produced ca. 2,200” stamped handles (and as many plain) on which names of around 60 Rhodian magistrates were unveiled. Astos and Antileon were the earliest potters brought to light following Hierotheles who was later redetected by Tuna and Empereur. Hierotheles’ 18 different stamps would account for 44 years of participation in the amphora enterprise. His final years, ca. 215-210 B.C, overlapped with the start of Dionysios’ production. Other names like Anaxilas, Nikolaos, Kallikrates, Lysandros, and Pausanias were also come across most of whose stamps were round, the designs standardized and slowly modified over the decades, as the Hierotheles series illustrates with precision. The dumps came to an end around ca. 200 B.C when these factories stopped production during a

<sup>472</sup> Cook. 1962: 196.

<sup>473</sup> Newton. 1881: 356-359.

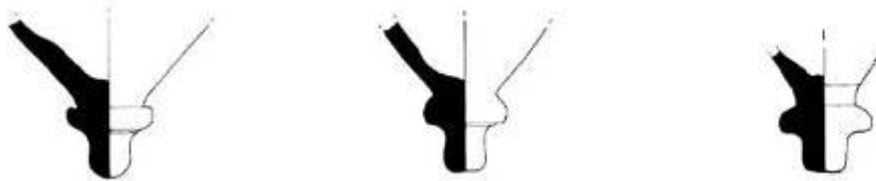
<sup>474</sup> Pindar. (*Olympian Odes*.7.15). In 464 B.C, he was the winner in boxing (*ibid*.7.10).

<sup>475</sup> Gardner. 1885: 259.

<sup>476</sup> Gates. 2007: 282.

century. That we see no bodies as opposed to handles and bases, may indicate a recycling process” (2007: 282-283).

Sophisticated pottery is hardly encountered in the Peraea. Some fine and different profiles have been evidenced with kylix, skyphos and black furnished kantharos of the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Local amphorae pieces (most probably for wine exportation) and daily usage coarse wares of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C have been reported from low code terraces.<sup>477</sup> Tuna and Empereur well exhibit evidence for stamped Hellenistic amphorae (Figure 3.9).<sup>478</sup> Doğer and Şenol write on some base forms of mushroom rim amphorae (of Hieroteles), appearing with round and/or sharp silhouettes (Figure 3.10).<sup>479</sup>



**Figure 3.9:** Base Forms of Mushroom Rim Amphorae (Tuna and Empereur 1989: 283)



**Figure 3.10:** Base Forms Encountered in the Peraea (Doğer and Şenol 1997: 63)

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<sup>477</sup> Held et al. 2009: 223.

<sup>478</sup> Tuna and Empereur 1989: 279.

<sup>479</sup> Doğer and Şenol 1996: 63.

The press stones for wine processing generally appear on rocky platforms, situated next to vineyards and orchards. Some were built in central locations suitable for plantation or in proximity. An indicator for mass production is that workshops have a physical proximity to ports and transportation networks.<sup>480</sup> A majority of them, which were found *in-situ*, did not stand far from the coastal areas while some were recorded within fortress settlements. Typical ones may be found in the Peraea where the *chora* of Tymnos and Phoinix rate the best evidence. Samples, as shall be described and shown in Chapters 5, 6 and Plate 1 respectively, are often comparable with Hellenistic and Roman types (Figure 3.11).



**Figure 3.11:** Hellenistic-Roman Press Stone (Doğer. 2004: 83)

### 3.3.2.3 Relations with Rhodes

One of the reasons why the Rhodians were so successful in keeping continuous relations with south/southwest Caria was that they turned their expansionist interests into advantage by watching for unstable policies throughout the region. Caria, thus the Peraea was so valuable that they never let her be subjugated by a single authority. Never-ending diplomatic attacks and stressful aspirations of Rhodes over Caria and Lycia fell into the period between the accession of the Seleucids and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Macedonian War (246-167 B.C). This was a time span when their justifications on the freedom of Greek cities in Asia Minor continued. For Reger, the situation was obvious as may be heard from what Eumenes II claimed about the continuation of

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<sup>480</sup> Tuna. 1990: 369-370; Doğer. 2004: 82, 85, 93.

their explicit interests on the mainland holdings.<sup>481</sup> Close relation of Rhodians with the mainland in various contexts is not intriguing since the time elapsed between recovery from Athenian influence and Roman control was long enough<sup>482</sup> to have altered or affected the pace of life in the Peraea. Hornblower supposes that the beginning of true Rhodian influence on Hecatomnid Caria is to be sought back to the synoecism of Halicarnassus before that of Rhodes' although both occurred under different conditions.<sup>483</sup>

Three types of relations may be assessed in respect of epigraphical evidence under a corpus of inscriptions found within the scope of Rhodian domain on the mainland and according to the ancient literature. These were political, economic and cultural. The relations between the Peraea and Rhodes started during the Archaic period. In fact, the origin of relations is traceable as far back as the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C when trade was essential for Carians to provide raw materials as far as Egypt.<sup>484</sup>

The involvement of Rhodians in trade on the mainland has been well evidenced from coastal Caria. The circulation of coinage and the adoption of different standards at different phases of history is one of the criteria which assists us to learn about the extent of interrelations between regions, including the Carian Chersonesos, majorly between the Classical and late Hellenistic periods. The case is almost evident for the neighbouring communities like Cnidus which began to adopt the Rhodian standard in around 400 B.C and was almost assimilated to Rhodes in terms of the coinage standard until 167 B.C. That antedating coins reflect the Aeginetic standard (650-480 B.C) when she was a member of the Dorian Hexapolis make this team a follower of similar monetary policies which probably made the Chersonesos a contemporaneous to Cnidus<sup>485</sup>. Beginning from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, silver coins minted in the Rhodian standard in many locations generally highlight relations on economic grounds up to the reign of Pixadoras in around 334 B.C. Bearing local figures like Zeus Labraundos

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<sup>481</sup> Polybius (21.19.3-10); Reger. 1999: 77.

<sup>482</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 52.

<sup>483</sup> Hornblower. 2011: 358.

<sup>484</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 3, 12, 15.

<sup>485</sup> Head. 1963: 614-616.

and Apollo's head, the standard of coins used was absolutely Rhodian since it was advantageous for Caria's coastal regions to control the passways to Egypt, Byzantium and Cyprus.<sup>486</sup> It is difficult to associate the coinage minted by the Peraea with either three old *poleis* of Rhodes at times earlier than the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. However, that Kamiros followed the Aeginetic standard in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C puts it into a favourable position for interpreting a certain degree of relations with the Ionic coasts, the Aegean Islands, Crete and Peloponnesus. On one hand, a different financial policy was perhaps conducted by Ialysos in that it followed the Phoenician standard between 500-408 B.C. That is to say it could have had links with the regions like Cyprus, Lycia or *poleis* like Clazomenae. Following the same standard, Lindos is of attention with lion depictions having open jaws, datable to 600-500 B.C. With the synoecism process, all the three *poleis* must have turned their eyes to the ultimate Rhodian standard beginning from 400 B.C and that the Rhodian drachmas began to be used on the mainland following 304 B.C.<sup>487</sup>

The value of wine can be traced on Rhodian tomb reliefs.<sup>488</sup> From the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C, the monopoly of the Rhodian market became so evident that amphorae stamped at Rhodes were probably filled with the Peraean products and sent for export. Rhodian potters' stamps on plenty of amphorae mark the close interaction of the Island and the Peraean production centers in this respect.<sup>489</sup> The best diagnosis comes from stamps on which eponyms (4<sup>th</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C) were inscribed. Some were factory discards (Sub-part 2.5) of the Rhodian wine amphorae. Widely recognized angular Rhodian handles are datable to the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C on a broader time scale. A sample jar of Hieroteles (Figure 3.12), also found in Alexandria, revealed that it belonged to a part of the Peraea.<sup>490</sup> Interestingly, the Peraean amphorae differed from those produced at Rhodes. The Cnidian influence is observed on Hieroteles' manufactures on which stamps of the local potter and eponyms of the

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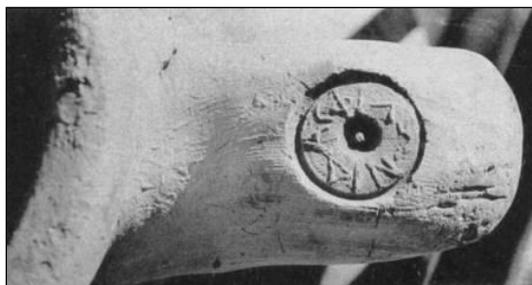
<sup>486</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 57-67, 106-109.

<sup>487</sup> Head. 1963: 636-639.

<sup>488</sup> Bilde. 1999: 238.

<sup>489</sup> Held et al. 2009: 223-226.

<sup>490</sup> Grace. 1953: 118-119, 126. Further on eponyms of Rhodes and Rhodian inscriptions, see Foucart. 1886: 199-210 and works of Collignon (Collignon, M. 1883. "Inscription de Rhodes". *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 7: 96-99).



**Figure 3.12:** A Stamped Amphora Handle of Hieroteles (Grace. 1953: Plate 42, I b, 129)

Rhodians co-existed, beginning with 275/270 B.C. In around 240 B.C, we see the names of months on Hieroteles' pottery, first used in the Peraea.<sup>491</sup> A mention of a workshop is made by Pliny that a skilled painter, Protogenes, with very fine workmanship dwelled at Rhodes.<sup>492</sup>

The Peraean *demes* had to pay certain amounts to the federal state of Rhodes. Such a treatment reveals the financial interest of Rhodes on the mainland. Also, the control over the leases, although not thoroughly evidenced, could be based on the payment of profit in part, to the State treasury of Rhodes with the festival of Kastabos.<sup>493</sup>

Epigraphical evidence on close cultural relations including art throws the Peraea into the core of both economic and political conditions. The Carian sportsmen joining games and festivals at Rhodes; construction of common sacred areas and mutual greetings made for Rhodian *theoroi*<sup>494</sup> and granting equal citizen rights on the mainland; the adoption of the famous Carian origin sculptors by the Rhodians, etc.

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<sup>491</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol. 2006: 62-66. Nikolaos and Anaksilas (260-240 B.C) are known as other producers in the Rhodian Peraea, who used rose figures on stamps attributable to Rhodes. Following Hieroteles, we are informed of Dionysos producing in various ateliers but completely in a different style, and Herakleitos whose name became known from Hisarönü findings (*ibid.* 66-67).

<sup>492</sup> Pliny (35.36). During the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius and a strait, we are informed of Protogenes dwelling in one side of the city of Rhodes (*ibid.*).

<sup>493</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 125-126.

<sup>494</sup> Rhodes absolutely seems to have been a *theoriai* oriented *polis* (e.g. sending them to Samothrace and Delos) within the "hypernetwork of Hellenistic festival culture" all over the Mediterranean where major Panhellenic sanctuaries must have burdened the task of providing links between communities (Rutherford. 2009: 33-35).

draw the framework for close relations.<sup>495</sup> The divinities of Rhodes and the associated statues were introduced as far as Cos and the Peraea.<sup>496</sup> One can find the Helios cult at Rhodes, Athena cult at Lindos, *Asclepius* at Cos in the surrounding geography of the Peraea.<sup>497</sup> A late inscription, possibly from the Augustus period, was dedicated to Zeus Helios in Phiscus in which case similar occurrences took place in the Rhodian possessions since instances of latest evidence mark well established relations with Rhodes that might have survived into Imperial periods. Another imposed cult or the one adopted on consent was the cult of nymph Rhodes, which can be found in the Hellenistic and Roman period sites, and the Rhodian Demos although rarely known from the Subject Peraea. In brief, all such religious figures mark close cultural ties.<sup>498</sup>

### 3.3.2.4 Administration

*Demos* of the Peraea developed independently of Rhodes. Probably, the *territoriums* of the three old *poleis* established relations with those of the Carians.<sup>499</sup> The administrative structures of Caria changed with the Rhodian takeover as a result of Seleucid weakness.<sup>500</sup> In a survey covering an area of 29 acres within the Rhodian Peraea, eponyms on stamped amphorae were recorded (dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C). On the opposite handles, Rhodian eponyms tasked for annual posts showed the administrative status of the Peraea in a chronological line pertaining to the Hellenistic period.<sup>501</sup>

The issue of administration may, at times, be related to a degree of autonomy. Among the southern cities of Caria (except sites between Cnidus and Caunos),

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<sup>495</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 132-142. For the earliest travellers' notes, further see Ramsay, W.M. 1886. "Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor (II)". *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* 2 (1): 21-23.

<sup>496</sup> Gualandi. 1979: 131.

<sup>497</sup> Van der Heyden and Scullard 1959: 80.

<sup>498</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 3, 131-137.

<sup>499</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 156-157.

<sup>500</sup> Jones. 1983: 31-32.

<sup>501</sup> Doğer et al. 1994: 186.

Robert echoes Tymnos, Loryma, Phoinix and Amos. What is interesting is that there seem to be no autonomous sites in the Peraea in which the list of priests of Delphi (“*la liste des theorodoques*”) did not announce any festivals in relation to Rhodes, either.<sup>502</sup>

As evidenced from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C fragments, the Peraea was administered by magistrates sent by Rhodes. One of them was Podilos who attacked the Iasian territory while the reason has not been marked. It could be that Olympichos, an agent of Philip V, could have acted for triggering the grievance of Iasians as a result of the political tools operated by the Macedonians.<sup>503</sup> Modern Muğla is rich in terms of epigraphical inventory. A dedication in the honor of “Rhodien Chrysippos” for his naval campaign has been recorded as a vital material for grasping the nature of administration. In the list of Rhodian magistrates, three of them appeared to have been appointed as governors to the Carian territory.<sup>504</sup> The practice of issuing coins by some magistrates on behalf of themselves was applied in Rhodes between 270-220 B.C.<sup>505</sup> Iasos is one good example where we may get information through coinage about the influential status of magistrates in Caria. The majority of Iasian coins which have been dated to between 250-190 B.C bear the names of magistrates in the nominative case.<sup>506</sup>

The ruling character of Rhodes and its relation to the Peraea need to be questioned in its military organisation. Before and after 188 B.C, and taking into account the records of 3700 men against Philip V, Rhodes could have hired men from the Peraea. It is safe to point out that a *strategos* of the Peraea was there. The Rhodian army was administered by ten *strategoï*. It has been assumed that the functions of the *hegemons* and *epistatai* were also military in the Incorporated Peraea while they were not responsible for military affairs at the Island of Rhodes. On the contrary, in the Subject Peraea, the two officers had one more function, being the administrative

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<sup>502</sup> Robert. 1946: 509-510.

<sup>503</sup> Newton and Hicks 1890: 54-66.

<sup>504</sup> Cousin and Deschamps 1886: 487.

<sup>505</sup> Morkholm. 2000: 156.

<sup>506</sup> Head. 1963: 621.

holders including military powers, as well. All of them were elected by the Rhodian State. For the Peraea and the Island of Rhodes itself, it totally makes two *strategoï*.<sup>507</sup> No matter how the discussions continue and whether the post of *strategos* was extraordinary or not, permanent officials named as στραταγός ἐκ πάντων ἐπί πάν χωράν have been recorded from Rhodes and the Peraea. Unlike Fraser and Bean (see Sub-part 2.4), Dmitriev notes that those who were sent to the Peraea were called στραταγός ἐκ πάντων εἰς τό πέραν. Of the famous instances which came from Lindian and Carpathian inscriptions was a man called Nikagoras who was missioned in the Peraea.<sup>508</sup> Pausistratos was a “stratège des Rhodiens” who expedited in the Peraea and Caria when it was occupied by Philip V.<sup>509</sup>

Under a *strategos*, three *hegemons* held territorial responsibility on the Island for each *polis* while an *epistatas* (elected by the Rhodian *Ekklesia* and independent of the magistrates elected by three old *poleis* for municipal tasks) functioned for each city with “small forces” or “individual guard-posts”. Although it has been evidenced for Lindos, Fraser and Bean prefer to generalize the issue. It is reasonable to favour a similar case for the Peraea where the *hegemons* and *epistatai* mainly functioned for military purposes since this area was more vulnerable to physical threats when the changing borders of the Subject Peraea are taken into consideration. There is evidence that they attained tenure for the local priesthoods of the three old *poleis*. Amos is a case for the “activities” of these officials in the Peraea. However, it was possible that, a *deme* could have been deprived of such a right by the intervention of either three *poleis*.<sup>510</sup> An inscription found in Marmaris revealed the name of a *hegemon* called Kallixeinos, the son of Nikagoras who was in charge for Phycus, Chersonesos and Syme. Another one commemorated “Thrasymachos, the son of Apollônios” who was acting as a *hegemon* of the continent (namely Phycos, Chersonnèse and Syme).<sup>511</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> Berthold. 1984: 45-47. The author throws the non-military powers on the other *strategos* in the Hellenistic period (*ibid.*).

<sup>508</sup> Dmitriev. 1999: 245-247.

<sup>509</sup> Holleaux. 1893: 64.

<sup>510</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 90-92.

<sup>511</sup> Bresson. 1991: 57-58.

Fraser and Bean assert that *kotivón* did not necessitate a federation of villages but rather indicated a “commonalty” of a *deme* regardless of size and within which *demes* gathered for special occasions in the Peraea. Each *deme* having its own *koinon* and extending as far as the neighbouring borders could be characterized as *ad hoc* organisations. The authors seem to bring an explanation in the modern context. Unlike Hellenistic administrative structures, the administration of the Peraea seems a little distinguished when almost all the power was vested in the hands of military officials. *Epistatai* may also be questioned from the aspect of heritage- being remnants of the Seleucid type administration. Such cases are generally debated for the Subject Peraea as it was administered by the Seleucids before Rhodes acquired it. The *epistatai*, as evident from Panamara, had both civil and military powers akin to the Seleucid and Parthian *epistatai*. However, it is doubtful whether *epistatai* of the Peraea had civil functions. Presumably, they did not. On one hand, no *epistatai* was present in Lindos before 200 B.C (except the one before synoecism) but they were a reality of the Island and the mainland late after. If we wrap up, the rank order of the administrative structure might have been as such: *strategos* (island), *hegemon* (territorial), and *epistatas* (citywide).<sup>512</sup>

The presence of *ktoina* takes the reader to more solid ideas about the geographical divisions in the Peraea. A Kamiran inscription of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C showed that the institution of *ktoina* was exported to the Peraea before synoecism of the three old *poleis*.<sup>513</sup> However, *terminus ante quem* questions pose problems on the issue. Late Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions mentioned the presence of *ktoinai* in Thysannos (*ktoinai of Strapiatai*) and Tymnos in the Peraea and Carpathus and Chalke, outside Rhodes.<sup>514</sup> To Fraser and Bean, Tymnos and Phoinix provide evidence for the presence of such a system.<sup>515</sup>

Apart from priests, who were subject to annual rotations, the local administrators

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<sup>512</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 50, 93-95.

<sup>513</sup> Constantakopoulou. 2007: 244.

<sup>514</sup> Cook. 1961a: 57-58.

<sup>515</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 95.

called as *mastroi* represented the *demes*.<sup>516</sup> Decrees issued by the *demes* could not be contradictory against the laws of the Rhodian State. If so, sanctions were proclaimed. However, the internal administration of religious associations was bound with the *demes*.<sup>517</sup> In relation to inscribing decrees, *neopoiar* (taking care of sacred places like shrines, maintaining public works and restorations including all their financial concerns) was involved in burdening the task by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. We are informed of their names and associated tasks both from Greece, Asia Minor and the islands surviving from the Classical to Hellenistic periods. *Prytaneis* were also engaged in the administrative process. However, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C, they became less active in issuing decrees. At the height of the Hellenistic period, particularly by the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C, *prostatai* held the torch in lieu of *archontes*, for enrolling new citizens in the *phylae*. *Phylae*, similar to cases of Miletus or Ionia, were indispensable aspects of the Iasian, thus Carian political life which were competent to decide on any public issues from summoning the Assembly to issuing honors or granting membership. Evident from Iasian inscriptions, a strong relationship between a city *phylae* and board of high status decision makers was there and that the number of *phylae* increased from the Hecatomnid period to the early Hellenistic period, which seems to have caused a series of changes in the administrative institutions.<sup>518</sup>

The practices of the *prytaneis*, as evident again from Iasos inscriptions, make sense from the viewpoint of administrative status. With respect to the Carian *polis* model, they were most likely a board of *magistracies* designed in the Rhodian fashion. It is almost certain that the Hellenistic *prytaneis* were the “presidents of the boule and *demos* gathered in an assembly”. They served on a semester basis as the case was similar at Rhodes.<sup>519</sup> Models could have been internalized all over the Peraea. Eponymous officials of Tymnos and Amos or a dedication in relation to the *deme* of Tloans found at Phoinix and their *prytaneis* now suggest the presence of an earlier form of magistracy before the incorporation of the Peraea. On the other hand, the

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<sup>516</sup> Jones. 1987: 249-250.

<sup>517</sup> Newton. 1881: 356-359.

<sup>518</sup> Fabiani. 2010: 470-471, 477-478, 480-481.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.* 476.

Peraean *demesmen* were eligible to hold magistracies in the mother *poleis* and the city of Rhodes, except Lindos because as mentioned before, Athena Lindia was the exception that only Rhodian *demesmen* could be nominated for this post along the tribal lines.<sup>520</sup> Although *demesmen* from the Peraea had the right to participate in decisions of *sympas demos* as many inscriptions from the 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C favour, the degree of their involvement (including those living on the Island and the Peraea) within the administrative process in every respect is vaguely understood.<sup>521</sup> In brief, as noted by Strabo, the granting of authority to the local administration was essentially based on amicable relations accomplished through a successful diplomacy of Rhodes.<sup>522</sup>

### 3.3.2.5 Citizenship and social mobility

The issue of citizenship and ethnicity, as is still being questioned for various communities, need consideration when used in correct contexts. In the first place, many regional ethnics, city-ethnics and sub-ethnics had their roots in toponyms by which a *kome*, a *demos* or a *phyle* were named in antiquity, when exceptions are certainly disregarded. Though a difficult task and may highly relate to settlement patterns, there is always a chance to explore by adducing to plausible examples before we move on to some details involving the Peraea. On the use of city ethnics and sub-ethnics, the Athenian practice was perhaps more interesting than the rest of the Greek world such that sub-ethnics were restricted outside. However, a sub-ethnic and an ethnic could complement a person's name in Athens. A general rule applied for the Hellenistic *poleis* that sub-ethnics were seldom used inside *poleis* whereas *onoma*, to which *patronymics* were added, was widely applied. Whenever a sub-ethnic is come across, one may get involved with *demotics* usually denoting *demoi* derived from toponyms in which case some notable examples come from Rhodes, Euboea and Attica. In other words, sub-ethnics were essentially related to civic subdivisions- e.g. a *deme*, limited to citizenship in antiquity and were seldom applied

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<sup>520</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 123-124. A system of control is somewhat obvious from Gölenye Stele and Amian leases (*ibid.*125).

<sup>521</sup> Rice. 1999: 46, 49.

<sup>522</sup> Strabo (14.2.5).

outside. Some Cnidians, who were honored by virtue of financial aid to Miletos in 282 B.C, were named with *patronymic* and their city-ethnic. On the other hand, according to a 209/208 B.C Milesian decree informing *isopoliteia* between Miletos and Mylasa, Mylasans whom were willing to get citizenship from Miletos had to have their names registered by using “their *patronymikon* and the name of the Milesian *phyle* to which” they would belong. For those whom were non-Greek, the name of the entire region where they belonged could be used in addition to full names.<sup>523</sup>

The *demes* of the Incorporated Peraea were fledged with full citizenship. The degree and terms and conditions of citizenship, involvement in public affairs and participation in the administration of the three mother *poleis* or the federal state of Rhodes are open to question.<sup>524</sup> There exists no complete comparative study on the subject matter.

The Greeks did not work out the lands in which they settled. It was the native populations- real owners, who ran the land on condition that they paid annual rents.<sup>525</sup> Only the citizens could own land, *agrois* or participate in *komai* associations.<sup>526</sup> In ancient Greece, granting citizenship meant adopting a person to a clan, *phratric*, etc. and often granting land or house.<sup>527</sup> Citizenship was often reserved under ancestral lines. Slaves and aliens far exceeded the number of natives in the cosmopolitan state of Rhodes. However, no exact figure could be assigned on demographic percentages.<sup>528</sup> In the Peraea, there was social unbalance between the residents in that the category of dwellers ranged from free citizens to slaves; those permitted to live on the Island or had no rights.<sup>529</sup> Free people whom were not granted membership to a *deme* were called *katoikeutes*.<sup>530</sup> Although rare, some

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<sup>523</sup> Hansen. 1996: 170-173, 176, 178-179, 181.

<sup>524</sup> Gabrielsen. 1999: 20.

<sup>525</sup> Thompson. 2007: 304.

<sup>526</sup> Jones. 2004: 89.

<sup>527</sup> Thompson. 2007: 302-303.

<sup>528</sup> Berthold. 1984: 54-55.

<sup>529</sup> Diler. 2007: 29; Aydaş. 2010: 48.

<sup>530</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 31.

information relating to the status of slaves has been discovered in Amyzon: they were hung for punishment.<sup>531</sup> When Xenophon conveys about the campaign of Lysander in Caria, he mentions that the inhabitants of Cedreae were declared slaves by the same personality before his departure for Rhodes.<sup>532</sup> Slavery was not simply related with the extent of liberty. Slaves were able to have their own community or were deprived of membership of a community.<sup>533</sup> Yet, we may find out, with the aid of papyrological sources, that there were no rural slaves in the Roman Egypt but the number of urban slaves attested was not satisfactory, either. Costs arising from the labour they created probably made the landowners or entrepreneurs stay away from this institution unless they built up a highly specialized work force including the non-agricultural sector (e.g. building activity).<sup>534</sup> Hence, it might be that the endless fertility of the Nile which would offer the advantages all year round for an ordinary peasant did not necessitate slavery operating at the agricultural basis and that their positions were completely different than normally expected.

Despite weak evidence, citizenship was limited to the local elites of Carian communities before 188 B.C.<sup>535</sup> in the Peraea. However, populist policies- generally imposed through benefactors or religious associations and aimed toward the poor, were always there as applied by the Rhodians.<sup>536</sup> Adversely, if correct, the great urbanization attempts of Mausolus involved the incorporation of the “upper stratum” of the society and recruitment of intellectuals, in the first instance.<sup>537</sup> Presumably, the Rhodian Peraea was formed of “semi-formal population groups of non-citizens” which means that two type of citizenship could have been there.<sup>538</sup> In Rhodes, known from 227 B.C earthquake, the admission to citizenship was subject to payment. Following the siege in 304 B.C, many slaves, mostly the natives of Asia Minor, were

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<sup>531</sup> Hirschfeld and Marshall 1893-1916: 173-175. For more on epitaphs of slaves, refer to Martha. 1878: 615-621.

<sup>532</sup> Xenophon (2.1.15).

<sup>533</sup> Ando.1988: 323-324.

<sup>534</sup> Aubert. 2001: 101-102.

<sup>535</sup> van Bremen. 2007: 113.

<sup>536</sup> Strabo (14.2.5).

<sup>537</sup> Marchese. 1989: 56-57.

<sup>538</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 3.

admitted to citizenship.<sup>539</sup> It must have been a lively and interactive process in Rhodes and the Peraea as rich numbers of epitaphs mirrored marriages of Peraeans with the Rhodian women residing on the Island.<sup>540</sup> Presumably, they were attracted by the wealth of the cosmopolitan Island that mobility was achieved at the end. The reverse could well be true in consideration of searching economic wealth or social status. Men of the Peraean families participated in Rhodian official affairs in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C.<sup>541</sup> However, locals and foreigners were not treated equally. The ruling elite benefited from the indigenous populations by creating a labour force in the society and economy.<sup>542</sup> As Polybius attests, the inhabitants of the Peraea were “like slaves unexpectedly released from their fetters” when Rhodes was deprived by the Romans of their garrisons in Caunos and Stratoniceia.<sup>543</sup> Hardly any other place has been depicted as a slave market except the Rhodian Peraea and the Black Sea somewhere nearby Olbia.<sup>544</sup>

Gender and ethnicity constitute the bulk of certain patterns for social mobilization.<sup>545</sup> Unfortunately, ethnicity was never mentioned or inscribed on Rhodian origin stamps, thus amphorae.<sup>546</sup> The evidence is much owed to epigraphical materials in the Peraea.<sup>547</sup> Identification of a place which was “not a *polis*” can often be made through toponyms and ethnic backgrounds. Sub-ethnics were “strictly political, city-ethnics primarily political” and regional ethnics were mixtures of toponyms and/or topography. Just like Syme, Amos and Cedrae were collective external settlements recorded under the city-ethnic. The picture becomes solid when the Chersonesos is referred to as the “collective external” and “collective internal” at the same time. That is to say that before infiltration of Rhodians into the mainland (whether it be the

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<sup>539</sup> Torr. 1885: 66.

<sup>540</sup> Constantakopoulou. 2007: 249.

<sup>541</sup> Rice. 1999: 49-51.

<sup>542</sup> Bradley. 2006: 174-175.

<sup>543</sup> Polybius (6.30.21,24).

<sup>544</sup> O’Brien. 2007: 40.

<sup>545</sup> Thorns. 2002: 8.

<sup>546</sup> Cankardeş-Şenol. 2006: 107.

<sup>547</sup> Fraser. 1983: 137-139.

Incorporated or the Subject Peraea), the Peraea was composed of local inhabitants.<sup>548</sup>

With a few exceptions, a general Rhodian rule applied that demotics were only used to describe people who lived outside their *demes* as well as on the Island. Two examples mentioning the usage of demotics were found in Thyssannos. When a man was recruited in another *deme* or system, it was a special case: στραταγός (*strategos*) implied a post while the extension ἐκ πάντων, which probably covered (presumably reserved to a limited number of) both the citizens and the *demesmen*, showed the source of appointment. When men were commemorated in their original *demes*, they were called with patronymics. The Rhodian *demesmen* were identified with the place of their demotic under the ethnic name, Ρόδιος. That is, the three old *poleis* were addressed as *Rhodioi* abroad but distinguished by their demotics. The citizens of the three old *poleis* living in the Peraea and acknowledged with the name of *demes* (e.g. Tymians, Cedraeans, Amians, etc.) were called τό πέραν. However, if a Rhodian origin man living in a Peraean *deme* was commemorated in another *deme*, he was given both a patronymic and demotic. The rule for foreigners differed such that they were never given patronymics but were acknowledged under their ethnic background.<sup>549</sup> Different origins from “Alexandria, Antiochia, Selge, Soli, Cnidus, Ephesos, Chios, Cyzicus, Symbra, Amphipolis, Lysimachia, Tenos, Hermione” have been recorded until now.<sup>550</sup> An epitaph identifying the ethnic (Παταρεύς) of Patara, in the north of Lindos<sup>551</sup> along with many others including those found in the Peraea has reinforced the cosmopolite structure of the Rhodian State. Being a foreigner meant a lot at Rhodes. That around 1000 foreigners helped defend Rhodes during the siege in 305/304 B.C makes the situation noteworthy.<sup>552</sup> The legal status of foreign residents is uncertain but it is known that they were called *metoikoi* some of which acquired *epidamia* (quasi-citizenship). The wife of Philocrates was a Selgian but she was probably born in Rhodes bearing a privileged status under *Επιδααία* (identified

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<sup>548</sup> Hansen. 2004: 56-71; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1314, 1317.

<sup>549</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 80; Rice. 1984: 185; Varinlioğlu. 1990: 223; Dmitriev. 1999: 250-253; van Bremen. 2007: 115.

<sup>550</sup> Foucart. 1886: 207.

<sup>551</sup> Martha. 1878: 618-619.

<sup>552</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1206-1207.

as an alien). On the other hand, onomastic studies barely inform us of being a real Rhodian. The status of an offspring of a Rhodian citizen and a foreigner (e.g. a Peraean mother) was acknowledged as *matroxenos*, almost holding a citizenship.<sup>553</sup>

The exact identity and roles of all those Rhodioi (foreigners travelling for trade, aiding during wartime, permanent residents of the Island) are debatable. The Peraea welcomed the Rhodioi in many instances. The presence of Rhodioi appears in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C- 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D inscriptions in the Subject Peraea. Many local *koinons* are known to have made dedications to private men whom could have been wealthy Rhodioi or local elites. When relations became mature, Rhodioi could have married local women so that offsprings benefited from civic and social rights under full-citizenship.<sup>554</sup> The practice of honoring people, as widely applied through inscriptions, has profound connotations within the social context. On one of them, a *metic* was honored acting for the second time in Phoinix.<sup>555</sup> Inscriptions have also disclosed that an *euergetes* could have had certain interests while intervening in the city hierarchy.<sup>556</sup> About 2/3 of inscriptions recovered in the Rhodian Peraea (concentrated in the vicinity of Pisye as often uncovered from clusters of funerary and honorific fragments dated to between 225-150 B.C) call attention to the patterns of presence of Rhodioi. In one of them, we are informed by a dedication made in the honor of Zeus Atabyrios of Rhodes on a distinguished altar found in Yeşilyurt. The situation on the presence of commercially oriented true Rhodians, as should be expected to not be limited to the administrative or military personnel, is still arbitrary since we have no direct evidence on their “financial profiteering in the region”. What we may now remark is that, the imprints left by the honored or commemorated Rhodioi might not necessarily have belonged to indigenous and wealthy Hellenized Carians whom were granted full citizenship. Views about their real origin in favour of the indigenous elites is gradually being replaced by theories on the presence of those from the Island, often recognizable with round funerary altars much peculiar to

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<sup>553</sup> Foucart. 1889: 366-367; Berthold. 1984: 54-55; van Bremen. 2009: 120; van Bremen. 2007: 123.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid.* 119-120.

<sup>555</sup> Robert. 1978: 403.

<sup>556</sup> Corbier. 2000: 217.

Rhodes. Contrasting a one-way assimilation, the Rhodioi might well have been gradually swept into the cultural and psychological sphere of local communities over time due to excess involvement. Such instances come from the Subject Peraea, though. Perhaps a more problematic side in respect of the last case is that we may still need to question the patterns of presence in the Incorporated Peraea from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C since a “two-tier model of citizenship” could have prevailed as a result of flow of continuous interaction.<sup>557</sup>

Evidenced with the word *θρεπτός*, the adoption of children was not foreign to Asia Minor.<sup>558</sup> Adopting daughters is also known from Athens and Rhodes. An inscription of 115 B.C echoed a Tymnian girl who was adopted by a Lindian, perhaps through marriage or another reason. It would prove futile to think that her family moved to Lindos and she was adopted there.<sup>559</sup> We cannot be sure. A preliminary aim could be to keep families intact against the extinction of heirs or when there were no heirs for the remaining property as in the case of Athens, or become eligible for the priesthood of Athena Lindia due to the general rule of succession for the priestly post. Rice thinks that adoption in Rhodes can neither be linked to the introduction of the *deme* system nor to reforms made in the election system. It may have been a natural reflex of fully fledged citizens- mainly the *demesmen* holding offices in the three old *poleis* against the growing number of Rhodioi over time and that it could have been a state-imposed phenomenon. Hence, the uses of the institution of formal adoption could have been abused and the real purpose stopped.<sup>560</sup>

Mobility was a common thing in the Peraea. There were two categories for aliens at Rhodes. With the development of trade, this became evident. The first category, called as *ξένοι* was involved with commerce while the other was formed with the list of magistrates.<sup>561</sup> The Peraean *demesmen*, following line of gender, were most probably holding the eponymous magistracy in Kamiros (e.g. Timokrates, the priest

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<sup>557</sup> van Bremen. 2009: 113-116, 121-123.

<sup>558</sup> Cameron. 1939: 35.

<sup>559</sup> Rice. 1999: 51-52.

<sup>560</sup> Rice. 1988: 138-142.

<sup>561</sup> Foucart. 1886: 206.

of *Asclepius* in Thysannos in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C was a *damiourgos* in Kamiros in 183 B.C, his father was the priest of Sarapis in the old *polis*). That is, numerous priests of Thysannos whom also served as *hieropoioi* in Kamiros now leave no doubt about their presence on the Island (Sub-part 5.1.5). Inscriptions found in Rhodes have revealed information on the Rhodian origin people of Tloioi (Phoinix) with names of officials and priests.<sup>562</sup> The *demesmen* of the Peraea were also engaged in the judicial system of the Rhodian Peraea.<sup>563</sup> Few Hellenistic bronze jury tickets in blade shape with a rose on each (probably lettered in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C) with Lindian demotic abbreviations in Rhodes Museum contain names from the *demesmen* of the Peraea.<sup>564</sup>

Regarding social mobility and transformation, it is very difficult to establish objective criteria for ethnicity. Hence, it is futile to construct a satisfactory approach except “constructing it socially and defining it as perceived subjectively”. The problem should be sought in the “relations of power within groups” rather than multi-ethnic groups highly shaped by social forces.<sup>565</sup> There could have been irregular variations<sup>566</sup> before the arrival of the Rhodians. The situation could well have turned into a rhythmic expansion with intermarriage under local citizenship.

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<sup>562</sup> IG XII,1 1449; Rice. 1999: 50-51.

<sup>563</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 79.

<sup>564</sup> Fraser. 1972: 119-120.

<sup>565</sup> Hall. 1997: 19, 111-128.

<sup>566</sup> Hiller. 1930: 530.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE QUESTION OF SETTLEMENT: FORMS, PATTERNS AND SPATIAL RELATIONS

Spatial questions relate to geographical, even areal problems arising from physical, socio-cultural, political and economic reasons. As the reasons are divergent, scholars greatly need to dwell on integrative means<sup>567</sup> which should form the base to any study. On one hand, theoretical models (Central place, Thiessen polygons, least efficiency, etc.) are barely applicable to a case where the geographical factors have great shares on the land.<sup>568</sup> Hence, a recent trend has been the application of combined methods which go hand in hand with technology in various surveys.

More specifically, spatial processes relate to parameters like distance, pattern, relative position, site and accessibility.<sup>569</sup> Notwithstanding, the discussions about rural settlements generally begin with developing a site typology on the basis of size, function, land use and some other additional variables. When basic aspects like hierarchies, spacing, patterning, clustering are taken into account to comprehend relational conditions, one may neglect any apriori questions related to the social context. In certain instances, the nature of relations is directly linkable to social institutions. Religious spatial differentiation became clear by the mid 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C when almost all of the Aegean was linked to “patron deities”. However, no matter whatever model is used (and whichever context is overwhelmingly assessed), all need to be assumed practicing their experimental stage.<sup>570</sup>

A site and associated attributes provide a short-term vision while spatial relations mark a situation in a broader context. That is, a site denotes vertical behavior (human

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<sup>567</sup> Dickinson. 1960: 3, 5.

<sup>568</sup> Forbes. 2007: 185-186.

<sup>569</sup> Nystuen. 1968: 35.

<sup>570</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 365.

relations with morphology) whereas a situation explains relations among regions within the horizontal context.<sup>571</sup> Anyone ambitious for spatial patterns should consider a site's relational position which is also explainable as a topological property of space.<sup>572</sup> In order to develop theories on spatial patterns, we need to look at and assess various forms of relationship which might conceal clues in the environmental, physical or cultural context. However, systematic studies are the most desired. For example, a spatial relation between burial settings and nearby settlements (rural or urban) on the Island of Rhodes (which is enormously rich with funerary remains and various types of burials on which eclectic rock-cut reliefs could also be applied- almost analogous to Lycians tombs within the borders of the Rhodian Peraea) is expected to be assessed on firm grounds since systematic research is still absent. As some clearly identified precedents in the form of "clustered tombs with spatial separation" are often attributable to Hellenistic *necropoleis* (as have been evidenced through inscriptions) and a single family or a wealthy *koina*<sup>573</sup>, similar cases now seem to leave a mark on the presence of different social groups which were "cut-off" from their native settlements.<sup>574</sup>

#### 4.1. The Question of Size

Limits of settlements have gradually been put into various agenda for verifying spatial contexts and catchment areas which bear hints for levels of agricultural production, sedentism, husbandry and work force of a territory.<sup>575</sup> Size is important to interpret the durations of occupation and population but it does not help the correct output in consideration of special circumstances. As implied above, a tendency towards comprehending a territory also requires social items. The larger the territory of a settlement, the greater the social unbalance can be.<sup>576</sup>

A *polis* was quite small in the Greek world. Out of 1035 communities, Hansen makes

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<sup>571</sup> Berry. 1968: 26.

<sup>572</sup> Nystuen. 1968: 38-39.

<sup>573</sup> Bilde. 1999: 227-228, 238-240, 242; Fraser. 1977: 11-33.

<sup>574</sup> Bilde. 1999: 238.

<sup>575</sup> White. 1970: 384; Rocek. 1998: 199; Crielaard. 2009: 350.

<sup>576</sup> Corbier. 2000: 226.

a categorization regarding territorial size as: smaller than (i) 25 km<sup>2</sup>; (ii) 25-100 km<sup>2</sup>, (iii) 100-200 km<sup>2</sup>, (iv), 200-500 km<sup>2</sup> and (v) over 500 km<sup>2</sup>. Colonized territories were larger than normal size *poleis*. Crete was a larger territory measuring about 8200 km<sup>2</sup> while Miletos was over 500 km<sup>2</sup>, Rhodes 1400 km<sup>2</sup>. Rhodes, a very large territory developed into a two way formation with its mainland. As territories expanded over time, low order settlements were created in the form of municipalities.<sup>577</sup> The order of importance makes sense for fixing a speculative size, e.g. Ceramus was a second-order settlement.<sup>578</sup> The size of settlements, at least in the case of Rhodes, is inseparable from the political context. Exceptions put aside, the larger a settlement, the easier it was to maintain independency.<sup>579</sup> The size of settlements also differs according to period and the size of regions. Completely different from Euboea where land was divided into large territoriums of city-states, the Cycladic Islands like Naxos, Melos or Paros were much smaller having only single *polis* centers.<sup>580</sup> The estimate on the Bronze Age settlement of Seraglio (part of which lies beneath the modern town of Cos) has put forward that it was 60.000 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>581</sup> Prehistoric sites in northern Caria were quite small in size which is possibly explainable under the notion of kinship formations however, plans could have differed because of a combination of “settled farming communities” and those involved in semi-nomadic lifestyles.<sup>582</sup>

Never applicable to all cases, however, the importance of a place might have become proportional to the interaction it attracts from other places. Delphi, was valued for its resources but not for population.<sup>583</sup> As another distinct case, the Lakonia survey focused on 70 km<sup>2</sup> of the neighbouring territory in rural Sparta. Studies have addressed that at no point were sites situated more than 12 km from Sparta in the Classical period. The majority of land was occupied with small agricultural

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<sup>577</sup> Hansen. 2004: 71-72; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1313, 1325.

<sup>578</sup> Hicks. 1890: 111.

<sup>579</sup> Osborne. 1987: 193.

<sup>580</sup> Ainian and Leventi. 2009: 214.

<sup>581</sup> Mee. 1982: 82.

<sup>582</sup> Marchese. 1989: 33.

<sup>583</sup> Rihll and Wilson 2000: 61-64.

settlements, having similar shares on the land. The number of settlements was less in the northern half where infertile schist soil was dominant.<sup>584</sup>

Aided by aerial work, regression analyses have shown that prehistoric and modern distributions of Late Bronze Age Messenia in Peloponnese were almost uniform. Hamlets were small due to more than one factor unfavourable to sustained growth. Environmental factors prevalently affected the location and size of sites. Seeking a relationship between size and environment further triggered questions on the soil productivity with respect to specialization in agricultural and redistribution economies. Goods produced, water resources, geomorphology, etc. were all used as inputs for the analysis that led to the creation of land use typologies. It was concluded that the samples of 129 sites ranged between 0.2-9 hectares where around 24% of land was reserved for cereals. Cross relations between elevation, water supply and communication were also quantified but no significant relation has been pinpointed for water supply and land use. Although elevation and water supply varied greatly, only about one third of the small sites had easy access to the primary route network, and available soils were often “second-rate”. The idea of self-sufficiency was highly dominant in individual or isolated settlements which were deprived of primary networks of communication.<sup>585</sup>

#### **4.2. Function and Land Use**

Any place other than the countryside drew more attraction in antiquity. *Poleis* or equivalents essentially functioned for prestige and redistribution of products. In Panopeus, near the frontier of Boeotia, defense was the basic idea, walls superseded political facilities. Specialized sites for metal working were discovered at Skala Oropou, Clazomenae exhibited some compatible specific missions in oil processing.<sup>586</sup> The natural defensibility of Early Iron Age settlements in the Cyclades

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<sup>584</sup> Cavanagh. 2000: 109-112.

<sup>585</sup> Carothers and McDonald 1979: 435-436, 440-444, 451-453.

<sup>586</sup> Osborne. 1987: 114-118; Crielaard. 2009: 362.

was the essential factor in the choice of sites.<sup>587</sup>

*Chora* had to be organized in the most rational manner in antiquity. Intervals between division lines and functions were linked to land use. Metaponto, which was founded as a colony by oikists in the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C, was designed on a “monumental scale” with an orthogonal plan within which 14 km was the average distance to see division lines extending from the ancient settlement to upland areas. As an identifiable area but unlike *chora*, *eschatia* was used for grazing and quarrying. *Phrouria* functioned as the land to save the *chora* from barbarian attacks.<sup>588</sup> In a way, it was a buffer zone. The function of pre-Hellenistic sites affiliated with fortifications on hilltops indicated “permanent and sometimes long-term habitations”.<sup>589</sup> The Chersonesos in Crimea on the Black Sea is one example for mirroring the principles of major divisions between 350-280 B.C in the *chora* and that they continued into the Roman period with some late additions. Despite non-uniform and irregular size plots, there was widespread use of rectangular plots. Whether such plots were planned by a permanent citizen body is an open question since no family burials related to the Greek period have been identified up to now. But the ultimate picture shows that the residential quarters and associated cultic remains might relate to a practice of “land tenure and social status” of the rural *demos* of Chersonesos.<sup>590</sup>

Two late Hellenistic- early Roman sites, one at Sokopra, the other at Kopetra may assist to fathom the function of *demes*. Studies have marked that they were annual settlements/ substantial *komai*, which acted as central places within the agricultural system and served as gathering terminals for local products as well as the rural markets. What was different about the two *komai* was that Sokopra, which was situated on a flat plateau along a river channel about 1 km far from the coast, grew on the lower waterline near the agricultural base while Kopetra, situated as a bluff ridge about 3 km north, was built overlooking the river with a sight of both the coast

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<sup>587</sup> Ainian and Leventi. 2009: 213.

<sup>588</sup> Carter et al. 2004: 127-130, 136-137, 140-144.

<sup>589</sup> Andreou and Kotsakis 1999: 40.

<sup>590</sup> Carter et al. 2004: 142-145.

and the upper valley. Their location capitalized on two local resources, agricultural products of the adjacent plain and outcrops of good-quality gypsum to be exported. Growth of both *komai* was a result of agricultural and mining boom as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>591</sup>

The issue of land use may be mirrored by two case studies: the Paros Island in the Cyclades and the Lassithi Plain in Crete. Horticulture, orchards, cereals and viniculture were common in both of them. In Paros, cereals were widely grown on the coastline and mountainous depressions, horticulture was applied in alluvial areas nearby coasts and, vineyards were arranged in steep valleys. In Lassithi, however, cultivation was made in the central fertile area (around 20% of land used) while almost the rest was abandoned.<sup>592</sup> Growing a wide spectrum of crops increased the possibility of all year-round compensations at the outset of rainfall. Whatever the case was, the maximum exploitation of land was the pioneering criteria. A typical case was Methana, where various crops were grown on scattered plots.<sup>593</sup> Compatible with topography and sloping areas, 6-8 m long strips of land were reserved to the vineyards in Cnidus. One third of the entire landscape was used for plantation at the minimum.<sup>594</sup> Until the Persian attacks, the territories of Lesbos were divided into 3000 plots within which a notable land was reserved in the name of gods and goddesses; *300 plots of land for cult, rest of 3000 for Greek settlers.*<sup>595</sup>

In ancient times, terracing required huge investments in time and capital with the increasing importance of wine and olive. It was applied for various reasons; to increase water absorption due to rainfall regime, prevent soil erosion, ease root penetration for additional moisture or redistribute limestone bedrock in small pockets on harsh terrain. Different terrace types were built for different products, e.g. stepped (usually for vine), braided (for cereal), pocket terraces (for trees and olives for

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<sup>591</sup> Rautman. 2001: 247-250. Both sites were identified by a broader scatter of potsherds and building debris (*ibid.*).

<sup>592</sup> Sevenant and Antrop 2007: 364.

<sup>593</sup> Osborne. 1987: 39.

<sup>594</sup> Doğer. 2004.: 178.

<sup>595</sup> Thompson. 2007: 304.

smooth root penetration).<sup>596</sup> Digging trenches around fallow lands and doing agriculture via terracing and applying dry-stone masonry were well attested on an inscription found in the Attic *koine* of Amorgos, dated to the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>597</sup> Anyone who aimed at planting wheat had to look for fertile areas without trees. For olives, a sunny ground was a necessity.<sup>598</sup> Manuring<sup>599</sup> was applied on poor grounds. A natural means of manure was grazing animals on fallow land. The Greeks tried to maximize daily products, such as by growing seasonal legumes over the lands left to fallow.<sup>600</sup> Tenants moved or changed place due to a turnover in the land lease whereby they carried property. Lands proving low density off-site artifacts are generally attributable to such a practice.<sup>601</sup>

Desertification and open rocky spaces generally occur as a result of overgrazing with large flocks in the Mediterranean where pastoral agriculture is highly associated with forest clearance.<sup>602</sup> Forms of transhumance were always famous in the Mediterranean. Geographical factors did not account for long-range transhumance; instead they affected the mixed forms of pastoralism engaged with agriculture and arboriculture. The mixed form has grounds for permanent land use. The lives of farmers and shepherds were determinant on land use in certain cases. Unless “political identity and exclusiveness” of a settlement was strong, pastoralists had to travel across various types of territories. Hence, the countryside of the shepherds was different, even without boundaries, ending with a breach of the boundaries.<sup>603</sup> *Nomos* (pasture land) was necessary for grazing animals like the sheep and goats. It is possible that the Greeks had to divorce arable and fallow land from *nomos* and/or shrubland biome although a few animals “linked to agriculture” could also be raised near homesteads. As conditions varied a great deal all over the Mediterranean, the

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<sup>596</sup> Demirciler. 2007: 29-30.

<sup>597</sup> Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 282-287.

<sup>598</sup> Cato (6).

<sup>599</sup> Further on manuring, see Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988: 506-513.

<sup>600</sup> Skydsgaard. 1988: 83.

<sup>601</sup> Demirciler. 2007: 61.

<sup>602</sup> Bell. 1999: 245.

<sup>603</sup> Osborne. 1987: 50; Garnsey. 1998: 177.

number of animals kept by the farmers could well have differed. An average flock in an arid region like Methana (getting an annual rainfall of about 400 mm) consisted of six animals or less<sup>604</sup> whereas this figure could have been much more for wetter regions. Mycenaean settlements in the interior part of Bronze Age Rhodes could have been involved with seasonal transhumance vis-à-vis imprints often left along the coastal settlements and most suitable areas for agriculture in the vicinity of Lindos.<sup>605</sup>

### 4.3. Planning

Standard subdivisions of land as part of new *poleis*, centuriation of towns granted to retired legionaries within the colonization process of the Greeks and Romans, territorial organisations and standardization to ease taxation are explainable with planning. Leasing, land tenure, irrigation systems, open field systems exemplify the regulation of land under a certain set of rules.<sup>606</sup> Planning differs according to region, indeed nuances emerge because of regional and topographical drivers<sup>607</sup> so land zoning is not a random idea.<sup>608</sup> In the process of chainy movements, “rationalized settlement layouts” tending towards orthogonal plans were imposed.<sup>609</sup> Orientations of towns might have been dependent on the fragmented nature of land, e.g. the case of the southern Argolid and careless land division in Magna Graecia and Sicily.<sup>610</sup> It was Hellenisation which completely brought the fashion of planning, accommodated with hybrid designs. Pergamon ruled by the Attalids became very popular with public works and magnificent buildings on steep slopes. Strict regulations and by-laws about the city life and public order, as well as physical planning, were imposed (e.g. the construction of neighbouring houses according to topography, digging ventilation cracks, auditing of *Astynomoi* to ensure cleanness of fountains, must-be

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<sup>604</sup> Skydsgaard. 1988: 82.

<sup>605</sup> Mee. 1982: 84.

<sup>606</sup> Bell. 1999: 261-262.

<sup>607</sup> Boyd and Jameson 1981: 342.

<sup>608</sup> Sevenant and Antrop 2007: 371.

<sup>609</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 362.

<sup>610</sup> Boyd and Jameson 1981: 341.

registered cisterns and conduits).<sup>611</sup> A neighbour to Miletus (a magnificent product of Hippodamian planning), the Hellenistic Priene is one of the best cities to reveal a carefully established plan. The Carian touch of Mausolus' leading architect Pytheos deserves a mention by looking at the temple of Athena Temple designed in the Ionic order. Shops and dwelling quarters were planned in a systematic manner, no building preponderated another, the centre of the city enabled openness to each *insulae*, and all the public buildings were built inside the city walls.<sup>612</sup> The enlargement plan of the old Greek settlement of Kolophon at the end of 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C is one good case to further understand how new means of planning were to be accomplished by transferring work to a professional- an architect on whom a commission composed of ten people made a decision and that they transferred the work accordingly. That the planning of decisive commissions took the foremost place also seems to have eased the designation of walls, roads, then plots, public and private buildings, which shows that no spontaneous action was there as was also evidenced by a *demos* decree.<sup>613</sup>

The flourishing of the Greek *polis* had strong spatial grounds.<sup>614</sup> Linkable with the idea of democracy, in the earliest phases of Greek urban and rural planning, the principle was the distribution of land on an equal basis and by drawing lots. A typical case was 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C Lesbos. The redivision of land every eight years was applied in the Greek colony of Cyrene, as an indicator of pre-planning. Before the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, when a group of Dorian families migrated to Sicily from Rhodes and Cnidus, they redistributed land at twenty years intervals.<sup>615</sup> Although nothing is referable to ancient writers like Cato, on average, the size of landholdings (assumed to have been fully occupied) approximated 4.5 km<sup>2</sup> in the early Classical and Hellenistic era. Such lands could be found in a high plain area where farmsteads and tombs were constructed. Each farm belonged to a plot, each house possessed a plot. What may require attention is that the plots were not distributed equally but were rather rectangular and uniform. Additions and changes to the lines appeared in the

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<sup>611</sup> Cook. 1961b: 188-194.

<sup>612</sup> *Ibid.* 181-186.

<sup>613</sup> Cohen. 1995: 184.

<sup>614</sup> Rihll and Wilson 2000: 59.

<sup>615</sup> Diodorus Siculus (5.9).

Roman period.<sup>616</sup> Tuna attests that ribbon shape elongated plots in the Cnidian Peninsula, which address small scale ownership, are to be expressed as the basic units of agriculture.<sup>617</sup>

Halieis revealed its character in planning by the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The *Acropolis* and the lower town formed the core of its orthogonal design, which was based on 50 *plethra*, assuming a main square was divided into plots in the east while a main rectangle was divided into plots. The Greek *poleis* were generally planned in grids measuring 50-60 feet on each side. Rhodes is one of the best exceptions in the perfect usage of grids. It differed from that of Halieis with single orientations, regardless of various subdivisions. The habit of dividing squares (600 feet/ 1 stade on each side) into plots can be observed in the orthogonal fashion (See Sub-part 7.2.2). The larger units were planned at the beginning and then the plots were redivided on demand. It was 707 feet on one side which were later divided into units of 101 feet in width. Such an option facilitated the orderly planning of houses in 50 feet. As plots became smaller, there was no reason to set a standard for the subdivisions so no standard for the Rhodian houses was there vis-à-vis abnormal sizes of blocks in Demetrias and Antiocheia.<sup>618</sup> Over the debates of division of land in “colonies”, social aspects could have taken precedence in the planning process. The position of *kleroukhia* was different from an ordinary *apoikia* since citizens were protected under Athenian citizenship. The three old *poleis* of Rhodes were established by drawing lots on the terrain which was divided into sub districts. The situation was similar in Teos.<sup>619</sup>

Planning conceals functionality to serve various purposes. It is why ancient gateways or edifices like *gymnasia* or theaters were pre-planned in ancient times. On the other hand, the concept of functionality bears almost none for cemeteries, particularly in monumental tombs which often have connection to “uniqueness and

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<sup>616</sup> Carter et al. 2004: 140-144.

<sup>617</sup> Tuna. 1990: 349.

<sup>618</sup> Boyd and Jameson 1981: 328, 332-339, 341.

<sup>619</sup> Thompson. 2007: 313-315.

individuality”<sup>620</sup>, if not limited to the aesthetic tastes or any other item. The Greeks and Romans used geographical and mathematical knowledge in planning. Specific to temples and other outstanding structures, geometrical proportions were wisely applied.<sup>621</sup> In the meantime, the land suitable for agrarian activity was never skipped in antiquity, for instance, an agricultural land was planned in 50 *plethra* in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C Tauric Chersonesos and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C Larissa. However, it is rather difficult to find out perfect evidence about dividing the land for housing purposes in the countryside.<sup>622</sup> One may be all ears when Vitruvius conveys instructions on the main principles of micro planning. First of all, he mentions that a fortified settlement should be situated on elevated topographies that do not approximate marshes. Apart from mild atmospheric conditions, a coastal city should be founded neither facing south nor north due to hot winds and temperatures occurring at mid day. The western side gets hot toward noons and during afternoons. Similar concerns need be taken into account for the segments of households or workshops, e.g. wine and grain stores should be located facing the north. In the farmstead of Vitruvius, courtyards should be planned according to the number of animals, which consisted of mainly oxen and cattle. The kitchen should stand at the hottest side of the courtyard near which the stalls stand. The oil presses are to be located near the kitchen to ease processing. The oil room, near which wine rooms should receive the light from the north, should face the light from the opposite-southern direction.<sup>623</sup> On the matter of shading, aspect was determinant for the positioning of houses. The family cult, associated with Hestia stood at the heart of the house in the courtyard. Rainwater was usually collected from roof gutters.<sup>624</sup>

Housing is a product of various actors throughout history. The meaning it leaves on the scope of this research is that it is also to be viewed as a “cultural artifact”, eventually marking its influence on shaping the landscape and reconstructing the settlement pattern. Tekeli takes housing as a dependent variant for identifying a

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<sup>620</sup> Fedak. 1990: 15.

<sup>621</sup> Ranieri. 1997: 214.

<sup>622</sup> Boyd and Jameson 1981: 327, 334-335.

<sup>623</sup> Vitruvius (1.4.1-2), (6.6.1; 2-3).

<sup>624</sup> Abbasoğlu. 1996: 397-399.

region and period in that when clustered and complemented with the environment it becomes an expression of segmentation and social fragmentation.<sup>625</sup>

The effects of developments in dwelling types, from single to multi-room units, are seemingly notable on the manner of planning. Rectilinear plans with single rooms (e.g. Crete, Cyclades) or oval, hut-like apsidal houses made of mud-bricks were used in the Early Iron Age. In the late 8<sup>th</sup>- early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C, rectangular houses replaced rectilinear plans, multi-room houses with courtyards were introduced.<sup>626</sup> Actually, the accomplishment of Archaic houses of the southern Greece, whose ground plans were common to those of the Early Iron Age, can be discerned through the evolution of simple forms to relatively complex features with multi-rooms leading to the reorganisation of the household, as a result of an increased density of settlements. On the other hand, it developed in a diverse way in the northern Greek sites where complex plans left the space to simple layouts.<sup>627</sup> Many factors might have determined the way domestic architecture was applied in history. The Troad *koinon*, which continuously had to withstand political and military turbulences between the Classical and Hellenistic periods, is one case that persistent interactions with Athens and Persians seem to have affected the domestic layouts. Identifiable with variants of *pastas* (as a significant indicator of Ionian domestic spaces) and *prostas*, the house plans were probably outputs of regional perceptions and demographic changes in the most general context.<sup>628</sup> Geometric and Archaic houses were smaller and often located separately. Over time, similar plan houses almost appearing in equal size (e.g. Priene) represented egalitarianism in property, in line with the idea of democracy.<sup>629</sup> The Carian architectural designs were the examples of protodemocracy from the very beginning.<sup>630</sup> Although dwellings allowed denser populations, no direct relationship between the size of a settlement and the use of

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<sup>625</sup> Tekeli.1996: 9-11.

<sup>626</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 363.

<sup>627</sup> Lang. 2005: 31.

<sup>628</sup> Aylward. 2005: 36, 47-50.

<sup>629</sup> Abbasoğlu. 1996: 396.

<sup>630</sup> Lloyd. 1997: 173.

domestic space can be established, however domestic usage could have allowed far more space, as in the case of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C rectangular houses of Smyrna.<sup>631</sup>

As a matter of fact, the evolutions in housing took place with the transformed style of megaron into those shortened with large porticos and courtyards, beginning from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C in Anatolia, but real reforms were applied during the Hellenistic period. Peristyle houses with central courts became widespread in western Anatolia in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Labraunda and Erythrai revealed some of the best cases in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>632</sup> As a result of rising inequalities, specifically in land possession, peristyle houses with open courtyards and changing in size began to appear in *deme* life during the Hellenistic period whereas lavishly designed luxurious houses were introduced in the Imperial period. Atrium style house, another version of the peristyle house, also appeared in the countryside. Samples are known from Rhodes, Athens, Miletos and Delos of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>633</sup>

#### 4.4. Settlement Patterns

Bell describes pattern in various ways: it is a design, a way of arranging corresponding parts (e.g. field patterns, settlement layout, architecture), a decorative motif and a plan shaped by human touch or nature, a style, a model or a representative sample.<sup>634</sup> In the words of Osborne, a “settlement pattern is not simply the natural by-product of geography”<sup>635</sup>, it is affected by several reasons.

The comprehensive architectural schemes of the Classical *polis* were abandoned in the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, the manipulation of landscape in the post-Classical era was not uniform, thus not attributable to a single model. The difference was that new settlement types were created as a result of military, economic and

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<sup>631</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 361-362.

<sup>632</sup> Akurgal. 1996: 130-137.

<sup>633</sup> Abbasoğlu. 1996: 399-401.

<sup>634</sup> Bell. 1999: 13.

<sup>635</sup> Osborne. 1985: 42.

political conjuncture depending on the character of the period or type of administration. The Hellenistic period is an outstanding example of such a process.<sup>636</sup>

Some main determinants of settlement patterns can be pinpointed in favour of physical geography, climatic variables, ecological diversity, and accessibility to water, its quality, even the type of a country. The clearing of lands, deforestation, land processes (mainly erosion and deposition in the long run) are unrejectable realities of the Mediterranean. Rugged or barren, fertile and arable lands reflected the diversity of the Greek geography. Argos situated in northeast Peloponnese was ideal for cultivation but not suitable for pastoral agriculture due to water shortage. Settlements suitable for good communication but unwalled could have been more vulnerable to raids so the outer parts of towns may have been the real choice for a permanent residence. On the other hand, ideal lands for settlement could have caused difficulties for communication.<sup>637</sup>

Rural settlement patterns in antiquity correlate with a complex set of factors, including the mode of cultivation, system of tenure, dowry practices, material resources, demographic conditions, physical environment, warfare, social order and public policy. Smaller villages, farmsteads and hamlets in north and central Italy attract attention vis-à-vis the larger settlements of the south. In the north, small scale settlements and elite residences were almost situated side by side suggesting interdependency.<sup>638</sup> Forbes brings to discussion the psychological factors and their place within the decision making process. As settlements do not occur randomly, there is a need to think over the relationship amongst them and their relation to the landscape. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, settlements in Methana tended focus in a single area. Cisterns were quite secure means for shaping alternative settlement types. The majority of them were situated on the conjunction of steep slopes on barely elevated lands heading the coast. Some were located on relatively invisible parts of interior

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<sup>636</sup> Osborne. 2004: 369; Butzer. 2008: 84.

<sup>637</sup> Dyson. 1982: 90; Osborne. 1987: 16-17, 29-30; Jones. 2004: 19-21. Also see Bradford, J. 1957. *Ancient Landscapes: Studies in Field Archaeology*. London: G.Bell and Sons.

<sup>638</sup> Garnsey. 1998: 113. The *polis* of Magna Graecia was not limited to a single urban center. It was an entity with fragmented villages and farms. Greek settlements in the Black Sea also proved similar parallels (*ibid.*119).

steep slopes with deep and fertile soil. The exploitation of land was based on the “least effort” theorem<sup>639</sup>, opted as a result of human choice vis-à-vis economically rational alternatives or perhaps some other drivers. *Demes* positioned on alluvium still rank the highest in Attica. The soil type “undercut the possibility of production” which in return affected their size. Those situated on patchy soil were usually dependent on marine resources or mines.<sup>640</sup>

There is strong relationship between settlement pattern and rural landscape. Turning back to aforementioned cases, Paros and Lassithi, one may realize that studies have brought new approaches to settlement archaeology through the application of GIS, satellite images and aerial photography, in search of explaining the relationship between visibility, settlement pattern and land zoning. It was one theory that the landscape could be easily controlled by settlements having a rational viewshed. Results have shown that the visibility values ranged from 1.2 km to 4.7 km. Indeed, the two cases proved to be different. Lassithi seemed to maintain an advantageous position since all the villages could be seen by each other while each center could be seen by at least three villages. In Paros, no village could see half of the villages. Furthermore, not all of the villages could see a single village at the same time. The island model in Paros has revealed that dispersed settlements located near the coast tended to extend towards inland in an asymmetrical form, whereas the basin model of Lassithi Plain suggested a centrality such that settlements were located around an oasis-like central and fertile area but they seemed to withdraw whereby territories stretched towards poorer lands.<sup>641</sup>

A generic description on two main forms of settlements has been made in favour of nucleated and dispersed settlements. Their extensions may be understood by looking at forms of habitation which mark first, second and third order sites. More specifically, first and second order settlements correspond to nucleated types, third

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<sup>639</sup> Forbes. 2007: 178-181.

<sup>640</sup> Osborne. 1985: 37-41.

<sup>641</sup> Sevenant and Antrop 2007: 362-368. The earliest settlements of Lassithi were situated between limestone mountains and the hill foot (*ibid.*). Invisibility- an indispensable aspect for piracy is linkable to the ancient settlement modes in Methana.

order sites relate to dispersed settlements. In the modern sense, first order implies towns and cities, second order relates to villages and hamlets and third order goes to farmsteads whether they are isolated, clustered and homesteads. It is, however, problematic to attribute uniform conceptualizations to ancient settlement patterns. For example, the Greek *komai* were different; they were often small nucleated settlements in the socio-economic context. Likewise, ancient farms were not necessarily third order sites because they could well be farmsteads attested as *ἀγρός* (field) or sometimes *χωρίον* (farm) when used with *οἰκία*. There were larger *poleis* or numerous second order settlements where the populations were “long settled in *komai*” apart from their colonies. Or *poleis* could have outnumbered second order settlements; such cases are generally attributable to Asia Minor far up to Aiolis and the islands.<sup>642</sup>

The base for a nucleated *komai* was planning.<sup>643</sup> Dispersed settlements often reflect the presence of small settlements, farmsteads and seasonal camps.<sup>644</sup> Limited to the countryside, some scholars assume that areas in physical proximity to a *polis* were first order settlements, and second order settlements, which were far from a centre were designed in the form of farming villages rather than isolated settlements. The *chorai* of Miletus and Teos were typical of the latter.<sup>645</sup> In more general, ancient zones were intermingled with dispersed habitats.<sup>646</sup> Spartans lived in dispersed patterns, particularly in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Small clusters of “individual habitation nuclei” were there until the Archaic period.<sup>647</sup> Unwalled during Archaic and Classical periods, Sparta was a conurbation of four *komai* which formed a nucleus, totally occupying about 3 km<sup>2</sup> but is now widely acknowledged as the urban center of the Lakedaimonian *polis*.<sup>648</sup> In the Ionian Islands, the situation was evolutionary such that dispersed patterns were accelerated following the

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<sup>642</sup> Hansen. 2004: 74-78.

<sup>643</sup> Bell. 1999: 273.

<sup>644</sup> Rautman. 2001: 245-246.

<sup>645</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 366.

<sup>646</sup> Bell. 1999: 273.

<sup>647</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 361-362.

<sup>648</sup> Hansen. 1995: 54-55.

Peloponnesian Wars. The water effect and a shortage of land produced isolated farms but other reasons swept away the disadvantages of scarce water resources.

When settlement pattern is linked with the models of expansion, specifically resulting from commercial patterns, fundamental differences catch a glimpse. The early phases of Phoenician overseas settlements (in North Africa, Spain and Italy), which were absolutely smaller in size than those of the Greek *apoikia*, were quite influential on the material culture of indigenous communities.<sup>649</sup> Notwithstanding, regional variances and non-uniform patterns were also there when timing is under review. Transjordan surveys have brought to light the direct attestation of Hellenistic colonization in the settlement patterns around the Dead Sea. Judea and Samaria which preserved rather scattered populations during the Persian period are now thought to have experienced a “network of rural sites” taking nucleated forms between the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C but also continued into the Roman period. Similarly, dispersed settlement patterns of rural sites on the Aegean Islands and Crete during Classical and early Hellenistic periods left the stage to nucleated patterns in late Hellenistic and early Roman periods. In consideration of timing, the case was somewhat different for Athens, Corinth and the western Argolid in that these experienced expansions rather earlier- between the Archaic and Classical periods. Samos could have reached its peaks as early as the Classical period, however, frequency in the expansion of sites continued under Ptolemaic control. On the other hand, growths in settlement occurred along Dalmatia and the Adriatic coasts during late Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Nea Paphos survey in Cyprus has shown notable booms in rural sites during the Hellenistic era, particularly under Ptolemaic control. In Asia Minor, along with many other sub-regions, the territorium of Miletus witnessed a different trend with dispersed patterns, expressed through a rural exploitation in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods. As far as Caria is considered when she was a Ptolemaic possession, almost nothing is comprehensible, as is also valid for Pamphylia and Thrace. An explanation brought so far is that a primary goal of the Hellenistic kingdoms could have been the exploitation of thinly

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<sup>649</sup> Sommer. 2009: 95.

populated territories where it was easier to get new people settle, which does not seem that unreasonable.<sup>650</sup>

The manner of settlement and upcoming behavior cannot be explained without social and economic change. Internal politics is well inseparable from the discussion. Relations between the central authority and *demes* were absolutely critical so that *demes* could have assisted *poleis* in return for demanding political services, eventually taking steps to control the settlement pattern.<sup>651</sup> The social composition also caused variations in the layouts of any kind of settlement. Looking at the distribution of Mycenaean tombs and quite dispersed *tholoi*, Zakynthos in the Ionian Islands revealed no presence of a controlling authority during pre-LH IIIC. The island was possibly split into territorial districts and administered in the hands of landlords, which is supposed to reflect a hierarchical character of the society.<sup>652</sup> In Classical Athens, family ties for the identification of people were so strong that nucleated settlements did not provide a flexibility in social relations but patterns were more or less linked to the function of second and third order settlements. The Greek population was overwhelmingly composed of peasant communities living in the countryside. Farmers could be recruited as *hoplites* during wartimes. As soon as a war ended, farmers turned back home in order to “operate on ground level” and live ordinary lives which were influenced by religious calendars, habits of sacrificing in the countryside as the “place of the wild”. The way of arrangement of rustic patterns had to maintain close contact with divinities such as Dionysos and Pan which were usually worshipped in the countryside<sup>653</sup> disregarding exceptional cases (Sub-part 3.1).

Political affairs, forms of elite control, the idea of democracy, a degree of independence and external pressures could lead to the emergence of various settlement patterns. Occasionally, inequalities were reflected on the settlement pattern. The necessity to conduct smooth relations with neighbours, a reflex towards

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<sup>650</sup> Mueller. 2006: 52-55.

<sup>651</sup> Osborne. 1987: 128-129.

<sup>652</sup> Souyoudzoglou-Haywood. 1999: 140.

<sup>653</sup> Osborne. 1985: 41; Osborne. 1987: 13, 136; Bell. 1999: 273; Crielaard. 2009: 369.

defence, and supply for food were subject to the potential results of contact. The struggle of Athenians to rid Greece and Asia Minor of the Persians brought tributary pressures exerted on the allies and encouraged administrative control to sustain the army with logistics. Melos was probably affected by this process. It was strongly fortified in the Classical period but was relatively insecure due to its geographic position. It was not a member of the Delian League but had to pay tribute under stress, hence inhabitants had to gather in a single settlement in the end. Sparta and its allies had different forms of elite control. In Orkhomenos, the political structures were split from the residential areas. The countryside was totally inflexible as the citizen body was divorced from the center. In “democratic” Thasos, the countryside was strictly controlled by the center where the entire administrative staff resided. Communication was weak, only a few temples functioned in the countryside. As Osborne assesses:

“Once farmers relied on the market on any scale they jeopardized their independence. On Thasos, village communities seem to have been few in the Classical period, and what villages there were don’t seem to have had any political status. Such a situation minimizes local contacts and local independence and lays the countryside open to control by the town. In Attica, the contrasting agricultural strategy is complemented by the contrasting settlement pattern. The villages of Attica were very strong communities which very largely met their own subsistence needs, and which filled local needs by neighbourly exchange” (1987: 108).

By the mid 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Thespiiai in Boeotia was a confederacy. Following the disturbances between the Persians and the Athenians and Thespiiai’s limited independence within the warfare context, external forces caused the city to move to the countryside. When Alexander the Great marched for Boeotia in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, settlements had to watch for a renewed confederation within which all were represented separately. It was only during the Hellenistic period when small settlements disappeared again and the freedom of structures was restored. In Elis (western Peloponnese), the districts were organized in the form of dispersed social groups until the 5<sup>th</sup> century but they united later. Epigraphical evidence showed that, akin to the Peraea, Elis was politically organized in a loose form and *demes* were strong enough for independence. Although not surveyed very systematically, with its densely populated center and large rural population, it suggested the “strength of

village centers and wide variety of services which the villages were able to provide”.<sup>654</sup>

Along with the mentioned factors above, problems in identification and dating pose difficulties in making interpretations about settlement patterns. Shifts in type and size of settlements and a drop in the number of sites during the Archaic and Classical eras may refer to agricultural regimes organized in small and loosely formed regional networks with defensive earthworks.<sup>655</sup> In recent studies, abandoned terraces have been recognized to be better indicators for a settlement change or pressures on the land.<sup>656</sup>

#### **4.5. Population Figures**

Variations in the population figures of regions are interrelated with settlement practices and land exploitation models. Notwithstanding, socio-cultural and political evolutions move at different speeds and directions, and are related to living standards and areal expansions in a society. So it is hazardous to divorce ancient population debates, at least theoretically, from demographic factors and growth rates.

Demographic expansions gradually took place by the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C, encompassing the Aegean core, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean basin. The explosive growth beginning in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C was in touch with the quality of life and economic shifts. The abrupt expansion in the 5<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C nucleated settlements was caused by power relations and the agrarian practices highlighted particularly on labour intensive terrace building. Decreases in the two indicators of growth - demographic and economic regressions took place in the 4<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C.<sup>657</sup> Until the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, low density populations were generally confined to

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<sup>654</sup> Osborne. 1987: 107, 118, 123-126, 132-135.

<sup>655</sup> Andreou and Kotsakis 1999: 41.

<sup>656</sup> Osborne. 1987: 31.

<sup>657</sup> Scheidel. 2003: 120-121, 124. The author is doubtful about sharp increases in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C (*ibid.*128). Regional differences mean much for such debates. He clarifies that “*due to lack of quantifiable data, growth rates can only be derived from final population size*” (*ibid.*122).

the rural landscapes.<sup>658</sup> The Hellenistic period was a period of booms in population trends but the upper limits were experienced when the countryside was completely occupied in the Roman period. Off-site pottery surveys have shown that extensive land use and intensive manuring caused a rural depopulation in Greece during the Classical period while, a similar situation had grounds for political and economic recessions during the Ottoman period. Depopulation in the countryside was presumably caused by a decline in productivity of agricultural soils and manuring in Late Classical and Hellenistic Boeita.<sup>659</sup>

Demographic growth in antiquity is a big problem. As *polis* and countryside can be interwoven, population estimates are difficult to tackle. Whatever their limitation, the site size and configurations offer the only semi quantitative access to prestatistical population aggregations when used in conjunction with complementary data on smaller nucleated sites or dispersed settlements and their spatial relationships. Hence, ratios of urban and non-urban populations are sometimes simulated from early statistics on preindustrial economies.<sup>660</sup> Some scholars try to seek population figures by quantifying mortal remains and sites. It is fallacious to depend on the burial counts since the visibility of tombs may have changed over time.<sup>661</sup> Furthermore, the habitation of the countryside may be unyielding in many cases. Calculating citizens but neglecting slaves, women and children would be another pitfall for any kind of survey. If increases in the number of sites are only related to farmstead expansions in late Classical Age, the method is again unpromising.<sup>662</sup> Anyhow, cultural and environmental aspects have been brought to the front so far.<sup>663</sup> There are various approaches to the models of development. Neo-Malthusianism and Eco-Demographic models aim to present a relationship between demography and ecological factors. Regional development models, as opted by Bintliff, address the core theoretical structures among which local production and local-agricultural demographic cycles reflect human ecology and socio-economic transformation

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<sup>658</sup> Andreou and Kotsakis 1999: 35.

<sup>659</sup> Bintliff. 1997: 12, 14; Bintliff. 2000a: 57-58, 66.

<sup>660</sup> Butzer. 2008: 78-81.

<sup>661</sup> Scheidel. 2003: 129-130.

<sup>662</sup> Golden. 2000: 24-25.

<sup>663</sup> Hiller. 1930: 523.

within the regional- macro regional context. Population distribution maps may be of importance to a certain degree but size, function, age, type of settlements, even historical estimations make sense. Along with many models, we need cumulative approaches in deriving population estimates about the people of the past.<sup>664</sup>

The function of a settlement is one of the essential criteria in analyzing population structures. The regional needs may be a reflection of “ratio of basic/non-basic activities”. The structure of involvement in agriculture in rural areas might be sought to discover the “ratio of agricultural population to the serving population” which is generally alleged to be fixed in a given area. But, one should consider that mobility degrees are not constant when proportioned to the density of a population.<sup>665</sup> Productivity is a no less important key in approaching the conjectural population of sites. A configuration of a landscape measuring 105 km<sup>2</sup> was sampled for Kyeneai of the Lycian League, where 2/3 of the land was allocated to olive processing to produce 560.000 litres of oil per year/ requiring 224.000 “man days of labour” calculated quarterly. Around 2500 people could have worked in Kyenai. 14.000 litres were to be consumed by the locals while 1/3 of the territory could have produced 2.100.000 kg grain to sustain 10.500 people when worked by 2500 adults for 45 days.<sup>666</sup> These are not reliable figures, though. An agricultural potential was not simply owed to technology or a fertile territory surrounding the core but very much to the amount of labour. Potential usage of ancient territories was not necessarily related to modern soil characteristics suitable for arable land, either. Preferably, production rates for bad and good years are needed. For example, olives are vulnerable to changing conditions. Ancient evidence on the olive production disclosed that a hectare yielded 100 olive trees on average in Greece. There occurred 400 kg of olive oil during the good years and 150 kg during the bad years. The experimental archaeology applied in certain parts of Greece has shown that 1000-1500 kg of wheat per hectare could have been acquired. The worst case is 3 ha which

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<sup>664</sup> Bintliff. 1997: 17, 21-22.

<sup>665</sup> Dickinson. 1960: 10-11; 16.

<sup>666</sup> Osborne. 2004: 373.

could feed a family (5 people on average) over a year.<sup>667</sup>

Environmental determinants for production potentials and the calculation of the agricultural carrying capacity of each settlement with its hinterland, climatic conditions such as annual precipitation and soil studies<sup>668</sup> lead the way to further estimations. Regarding productivity, questions may be raised on the extent of self-sufficient local populations whether they produced a surplus. According to Argolid survey data, during the Classical and Roman periods, approximately 1 ha was arable by a single person; 5 ha were reasonable per family for self-sustaining purposes. The figures (around 7.8 ha land worked per family) were discovered to be around 140-200 kg/ha as the “productivity value” in which case 175-200 kg/ha of wheat was consumed per capita. On average, 10 ha were reserved to a single family, keeping 7.8 ha for self-sustaining purposes while the rest was kept as surplus for sale. In line with estimations under certain conditions, ploughing a 5 ha farm would bring 2000 kg/ha of wheat production where 1000 may have gone to the household and 1000 for sale. Earlier Turkish statistics (mainly Ottoman Period) revealed that figures for agricultural production were similar to those of the Greek and Roman periods.<sup>669</sup>

To theorize on population figures, some archaeologists refer to epigraphical evidence on the amount of grain in Classical Athens. Famous references are the inscriptions recording the “First Fruits” on the total production of wheat and barley, offered to Demeter at Eleusis in 329/8 B.C. As full conditions are never known, they remain speculative in every instance. Notwithstanding, Garnsey states, when border areas (e.g. Boeotia) are excluded, 2400 km<sup>2</sup> of cultivable land may be realistic. There was mixed and small scale intensive farming in Classical Attica where certain percentage of land had to be reserved for fallow. Keeping in mind the effect of climatic conditions, recent estimates have shown that 2.5 hl (193 kg.) and 3 hl would be a generous allowance on wheat and barley consumption. Due to poor soil conditions and overpopulation, wheat must have yielded less than barley (which is resistant to

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<sup>667</sup> Osborne. 1987: 44-46.

<sup>668</sup> Blanton. 2000: 11-13. *Terra rosa* type soils resting on limestone bedrock (a product of mild wet winters and hottest summers) are peculiar to the region (*ibid.*).

<sup>669</sup> *Ibid.* 12-14.

drier conditions) in Athens. Hypothetically, 200.000-300.000 of Athenians were there between 450-320 B.C. Under the worst conditions and with the final figure of about 120.000-150.000 population of core residents and 20.000-25.000 Athenians in the dependent territories, the population of Attica was able to support 175.000 people at the maximum.<sup>670</sup> From Aristophanes, we hear of a population of 20.000 in the *polis* center of Athens. Bintliff suggests that Athens must have experienced the peak of population pressures in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C with around 180.000 inhabitants including those from the hinterland. Some state that Athens would fall into the category of a Classical Greek settlement in Hellas which had a territory of 50-100 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 2500-4500. 500 (five hundred) inhabitants would share a minimum number of 38 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>671</sup>

For Torr, Rhodes had a figure of around 220.000 inhabitants before the prosperous times. What he suggests well seems to be a highly exaggerated sum whereof he notes a number of 60.00 free people and 160.000 slaves at times of peace and that out of 60.000 free people, 6000 could have been reserved to aliens and 6000 to citizens.<sup>672</sup> For Tuna, Cnidus sustained a population of around 40.000 inhabitants.<sup>673</sup> Cos and Halicarnassus were ratable to 30.000-65.000 inhabitants, while the middle size settlement of Samos figured to 65.000-100.000.<sup>674</sup> In Caria, Iasos' population was composed of 800 citizens whilst the rest is still uncertain.<sup>675</sup> Lakiadai, as a small *deme* near the Mount Aigaleos, had a population of around 120 people.<sup>676</sup> 50 *oikiai* was allowed for each scattered *kome*; no less than 12 *komai* and 100 *komai* had to create a small and larger *polis*, respectively, in Phokis.<sup>677</sup> Obviously, fluctuations as per the figures of the theoreticians are open to question.

Surveys have put forward accelerations in the populations of Aetolia, Epiros, Crete

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<sup>670</sup> Garnsey. 1998: 184-192. Athenian slaves made up the 30% of the population, including all those involved in agricultural activity (*ibid.*94).

<sup>671</sup> Aristophanes (56); Bintliff. 1997: 8-10; Akalm. 2005: 79.

<sup>672</sup> Torr. 1885: 55.

<sup>673</sup> Tuna. 1983: 62.

<sup>674</sup> Grant. 1986: 36.

<sup>675</sup> Nixon and Price. 1990: 160.

<sup>676</sup> Jones. 2004: 75.

<sup>677</sup> Demosthenes (19.325); Diodorus (16.60.2); Hansen. 1995: 77.

and adjacent southeastern lowlands of Athens in the Hellenistic period.<sup>678</sup> The population in the “capitals” of larger city states was somewhere between 1000-100.000, depending on tributes. Also, a considerable number of farmers lived in large states, for protection and against warfare. Interstate trade for luxury goods was realized by the merchants; full-time specialists were involved in feeding the population and reducing transport costs. The city-states were able to support a considerable number of nonfood producers who made up 10-20 % of the population.<sup>679</sup> The three *phylae* of Rhodes had almost 2/3 of the entire *deme* population on the Island itself. Others were in the Peraea and few resided on the dependent islands.<sup>680</sup>

Libya has revealed evidence that each press operation area encompassed a land of 2 km<sup>2</sup> in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. The large operations are associated with 5000-10.000 litres, the smaller ones with 2500-3000 litres per year. 20 litres of olive oil production recorded per capita during the Roman period leads to a figure of total production for about 2500-5000 people.<sup>681</sup> A flock of 100 sheep was the satisfactory figure for a farm to make a living in Roman times.<sup>682</sup>

The role of means used for population estimations are valuable, e.g. theatre capacity, the rural settlement pattern, military power, food resources, subsidies, census records, carrying capacity, function, size, area reserved for settlement, registration in tribute lists at any place whether it was a *polis* or small scale settlement. The list may be continued.<sup>683</sup> The theatre of Rhodes welcomed crowds with a capacity of 10.000 people<sup>684</sup>, Amos was designed for an audience of 1300.

Projections of past populations until now have tried to connect recent facts to ancient situations. Indexed to food production and agricultural activity comparable to

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<sup>678</sup> Bintliff. 1997: 12, 14.

<sup>679</sup> Trigger. 2008: 55-57.

<sup>680</sup> Jones. 1987: 243.

<sup>681</sup> Blanton. 2000: 70-71.

<sup>682</sup> White. 1970: 394-395.

<sup>683</sup> Golden. 2000: 24.

<sup>684</sup> Cook. 1962: 197.

modern data, a regional estimation for the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C Boeotia has shown that around 70% of the population was composed of core dwellers while the rest were farmers and/or countryside people during the Classical period.<sup>685</sup> In modern Greece, the average size of fields was less than 0.5 hectare during 1960s.<sup>686</sup> Although the level of development in pre-industrial societies, the quality of soil and environmental conditions have some obvious constraints to the agenda, it is worth thinking on the average yields of 629.1 kg/ha and 793.7.1 kg/ha in wheat and barley in Attica between 1911 and 1950. Whatever the pace of development was, production aggregates of the land mattered to the landowners at various levels in ancient times since they were obliged to raise cash to meet the expenses imposed by the *polis* and occasioned by their position in the society.<sup>687</sup> Territorial model, totally against the city-state concept, is a moderate indicator of small urban elite of landlords exploiting the rural base. Hansen marks; “*Consumer city presupposes that there is opposition between urban and rural population; urban population is a small portion of the total population and hinterland and; the core of urban population comprises consumers who derive their maintenance not from what they produce but from taxes and rents extracted from rural population*”. Classical archaeologists present a dilemma at this point. Most of them, except Finley, indicate that the ancient economy was based on agrarian subsistence. 10% of the population at the maximum was urban- a home for a small portion and landowners. Numerous landscape surveys proved the reverse, though at times being unreliable for demographic estimates. However, to an extent, nucleated settlements until modern times acted in the process of transformation of city-states to urban centers, e.g. the case of Sicily and Greece in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of people lived as farmers in the urban centers and worked in the fields outside the city walls.<sup>688</sup> To wrap up, when deemed separately, function, size, land use or population are not the sole criteria to distinguish between settlement types. Whatever the case, the relation of a settlement to its hinterland apparently seems to be the latest solution in the recent archaeological world.<sup>689</sup>

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<sup>685</sup> Bintliff. 1997: 22.

<sup>686</sup> Osborne. 1987: 39.

<sup>687</sup> Garnsey. 1998: 201-212.

<sup>688</sup> Hansen. 2008: 73-74.

<sup>689</sup> Crielaard. 2009: 349.

## CHAPTER 5

### DATA AND SETTLEMENT IN RELATION TO THE PERAEA

#### 5.1. Locations and Settlement

As stressed in Sub-part 3.3.2.1, there appears to be problems with the Peraean *demes* and their locations all over the Bozburun Peninsula. Divergent information conveyed by the ancient writers is particularly weak or unsatisfactory. The ancient sites of the Bozburun Peninsula recorded in 1973 Annals (Muğla Province) are incomplete and far from reliability, the relevant map inside depicts the modern center of Bozburun as Loryma. It is thanks to the authorities that Taşlıca Village (Phoinix/ Fenaket) is correctly located. On the subject matter, generally, Bean's views have encouraged scholars to take steps toward catching up with debates on the approximate coordinates of the Peraean *demes*.

In order to give a general vision of the Peninsula, Kiepert restores the Peraea to Sinus Doridus.<sup>690</sup> Mela's Peninsula rolls around three bays.<sup>691</sup> He mentions two ports of Rhodian colonies: Gelos (Cressa (Oplothiki) and Thysannos. Between these lay Larumna and Pandion Hill stretching into the sea. Then comes the bays: "Thymnias, Schoenus and Bubassius". As he notes, the Aphrodisium Cape belongs to Thymnias Bay, Schoenus is associated with the Hyla settlement and Bybassos relates to Cynos.<sup>692</sup> It was perhaps the Aphrodisium Cape which separated sinus Thymnias and sinus Schoenus<sup>693</sup> since different forms of script are elusive for interpretation. Foss and Reger fix Roman Sinus Schoenus to Deliktaş Bükü as Burgett et al. prefer the same.<sup>694</sup> However, the bay is occasionally acknowledged as Hyda or Hylas, in the

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<sup>690</sup> Kiepert. 1898: V.Gi

<sup>691</sup> Pomponius Mela (1.16).

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid.* "Caria sequitur. habitant incertae originis. alii indigenas, sunt qui Pelasgos, quidam Cretas existimant. ...." (*ibid.*)

<sup>693</sup> Pliny (5.29).

<sup>694</sup> Foss and Reger 2000: 946, G4 (Authors use Hydas interchangeably with Hylas (*ibid.*941)); Burgett et al. 1984 (vol.2): 1010.

southeastern part of Losta Bay.<sup>695</sup> Further in the south, called as the Portus Cressa and Κρήσαιν Λιμὴν of Ptolemy in the Classical world, the unfortified Serçe Bay acted as the harbour of Casarae, and may even have served Phoinix under the Rhodian control.<sup>696</sup> Foss and Reger deem Cressa- Serçe Bay as a Roman inlet.<sup>697</sup>

For Bean, the *deme* of Hyda/Hyla is identifiable with Sinus Schoenus/ Reedy Bay which is Selimiye. Sinus Schoenus covering Hyda might be Orhaniye, as well.<sup>698</sup> Küçükeren calls Selimiye as Uda, namely Hyla/Hyda. With a slight difference in the reading, Peschlow-Bindokat marks it as Hydas.<sup>699</sup> No matter whether Sinus Schoenus indicates a reedy place, no such area is known hereabouts. Completely referring to the location of inscriptions, Bresson assumes that it is to be included within the borders of Tymnos.<sup>700</sup>

Ancient literature proves very little about some others, if all *demes*. Yet, Hygassos (Ygassos) has not been located correctly. Stephanus Byzantinus recalls Ὑγασσεῖου πεδῖον, as situated in a plain area whereby speculation goes as far as Syrna. Also marked as Βουβασσός Κξυασσός, another name Ὑγασσός, is indicated as a polis/ location in Caria. Κξυασσός meaning “Khrysaoris” leads to the idea that Hygassos could be a location which was conspicuous enough to be nominated as a rural type settlement, perhaps bigger than that.<sup>701</sup> On one hand, some information commemorating the Hygassians has been acquired through inscriptions found at the Sanctuary of Hemithea in Kastabos near Hisarönü. Accordingly, the Hygassians were registered among the list of donors to the mentioned temple.<sup>702</sup> Concordant with the surface material, Foss and Reger consider that it was a Hellenistic settlement on the Losta Bay.<sup>703</sup> Bean makes a mark on its association with modern Selimiye Bay

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<sup>695</sup> Sevin. 2001: 128.

<sup>696</sup> Carter. 2004: 13.

<sup>697</sup> Foss and Reger 2000: 943, G4.

<sup>698</sup> Bean. 1971: 162; Bean. 2000: 168; Fraser and Bean 1954: 63.

<sup>699</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 123; Peschlow-Bindokat. 2003: 11.

<sup>700</sup> Bresson. 1991: 94-101.

<sup>701</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus (Υ-Ὑγασσός). Citizens were called Ὑγασσιος or Βουβάσσιος/ or Ὑγασσεύς.

<sup>702</sup> Bresson. 1991: 65-66.

<sup>703</sup> Foss and Reger 2000: 941, G4.

addressing Sinus Schoenus.<sup>704</sup> To Meyer, it is somewhere in the east end of a bay near Erine while Cook notes that it could be nearby Bybassos in the vicinity of Pazarlık Plain, which is associated with the Sanctuary of Hemithea. An epitaph of two Hygassians found in Syrna and another evidenced at Rhodes still remain as two puzzles for a precise appointment to any location.<sup>705</sup> Küçükeren assumes that it might be near Orhaniye and Turgut.<sup>706</sup> Interestingly, Hygassos is located to the south of Turgut by Peschlow-Bindokat.<sup>707</sup> Not that far, Benter calls attention to Köklüdağ, which exhibits settlement remains up on 450 m elevation, in the vicinity of Turgut. Assumed as a *deme* by Umar, it is appointed to the south of Hisarönü, near Turgut, right on a temenos wall on Bozburun road. The inscription found in Kastabos (noted short above) presumably biased the author towards the environs. Probably bordered with the temenos wall, the original name of the *deme* could have been inherited from “Ygeia/ Hygeia”- attested as the goddess of health. Already known from the Peraea, the goddess which is associated with the cult of *Asclepius* has links with Syrna. Although the discussion is rather controversial, the fortified island on the opposite side of Orhaniye Village might be associated with Hygassos.<sup>708</sup> In brief, confusions in ancient names mask the generic problem of identification.

Situated in the east of the Peninsula, Syrna was identified in light of Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions.<sup>709</sup> A problem with Syrna occurs with the status of the ancient settlement in the readings of Bean when he states that it was not a Rhodian *deme* however, it was attractive enough with its *Asclepion* as evidenced through an inscription.<sup>710</sup> TAY assumes it as a Roman settlement.<sup>711</sup> An inscription found on the way to modern Çiftlik Bay implied a *ktoina* recalling the Syrnioi. The reason why Bresson claims Syrna as a *ktoina* is explainable with the hints found on a stele (101/300 B.C) in Bayır Village, belonging to a Hygassian couple. Although nothing

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<sup>704</sup> Bean. 2000: 168.

<sup>705</sup> Meyer. 1925: 51; Cook. 1961a: 64 (The epitaph found in Rhodes appeared with the name Επιναιῆς who was married to a man from Hygassos (*ibid.*64); Cook and Plommer 1966: 159-161.

<sup>706</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 15.

<sup>707</sup> Peschlow-Bindokat. 2003: 11.

<sup>708</sup> Benter. 2010: 663; Umar. 1999: 187, 195-196.

<sup>709</sup> Cook. 1959: 28,52; Foss and Reger 2000: 947, G4.

<sup>710</sup> Bean. 2000: 166-167. Attached to Casarae, Loryma was not a Rhodian *deme*, either (*ibid.*).

<sup>711</sup> TAY. 2007 (vol.7).

was thoroughly mentioned, it is open to question whether the *ktoina* related to the Hygassian territory.<sup>712</sup> The situation gets complicated as to whether *ktoina* was used in lieu of a subdivision of a *deme* or any other territorial unit attached to either three *poleis*.

Some scholars base their arguments on ethnicity so the ancient locations are tried to be searched therewith. As one good example, a dedication (end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) made by the Amians to a *hegemon* of the Peraea at Hisartepe backed up the ethnic identification.<sup>713</sup> Under Meyer's assessment on original names, the Peraea might be visualized according to the ethnic divisions. It is why he locates Tymnos to modern Selimiye (ancient Losta), stretching towards modern Turgut and encompassing the environs of Kızılköy under the ethnic name of Tymnioi (Plate 2.1.2). Understandable from his writing, Tymnos was situated in the north of Thysannos, at the inner angle of Losta Bay while Thysannos lay in the inner angle of the Saranda Beach, at the opposite of Syme.<sup>714</sup>

Stephanus Byzantinus notes Tymnos as a *polis* in Caria.<sup>715</sup> Mela locates this *deme* to the vicinity of Selimiye acknowledged with Thymnos Sinus while Pliny possibly associates the same with Bozburun Bay.<sup>716</sup> Bean considers that the *deme* of Tymnos was central modern Bozburun where almost nothing has been left except some inscriptions.<sup>717</sup> Umar locates Tymnos to Saranda Bay (on its northwest), with a bird's eye view of 4 km. southeast of modern Bozburun.<sup>718</sup> Bayrak acknowledges "Tymnus", in the northeast of Bozburun<sup>719</sup> as some other scholars do the same.<sup>720</sup> In

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<sup>712</sup> Bresson. 1991: 90-92.

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid.* 83. An inscription (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C) dedicated to Apollo Samnaios disclosed that Amians worshipped the mentioned cult (*ibid.* 84). Bean also affirms that the Apollo cult, "with the otherwise unknown epithet Samnaios" was worshipped there (1971: 158-159).

<sup>714</sup> Meyer. 1925: 50-51.

<sup>715</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus (T-Τύμνος). It is hard to establish a relation with the city named as Τυμνησσός, as also noted in Caria where Alexandros was used as the common word, perhaps associated with Lycia (*ibid.*).

<sup>716</sup> Pomponius Mela (1.16); Pliny (5.29).

<sup>717</sup> Bean. 1971: 162.

<sup>718</sup> Umar. 1993: 806.

<sup>719</sup> Bayrak. 1994: 496.

<sup>720</sup> Metaxiki-Mitrou. 1987: 186. The author visualizes the similar position of Tymnos during the expedition of Philip V (*ibid.*)

the “Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity”,<sup>721</sup> it reappears on the identical location.

Aydaş describes Tymnos as ancient Bosporanos which is 11 nautical miles away from Rhodes.<sup>722</sup> TAY identifies it as a *demos* due to previously reported inscriptions about Tymnians. It could be 3 km north, near Selimiye. However, due to additional inscriptions (found in Selimiye) mentioning the *koinon* of Tymnians, Fraser and Bean prefer to include Selimiye within the *territorium* of Tymnos which implies that the borders of Tymnos could have extended as far as Selimiye. If Selimiye was Hyla or Hyda, which was never mentioned as a Rhodian *deme*<sup>723</sup>, it would make sense to associate the ancient people of Selimiye with the Tymnians. Adversely, Tymnos is almost located to Thysannos in the Codex Kultur Atlas.<sup>724</sup>

For Küçükeren, Larymna was Bozburun, Tymnos was somewhere in the vicinity.<sup>725</sup> The picture somehow gets unclear as Pliny spells Larumna and Loryma separately.<sup>726</sup> If Larymna was Bozburun, then it is the problematic side of Tymnos. A discussion on the toponymy has been brought by Umar such that the original Larymna could have been Lar(a)umna as Fraser and Bean once suggested it to be Larumna. It stood on top of a moderate hill (Asartepe) in the northeast of Bozburun, with a *necropolis* facing the bay on the southwest slope. The location so described by the author is known locally as Kaletepe (1) (Plate 2.1.9). Having parallels, Peschlow-Bindokat assumes that Tymnos exactly appears on where Kaletepe (1) stands in modern Bozburun while Larymna has connection to the north of Loryma at the tip of the Peninsula, now known as Aziziye.<sup>727</sup> Interestingly, almost none of the scholars (apart from few cases mentioned above) has left a mark on Kaletepe (1) until now as the relevant Sub-part (5.1.4) of this study shall divert the attention to the same site.

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<sup>721</sup> Hammond. 1981.

<sup>722</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 4-5. The author names Selimiye as Tymnos (*ibid.*11).

<sup>723</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 62; TAY. 2007 (vol.7).

<sup>724</sup> Codex Kultur Atlas. 1965.

<sup>725</sup> Küçükeren. 2007: 119, 123. The author notes that the meaning of Larumna comes from the people of sand in Luwian language (*ibid.*201).

<sup>726</sup> Pliny (5.29).

<sup>727</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 59; Umar. 1999: 216; Peschlow-Bindokat. 2003: 11.

Incorrect locations have also been mentioned such that Thymnos Sinus could be Sinus Losta in ATL. With such contradictory information at hand, it is hard to estimate that Larymna was the *deme* center of Tymnos- named according to Bozburun Bay. It could well be somewhere between Gelos (if Serçe Bay) and Thysannos. The ancient name derived from abbreviations as “Bosporus” is an open question as to where the strait stood.<sup>728</sup> The name, Bosporanoi was discovered on an Imperial period tomb inscription found near Bozburun. The reading was previously made by Chaviaras and Chaviaras taking the words Πύσπορνου as Βοσπόρον. As brachygraphies used for the Rhodian demotics may be interpreted differently, it would be controversial to claim Bosporonai as Bozburun, as the *deme* center of Tymnioi.<sup>729</sup>

Two places called as Larymna and Paridon<sup>730</sup> by Pliny makes the situation difficult to interpret but Cape Aphrodisias could be modern Cape Ata(b)ol in the western tip of modern Bozburun. Fraser and Bean make a solid mark that on the east of Bozburun Bay, in modern Söğüt, there lies Thysannos.<sup>731</sup> Hearing from Pechlow-Bindokat, Thysannos is in Söğüt, Phoinix is located to the north of Taşlıca where the lower village (Fenaket) was probably disregarded by the scholar. Instead of Phoinix, the author prefers to use Tlos/Gelos, which falls to the northeast of Casaræ on the coastal area.<sup>732</sup> Bean is doubtful about the *deme* center of Thysannos as he bases his argument on poor visible evidence. He is not free from doubt when he speculates that, traceable with the polygonal wall remains, Thysannos was up in Saranda Village.<sup>733</sup> Debord and Varinlioğlu show Thysaannos as “Thyssanonte”, exactly on the east of Bozburun and Phoinix on the southeast of Thyssanonte.<sup>734</sup> All is problematic in essence.

In the thick volume on the inventory of Archaic and Classical *poleis*, Hansen and

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<sup>728</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 60-61.

<sup>729</sup> Chaviaras and Chaviaras. 1911 (° 58): 64-65; Fraser. 1983: 137-139.

<sup>730</sup> Pliny (5.29).

<sup>731</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 59.

<sup>732</sup> Pechlow-Bindokat. 2003: 11.

<sup>733</sup> Bean. 2000: 168.

<sup>734</sup> Debord and Varinlioğlu 2001: 87.

Nielsen provide a full version of the updated pre-Hellenistic settlements none of which are characterized as a *polis* in the Peraea. Probably having origins from the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C, Phoinix is recognizable with a fortress (in Fenaket) recognizable with different masonry types. The earliest inscriptions from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C mention a *damos*, a *naos* of Dionysos, a *prytaneus* as well as the Athena and Zeus Polieus priests.<sup>735</sup> Except Elaïoussa Island (Kızılada), Loryma and Phiscus, almost none of the *demes* in the Peraea are pronounced by Strabo. With a perimeter of 8 stadion, Elaïoussa lies at the opposite side of modern Taşlıca, about 120 stadion away from the Island of Rhodes and/or 4 stadion away from the fortress of Phoinix.<sup>736</sup> Despite the exaggerated anecdotes, Strabo may be right in giving the measurements, more or less similar to the modern values. It is Plutarch who informs us of the “*Athenian fleet of 180 triremes*” that landed on Elaeus in the Chersonesos.<sup>737</sup>

Casarae has been safely located to Asardibi, in light of the inscriptions found *in-situ* at Bozuk Village.<sup>738</sup> Documented by the tombstones found in Rhodes and Asardibi, the *deme* is depicted as a Classical site situated on the northern bay over the isthmus in the Peraea.<sup>739</sup> Hicks conveys further note that it lies 3 miles northeast of Loryma, the Bay of Aplotheka (most probably Oplotiki). The site was essentially dated according to pottery finds in Asardibi and underwater data in the northern harbour of Serçe Bay.<sup>740</sup> Much work has been conducted with respect to Loryma, which falls into the borders of the *deme* of Casarae. Hecataeus of Miletus locates Loryma to between “Caunum and Cnidum”.<sup>741</sup> Held and TAY clarify its exact location near the promontory acknowledged as Karaburun. Regarding the political status, it lost the

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<sup>735</sup> Flensted- Jensen. 2004: 1109-1110. For more on Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus, refer to Haussoullier, B. 1880. “Inscription d’Halicarnasse”. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 4: 522-524.

<sup>736</sup> Strabo (14.2.1-4, 14).

<sup>737</sup> Plutarch (4.Lysander.9).

<sup>738</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 59; Foss and Reger 2000: 942, G4.

<sup>739</sup> Flensted- Jensen. 2004: 1109-1110.

<sup>740</sup> Hicks. 1889: 46-47. On the matter of dating, see Atauz, A.D. 1997. Asardibi (Casara), A Classical, Hellenistic and Early Roman Harbor in the Rhodian Peraea (M.Sc. thesis). Bilkent University.

<sup>741</sup> Hecataeus of Miletus (232). He defines Caria as “Lydiam sequitur Caria, et urbes in ea Graecae sunt hae” while Rhodes, including three old cities, is given as “Chalcia, Telus, Casus, Carpathus cum tribus urbibus” (*ibid.*99).

*polis* character after the Classical era.<sup>742</sup> That is to say, the position of this small harbour settlement leaves no doubt when compared to other sites in the Peraea.

When referred to the *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations*, the positioning of the *demes* and some modern names are seen to be roughly given on a blank sheet. Also, Casarae (Kasara) and Tlos (Phoinix) stand too close so nothing is comprehensible for the latter. Reading from Map 61 (Ephesos), compiled by Foss and Reger<sup>743</sup> the approximate data and associated periods (Table 5.1; Plate 2.1.3) may be shown at once although some of them require reconsideration as shall be explained thereafter or in the coming parts:

**Table 5.1:** Ancient Settlements of the Peraea (Foss and Reger 2000: 938-948)

<b>Deme Name</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Period</b>
Amos	Hisarburnu	C,H,R
Hydas	Turgut <sup>744</sup>	12 <sup>th</sup> century B.C- Later Periods <sup>745</sup>
Syrna	Bayır	H, R
Hygassos	Losta Bay	H
Hydas/Hylas	Selimiye	R
Kızılköy (name unfixed)	Kızılköy	H, R
Tymnos	Bozburun	H, R
Thymnias Sinus	Bozburun Bay	R
Thyssonous Sinus	Ortaca	H, R
Phoinix	Fenaket	H, R, Later Periods
Tlos/ Gelos	Pınarlıbükü?	H,R
Loryma	Bozuk	C,H,R

Evidently, the colleagues have not agreed on common grounds in terms of literary evidence. In spite of the fact that, the epigraphical evidence, as elaborated from the

<sup>742</sup> Held. 2005:96; TAY. 2007 (vol.7).

<sup>743</sup> Foss and Reger 2000:G4.

<sup>744</sup> Benter. 2001: 177-179.

<sup>745</sup> *Ibid.*

material conditions and mainly through the social and religious life<sup>746</sup>, help the readers to comment on some more realistic locations to an extent, the safest way for arriving at a consensus would be referring to the surveys carried out until recently, in specific parts of the Peraea. Unfortunately, the recent data relevant to few locations are available in the reports of Held (1996; 1999-2003; 2005-2006), Benter (1999; 2001; 2010) and Kuban and Saner (1999; 2000; 2005). For the others, the initial reports of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century travelers are referable.

During field work carried out in 2009-2012 campaigns under the purposes of this research, a contribution to the previous works have been endeavored, with a view to present additional surface material and ask about the problem of period (subject to replenishment) under a comparative approach. A general category of findings in relation to settlement data has been compiled as the (i) architectural remains (public and private buildings); (ii) typical masonry; (iii) fortification walls and watch towers (lookout posts); (iv) water features; (v) epigraphical evidence; (vi) communication networks (mainly ancient roads, routes, trackways); (vii) enclaves affiliated with farmsteads; (viii) press stones; (ix) burial remains; (x) potsherds, in order to establish the components of a set of settlement criteria, in view of natural and man-made environments. Under a recent silhouette, Plate 2.1.5 shows the general profile of the ancient settlement data and the related features attained during extensive surveys.

Along with the generic data given above, estimation about the *deme* locations and their centers are visualized and given in Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1, respectively.

### **5.1.1 Hydas (Turgut)**

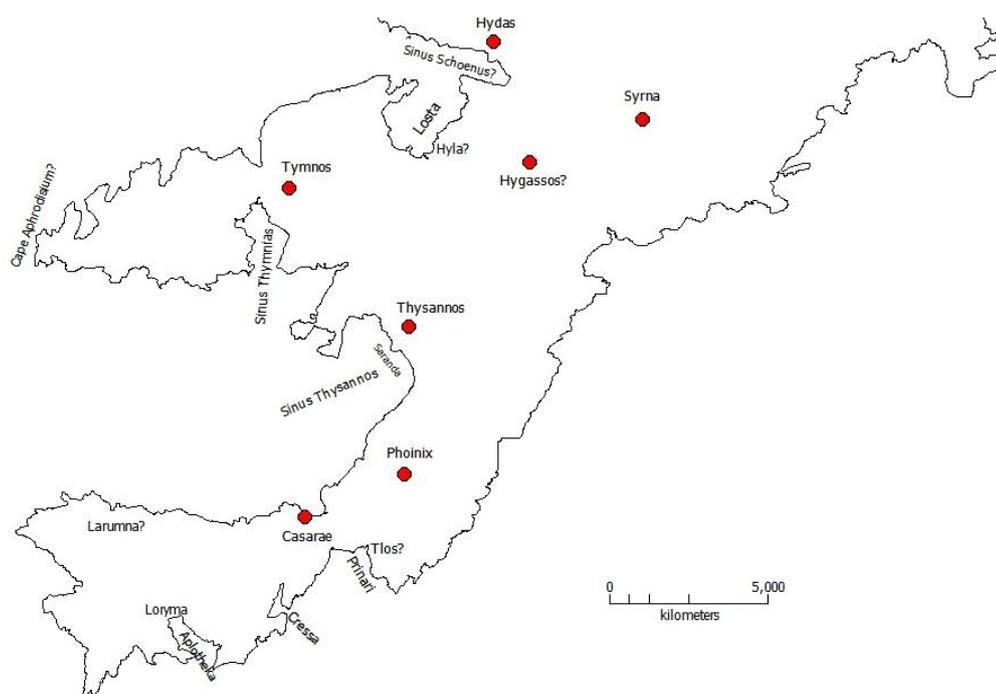
Hydas is situated at the northernmost line of the scope area. Apart from Benter and Gümüş, almost nothing concrete has been mentioned elsewhere about this site. In line with the official permission so obtained and not to interfere with possible ongoing indoor researches and violate any intellectual rights thereof, the *deme* center

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<sup>746</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 122.

**Table 5.2: Demes of the Peraea**

Deme Name	Location
Hydas	Turgut
Syrna	Bayır
Losta/ Hygassos?	Selimiye- Kızılköy
Tymnos	Bozburun
Thysannos	Söğüt
Phoinix	Taşlıca
Casarae	Bozuk



**Figure 5.1: Deme Centers in the Peraea**

and its environs were omitted from the field work, however, secondary data is tried to be provided at the maximum extent, as given below and in the upcoming parts.

The Peraea possesses quite a number of fortifications which have high visibility. Hydas, situated on high grounds in the west of the Peninsula retains a similar character. The core settlement area, *Acropolis*, is located 270 m above the sea level embraced with an agricultural hinterland stretching across a valley in the northwest of Turgut Village. The pottery work disclosed that Hydas survived from the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The northwest sector of the lower settlement welcomed a temple as well as a Classical and Hellenistic farmstead. Benter reports two cisterns (150/250 m<sup>3</sup>) located at the *Acropolis*; some larger ones and about 15 smaller cisterns scattered in the settlement area. By looking at the physical location and the suitable conditions for agriculture, the author assumes that this *deme* was densely populated in ancient times. He limits the population density to the core area due to the undulated character of the coastal terrain which is barely accessible from the sea, in the south.<sup>747</sup> An advantageous position of Hydas needs to be considered from the point of available water resources, particularly the spring water. A real ambiguity comes from Pliny when he mentions a spring and a cavern- possibly Phausia- which “pours out refuse every ninth year” in the Chersonesos.<sup>748</sup> Turgut fall (Figure 5.2; A), a highly touristic place by now, is still the only permanent water source all over the Peraea. Being skeptical about what Pliny mentions by reason of weak description, however, Hydas may be nominated as a *deme* in the Peraea. The settlement decision might have been greatly affected due to running water to ensure permanent patterns and the *deme*'s continuous occupation into later periods. Also, affiliation with the most desired environmental resources and a conspicuous land for cultivation put it into a position of a possible trade nexus with a harbour.

The typical Classical or Hellenistic grave closets encountered in the Peraea are observable in Hydas.<sup>749</sup> An interesting structure, however, is an unusual construction- a square plan tomb with a pyramidal roof and an epitaph with two lions

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<sup>747</sup> Benter. 2010: 659-661; Benter. 2001: 177-179; Benter. 1999: 307, 310. Occupation between Geometric and Early Archaic periods was evidenced with fibulas, comparable to those at Ialysos (*ibid.*311).

<sup>748</sup> Pliny (31.20,30).

<sup>749</sup> Benter. 1999: 309.



**Figure 5.2:** Turgut Fall (A) and Çağ Baba (B)

at the entrance.<sup>750</sup> Nowhere in the Peraea can anyone see such a distinguished free-standing structure which is to be identified as a sub-class of built tombs- the pyramidal tomb with a stepped side, according to Fedak's classification.<sup>751</sup> It is situated 1 km southeast of Turgut Village, on a rocky platform, facing the *Acropolis*. The individual Hellenistic tomb (the so-called called Çağ Baba) reflects the Maussoleion effect (Figure 5.2; B, see above). Dated to the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C, an inscription (perhaps unfinished) on Çağ Baba reveals information about its construction on behalf of a warrior, Diagoras and Aristomakha (his wife) inscribed in Greek names.<sup>752</sup> We have no idea, yet nowhere attested, whether it could have related to a cenotaph erected in the honor of the warrior who could have been commemorated with his spouse. Neither can we guess the real purpose of the erection since it is quite impossible to distinguish cenotaphs from normal tombs<sup>753</sup> but its impressive appearance and uniqueness cannot be ruled out within the context of sepulchral architecture never met in the Peraea.

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<sup>750</sup> Rice. 1991: 334. Constructed in the Hellenistic fashion, stepped pyramids, podiums and pyramidal roofs decorated with animal statues (e.g. the Lion Tomb of Cnidus, Belevi Tomb) and precinct tombs embracing rock-cut *sarcophagi* (e.g. Termessus in Psidia) were among the Rhodian imports in the Aegean and mainland Anatolia (*ibid.*).

<sup>751</sup> Fedak. 1990: 19.

<sup>752</sup> Gümüş. 2003: 1-6. The Persian and Egyptian style is widely associated with pyramidal forms (*ibid.*).

<sup>753</sup> Fedak. 1990: 24-25.

Many Greek inscriptions on funerary remains bear the names of soldiers or gladiators, which generally appear within the borders of strategic settlements (e.g. Tralles, Smyrna, Aphrodisias, Stratoniceia).<sup>754</sup> The foundation of new “colonies” by the Diadochi was a reality of the Hellenistic era. New settlers could be of any origin, however, the Greeks and Macedonians were frequently attested on numerous inscriptions and coinage in Asia Minor.<sup>755</sup> That the owner of Çağ Baba could be of Hydas origin will prove futile as the Peninsula witnessed campaigns of various Hellenistic generals. What seems certain is that a symbolic status was ascribed onto the tomb.<sup>756</sup> Another point to emphasize is that the potsherds (Figure 5.3) retrieved from the tomb are peculiar to many samples found in the Peraea.



**Figure 5.3:** Potsherds From Turgut Tomb (Gümüş. 2003: Pl. 20)

### 5.1.2 Losta (Selimiye)/ Hygassos?

The funerary inscriptions of the 5<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C take the foremost part to commence with ancient Selimiye. Many were found in the vicinity of a Byzantine

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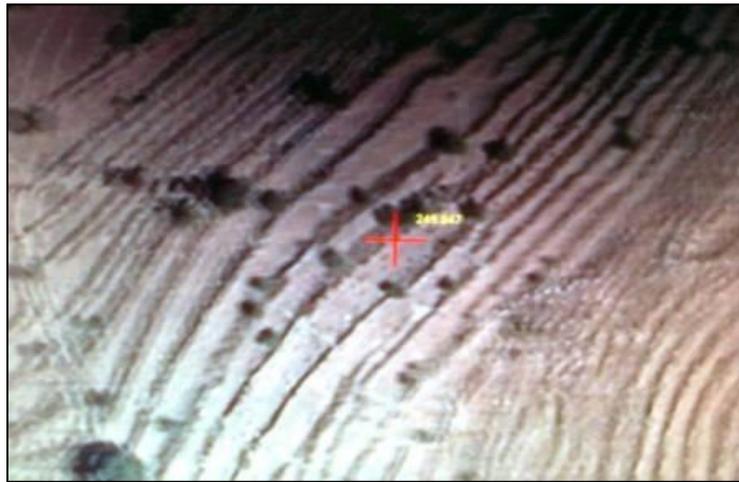
<sup>754</sup> Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault 1881b: 182. Further on gladiator monuments and honorary inscriptions, see Malay, H. 1994. “Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum”. (ETAM 19). Wien.

<sup>755</sup> Cohen. 1995: 22.

<sup>756</sup> Gümüş. 2003: 25-40. The polygonal masonry and the terrace walls remind the Cilician work applied on single-chambered tombs (*ibid.*).

church or in private domiciles and courtyards.<sup>757</sup> Stelae and fragmentary pieces were detected at the modern school building within which one remains uncertain, under patronymics or the ethnic of Odessus.<sup>758</sup> Today, ancient reused building blocks and material may be found on the facades of the mentioned church and modern houses in the vicinity (Plate 1.1.1; A,C).

In the north and partly the west, Losta Bay (Plate 2.1.6) can be easily glimpsed. Around the mentioned bay, abandoned terraces spoiled due to modern public works catch the eye with fertile soil cover. The area suitable for an ancient settlement is situated between Gemecitdüzü Tepe, which is rich in respect of agricultural terraces (Figure 5.4) in the inner west and Gemecik District lying in the coastal area.



**Figure 5.4:** Aerial View of Gemecitdüzü Tepe

On the way to this wide enclave squeezed between Kepez Dağ and Akçakaya Tepe, an abandoned house is noticeable with reused building blocks (Plate 1.1.2; A) and a possible press bed nearby. Gemecitdüzü Tepe is in need of attention with typical architectural blocks, few water features and base walls of rural dwellings scattered

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<sup>757</sup> Bresson. 1991: 95, 97. A dedication (2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C) made to Artemis is distinguishable amongst epigraphical evidence (*ibid.*97).

<sup>758</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 42-43.

over the plain area (Plate 1.1.2; B-E). Looking at type of masonry and some few coarse wares (particularly amphorae handles and olpe fragments), it is worth considering that the site could have been occupied during the Classical era. Physically, the site seems to have kept contact with the neighbouring inland site of Avlana District in modern Tymnos. Large polygonal walls (Plate 1.1.2; F) travelling the western slopes of Öğütmen Tepe facing the enclave suggest an early settlement in the vicinity, however, it is still difficult to assert a single period. Notwithstanding and regardless of period, this wall range recalls “*Dema*” walls which once divorced Athens and Eleusis but physically connected the two mountains in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>759</sup> In spite of the abundance of characterless pieces, the potsherds are generally datable to Hellenistic and Roman periods (Plate 1.1.3; A-D). Remarkable numbers of potsherds disclose various decorations on the rims. Amongst the surface material, rarerly found dark tape rims and decorations on the body fragments seem to address Roman periods (Plate 1.1.3; E-H). The Carian presence is also open to question since a cluster of rock-cut dwellings at the opposite side of the mentioned wall extension present a simple but compact hilltop setting. Nevertheless, numerous potsherds cannot be securely dated to give a basis for the chronology of these architectural features. Another site in the northeast of Gemecitdüzü- Pınarçukuru Location is a promising area with the ruins of ancient settlement, however, extensive terracing seems to have disturbed the general layout. The thing to state about this enclave is that it maintains a very good vision of coastal Hydas and the ruins have proximity to a small, natural spring.

The ruins of a late castle, not far from the remains of the church, are noticeable in the downtown. A narrow valley lying in the southeast of Losta is complemented with a temporary stream (Çaykuyu Dere). The valley is physically interrupted with Karatepe and the lowlands of a high hill- Kaletepe (2) in the north and south, respectively. It continues until a strait, which meets the borders of Kızılköy Quarter that is situated further in the east of Selimiye. On the road to Kızılköy, at the narrowest point of the valley where the strait appears, there is a small rock-cut shelter

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<sup>759</sup> Akarca. 1972: 118-119.

which possibly served as a watch tower (Plate 1.1.4; D). Two ancient farmsteads stand at lowest codes of the mentioned valley. Few sherds diagnosed in the form of amphora bases suggest the Hellenistic period. Some other buildings, which are situated at moderate distances from each other but completely disturbed today, could have formed a cluster of dwellings along the mentioned valley. The base walls and the columns of the farmsteads are clearly recognizable. The plan of the smaller Hellenistic farmstead (Plate 1.1.4; A,B) is in a better condition whereas the larger one (Plate 1.1.4; C), which is a few minutes walk from the former, is mostly disturbed. This larger one suggests a sophisticated plan and lavish design along which an elite residence or a cultic edifice is subject to discussion. If so, the elite building could have served as a base, a controlling authority in the vicinity. Indeed, it has a safer position as it does not lie that far from the strait mentioned above. The building technique (Plate 1.1.5; A-C), its almost round plan equipped with wells in the center and around, and surrounding agricultural terraces are distinguishable. Elite buildings where religious people resided were *oikoi* in antiquity. Though may be very speculative, the plan of an *oikos* in Labraunda<sup>760</sup> might suggest a resemblance in part with the abovementioned complex building observed during field work.

The northern sector of the valley (across which Çaykuru Dere runs) is interrupted with moderate elevations. Up on a series of hills, the ruins of dwelling clusters, presumably earlier than the Hellenistic period are traceable (Plate 1.1.6; A,B). This isolated network of settlement seems rather early when compared to the ruins recorded along the valley, in respect of the masonry technique and positioning. It is rather difficult to find pottery remains. On the other hand, the architectural remains catch the eye with polygonal walls. Proposing a core settlement, the site on top of the steepest hill has high visibility. It reveals the traces of early water works (Plate 1.1.6; C,D) and overexploited agricultural traces behind. The boundary lines of the dwellings are recognizable from each direction. Watching the remote bays, the site strongly addresses security concerns, standing far-off the coastal area. It could have

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<sup>760</sup> Küçükveren. 2007: 30-31.

been a pre-Classical settlement or earlier. Hence, further questions on the occupation by the Carians need to be posed.

The Kızılıköy Quarter is situated inland within the borders of Selimiye. What is worth pinpointing about this spot is that, many potsherds besides three undisturbed cisterns made of ashlar walls (Plate 1.1.1; B) can be found at the modern low code terrace fields. Reused building blocks are traceable on the walls of a late construction in the center. It might be the mentioned construction or a neighbouring one in close vicinity, on which a funerary inscription mentioning Leto has been (indirectly) reported<sup>761</sup> while some others were detected to have been built onto the window of a house. At the entrance of Kızılıköy, a three stepped platform on which a tomb-like structure (Plate 1.1.1; D) now lies attracts attention although the recent design seems to have been altered.

The *Acropolis* high above Kızılıköy, called Asarcık (Plate 2.1.7) is the most valuable site where regularly dressed walls and large building blocks (which many scholars regard as tombstones) were traced. Along a valley falling to the east, a Hellenistic terrace with building ruins and elegant masonry appear in an undisturbed position.<sup>762</sup> Benter, without addressing any coordinate, talks about two settlement areas in the inner parts of Selimiye. He speculates that the bay of Selimiye was used as the harbour of this settlement area.<sup>763</sup> Presumably, one of them, which he pinpoints as Asarcık, is the *Acropolis* lying in the west of Güncebaşı Tepe, visited during field work.

The visibility is very high at the double-topped *Acropolis*. Fortification walls, partly appearing in pseudo-isodomic ashlar masonry make their course in the N-S direction (Plate 1.1.7; A-D). The enclosed area of the Upper fortification measures about 0.02 km<sup>2</sup>, its perimeter is 880 m. The physical appearance and the positioning of the *Acropolis* is quite similar to those of some other Peraean *demes*. The lower

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<sup>761</sup> Bresson. 1991: 93.

<sup>762</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 43.

<sup>763</sup> Benter. 2010: 663.

settlement (Plate 1.1.8; A-D) lies in the east of the *Acropolis* and along a narrow valley facing Güncebaşı Tepe. A dried up water course divorces the valley into two up to the spot where the elegant constructions are visible. Typical building blocks and water features make up the bulk of ruins. Settlement terraces are both associable with dry rubble or polygonal masonry (Plate 1.1.9; A,B), and isodomic, bossaged walls. By looking at the rear façade of a sacred building affiliated with a Hellenistic inscription (possibly the temple- Plate 1.1.10; A,B,D), it was recognized that huge *in-situ* stepped blocks were used as supporting elements on the architectural features (Plate 1.1.10; C). The density of settlement increases at the upper codes of the valley where the abovementioned and below cited Hellenistic inscription (44x47 cm) dedicated to the Aphrodite cult and another inscription on which “A” sign, are visible (Plate 1.1.11; A,B). The sign might be a letter, which could have marked the gate number of a house. Behind the sacred building and its temenos wall, a rock-cut niche (Plate 1.1.9; C) on which a sculpture was presumably placed, is now disturbed.

The inscription (3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C) mentioning the Aphrodite cult<sup>764</sup> and noticeable with the reading Karneios<sup>765</sup> was detected almost in an undisturbed position during the 2010 campaign. The reading is as follows:

“X A P N E I O Σ Χαρνεῖος  
ΠΑΝΤΑΚΛΕΥΣ Παντακλευς  
ΑΜΝΙΣΤΙΟΣ Ἀμνίστιος.”<sup>766</sup>

The month Karneios was attested on Rhodian amphorae with date/month of fabrication. This name was used twice with 1.57 % among 262 stamped amphorae collections found at Rhodes.<sup>767</sup> The word was also used on one of the stamps (275-220 B.C) recorded in Labraunda.<sup>768</sup>

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<sup>764</sup> Bresson. 1991: 94.

<sup>765</sup> A sample appears on an inscription honouring a man from a Cnidian family in the temple of Apollo Karneios (*L'Année Épigraphique*), 1913, 1<sup>o</sup> Périodiques, pp.7-8 [34].

<sup>766</sup> Bresson. 1991: 94.

<sup>767</sup> Paris. 1914: 320.

<sup>768</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 113.

A small pocket plain in the lower settlement divorces the *Acropolis* from the hill at the eastern opposite. Indeed, the majority of dwellings are orderly ranged beginning from the said plain. They are scattered over the moderate slopes, creating a compact settlement around the same spot. The entire settlement extends toward Yenisarınıçdüzlüğü Location, in the northern direction. Over the extended area, additional ruins and potsherds (particularly Hellenistic and Roman coarse wares and the fragments of cooking pots, amphora bases) were observed (Plate 1.1.12; A-D). This part is accessible from the entrance of the *Acropolis* lying in the northeast where gigantic column pieces (Plate 1.1.9; D) seem to approve the case. To sum up, the ruins of dwellings are scattered across the eastern slopes of *Acropolis* and the low code hill situated at the opposite however, dense vegetation makes it difficult to access many of them. Situated inland, the location of the *Acropolis* and the lower settlement act as a natural shelter. At a much lower code, lying in the modern fields near the main road, an ancient building, probably a farmstead is recognizable with *in-situ* base walls and potsherds scatters.

In the southeast of the *Acropolis*, at the opposite side of the modern road, a watch tower situated near Tülü Tepe may mark a strategic location. It could have been in charge of guarding the ancient borders, cross-cutting the grooved terrain. On the other hand, Kayalı Bay, which is reached via a stream (Kayalı Deresi), could have been an ancient route/ runaway corridor which connected the *Acropolis* to the open sea. Lands in the environs of the *Acropolis* are quite fragmented, it is perhaps why many cisterns constructed with polygonal and isodomic walls may be found at regular intervals. To exemplify, the ruins of a farmstead with *in-situ* base walls and four cisterns found at the junction of Kızılköy-Bayır road are well recognizable. Here is a location between Hayıtlık and Eren Tepe where the alluvial lands were drilled for underground water. The route gives way to numerous pocket plains and agricultural terraces in the vicinity.

Taking into account debates based on ethnicity, the *deme* of Hygassos may be sought within the borders of modern Selimiye. Hence, theories about an ethnic group which

could have resided in the environs of the *Acropolis* may further be discussed<sup>769</sup> but shall, of course, be much more meaningful when notable evidence is found at some time in the future. On the other hand, the *Acropolis* still seems to be the most promising area for asking questions about a Peraean *deme*, theoretically Hygassos since many scholars address the possible locations approaching Syrna, Losta and even Hydas. There is no alternative but to leave the floor to future studies which are expected to proceed with the subject matter.

### 5.1.3 Syrna (Bayır)

Originally named as Su(wa)-(a)rna in the Carian language, meaning “sacred spring”, Syrna (Plate 1.2.1; A,B) lies in the greenest part of the Peraea which is quite rich in water resources like Hydas. The myth about the origin of its name is elusive.<sup>770</sup> The legend goes that Podaleirius (medical man of Achaïos of Troia) married the daughter (Syrna) of the Carian king (Damaethus) and the spouse was awarded with the Carian Chersonesos.<sup>771</sup> We can never be sure.

The *Acropolis* of Syrna is situated 2 km northeast of Bayır Village on Yancağız Tepe. The ruins of a fortification and tombstones reaching 2 m could be seen *in-situ* before 1998.<sup>772</sup> As approved from an inscription, the settlement was not large. It was limited with the settlement area around the *Asclepion*.<sup>773</sup> Some typical findings, e.g. an altar with snake decorations (Figure 5.5) contributed to the association of the settlement area with the *Asclepius* cult.<sup>774</sup> It might be a funerary altar of a certain temenos of a priestly *genos*.

A white marble inscription (200 B.C) (Plate 1.2.1; C) mentioning the list of donors to a temple has pinpointed that the *Asclepion* could have stood where the mosque of

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<sup>769</sup> Holleaux and Diehl 1885: 118.

<sup>770</sup> Umar. 1999: 201.

<sup>771</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 27-29.

<sup>772</sup> Umar. 1999: 202. Tombstones were similar to those seen in Kaletepe (1) (205).

<sup>773</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 57-58. The donation lists are comparable with Lindos and Phoenix, they changed between 200-5 drachmae (*ibid.*30-32).

<sup>774</sup> Umar. 1999: 202.



**Figure 5.5:** An Altar From Syrna (Umar. 1999: 203)

Bayır Village now stands.<sup>775</sup> As public works and modern houses swept all away, few architectural features are observable today. If replaced an original *Asclepion* or a temple dedicated to the *Asclepius* cult, the location of the modern mosque under two gigantic *Platanus orientalis* dated as being 1880 years old might be realistic for it was a general habit of constructing public buildings on already available grounds of relatively ancient buildings with already there architectural material and based on the least effort. However, such an attempt would remain as a simplistic way of interpretation unless new evidence is brought to light.

The long valley (Plate 2.1.8) stretching between Bayır and Çiftlik Bay (in the easternmost part of the scope area) is the most suitable area for agriculture within the borders of ancient Syrna. From this valley, there is a physical connection to the agricultural enclaves lying further inland, in the north where a route provides access to the plain terrains of modern Osmaniye. The Çiftlik Bay, where the mentioned valley ends, attracts attention with the ruins of a watch tower which is situated on a hill above the Ilgın Quarter. Only a large building block, perhaps Hellenistic (Plate 1.2.1; D), was observed near the modern summer houses in the mentioned quarter.

As of geographical location, Syrna is a mountainous character settlement. The rainfall regime is much more regular when compared to the other *demes* of the

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<sup>775</sup> Bean. 2000: 166.

Peraea. Almost squeezed inland, harsh topographies limit the boundaries of the *deme* with thick forests, cliffs and steep terraces. Syrna stands in the midst of a route, which is the most available and strategic line for land transportation in the Peraea. That is, the route caused by the W-E fault is the safest and shortest line for the shipment of products between Delikyol and Çiftlik Bays. Otherwise, the sea vessels have to travel all the way across the southern shores of the Peninsula.

#### 5.1.4 Tymnos (Bozburun)

The inscriptions make up the bulk of evidence for dating the *deme* of Tymnos to Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>776</sup> Early evidence from the 4<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C, appearing with the reading Τυμνία (Timbre/ Tymnia) came from Kastabos, if it mentioned Bozburun.<sup>777</sup> A decree with a constant height of letters (probably 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C) was found on the wall of a house in the downtown, in the south end of the quay. Possible altar objects depicted on the same inscription have been explained with the presence of a *ktoina*, thus addressing a *deme* and that a ritual for sacrificing on behalf of the *ktoina* could have taken place. Depending on the inscriptions, Jones assumes that a *ktoina* and *demos* could have co-functioned in Tymnos.<sup>778</sup>

What is worth further thinking about may be the inscription found in the vicinity of Cindya beginning with Τυμν... followed by a singular name as Κυλλ., perhaps Tymnessus due to a shadowed form.<sup>779</sup> That Mylasa nearby was once a dynastic center may bring to mind the genealogical imprints left over the maximum borders, far as Tymnos. But, it is very debatable (See Sub-parts 3.2 and 5.1).

Another thing to stress about Tymnos is that a *neopoiias* (sub-region governor) who was in charge of caring of a temple dedicated to Zeus and Hera could have acted there since a religious character document known as the “Lex Sacra of Tymnos” mentioned a cult activity, the facilities and banquets that were regulated by

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<sup>776</sup> Foss and Reger 2000: 948, G4.

<sup>777</sup> Bresson. 1991: 102-103.

<sup>778</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 39-40; Jones. 1987: 251.

<sup>779</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 145-146.

*hierothytes*. As conveyed, lightning was forbidden lest it endanger edifices. The caring of roofs and statues was necessary according to the ordinances on the use of cult services, sanctuaries and public buildings. Offerings after sacrificing usually took place in the temples. When not obeyed to any ordinance, a kind of reporting procedure was applied to the person who was obliged to pay 100 drachmae and have the burden of the expenses of repair or replacement. Festival(s) held on behalf of the *ktoina* could be a reason for gathering. However, Sokolowski puts emphasis on a preliminary wedding ceremony accompanied with the spirits of Hera and Zeus whose names were documented in the text. The reading “prothyein” was also witnessed in Crete and that offerings were made to Hera and Zeus before any wedding. No exact place has been fixed to a temple yet because no trace for a temenos area has been found up to now.<sup>780</sup> Zeus Kataibatas (Καταϊβάτας), as the master of the thunderbolt and the guardian of domiciles, was not foreign to Tymnos. An epitaph found on an altar mentioned him. The cult was also found in Lycia, Olympia, Thera and Tarentum.<sup>781</sup>

Referring to the Lindian decrees, the management of cults was conducted through *ktoinai*. There were two traditional ways of financing the cults; throwing the burden on “chorêgoi” (well-to-do citizens) in the form of a tax or imposing tax on the entire population.<sup>782</sup> An inscription (late 3<sup>rd</sup>- early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C) found in Rhodes mentions taxation applied for the reconstruction of public buildings following the tectonic disaster in 227 B.C. An analogy for the penalty for renewal or the replacement of public edifices so mentioned may be established with this similar reference.<sup>783</sup>

To continue with the general literature, we may have a look at the close vicinity of

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<sup>780</sup> Sokolowski. 1956: 47-50. For the discussion on official cults where Tymnos is indirectly addressed with respect to sacrifice of dogs and some others in the late 5<sup>th</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, see Vollgraf, W. 1934. “Une Offrande a Enyalios”. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 58: 138-156.

<sup>781</sup> Şahin. 2001: 74. The cult of Zeus Kataibates was evidenced in Miletus. However, the connection between Kataibates and Kataibatas is still uncertain.

<sup>782</sup> Sokolowski. 1958: 139. Further see DeProt, I and L. Ziehen 1896-1906 (Repr. 1988). *Leges Graecorum Sacrae. The Sacred Laws of the Greek City- States from the Inscriptions*. Chicago: Ares.

<sup>783</sup> Migeotte and Kontorini 1995: 621-622.

the modern settlement. An inscription was carved onto the wall of an oil press in Tepebaşı Quarter, which stands at the foot of Kaletepe (1), Tymnos. The Avlana Village situated inland, at the rear end of Kaletepe (1), revealed funerary evidence about the foreigners (Selgians and some others from the Taurus range, perhaps Cilicians) unknown to this region. Two osthotheca were recorded in Kırbaşı.<sup>784</sup> Bresson provides inscriptions with dates, particularly referring to the Selgians between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C and the people of Patara from the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C. An inscription observed on the tomb of a soldier (3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C) could have been worked around the dates of the battle against Philip V in the Peraea.<sup>785</sup> Unfortunately, almost none of the inscriptions are available since they were transported abroad. The main locations where they stood are now within the borders of the modern settlement.

During field work, three sub-regions were surveyed in the vicinity of Bozburun (Plate 2.1.9): The area lying in the west of the modern settlement stretching across the small peninsula until the Apostol (Ata(b)ol) Promontory, the site of Kaletepe (1) lying in physical proximity to Avlana Village in the northeast, and the environs of the Yeşilova Quarter whereby the modern road heads for Söğüt Village in the southeast.

The western part where two locations, known locally as Örteren (between Burgaz-Gökçeören-Kireçlik) and Üçeren (not far from Örteren, in the east of Kireçlik), are conspicuous with agricultural terraces most of which have been in use until recently. Örteren is accessible via an ancient road (Plate 1.3.1; A) which is half an hour walk from the modern jetty in the downtown. At the end of the road, many block scatters and ruins of ancient farmsteads embraced with partially abandoned agricultural terraces are visible (Plate 1.3.1; B-D). The sherds generally address Hellenistic and Roman coarse wares and amphora (Plate 1.3.2) in the environs. On the other hand, the ruins of rectangular sheep-folds attract the attention with dimensions of 13x15 m on average. The terraces (2-2.5 m wide) continue towards an

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<sup>784</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 41-42.

<sup>785</sup> Bresson. 1991: 103-106.

inner pocket valley on the western sector. This sector is better-off with alluvial grounds and multi-species products. The southern extent of the terraces overlooking the coastal band is conspicuous with coarse polygonal masonry. Observations pass on to the ruins of numerous buildings each having almost equal shares of plot and different culture strata surrounded by the orderly arranged terraces over the pocket valley (mentioned) where groundwater is available. The ancient road fades at the end of a small strait, leading the way to the same valley and making its second course toward a modern trackway passing across the middle of Üçeren location in the north. A *necropolis* area lies at the lower code of Kuştepe, in the northern tip of the mentioned strait (Plate 1.3.3; A,B). The southern part of Üçeren is impressive with agricultural enclaves. A temporary watercourse (Üçeren Stream) runs in the middle of this site. Here is a promising area for an ancient local production since a rock-cut Hellenistic/ Roman press complex lies within the borders of a farmstead (Plate 1.3.3; C,D), just near the valley through which the Üçeren Stream ran. Diler records similar evidence for oil processing in the Roman Tymnos.<sup>786</sup> Assuming the entire process, the presses were placed near a water source for easy treatment, in Caria.<sup>787</sup> Üçeren somehow vindicates the case in that the press stone recorded at the mentioned site proves parallels with the single cylindrical roller type- Roman *mola olearia*.

Spatial relations of tracts, sites and scatters<sup>788</sup> (Figure 5.6) may take us to the relationship between the sites of Örteren and Üçeren. Both are typical cases in showing the interconnectivity of fragmented lands of the Peraea, generally contributing to the agrarian background. Presumably, as two valuable sites of Tymnos, they were occupied as seasonal vineyards and orchards. Potsherds also present similarities in form and period dating back to the Hellenistic and Roman era. All are conspicuous with deep form amphorae bases, simple handles, thick-walled pithoi rims and body fragments with a combed decoration (Plate 1.3.2).

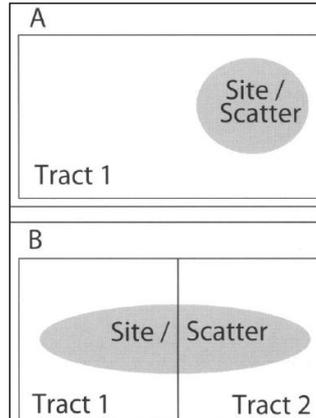
The westernmost part of the small peninsula, particularly in between Kiseli Ada

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<sup>786</sup> Diler. 2004: 57.

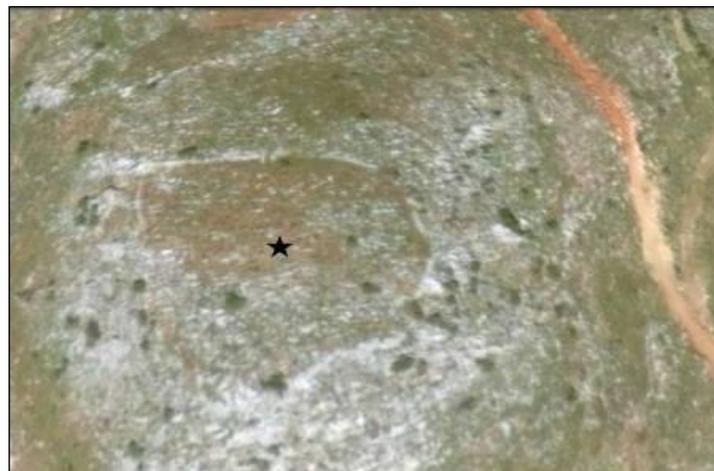
<sup>787</sup> Paton and Myres. 1898: 209.

<sup>788</sup> Tartaron. 2003: 40-41.



**Figure 5.6:** Spatial Relations Between Tracts and Site Scatters (Tartaron. 2003: 41)

(Kiseli Island), Mercimek Bay and Apostol Promontory is affiliated with late complex buildings and the wall remains of fortifications (e.g. Ayacabük Tepe, Figure 5.7) built for security concerns (Plate 1.3.4; A,B). High up and toward the northern coast (Kocabahçe), small isolated pocket plains occupied with rural buildings may need further questioning. These sites could have had a connection with Örtören (Plate 1.3.4; C,D) and Üçeren. For the entire west, the wells make up the majority of water features. Suffice it to say here that the western peninsula of Tymnos is a very promising landscape, which is expected to disclose much more for late antiquity studies.



**Figure 5.7:** Aerial View of Fortification on Top of Ayacabük Tepe

Scattered over the ridges of Kaletepe (1) which stands at the upper codes of the modern terraces of central Bozburun, numerous typical building blocks, column bases, possible storage rooms or tombs with vaulted entrances (Figure 5.8), polygonal terrace and fortification walls (Plate 1.3.5; A-D) and a watch tower at the top obviously suggest an ancient fortress settlement. An interesting piece of evidence on top of the hill is a massive flat block which looks like an altar and that it could have been used for sacrificing. Strong indications for a fortress settlement may also be backed up by clear plots of dwellings. A vast majority of potsherds (coarse wares, amphorae, pithoi) recorded during the field work suggests that the site was occupied during the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods while few sherds seem to address the Late Roman, particularly the Byzantine era. Only one of them was recorded to be a stamped amphora handle (Plate 1.3.6).



**Figure 5.8:** Storage Room or Tomb? at Kaletepe (1)

Related to agricultural activity and feeding stock, storerooms need to be remarked. These are generally found on hillsides outside the villages and were often used in the case of raids and attacks to settlements.<sup>789</sup> A typical example comes from Gerga and that such structures might have served as a *nymphaeum* or built for the deceased.<sup>790</sup> They are reminiscent of the two constructions standing on the ground level and

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<sup>789</sup> Forbes. 2007: 248-251.

<sup>790</sup> Bean. 2000: 200.

recorded in Örteren and Kaletepe (1) during field works or otherwise might be vaulted tombs but it seems far from the notion of a *nymphaeum*.

Some scholars claim that Kaletepe (1) functioned as a burial area but is never clearly associated within the settlement context. Umar notes that the Carian type burials are scattered throughout a *necropolis* area. They are placed in rectangular prism walls looking like large chests whose sides resemble pyramidal staircases and the lids are similar to those of Syrna.<sup>791</sup> Diler's report on tombs with a rectangular plan and covered with two solid blocks, and surrounded by walls (one measuring 1.30x2.10x0.42 meters) in Hellenistic Cedrae<sup>792</sup> recalls these large blocks. By looking at several tombs, the Hellenistic fortress of Teke Kale (Sub-part 3.2.1) is supposed to have sustained a small group of settlers nearby.<sup>793</sup> Parallels may be established with the instant case of this part of Tymnos since the chambered rock tombs of Teke Kale (Figure 5.9) remind of the examples observed at Kaletepe (1).



**Figure 5.9:** A Rock-Tomb from Teke Kale in Mount Latmos (Paton and Myres 1896: 259)

That the tombs of prominent individuals could have been built within the city walls in the Greek *poleis*<sup>794</sup> may encourage us to reconsider the typical blocks in different ways. On the other hand, the construction of tombs outside the settlement areas was a general routine, during the Roman period.<sup>795</sup> Shifts in the burial customs seem to

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<sup>791</sup> Umar. 1999: 216.

<sup>792</sup> Diler. 2007: 80.

<sup>793</sup> McNicoll. 1997: 41.

<sup>794</sup> Parrish. 2001: 39.

<sup>795</sup> Özbek. 2007: 267.

have occurred during the same period, in the form of cremations whereas inhumation was widely applied during the Classical and Hellenistic era.<sup>796</sup> If Kaletepe (1) was a late occupational area, it could have experienced a peak during the Roman era such that the original *deme* center of Tymnos could have shifted over time. If it was a *necropolis*, the rectangular constructions might be associated with inhumation datable to the pre-Roman periods. It may be that Avlana Village, where inscriptions were available once, could have been a core settlement which could be easily controlled from Kaletepe (1) overlooking the Bozburun Bay.

A note may be of value from the point of placement of *necropolis* during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The choice of location is rarely known to swamp areas or improper grounds.<sup>797</sup> The case of Kaletepe (1) vis-à-vis Yeşilova Quarter lying just above the sea level may apply to the mentioned case. Rather than completely associating it with a *necropolis*, however, the site may be questioned from the point of a permanent settlement (attributing various possible functions) with conspicuous architectural remains. An already available quarry, perhaps unfinished, is striking at the upper codes of the massive bedrock in Kaletepe (1). Many blocks worked out of limestone seem to relate to a quarrying activity in the upper section of the hill. It may not sound unrealistic when easy access to local stone for tomb construction (could have been extensively worked out during the Roman period) is reconsidered. Hence, one may also establish some parallels with the “remains of limestone scattered in an area which may indicate that parts of wall(s) were originally of block-built masonry”.<sup>798</sup> Kaletepe (1) will remain an enigma unless intensive research is carried out over this site.

The former Bozburun, now known as Yeşilova, must have taken its recent form by depositional affect. That is, Yeşilova Quarter which is now complemented by a small peninsula where Ada Tepe ascends, was probably detached from a small island. By name, Ada Tepe suggests a possible isolated piece of land from the coastal area.

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<sup>796</sup> Karlsson. 2008: 109.

<sup>797</sup> Özbek. 2007: 265-266.

<sup>798</sup> Bilde. 1999: 230.

Today, the ruins of two lookout posts can be found on top and along the southern slopes where visibility is quite high (Plate 1.3.7; A,B). Almost no surface material is available, however, such spots must have been used continuously through the ages. In Yeşilova, the ancient ruins are traceable in the east of the modern houses stretching to Örenyaka site which is situated across a valley. Noticeable size wells- partly in use for stockbreeding, coarse polygonal terrace walls in the modern fields and the base walls of dwellings (Plate 1.3.8; A,C) have been recorded throughout the area. A neighbouring site known as İnmaarı welcomes the debris of an ancient, *in-situ* press stone (Plate 1.3.8; B,D). Further south, known locally as “Tersane” (dockyard), ruined walls can be found around a watch tower.

Apart from the abovementioned, there is indeed one more site- Kaletepe (2) which is deemed to have acted as a patrolling station at the junction of Tymnos and Losta/Hygassos? (Plate 2.1.10). Despite a lack of satisfactory evidence, it seems to draw the limits on the natural eastern border of Tymnos. The steep hill Kaletepe (2) has an impressive silhouette, watching the Losta Bay from between 380-440 m elevations. The visibility is extremely high and it must have been used for the surveillance of the open seas as far as the Cnidian Peninsula, including the southern shores of Hydas. Constructed on a massive rocky platform, the walls worked without mortar (occasionally with large trapezoidal stones) may hide clues about a Carian touch. The entire fortified area has a special outlook with arched walls built with an elegant masonry technique (Plate 1.3.9; A-D). It consists of the ruins of the rooms that could have been used as barracks. The wall range faces the E-W direction and the gates lead the way from the east and the south. The total length of walls measures about 400 m.

### **5.1.5 Thysannos (Söğüt)**

Few discussions have been made on the original name of Saranda which is known locally as Söğüt. Halliday pinpoints “forty” that the name was used in many parts of Greece while a traditional definition is peculiar to Cappadocia where the name addressed places acknowledged as the “Caves of Forty”. The author speculates that it

could have been a base of forty robbers.<sup>799</sup> Considering numerous inscriptions and the vulnerable position to sea raids, the reference sounds quite strange.

The ancient Thysannos could be of Lelegian origin. For Uyguç, it was a Carian city or inhabited by the Lelegians. The roots may be found in writing in that “OS” is a frequently used suffix in the Aegean (e.g. Amos, Kastabos, Myndus, Sinos Schoenos, Ceramus).<sup>800</sup> Umar brings further explanations on the origins of the name that Thysannos is a Hellenic word. In fact, it comes from the Luwian language in the form of Tuwassana, meaning “double settlement”. What he attests seems persuasive since an *Acropolis* (Oyuktepe) high above Saranda Bay (modern Cumhuriyet Quarter) and the lower settlement on the coastal area (Plate 2.1.11) are clearly visible. He also mentions ruins in the southwest of Söğüt (1 km to the village center).<sup>801</sup> Bean mentions that the debris is scattered over Saranda and reports the *Acropolis* with polygonal walls,<sup>802</sup> which were probably built at different phases of the history (Plate 1.4.1; A,B). The *Acropolis* is accessible by a pathway near the modern school.<sup>803</sup> Benter conveys that the code of the settlement area is 100 m. He is probably addressing the elevation of the *Acropolis*.<sup>804</sup> Two *in-situ* cisterns stand on top of the *Acropolis*. The potsherds (particularly the amphora pieces and coarse wares), building blocks and constructions with vaulted entrances (Plate 1.4.1; D), which appear similar to those observed at Kaletepe (1), take precedence along the terraced slopes. These vaulted entrances also look like the tomb found in Geriş<sup>805</sup> (Figure 5.10).

The Promontory of Topan (Plate 1.4.1; C) splits the coastal area of Söğüt into two; Ortaca Location and Saranda where the majority of inscriptions were found. The location of Thysannos was first fixed through an inscription on an architrave detected

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<sup>799</sup> Halliday. 1912: 219.

<sup>800</sup> Uyguç. 1992: 58.

<sup>801</sup> Umar. 1999: 206-208. For Imperial inscriptions of Thysannos (193-211 A.D), see Tod, M.N. 1915. “Some Inscriptions from Asia Minor”. *The Classical Review* 29(1): 1-4.

<sup>802</sup> Bean. 1971: 161-162.

<sup>803</sup> Umar. 1999: 209.

<sup>804</sup> Benter. 2010: 661.

<sup>805</sup> Üzel. 2007: 200.



**Figure 5.10:** A View From a Tomb At Geriș (Üzel. 2007: 200)

in Ortaca. A decree (end of 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) about an unidentified association bearing the names of persons is a valuable piece of information to ask further questions about the *deme*. An exceptional area is Palamut Quarter, far up in the east of the *Acropolis*, where a dedication (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) was made in the name of a member of an unknown association. On the wall of a house in Ortaca, a plaque dedicated to Apollo Karneios (2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C/ 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D) has encouraged the scholars to reconsider from the point of relations with Lindos and/or Kamiros as the cult is not alien to these *poleis*. Many funerary inscriptions (5<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C) were found among the ruins of a Byzantine church (St. Trinite). The fragments of an inscription about the priesthood of *Asclepius* in Ortaca (4<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup>/ 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C), another one relating to a cult worshipped in the medical world of the central Peraea, have left strong doubts.<sup>806</sup> The relation to the Temple of Athena Kamiros is being discussed for this fragment. An additional fragment (probably 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C) found in Ortaca contained a long list bearing the patronymics of 155 persons, including the priests, some of which were erased. The gathering place of the locals (Söğüt Kahvesi) at the back of *Acropolis*, and some houses at the upper village revealed evidence with grey limestone blocks on which, the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C letters were diagnosed with smaller omicrons. Amongst the blocks, the mention of a name-

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<sup>806</sup> Bresson. 1991: 116-123, 127-129. The author notes that the name appearing as Εύφράνορος is frequently met in Thysannos (*ibid.*117).

Creontis presumably denoted a local deity.<sup>807</sup>

The bulk of late dedications have been reported through the funerary stelae. The dedications made by the *deme* of Thyssanonte/ the residents of Thyssanonte and the *ktoina* of “Strapiatai” in the honor of the Domitian family deserve special attention in that the *deme* system could have survived into the late periods. Moreover, a reality of the Peraea, as inspected through epigraphy, was the usage of Rhodian dialect until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. We are informed of the daughter of a *strategos* honored by the inhabitants of Thysannos for her benefactions. Likewise, a dedication made to a “stratège de la Chersonnèse” and of Syme (mid 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D) needs to be questioned within the political context.<sup>808</sup>

In the course of the 2010 campaign, much of the field work was aimed at exploring Ortaca, Saranda Bay and the *Acropolis*, however the distant locations were also visited. The Topan Promontory and the *Acropolis* behind, reveal rock cuttings and yellow ashlar walls, which are now covered by dense vegetation. There lay an oil press and a temple standing on a basilica on the shore. Quite a few roof tiles, dishes and bowls, which are supposed to have fallen off the cliff standing on a mainland, were reported from this site. The mainland is submerged about 30-50 cm. The walls of the medieval houses rest in 30 cm below the water level on the shore.<sup>809</sup> Today, potsherds one of which was a fragment of a terracotta revetment (Plate 1.4.2) and typical building blocks and wells (Plate 1.4.3; D) almost all of which are constructed at the corner of the modern orchards, can be observed along the low code slopes of Ortaca. The coastal settlement complements the fortification at the *Acropolis*. The coastal area around Topan abounds in wells, whose numbers reach up to 50 (fifty). The reused materials appearing in the form of stepped blocks can be found along the physical borders of the orchards. Degradation of land, which occurred over a terrace settlement, is traceable in the north and east of Ortaca (Plate 1.4.3; A,B), reaching the

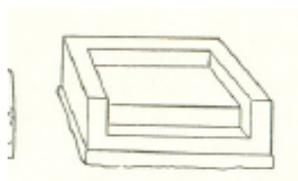
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<sup>807</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 34-39.

<sup>808</sup> Bresson. 1991: 130-134. *e.g.* A dedication (1/100 A.D) to a woman- Euphrantis- the wife of Diogenes, to the Domitian reign in the 1<sup>st</sup> century and to the royal family of Septimius Severus in 210 A.D (*ibid.*)

<sup>809</sup> Flemming et al. 1973: 50-51.

slopes of the *Acropolis*. Presumably, the lower settlement encompassed Ortaca where the highly disturbed surface materials are subject to further discussion. It is also probable that the area between Topan and the southern tip of Saranda was occupied by a wide range of dwelling quarters due to topographical constraints in the west of the village. The possible *necropolis* could have been scattered across the hilltops or the slopes thereof but the situation remains uncertain. An analogy can be made between the Geriř Tomb (Figure 5.10, see above) and the enclosed structures observed at the *Acropolis*. The most interesting evidence observed along the coastline of Thysannos were the large rectangular blocks carved in U-shape (Plate 1.4.3; C). The altars found in Tanagra (Figure 5.11)<sup>810</sup> may recall these blocks in that those observed in Thysannos could have been altars (associable with the abundance of priesthoods in the *deme*) fallen off the *Acropolis* or the slopes.



**Figure 5.11:** Sketch of an Altar Block From Tanagra (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 236)

Subject to the problem of period, the entrance of Söğüt Village- right in the northeast of Kızılyer Quarter, is occupied with many wells and associated rock-cut water features in modern terraces. The surface assemblages are generally in poor conditions due to modern works of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in this part of the village.

Situated far inland in the east, the Bahçeli Quarter is worth considering as far as the hypothetical location for an ancient settlement is concerned. Surrounded with steep hills from three directions, the basin in the north of Gökdağ is recognizable with agricultural terraces and a hill named as Üçlütepe, which almost stands in the middle

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<sup>810</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 236-237.

of the mentioned basin. A strait, reachable from the terraces, leads the way to a fortification (Plate 1.4.4; A-D), Kaletepe (3) (known locally as Korsan Kale- the Fort of Pirates) which stands in northeast of Gökdağ (Plate 2.1.12). Obviously, this site must have maintained a strategic position, overlooking the basin, but is invisible from the lower elevations. Unfortunately, no indicators for a settlement appear in the vicinity of Bahçeli however, the silhouette and the moderate elevation of Üçlütepe are comparable to that of Kaletepe (1) and the *Acropolis* (Oyuktepe). The pocket plains suitable for agriculture behind Kaletepe (3) and the inland position to stay away from the raids are promising indicators in that earlier settlements could have been there.

An additional spot is Oyuk Tepe (different than that on top of which the *Acropolis* of Thysannos stands, in the west), approximating the northern borders of Söğüt (almost mid-way between Karapınartepe and Kaletepe (3)) welcomes a watch tower situated on 636 m and that the presence of such a construction is no coincidence when the surrounding topographies in this sector are remarkably harsh. This spot could have acted as a patrolling station.

At the opposite side of Tersane mentioned in 5.1.4, a site known locally as Buhu is situated in the lowlands of Marmarcık Tepe overlooking the Söğütgelme Bay. This site discloses the ruins of a cluster of dwellings, which in fact rest near a small pocket plain. As stressed by the locals, the agricultural terraces between the mentioned plain and the coastal area in the south are suitable for olive plantation. Some modern spots, by name also relate to “olive” on the relevant maps. Along with the dwellings so stated, Buhu is a small scale settlement which unveils ancient building blocks, a broken press stone, which is now covered up with wall remains near a cistern (Plate 1.4.5; A-D), and potsherds (amphorae bases and handles, twisted handles, rims and body pieces of pithoi, coarse ware fragments). The data acquired from this isolated settlement lead to new questions on the Classical/ early Hellenistic and Roman periods. As another piece of evidence, a stamped amphora handle (Plate 1.4.6), possibly of the early Hellenistic era was recorded. The location of the ancient settlement offers invisibility from every direction, however its proximity to the

southern and northernwestern coasts of Bozburun and Söğüt, respectively, needs reconsideration regarding the political boundaries of the *demes* of Tymnos and Thysannos.

### 5.1.6 Phoinix (Fenaket/ Taşlıca)

Phoinix covers a considerable area within the borders of modern Taşlıca Village, which is quite a rocky terrain in the Peninsula. The ancient *deme* center was situated in the former Fenaket Village, which is situated about 2.5 km in the southwest of Taşlıca. According to Umar, the name of the *deme* originates from the “palm tree”.<sup>811</sup> In fact, this place has been called under various names, one of which was Rumevlek.<sup>812</sup> The Lower Fenaket, known locally as Sindili, was completely occupied by the Turkish groups until the 1950s when the Greeks abandoned the area within the process of compulsory population exchange.<sup>813</sup>

On the map (Figure 5.12) visualized by Başgelen, Phoinix and the small island on its east- Elaeoussa, are situated in the vicinity of isthmus.<sup>814</sup> Dürrbach and Radet pinpoint Phoinix as one of the main settlements in the Rhodian Peraea.<sup>815</sup> Fraser and Bean associate it with Barayüksek Dağ (Karayüksek Dağ, 536 m). Although no demotic of Phoinix has been witnessed up to now, the inscriptions have disclosed that it was a *deme* with a fortified *Acropolis* (Plates 2.1.13, 2.1.14) on top of a hill between the Lower and Upper Fenaket. The *Acropolis* could have been the center of Prinari Bay (Pınarlıbükü/ Pınarbükü, modern Gedik Bay (Plate 2.1.4)) or ancient Tlos (possibly Gelos),<sup>816</sup> which was a Hellenistic and Roman site. Foss and Reger associate Tlos with Tracheia Mountain (Koresos), however, no consensus has been reached on the exact name.<sup>817</sup> On one hand, an inscription (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C) found

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<sup>811</sup> Umar. 1999: 209.

<sup>812</sup> Burgett et al. 1984 (vol.2): 1304-1305. Rum means “Greek” in Turkish.

<sup>813</sup> Umar. 1999: 215.

<sup>814</sup> Başgelen. 2005: 20-21.

<sup>815</sup> Dürrbach and Radet 1886: 245. The definition of the site as Phenikeh (not situated on the coastline), goes as: “a egale distance des deux rivages de la peninsule, au fond d’un sorte de cirque tres encaisse” (*ibid.*246).

<sup>816</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 58.

<sup>817</sup> Foss and Reger 2000: 947, G4.



**Figure 5.12:** Location of Phoinix on Ancient Maps (Başgelen. 2005: 20)

in Lagina mentioned Tlos as the *demos* of Kamiros.<sup>818</sup> One needs to be skeptical as the pronunciation of the names might be deceptive, e.g. the two Lycian cities were “Pinara and Tlos” while we also have the names of “Prinari and Gelos” in Caria. Hypothetically, if there was a locality called Tlos or an associated ethnic, Tloioi (Plate 2.1.2) could have implied a sub-ethnic in a *territorium* whose center was Phoinix or the *deme* could have been based on the mentioned ethnic in that it could have been named thereafter.

Umar underlines that the ruins of Phoinix are scattered on Asar Tepe. They are away from the coast where few numbers of wells are available.<sup>819</sup> Regardless of period, he probably skipped the rich number of wells, which are still in use for stockbreeding, in quite south of the modern Taşlıca. Also, what he names as Asar Tepe is the *Acropolis* situated on top of Hisar Tepe since a deteriorated form of Hisar (Kale) is Asar in the local dialect. Notwithstanding, he seems to provide the most realistic attributes as many scholars have caused confusions in the wording or pronunciation up to now. It is taken for granted that the problematic side of the situation is already tackled if he is clearly identifying the *Acropolis* as Hisar Tepe.

<sup>818</sup> Aydaş. 2010: 87-88.

<sup>819</sup> Umar. 1999: 212.

Although nothing is left today, Phoinix is acknowledged to be affluent with epigraphical evidence. The use of undetermined characters on inscriptions- usually with open sigmas, implies that it was peculiar to this part of the Peraea, generally datable to the 5<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. The *deme* was diagnosed with the help of an inscription (5<sup>th</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C) found in the house of a native in the Upper Fenaket. That the name Αλεξος is rarely found on Rhodian inscriptions sheds light on the status of Phoinix.<sup>820</sup> Names marking Φοινίκη (Phoinix) are heard from a 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C inscription detected in a neighbouring site of Loryma. Small blocks (retaining names which also appeared in Rhodes) dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, were once reported from the Upper Fenaket. In the Lower Fenaket, the Aphrodite cult was verified on the wall of a private domicile.<sup>821</sup>

Up on the *Acropolis*, Dürrbach and Radet report a huge stele with numerous names on a list. These were the donors for the repair expenses of a temple dedicated to Dionysos. Amongst them, only one name belonged to the ethnic of Stratoniceia while the rest was of the same ethnic. In writing: “*Il etait situe sans dout sur l’acropole de la ville, et au-dessus du rocher ou est grave notre texte*”, the authors claim that a temple dedicated to Dionysos stood on the *Acropolis* on a rocky platform nearby the stele. Yet, it is hard to filter information from the depictions since no exact location is given in any detail. What may make sense is that the cult of Dionysos, as one of the divinities found in Rhodes, was also adopted here.<sup>822</sup> Rhodippos (the son of Nikagoras) paying 120 drachmae and Nikasagoras (the son of Boulakrines) burdening the cost for construction, were probably some notable names of the *deme*. However, the ambiguities occur on the real ethnic. An additional note that may be of importance is that a list of priests (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) was discovered nearby, in a house down the *Acropolis*.<sup>823</sup> Taking different types of masonry into account, the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C is a terminus-post quem for the fortification walls up on the *Acropolis*.<sup>824</sup>

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<sup>820</sup> Bresson. 1991: 134-135.

<sup>821</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 33-34.

<sup>822</sup> Dürrbach and Radet 1886: 256-258. Also see Shear (1913: 451-460) for corrections.

<sup>823</sup> Bresson. 1991: 139, 144-147.

<sup>824</sup> Flensted-Jensen. 2004: 1110.

Based on onomastic scrutiny, numerous funerary inscriptions found in Fenaket are now datable to the 4<sup>th</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. A dedication made to Herakles (perhaps to a magistrate) and found in Prinari recalls similar occurrences in Kamiros. The irregularities discovered in letters probably denote a late phase. In Fenaket, another inscription mentioned the inhabitants of Phoinix honoring a *metic* who financed banqueting the terrain. Rarely met in the Peraea, the *sarcophagus* of a child (still uncertain whether it be of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C/ 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D) was found in the vicinity. Revealing more about the youngsters again, a Hellenistic funerary block (250/201 B.C, 69/64/40 cm) situated on the northern walls of the *Acropolis*, is reported to bear a dedication to a winner in a sporting activity (*vainqueur à la lutte aux Pythia*), in the category of children. Accordingly, Boulakles (the son of Boulakrines), a member of a rich and influential family of Phoinix, was commemorated. A dedication (250/100 B.C) made to a *prytane* (Nikasimènés) in the *deme* of the Tloans and found in the northeast corner of the *Acropolis* states that his mission ended.<sup>825</sup> Jones underscores unique evidence about the internal organisation of the residential quarters. Accordingly, an archon was honored for constructing the dwelling area (ἀνδρών).<sup>826</sup> Also, the relations with Rhodes is somehow inferable from particular information, e.g. a philosopher of Rhodes, Airedales is now associated with the *deme* where he resided.<sup>827</sup>

About half km away from the *Acropolis*, the ruins of a Byzantine Chapel appear on a huge block of a temple, as dated to 250/101 B.C. At the entrance, up on the wall, “ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΓΕ”- APOLLO is readable. The uncertainty remains concerning the last two words in that this type of writing is neither known to be from Rhodes nor any other place familiar with the cult. Sharing the same period, the name of another divinity was inscribed on another wall echoing ΕΛΕΙΘΥΑΣ (Ilithye)<sup>828</sup>, in the same epigraphic character of Apollo. Bresson associates this cult with Artemis, which is uniquely found in Lindos. That is to say, the earliest temple of Apollo might be dated

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<sup>825</sup> Bresson. 1991: 135-139, 148, 150-153.

<sup>826</sup> Jones. 1987: 251.

<sup>827</sup> Von Gäaertringen. 1912: 236.

<sup>828</sup> Dürrbach and Radet 1886: 258- 259. The authors note that Apollo was one of the five divinities of Phoinix (*ibid.*).

to a time span between the 4<sup>th</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C, in light of the inscriptions found in Fenaket and nearby.<sup>829</sup>

The ruins scattered over the plain area of Fenaket beneath the *Acropolis* make Phoinix of value. Evidently, the *deme* must have possessed a suitable land for lavish occupation here. Umar contemplates that numerous potsherds could have belonged to the anterior districts of the *deme*. His emphasis on the remains of an *agora* with the ruins of walls between the *Acropolis* and Fenaket<sup>830</sup> is deemed crucial for reconstructing the general outlook of Phoinix (Sub-part 6.5) although there appears almost no a wall or parts thereof, currently. Hence, the problem arises with what he depicts as the exact location for the *agora*.

Hearing from the scholars up to this point, there are problems concerning the period and the manner of settlement in Phoinix. Apart from the *Acropolis* and the *chora*, basically, two more domains need to be included in the list for further study in Phoinix: the fortress settlement (Kaledağ) in the northeast of the *Acropolis* (which, Strabo mentions as the robust fortress on Phoinix Mountain) (Plate 2.1.15) overlooking Elaeoussa and a possible early inland site (Gökçalça) in the north (south of Taşlıca). The relevant evidence is provided in Sub-part 6.2.

### **5.1.7 Casarae (Asardibi)**

On the philological origins of Casarae, perhaps (M)asara, it is again Umar who makes a mark on K(uwa)-Assa(u)ra meaning Big Beautiful Village.<sup>831</sup> First discovered by Theodore Bent<sup>832</sup>, Casarae/ Casara (Καρασπεύς/ Κασασις) was first deciphered with the help of the ethnic names.<sup>833</sup>

Casarae is blocked by the mountains and has a calyx shaped harbour in the north of

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<sup>829</sup> Bresson. 1991: 137-138, 149-150.

<sup>830</sup> Umar. 1999: 212, 214-215.

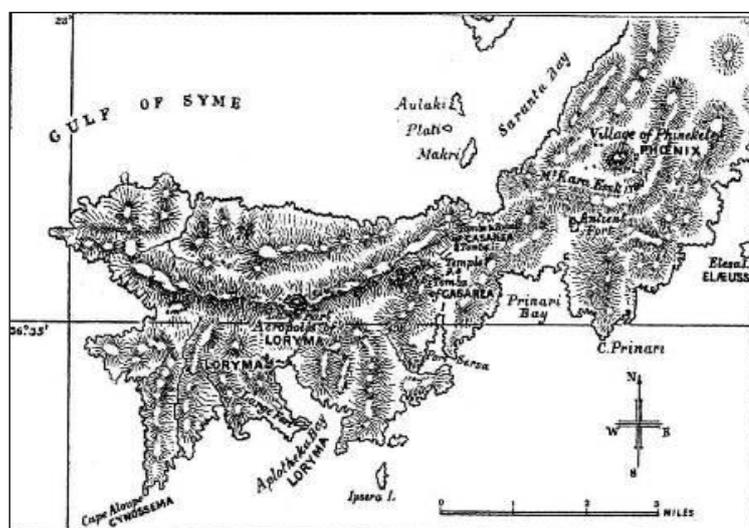
<sup>831</sup> *Ibid.* 227-228.

<sup>832</sup> Bent. 1888: 82-83.

<sup>833</sup> Dürrbach and Radet 1886: 260.

the isthmus, which has connection to a narrow valley (Figure 5.13). Hicks reports *in-situ* column bases calling attention to the remains of a temple which is full of debris around, overlooking Syme, two inscriptions and tombs in the south end of a valley and a “block of marble piled pyramid-wise” in the north.<sup>834</sup> During the field work, a stepped pyramidal block (Plate 1.6.1; D), perhaps the one mentioned by Hicks, was observed in the reported location. Today, the 19<sup>th</sup> century context is almost undisturbed. Bent<sup>835</sup> depicts the pyramidal blocks of Casarae as such:

“About an hour walk from this harbour are extensive ruins in a basin surrounded by lofty hills, and from a tombstone of the same character as those of Loryma, namely, massive monolithic pedestals cut in grades diminishing towards the summit, the highest of which was six feet, and all having a small hole or holes on the top as if they had carried a statue, we found that the place was in ancient times known as Kasarea, and taking Ptolemy as our guide we find that in his catalogue of Carian towns between Loryma and Phoenike he places Κρήσα λιμὴν.” (1888: 82-83).



**Figure 5.13:** Main Spots in Casarea (Hicks. 1889: 46)

The narrow, low code valley (Hisardibi, known locally as Asardibi) so mentioned is very advantageous for any settlement and agricultural activity (Plate 1.6.1; A) in the NE-SW axis. It is not high above the sea level (25 m on average) and the topography

<sup>834</sup> Hicks. 1889: 47.

<sup>835</sup> Bent. 1888: 82-83.

is quite mild. The Hellenistic wall remains are scattered across the valley as far as Serçe Bay- the harbour situated in the south.<sup>836</sup> A thin layer of soil and a high degree erosion effect brings to mind the terrains of the Isthmus of Corinth<sup>837</sup>

An ancient route running from the *chora* of ancient Phoinix reaches the modern road passing across Hisardibi and sharply turns back in the eastern direction. As soon as the ancient route disappears, a narrow strait leads the way to a trail heading towards the western *chora* of Phoinix. Today, the vicinity of the modern road making its course toward Serçe Bay provides partial evidence for the ancient settlement of Casarae. On the west and east of the road, it is very possible to see the surface materials; potsherds (overwhelmingly amphora fragments), a press stone (Plate 1.5.18; C), which is now broken and rests in the garden of a modern house, large *in-situ* building blocks, the stepped pyramidal block mentioned above, column bases, part of a possible architrave (Plate 1.6.1; B,C), reused blocks on the modern boundary walls of orchards and ruins of farmsteads near Serçe Bay (Plates 1.6.3 and 1.6.4; A-D).

Including the fertile lowlands stretching far as Serçe Bay, the agricultural terraces surrounding Hisardibi appear to have taken a significant role in supporting the agrarian economies within the zone of Casarae. Perhaps more significant than that, the valley is a promising area to ease land transportation and the transmission of urban services from north to south. The case is very similar to the before mentioned route (Sub-part 5.1.3) between Delikyol-Çiftlik Bays.

On settlement indicators in Casarae, weak evidence may be found at a moderate height spot (local Asartepe of Casarae) situated between Yeşilgelme and Karagelme Bays. A few building blocks, the remains of walls and a cistern lie on top of this place, which was probably used as a watch tower, overlooking Saranda, the coasts of Bozburun and the open sea in the west. Although nothing has been fully interpreted by the scholars up to now, it is one possibility that, the spot known as Hisarüstü (226

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<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.* 83; Fraser and Bean 1954: 59.

<sup>837</sup> Strabo (8.6.20-22).

m) in the west of Hisardibi could have acted as a higher settlement to which a route provides connection from the main road crossing across the valley. Almost all the sectors of Hisarüstü are surrounded by hills, barely accessible from the sea.

Not that far from Asartepe, in a modern field near the main road, a multi-chambered rectangular rock-cut complex (Plate 1.6.2; A,B) at the ground level (“without elaborate architectural façades” as was so described by Fedak in respect of subgroups of engaged rock-cut tomb types<sup>838</sup>) needs further study because it could well be a group of tombs (reminiscent of those in Amos (Figure 5.14)) or a trough. The second alternative sounds irrelevant as the ground level design appeals to a non-uniform usage. A similar structure was recorded in the courtyard of a farmstead in Phoinix (See Sub-part 6.2) and may need further investigation to fully understand the burial customs in this part of the Peraea.



**Figure 5.14:** Rock-Cut Tomb in Amos

Epigraphical evidence has contributed to the decipherment of the social character of Casarae to an extent. Hicks supposes that a broken tomb inscription found in north of Hisardibi reflects both the Carian and Greek character, perhaps marking a mixed *demos*, shown as:

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<sup>838</sup> Fedak. 1990: 20.

ΗΛΙΑΔΕΓΥΨΑΔΟΙ

Additional funerary inscriptions were detected among the ruins of a Byzantine church where the word ΑΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΑΓΗΝΑΚΙ ΚΑΣΑΡΕΩΣ (150 B.C) was readable.<sup>839</sup> Rich numbers of funerary inscriptions, also mentioning the foreign families appeal to a broad time span (5<sup>th</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C) in Hisardibi. The foreign tombs are attributable to some various ethnics, e.g. those of Seleucia, Psidia Antiochia, Laodiceia. The practice of honoring foreigners came along with an inscription that some people like “Zenon of Selge” were honored by a local *koinon*. A late (2<sup>nd</sup>/ 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D) marble block, transported during the Ottoman period and detected in Bozburun mentioned a dedication made to the cult of Euteria.<sup>840</sup> Regarding the divinities, Dürrbach and Radet report on the cult of Adonis, which was read on a complete rectangular block in Hisardibi.<sup>841</sup>

Neighbouring the Serçe Bay, the site of Loryma has drawn attraction and lead to a systematic survey in the vicinity, particularly in the last decade. This site was an arsenal and a naval base in the southern tip of the Peraea (Plate 2.1.16). Although, no demotic had been determined until recently<sup>842</sup>, a funerary inscription (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C) mentioned that it was attached to Casarae.<sup>843</sup> Relating to its function, the primary information comes from the period of the Peloponnesian Wars. Thucydides marks that when Peloponnesians anchored at Cnidus with their navy, the Athenians used the naval stores at Syme and “touched Loryma on the mainland”<sup>844</sup> and it became a shelter for the the fleet of Athenian General, Conon.<sup>845</sup>

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<sup>839</sup> Hicks. 1889: 49-50. Bent (1888) informs about an Apollo inscription on a round base column in the Byzantine church (83).

<sup>840</sup> Bresson. 1991: 153-159.

<sup>841</sup> Dürrbach and Radet 1886: 259-260. Adoption of the cult is attributable to some other Carian coastal settlements and Cyprus (*ibid.*).

<sup>842</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 59.

<sup>843</sup> Bresson. 1991: 171. Also check Chaviaras, M. and N. Chaviaras 1911. *Archaiologike Ephemeris (AE)*: 29: 56.

<sup>844</sup> Thucydides (8.43).

<sup>845</sup> Sevin. 2001: 128.

Essentially of Carian origin and now safely appointed to the modern Bozuk Village, Loryma was inhabited from the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C to the Hellenistic period.<sup>846</sup> It is situated at 270 m in the NW-SE direction.<sup>847</sup> It had a strategic importance for controlling the marine route of the Rhodians. The *Acropolis* (already available on 1:25:000 maps as shown in Plate 2.1.16), dedicated to Zeus Atabyrios in the Rhodian tradition, is an elongated two-phase fortification in the form of a garrison.<sup>848</sup> The western side was probably built by the Rhodians in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C while the opposite side was built much later.<sup>849</sup> Specific to the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the scholars identify such fortresses as a *korion*<sup>850</sup> whose polygonal walls present a semblance with those of Cedrae.<sup>851</sup>

The lower codes of the *Acropolis* are affiliated with 50 dwellings situated in a small public area. The single or two chambered houses, measuring 20 m<sup>2</sup> to 100 m<sup>2</sup>, are attributable to the Carian culture whereas the Greek type plans were possibly designed for the higher status people or administrators. The two-phased walls suggest the Archaic and Classical periods. Coarse polygonal wall series are comparable with those of the Lelegian settlements while the others developed into the early Hellenistic era.<sup>852</sup> The *agora* was possibly the political center during the Archaic and Classical periods. As acknowledged through inscriptions, the sacred area dedicated to the Apollo cult could have been the meeting place of a regional *koinon*. The Hellenistic farmsteads and the amphorae ateliers built in the *chora* address wine production and export in Loryma. Held reports a farmstead which possesses an area of 1700 m<sup>2</sup> and another rural building with a cistern, occupying 140 m<sup>2</sup>. The local Carians probably ran these facilities after 300 B.C, under the Rhodian control.<sup>853</sup>

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<sup>846</sup> Flensted- Jensen. 2004: 1109-1110.

<sup>847</sup> Held. 1999: 295.

<sup>848</sup> Bean. 2000: 167; Held. 2006: 190.

<sup>849</sup> Shear. 1913: 451-453.

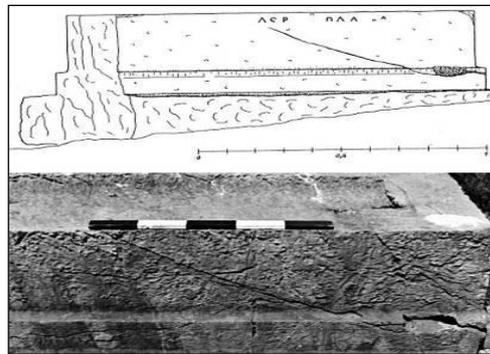
<sup>850</sup> Akalın. 2005: 77.

<sup>851</sup> Diler. 2007: 44.

<sup>852</sup> Shear. 1913: 451-453; Held. 1999: 296; Held. 2005: 88-89.

<sup>853</sup> Held. 2001: 196; Held. 2005: 90-91.

Various epitaphs suggest the 5<sup>th</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C in Loryma. Surveys carried out over the *necropolis* and the *chora* have revealed serpentine statue remains made of marble which are peculiar to Lindos quarries. Likewise, the snake figures observed on a statue are not foreign to the Rhodian tombs. Referable to a Tymian inscription, this figure has been described as the guardian of tombs. The inscriptions carved onto the facades of funerary blocks (Figure 5.15) attested numerous Greek family names as often encountered in other parts of the Peraea.<sup>854</sup>



**Figure 5.15:** Inscription From a *Necropolis* (Held. 2003: 69)

An interesting spot on a newly found early enclosure may be of importance in questioning the Carian presence in the vicinity of Loryma. The “Ringwall” type small fortress with a fair vision of Loryma Fortress and Hisardağ disclosed about five ruins along the slopes. The relevant evidence addressing the Archaic and Hellenistic eras once again forces us to think about the earliest settlements in the south of the Peraea. An additional remark also needs to be made for an early Hellenistic *neoria* in the west.<sup>855</sup>

Regarding Casarae, there is another site, now a dried up lake which is known locally as Kiran (Figure 5.16). Reminiscent of Loryma walls of the second phase, the debris of a Classical and theatre-like building lies in the vicinity. This site hosted an altar

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<sup>854</sup> Held. 1996: 175; Held. 2000: 153; Held. 2003: 61-84.

<sup>855</sup> Held. 2002: 294-297.

during the early Classical or Archaic period.<sup>856</sup> Kıran and its temenos are affiliated with a harbour, in the north. Notable evidence pertains to rectangular buildings with press beds for olive and small enclaves in Buğday İnceği, a *necropolis* with the pyramidal tomb stelae and stamped amphorae addressing the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C. The walls of theatre-like building looks like the one in Kastabos, and particularly Amos (Figure 5.17; A), whose masonry technique is of the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The sacred area lying on a rocky platform in the east of the theatre reflects the Cycladic architecture of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C while the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C sherds can be diagnosed with red figure kraters.<sup>857</sup> A pathway runs from Kıran and reaches the coastal area at Hıdırlık location. Between these two, press stones and stepped pyramidal blocks are observable. Kuban and Saner make a stress on the possibility that the stepped blocks could have been used as tomb bases for the Hekatompedos and the associated altar. The entrance of a building rounded from the top in the northern sector of a street is shown in (Figure 5.17; B). The authors inform us of another site called Kumalanı, which is still undated but noticeable with circular steles. Here is a plain settlement which is suitable for agriculture and easily watched by a hill (local Asar Dağ), namely Hisardağı. There must have been a connection between Kıran and Hisardağı.<sup>858</sup> The fortification on top of Hisardağı is clearly traceable in the aerial views. Leaving the problem of period aside, it could have been part of the defensive network within which Loryma also acted. Reachable via a road network from the north and south, Hisardağı offers a good visibility over a wide area.

## 5.2 Territorial Boundaries

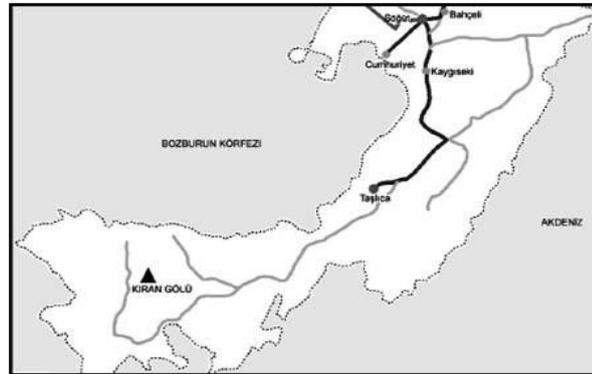
Since Caria, like many contemporaries, has always been problematic in assigning political borders to any type settlement which overlapped over time, it is a difficult task to determine the exact territories of then Peraean *demes* when the real coordinates of the former Chersonessian settlements prove futile. Also, recent

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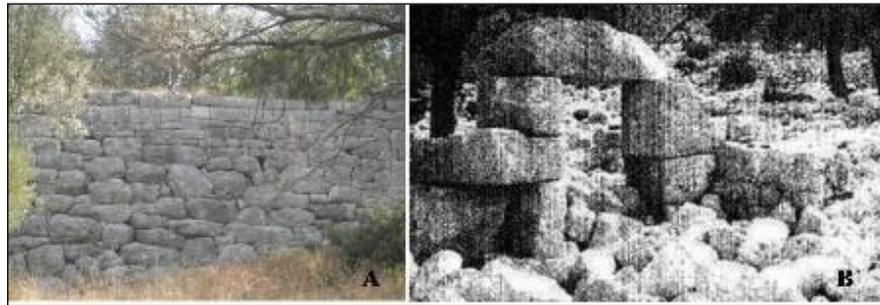
<sup>856</sup> Held. 2005: 91-93.

<sup>857</sup> TAY. 2007 (vol.7).

<sup>858</sup> Kuban and Saner 1999: 287-289; Kuban and Saner 2005: 401. The authors use “Asar Dağ” instead of the official name- Hisardağı in this part of Casarae. They must be mentioning the same location.



**Figure 5.16:** Location of Kiran Lake (TAY. 2007: vol.7)



**Figure 5.17:** Walls of Amos Theatre (A); Entrance of A Building At Hıdırlık (B) (Kuban and Saner. 2000: 167)

pastoral economies which aimed at grazing flocks until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, make the situation worse,<sup>859</sup> however, the essential criterion for an estimation is based on the relevant data acquired through recent surveys. On one hand, all types of inscriptions are valuable in estimating the original boundaries of the *demes*. The places which are poor of survey data or excavation have been reconsidered according to the content and location of epigraphical material, and obviously the notes of ancient writers.

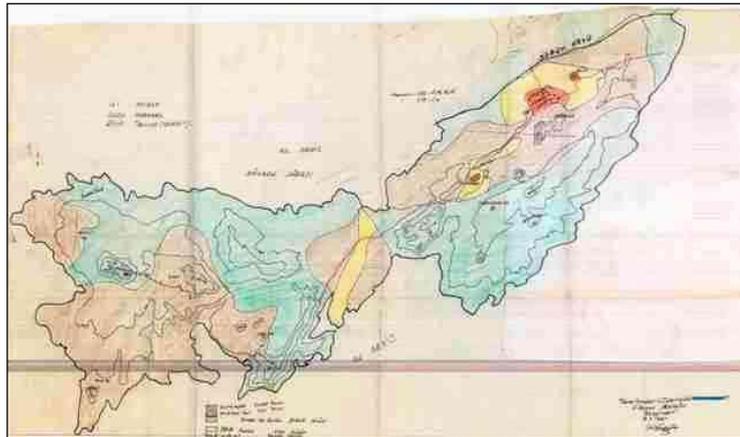
The *demes* were territorial organisations. *Horus* addressed the territorial borders or the division lines between land shares. Notwithstanding, a statement about the boundaries of κτοίνα<sup>860</sup> is rarely found elsewhere. Peraea is not that lucky in this

<sup>859</sup> Bradford. 1956: 173.

<sup>860</sup> Gardner. 1885: 255.

sense, either. It is one assumption that the boundaries could have been designated according to geographical attributes, as modern practices well support the issue. When the ethnic divisions are taken into account- though a difficult task to tackle, the maps supplied by Meyer and Bresson (Plates 2.1.2, 2.1.4) are a reference for making rough estimations based on the influential sphere of *trittyes* which made up the *demos* of the Chersonesioi. Hence, the first method is the compilation of live data, a recheck on the geographical borders and the domain area of sub-regional Carian *koinons*.

The Annals published on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Turkish Republic show the administrative divisions of the Peninsula, covering Turgut, Selimiye, Bayır, central Bozburun, Söğüt and Taşlıca.<sup>861</sup> This makes the situation noteworthy because the general picture implies that the boundaries were drawn according to the geographical properties all over the Peninsula. Moreover, the modern boundaries acquired through the materials (dated to 1981) supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture support the divisions mentioned above, with the exception of Taşlıca which also covers Bozuk Village, namely ancient Casaræ (Figure 5.18).

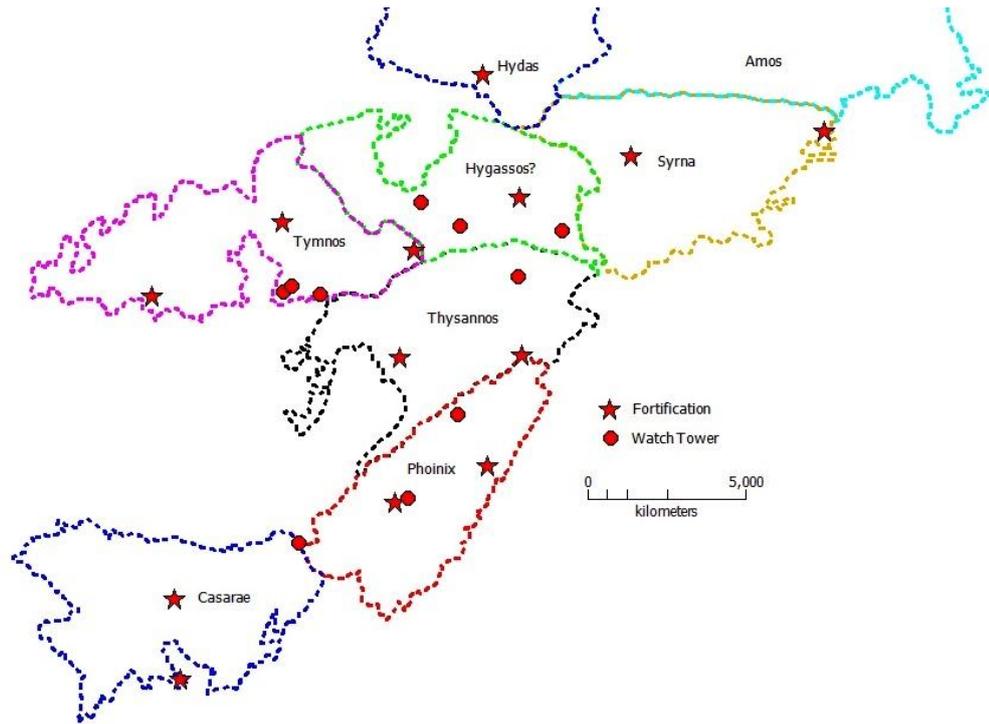


**Figure 5.18:** Territorial Boundaries of Modern Taşlıca (*The Ministry of Agriculture. 1981*)

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<sup>861</sup> Muğla 1973 İl Yıllığı: 97. The density of population nearly appears zero in 1973 (*ibid.*71).

The map below (Figure 5.19) shows what is considered to be the approximate position of the Peraea unless each *deme* interrupted another or aspired for the other, in part or in full.



**Figure 5.19:** *Deme Borders in the Peraea*

### 5.3 Estimation of Size

As the *demes* were politically treated on an equal basis<sup>862</sup>, the general tendency towards questioning size in this piece of land applies to egalitarianism, keeping in mind that the special circumstances could have prevailed in antiquity. On one hand, ATL is merely a starting point to help figure out the size of settlements in Caria to an extent.<sup>863</sup> For instance, Amos, whose size is still unknown, was only registered once

<sup>862</sup> Held. 1996: 172.

<sup>863</sup> Nixon and Price 1990: 137.

but identified as a *polis* in ATL, through ethnicity. If her status was to do with size, the complementary urban element- its theatre would be the supporting criteria. Based on the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C funerary inscriptions traced out of the fortified area, it was probably much bigger including the *Acropolis*.<sup>864</sup> Likewise, the hinterland of settlements need to be taken into account, e.g. the Classical and Hellenistic *deme* of Amnistos situated between Physcus and Cedrae has a 800 m wide valley which continues 3 km from the coastal area<sup>865</sup>, the entire Chalke measures 29 km<sup>2</sup> in size<sup>866</sup>, the territory of Classical and Hellenistic Idyma reached 3-4 km from the coastal area to a mountain<sup>867</sup>. The Carian Chersonesos was treated as a *polis* in 400 B.C but the full size is still undefined.<sup>868</sup> An aspect from the Peraean side may be that “*isolated settlements may continue to exist on abandoned sites, and these may leave casual records such as grave monuments. .... Even within a city area or otherwise limited size may provide a terminus of some sort or another.*”<sup>869</sup> Hence, potential limits on the *demes* may be offered for discussion even though the Peraea maintained a rural character over ages.

Unless there is method, it is vain to question size.<sup>870</sup> The methodology applied by Blanton in the recent Gazipaşa (western Rough Cilicia) survey (7.2.3) is inspiring under the purposes of this study. Meaningful statistics were obtained by dividing the entire size of the area “*by the number of centers to get an average value of territory size of each region*”. For five settlements, the mean value occurred as 215 km<sup>2</sup> for the early Roman period. The city hinterlands were quite small (around 21 km<sup>2</sup>) whereas for those having a “community pattern”, this value was calculated as 36 km<sup>2</sup> for three centers.<sup>871</sup>

Few results have been conveyed from the north, middle and south of the Peraea.

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<sup>864</sup> Flensted- Jensen. 2004: 1111, 1117, 1123.

<sup>865</sup> TAY. 2007 (vol.7).

<sup>866</sup> Papachristodoulou. 1999: 40.

<sup>867</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 68-70.

<sup>868</sup> Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1325.

<sup>869</sup> Woodhead. 1967: 52-53.

<sup>870</sup> Corbier. 2000: 226.

<sup>871</sup> Blanton. 2000: 67-68.

According to Benter, Hydas covers an area of 3.5 ha, including the *Acropolis* and the residential quarters enclosed with Cyclopean? walls while the entire settlement of Thysannos measures 8 ha.<sup>872</sup> Held conveys that Loryma encompasses an area of 16 ha including the *Acropolis*. He later renews his statement to about 7 km<sup>2</sup> including the *Acropolis*, *necropolis*, Hellenistic harbour and 18 farmsteads recorded in close vicinity.<sup>873</sup>

The figures mentioned above are generally based on the *deme* centers mastering a fertile land or an optimum catchment area. As no promising research has been conducted in detail for each *deme*, this study shall endeavor to make estimations on the territorial size in consideration of the geographical limits and the sphere of influence, under a very macro perspective. Treated as a *polis*, the entire Peraea (including those left out of scope) is normally expected to have measured a moderate size of 200-500 km<sup>2</sup> but is certainly not very large based on the territorial criteria (Sub-part 4.1).

The Incorporated Peraea was made up of 10 (ten) *demes* (Sub-part 2.4)<sup>874</sup> covering an area of 300 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>875</sup> When Blanton's method<sup>876</sup> is applied to the Peraea and is reinforced by the idea of democracy that there was a general habit of distributing land on an equal basis in the ancient world, the mean value of the average size of the *demes* (regardless of period) comes out as 30 km<sup>2</sup>. The areal calculation of the territorial boundaries (See Figure 5.19) through GIS gives the estimations (Table 5.3) which approximate the mean value stated above. In brief, the smallest value attained (Hydas disregarded) is 28,24 km<sup>2</sup> which corresponds to Phoinix whereas the greatest value is 35,28 km<sup>2</sup> which is of Tymnos, within the scope area. Note that the missing parts of 1/25.00 maps relate to the rest of Hydas and Amos so no approximate estimation is further tried but rather the minimum value is given for each.

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<sup>872</sup> Benter. 1999: 308 (Excluding the Acropolis, the core area of Hydas measures 350x200 m<sup>2</sup> (*ibid.*)); Benter. 2010: 661.

<sup>873</sup> Held. 1999: 295; Held. 2006: 187-197.

<sup>874</sup> Gabrielsen. 1999: 20.

<sup>875</sup> Held. 2005: 86.

<sup>876</sup> Blanton. 2000: 67-68.

**Table 5.3:** Estimated Territorial Size of Peraean *Demes*

<i>Deme</i>	Territorial Size
Hydas	> 11,90 km <sup>2</sup>
Syrna	35,28 km <sup>2</sup>
Losta/Hygassos?	27,26 km <sup>2</sup>
Tymnos	35,17 km <sup>2</sup>
Thysannos	31,91 km <sup>2</sup>
Phoinix	28,24 km <sup>2</sup>
Casarae	34,87 km <sup>2</sup>

#### 5.4 Estimation of Function and Land Use

As long as functions are discovered, elaborations on the land use in the Peraea can be made. In both, there is need to primarily focus on the economic evolutions, particularly of the Hellenistic period, as put forward by the recent surveys. Banking on the relevant evidence (accessible via hinterlands) given for each *deme* through Sub-parts 5.1.1-5.1.7, that is to say that all of them were economy-oriented in the first instance. The fertile areas compatible with topography and the land over which a wide spectrum of products were grown, were, without doubt, the most favourable. However, the territories where internal relief is quite high have to seek alternative ways of cultivation. Evidently, the main agricultural areas lie between Losta/Hygassos? and Phoinix. The terracing activity seems to have constituted the essential type of occupation in the Peraea.

In ancient systems, the selling or transfer of land by a tenant was normal except holding ownership. Evidence extends to Egypt where 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D papyrological sources well illustrated the organisation of estates in the Fayum village of Tebtynis. The entrustment of plots by their owners to *phrontistai*, who were in charge of the management of land on a contractual basis, required a wide spectrum of tasks such as

the maintenance of irrigation works, fertilizing activity, the hiring of shepherds, burdening the payment of all kinds of labourers, keeping formal papers like lease agreements, etc. The point is, *phrontistai* had to create a surplus as well as maintaining self-sufficiency in any kind of production at their own expense. Exceptions could be that they could outsource non-agricultural works to the villagers, e.g. ordering wine containers, weaving, pressing, grinding. Hence, the organisation and management of land could reveal different models and that there was no single norm for all.<sup>877</sup> Regarding the extensive agrarian activity, Amos is a perfect case to obtain information from the leases dated to 200 B.C.<sup>878</sup> although some scholars characterize it as a base for piracy at Asarcık Hill.<sup>879</sup> Valuable evidence comes from a text which disclosed the general instructions about the leasing of land (339/8 B.C) on certain conditions and that the lessees were the *demesmen* as members of an organisation.<sup>880</sup> Three stelae found at the upper terrace of Amos theatre and numerous verbatim recurrences unveiled complete provisions for doing agriculture. It has become evident that the Amians were the lessors of properties which were owned by the temples. The Rhodian check was there in the course of appreciation of terms and conditions of the leases. Although the *koinon* of Amians was the joint lessors, the direct control of the temple inventory by the so-called *hieromnamones* was subject to limitation.<sup>881</sup> Lease was granted for crop vines and figs provided that trees had to be planted but wood-cutting was strictly limited. There was no allowance for the removal of manure, either.

The habit of buying land by temples has also been proven on Mylasa inscriptions.<sup>882</sup> The duration of leasing varied from ten years to lifelong in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Leasing small plots was common and they could cover an area of 1.8 and 0.7 ha.<sup>883</sup> The temples were active in depositing cash and acting as treasury mechanisms until

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<sup>877</sup> Aubert. 2001: 102-103.

<sup>878</sup> Köktürk and Milner 2003: 134.

<sup>879</sup> Bayrak. 1994: 495.

<sup>880</sup> Jameson. 1982: 71-72.

<sup>881</sup> Fraser and Bean 1954: 6-12, 14, 19.

<sup>882</sup> Dubois and Hauvette-Besnault 1881a: 107.

<sup>883</sup> Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 282-284.

the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C in Rhodes.<sup>884</sup> The appointment of ownership to temples in the Amian territories automatically diverts the attention to the two gigantic farm complexes recorded in the *chora* of Phoinix. One standing in proximity to Gedik Bay bears an identical architecture with that of the Apollo Temple (See Sub-part 6.2). If, at least one of them belonged to a temple, a notable land for cultivation could have been at the ownership of prominent posts in the Hellenistic period. In line with the matrix of provisions on land leases shown by Osborne for the Classical and Hellenistic era, the Peraea could have conducted similar lease agreements under the directorship of the “community” which had the right to state the cultivation regime.<sup>885</sup>

At times of peace or war, providing surplus or not, leasing with the permission of an authority or cultivating under a different context or the feeding potential of a region is inseparable from the logistic function. The Peraea lay at one of the vital junctions of the Mediterranean traffic, so it must have been quite familiar with maritime activity. A possible naval base for Rhodes was Cedrae where the demographic composition revealed Carian traits.<sup>886</sup> Two ancient harbours were discovered in Bybassos, kilns were used for pottery manufacturing in the northern valley, not far off the coastal area.<sup>887</sup> The positioning of the ateliers could have facilitated the transportation networks of the Peraea from the northern direction via harbours. As of geographical properties, the case of Bybassos brings to light the settlement patterns linked to trade function and the urban services in the Peraea to a certain extent. Likewise, particularly Hydas, Syrna, Losta/Hygassos?, Phoinix and Casarae could have held advantageous positions for the domestic or foreign transmittal of goods and services. Even today, carrying fodder, water and various staff with the donkeys is the mostly widely applied form of transportation between Fenaket and Taşlıca. Nowhere in the Peraea is so specialized in such activity.

For Held, wine was probably the most valuable product in the Carian

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<sup>884</sup> Fraser. 1972: 118.

<sup>885</sup> Osborne. 1987: 43.

<sup>886</sup> Diler. 2007: 30; TAY. 2007 (vol.7).

<sup>887</sup> Held et al. 2009: 216-217; Held et al 2010: 327.

Chersonesos<sup>888</sup> so a great deal of land was reserved for the agricultural terraces. Overwhelmingly bound with agriculture, the economic concerns and trade patterns are best reflected by stamped amphorae<sup>889</sup> in the Peraea. Round and deep base forms introduced so far (see Figures 3.9, 3.10) diverted the interest to discover more in the scope area during field works. Tymnos, Thysannos and Phoinix are now some of the main *demes* which offer distinguished samples. One issue should not be left out when inquiring about Peraea's involvement in the amphora industry. Obviously, the vast majority of the stamped Peraean amphorae are roughly datable to the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. Although no systematic survey (at least not very specific) limited to Peraean unstamped amphorae handles have been conducted up to now, we may be inspired by the declining figures of similar Coan amphora beginning from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C under the Roman rule (Sub-part 2.5). Although such cases are very open to debate, part of unstamped examples found during field works might recall a possible continuation of amphora production in the Roman times under altered circumstances. However, we must definitely remain skeptical.

The Peraea is a land of limestone whose infertility comes out with strip of flysch full of sandstone on which barley, wheat and rye can grow. It is a zone for raising sheep, goat and cattle, as well.<sup>890</sup> Except for the western side, which seems more suitable for seasonal cultivation and horticulture, Tymnos appears to have maintained a somewhat specialized position in stock breeding as numerous remains of sheep-folds catch the eye with some notable dimensions. Phoinix, in particular could have been familiar with grazing, where numerous trails have connection to the land suitable for pasture the majority of which has been exposed to degradation. However, the foremost function was running an economy based on agriculture and perhaps trade. In connection with outcrops of seemingly limestone, Kaletepe (1), if not any other, could have contributed to quarrying as well as grazing in which case *eschatia* is a usable word for its eastern territories.

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<sup>888</sup> Held. 1999: 296-297.

<sup>889</sup> Rauh. 1999: 163.

<sup>890</sup> Braudel. 1972: 42.

A preliminary condition for the sustainability of economies and a well-established trade is driven by security concerns. Apparently, the robust *korion* in Loryma was in charge of defence, watching the open waters and keeping close contact with Rhodes. Hence, taking into account the ancient farmsteads reported from the vicinity of Loryma, Casarae could have had a double function in terms of defence and the agrarian economy. A third function may be asserted by running an eye over the northern sectors. Kiran was presumably used as a gathering place for political and religious purposes.<sup>891</sup> What makes it a distinguished site by now seems that it could have been a meeting place for the local *koinons* in the Peraea. On the other hand, Diodorus declares Kastabos<sup>892</sup> as a meeting place in the Chersonesos. A mention of Tymnians, Hygassians and Amians may force us to rethink that it could have served the regional *koinon*. This could well be true if we pay attention to the theatre rarely found in the Peraea and the Sanctuary of Hemithea. However, it is still difficult to make an assertion on the political preferences of the Peninsula as shifts may have occurred over time.<sup>893</sup> Additional comparative evidence needs to be brought or referred in order to comprehend the status of sacred Kiran situated in the *chora*. Anyone who looks at the ritual territories of Sparta may discover that the sanctuary of Apollo in Thornax was situated in the *chora*, almost similar to Kiran.<sup>894</sup> Such cases tell us something unusual: the extra-urban sanctuaries could have marked the “extent of the *chora*”.<sup>895</sup> Casarae could have functioned as a special area for the community cult.

From a divergent perspective, certain *demes* could have acted as the land of social attraction. For Thompson, the isthmuses were deliberately occupied by those who accumulated wealth in later times.<sup>896</sup> A legendary place like Corinth situated on the Isthmus and mastering the two natural great harbours eased maritime traffic by providing the passage for fleets which would find the shortcut between Asia Minor and the western Mediterranean, even “by land in and out of the Peloponnese”. The

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<sup>891</sup> Kuban and Saner 1999: 289; TAY. 2007 (vol.7).

<sup>892</sup> Diodorus Siculus (5.62).

<sup>893</sup> Held. 2005: 91-93.

<sup>894</sup> Cavanagh. 2000: 113.

<sup>895</sup> Ainian and Leventi 2009: 230.

<sup>896</sup> Thompson. 2007: 342.

importance of the isthmus, measurable with the number of goods travelled, might go back to the Mycenaean Age but the volume of traffic is generally claimed for the 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Previously acknowledged with Bacchia tyrants in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C, she was an active member of the Peloponnesian League in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The wealth of Corinth also finds room in the passages of literary sources where she is acknowledged with revenues earned from visitors during the “Isthmian Games”.<sup>897</sup> With such a favourable position, the volume of commerce is not that hard to guess. When a huge number of uniform shaped 5<sup>th</sup> century amphorae deposits was uncovered sometime in the 1980s and petrological analyses were made, the results were consistent with the local products of a site/sites situated near the Atlantic coast, possibly from Spain or Morocco.<sup>898</sup> Considering the opportunities easily acquired by isthmuses, the advantage offered by Hisardibi, perhaps partly interrupted by Phoinix, brings to mind the complementary side of the economic interests and religious life whether it be late or early. The habit of financing festivals by the wealthiest portion, though needs to be supported with good evidence, might be linkable with the cultic practices whose expenses could have been born by, e.g the southern *demes* of the Peraea.

The Peraea functioned as a buffer zone in the midst of Rhodes and the neighbours. As the coastal area was the most vulnerable to raids, it must have encouraged the Peraeans to plan a compact network of watchposts on high platforms. Built “urban” areas do not lie far off the secure zones, even inland. They appear in the form of various types of buildings; the fortification walls placed on top or around an *Acropolis*, the dwellings generally scattered across a lower settlement, the public edifices like temples and *agoras* and harbour facilities. The other “built” category which covers the elite dwellings, farm complexes and workshops affiliated with water features seems to have exploited the greatest percentage of land in the *chora* since these are primarily engaged with an agrarian economy. However, the bulk of land is either waste or suitable for grazing.

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<sup>897</sup> Thucydides (1.13.5); Pausanias (2.1.7); Salmon. 1984: 55-56, 250-380.

<sup>898</sup> Maniatis et al. 1984: 205.

Osborne's emphasis that the burials were prohibited on the leased land in the Greek world<sup>899</sup> may be of significance in reconsidering the land reserved to funerary structures in the Peraea. The *necropolis* was designed parallel to hilly zones in Loryma.<sup>900</sup> The situation is more or less observable in Tymnos and Phoinix that special land was reserved to the deceased. In fact, the *necropoleis* or isolated tombs make up a small percentage, either traceable in the *chora* or at moderate distances to the *deme* centers.

### 5.5 Organisation of *Demes*

Lying in the north and the east of two *poleis* (Cnidus and Rhodos), the entire Peraea corresponded to a *polis* but the distant case was that it did not possess a single "centre".<sup>901</sup> The practices of administration could have been similar to those of the "loose ethnic confederation" of the Boeotian Federation.<sup>902</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros puts emphasis that the Carian Chersonesos possessed two centers.<sup>903</sup> Benter leaves a firm mark that decentralization prevailed in the Peraea. Notwithstanding, an exception could be Thysannos. On the other hand, he puts emphasis on a political and religious league- an *Amphiktyone* whose center could have been Kastabos.<sup>904</sup> It seems that the author bases his first argument on the vast agricultural hinterland and the advantageous geographical position in Thysannos. However, if the sizes provided in Sub-part 5.3 (Table 5.3) are correct, Syrna, Tymnos and Casarae seem to have been rivals (in terms of size) regardless of the *deme* centers and topographical advantages for agriculture. Except administrative decentralization, there is no reason why potential sites, basically Kiran or any other yet undiscovered in the south, served as a center for the social league of the Peraea.

The Peraea was organized under a strong network of the *Acropoleis* which enabled access to the sacred areas, bays and usually a harbour. Apart from Hydas, Benter

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<sup>899</sup> Osborne. 1987: 43.

<sup>900</sup> Held. 2000: 154.

<sup>901</sup> Held. 2005: 86.

<sup>902</sup> Snodgrass. 2000: 12-13.

<sup>903</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros. 1997: 128.

<sup>904</sup> Benter. 2010: 660-662.

indicates 18 (eighteen) more fortifications with lower settlements. Unfortunately, he does not state explicit names. A common aspect regarding the settlement areas is that they were subject to control by an associated *Acropolis*. Some are situated on a hill slope and enclosed with walls.<sup>905</sup> The *Acropolis* network of the Peraea is well traceable from inland to the coastal region. In line with what has been mentioned above, the Peraea is a product of careful planning, highlighted with similarly designed enclosures that are positioned at regular intervals (Figure 5.19), having high visibility. The additional forts and/or watch towers are situated on the territorial borders mastering the entire land to the maximum extent.

It is difficult to come up with firm statements on the fortress gates. However, a few of them were observed to be undisturbed with clear points of entry which all lie in the northeast. The gates are accessible from the most suitable topography, however, they are invisible enough to be alert against and to stay away from an immediate attack. The entries immune to attacks are generally found in the inland Peraea where the best example is Asarcık (Losta/ Hygassos?).

The network (Figure 5.19) of a robust Peraean defense system is discussable in terms of the function of fortifications. In other words, two types of fortifications are subject to debate. The first group includes those directly missioned for controlling the *deme* center, within the administrative context. The public buildings most probably stood on top of them. The fortified *Acropoleis* on Asarcık (Losta/ Hygassos?), Kaletepe (1), Oyuktepe (Thysannos), Hisartepe (Phoinix), perhaps Hisardağı (Casarae) relate to the mentioned category. Oriented toward defence, the second group is attributable to the military structures having the highest visibility. Regardless of period, but presumably of strategic importance and probably occupied before the Hellenistic era, the military forts located within the borders of Tymnos (Kaletepe (2)), Thysannos (Kaletepe (3)), Phoinix (Kaledağ), Casarae (Loryma) catch the eye on the highest codes (except the elevation value of Loryma fortress) of the *demes* (Appendix A (Settlement Matrix Table (Peraea))). Something common with such forts is that they

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<sup>905</sup> Benter. 1999: 308; Benter. 2010: 660-662. The author asserts that 12 settlements reveal Cyclopean architecture (*ibid.*).

have a capacity to lodge about 50 military personnel on average. Certain *demes* reveal evidence for both contexts, clearly observed in Tymnos, Thysannos, Phoinix and perhaps Casarae.

The orientation of the *demes* is completely affected by topographical constraints and Syrna, Tymnos and Phoinix take the foremost seat. The impact of the environment is seemingly felt on the positioning of the *demes* and the overall design of the Peraea. The habitats in proximity to water resources or corridors giving way to coastal outlets were preferred. It seems that the location and territorial size of each individual *deme* ensured self-sustained growth as substantial *komai*. A moderate distance to the nucleated settlements within the *deme* network was the basic idea to leave enough space for each other however the bulk of land was exploited by a rich number of second order settlements which had easy access to a main route, unlike Sparta.

In general, the majority of settlement clusters are concentrated around the land suitable for terracing, except in a few cases (Plate 2.1.17). It is almost the same case, today observed for the terraces and the sloping territories of the Peraea that the ancient boundaries of cultivated areas fade near the steep slopes where the character of soil and hillside changes. Moreover, the “distance between parallel lines of terracing is not constant due to gradient affect”. As understood from vertical photos, earthen terraces are generally distinguishable with their average height (5 feet) from those marked with white stone lines. Briefly, the “Classical hands could have shaped the origins of the organized layout” at Rhodes<sup>906</sup> while the ultimate silhouette of the Peraean *demes* could have emerged in the early Hellenistic period. Placing new terraces over old the ones was often applied in Attica. Parallel banks of the earth set for terracing down to the sea offers similarities for the Peraean way of shaping land. Continuous ploughing might be the answer for the creation of parallel lines on the agricultural land as observed, e.g. all over Phoinix.<sup>907</sup>

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<sup>906</sup> Bradford. 1956: 174-180.

<sup>907</sup> *Ibid.* 178-179. Similar patterns can be seen in Delos, Turkey, Syria and Israel (*ibid.*).

Referable to before mentioned instances but disregarding the type of production in Lassithi and Paros (Sub-part 4.2), two very general patterns of settlement are traceable throughout the Peraea: the inland and coastal *demes*. The inland *demes* seem to have exploited the resources of mountainous zones while the coastal *demes*, striking with patchy patterns stretching across the undulated topographies, must have enjoyed wider access to marine and hinterland resources at the same time. In both, the lowlands are associable with the *deme* centers to the maximum extent while the pocket plains, which have connection to the *deme* centers, are attributable to the *chora*. Syrna is completely a mountainous settlement whereas Phoinix is acknowledged with the coastal zone. The basin model seems to fit to Syrna and partly to Thysannos. Situated amongst the hilly topographies, Losta/Hygassos? is also striking with its inland positioning and exhibits a compact design scattered over a limited topography. On the other hand, Hydas, Tymnos and Thysannos may be nominated for the coastal/ quasi-coastal settlements. The *demes*, which have easy access to the coastal band, give the impression for a lavish outlook. However, Thysannos reveals a much dispersed pattern.

The Peraea fits to a *chora* system within which the *deme* centers were complemented with secondary order settlements.<sup>908</sup> Parallel to the idea, it is not unusual that Benter undscores a two-tiered settlement system. He is agreeable that the *deme* centers address first order settlements whilst the single farmsteads or the clusters of dwellings out in the *chora* are incorporated into the second level associable with lower elevations near the valleys or patrolling stations.<sup>909</sup> In respect of the hierarchy of settlements, the author needs to be backed up as the *Acropoleis* and lower settlements complement each other in terms of physical and physiological outlook in the scope area. Meanwhile, the lower settlements could have emerged due to various reasons however, relatively safe conditions of the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic era seem to have been a motivating factor. Despite problems with dating of the ancient and modern terraces, small scale Hellenistic enclaves rankable under second or third order settlements lie on the moderate codes in proximity to the plain areas. Hence,

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<sup>908</sup> Held. 2005: 86.

<sup>909</sup> Benter. 2010: 660-662.

whether they are small scale or large, they make up the sporadic silhouette but could have been differently expressed under specific conditions.

It is possible that the pre-Hellenistic settlements lay on relatively steep locations. Some of them were probably situated on the already stated *Acropoleis*, which give the impression to have been replaced by the new administrative elements in the course of the Hellenistic period but the regular domiciles of the lower settlement, under the absolute control of a central authority, might not have gone far (e.g. Loryma). Whether they were inland or coastal, the possible early sites (Plate 2.1.18) recalling the Carian elements were detected in the inner coordinates of the *demes*, during field work. In Losta/Hygassos?, Thysannos and Phoinix, these potential sites are embraced with terraces worked out over the most suitable land. However, the traces of settlement, approaching the territories of Syrna- in Losta/Hygassos? raise questions on a probable terminus post quem for Carian occupation although the two *demes* do not seem to have a direct connection. A shift from nucleated settlements to dispersed forms could have happened gradually when the Rhodians aspired for the Peraea since an effective utilization of the countryside and the emergence of second order settlements is highlighted through numerous ruins and deposits relating to the *chora*. That the ultimate design of the *demes* could have been achieved during the Hellenistic era under Rhodian influence also seems to be supported with the increasing number of sites towards the coastal areas. Interruptions during short-term turmoils could have caused already there sites to become attraction centers under a safer atmosphere. Nevertheless, a sense of security could have survived even after when Delos was declared a free port and the deliverance of the Peraea was on the agenda. A description of a “network of dependent *koina*” as an “arrested development” by van Bremen, which both seems to apply to the Incorporated and Subject Peraea, contains a core of truth when *polis* type formations had to break down upon Rhodian control in most parts of Caria down to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. Although a loss of identity may relate to the Peraea in certain respects, the strongholds under the Rhodian rule could have sustained the survival of old forms of settlement patterns under renewed administrative types as the Peraea grew into later periods.

Typical architectural features which reflect the local design in workmanship and technique are common to all the *Acropoleis* and their catchment areas. Typical gate lentos, well observable e.g. in Cilicia or Lydian Blaundos highlight the local architecture. Pragmatism is perhaps one criterion as the construction technique in the domestic or public sphere is somewhat based on a lego principle. Coarse polygonal masonry and more specifically the local architecture hallmark the defensive walls whereas much elegant works applied with isodomic masonry on Hellenistic elite dwellings and public edifices are observable in the vicinity of the *deme* centers. The defensive structures, terrace walls and dwellings (whatever type) are complemented with water features. Cisterns on top of the *Acropoleis* bear almost identical designs and dimensions; numbers are equal to two or more. When the exceptional ones are put aside, the majority of farmsteads is situated at shallow terraces and usually has physical connections to a *deme* center via the ancient roads. Based on the scenario so mentioned up to now, Appendix A is offered to attention for the general assessment of the *demes* of the Peraea under a chronological follow-up (Plate 2.1.19).

Divergent factors could have been influential on the designation of the Peraea. Cultural problems based on heritage concerns and dowry practices which were central to the agrarian lifestyle, historical trajectories, economic factors, the idea of self-sufficiency, levels of trade could have shaped its settlement patterns. For instance, the Rhodians knew how to intercept and withstand the Spartan fleets in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Protecting import grain was so crucial that those who guarded their safe arrival were honored.<sup>910</sup> The Peraea might have been a derivative of or a guarantee for such protectionism. Indeed, the organisation of the *demes* and the overall design must have owed much to the economic interests and relations with Rhodes. Despite topographical constraints, indicators for intensive land use more or less prove the degree of an efficient economic policy. In modern terms, being a “colony” of Rhodes as back as the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C could have thrown the Peraea into the status of a cultural partner over time. It would be vain to come up

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<sup>910</sup> Osborne. 1987: 102-106; Forbes. 2007: 200-203.

with the idea of *kleroukhia*, or perhaps special conditions may be discussed in favour of an exceptional *apoikia* equivalent to a *polis* disinfecting from strict touch. However, a degree of flexibility, as reflected in the loose political organisation of the *demes*, and a sort of self-determination under the local authorities may eliminate tenets on the presence of an *apoikia* in the real sense. Rather, conceptualization of the *demes* as possible Hellenized indigenous communities by Hansen or as a strategically to Rhodes may trigger further ideas on how they adapted/were adapted to changing socio-economic conditions in the periphery. The Peraea could well have focused on the domestic needs as well as marketing products (especially wine) outdoors and, perhaps working for the international arena which in return must have affected the layout and exploitation of land. That is say, in no other place can an effective manipulation of terraces be witnessed. That the countryside and the *deme* centers are interwoven makes the silhouette of the Peraea a real patchwork (Plate 2.1.20) in which any part thereof was utilized in the most profitable ways.

## CHAPTER 6

### SAMPLING: THE CASE OF PHOINIX

#### 6.1. Selection Criteria for Settlement Location

A settlement like Phoinix would be very much dependent on the coast with a good harbour. It would not stand on the immediate shore but possibly a mile away approaching inland to protect itself from possible attacks of raiders and pirates. The choice of place also has connotations for communication and healthy environments. In ancient times, raised topographies eased the situation to stay away from dampness and mosquitoes of the low-lying marshlands. Decisions of settlements were sometimes the products of permanent water or underground reserves. No less important, a fertile land was the greatest motive. Jeskins' views on the "selection of a defensible site usually on a raised position within the lower-lying fertile area- a hill, a spur of higher ground or promontory, where nature already fortified the spot with steep sloped or crags, or a river, in order to see the enemies quickly by sea or land and withdraw within this walled place if attacked"<sup>911</sup> have implications for the social and physical habitat of Phoinix. Generally, the locational preferences in Phoinix are discussable under environmental factors and man-created processes. Topographical characteristics, vegetation type, soil, slope, aspect, communication networks in association with visibility, defensibility and road infrastructure and water effect fall into the scope of the former one while the latter one rather much relates to the availability of land for agriculture and other activities oriented toward economic and general matters. Hence, a particular spatial design over a piece of landscape manipulated by human factor or created according to environmental systems,<sup>912</sup> fits into the sampling scope of this research.

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<sup>911</sup> Jeskins. 1998: 19.

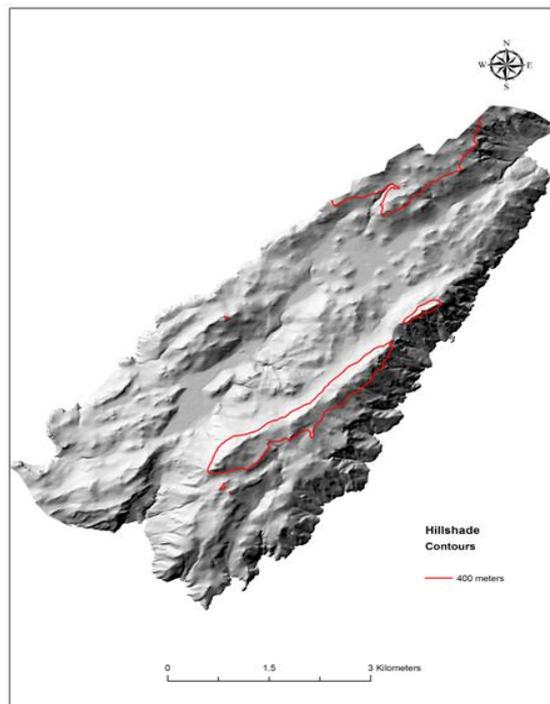
<sup>912</sup> Bell. 1999: 22.

### 6.1.1 Topography and environment

In general, the topography of Phoinix mirrors high elevations limiting the natural borders (Figure 6.1) of the *deme* in the north and south. In fact, the *deme* is physically interrupted by the peaks over 400 m (Figure 6.2) having a great share in the south. The vast majority of land is rocky and undulated.

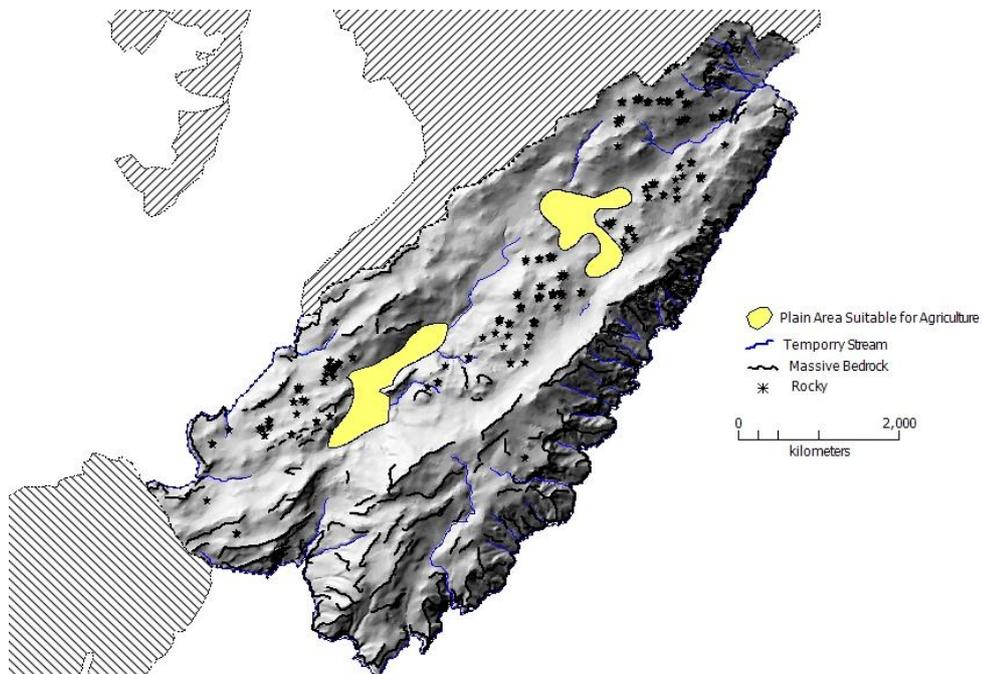


**Figure 6.1:** Natural Limits of Phoinix



**Figure 6.2:** Elevations Over 400 m

Like Hydas,<sup>913</sup> the location of the *Acropolis* (Hisartepe) is secure enough to steer clear of attacks. It is almost situated inland, halfway between the coastal area and the rising hills at the back. Two steep mountains catch the eye in the surroundings: Karayüksek Dağ (536 m) sharply rises in the south of the *Acropolis* (222 m on top) and Kaledağ (451 m) stands further in the northeast (east of modern Taşlıca). The widest plain area is Sindili location- a depression almost embracing the *Acropolis* in the middle of the *deme*. Two more plain areas are attractive; in the east of modern Taşlıca and in the west of the isthmus within the *territorium* of Casarae, and form the suitable land for agriculture (Figure 6.3).

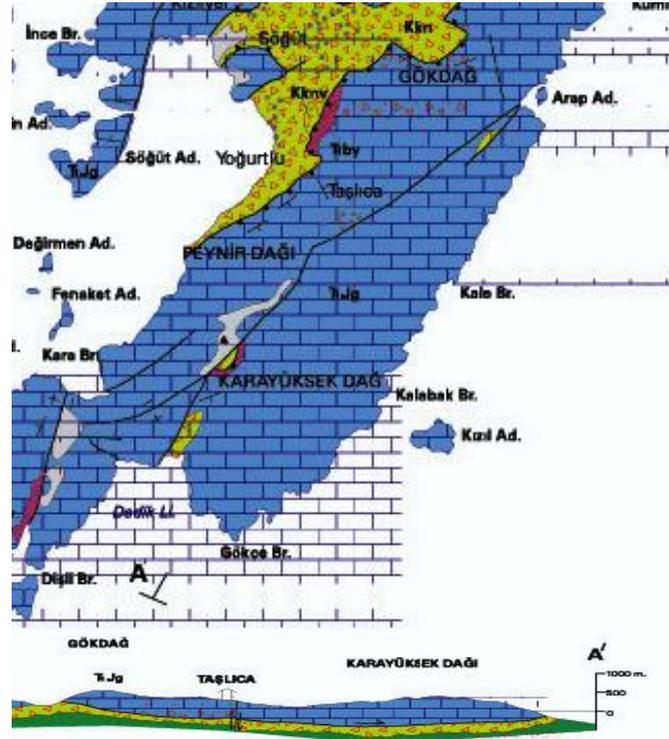


**Figure 6.3:** Plain Areas and Rocky Topography of Phoinix

The environmental zone of Phoinix is affected by a fault running in the NE-SW axis, from the NE (Arap Island on the northeastern tip) up to the isthmus, where the fault also forks to the south (Figure 6.4). The section of terrain displays that Phoinix rests on limestone beneath which formations of sandstone, siltstone, basalt, etc. rest.<sup>914</sup>

<sup>913</sup> Benter. 2001: 184.

<sup>914</sup> Şenel and Bilgin 1997.



**Figure 6.4:** The Main Fault Running Across Phoinix (Şenel and Bilgin 1997)

It is a fact that the availability of wood or forests influences landscape development. Diverse cases of Syrna and Phoinix may be considered from this perspective. Considering the pace of development, settlements rich in forest structure could have possessed an advantage over others.<sup>915</sup> If what Held alleges about the neighbouring site of Loryma- deforestation and erosion (Sub-part 2.2)- is correct, it is worth thinking whether similar conditions and semi-arid regimes as of today prevailed in the region, in which case it is inseparable from the territories of Phoinix. Apart from the three noted plain areas with which Phoinix is familiar, the rest of the land is overwhelmingly undulated and barren. There are clear marks for land degradation throughout the *deme* however, due to the climatic conditions, it is hard to suggest that dense forests mastered the *territorium*. Whether this happened or not has no

<sup>915</sup> Rackham. 1990: 106.

effect on the present because the current situation offers the long-term survival of vegetation dominated by shrubs and broad-leaved trees in part.

Aggradation and degradation have been the long-lasting focus of archaeologists. The situation of Phoinix is open to debate as to whether and how the long-term “slopes accumulation on hillslopes” and erosion occurred at the end of the Bronze Age and continued thereon.<sup>916</sup> Although terrace systems can support geomorphic-climatic inferences, there is always a risk in seeking relations between the application of traditional techniques and litho-stratigraphic and chronological research.<sup>917</sup> Additionally, prehistoric evidence for landscape formation is scarce in the Aegean. *Terra rosa* enriched with iron composition in Markiani migrated by the leaching of clay during deforestation, probably during the Early Bronze Age. Presumably, erosion was accelerated by the pastoral practices. As no exact dating could be claimed for sedimentation, it is always problematic to comprehend the process of modifications on land. Notwithstanding, theories put emphasis on its development at the very end of Late Bronze Age.<sup>918</sup>

Obviously, different types of soil may occur due to erosion, deposition, water effect, vegetation, colonization, disturbance, etc.<sup>919</sup> As of the current situation, the landscape in Phoinix must have undergone regressions led by erosion (majorly over the plain areas), intensive cultivation of rich soils, and even grazing. Lands formed by degradation are a problem for almost the entire Peninsula. For Doğaner, the worst lands are observable in the southern part and such an effect caused animal husbandry to be the prime source of economy.<sup>920</sup> Whether degradation of land and vegetation had connotation for agriculture, livestock or any other, the highest erosion degrees caused by wind effect are reported to have been recorded in two plain areas: Sindili and the west of isthmus, by the Ministry of Agriculture.

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<sup>916</sup> Bintliff. 2000a: 50, 58.

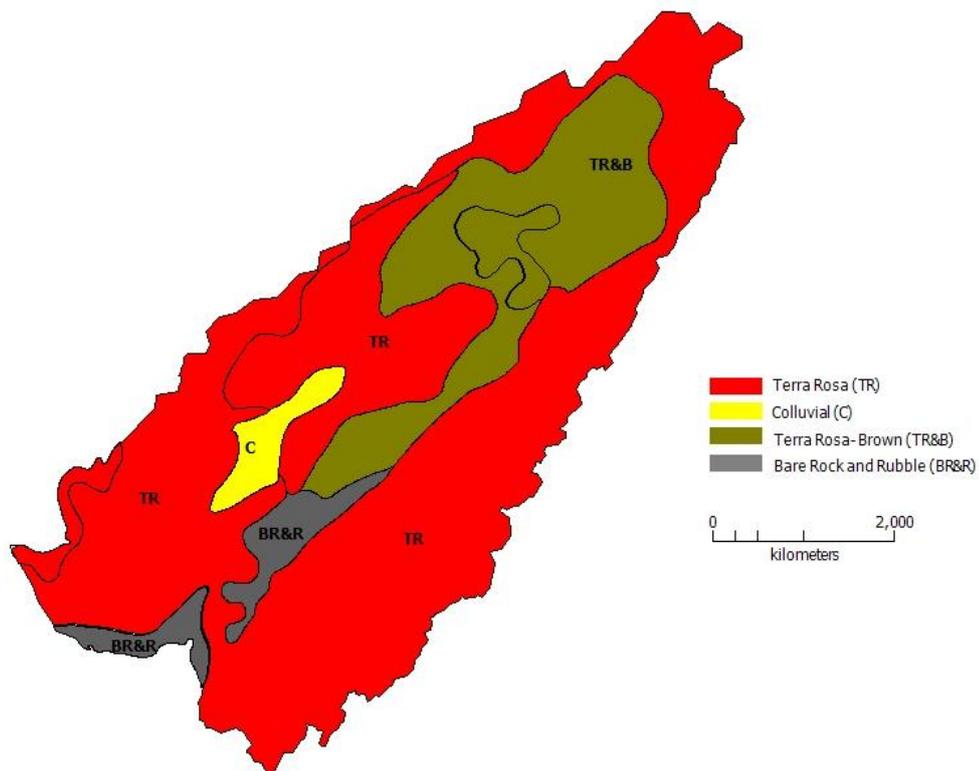
<sup>917</sup> Rapp and Hill 1998: 59-60, 89, 107-109.

<sup>918</sup> French and Whitelaw 1999: 161-162, 171, 173-174.

<sup>919</sup> Bell. 1999: 214.

<sup>920</sup> Doğaner. 1999: 42.

Steep and rocky areas ease the conservation of soils which are vulnerable to erosion. The tendency of soil to move toward coastal plains and lowlands, which are usually associated with rich mineral soils,<sup>921</sup> is attributable to Phoinix. In other words, the richest soils can be traced in the near and distant *chora*, at the same time. It is hard to state pedodiversity but actually, four types of soil are peculiar to Phoinix (Figure 6.5). Typical of the Mediterranean, *terra rosa* soils dominate the greatest percentage of land. The other type is *terra rosa* and brown soil which is observable in the north, northeast and east sectors. Colluvial soil exactly corresponds to Sindili, where the degree of erosion is the maximum. The last category is formed by bare rock and rubble in the southern environs of the *Acropolis*.



**Figure 6.5:** Pedological Characterization in Phoinix

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<sup>921</sup> Bintliff. 2011: 17.

Land form structures make up a matrix comprising linear patches (corridors) shaped by water and fauna; mosaic landscapes appearing as patches of e.g. vegetated or non-vegetated areas; pathways and trails relating to the movements of wildlife; and roads and stream corridors worked by inhabitants. Patches created by human effect often occur by dumping, excavation, plough, planting, deforestation, artificial water storage, etc. It is, however, difficult to determine patch boundaries.<sup>922</sup> In Phoinix, the majority of human contact patches were formed for the agricultural terraces. Obviously, the linear patches, whose “composition” is important to grasp the function, indicate movements across a landscape. In view of “location, direction and route”, they are interdependent that when a change occurred in the matrix, a patch<sup>923</sup> emerged. Over the *territorium* of Phoinix, naturally formed but human shaped lands are usually reached by pathways, sometimes via alternative or renewed routes. The routes and their relation to patchy patterns are also understandable under aerial applications. Some appear to have been clenched by fauna effect, most probably by the animals like goats.

### **6.1.2 Elevation, slope and aspect**

The elevation of the ancient dwellings on top of or along the slopes *Acropolis* is between 129- 204 m while the maximum value all over the *territorium* is 440 m with the minimum being 43 m. Generally speaking, the majority of the settlement structures are situated between 100-200 m except in the case of lofty Kaledağ and Gökçalça in the north-northeast and Dağyeri Location (See Plate 3) in the inland east of the *Acropolis*. About 75% of the dwellings and 50% of the farmsteads are situated between 100-200 m. The elevation values for any terraced area ranges between 50-400 m but more than half lies between 150-300 m where the greatest percentage is shared by those between 200-300 m (Figures 6.6, 6.7, 6.12).

The slope values display that the overwhelming majority of the settlement structures (88% of the dwellings and all the farmsteads) are situated between 0-30%. With such

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<sup>922</sup> Bell. 1999: 212-214.

<sup>923</sup> *Ibid.* 214-215.

values attained from the slope analysis, that is to say that the terrace dwellings are compatible with topography in the vicinity of the *Acropolis* and that degrees may reach up to 40-60%. When it comes to the farmsteads in the *chora* and one in close vicinity to the *Acropolis*, all are situated on relatively plain grounds whether it be near at the base of a valley or near a stream bed. For the agricultural terraces, slope values seem to have occurred up to 70% in which case more than 60% of them have slope values between 10-30% and that the latter category must have been preferably cultivated (Figures 6.8, 6.9, 6.13).

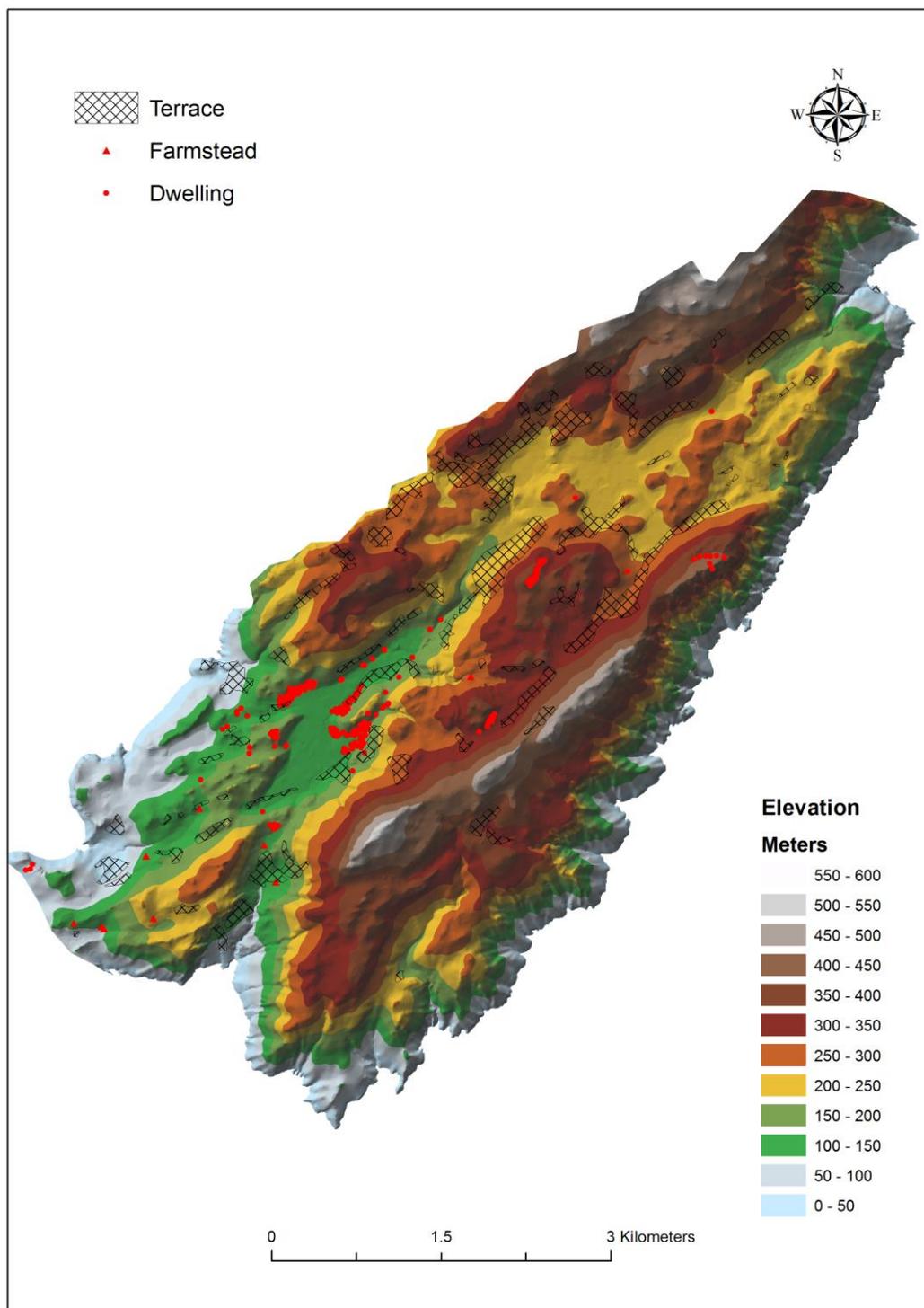
The positioning of the majority of dwellings brings forth the issue of aspect. 29% of the dwellings face southeast, 14% of them are oriented toward the south and 13% face the northwest. On the contrary, the majority of the farmsteads, which are situated in the southwestern sector of the *deme*, face the west and southwest. When compared to compact patterning in close vicinity of the *Acropolis*, individualism outweighs in the *chora*. The “rural” structures might have been preferred to maximize the sunlight since they are generally situated just near the cultivation areas. Interestingly, no straightforward direction can be posed for the agricultural terraces which may mean that any piece of arable land was exploited all over the *territorium* of Phoinix. What may at least be posed is that about 43% of the terraces face the northwest and southeast (Figures 6.10, 6.11, 6.14).

### **6.1.3 Water resources**

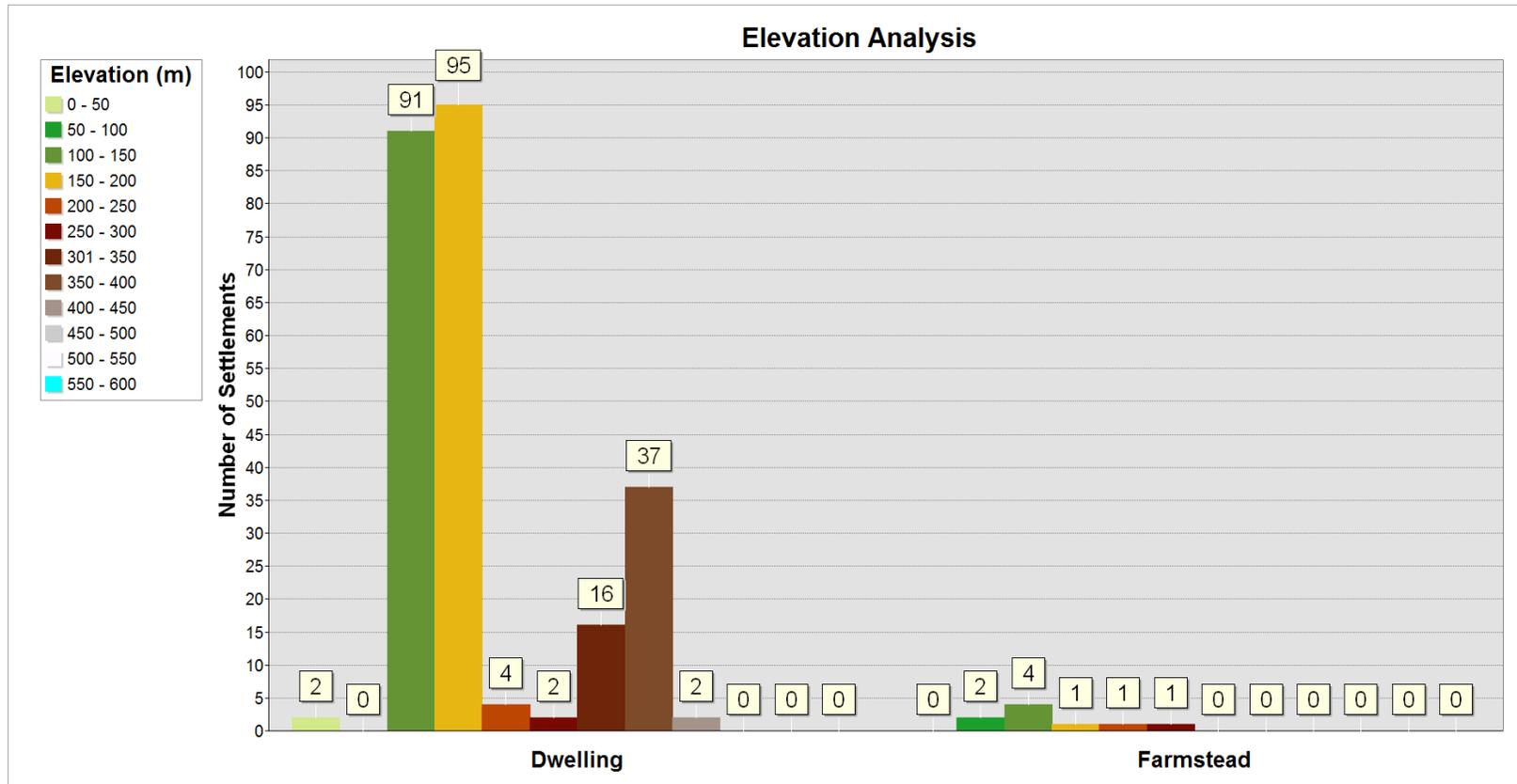
Drainage outlets cause changes in the sea level, eventually affecting ground waters.<sup>924</sup> Highly affected by the semi-arid conditions, there is great possibility that Phoinix lacked permanent surface waters in antiquity. By looking at the surface morphology (Figure 6.3), it is well understandable that the *deme* is full of dried up waterlines reaching the coastal area and fading away in the uplands. Between Karayüksek Dağ and Kaledağ and partly the undulated terrain limiting the western coasts, there appear numerous dried up streams which begin from modern Taşlıca up

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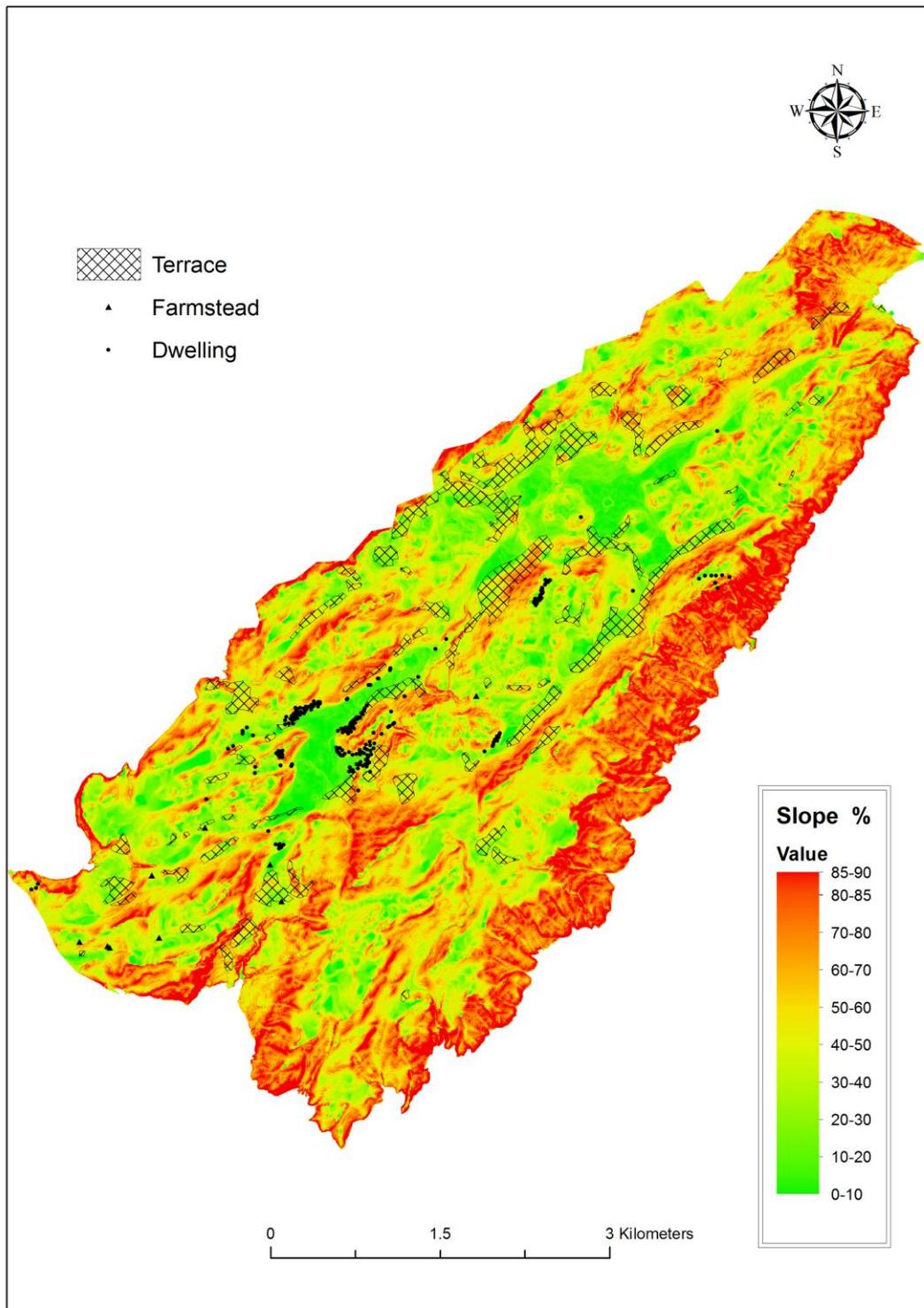
<sup>924</sup> Raikes. 1967: 58.



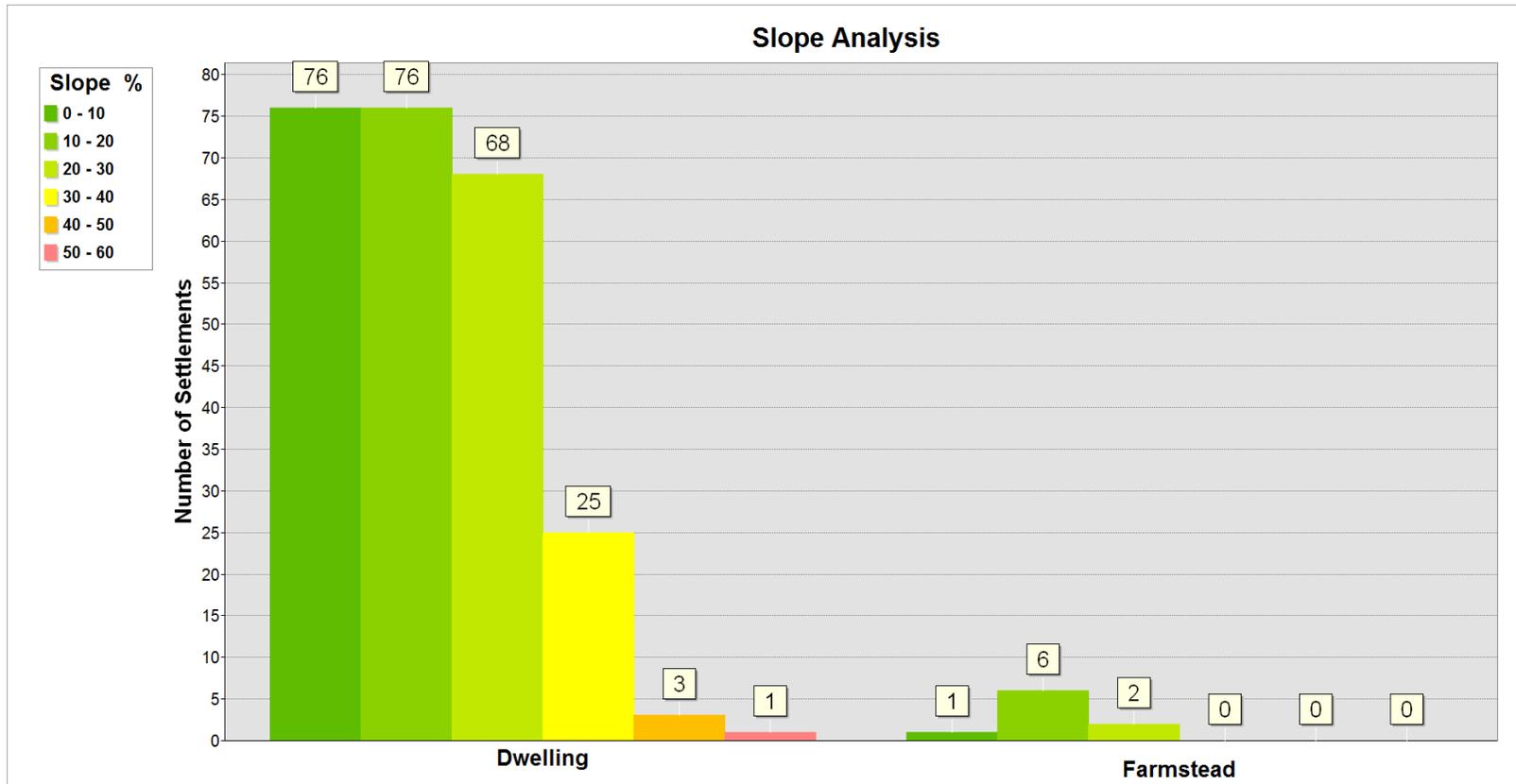
**Figure 6.6:** Elevation Map of Settlement Structures and Terraces in Phoinix



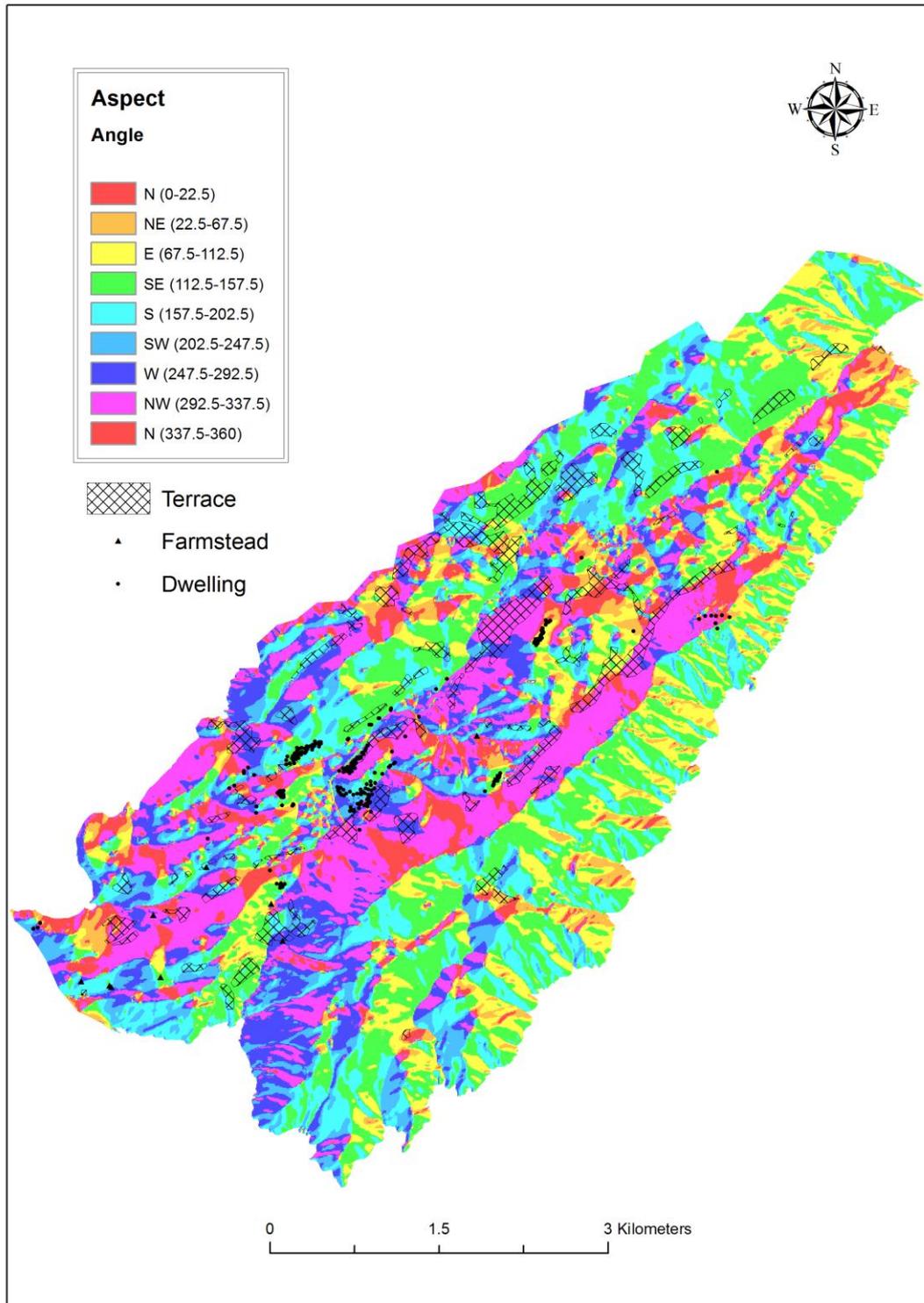
**Figure 6.7:** Histogram of Elevation Analysis of Settlement Structures in Phoinix



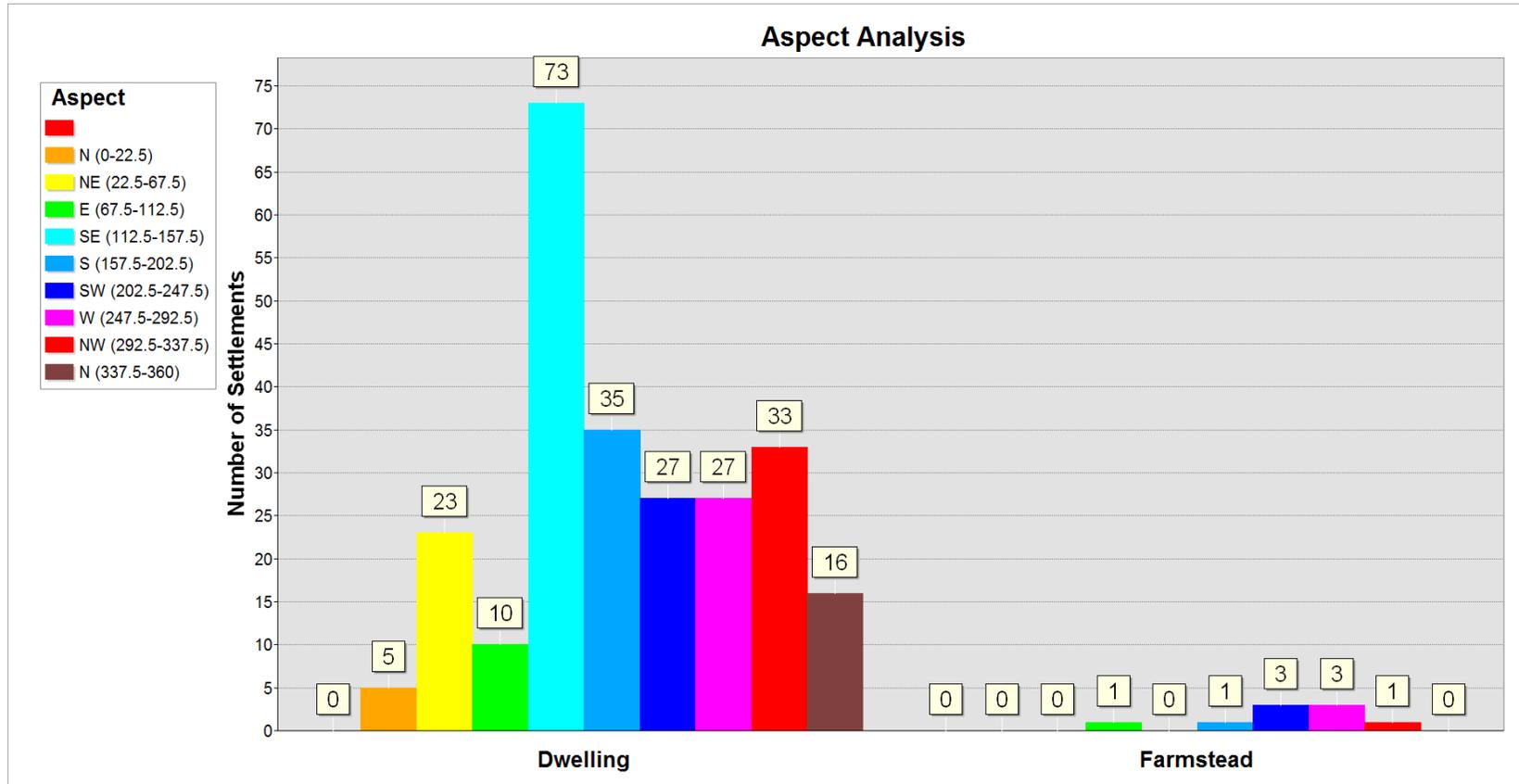
**Figure 6.8:** Slope Map of Settlement Structures and Terraces in Phoinix



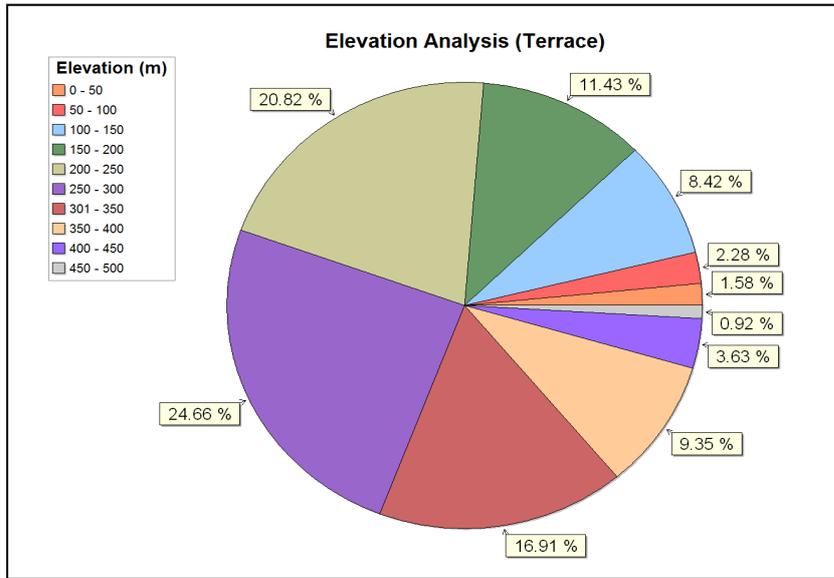
**Figure 6.9:** Histogram of Slope Analysis of Settlement Structures in Phoinix



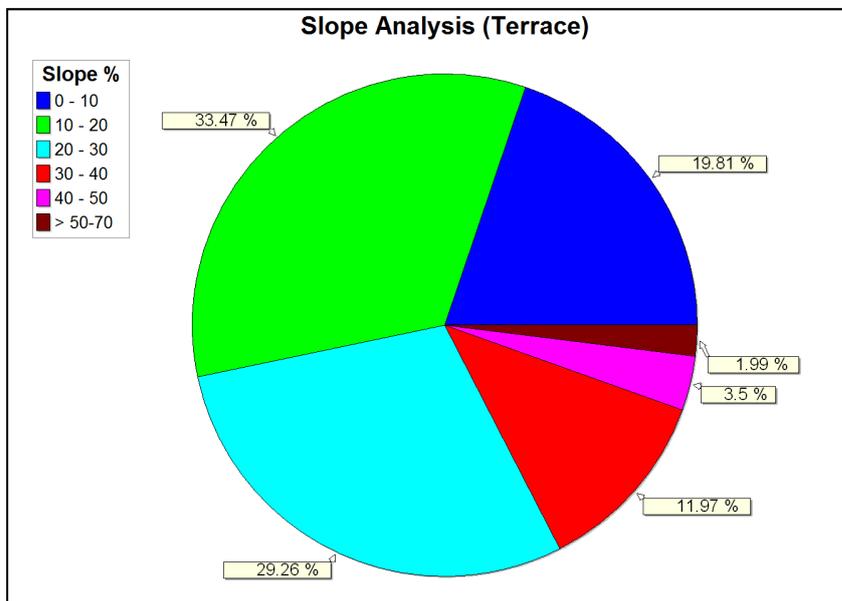
**Figure 6.10:** Aspect Map of Settlement Structures and Terraces in Phoinix



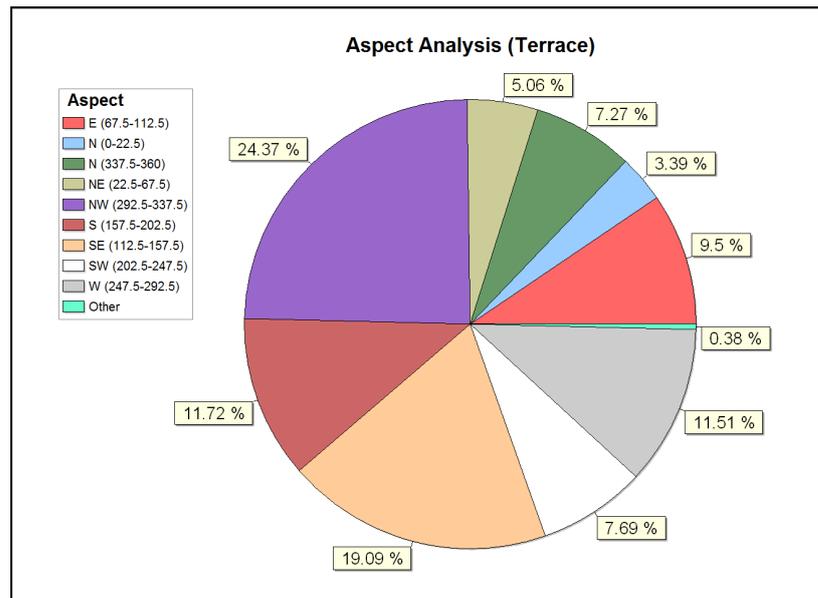
**6.11:** Histogram of Aspect Analysis of Settlement Structures in Phoenix



**Figure 6.12:** Elevation Analysis of Terraces in Phoinix



**Figure 6.13:** Slope Analysis of Terraces in Phoinix

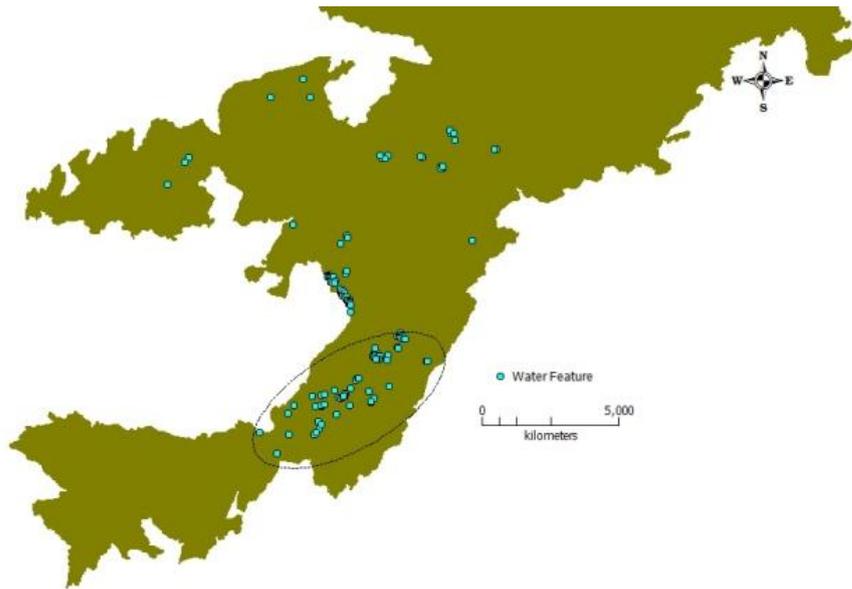


**Figure 6.14:** Aspect Analysis of Terraces in Phoinix

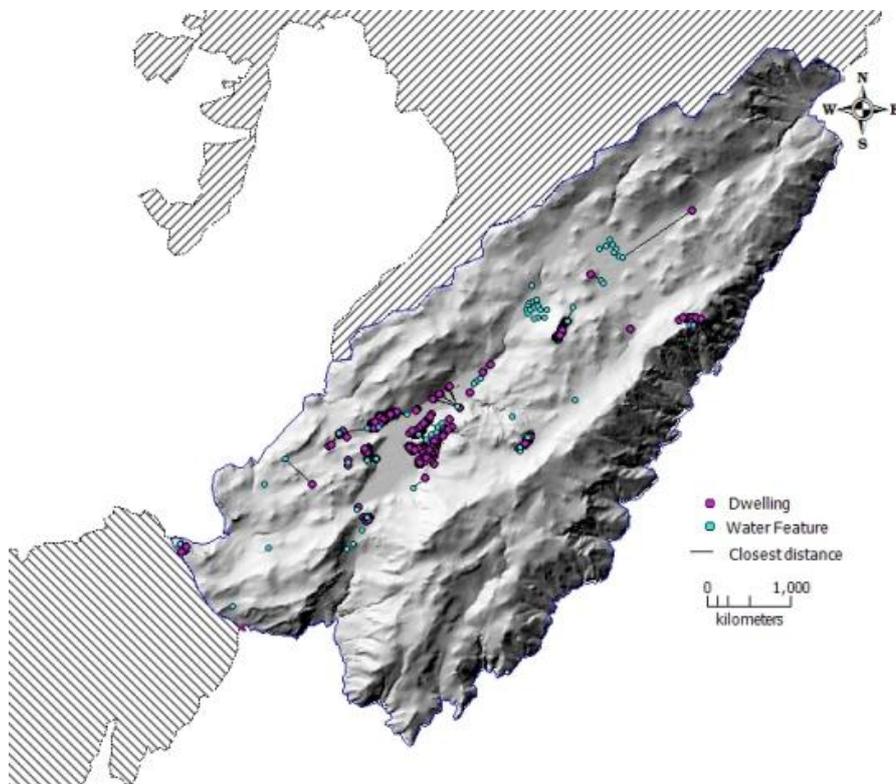
to the northern sector of the Apollo Temple. Two streams (Plate 2.1.21) run across the heart of Phoinix. The first one is traceable in the east of the *Acropolis*, reaching the northern part of Tülü Tepe, and the other runs across the valley in the east of the Apollo Temple.

Due to the geological character and the climate regime with depressed sunlight, the inhabitants opted for underground water and constructed plenty of water features. Many cisterns and wells are now scattered in the *deme* center and throughout the *chora*. In view of the entire Peraea, the number of water constructions is conspicuous in Phoinix (Figure 6.15).

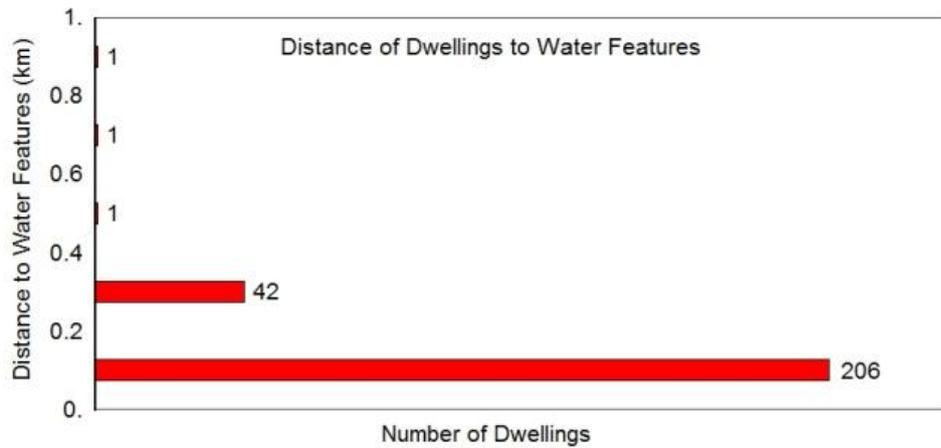
Among the geomorphological agents of Phoinix, water was perhaps the most indispensable element. Regardless of dating problems, the northern sector of the *Acropolis* abounds in wells, and is still in use now. It is not surprising that there is a positive correlation between the number of dwellings and water features. A vast majority of houses are affiliated with water features constructed at less than 200 m distance (Figures 6.16, 6.17).



**Figure 6.15:** Distribution of Water Features in the Scope Area and Phoenix (Dashed)



**Figure 6.16:** Closest Distance of Dwellings to Water Features in Phoenix



**Figure 6.17:** Histogram of Distance of Dwellings to Water Features

As some scholars presuppose, rich numbers of well clusters address a location which acted as a base for the livestock, pre-industrial activity and agriculture.<sup>925</sup> Rainfall was used to catch water in *sternes* (cisterns) and *loutsas* (open cisterns) for dry the seasons, as may be found in this part of Phoinix. Vaulted rectangular forms constructed with hydraulic plaster were often 4-5 m deep and 2 m in diameter and were located in close *komai*. Loutsas were often built in impervious bedrocks, consisting of large pits that were not as deep as cisterns. They served for the livestock, washing purposes but not for drinking.<sup>926</sup> Around 361 B.C, bottle-shaped cisterns replaced the function of wells for private purposes.<sup>927</sup> They often remind the Mesopotamian types.<sup>928</sup> What is known about Fenaket and the vicinity is that similar constructions were used for the beasts in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It would not be arbitrary in stating that the northern sector of the *Acropolis* (the south of Taşlıca) was actively used in the post-Hellenistic period since crosses inscribed onto the facades of some wells are detectable. There is further need to think about the fame of Kamiros with water features. If Phoinix was a *deme* of the mentioned *polis* (Sub-part 3.3.2.1), she could have internalized some elegant variances in the Peraea.

<sup>925</sup> Cavanagh. 2000: 98-102.

<sup>926</sup> Forbes. 2007: 240, 244- 245.

<sup>927</sup> Camp. 1982: 12. Bottle-shaped cisterns were also widespread in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>928</sup> Oğuz. 2006: 100, 108, 126.

#### 6.1.4 Networks of communication

Roads affect the development of landscapes over time. Hence, a good communication by a river or a road network affects the settlement pattern.<sup>929</sup> Transportation via mule tracks and man-made roads were wide-spread in antiquity.<sup>930</sup> Ramsay writes that “roadways were few, and migrations were confined to known lines” in Asia Minor.<sup>931</sup> The situation is somewhat unfortunate in the *territorium* of Phoinix in that no arterial road is visible on the Atlas of Classical History in the Peraea. The only remarkable thing is the trade network of the Classical world which flew from over Rhodes<sup>932</sup> to the west and the east. Except those given on the main arterial routes within the borders of Marmaris and so explained by the locals who throw it onto the Romans, the catalogue of milestones presents no special remnant of an ancient road in the vicinity of the Peraea, either,<sup>933</sup>

In the 7 m long Tabula Peutingeriana- drawn in the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D, showing the main Roman roads from Spain to India, only “Lorimna” is marked in western Asia at the opposite side of “Insula Rhodos” (Figure 6.18; A,B)<sup>934</sup> while no main arterial road is visible.



**Figure 6.18:** Map of Asia Minor and Insula Rhodos (A); Magnified View of Lorimna Peninsula (B) (Tabula Peutingeriana: Section IX)

<sup>929</sup> White. 1970: 417-418.

<sup>930</sup> Rackham. 1990: 105-106.

<sup>931</sup> Ramsay. 1902: 258.

<sup>932</sup> Talbert. 1985: 52, 160.

<sup>933</sup> French. 1988: 302-303.

<sup>934</sup> [www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html](http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html). 2011.

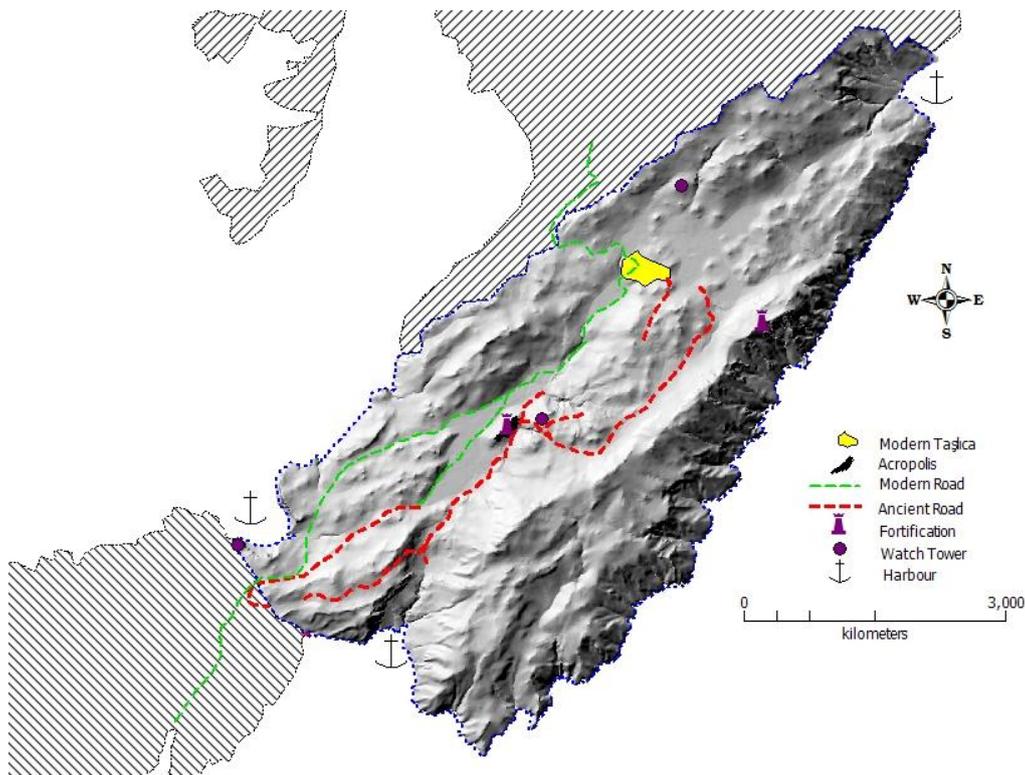
Roads connecting the fortifications and the sacred places and sometimes ending at small bays throughout the Peraea<sup>935</sup> are observable in Phoinix. No matter what types of land were traversed in all directions, a network of pathways reached all the parts, making a course compatible with topography and travelling across the shortest distance.

The ancient road is the longest route (about 10 km route followed; the estimated length is 15 km) travelling in the NE-SW direction in Phoinix and connecting her to the neighbouring *deme* of Casarae (See Plate 3). As soon as the road reaches the borders of Casarae on the isthmus, it makes a sharp turn toward the southwest *chora* of Phoinix in the opposite parallel direction, runs up to the *Acropolis*, passes by the eastern slopes and ends up near the Apollo Temple. The optimum route it follows is on the tectonic zone where a remarkable percentage of land it surpasses corresponds to the natural corridors (the entire corridor reaches up to 9 km in NE-SW) and/or the extensions of the largest depression area of Sindili. With all the discrete routes traced within the *territorium* of Phoinix, it must have been the primary communication network (Figure 6.19). Another one, which begins from the terrace wall of a gigantic farmstead in the east of Burgaz Tepe, passes by the lowlands and makes a sharp turn as soon as it reaches the eastern sector of Tülü Tepe, travels from the south of Dağ Yeri, the east of Top Tepe and heads toward Kaledağ in the northeast. As another, a discrete ancient trail beginning from Gökçalça Tepe is connected to the *Acropolis* in the southwest. Reconsidering the general silhouette, the relationship between the *Acropolis* and Kaledağ needs to be further investigated.

Visibility affects communication. It has a strong connotation for defense regarding longer distances and “controlling fields at the periphery”. On the other hand, the geomorphology of the land may exert pressures on the means of communication. Similar to the case of Paros (Sub-part 4.4) to an extent, the cone-shape Karayüksek Dağ rising behind the *Acropolis* divides the land creating isolated pocket plains, eventually affecting visibility and settlement pattern. Strategic buildings could have

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<sup>935</sup> Benter. 2010: 662.



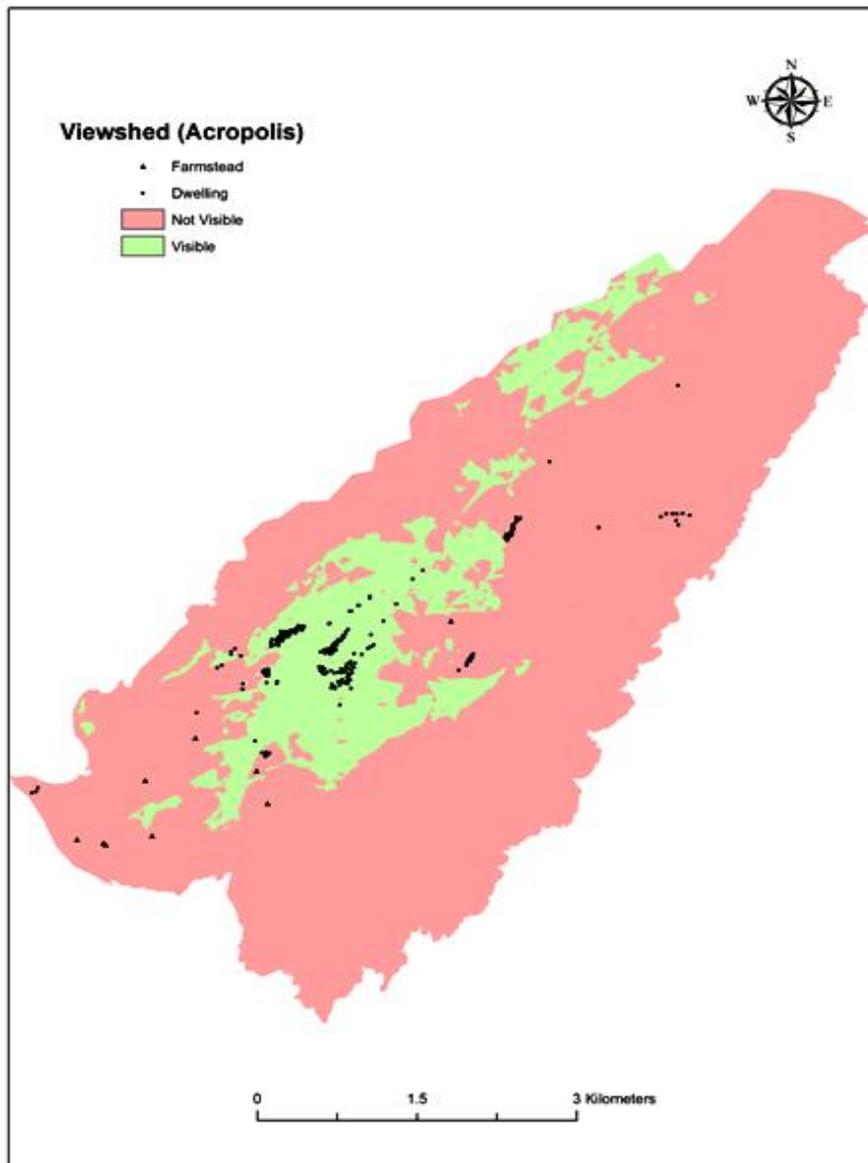
**Figure 6.19:** Communication Network of Phoinix

been constructed at the outlet of Phoinix (towards the Serçe Bay) where visual patrolling decreases and broken plains<sup>936</sup> appear. The sites where line of sight is the highest relate to fortifications and watch towers. As is given in Figure 6.20, the viewshed of the *Acropolis* does not go beyond 2 km in the north-northeast sector. Yet, the vast majority of the dwellings is within the viewshed of the *Acropolis*. On the contrary, all the farmsteads are invisible from the *Acropolis*, which may be interpreted as being that they all relate to the *chora*. The farthest distance which may be included within the optimum catchment area of the *Acropolis* rates about 1.3 km (Sub-part 6.3).

Another means of communication can be examined in terms of marine contact. It is no coincidence that the two bays suitable for anchoring and easy transportation of the

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<sup>936</sup> Sevenant and Antrop 2007: 371-372.



**Figure 6.20:** Visibility Map of *Acropolis*

goods lie in the south-southwest Phoinix. The northeastern bay, on the other hand, could have had contact with the military character fortification situated on top of Kaledağ. It could well have supplied logistic and civic facilities to or from the northern neighbours considering the distance effect. The lowlands of Kaledağ are ideal for leading the way across a narrow corridor and reaching the northernmost borders of Phoinix.

### 6.1.5 Man-manipulated processes

The sloping grounds and the hillsides were successfully manipulated by terracing in Phoinix. Inspired by Roman farming, the systems of production could have been related to multi-form (e.g. single, special or mixed) practices. By looking at modern indicators (few olive plantations) in the *chora* and associated evidence (e.g. press stones, farmsteads, inscriptions pertaining to land leases and slavery, products raised for trade, ordinary crops to be shared by the owner and the tenant or directly consumed at the ownership of a family), the terraces should always be deemed as the target areas for man's manipulation. Requiring heavy capital, the institution of slavery must have participated within the process.<sup>937</sup> Terraces acted as interfaces between social and economic life. Like Methana, the ruins of dwellings are recognizable with clearly defined plots. Several dwellings could have rested on a single terrace wall, a single dwelling could have possessed the same size plot as a result of inheritance of a dowry. Presumably, crops like wheat, barley, oat or legumes were cultivated over *skala*<sup>938</sup> as modern Taşlıca proves similar practices. However, the majority of terraces must have been reserved to vine and olive as validated by plenty of ceramic assemblages (Sub-parts 2.5; 3.3.2.3).

Conspicuous land marks of the agricultural terraces in small pocket plains lie in the *chora* and the vicinity of the *deme* center (Plate 2.1.22). As mentioned before, it is easily recognizable that the upper limits of terraces are interrupted by limestone boundaries. Relatively low code terraces seem to have enabled easy access to the temporary streams and underground water. Indeed, the area between Karayüksek Dağ and Kaledağ, the lowlands of Akgeri Tepe in the south, the pocket plains between Kaynarlık Tepe and Badrik Tepe in the southwest, the environs of modern Taşlıca and small basins along Peynir Dağ-Dolamaç Tepe-Akçaasar line in the north and northwest, and around Kızılcaalan in further northeast are obviously man-shaped environments (Figure 6.21).

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<sup>937</sup> White. 1970: 388-389.

<sup>938</sup> Forbes. 2007: 196. *Skala*, meaning "block" in Greek, was the name given to blocks of terraces appearing as stairs.

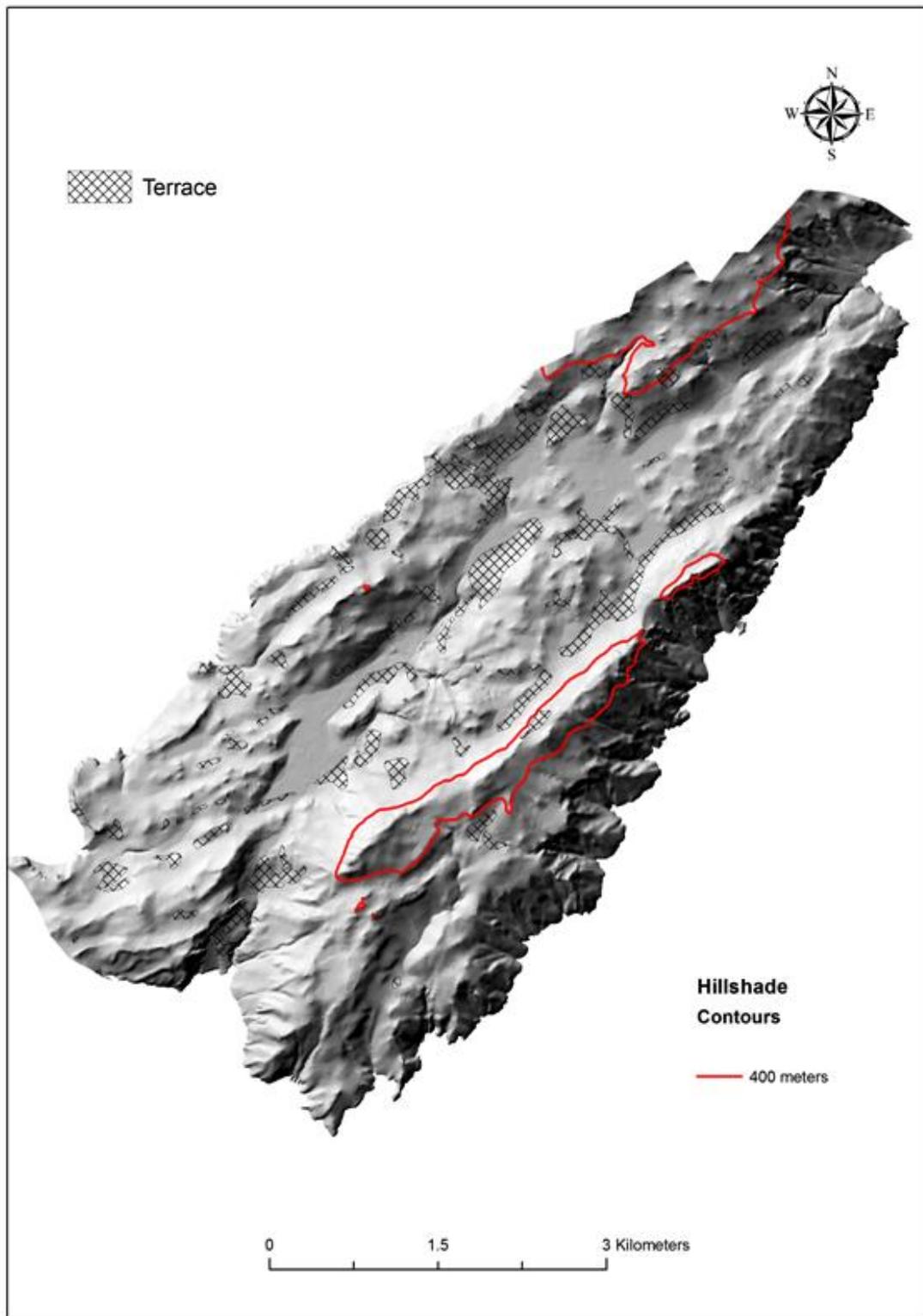


Figure 6.21: Terraced Areas in Phoinix

## 6.2. Relational Evidence

The secondary data is already conveyed in Chapter 5. In this part, the first hand data recorded in the *deme* center and the *chora* of Phoinix is introduced.

The *chora* of Phoinix is a mini laboratory for pressing equipment which often recalls *mola olearia*. Crieleard attests the role it played in the countryside such that olive and wine presses used in the 8<sup>th</sup>- 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C were later “expelled from urban areas”.<sup>939</sup> However, they were not solely limited to rural land. They could have been worked in the environs of *deme* centers and *poleis* in the Mediterranean where agricultural areas often stretched towards the core. The idea of easy transportation to export centers (e.g. Hisarönü) or harbour facilities must have been the basic criteria. On the implementation of pressing work out of the urban areas, an explanation in view of the land characteristics is attested by Diler in that the rocky areas were suitable for press construction in the *chora*.<sup>940</sup> Similar sites were found during the surveys carried out in Phoinix. Generally, the press stones (Appendix F) recorded were seldom undisturbed (Plate 3). They often stood single, addressing self-sufficient micro-economies in order to serve a limited territory.

Anyone who aims at learning further about ancient press installations may first refer to Cato and Vitruvius who noted the ideal dimensions of presses or the associated space. As Cato conveys, a large mill measures 4.5 feet wide and 3.5 feet high. Those carved from a quarry should be “1 foot 1 palm thick in the middle”. Relatively small mills are to be 4 feet 1 palm wide but the smallest of all is 4 feet wide.<sup>941</sup> For Vitruvius, the oil room should not be less than 40 feet since equipment such as levers, beams and turning screws are required while the width should not be less than 16 feet for easy working. In case two presses are needed, the width needs to be planned in 24 feet.<sup>942</sup> Except the new ateliers (hopefully) to be discovered, the

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<sup>939</sup> Crieleard. 2009: 361-362.

<sup>940</sup> Diler. 1994: 446. Further see, Tuna, N. and J-Y. Empereur 1989. “Datça/ Reşadiye Antik Seramik Atölyeleri Kazısı, 1988”. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 7: 555-567. 18-23 Mayıs 1989, Antalya.

<sup>941</sup> Cato (135).

<sup>942</sup> Vitruvius (6.6.3).

divergent samples found in Phoinix seem to back up the above conveyed information. Additional information is that the chamber presses, which are widely found in the vicinity of Physcus (Marmaris)<sup>943</sup> are now reminiscent of the press profiles recorded in the *chora* of Tymnos, however there is the potential that similar samples might have been there in Phoinix.

Along with the finds so stated, the potsherds inevitably make up the critical part for making a comment about the periods of habitation all over the *deme* of Phoinix. Although each sector of Phoinix was checked for the sherds, we have poor chronological control on the surface assemblages. Density variations in the off-site artifacts<sup>944</sup> posed problems for interpretation, too. Hence, no systematic survey and an inventory of findings could be accomplished. The evidence is quite weak for the early periods. Also, their current conditions are worse than those of the Hellenistic and Roman samples. On average, the newly recorded potsherds (through Plates 1 and 3) bear similarity to those dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C- beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. The mushroom rim, round base amphorae and stamped handles were of special attention during the field work as many authors reported veritable evidence in the systematic surveys. The amphorae with single handles are possibly Rhodian imitations.<sup>945</sup> For those with double barreled handles, Halicarnassus was perhaps the most well known polis<sup>946</sup>, however, no sample for the latter could be recorded in Phoinix.

Apart from the presses and potsherds, the surveys in Phoinix brought to light divergent evidence relating to settlement components, basically the architectural features. On the contrary, we are also poor of inscriptions in the *territorium* but a fine piece is already available at the *Acropolis*. A total number of 9 (nine) farmsteads and 251 (two hundred fifty-one) dwellings or the ruins thereof were recorded within the estimated *territorium* of Phoinix, during campaigns (*Note that the number given for the dwellings may not match the total sum operated in elevation, slope and aspect*

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<sup>943</sup> Oybak. 2005: 22-23.

<sup>944</sup> Bintliff. 2000b: 206-207.

<sup>945</sup> Georgopoulou. 2005: 179-180.

<sup>946</sup> Briese. 2005: 185.

*analyses as two or more dwellings could have had the same elevation or the slope values*). The water structures though are difficult to tackle regarding the period problems, establish a vital part of the inventory since they revealed close relation with the complex settlements or the small enclaves (Appendix E). As a smooth start, the following locations were studied in the *deme* center and the *chora* of Phoinix (Plates 2.1.23-2.1.25) where the above attested category of findings is embedded.

1. Environs of modern Taşlıca including Kaledağ
2. Gökçalça Tepe and Somakkaya Tepe
3. Phoinix North (Peynir Dağ- Top Tepe)
4. Phoinix West (Upper Fenaket- Çakallık Tepe- Bahçakise-Kaynarlık Tepe)
5. Phoinix Southwest- South (Akgeri Tepe- Gedikçukur)
6. *Acropolis* (Hisartepe) and Lower Fenaket
7. *Acropolis* Northeast-North (Environs of Burgaz Tepe and Gökseriç)

Modern Taşlıca is situated in near to the north of the ancient *deme* of Phoinix. The observations made around Dolamaç Tepe- Sulukale Tepe- Akçaasar Location- Oturacak Tepe line, which physically limit the northern territorial borders of Taşlıca, arrived at no significant conclusions, apart from the potsherd scatters over the modern terraces and fields. Notwithstanding, slight indicators came from Sulukale Tepe and Akçaasar Location in that they seem to have survived into the late periods (probably the Ottoman). The late potsherds and a watch tower (355 m) on top of Akçaasar can support the case. Presumably, such spots which maintain a clear vision of the terraces and fields functioned as the agricultural *prygoi*. A large cistern now lies along the slopes, falling to the north. The boundary walls of the modern fields are recognizable towards the lowlands of Kızılcaalan Tepe, which reaches a small strait having a sight of the Arap Island. Although Taşlıca Village reveals evidence in the form of many reused blocks on the modern dwellings and now retains a small tower in the eastern end, a degree of disturbance is quite high within the physical borders of the modern settlement. Referable in Plate 2.1.26 (near an individual ancient dwelling recorded in the southwest of Kızılcaalan), the traces of an earthed structure might have been part of an ancient building as many other ruins may now

be deposited in the deep layers of soil. The plain area between modern Taşlıca and Mazıkaşığı Tepe is the lowest elevation which abounds in wells that are actively used today. A small pond in the middle of the plain is in use for livestock and irrigation. Another water source, a relatively big pond lies at the outlet of a narrow valley behind the modern village, in the south of Kapakdibi Location (Plate 1.5.1; A). The pond directly faces the gigantic mass, Kaledağ (Plate 1.5.1; B).

Kaledağ rises up exactly in the east of modern Taşlıca (Phoenix NE) where it welcomes the ancient fortress settlement at the top (Plate 2.1.23). Many potsherds and reused building blocks on the walls of modern fields were recorded over the plain area of Kapakdibi near which Kaledağ stands. In line with what has been stated in Sub-part 5.5, Kaledağ retains a military-logistic character fortress- namely a “*phourion*”<sup>947</sup> whereas Hisartepi (the *Acropolis*) must have been the civic administrative center. We may not be sure whether Strabo implies “*phourion*” for the *Acropolis* or Kaledağ, however, it appears that Kaledağ is associated with the Phoenix Mountain of Strabo (Sub-part 5.1.6; Plate 1.5.1; C,D). It could well have been an early military-administrative base in this part of the Peraea. In fact, Kaledağ has a dual plan fortification. The first level relates to the Upper and Middle fortification walls while the second level is traceable along the lower slopes and the plain area at the bottom. The fortification walls are quite undisturbed. The Upper fortress is encircled with inner walls (constructed on 450 m) whereas the Middle one is clearly bordered with elongated walls attached to the Upper fortification. The quarry faced polygonal masonry worked with massive stones dominates the trapezoidal plan fortification (whose perimeter measures about 1 km) and the same type masonry applied with smaller stones form the facades of simple buildings. The majority of ruins are situated at the peak where visibility is extremely high- almost 360 degrees, in surveillance of Söğüt Bay, Elaeoussa Island (Kızılada) and Rhodes. The boundary lines of the dwellings vanish within the borders of the Middle fortress but simple plan buildings, possibly barracks (reminding those known from Labraunda and Teke Kale at Amyzon<sup>948</sup>), scattered over the peak well reveal that

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<sup>947</sup> Strabo (14.2.4); Flensted- Jensen. 2004: 1110.

<sup>948</sup> Karlsson. 2001: 248.

they had to be dependent on water as the large cisterns prove the case (Plate 1.5.2; A-D). Such features must have been used by the military personnel residing on top of the hill. An amorphous, *in-situ* press bed, which was worked in a circular form in the middle and looking quite early, lies near the cliff in the northern sector of the Middle fortress (Plate 1.5.3; A,B). It is akin to the circular Hellenistic and/or Roman samples (See Figure 3.11). Paton and Myres date similar presses (Figure 6.22) to the 4<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. Despite large diameters, less advanced forms suggest earlier dates.<sup>949</sup> They explain as such:

“In Menteshè valley ....., a large flat stone was found ..... in situ at a short distance from the wall of the building or enclosure. The dimensions of the block were ....L. 2,5 m. x B. 2,4. .... In the middle of one of the shorter sides a rectangular projection was left, level with the top of the block, about 0,4 m. broad, and standing out 0,2 m. from the side. In the top of this a deep channel of 0,15 m. diameter was cut, so that the projection served as a spout. The channel was continued to meet a circular channel of the same dimensions cut ..... from below.” (1898: 212).

The potsherds address a broad time span including the Roman<sup>950</sup> era (Plate 1.5.4). If Kaledağ dates back to much earlier, the Carians could have been familiar with this site.

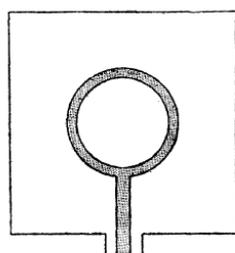


FIG. 2.—PRESS BED FROM THE MENTESHÈ VALLEY IN KARIA.

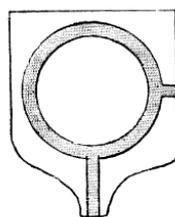


FIG. 3.—PRESS BED FROM SENAM EL-RAGUD IN TRIPOLI.

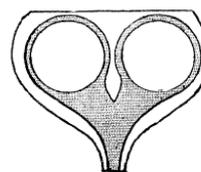


FIG. 4.—PRESS BED FROM EMPORIÒ IN KALYMNOS.

**Figure 6.22:** Oil presses From Caria and Kalymnos (Paton and Myres 1898: 212)

Benter states that the settlements designed for hindrance against attacks could have

<sup>949</sup> Paton and Myres 1898: 212-214.

<sup>950</sup> Foss and Reger 2000: 938-948.

been there from the Early Iron Age.<sup>951</sup> From such a perspective, a site discovered in the south of modern Taşlıca may be of interest (Plates 1.5.5; A-D; 1.5.6; A-C). A cluster of dwellings arranged in the N-S axis were first recognized in the aerial photographs and visited accordingly during the field work. An ancient path, running from the village heads towards a site between the two hills- Gökçalça Tepe and Somakkaya Tepe. About 50-60 structures were recorded as being positioned on a ridge, at the end of the mentioned path. The site has defensible position and a high visibility. Söğüt Bay, the northernmost territories of Taşlıca and Kaledağ are on the scene. This upland area is hidden enough to have kept it from the raids coming from the south. The west side is interrupted by a rocky platform- a natural defensive ridge, on the top of Gökçalça. Quite an amount of evidence is traceable in the form of perhaps, Lelegian influence? masonry worked without mortar. The architectural style recalls that of the buildings found in Buhu location in Söğüt and the environs of Kara Tepe in Selimiye (Chapter 5). A broken press stone now lies within a dwelling on the northern edge of the settlement area. A possible quarry lay on the western side, along the slopes of Somakkaya. The spot where the limestone was extracted suggests that the dwellings and big walls of the defensive platform on top of Gökçalça were worked with the stones carved from the hypothetical quarry. At a lower code, approximating the modern quarters of Taşlıca, an ancient water basin which is supposed to form the part of a collection tank near a V-shape wall series needs scrutiny (Plates 1.5.6; D, 2.1.27). Unfortunately, no sherds were recorded over the hill slopes. It is possible that the site was abandoned or occupied seasonally and that people could have been in the habit of carrying the stuff away to a permanent settlement. This site could have been earlier (pre-Classical/much early) than expected since the subsurface assemblages could have been deposited in the deeper layers.

The area between the two hills, Peynir Dağ and Top Tepe stretches to Gökseriç Location where the residential quarters of the abandoned late Greek settlement of Upper Fenaket begin. Actually, the northernmost borders of Phoinix start from the modern Elementary School- (the southwest of Taşlıca) behind which the *necropolis*

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<sup>951</sup> Benter. 2010: 670-672.

and numerous wells lie (Appendix G; Plate 1.5.7; A-D). Arihan brings to attention the importance of water in the Greek world during *prothesis*<sup>952</sup> which may, although hypothetically, leave a mark on the position of the *necropolis* if all of those water features are datable to a far earlier period than the Roman/Late Roman? era. Another note that may be of interest relates to the Roman world: the Romans preferred to bury the deceased out of the residential areas, in the periphery.<sup>953</sup>

In the south, a dried up stream forms a small valley where two engaged “rock-cut rectangular<sup>954</sup>” tombs (Plate 1.5.7; E) overlook the stream bed, near the main road on a shallow cliff. One is rather small in size and it must have belonged to a child (See Appendix G). They are similar, in the described form and the type of architecture to the *sarcophagus* explained in Sub-part 5.1.6. They are also comparable to those reported from Latmos Heracleia<sup>955</sup> as they are simple, unpretentious structures. Many building block scatters at the bottom of the stream bed and over the western terraces are visible. However, the most notable of all is the bossaged (tooled work), isodomic wall remains levelled from the top and built in the Hellenistic fashion (Plate 1.5.8; A-C and Appendix D). The current length of the walls is about 45 m. They lie at a low code near the stream bed. Seemingly, the walls may be associated with the dwelling next to them. The area between the location of the mentioned tombs and the Upper Fenaket is familiar with water features, terrace walls and the base walls of ancient dwellings (Plate 1.5.7; F-H). Two dwellings, almost attached or forming a complex structure possess a press bed in the courtyard. On the modern field walls near the main road, plenty of reused blocks and the remnant of a millstone are visible. Some potsherds addressing the Classical era may be of interest (Plate 1.5.12; A).

Situated in the west of the *Acropolis*, the Upper Fenaket is conspicuous with late dwellings which were used by the Greeks until 1930s. The building technique and the architectural material can be quickly discerned in the formation of megaron

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<sup>952</sup> Arihan. 2007: 45.

<sup>953</sup> *Ibid.* 49,56.

<sup>954</sup> Fedak. 1990: 21.

<sup>955</sup> Küçükveren. 2007: 209.

houses<sup>956</sup> with single and complex plans (Plates 1.5.9; A-D, 1.5.10), designed with porches. The base walls and reused blocks on the facades show that the dwellings could have been originally used in the Hellenistic period since they almost bear identical outlooks with those found along the slopes of the *Acropolis*. Regarding the physical location, the site called Çakallık Tepe complements the Upper Fenaket. An ancient path arrives at Çakallık and runs down the coastal area above which the agricultural terraces lie. The striking thing about Çakallık is that it retains quite a small cluster (4-5 dwellings) of settlement (Plate 1.5.11; A,C). This site could have acted as a complex of atelier in the middle of which a large cistern, a broken press stone and plenty of potsherds were recorded (Plates 1.5.11; D; 1.5.12; B). The dimensions of the cistern bring forth a collective usage. The position of the dwellings marks a “least effort” as they are situated high above but very near the agricultural terraces. Slope values of the terraces slightly decrease toward the coastal area. An individual block, probably the part of an architrave lies in physical proximity to the mentioned cluster of dwellings, near a modern field and the main road (Plate 1.5.11; B). At the opposite side of the road, the ruins of three or more buildings can be seen on the shallow terraces. One of them is highly interesting and looks as if the terrace walls were built in the tomb style. Kızıl and Öztekin report a possible large tomb in Kurugedik Tepe near the Çakıralan Village but it is open to question as it is still unidentified. If this structure was a tomb<sup>957</sup> (Figure 6.23), then the one recorded at the outlet of modern Fenaket, at the opposite side of the modern road could have possessed a similar function. Both resemble each other in appearance and the area that they occupy. Comparative evidence may also be found in some other places such as; our structure is akin to a 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C grave terrace designed with cube markers in Thera (Figure 6.24).<sup>958</sup>

The westernmost part of Çakallık, as also followed by the modern route, abounds in shallow terraces stretching up to the environs of Namlıalan Tepe, which provides a fair vision of the sea to the sortie at the isthmus, as far as Kaynarlık Tepe. One can

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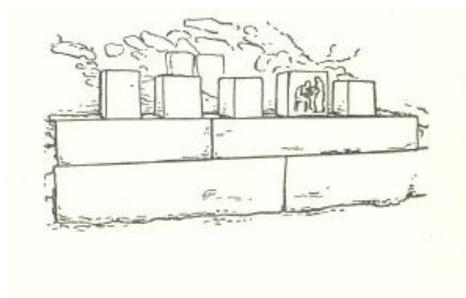
<sup>956</sup> Özberk. 2004: 92.

<sup>957</sup> Kızıl and Öztekin 2009: 378.

<sup>958</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 236-237.



**Figure 6.23:** An Unidentified Structure (Kızıllı and Öztekin 2009: 378)



**Figure 6.24:** Grave Terrace From Thera (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 237)

track the wells many of which are rarely in use amongst the modern fields. Few dwellings are traceable in the southwest of Kaynarlık Tepe, however the area is almost unoccupied.

Bahçakise Tepe lies in the west of Sindili Location. An ancient pathway runs up from the modern fields of Sindili and reaches a narrow strait over the moderate slopes of Bahçakise. Indeed, press beds, cisterns, wells and potsherds are traceable on the way to the mentioned strait (Plate 1.5.13; A,B). Two large disturbed press beds are impressive, which now lie on the western edge of Sindili, near some ancient ruins affiliated with terrace walls. High above, the base walls of a dwelling bordered with a recognizable terrace wall are soon visible (Plate 1.5.13; C). The location of the

dwelling maintains a clear vision of the *Acropolis*. Behind the dwelling, a millstone, which is quite large but cracked in the middle, was recorded, however, another piece of evidence proved to be finest of all observed in the Peraea during the surveys. This is a perfect circular, undisturbed press stone which deserves a special attention (Plate 1.5.13; D). The dimensions of the press beds observed around the site are open to question but if they were used in the discovered location, the views of Diler need to be referred such that they could have served a logistic route nearby the coastal area or otherwise were geared at “urban” needs. This site does not lie far-off the coastal band and the *Acropolis*. The fragments generally suggest Hellenistic and Roman profiles; a carinated body fragment and red paste rims are among the few distinguished samples (Plate 1.5.14). The pathway passing by the terrace wall, where the undisturbed press (noted above) lies, is opened to an inland which is surrounded with agricultural enclaves. The degradation of land is the foremost indicator all over this area and that the site at the rear side must have been used for cultivation. The ruins of two dwellings and a large well in between were recorded in the middle of this inland area. Presumably, additional dwellings were there as typical blocks scattered over the plain area, which is now occupied with dense maquis, are well traceable. Some likely ruins could not be photographed due to the thick vegetation. Turning back to the strait, deviating from the pathway and following a trail toward the invisible peak in the north, the remains of a cluster of dwellings can be reached. Here is a small site on top of Bahçakise that provides some parallels with the one recorded at Gökçalça, in terms of the manner of positioning. Small stones worked with the course polygonal technique were used in the construction, thus the layout of dwellings which almost have equal shares of plot. The boundaries of 15-20 ruined houses are almost clear (Plate 1.5.15; A). The site has a clear vision of the *Acropolis* and Karayüksek Dağ in the east, modern Taşlıca in the north, and Taşlıca Island and Syme Island in the west. The vast majority of potsherds belong to the coarse wares however, some suggest Roman features (Plate 1.5.15; B). On the other hand, some stones used on the boundary walls of the dwellings have perfect holes in the middle. Similar samples may also be observed in Gökçalça. Their function is arbitrary.

The southern and southwestern *chora* of Phoinix is rather accessible from the Sindili Location. A stabilized road begins from the west of the *Acropolis*, passes across the modern fields in the middle and heads toward another range of bossaged (tooled work) isodomic walls at the lowest code of the rocky hills, near a small pond. Situated on the said road and almost undisturbed, the isodomic walls highlight a Hellenistic fashion. They continue for about 50 m in the NE-SW axis (Plate 1.5.16; A-C and Appendix D). The ruins of a building at the rear left corner recall the parts of a public structure- perhaps an *agora* but it is still too early to make an acclamation. Following the stabilized road until the narrowest end of the plain area of Sindili, an ancient road replaces this road, ascends and heads down to a pocket plain, which is next to the modern highway, in the very southwest (Plate 1.5.17; A). A sheep-fold built with reused, large bossaged blocks catches the eye at the highest point of the ascent (Plate 1.5.17; B). The ascent leads the way to an ancient farmstead, which is situated at a shallow terrace where the ancient road meets a pocket plain (Plate 1.5.17; C). The ruins of another building, appearing with terrace walls is situated slightly north, at Pırnal location (Plate 1.5.17; D). The width of the ancient road measures 150-180 cm on average. The route it follows almost overlaps the modern highway running parallel to Yeşilgelme Bay to the isthmus, however, the ancient road continues at a slightly higher elevation. On the ancient road, an isolated building, probably a farmstead may be found whereby a large cistern is situated near the associated plot. As soon as the ancient road makes a further inland turn in the counterclockwise direction and re-determines its course around the southernwest topographical borders of Phoinix (between Yelkaya Tepe and Akgeri Tepe), the successive fields and farmsteads (Plate 1.5.18; A,B) situated at regular distances can be found throughout this inland *chora*. The potsherds generally suggest the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, the foremost example appeared as a circular stamped amphora with an undetectable monogram (Plate 1.5.18; D), nearby Yelkaya Tepe (on the isthmus). The first small pocket field is affiliated with two attached farmsteads and a cistern while an individual farmstead is situated between the rest of fields. Many ruins of sheep-folds appear in the environs. Ancient building blocks reused on a tomb-like storage/closet stand in the middle of the final field. The ancient road passing by the successive fields compatible with topography arrives at a

small strait near Akgeri Tepe and runs down to a deep valley along which regularly distanced cisterns may be found. The aerial photographs have shown slight traces of a theatre-like platform along the ridges of Akgeri Tepe. However, nothing has been evidenced since the target spot could not be reached due to thick vegetation. The plain area known as Gedikçukur is the exact site where the road forks to the south, meeting the outset of a dried up stream called Karahorata Deresi and continues up to the foot of Karayüksek Dağ in the northeast. The ruins of a huge structure, possibly a Hellenistic temple-farmstead complex situated on large, quarry faced ashlar (overwhelmingly isodomic) terrace walls were recorded near Karahorata Deresi (Plate 1.5.19; A,B). This stream reaches the Gedik Bay in the very south. In part, the plan of the mentioned structure/complex, the gate lentos and large limestone boulders worked on the terrace walls quite look like to those of the Apollo Temple. As the literature survey shows (particularly the Amian case, see Sub-part 5.4), this complex could have undertaken a special mission for auditing the public estates and granting the leases of land, which were of economic value, in the name of the public. Regarding its proximity to the southern shores of Phoinix, it could well have acted as a trade depot or a base for civic facilities. Hence, it seems to have been part of a distribution economy or a public finance sector. High above this complex which is surrounded with steep terraces, there lie the base walls of another ancient farmstead whose boundary lines are well visible (Plate 1.5.19; C,D). Situated on a terrace wall between Akgeri Tepe and Gedikçukur, the farmstead possesses a cistern on its southern end while a tomb-like structure and a pile of building blocks lie in the opposite direction, in a walled court- recalling the Roman *atrium*. The placement of a tomb in a pre-planned area often relates to declaration of an ownership<sup>959</sup> which may have grounds for this instant case. A stamped amphora handle, suggesting the early Hellenistic period was recorded in the vicinity (Plate 1.5.20). Passing by a modern field, a cluster of dwellings was recorded just where Gedikçukur is interrupted by the moderate elevations in the north, approaching the narrowest sector of Sindili. Presumably, 8-10 rural type dwellings formed a cluster over this enclave (Plate 1.5.21; A-C). Each of them stands on the terrace walls which were built with rubble

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<sup>959</sup> Alcock. 2007: 131.

masonry. The base walls of a dwelling can be easily tracked in the middle of the enclave but many others are now covered with piles of stones. Presumably, these ruins were used as simple shelters for the livestock. Among the sherd scatters, a stamped amphora handle (appearing in the early Hellenistic form) was recorded. Although very much disturbed, some pottery fragments suggesting *terra sigillata* were also found (Plate 1.5.22). Only one cistern was recorded at the site. If the ruins did not possess any, we may assume that the cistern could have served for the collective usage. This small settlement is quite invisible from the plain area of Sindili. A few ruins with terrace walls may be found near the southern lowlands of Sindili. They could have complemented an orderly arranged compact settlement whose components were possibly spoilt due to intensive cultivation in the modern fields over time. The eastern side of Sindili leans on the slopes of Karayüksek Dağ. Actually, this part reveals almost no settlement remains. Only one cistern and the ruins of a dwelling (Plate 1.5.21; D) situated on a terrace wall may be found on the ancient road responding to topography, towards the *Acropolis*. The sherds observed in the south and southwest sector of the *Acropolis* suggest the late Classical/ early Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The slopes of the *Acropolis* (Hisartepe) and Lower Fenaket are full of late Greek dwellings with clearly visible plots (Plates 1.5.23; A-D; 1.5.24; A,B; 1.5.25; A-D). Despite discreteness, the coursed (in part) polygonal walls are conspicuous. These walls probably formed the terrace sets of dwellings. As a matter of fact, the bases and reused walls of these dwellings address the earlier periods, most probably dating back to the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic era. And the density of dwellings increases in every direction apart from the very northern sector. The dried up stream lying in the east of the *Acropolis* is the natural corridor along which the possible ancient road rose up over the slopes of Burgaz Tepe. The eastern and western slopes of the *Acropolis* abound in ancient building blocks. A few column bases and potsherds two of which were recorded to be stamped amphora handles were found. On the two stamped evidence, one appearing with a monogram (hardly detectable with the reading similar to ΓΙ) reminds of a sample reported by Tuna as dated to 280-

240 B.C.<sup>960</sup> The sherd scatters generally address the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, however Roman and Byzantine fragments were also recorded (Plates 1.5.33, 1.5.34). The ruins of three large buildings (presumably elite or priestly/ public structures) with bossaged isodomic terrace walls are noticeable at the higher codes, directly facing the *Acropolis* (Plate 1.5.24; C,D). This spot approximates the lower western skirt of Burgaz Tepe.

The entrance of the *Acropolis* is in the north (See Appendix C). The two-tier settlement on top of this double-peak hill reveals about 6 (six) cisterns, almost built at regular intervals. The fortification walls show that they were built in different periods (Plate 1.5.26; A-D). As the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C is the possible *terminus-post quem* for their construction (Sub-part 5.1.6), the *diateikhisma* walls<sup>961</sup> worked without mortar and drawing up a tight residential area probably belonged to the pre-Hellenistic era. The coursed polygonal and/or massive, and the irregular and/or isodomic ashlar walls which seem to reflect the “changing military and urban conditions of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C”<sup>962</sup> draw up the outer boundaries while the inner fortification walls appear with coarse masonry worked with small size, polygonal, tightly arranged stones, having discrete extensions. The *diateikhisma* walls generally display the higher silhouettes (Plates 1.5.27; 1.5.28; A,B,D). The walls are built in the NE-SW axis. They continue for almost 300 m in this direction. The perimeter of the outer fortification is about 770 m. The inner fortification measures about 510 m (Appendix D). When it comes to size, the total area of the *Acropolis* on top of Hisartepe measures about 2,6 ha, taking into account the Hellenistic additions during the Rhodian rule.

Like Phoinix, the fortress of Cedrae was probably the administrative center. Its foundation remains an enigma whether it was modified with additions by the

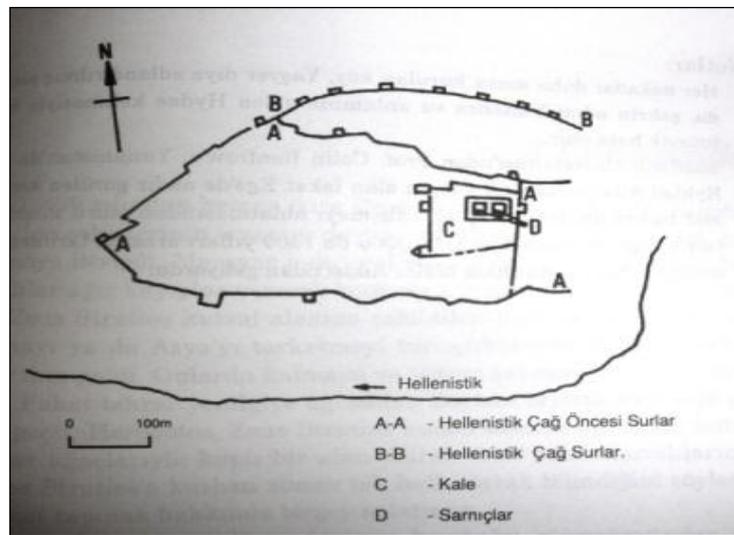
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<sup>960</sup> Tuna. 2012: 43, 45.

<sup>961</sup> Akarca. 1972: 132. Similar phases of construction are attributable to Rhamnous in Attica where the *diateikhisma* walls are dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C and subsequent constructions are of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

<sup>962</sup> *Ibid.* 195. The walls of Iasos which reach 4-5.5 m (213) present a commonality with those of the *Acropolis* as given in Appendix D.

Rhodians or was big enough to sustain a notable population as a small *deme*.<sup>963</sup> A typical fortress- Kuyruklu kale<sup>964</sup>, showing different wall phases comes from the Carian Mylasa.<sup>965</sup> This fortification is perhaps a good instance to be compared with the plan of the *Acropolis* of Phoinix such that the pre-Hellenistic phases of Kuyruklu kale were replaced by the outer Hellenistic walls. The cisterns and the administrative spaces were planned in the middle space, in both of them (Figure 6.25).



**Figure 6.25:** Plan of Kuyruklu kale (Bean. 2000: 43)

Soon after the fortress gate, the stairs (exposed to abrasion) enable entrance to the inner fortress (Plate 1.5.29; A). On the eastern sector of the *Acropolis*, a natural platform nearby the rocky area unveils a Hellenistic inscription- the one explained in Sub-part 5.1.6. The inscription (at 209 m code) mentioning the list of Hellenistic donors for the construction of now absent Dionysos Temple is carved onto a rocky façade, almost in an undisturbed condition (Plates 1.5.29; B, 1.5.31). The original location of a public structure, perhaps the temple, could have been in the southwest of this piece of evidence, however it is still difficult to assert as such. The outer walls

<sup>963</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 64, 68.

<sup>964</sup> Akarca. 1972: 122.

<sup>965</sup> Bean. 2000: 42-43.

of the public structure are more or less recognizable, the spot is affiliated with a large cistern in the middle (Plate 1.5.30; A,B). Falling into the boundaries of the inner fortress, further in the south of the public structure, an interesting spot is bordered with the rock-cut platforms between the large cisterns (Plate 1.5.28; C) and rich in potsherd scatters suggesting Hellenistic and Roman assemblages. An elite/ a royal residence (Plate 1.5.29; C) could have been hereabouts. As emphasized in Sub-part 3.1.2, such structures generally relate to an *asty*. A throne-like rock-cut sitting platform (Plate 1.5.29; D) is visible on the eastern edge of the *Acropolis*, facing the lowland down the outer walls. Indeed, this spot has a safer position on top of the *Acropolis*. The shallow terraces of the northeast *Acropolis* are full of ancient remains. A *bastion* is visible near a large rock-cut cistern. Although nothing has been left, the base of a statue must have been standing in a rock-cut façade- possibly the altar area in the same sector, over a natural terrace below the outer walls. All has been removed. The low code area between the entrance of the *Acropolis* and the eastern slopes of Burgaz Tepe presents evidence with the two stepped pyramidal blocks and the remnants of a gigantic column (Plate 1.5.32; A-D). The ancient road passes by this area and makes its course towards the Apollo Temple- actually a *naiskos* (Plate 1.5.35; A,B). That is, the mentioned road flows down to the western slopes of Burgaz Tepe along which typical block scatters, the remnants of dwellings and a cistern are visible. Between Burgaz Tepe and Gökseriç, a dried up stream bed flows across a narrow valley which ends up at the Apollo Temple. Obviously, the temple is situated near this water source. It is one of the least disturbed edifices in Phoinix. Although the temenos walls were removed to be used for the modern field boundaries, the plan of the building is well recognizable. Behind the *pronaos*, its *cella* is rather small. Two inscriptions (See Sub-part 5.1.6), one dedicated to Apollo and another one which is barely readable beneath the gate *lento*, are visible (Plate 1.5.35; C,D). The script is of ancient Greek. It is not surprising to witness the name of Apollo since he is depicted on the coins which are to be taken back to the Carian domain in the Peraea. The meaning and importance ascribed to the Apollo Temple might be found in its outlook which almost remained intact, and the distinguished masonry which supersedes the ruins of some recognizable buildings stated until herein. When Davies states that “..... from the late 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards, .....,

*temples remain the best indicator of the impact on society of the process involved in building*<sup>966</sup>, such a determination may perhaps apply to the case of Phoinix' Apollo Temple in which the craftsmanship and the elegant techniques of the Hellenistic period were reflected in the physical appearance.

The sacred landscapes of Anatolia may be questioned in terms of *peribolos-cella* (open air sanctuary) building fashion which may be seen in Miletus, Didyma and Ephesos. The Apollo sanctuary of Didyma in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C twice refreshed itself in the Ionic order with an open-air *cella* like an internal court (*adyton*) and *prodomos* “comprising two segments”. The cult practices were made in front of a *naiskos*, in line with the Carian tradition. A *naiskos* embraced “a sacred spring associated with an oracle”. In brief, a strong Carian influence is observed “in the form of cult and the Greek architectural elements” in Didyma.<sup>967</sup> On the contrary, e.g. andrones of the temple in Labraunda were larger than those which were normal *hestiatoria* in the Classical temples.<sup>968</sup> If we need a reference, the plan of Apollo Temple in Phoinix is perhaps more similar to the sanctuary on Kynthos (Figure 6.26) where Apollo might have been worshipped.<sup>969</sup>



**Figure 6.26:** Plan of Sanctuary on Kynthos (Ainian and Leventi 2009: 222)

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<sup>966</sup> Davies. 2001: 215.

<sup>967</sup> Ainian and Leventi 2009: 229- 230.

<sup>968</sup> Hellström. 1987: 101.

<sup>969</sup> Ainian and Leventi 2009: 222.

Up on the eastern codes of Burgaz Tepe (between Burgaz Tepe and Top Tepe), overlooking the stream bed which runs down to the Apollo Temple, a gigantic farmstead with large, polygonal terrace walls can be accessed (Plate 1.5.36; A,B). The style of masonry applied on the farmstead is quarry faced ashlar and polygonal. A large press stone, possibly the part of a small atelier, faces the north at the frontal corner of this isolated settlement (Plate 1.5.36; C). A cistern lies at the rear side, in the eastern sector. The profiles of the potsherd scatters, which particularly show that they belonged to the mushroom rim amphorae, suggest the late Classical, early Hellenistic periods (Plate 1.5.37). At the frontal part of this farmstead, an ancient road begins from its terrace walls (Plate 1.5.36; D), travels the eastern slopes of Burgaz Tepe, heads toward the *Acropolis*, almost makes a U-turn and vanishes in the east of Tülütepe. On this route, one can see a watch tower (*prygos*) built on the top of Burgaz Tepe (Plate 1.5.38; A). The tower is hidden from all directions except its east. Very nearby, between Burgaz Tepe and Tülü Tepe, a broken press stone was recorded (Plate 1.5.38; B). It probably belonged to a small farmstead since reused walls draw the boundary limits of some recent fields.

Further inland, an ancient building- possibly related to the neighbouring site of a cluster of dwellings lies on the top of a shallow terrace at the beginning of a strait in the southern end of a pocket plain named as Dağ Yeri Location. Here is a site where the ancient road travelling the eastern side of Tülü Tepe passes nearby the mentioned building. The building has a good vision of the inland area, the surrounding agricultural terraces in the east and the open sea in the west. There is a cistern in the courtyard at the rear end. The building is conspicuous with the rock-cut stairs (Plate 1.5.39; A) in the middle. The potsherds address the Roman era in the neighbouring site. The neighbouring site facing the modern fields in the plain area of Dağ Yeri is affiliated with a small scale inland and ruined settlement (where a minimum number of 10 dwellings at an elevation of 320-330 m, two press beds one of which is *in-situ* and two cisterns on the upper section were documented) situated at the foot of a double topped limestone hill (Plate 1.5.39; B,C). On the opposite side, the agricultural terraces along the slopes of Sarıyurdu Tepe and the ruins of sheep-folds can be seen. There are very few diagnostic potsherds with line decorations and

generally appearing with a red paste in that they possibly date back to the Roman period (Plate 1.5.39; D).

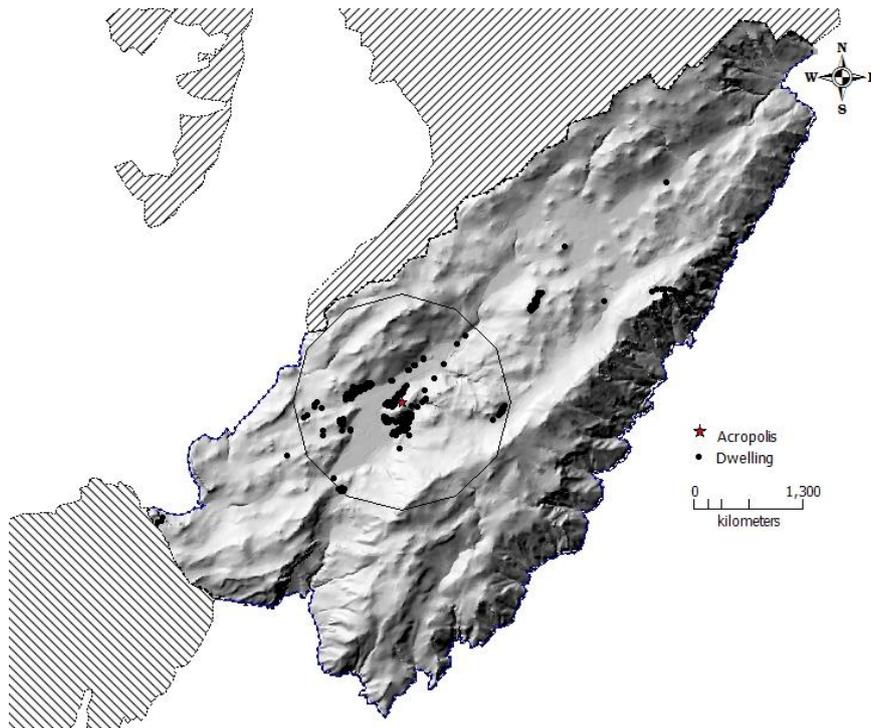
Briefly, Phoinix is quite rich in respect of the evidence for settlement. In the light of the above-mentioned data, Appendix B and Plate 1, the chronological classification based on the settlement areas are visually summarized in Plate 2.1.28.

### **6.3. Distance Analysis of Settlements**

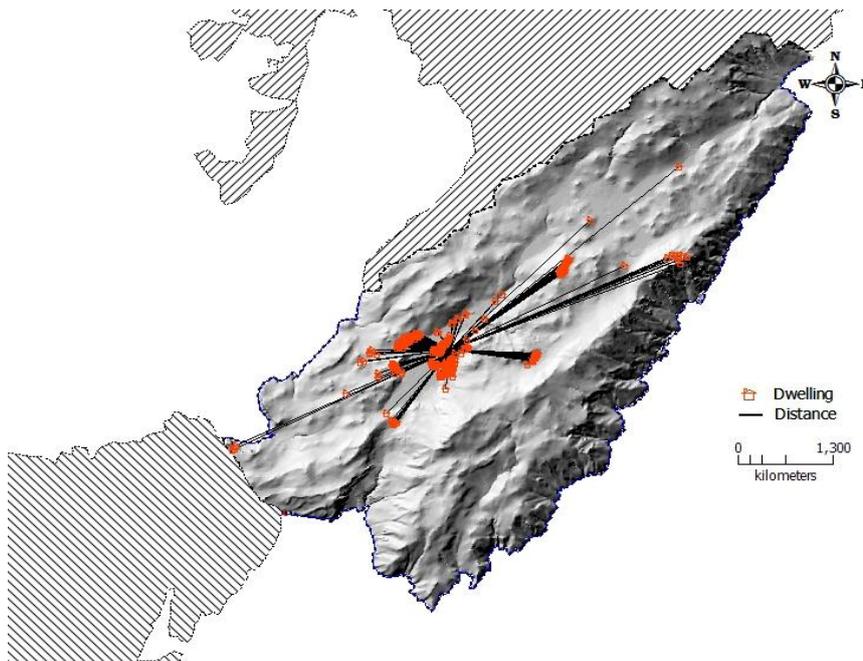
Regarding the territories of Phoinix, the *deme* measures about 9 km in the NE-SW direction while its width is 4.5 km on average. The narrowest sector in the northeast is obviously interrupted by the undulated terrain and this part of the *deme* grows into a tight silhouette, suggesting unavailability for settlement.

The density of settlements is extremely high in the close vicinity of the *Acropolis*. The situation is also favoured with the growing number of water features and pressing installations. Based on the spherical buffer width distance (calculated in Map Info 10.5), the designation of the compact settlements or clusters of dwellings marks centuriation, lying not more than 1.3 km distance from the *Acropolis* (Figures 6.27, 6.28) and occupying a total area of ca. 50 ha (disregarding the waste land but limited to the area where the settlement data has been attained) at the maximum. The number of dwellings gradually decreases as they move away from the core (Figure 6.29). Yet, the majority is situated 1 km away at most. The exceptions, e.g. the fortress settlement along the slopes of Kaledağ in the northeast or the group of dwellings at Kaynarlık Tepe at the tip of the southwestern border (Also see Appendix B) are refuted for the criteria set above (as 1.3 km) although they may make up notable clusters of dwellings. Notwithstanding, the exceptions could have burdened various functions in the *chora* or are attributable to discussions on early settlement.

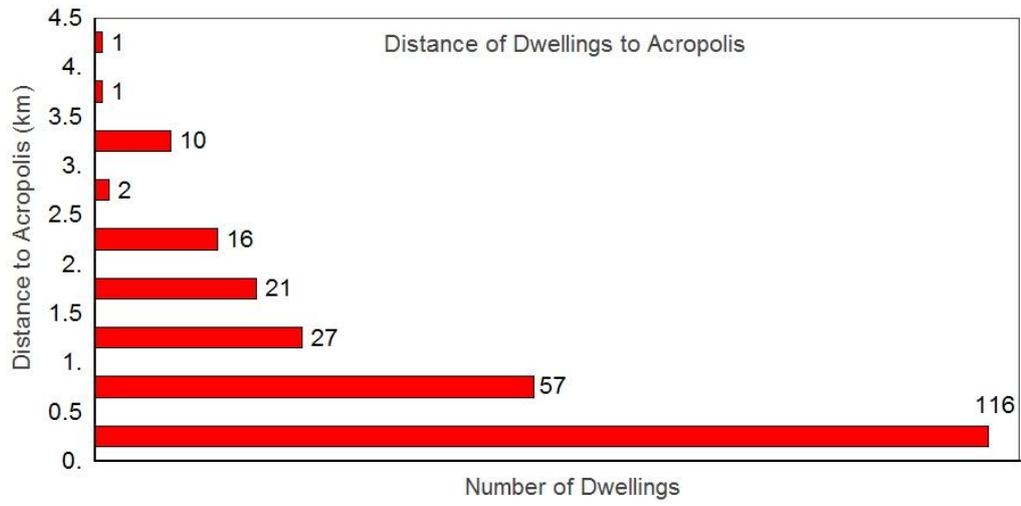
Any farmstead has a connection to a dwelling or cluster in the *chora* or to a dwelling in the *deme* centre. The closest distance of farmsteads to either type is 289 m while the farthest is around 1.2 km (Figure 6.30; Table 6.1). The situation is explainable



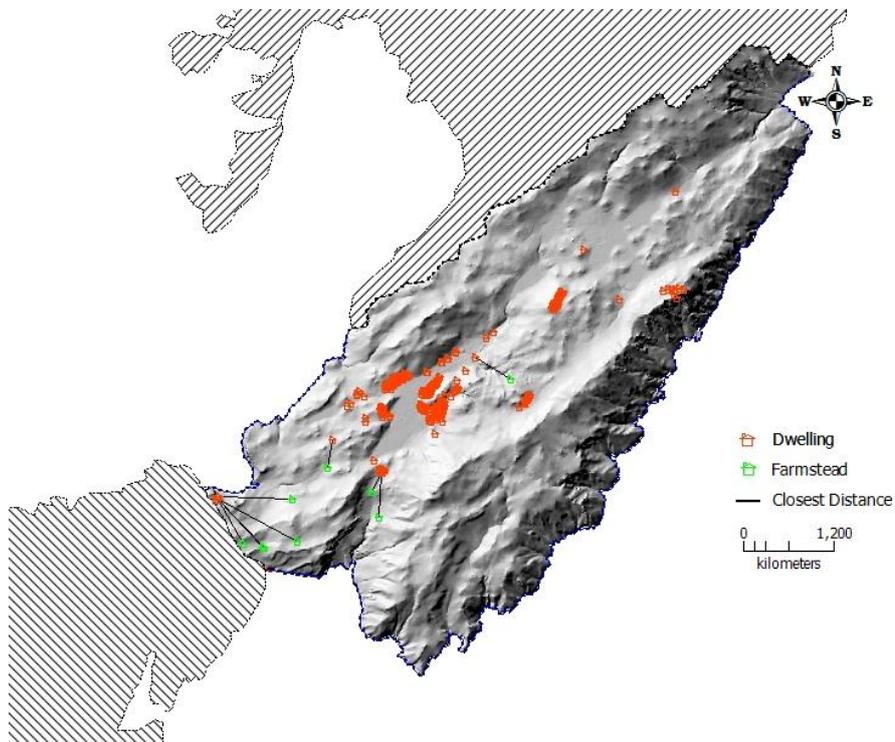
**Figure 6.27:** Compact Settlement Within A Spherical Buffer Zone of 1.3 km in the Vicinity of *Acropolis*



**Figure 6.28:** Distance of Dwellings to *Acropolis*



**Figure 6.29:** Histogram of Distance of Dwellings to *Acropolis*



**Figure 6.30:** Closest Distance of Farmsteads to Dwellings

**Table 6.1:** Closest Distance of Farmsteads to Dwellings

Origin (No)	Destination (No)	Distance (m)
1	44	958
2	45	375
3	42	686
4	42	887
5	42	863
6	67	334
7	42	<b>1.180</b>
8	79	<b>289</b>
9	79	590

\* (No) indicates the queue number of the geo-referenced object (farmstead or dwelling) embedded in 1:25.000 base map and used for the calculation of distance.

with practical supply to a market demand. Although one of them (No: 6 in Table 6.1, see above) in the east of Burgaz Tepe (See Plate 3) falls into the fixed criteria of 1.3 km, the rest of the farmsteads lay on or nearby the ancient road, which is supposed to have ensured connectivity to the nearest “urban” cluster.

The application of internal coding during field work (Figure 1.3) and seeking close relations of the *deme* center with the surrounding has contributed to our understanding of the possible catchment area and also through building up the distance criteria. Briefly, the relational evidence recorded during field work corresponds to three quadrangles: O20-d1, O20-d2, O20-d4. SSIN(O20A00501) addresses Kaledağ as it was the first site surveyed soon before Gökçalça which was coded as SSIN (O20A00502). The Upper Fenaket, surveyed as the 8<sup>th</sup> (eighth) site is broken down into two sub-sections since the neighbouring area with dispersed plots of dwellings on its south seems to complement the site, regardless of the recent outlook. The ruins of isodomic walls lying in the southwest of Sindili and complementing the *deme* center were associated with a separate code of SSIN(O20A00512). Although the walls seem to be isolated from the compact settlement in the *deme* centre, the base walls of now earthed dwellings around Sindili could have had a close contact with this spot. Likewise, SSIN(O20A00503) and

SSIN(O20A00505) were reserved to the possible *necropolis* and the two rock-cut tombs lying in the very north, respectively. The codes are visually sampled in Plate 2.1.29.

#### **6.4. Land Use**

Extensive land use is concentrated along the NE-SW direction, beginning from modern Taşlıca and stretching down to Gedikçukur within the *territorium* of Phoinix (Plate 2.1.30). Accorded with field and indoor work, a general category on the land use breakdown is given in Table 6.2 (Also refer to Appendix B). The first category is to be consumed by the land suitable for agriculture. Two sub-categories regarding agricultural land use is subject to question. As the modern practices show and that the issue is also attested through literary evidence, the plain areas, often used for cereal cultivation must have made up the greatest percentage of the agricultural land. The colluvial plain of Sindili and the flat grounds covered with terra-rosa soils in the north-northeast of modern Taşlıca fall into the first sub-category. For the second sub-category, the best indicators come out as spoilt terraces over which olive and vines were cultivated and the orchards were planted. It is already theorized in Sub-part 5.3 that the territorial boundaries of Phoinix would not have been below 2824 ha. This value is attained excluding the Elaeoussa Island. The island could have had a connection with Phoinix, however it will prove futile to include the total area it occupied into the above stated figure since there is no survey data, thus a promising information at hand. Based on the photogrammetric study of terraces and some current data obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture (particularly on the plain areas suitable for agriculture), a probabilistic approach on fixing 340 ha of land to the agricultural activity was made. Out of 2824 ha (excluding Elaeoussa), 12 % (twelve percent) of the land is then attributable to this category (Table 6.2).

The second category of land use is reserved to the built areas which were classified according to the order of settlements, the space reserved to the deceased and the manufacturing sector. The second order clusters generally possess catchment areas

**Table 6.2:** Land Use in Phoinix (ha)

Type of Land	~ Area (ha)	Percentage (%)	Remarks
<b>LSA</b>			
Alluvial Plain	131		
Terraced Areas	≥ 209		Min. value assessed as 209 ha
<b>Total LSA</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>12</b>	
<b>BA</b>			
First Order Settlement	~ 27,6 ha		<i>Acropolis</i> and Lower Fenaket
Second and Third Order Settlement	~ 30,7 ha		Fortress settlement at Kaledağ included; Gökçalça site excluded
Water Features	~ 4 ha		
<i>Necropolis</i>	≥ 0,5		Min. value assessed as 0,5 ha
“Industrial”/ Workshops	<1		Min. optimum value assessed as 0,1 ha
<b>Total BA</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>LFG- A/WL</b>	≤ 2421		Including maquis and harsh terrain, max. value assessed as 2421
<b>Total LFG- A/WL</b>	<b>2421</b>	<b>86</b>	

**LSA:** Land Suitable for Agriculture

**BA:** Built Area

**LFG:** Land for Grazing

**A/WL:** Abandoned/ Waste Land

between 0.5-5 ha. As the dwellings are often detachable from the water features, such features are already taken into account, thus embedded in the settlement data. It is worth mentioning that the third-order settlements assessed under the built areas in the *chora* may give some idea for further debates of size of particularly the farmsteads in ancient times.

A complete reference acquired through the Amian inscriptions that leasing small plots was widely applied for 1.8 and 0.7 ha<sup>970</sup> proves some parallels with the gigantic farmstead complex (Plate 3 (SSIN(O20A00519)) and its catchment area in Gedikçukur. Except the two big cases in Gedikçukur and the east of Burgaz Tepe (SSIN(O20A00526)), on average, the boundaries of farmsteads rate up to between 0.1- 0.3 ha, almost testifying the average values emphasized by Alcock (Sub-part 3.1.2). When the built areas, all resting on terrain enriched with terra-rosa soils are

<sup>970</sup> Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 282-284.

considered, the smallest share of land rounding up to 2 % (two percent) is attained. As offered by the majority of land, the final category needs to be outlined in favour of the land for grazing or non-functional areas which correspond to 86 % (eighty-six percent) of land, having the greatest share.

## 6.5. General Plan and Manner of Organisation

Similarities in shape and internal rhythm give clues for pattern analysis<sup>971</sup> in any kind of settlement. Although there is need for verification in respect of the political borders of two neighbouring *demes*- Phoinix and Thysannos, the environmental attributes suggest a vivid setting for Phoinix; it developed in the NE-SW axis according to topography within the natural limits. The dynamics of the landscape ultimately caused the *deme* to be transformed into a dendritic<sup>972</sup> pattern over time such that fragmented land-holding stretched from the *deme* center outwards and represented an agricultural efficiency all over the *chora*. The environs of the *Acropolis* are affiliated with complex-nucleated settlements, which are associated with the plain area. On the contrary, the *chora* is occupied with dispersed settlements linkable to an intensive use of agricultural terraces.

Except the territorial extensions of modern Taşlıca, the north-northeast part of the *deme* is almost blank so the earliest compact form settlements (perhaps related to seasonal movements and that urgent intensive surveys are required), presumably pre-Hellenistic, could have rested thereabouts on the raised grounds. Obviously, these maintained a safe and defensible position with high visibility. The assumption may be reinforced by weak surface material and the ruins worked with (perhaps) Lelegian influence masonry, which are observable over an inland enclave on top of the Gökçalça site.

Small fortress settlements situated on the hills, e.g. the one at Callipolis, may help to understand what was happening in Gökçalça. Both could have been Carian

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<sup>971</sup> Bell. 1999: 215-216.

<sup>972</sup> Similar to what Tuna suggests for period B of the Cnidian Peninsula (Tuna. 1990: 365).

settlements before the advent of Rhodians at Phoinix.<sup>973</sup> What is worth mentioning further is the fortress settlement at Kaledağ which suggests a permanent settlement over a broad time span. In brief, the northeastern part of the *deme* could have been perceived as the robust segment in the planning process.

Remarkably, the density of settlement increases away from modern Taşlıca. Further in the south and southwest, strong indicators acquired through various deposits address an extensive settlement whether they be in the *deme* center or the distant *chora*. The surface assemblages observed during field works and the secondary evidence show that this part of Taşlıca survived during the Classical, Hellenistic and the post-Hellenistic era.

As Osborne states, nucleated identity may have strong emphasis on the political organisation<sup>974</sup> of the *deme*. The *Acropolis* may then be appointed to the first order settlement which is complemented with the lower settlement. Another issue might be raised considering the forms of habitation such that the lower settlement bears resemblance to the second or third order settlements (often found in its *chora*) in the method of construction. In other words, it was not simply the location of complex settlements limited to the environs of the *deme* center and observable within a buffer zone of 1.3 km but the common architectural fashion often shared by second and third order groups. Anyhow, each component of the complex settlements is associated with terrace walls planned in an orderly arrangement and the ownership of plots is extremely clear, including the terraced enclosures.

The dispersed patterns reveal identity in the second and third order settlements in Phoinix. The clusters corresponding to 5-20 dwellings, and the small scale or large isolated farmsteads- the so-called *aule* situated out in the *chora*, fall into this group. That is to say, the majority of clusters stand close to the *deme* center while these clusters act as an interface between the farmsteads and the *Acropolis*, situated on or nearby a predefined road network. Regardless of type, a strong communication

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<sup>973</sup> Bean and Cook 1957: 65-66.

<sup>974</sup> Osborne. 1985: 59-63.

network was ensured via pathways and ancient routes between any order settlements. Closely related to communication, indeed, the issue of visibility is arbitrary in view of the forms of habitation. The farmsteads situated on relatively high grounds in the *chora* are able to see the agricultural areas. Slightly different, the second order clusters often face the *Acropolis* and the coastal band in either way.

Reminding Methana, the terrains of Phoinix abound in pocket plains. The landscape ultimately affected the agrarian life and the settlement pattern. On average, the elevations range between 100-200 m where the height of terrace walls decreases on moderate slopes. The boundary lines of terraces, most of which must have emerged during the Late Roman period,<sup>975</sup> seem to have shaped the *chora* of Phoinix. In accordance with the limits of topography and geology, the terrain suitable for settlement and agrarian activity can reach up to elevations where the boundaries of limestone begin. Settlements or terraces can rarely be traced over such limits except the defensive structures.

Generally, peninsula settlements were multiport settings. The majority of Aiolian and Ionian settlements were located on the coastline since they were involved in maritime affairs.<sup>976</sup> In respect of the natural borders, Phoinix must have used three small harbours lying in the northeast, southwest and south (See Figure 6.19). Large scale surveys conducted in Boeotian lands have shown that 7 Geometric, 23 Archaic and 76 Classical and early Hellenistic settlements were used actively.<sup>977</sup> When accorded with population booms in the Hellenistic period, the management of harbours could have been fully achieved in the mentioned period in Phoinix. However, the northeast harbour could have been mostly reserved to the military purposes while the rest might have triggered the pace of development, which is more explainable with the culmination of socio-economic life.

Planned with stepped entrances generally facing the south-southeast, the megaron

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<sup>975</sup> Bell. 1999: 275.

<sup>976</sup> Akurgal. 1996: 138.

<sup>977</sup> Snodgrass. 2000: 12-13.

dwellings in the *deme* centre often reflect functionality. Elongated rooms with hearths, thick walled facades, small windows, courtyards, protruding chimneys, and roofs with earthen membrane<sup>978</sup> fit to the general design of megaron dwellings at the lower settlement of Phoinix, taking into account some certain exceptions.<sup>979</sup> Although the layout of houses might have greatly varied from region to region, even within a region, the transformation of the simple plan dwellings- as accorded with the possible Classical catchment area of the *Acropolis*- into elongated spaces with additional rooms may be reinterpreted in favour of the changes in the socioeconomic structure<sup>980</sup> or the necessities brought by population pressures in the Hellenistic period. Although difficult to tackle from the aspect analysis, it seems that about one third of the dwellings facing the southeast opted to minimize the adverse effects of sunlight radiating from the terrain during the hottest times of long summers in such an arid atmosphere. Although the positioning of the compact settlements in the vicinity of the *Acropolis* varies, the manner of constructing the living quarters in the form of terrace settlements seems to have eliminated further effects for those facing the west.

Further on architecture, the masonry schemes can be informative. The Classical and Hellenistic techniques of constructions were time-consuming and costly. Elegant stones were often used in publicly owned entities. The use of local stones on such buildings was an expression of financial power or a declaration of self-sufficiency.<sup>981</sup> Maintaining the status of a *deme*, one should not expect, for instance, sophisticated wall remains at all parts of Phoinix. Although divergent techniques can be traced in the *deme* centre and out in the *chora*, many samples are datable to the Hellenistic era. What is left at hand is that apart from those of the *Acropolis*, the two Hellenistic wall series recorded in the opposite sectors (NE; SSIN(O2A00506)) and (SW; SSIN(O2A00512)) may trigger further studies.

As topography is amongst the basic criteria on the formation of many ancient

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<sup>978</sup> Başođlan. 2004: 396-399.

<sup>979</sup> Özberk. 2004: 54-91.

<sup>980</sup> Lang. 2005: 31.

<sup>981</sup> Osborne. 1987: 81, 92.

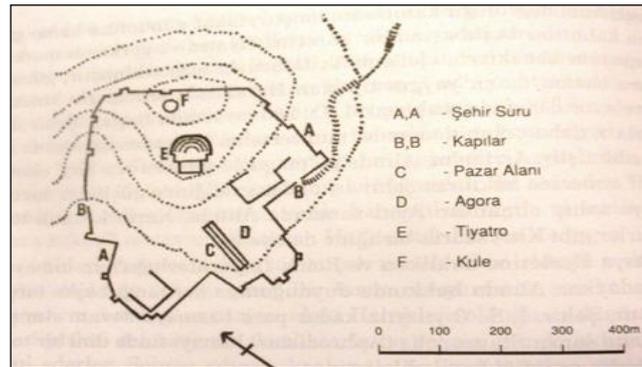
fortifications<sup>982</sup>, the *Acropolis* of Phoinix needs to be appointed to the first place on making up the backbone of man-made environment. Hence, it draws up the core of the general plan (Plate 2.2.1). The walls on top of the *Acropolis* seemingly establish the very core of the *deme* (Plate 2.2.2). It seems that the walls in the north of the *Acropolis* (SSIN(O2A00506) and the west of Sindili SSIN(O2A00512) drew the limits of civic administrative boundaries which now appear to have ended up with the *necropolis* area in the northernmost sector. However, slight traces of outer fortification walls travelling the lower slopes of *Acropolis* at Sindili level, and so detected through the aerial images, might be inspiring for reconstructing an alternative plan (Plate 2.1.31). Unless systematic excavations are conducted, we may never be certain whether the lower settlement was walled at the foot of the hill. Notwithstanding, all we can trace about such walls are shown in Plate 2.2.3 (the traces of outer wall relics are shown with discrete white lines), regardless of period. On the other hand, the physical proximity of the Hellenistic walls (SSIN(O2A00512)) to the southwest *chora* may suggest the active use of a possible logistic/urban service route running from the isthmus. Having an ancient road pass across hereabouts strengthens the idea that this part of Phoinix could have acted as a nexus for the economic activity or was a lively area for the foreign travelers.

Smart landmarks for fair vision of visitors and tradesmen approaching the city were widely applied in ancient times.<sup>983</sup> Disregarding the city walls surrounding the entire settlement of Alinda (modern Karpuzlu), some parallels in terms of planning and relative positioning (Figure 6.31) may be established with Phoinix such that a watch tower, the *agora* and the main entrances to the settlement present integrity at the core in Alinda. As the degree of disturbance is high all over Phoinix, it is difficult to suggest a precise spot for an *agora*. However, it could have been somewhere around Sindili, on the west over the plain area across which the modern road passes by. There is a need to rethink about the proximity of the isodomic wall range (SSIN(O2A00512)) and the remnants of a public structure lying at this spot which could have had proximity or relation to an *agora*.

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<sup>982</sup> Akarca. 1972: 128.

<sup>983</sup> Bilde. 1999: 229.



**Figure 6.31:** Plan of Alinda (Bean, 2000: 204)

Either situated on moderate slopes or slightly elevated grounds, the manner of planning the farmsteads suggests that they could easily master the agricultural terraces. The density of small farmsteads increasing in the southwest *chora* is explainable with a “capillary diffusion”<sup>984</sup> as a consequence of possibly the Roman invasions in the countryside. That no notable farmsteads appear in the north-northeast may be that the fields were patrolled from over natural platforms, e.g. the watch tower on top of Sulukale Tepe. Disregarding the problems on dating, such towers could have functioned as part of the agricultural sector in the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic period.

Two farmsteads, which were part of a solid plan within the borders of Phoinix, require attention: the possible temple-farmstead complex (SSIN(O2A00519)) discovered in the south and the other (SSIN(O2A00526)) in the eastern sector of the *Acropolis*. With a view to grasp the function and gratitude of publicly audited complexes in the Hellenistic Peraea, the positioning of these structures are meaningful. The orientation of Phoinix towards the most advantageous corridors and the idea behind easy shipment of goods and services to the possible predetermined locations in a way favours the presence of capital, work force, production, storage, distribution and feeding capacity. Accruable to economic matters, presumably, the deme aimed at providing security in the distinct parts of its *territorium*. There is also

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<sup>984</sup> Alcock, 2007: 142.

no reason why these gigantic complexes were not the by-products of a monopoly or state (possibly Rhodes) imposed regulations (or they were perhaps managed by the *oinotamias* (wine treasurer)). On the other hand, we may need to pay attention to what Alcock states on the ineffective position of elite domiciles in the countryside. The monumentality of elite residences in the countryside during the Roman times was in fact some few representations of the coming period by the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. Villas almost reproduced nothing outside core production areas. The special farmsteads in Phoinix- if taken over by the Romans in the last phase- may also be taken in a broader context and evaluated under the debates of creating a new fashion<sup>985</sup> and way of living.

Further related to the *chora*, various evidence relating to processing platforms affiliated with water features mark the designation of individual or collective workshops aimed at domestic production and/or international trade, mainly between the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. Despite much evidence roaming around the countryside, the undisturbed press recorded in the vicinity of Bahçakise (SSIN(O2A00511)) facing the *Acropolis* is perhaps the best indicator of the agrarian way of living (whether self-sufficient or not) such that a systematic policy was not necessarily implemented out in the *chora* but took precedence in all the parts available.

The mentioning by Özberk of the absence of public buildings in Fenaket (if not all constructed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century) needs reconsideration.<sup>986</sup> The ancient Phoinix could have been planned taking into account the integrity of public areas in the vicinity of the *Acropolis* (Plate 2.2.4); the public structure on top of the *Acropolis* (perhaps in relation to the Dionysos cult), the *naiskos* of Apollo (See Plate 2.2.5), the ruins of a possible public structure associable with the walls at Sindili (perhaps in relation to an *agora*, an open gathering space, etc.), and the other potential edifices which vanished over time. Despite the distance factor, the Hellenistic walls almost meeting the *necropolis* area in the very north may be incorporated to this list. When considered in

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<sup>985</sup> *Ibid.* 139-156.

<sup>986</sup> Özberk. 2004: 45, 110.

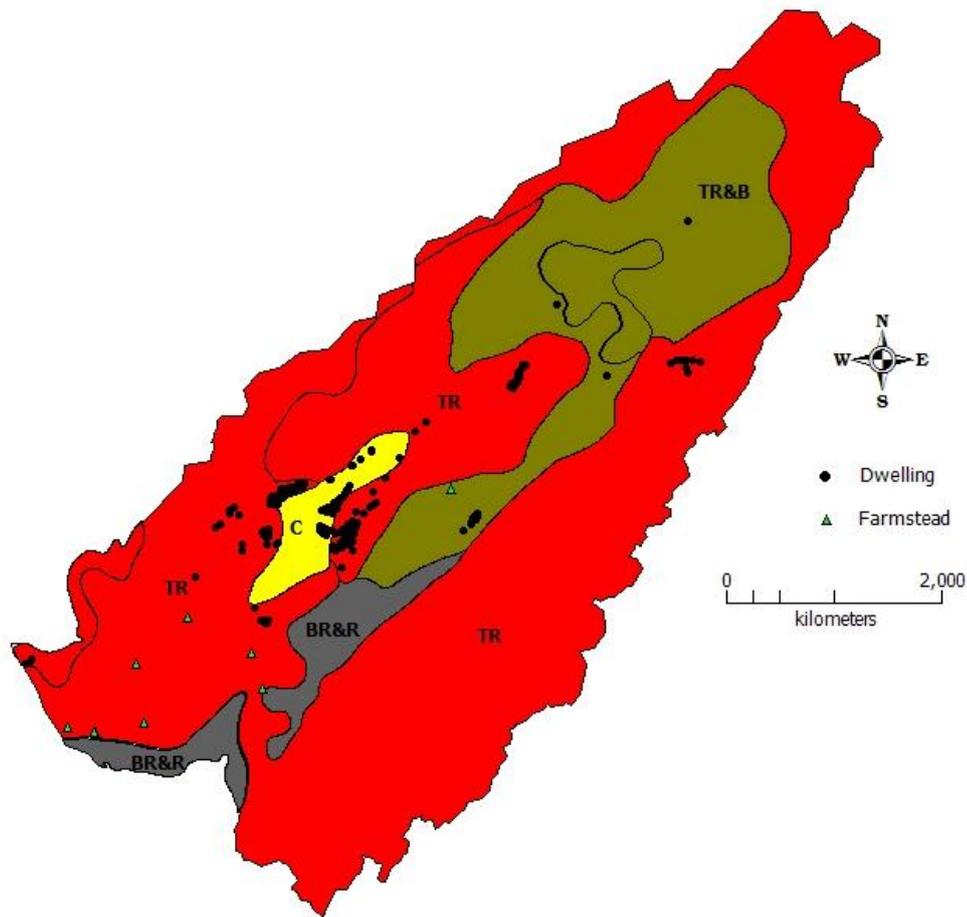
conjunction with a broader *deme* network, the coalescence of public spaces and the outlook of Phoinix may be completed with the two gigantic farmsteads stated above.

Settlement decisions are highly affected by water. Similar cases were apparently valid for extensively occupied sites which had physical proximity to “rich alluvial soils, water and lines of communication” in northern Caria in prehistoric times, as well. Inspired from the fortified Hellenistic sites in northern Caria, we may reconsider the designation of components of the *Acropolis* of Phoinix by looking at the placement of water features, gates, walls and watch towers (possibly *bastions*) enclosed within the outlying area of the *Acropolis* in Korteke (Körteke).<sup>987</sup> Well observable on the two gigantic farmsteads and the compact settlements (in the *deme* center) situated near the stream beds, a permanent water source was an indispensable aspect. For those which have a disadvantage from the point of a natural water source, the impact of water is discernable through man-made installations. In brief, the cisterns and wells must have been planned in view of the settlement behavior but regardless of the settlement type.

A close relation between the soil matrix and vegetation, and the built areas is highly reflected through the planning of dwellings in Phoinix. The choice of settlement considering the fertile land is so vivid that except in a few cases, the complex settlements, small scale clusters or isolated farmsteads were constructed on typical *terra rosa* soils (Figure 6.32) in which case no random settlement is attributable to ground effect. Although aspect was a determinant factor in the orientation of settlement components, terracing could be applied anywhere blank and preferably below 300 m. That 43% of the terraces face the northwest and southeast is explainable with the axial orientation of Phoinix in the NE-SW. Not limited to the close environs of the living quarters but also the opposite sectors of the settlement zone were preferred at the same time such that new lands deviating from the original axis of the *deme* were exploited effectively. Communication, on the other hand, was vital for the maintenance of a one-body *deme* despite the topographical constraints.

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<sup>987</sup> Marchese. 1989: 33, 73.



**Figure 6.32:** Relation of Settlement to Terra-Rosa Soil

### 6.6. Change Process in the Settlement Pattern

It seems that the *deme* of Phoinix experienced a development process from a core to the countryside over time. One outstanding question that remains is where was the core settlement? It could well have been different from where the *Acropolis* now stands. Then, questions about the problem of period are to be included in the list. The list of questions can be expanded posing the most difficult: How did it happen? These are rather difficult to answer.

A preliminary approach may be based on the spatial relations of the *chora* and the *deme* center and interpreting in light of them. As spatial processes relate to criteria

like relational positioning, spacing, clustering, size, function, distance, land use, settlement pattern, accessibility<sup>988</sup>, etc., we may further rely on some specific questions like: “How far and through which process has any displacement taken place in the vertical dimension? What is the relationship between off-site and in-site between subsurface and surface scatter?”<sup>989</sup>

It is considered that the foremost site to research further about this *deme* is Gökçalça. Unless micro morphological techniques are applied, the real situation can never be understood. On the other hand, this site is at least expected to be one of the original zones which may give insight of the significant shifts from small scale dispersed settlements, which could have taken place during the pre-Classical periods. A long-term development may be the answer. Although social factors are often attributable to lowlands presenting nucleated forms of settlement, episodic erosions, overexploitation of resources or catastrophic changes are, for example, interpretable for the case of Makriani, otherwise Gökçalça if they were short life dispersed settlements.<sup>990</sup> If not, we may need to think about more on socio-cultural or economic incidents in the long-run as cultural and social aspects account for a change process.<sup>991</sup> Gradual changes are often explained under social factors which are debated under Marxist approaches, as well. The transition from kinship relations to the ancient modes of production from Crete and Mycenae to Classical Greek city-states over half a millennium took place resulting from the forces and relations of production.<sup>992</sup> It would not be unusual that the Peraea could have witnessed something similar. Within the economic context, Phoinix has lots of things to say.

The function ascribed to Phoinix in Sub-part 5.4 needs consideration in terms of the positioning of different order sites and their familiarity with the agricultural, even pastoral lands. Potsherd scatters and typical architectural features show that the settlement, thus population trends experienced a peak in the Hellenistic period.

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<sup>988</sup> Nystuen. 1968: 35.

<sup>989</sup> Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988: 507.

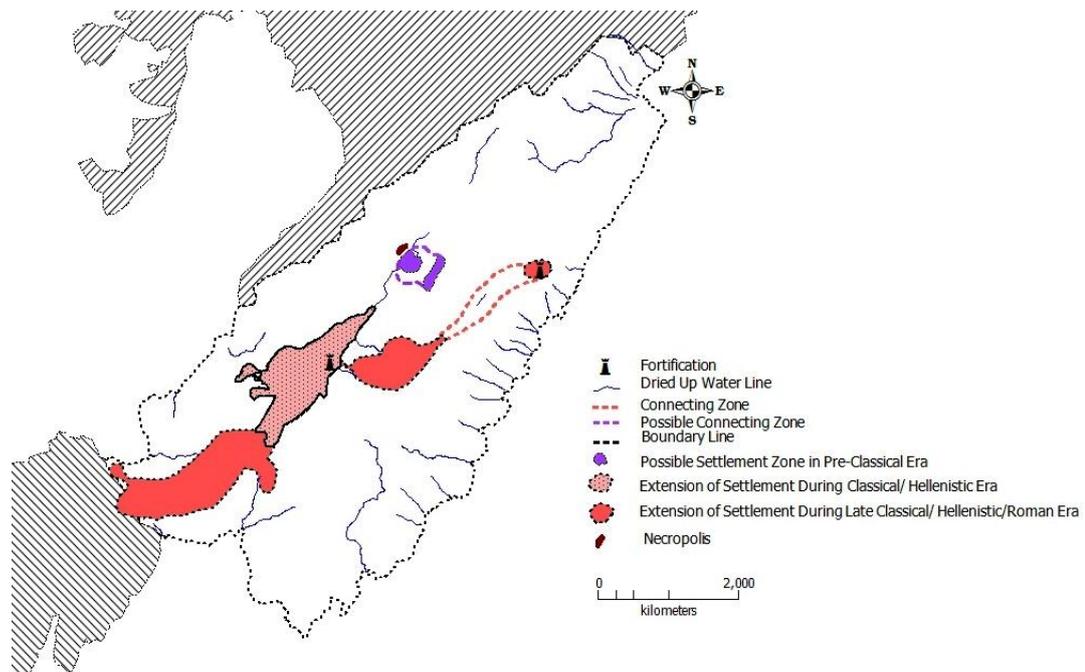
<sup>990</sup> French and Whitelaw 1999: 178.

<sup>991</sup> Bell. 1999: 217.

<sup>992</sup> Southall. 1998: 56.

Although we find complex settlements in the vicinity of Sindili, no full compact design is attributable to the entire *deme* due to fragmented lands. It may then be suggested that the real “urban” core and the center of attraction emerged at the *Acropolis* and nearby.

Although the peak of development is more or less attributable to the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic period, there is still a possibility that shifts from a Classical settlement was experienced in the near environs of the *Acropolis* as the potsherds suggest. Hypothetically, the *phrourion* at Kaledağ could have co-existed while the *Acropolis* was already there. As the sporadic habitat and the dispersed patterns make up the foremost outlook in all directions of the *Acropolis*, which has a connection zone with Kaledağ, the sphere of influence of the *Acropolis* must have been greatly geared toward the southwest (Figure 6.33). However, a search for new water resources (underground water) could have encouraged the late dwellers to move toward the northern sector (Appendix E) where evidence for a substantial ancient settlement is almost absent.



**Figure 6.33:** Change Process in the Settlement of Phoinix

## 6.7. Estimation of Population

As no comprehensive survey has been made over the entire Peraea until now, there are lots of never-ending questions. To come up with satisfactory interpretations, more than half of the sites should have been more thoroughly excavated. Notwithstanding, a projection of the possible population range of the sampling case of Phoinix shall be tried in order to refrain from greater risks on the subject matter.

It seems that core-periphery and eco-demographic models fit to the continuing process of “regional demographic and economic growth following core contact”<sup>993</sup> in the Peraea. Was Peraea a closed economy? Probably not. The reverse would be unrealistic when the Rhodian control and imposed citizenship which hallmarked a prosperous era and lively economy is subject to question. Various methods are ahead for making projections of a population which relate to the potential of the Peraea. In doing so, we may need to pay attention to the trends in experimental archaeology, generally based on the recent comparative data demonstrating a correlation with the historical records and the cumulative approaches, for the case of Phoinix.

Along with what has been referred to in Sub-part 4.5, a list of criteria is restored to the (i) territorial size and degree of land exploitation models aided with productivity, amount of labour, production rates (good and bad years) and self-sufficiency; (ii) demographic factors which have close relation to mobility degrees, socio-political conditions, the ratio of urban and non-urban and the notion of citizenship; (iii) historical written records (the Ottoman archives, tribute lists) and (iv) first hand-data on the number of settlements recorded during the field works.

If we turn back to the Ottoman records, the name Tarahye, the corrupted form of Daraçya, will soon address modern Bozburun. Muğla, Datya, Tarahye were recognized as sub-provinces under the Menteşe Sancağı (Province). The method of censor applied in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was based on calculating the number of men

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<sup>993</sup>Bintliff. 1997: 30.

according to religion. The public was either categorized under Reaya (the Greek origins involved with land cultivation) or Islam.<sup>994</sup> Evidently, the population records were unrealistic due to limited censor and two category demographic data. But the real problem with the censor and methodology is that family<sup>995</sup> was the criteria to calculation. In the general picture, 942 inhabitants living in Tarayha show why the area was not that attractive. Interestingly, all the counted people were of Islam origin men, disregarding the total sum of Reaya or any others. It may also mean that no foreign population was recognized in Tarahya. The dilemma is, the population of Rhodes was stated as being 10.515 of which 3095 were Muslims and 7420 Reaya<sup>996</sup> whereas none of the Reaya was registered at the opposite mainland. Was Peraea completely abandoned? It could well be that a shift in the agricultural practice occurred during the reign of the Ottoman reformer Sultan- II. Mahmud.<sup>997</sup> Other reasons could have prevailed in the Menteşe Province where all the sub-provinces lacked the Reaya populations at the same time except Livas.<sup>998</sup>

Productivity records of 1909 agricultural statistics of the whole of Muğla (named as Menteşe late after) are not representative for the Peraea since topographical conditions are diverse for many sub-regions. Accordingly, it was 1795 kg/ha for wheat and 1054 kg/ha for barley. The rates for oat and rye were higher, possibly indicating far more economical products. In 1913 and 1914, Muğla rated 109.602 and 144.732 acres for wheat and, 91.673 and 87.100 acres for barley, respectively while the numbers were quite poor for oat and rye. Regarding olive, figures are floating; e.g. 1.572.780 trees were counted in 1909, 3400 acres of olive trees in 1913,

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<sup>994</sup>Karal. 1997: 17, 194.

<sup>995</sup>Behar. 2003: 19-20. With Ordinarius Halil İnalçık's contribution in the Introduction part of Behar's work for the State Institute of Statistics published in 2003, short but compact information is given about the calculation of the number of households in the Ottoman census documents instead of persons living in a unit. Behar, in the following discussions, points out to the censuses of 1885 and 1907 which were rather meaningful and much more reliable occasions based on many variants such as age, gender, marital status, ethnicity, religion, occupation, place of birth, etc. in the late Ottoman period (*Ibid.* 10, 19-20).

<sup>996</sup>Karal. 1997: 204, 211. Numbers given for Tarahya is 247 matlup, 25 kezalik, 273 gayrimatlup, 397 siğar; sum 942 (*Ibid.* 119).

<sup>997</sup>The foreigner section of Reaya meant the regular collection of taxes for the state (5). The main reason for censorship was tax oriented (11) and measuring the military potential (Behar. 2003: XIX); a supplementary reason was to remedy the inequalities and overimposed taxes (Karal. 1997: 11-12).

<sup>998</sup>Behar. 2003: 23. As a contradiction, according to 1831 census based on men, totally 2781 Reaya is ascribed to Menteşe province (*ibid.*).

10.130 trees in 1914. For viticulture, the numbers given for the three periods are not as satisfactory as some other favourite provinces like Elazığ, Antep, Tekirdağ, even Ankara. 8565 acres were reserved in 1914, 19.200 acres in 1913 and 21.000 acres in 1909, which all display a sharp fall in viticulture activity over the years.<sup>999</sup> In fact, these records mean nothing, perhaps apart from the productivity values rated for the entire region. In any case, the given figures are limited values since estimations on the agricultural potential and resources of the late Ottoman period were also extracted through inadequate techniques.<sup>1000</sup>

Although their growth rates were different, the Bouletic quotas may help in calculating the lowest numbers of population.<sup>1001</sup> Besides, calculations based on some regular criteria in Attica (e.g. 500 *bouleutai*, citizens aged over 30, number of *demes*, etc.) provide a limited insight on the population figures which ranged between 130-1500 people from the smallest to the largest *demes*. Naturally, the conditions under which the Bouletic quotas were fixed cannot be copied to the Peraea. However, the figures may be elaborated based on aspects more than “simply a family unit” and distribution of wealth.<sup>1002</sup> As the status of *poleis* in inland Caria is disputable, it is difficult to comment on the general population trends, either. However, according to distributions of *poleis* in the light of ATL, the scale of population of the Peraea may correspond to that of Erine, which fell into a category ca. or below 2000 while the others paying over 5 talents like Cnidus reached 20.000, or the three old *poleis* of Rhodes exceeded 30.000 at the best possible. The population figures mark close relations to the extent of land exploitation in the Carian Chersonesos. In the light of Tuna’s study, the population of the Chersonesos was probably below 2000 when ranked according to tribute payments (Figure 6.34).<sup>1003</sup> It is likely that the population of Phoinix was included within this number during the Classical era. On the other hand, although the theatre capacity of Amos

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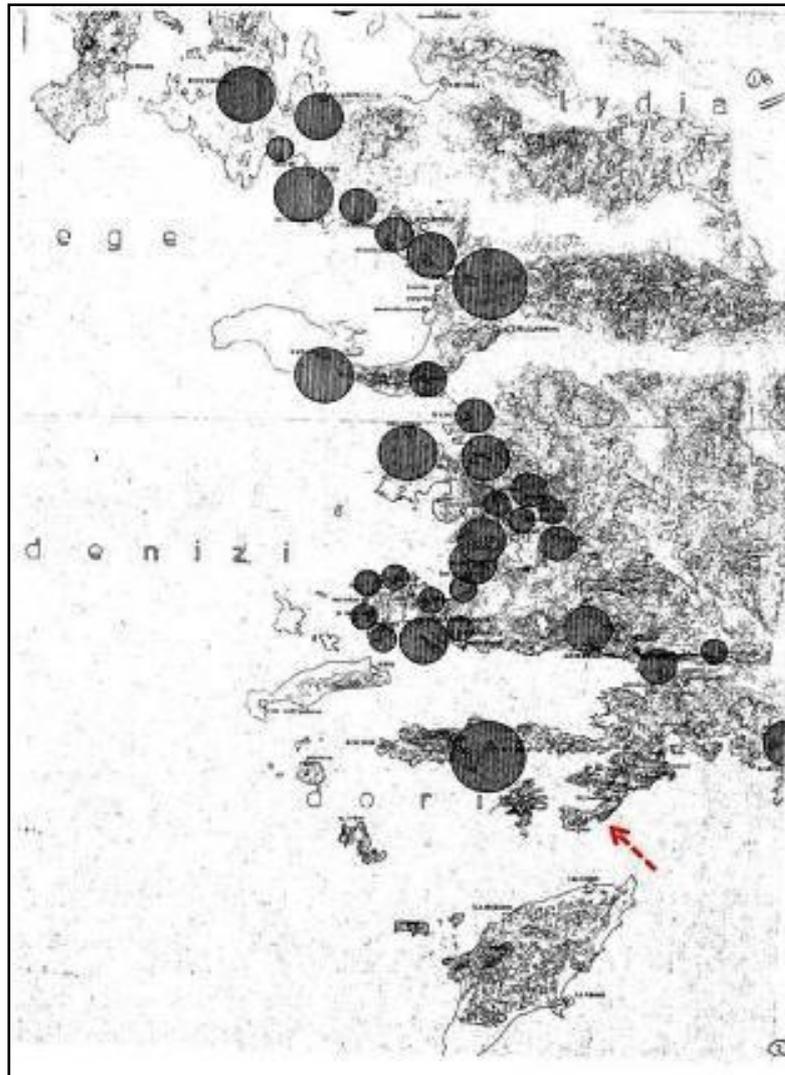
<sup>999</sup>Güran. 2003: 39, 66-67, 88, 133-134, 160, 210-211.

<sup>1000</sup>*Ibid.* IX.

<sup>1001</sup>Osborne. 1985: 43.

<sup>1002</sup>*Ibid.* 43-45.

<sup>1003</sup>Tuna. 1978: 170-171. Erine apparently falls into the category  $\leq 2000$  (*ibid.*).



**Figure 6.34:** Ranking Population of *Poleis* According to Territorial Size (Tuna.1978)

(1300) might be there, it does not go beyond a speculative figure since Erine, on its own, would supersede this number.

If the Incorporated Perea, so put forward by Held, was composed of 10 (ten) *demes* and the territorial boundaries were drawn on equal shares arising from the Classical practices, then the worst case is ascribing 200 inhabitants to each *deme* under the uniformitarian approach. The real contradiction is the profile of the inhabitants and elite's dependency on countryside populations as offered to attention by Hansen.

Presumably, the exploitation of landowners from the rural base via taxes and rents<sup>1004</sup> was there when the Rhodians were controlling the mainland. A more problematic side is subject to question for the pre-Hellenistic period. If the Peraea maintained amicable relations with the three old *poleis* before the Social War, at least within the economic context, there seems no choice left but to treat the Classical Peraea in favour of a land-oriented system. Assuming that the conditions were constant, the figure of 200 inhabitants residing in Phoinix could also have denoted or covered a group of elites or a certain number of *oikoi* serving the interests of the elite, however, the egalitarian atmosphere of the Classical era may need to be reconsidered even for this part of Anatolia. When a standard family size with 5 persons<sup>1005</sup> is put into effect, this number may reach up to 1000 people regardless of status, in Phoinix. On one hand, as the Bouletic quotas are unknown for the Peraea, the literary evidence attesting 130-1500 people may support the speculative figures so mentioned while the 19<sup>th</sup> century records also approximate 1000 inhabitants in Tarahya (942) regardless of the demographic profile. Under Classical views, which are familiar with the city-state concept, if 10% was the average ratio for the urban population in ancient economies, the number may be raised to 2000 people in the Peraea if 200 people were subject to taxation in the Delian League. The method and situation is still disputable.

Leaning on the number of the *demes* stated by Held and the population range put forward by Tuna, we may test the case by referring to potential land used for terracing during the Classical period. The criteria set for the following calculation is the “feeding capacity” of land. Aided with map operations, the Classical Phoinix showed that as much as 30,8 ha could have been reserved to the terraces in which case this figure may be rounded down to 30 ha. With the available data of 70 ha for the plain area of Sindili, the total land used for agriculture makes up a sum of about 100 (70+30) ha. As was formerly given in Sub-part 4.5 and the following paragraphs, should 3 ha be able to feed 5 capita, then 100 ha could feed about 167 people at most. A better case would be, if 5 ha could feed 5 (five) capita, then the figure

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<sup>1004</sup>Hansen. 2008: 73-74.

<sup>1005</sup>Alcock. 2007: 128.

decreases to about 100 inhabitants. The mean value of both figures ((167+100): 2) make up a final figure of 134 inhabitants for Classical Phoinix. Although the reference number of 200 is never attainable from available data, we may state that the population at least does not exceed the calculated figure. To be on the safe side, 200 inhabitants is preferred hereunder for Classical Phoinix.

As Phoinix entered the Hellenistic and Roman times, the biggest populations must have been recorded. The potsherd scatters somehow prove it. The growth rates may also be sought in terms of wider expansions of the Rhodians. Besides formulating a range of figures, the objective of this part also aims at describing a character of expansion. When the need to sustain land work in the countryside within the family networks is laid down, the expansion is thinkable with the increase in the volume of production, even trade flow of wine and olive oil. The recent data, extracted through experimental archaeology would be seemingly safer when compared to far ancient speculations. The terrain of Phoinix was composed of patchy formations. It is hard to estimate what percentage of manuring was applied on the land. But, assuming that cultivation was based on a tripartite rotation of products or otherwise the terraces were annually reserved to three types of products at the same time, the worst case of reserving 3/5 ha to a standard family would bring 150 kg olive oil production per ha based on bad years. Proposing 3 ha to yield 1000-1500 kg wheat at the maximum would not create a deep gap with the average estimation of 2000 kg/ha for a farm size of 5 ha if it was confined to the Classical period, which is expected to reveal low limits of experience.

In searching for the population drives and estimates for the Hellenistic Phoinix, very first methods are based on the economic catchment areas and site exploitation (the potential coverage areas from which food resources are obtained and consumed), through a rough extrapolation. Hence, it is opted to commence with the number of units of settlement recorded during the field works.

## **Method 1:**

Assumption: Average family size (5)

- Exception: 2 (two) large operation farmsteads with slaves functioning as the possible bases for distribution economies, so the household number is assumed to be 10 (ten) people)

Available data at hand: 201 dwellings (excluding ca. 50 possible dwellings recorded in Gökçalça) and 9 farmsteads) = 210

Assumption:  $201+7=208$  and 2 units of settlement (families) respectively

Estimated population:  $(208 \times 5) + (2 \times 10) = 1060$  inhabitants

Final tentative estimation: ~ 1060

Assumption: 5 ha could feed a family (5 capita) regardless of multi-partite rotation of products

Data: Total sum for the land suitable for agriculture aggregates to 340 ha (Alluvial Plain: 131 ha, Terraced Area: 209 ha, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Estimated population: ~ 340 inhabitants (68 families) fed by 340 ha

If the two cases were dependent, the population figure could be rated as ~ 700 (~140 families) if we calculate the mean value of above stated numbers (1060 and 340). We may compare the assumptions (in Method 1) such that, if similar territorial boundaries were perceived during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, then the figure occurring as ~ 94 families (942:10) is less than the two results found as 210/ relative 212 and 68, respectively. If 5 capita is perceived for the Ottoman period (so stated), then it makes a figure around 470 inhabitants which may thus denote a recession in the late periods. When the assumptions are based on 200 inhabitants of the Classical period (regardless of privileged groups), then ca. 250 % increase in population in the course of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods may be put forward. Assuming 700 is correct, Phoinix does not appear to be self-sufficient in terms of the feeding capacity such that 340 ha would not suffice the demands of such a population. Although the modern data is normally expected to have exceeded the ancient situation over ca. 2000 years of change, the figure of 700 inhabitants does not dramatically contradict

with the current record of less than 500 people<sup>1006</sup> living within the borders of Taşlıca Village. This number at least matches the value (130-1500) attained from the literature. If the Classical population was around 134 (as put forward according to the catchment area in the Classical period), then it is possible to talk about a 422 % increase in upcoming era, which seems more unlikely.

## **Method 2:**

Although the exact values for the labour force and cultivation realized by a family always float, it is assumed that the average value for the cultivation potential is 5 ha per family.

Hence the following estimations are made:

Assumption (1): 5 ha cultivated by a family (5 capita)

Data: Total sum for the land suitable for agriculture: 340 ha (Alluvial Plain: 131 ha, Terraced Area: 209 ha, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Cultivating population: ~ 340 inhabitants (68 families)

Looking above, we need to estimate the non-cultivating portion as the demographic make-up is the key to calculating the rest. Referring to the results of Method 1 where the mean value corresponds to 700 inhabitants, the percentage of cultivating population rounds up to 49 % and the rest goes to 51 % representing 357 people (71 families) in the “urban” or elite group.

Assumption (2): 3 ha cultivated by a family (5 capita)

Data: Total sum for the land suitable for agriculture: 340 ha (Alluvial Plain: 131 ha, Terraced Area: 209 ha, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Cultivating population: ~ 567 inhabitants (ca. 113 families)

Re-referring to the results of Method 1 where the mean value corresponds to 700

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<sup>1006</sup>Taşlıgil. 2008: 78.

inhabitants, the percentage of the cultivating population rounds up to 81 % while the rest is around 19 % representing 133 people.

Assumption (3): 10 ha cultivated by a family (5 capita)

Data: Total sum for the land suitable for agriculture: 340 ha Alluvial Plain: 131 ha, Terraced Area: 209 ha, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Cultivating population: ~ 170 inhabitants (34 families)

The results generated by the last assumption put forward that the cultivating population rounds up to ca. 24 % and the rest goes to 76 % representing ca. 530 people.

Relevant to Method 2, the results of Assumption (2) seems to back up or at least approach the Classical views under the city-state context within which 10-20 % of populations was made up of non-food producers or urban groups, in close relation to the agrarian subsistence. On the contrary, the results of Assumption (3) highlight the territorial models which allege that the urban dwellers, exploiting the rural base, made up the greatest percentage in antiquity. A key to fathoming as to which case is the most applicable may be found within the paragraphs of the ancient historians and in the light of epigraphical evidence. Hence, the following hints may lead to further efforts on the problem.

The Peraea was a land of slaves in the writings of Polybius (See Sub-part 3.3.2.5). The inscription of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C donation list found at the *Acropolis* bears around 77 names refreshed over time (Sub-part 5.1.6). If the number of the settlement units obtained during the field works is not floating at the extreme case, then the practice of donating might not have been limited to an urban or elite group such that certain groups from the entire population might have participated in the construction of a public edifice. The only data available about priesthood and/or an equivalent elite status may be found on an inscription about the list of priests (the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C) which bears ca. 26/27 names (whose tasks were subject to regular rotation) and that some names reappear on the mentioned donation list. Note

that 77 names in which the priests were probably there could have been inscribed on a family basis. Now, if the above stated 140 families is correct, then 77 people would correspond to about 55 % of the total hypothetical population of Phoinix during the Hellenistic period. If all these men were from the elite category, then such a result would also approximate the percentage of the elites' share attained through Method 2 Assumption (1). That is, if Phoinix was composed of 140 families, the figure of 77- almost half is covered by what has been endeavored up to now.

In order not to stay away from the territorial models but to leave enough space to a reality of the Peraea that (i) a notable work force pioneered by slaves or quasi-slave status people, (ii) granting citizenship, as an instrument of a colonial strategy, to the indigenous people- even the slaves in certain instances or appointing the local elite to higher posts, (iii) allowing intermarriages for reconstructing hybrid communities through assimilation, as evident on numerous epitaphs with patronymics or the use of demotics, and recruiting different status people- e.g. *matroxenoi*, could have been there, moderate estimations may be favoured. In view of such, Method 2 Assumption (3) also seems to prove futile. Briefly, Method 2 Assumption (1) appears to be realistic.

Was Phoinix a self-sufficient economy? An answer to the question may guide us to formulate a threshold on the production potential of the *deme* and the economic aspirations of Rhodes in ancient times. Inspired from the results of experimental archaeology (Sub-part 4.5) and the Ottoman records, the following assumptions are laid down:

Assumption (1.1): 1000 kg/ha cereal of annual production as per good year rates

Data: 131 ha Alluvial Plain, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Production potential: 131.000 kg cereal

Assumption (1.2): 500 kg/ha cereal of annual production as per bad or moderate year rates

Data: 131 ha Alluvial Plain, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Production potential: 65.500 kg cereal

If we take the mean value of the figures obtained from Assumption (1.1) and Assumption (1.2), we get the average annual figure of 98.250 kg cereal production.

Assumption (2.1): 400 kg/ha olive oil of annual production as per good year rates

Data: 209 ha Terraced Area, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Production potential: 83.600 kg olive oil

Assumption (2.2): 150 kg/ha olive oil of annual production as per bad year rates

Data: 209 ha Terraced Area, Manuring %: ? (assumed 0))

Production potential: 31.350 kg olive oil

When we take the mean value of the figures obtained from Assumption (2.1) and Assumption (2.2), we get the average annual figure of 57.475 kg (ca. 63.223 lt) olive oil production.

From what has been assumed up to here and attained from the above and further on consumption values; assuming that 200 kg cereal is consumed by a person, then 98.250 kg annual production of cereal would suffice for ca. 491 people. When the hypothetical population of 700 inhabitants in Hellenistic Phoinix is taken into account, the approximate figure of 209 people (the rest) would not mark self-sufficiency in terms of cereal production or the equivalents. Phoinix could have been dependent on import grain as Attica experienced the same.

For olive oil, the figures suggest a surplus production when the comparative data is referred. That is when the theoretical figure of 20 litres of olive oil production recorded per capita in the Roman Libya is put into process, the annual production of 63.223 lt. of olive oil meets the consumption the needs of 3161 people. Even if half of the terraced areas ( $209/2= 105$  ha) was reserved to olive plantation, we get an average annual figure of about 31.763 lt. of olive oil production which would suffice to 1588 people. This is high above the estimated population of Phoinix. Even if the

worst assumption- Assumption (2.2) is applicable, figures seem to exceed consumption needs and correspond to large operations, e.g. 2<sup>nd</sup> century Libya, Cilician surveys (See Sub-part 7.2.3). Still, we need to keep in mind that the results of such sample surveys have pitfalls such that they might have disregarded the areal parameters, environmental constraints, etc. A similar case on the issue of olive oil potential might be valid for this research.

On the production of wine, the use of land might have differed dramatically. Assuming that at least half of the terraced land was cultivated for wine production then, the automatic decrease in the olive oil rates would not be against the desired levels, either. A neighbouring community- Cnidus had a production capacity of 1.603.411 litres of wine annually.<sup>1007</sup> It might be that Phoinix substituted the deficiencies arising from cereal production with viniculture. When the terraced land reserved to wine production is assumed as 105 ha (209 ha Terraced Area/ 2= ~ 105 ha), then a rough number of annual production potential can be attained through the following calculations:

Assumption (3.1): 1 *iugerum* (1/4 ha) yields 20 amphorae<sup>1008</sup> of wine; a standard Rhodian amphora with a capacity of 25 lt. (See Sub-part 3, footnote 170)

Production potential:  $105 \times 4 \times 20 = 8400$  amphorae  $8400 \times 25 = 210.000$  lt. of wine

Taking into account the average production potential of cereal per ha based on good and bad years stated in Assumption (1.1) and (1.2) and wine per ha, we may then calculate the exchange rates:

Assumption (3.2): 750 kg/ha cereal of annual production; 2000 lt./ha wine of annual production ( $20 \times 4 \times 25$ )

Market value of cereal in comparison to wine:  $2,6 = \sim 3$

Exchange rate: 1/3

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<sup>1007</sup>Tuna.1990: 350.

<sup>1008</sup>Tuna. 1983: 61.

With the exchange rate calculated above, we may now make estimations (in the light of the method applied for the Cnidian Peninsula by Tuna<sup>1009</sup>) for the amount of wine produced for exportation to meet the deficiency in cereal as explained hereunder:

Assumption (3.3): 105 ha terraced land reserved to vine plantation

The amount of necessary land reserved to export wine which is equivalent to cereal production:  $105 \times 3 = 315$  ha

Amount of cereal which may be imported in return:  $315 \times 750 \text{ kg/ha} = 236.250 \text{ kg}$

Finally, we may calculate the surplus value which may be expressed in terms of the number of cultivating people, in order to access cereal:

Assumption (3.4): 200 kg of cereal consumed by capita

Surplus producers to be fed with cereal:  $236.250 / 200 \text{ kg} = 1181$  capita

Surplus value: The value equivalent to the work force of about 1181 people

Considering the average surplus value so put forward, the consumption needs of the rest of the population (which was 209 people, see above) in favour of cereal must have already been met and that this makes Phoinix a self-sufficient economy. Obviously, even more than that- the production pattern to meet the demands of a greater mass is discussable. There seem good reasons why the Rhodians were so eager to control the mainland and create a monopoly for more than two hundred years. The export-oriented economy of Phoinix, where specialization in wine production must have been the driving force (as in the case of Cnidus<sup>1010</sup>), is the basic conclusion from what has been discussed above.

Regarding the Peraea, future studies are expected to yield inspiring results for comprehending the potential of the region. However, if the Peraea had the burden of producing surplus in wine, then Phoinix must have been an indispensable piece of land. If we wrap up, the population of Hellenistic Phoinix could have outnumbered

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<sup>1009</sup>*Ibid.* 61-62.

<sup>1010</sup>Tuna. 1990: 348-353; Tuna. 2012: 34.

that of the Classical *deme*. This must have been a reflection of the changing conditions within the socio-economic and political context. But the primary motive needs to be accrued to its surplus production in the economic background.

## CHAPTER 7

### COMPARATIVE STUDY

#### 7.1. A General Look at Neighbouring Territories

The Peraea cannot be fully understood without looking at the conditions of the neighbouring territories. Negligence on check of the surrounding geography has been a primary problem of the researchers as Gabrielsen<sup>1011</sup> also pinpoints. In doing so, no comparative work should be limited to the Rhodian “colonization” since the historical trajectory of the Peraea goes far back to the Carian culture which spread into the surrounding geography. Hence, a broader time span needs to be taken into account for assessing the whole picture and investigating the organisation of the *demes*.

In order to trace the commonalities or discrepancies in the neighbourhood with which Peraea was engaged through any type of relation, no distinction as to whether a settlement was a polis, *komai* or any other shall be made in the coming paragraphs. Neither shall any firm pretension nor validation be made in declaring the two cases identical. What is deemed contributory is that the degree of influence amongst the neighbouring settlements, if any, may assist in elaborating some factors as to why the Peraea was so organized and how it transformed itself over time.

Evidently, Caria is so poor of prehistoric deposits that it becomes difficult to distinguish in many respects, including the settlement behavior.<sup>1012</sup> Well specific to Caria, the nature of the leagues was also different from the others. For example, the Cretan organisation, as evidenced from epigraphical data, introduced no magistrates while it conducted administrative affairs through an assembly and a council. It was a loose structure like a *koinon*, operating under the leadership of Knossos and

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<sup>1011</sup> Gabrielsen. 1999: 20-21.

<sup>1012</sup> Cook. 1959-1960: 50.

Gortyn.<sup>1013</sup> There is scant evidence to come up with precise models even for the other parts of Caria. As a matter of fact, the Carian settlements differed in many aspects. Situated near the Myndus Peninsula, a typical Carian nest- Mylasa maintained its lively situation during the Hellenistic period although part of its population returned home from the speculative Hecatomnid outpost of Kuyruklu Kale, for yet unknown reasons. Certain instances such as the absorption of Kindye by Bargylia, the movement of old Cnidus to the new one may not all relate to refreshed settlement models under the notion of synoecism and the assimilation of resisting cultures.<sup>1014</sup> There is no single reason for such; conditions do vary from place to place and over time.

Cos always made alliances in the Mediterranean, especially with Caria and is supposed to have been indulged in her synoecism process and political life. Starting with Artemisia, depiction of the Carian dynasts on Coan coins revealed a degree of influence of Caria in Cos. Similar instruments were imposed at Rhodes when both islands were annexed to the Carian political sphere following the Social War.<sup>1015</sup> Cos did not hold a territory on coastal Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman eras, no notable possessions in the Aegean have been recorded until now. It might well have been absorbed by the Peraea.<sup>1016</sup> Similar inscriptions observed on Coan epitaphs have demonstrated some degree of social relations with the *demes* of the Peraea. Exceptionally, an inscription evidenced its unification with the island of Calymna in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C through an oath “to abide by *patrioi nomoi*” in respect of the descendant memorial, by the arrival of Philip V.<sup>1017</sup> However, relations with the Peraea could have been there. That the exchange market of Mylasa lowlands gave way to alternative routes stretching to Cos and had outlets to Physcus and Rhodes<sup>1018</sup> recall some distinctive conditions of the Peraea and its relation to the islands.

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<sup>1013</sup> Ager. 1994: 15-16.

<sup>1014</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 99-101.

<sup>1015</sup> Kloudis. 2007: 13, 36, 100.

<sup>1016</sup> Sherwin-White. 1978: 31-32.

<sup>1017</sup> Thompson. 1971: 620; Carlsson. 2004: 115.

<sup>1018</sup> Myres. 1920: 426.

Before the Social War, Pamphylia was a suitable place for piracy when Caria and Lycia were not provincialized but were in the hands of the local dynasts.<sup>1019</sup> Indirect relations with Pamphylia and Lycia may be found in settlements like Phaselis, which was founded by the Rhodian colonists in around 690 B.C. The Phaselitans were traders. A common aspect with the Carian Chersonesos was the Delian League. Regarding contact, some evidence concerning the presence of foreigners in the Chersonesos is indebted to the Phaselitans' travelling habits, perhaps arising from the free flow of labour and people in antiquity. It could well be due to the support of Phaselitans to Mausolus against the Lycian maneuvers. The mutual relations became more or less evident by the time an inscription found in Antalya revealed a treaty between the Phaselitans and Mausolus, regarding the treatment of "payments of judicial debts on either side" as equals.<sup>1020</sup> Up in the harsh terrain which is not that far from Antalya, the Selgians (in Psidia) were familiar with the coast line. They were frequently travelling so they could meet different parts of Asia Minor as far as Caria.<sup>1021</sup>

The Hellenisation of Cilicia is much owed to the footprints left by the Rhodians, Achaeans and Argives in Soloi and Tarsos. That Hellenistic settlements in the region were not *poleis* comes from the very fact that they were products of the geographical, economic and political conditions of Cilicia.<sup>1022</sup> The urbanization attempts took place in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. The gratitude of Hellenism is in fact the subject matter from our point of view. However, no one would expect similar paces of development and self-expression in Cilicia and Caria because Hellenisation left completely different social imprints. A distinction is discerned in the local onomastics of Cilicia, originating from the Luwian language whereas in Caria, Greek origin names are expressed through epigraphy.<sup>1023</sup> Apart from Hellenism, the peripheral relations of Rough Cilicia provide hints about the recruitment of the region into the world system

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<sup>1019</sup> Sherwin-White. 1976: 10.

<sup>1020</sup> Bean. 1968: 151-155. After 167 B.C, Phaselis joined the Lycian League and minted coins probably because of the risk of occupation by the Rhodians (*ibid.*).

<sup>1021</sup> *Ibid.* 140-142.

<sup>1022</sup> Aydınoglu. 2005a: 257.

<sup>1023</sup> Şahin. 2008: 443, 438, 448. Also check Salmeri, G. 2003. "Processes of Hellenization in Cilicia: Yeni Assur Döneminde Kuzey Suriye'de Ördek Biçimli Taş". *Olba* 8 (Özel Sayı): 265-293.

of the Romans as a tool of early Imperial strategy. Although the relational status of the urban and rural is still uncertain, the dispersed patterns are much attributable to the socio-economic context. Security concerns in association with military control caused inadequate investments in rural Cilicia. Consequently, a moderate dose growth and relational developments in the region might not have been stimulated.<sup>1024</sup>

## **7.2. Settlement in the Neighbourhood**

The Cycladic Islands and even part of the Peloponnese, Dodecanese, Cnidus, the eastern Mediterranean extending to Cyprus and the Near East were engaged in naval traffic. It would not be unusual that the roles undertaken by distant or nearby geographies could have ultimately affected the overall settlement strategy in the Peraea. Besides geographical and political conditions, the meanings of “place and space” may be extracted to the social aspects of landscape in understanding how the Peraeans perceived themselves, the others or the supernatural.<sup>1025</sup> The information below, on some typical settlements, is brought to attention, leaving space on sustainable evidence.

### **7.2.1 Cyclades and Crete**

The Cyclades Archipelago disclosed settlement traces closely linked to the notion of security. Inland settlements having physical proximity to the harbours characterized defensibility in the Early Iron Age. Crete is perhaps the finest case.<sup>1026</sup> Secondly, the landscape played an important role in the organisation of space and the appearance of buildings. The houses were built according to slope, maximizing the advantages of terrain. The terraces, supported with walls could be enlarged when necessary. Their position affected the orientation of houses which were detached to reserve more space for daily activities or amalgamated when needed. A typical sample is Classical Melos where the buildings were located according to their functions. It is however

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<sup>1024</sup> Blanton. 2000: 61, 74-75.

<sup>1025</sup> Forbes. 2007: 47.

<sup>1026</sup> Ainian and Leventi 2009: 213-214.

subject to question whether the blueprint related to the initial settlement. Just to refresh minds, the theatron was cut into rock concordant with the sloping ground, the stadium was built on a larger terrace and the *agora* lay on a strong “level land” which was plain.<sup>1027</sup>

The Cycladic burial customs were more or less similar in the Dodecanese, the Greek mainland, Crete and the Eastern Aegean.<sup>1028</sup> Venerating the ancestors in the *chora* forces us to ask further questions about the chronological continuation of cult places in that, they could have contributed to the genesis of permanent settlement models on the islands. In other words, open-air cults were associated with proto-urban settlements. Unique native plans could have been followed by more organized Archaic plans of settlements as the Paros case applies. What seems certain is that substantial changes in architecture took place during the Protogeometric period. However, monumental attempts reached a peak during the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>1029</sup> Contrary to the matter of cult and burial, the settlement behavior was not the same in the Aegean. Opposite to the gradual development of dispersed sites over time (social pressures disregarded), the Peloponnesian villages, where the earliest houses were built near a spring, expanded from a core site whereas the houses in some villages of Euboea tended to be oriented towards the core or a central *nymphaeum*. The villages of Classical Seriphos unveiled a close correlation between the landscape and settlement. The hill on which Seriphos was situated rose abruptly above a plain and a bay. It was the relief that overwhelmingly affected the construction of houses and their interrelations.<sup>1030</sup> In the light of archaeological assemblages, the case of Naxos suggests some more on the settlement pattern. It is to be recruited as a valuable instance for pinpointing the “complementary relationship between the settlement of the *chora* and those in the periphery or outside the civic centre settlements”.<sup>1031</sup>

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<sup>1027</sup> Barber. 2005: 2, 6-8.

<sup>1028</sup> Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 177.

<sup>1029</sup> Gounaris. 2005: 29-30, 52-53.

<sup>1030</sup> Barber. 2005: 8, 11.

<sup>1031</sup> Gounaris. 2005: 23.

Not far from the Cyclades, Methana (in Peloponnese) is situated on a volcanic arc extending to Halicarnassus. The tolerable grounds measuring 100-200 m and terraces over 30 degrees ensured the connection to the fertile limestone soils. The terrace walls of Methana were gigantic. Small pockets of soil, easily cultivated with hoes, were the by-products of irregular slopes. The ancient settlement pattern was shaped by the “tripartite division of land”. The main land is associable with the coastal area ascending gently, the steep slopes high above, and undulated uplands and scattered basins covered with soil suitable for agriculture. The northern part of the peninsula had a permanent spring but wells (potable and brackish in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) were the essential sources of water. Small settlements, mainly the inland farmsteads must have relied on cistern usage through rainwater. The territory of Methana was similar to “pie-slice shapes”. It was neither circular nor polygonal. The division of land was organized for the maximum exploitation of resources because the administrative units had to abide by the instructions on the restrictions of common grazing ensured through the by-laws. The development of strategies for land use in a way showed why the villages were located halfway between the highest elevations and the coastal area. The minimization of distance seems to have been left outside as deeper soils in the interior parts were required for vine cultivation. That is to say, conditions of the landscape far outweighed the distance criteria, leaving their imprints on the settlement patterns. The degree of manipulation of land might have had links with the environmental diversity, as well. Following or rearranging what to grow each year instead of another was applied up to 500 m in pie-slice strips within the boundaries of a village. One problem pertained to the broken landscape at lower elevations and that rotation was rarely applied on such plots in the coastal area. In brief, soil, elevation, aspect, etc. affected the possessions of a household so each had to own plenty of plots in a scattered economy. They could have owned plots within the boundaries of another village, originally granted as a dowry or through inheritance. Inevitably, the social items became central to the decision-making process regarding land use. As a matter of fact, Methana was the result of a two-field system economy where “a cereal- non cereal” mode of production was activated rather than an arable-fallow system. That is, due to the limited land, the fallow system was applied to non-cereals and grazing. A supplementary reason was to cope

with the litigations arising from grazing and the like. Until recently, *loutsas* and *kalivia* (field-houses) have been in use. Above the villages, *kalivia* appear as single storey structures with barns having enclosures outside.<sup>1032</sup>

### 7.2.2 Dodecanese and Cnidus

Islands in the Dodecanese were settled from the Bronze Age onwards. Some sites provide affinities with the Early Minoan culture. The caves in Kalymnos and Cos revealed materials of the Early Bronze Age, showing some parallels with the pottery found in the western Anatolian sites. According to Mee, Seraglio which lacked architecture was possibly an Anatolian settlement in which case our only comparative material is pottery. A remark should be made for red and brown washed burnished pottery excavated at Seraglio site on Cos, where many fragments are typical of Beycesultan, Samos, Chios, Troy and some other western Anatolian sites. That some basic sites (e.g. Iasos, Miletus, Cos, Rhodes) have, to an extent, revealed the imprints of Minoan culture and implantation of Minoan enclaves in the Dodecanese, the eastern Aegean and coastal Asia Minor diverts the interest to this arc, being somehow part of a trade network at earliest times. The extent of relations may in fact be specifically understood regarding the diagnostic decorations like wavy line motifs on pottery. The earliest settlement patterns on the northwest and northeast coasts of Rhodes were different, mainly arising from the environmental factors. Although the northwestern part was better-off with water resources, the fragmented topography could have shifted the implantation of first Mycenaean settlements to the northeast at Trianda. The settlement here- “where the Marmaris channel is the narrowest”, could also have been encouraged in order to survive the interests in the eastern Aegean (Sub-part 3.3).<sup>1033</sup>

As stressed before, our knowledge of the earliest times of Rhodes is rather defective. However, we may bank on the settlement patterns beginning from the Archaic period. As one of the best examples of synoecism, Rhodes accomplished her

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<sup>1032</sup> Forbes. 2007:51-56, 187-188, 191-199, 200-203, 207, 236.

<sup>1033</sup> Mee. 1982: 79-80, 84.

unification through the designation of a new settlement area within a wall enclosure in the Classical period.<sup>1034</sup> Before that, the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C town absolutely showed an orderly town planning.<sup>1035</sup> The aerial discoveries have shown that typical Greek fashion grid lines lying in the N-S and the E-W axes outlined the limits where the main buildings were located in straight lines.<sup>1036</sup>

The size of Rhodes was 1400 km<sup>2</sup> excluding the Rhodian Peraea.<sup>1037</sup> It lies in the NE-SW direction, “with a mountainous spine in the SW”. The plains in the coastal region are majorly absorbed by Ialysos and Kamiros.<sup>1038</sup> Quite remarkable, it covered “an area of 1200 yards long and 1400 yards across at its base”. Its best view is observable from the southern hills where the cemeteries are situated. Similar to the plan of Miletus, each rectangular unit in the grid system was planned in the Hippodamian fashion, measuring 105x55 yards on average.<sup>1039</sup> Rhodes had an orthogonal plan with five harbours outside the city circuit.<sup>1040</sup> The grid system, in which the units of *stadia* (600 Greek feet) seem to have been applied, is datable to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The grid lines ran in the W-E direction and reached the countryside slopes of the Mount Smith (360 feet) “in the form of long straight field walls and country lanes”. The agricultural terraces of the same mountain were part of the “urban grid of the Classical era”. Linkable to democracy, the lanes were almost identical in that no grid exceeded another, however, the original place of the grid system is problematic. A track way ran in the N-S direction “on a Classical line” lying in the west of Apollo Temple. The gardens were designed over a large oval depression- now silted-up, at the Classical harbour. An *agora* could have occupied a central area between the residential areas and the lanes. The Hellenistic underground water channels made their course from the Mount Smith. The pottery finds disclosed that the final design of the street was accomplished in the

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<sup>1034</sup> Camp. 2000: 49.

<sup>1035</sup> Ainian and Leventi 2009: 228.

<sup>1036</sup> Bradford. 1956: 58.

<sup>1037</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1205.

<sup>1038</sup> Karantzali. 2001: 13.

<sup>1039</sup> Bradford. 1956: 60-61. On the Hippodamian plan of Rhodes, further referable to Franco, C. 2008. *Aelius Aristides and Rhodes: Concord and Consolation*. In W.V Harris and B. Holmes (eds.), *Aelius Aristides Between Greece, Rome and the Gods*, 217-253. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

<sup>1040</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1207.

2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>1041</sup> Wider streets measured 16-16.5 m but the average size was 5.5 m in the *polis* centre. The *Asclepion* lay in the southwest. Small scale cemeteries (the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C) were situated in the south while the Hellenistic tombs were obviously simpler.<sup>1042</sup>

The physical organisation of the three old *poleis* is inspiring, however the weakest information comes from Ialysos whose size was 345 km<sup>2</sup>. The *Acropolis* was situated on the Phileremos Mountain. The point is, many second order sites were found at the foot of a hill, Daphne, where roof tiles and some more deposits addressed the early 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>1043</sup> Ialysos is one of the known sites which seems to have constituted contact with the Cycladic Islands. Few Middle Bronze Age sites have been determined in Rhodes with one of them being Ialysos.<sup>1044</sup>

The biggest *polis* on the Island, Lindos, covered an area of 790 km<sup>2</sup>. Several second order sites have been reported from the *polis*. Kattabia lying in the southwest is perhaps the most striking of all. In the south, along the coast, there lay two Archaic settlements. In further south, Vroulia dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C disclosed sunken ruins. Two rows of dwelling quarters, a small sanctuary and a cemetery in the northeast have been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>1045</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C walls of Vroulia were built with adobe bricks.<sup>1046</sup> In terms of the settlement plan, this Archaic site revealed standardization with two rows of houses.<sup>1047</sup> Lindos is conspicuous with a harbour and an *Acropolis* affiliated with temples on the hilltop. The earliest temple (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C) still preserves its Hellenistic style. Under earth today, a rock-cut theatre (presumably of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C) lies in southeast of the *Acropolis*. An Archaic temple in the northeast of the *Acropolis* was situated on the plateau of Vigli.

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<sup>1041</sup> Bradford. 1956: 60-69.

<sup>1042</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1207-1208.

<sup>1043</sup> *Ibid.* 1198-1199.

<sup>1044</sup> Mee. 1982: 79.

<sup>1045</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1202. Also see Bresson, A. 1988. Richesse et pouvoir à Lindos à l'époque Hellénistique. In S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, 145-154. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark. The size of Lindian territory, with a slight difference, is given as 775 km<sup>2</sup> (145).

<sup>1046</sup> Akarca. 1972: 107.

<sup>1047</sup> Lang. 2005: 19.

The tombs were constructed on the sloping grounds at the opposite side.<sup>1048</sup> What makes Lindos a suitable site for settlement is the arable land in the vicinity of the *Acropolis* overlooking two harbours. In general, it is the most prolific site on the Island evidencing settlement, however nothing attributable to the Bronze Age can be put forward for the *Acropolis* while many other small sites produced the earliest pottery and lithics.<sup>1049</sup>

Kamiros, also designed with a harbour, possessed terraces along the slopes of an *Acropolis* which lay half a mile from the shore. The tombs were built just below this area.<sup>1050</sup> The entire *polis* of Kamiros measured 265 km<sup>2</sup>. About 300 m away from the city, there lay a small Archaic coastal settlement which probably served as a port. Almost no second order sites have been reported except the Classical settlement in Kymisala in the western territory. One theory is that there could have been a settlement over the tombs (7<sup>th</sup>- 6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C) lying around the spot. Kamiros was unwallled in 412/411 B.C and rather unplanned until the Hellenistic period. However, well planned streets, civic buildings and public water works with chief conduits are the remnants of the Hellenistic period. The *polis* had a spectacular design reminding the plan of a theatre, facing the sea. An *agora*, surrounded by colonnades and in the midst of which lay a fountain house (possibly Classical), was situated at the lower settlement. The main streets, which made their way uphill from the south of the *agora*, passed through the plots of private domiciles and reached the slopes of the *Acropolis*.

A long *stoa* overlooking the sea along the sloping ground, stood behind the Archaic temple of Athena which was rebuilt in the Hellenistic period. A large Archaic rectangular cistern and the temples dedicated to Athena and Zeus stood on the *Acropolis*. Another cult, Apollo Pythios and an associated sanctuary were the some main components of this *polis*.<sup>1051</sup>

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<sup>1048</sup> Torr 1885: 2-3.

<sup>1049</sup> Mee. 1982: 74, 78.

<sup>1050</sup> *Ibid.* 3-4, 68.

<sup>1051</sup> Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1199-1202; <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

Having a valuable position in the Dodecanese, Cos is another place which may be of significance within the ancient context. The settlement areas were concentrated on defensible hill sites before the synoecism of the island. The population was scattered between Meropis and Astypalaea but the character of settlement changed when a single settlement appeared. Although the *demes* in the countryside remained unchanged in the Hellenistic period, the environs of Astypalaea were somewhat different, perhaps due to changes in the mode of economy.<sup>1052</sup> Very similar to those of its harbour, the city walls of Cos were worked out with the techniques of the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Along with its divorce from lower hill slopes, the extent of the central settlement was no more than 1 km in diameter.<sup>1053</sup>

A close neighbour to the Peraea, the territories of Cnidus extended to a narrow isthmus which separated the Peninsula from the “Bubassian Chersonesos”.<sup>1054</sup> The Cnidians could well have maintained strong commercial contacts with the Peraea but the degree of relations is an incomplete discussion. Cnidus was amongst the most elegant *poleis* in antiquity, its Greek plan well fit the topography.<sup>1055</sup> She possessed dual function harbours. The small harbour in the northwest of an isthmus was used as an arsenal while the bigger one in the southeast was active for the commercial life. The terraced settlements on the mainland covering plots of 175x100 feet exhibited “uniformity” and a classless society, under the idea of full democracy after 334 B.C.<sup>1056</sup> As she was very famous in amphorae production beginning with the Archaic period, it is not surprising that the ateliers had physical proximity to the agricultural areas, water resources and small harbour facilities.<sup>1057</sup> Notwithstanding, it has been well attested that three level variations of population at Classical Cnidus are associable with random settlement strategies throughout the peninsula whereas the *polis* center situated in the plain area was based on a ranking system of settlement.<sup>1058</sup> Massive terrace wall relics make up the bulk of evidence in which

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<sup>1052</sup> Sherwin-White. 1978: 63-64.

<sup>1053</sup> French. 1945: 104.

<sup>1054</sup> Newton and Pullan 1863: 350-351.

<sup>1055</sup> Parrish. 2001: 38.

<sup>1056</sup> Cook. 1962: 143-144.

<sup>1057</sup> Tuna. 1990: 369.

<sup>1058</sup> Tuna. 2012: 35.

case they validate intensive vine cultivation over the Cnidian Peninsula. The tombs with altars were usually built outside the urban areas.<sup>1059</sup>

### 7.2.3 Lycia, Psidia and Cilicia

The earliest evidence comes from the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C Lycian Xanthos where the Archaic and Classical periods have been the most prolific in terms of settlement. However, information is lacking about the rural lands of Lycia. The 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C Telmessus and Kardakon Kome are perhaps two good cases for the corroboration of the presence of *komai* in Lycia. Some settlements never appeared in ATL, however they may bear an implication on the rural or quasi-rural position of the western parts of the Lycian lands.<sup>1060</sup> An inscription on the details of contributions to a festival held in Oenoanda has put forward the presence of numerous *komai* and central settlements scattered around a *territorium*. When the Lycians rebelled against the Rhodians, Balboursa (late 3<sup>rd</sup>- early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C polis) and its allies (Cibyra, Bubon, Oenoanda) were annexed under a league/*koinon* of self-administration. Highly possible, the *komai* model and the rural settlement patterns, very much affected by the harsh terrain creating the most compact but suitable landforms, were similar during the Roman period in Lycia.<sup>1061</sup> The settlements had some things common with those of Rough Cilicia, at least in terms of their level of development. Presumably, many melted within the zone of the coastal cities and functioned as secondary settlements. In respect of the Hellenistic period, coastal Patara, Telmessos and Andriake; mountainous Xanthos, Tlos, Araska, Arykanda and Limyra were there, controlled by the Ptolemies.<sup>1062</sup> Essentially built for defence, many fortifications (presumably pre-Hellenistic) have proven the use of isodomic ashlar in Lycia.<sup>1063</sup> Exceptionally, Cibyra did not possess any, probably due to lack of tyranny.<sup>1064</sup> Alakilise, a rural settlement in the hinterland of Myra, possessed territories over which many agricultural terraces were cultivated for wine production.

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<sup>1059</sup> Cook. 1962: 146-147.

<sup>1060</sup> Keen. 2002: 28-30.

<sup>1061</sup> Patterson. 2000: 160-161.

<sup>1062</sup> Aydınoglu. 2005b: 166-167, 173, 178.

<sup>1063</sup> Hornblower. 1982: 95.

<sup>1064</sup> Öztürk. 2006: 43.

The axial settlement plan of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C Limyra, with a small fortification and a roofed street hardly known from elsewhere but except the one in Syria, is conspicuous. Its plan lacked an *agora* whereas the public monuments were left to a defensible and strictly designed small settlement nearby the agricultural terraces along a valley.<sup>1065</sup>

Psidia- indeed named as a geographical area as opposed to e.g. Caria, covers quite number of fortified sites which survived from the Early Iron Age. As the lines of communication were not that easy due to harsh topographies, the Psidian sites had a war-like character which had to survive and/or gradually develop through military means except some more urban settlements. A system of autonomous cities with well-established defense systems was created during the Archaic and Classical periods. The Hellenisation of Psidian lands could essentially be stimulated by the direct actions of the Seleucids who were busy with establishing colonies; the Macedonian veterans whom possibly settled in some famous cities, e.g. Sagalassos where the Macedonian shields are conspicuous in burials and; the Attalids whose imprints at Selge, Sagalassos and Termessos recall the Pergamene *agora* prototypes which were adapted to “irregular topographies”.<sup>1066</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C fortification walls (Figure 7.1; A,B) of Kelbessos have proven a lot about how the security zones were established within the territories of Termessos. The urban centers were established on an *Acropolis*. Located at a junction for easy communication, the *peripolion* served as a permanent garrison for the mercenaries of Termessos until the Hellenistic period. It could also have been a security zone for patrolling new territories or strategic zones in the *chora*.<sup>1067</sup>

Separated from the Anatolian highlands from the coast, Rough Cilicia, where deep valleys prevent communication with the coastal land, has few flat lands suitable for agriculture. The survey conducted around Gazipaşa has yielded some fine results to comprehend the hinterland boundaries of five settlements (Iotape, Selinus, Cestrus,

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<sup>1065</sup> Harrison. 1986: 384-386.

<sup>1066</sup> Waelkens and Vandeput 2007: 97-100.

<sup>1067</sup> Pimouguet-Pedarros. 2005: 627-637.



**Figure 7.1:** Detail From the Joints of a Carian Wall (A) and Fortification Walls (B) (Pimouguet- Pedarros. 2005: 636-637)

Nephelion and Antiochia), all situated on the coastal strip. The hinterlands were attempted to be estimated (around 4 km radius) by drawing midway boundaries between the central settlements, however, a limitation was disregarding the topographical boundaries for still unconfirmed hinterlands. It was more or less understood that the settlements, which were located at 5-7 km intervals, formed a “compact cluster” with rural population profiles and could have reached the uplands.<sup>1068</sup> In brief, almost blank, thus negligible the coastal territories of the Classical period now witnessed a stunning growth in terms of settlement during the Hellenistic period.<sup>1069</sup>

Land use was dependent on the harsh environmental conditions of Rough Cilicia. Gazipaşa survey has put forward more on how the categorization of land was realized according to soil and slope characteristics. It was determined that the sloping areas formed 56% of land, moderate slope arable lands and soils occupied 34% and the rare rest was formed by alluvial soil. Referring to the elevations where modern agricultural fields stood (100 m or lower than the central settlements), the most conspicuous case appeared to be Iotape. Another study on the categorization of settlements aimed at estimation of size. As the first category, the farmsteads (defined as isolated units and poor with potsherd scatters) revealed that they could reach up to

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<sup>1068</sup> Blanton. 2000: 7, 17, 20.

<sup>1069</sup> Mueller. 2006: 54.

0.2 ha. The second group was reserved to the villas with baths and larger rooms which rated up to 0.35 ha. These appeared to be more elaborate in size and function, with large presses and storage areas for olive and wine, and stucco decorations and painted plasters. The last category was set to the core settlements which were larger than 3 ha and sustained populations of more than 600. The results on the estimation of territorial sites revealed that a surplus production, even self-sufficiency in the agricultural production were not the pioneering factors for the peripheral development of coastal Rough Cilicia. Rather, the Hellenistic settlement pattern was owed to uncontrolled state power. Limited to the density of potsherds uncovered over four sites, the estimation of the Hellenistic population figured to around 1400 where it addressed expansionist movements limited to the coastal area.<sup>1070</sup>

The 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C was a time of cooperation between the Seleucids and the local dynasts in Cilicia. The settlements were not planned to give a “city” impression.<sup>1071</sup> The southern part of Isaura appears with the irregular settlement plans of modern Işıkkale and Karakabaklı villages. The socio-economic segmentation was reflected on the dual plan of Işıkkale. The buildings with T-shape blocks with cisterns at the front well are typical of Cilicia<sup>1072</sup>, which also remind us of the Carian rural structures.

As one of the components of rural architecture, *villa rustica* was the typical rural elite house in the Olba region in Rough Cilicia. The topographical choice as to which layers could be worked easily, and extraction of building elements from local limestone, affected the pattern of rural architecture in the region. The placement of tombs within the borders of rural farm complexes was a general habit of exploiting the plots.<sup>1073</sup> But, the settlement pattern of the Olba *territorium* was primarily shaped by military concerns. The presence of a regional network of *chora* garrisons built according to topography is obvious since many bear common masonry techniques

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<sup>1070</sup> Blanton. 2000: 15, 57, 59, 61, 64, 67-68, 70.

<sup>1071</sup> Aydınoglu. 2005a: 257.

<sup>1072</sup> Varinlioglu. 2009: 204-205, 212.

<sup>1073</sup> Erten Özyıldırım 2008: 201-202. For the early Roman periods, the Italian Peninsula provides a high density of farmsteads, see Blanton. 2000: 67.

and architectural features. These posts were constructed on the edge of the hills where the main traffic routes ran between the upland and the coastal area. The safety and easy transportation of agricultural products must have been the essential criteria. Small scale settlements definable as “mushroom” posts lie on the strategic routes between the inland and coastal areas. Farm complexes with processing platforms, specifically found between modern Erdemli and Silifke, exhibited almost identical patterns.<sup>1074</sup> It seems that the majority of rural character fortress settlements had dual functions in Cilicia, acting as part of small farmsteads or cultivated areas and for patrolling the environs, as also known from the Lycian territories.<sup>1075</sup>

The Cilician surveys may give some idea on the categorization of ancient settlements in the countryside, according to the number of houses mastering the agricultural land. Generally, the small scale agricultural enclaves were composed of 5-20 houses. The situation seems to have changed to *kome* when the numbers reached 70-100 houses side by side with about 6-7 farmsteads. Corresponding to larger scale operations, the production of 1500-3000 kg of olive oil per season is the approximate figure stated for the countryside. In any case, agricultural activity was a concern of many periods and that workshops were collectively used by few houses<sup>1076</sup> at any place in antiquity. Hence, the figures may remain controversial unless new information is brought forward at some time in the future.

### **7.3 Comparison of the Rural Settlement Pattern of Bozburun Peninsula with Neighbours**

The geographical setting of the Peraea and the neighbouring habitats display outstanding silhouettes transformed under various geological processes. Just like what has happened in the Aegean, the changes in sea levels marked the extent of many ancient borders in further south. In the mountainous regions of Ionia, the “coastwise communication” was hardly provided due to the physical limitations so

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<sup>1074</sup> Aydınoglu. 2004: 169, 172-173; Aydınoglu. 2008: 425.

<sup>1075</sup> Aydınoglu. 2005a: 257-260.

<sup>1076</sup> Şahin. 2008: 447.

the island settlements became more advantageous in keeping contact with the mainland Aegean.<sup>1077</sup> On one side, the Classical and Hellenistic erosions ended up with economic and demographic degradations in Greece but it was not the same in western Asia Minor.<sup>1078</sup> Whether urban or rural, the territorial developments and adaptation process to the changing political and social conditions took place at the most unusual and profitable extent, either expressed through self-sustainability or the interests of a motherland.

As Hellenisation had a huge impact in Asia Minor and rest of the Mediterranean basin, many cultures could have maintained continuous contact whether they were distant from each other or were colonized at different paces. The interference of Rhodes, particularly in coastal Anatolia, must have brought close contacts with the foreigners in any relevant region. The degree of interruption is significant to comprehend what was happening or perhaps extraordinary in her periphery. The peripheral status of the Peraea has been evidenced through miscellaneous data. Although uncountable socio-cultural aspects constitute a pitfall for this study, a moderate vision on how the peripheries and/or countryside can be grasped according to tangible constraints need to be brought.

The Cycladic settlements were essentially planned according to pragmatic concerns. The landscape effect was felt on any type of construction whether military or civic. The complementation of the *chora* and the urban sites and their interrelations in many aspects remind us of the similar instances of the Peraea. Methana is ideal in presenting the emergence of ancient patterns over the broken landscapes. The human choice on dividing the land, the designation of sites between pure coastal bands and highlands, and use of architecture- as highly reflected by the environmental constraints relate to some similar situations which may be put forward for the Peraea. It would not seem that unusual if anyone steps on the commonalities of Methana and Phoinix when the fragmented nature of the environment, the architectural fashion and relational land use are reconsidered.

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<sup>1077</sup> Cook. 1962: 17-18.

<sup>1078</sup> Bintliff. 2000a: 62, 64-66.

Seeking relations between the Dodecanese and Caria requires careful elaboration. Synoecism was a turning point in the history of Rhodes and infiltration into the near periphery was achieved thereafter. Although it is hard to show parallels between the architectural plan(s) of the newly founded *poleis* (mainly the city of Rhodes) and the still unconfirmed *deme* centers of the Peraea, the active use of coastal outlets, a rich number of secondary order settlements, the absorption of the lower city by an *Acropolis*, the intelligent use of architecture on the rolling topographies, planning the core areas facing the sea but staying quite secure from potential raids, reserving the most privileged space to cult areas appear to be some equivalent aspects of the Peninsula and the Island. It seems that a discrepancy occurred in the perception, thus conceptualization of the landscape. Apparently, the degree of terracing was not the same in Rhodes and the Peraea. By definition, the agricultural terraces were economy oriented in the Peraea whereas the residential terraces are much conspicuous at Rhodes. Presumably, it is why the Peraea was so valuable for the Island. Not that far, the mode of cultivation and land use for agriculture in Cnidus was perhaps the most similar with those of the Peraea since intensive terracing for the domestic needs and the international arena was the driving activity in the neighbourhood. The ateliers positioned side by side terrace wall relics bear meanings when their physical proximity to the agricultural areas, water features and small harbours suitable for the transportation of local goods are assessed. Such structures strengthen the relationship between the settlement pattern and the mode of economy. Although the settlement plan of Cnidus provides close links with its *necropolis*<sup>1079</sup>, the positioning of tombs outside the city walls far from the *Acropolis*, recalls the completeness of distant spaces with the *Acropoleis* in the Peraean *demes*. Notable cases are traceable in Phoinix and perhaps Tymnos.

The amalgamation of urban and rural elements under social leagues was not foreign to Lycia and Caria. Both seem to have undergone similar processes of traditional patterns through the unification of ethnic groups under foreign effect. Whether threat came from the Ptolemies, Rhodians or Seleucids, a reality was that Lycia and Caria

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<sup>1079</sup> Parrish. 2001: 35.

took a defensive position by establishing military domains in the beginning of the Hellenistic era, finally reflected on the new settlement patterns. The military zones organized to ease the communication in Psidia contributes to our perception in respect of vulnerability which must have kept the Peraea rather busy with establishing strategic networks.

When the Cilician studies are highlighted, the advantage of using aerial techniques for estimating the territorial boundaries of the Peraean *demes* may be shown to an extent. A commonality seems that the neighbouring sites stand at similar intervals where 5-7 km is the optimum distance. However, the distant thing about the Peraean *demes* is that they do not appear to be eligible for creating compact clusters. Studies about size, land use and territorial categorization in Rough Cilicia where up to 0.2 ha and more than 3 ha are attributable to third and first order sites, respectively, somehow project the most approximate values attained in the Peraea and the very case of Phoinix (See Appendix B). On the enclaves targeting small scale agricultural productions or a relevant involvement, the figures stated in favour of 5-20 houses out in the *chora* or 70-100 houses forming a *kome* cause a flash back to some pre-stated coordinates in the Peraea.

Like the hinterlands of Rough Cilicia, it is very difficult to comment on the exact period of construction of numerous terraces<sup>1080</sup> most of which have been recently abandoned in the Peraea, particularly in the environs of Phoinix, Thysannos and Tymnos. The placement of tombs over the agricultural enclaves, sometimes within the borders of rustic constructions and elite buildings, and T-shape constructions worked out of local limestone are generally seen/found in Cilicia and the Peraea. The role of the countryside is clear as anyone may witness in both of them, however the crucial aspect must have been the application of already there local techniques on the newly imposed items.

The local architecture is conspicuous in both regions where the landscape was

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<sup>1080</sup> Blanton. 2000: 20.

shaped by the local hands under different administrative patterns. Ashlar walls were widely used in the 4<sup>th</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C Caria and Olba. No individual towers can be seen in the Peraea<sup>1081</sup> except for a few encountered in Losta/Hygassos? and Phoinix and perhaps in the farthest spots of Thysannos. Many of them appear to have served as military posts, acquiring logistic from the surrounding areas. Notwithstanding, the similarities in the texture of architecture can be observed where the local limestone and workmanship were frequently used as a natural, cost-effective element.<sup>1082</sup> It is rare to see the so-called mushroom posts in the Peraea, perhaps except for Loryma and Kaletepe (Phoinix). The uniformity in design and function may apply to the Cilician rural bases whereas a real emphasis is to be made for different character fortifications in the Peraea.

The peripheral status of Cilicia, particularly under the Roman influence, was reflected through ceramic workshops. Likewise, well-established relations of the Peraea and Rhodes have been revealed through the Rhodian type amphorae detected in various ateliers. The involvement of Rhodes in the Peraean territories relates to the way of interruption in Cilicia. It would be incorrect to assert a pure “colonial” type of administration for both of them as aspirations to control the periphery was rather an outcome of economic interests. The Seleucid and Rhodian policy stood in between military control and social integration with the native populations and the locals were the shareholders of the regional administration within which different religious views, traditions and ethnic groups could be fused. The apex of Hellenism demonstrated flexibility in the local choices and practices. Although the local rulers seem to have been tolerated for the survival of Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic strategies, the socio-economic integration ensuring Rhodianism could have had the greatest effect in the Peraea.

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<sup>1081</sup> Aydınoğlu. 2004: 176, 178.

<sup>1082</sup> Durugönül. 2002: 62.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

The interpretation of ancient territories with their *chora*, as inseparable duals, may now be met by many of those topics offered by Bozburun Peninsula. Therefore, we may summarize what have been conveyed up to here in the light of general literature, thus referring to the views of all the scholars cited throughout this study. The Bozburun survey has put forward that the organisation of the ancient Peninsula was shaped by the magnitude and accumulated effect of rural type settlements- namely the *demes*, much more than expected. As the historical trajectory of the Peninsula reveals strong hints on the infiltration of Carian, Persian and Greek elements into the political realm of the *demes*, the region had no way but to internalize the codes imposed or adjust herself to the frequently changing conditions, which at the same time left it to exercise a degree of flexibility during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Firstly, and linked to the influence of rising powers, an advantage to her faith was the original Carian character which survived into the upcoming periods. Although we have a remarkable share of archaeological knowledge, particularly from northern and inner Caria and the Halicarnassian Peninsula that were drawn into the orbit of Hellenism in the west, the links of southern Caria (including the Incorporated and part of the Subject Peraea) with Rhodes and possibly the islands in the Dodecanese (Mee, 1982; Åstrom, 1988; Marchese, 1989; Boardman, 1999; Bean, 2000) forms the background which frame the past down to the late Classical period. A big “but” comes to the mind as to whether the southern πόλεις had a share of the reformist atmosphere of the Ionian Renaissance, which involved the Hecatomnid dynasty to a great deal and experienced a revival during the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C as new forms are quite understandable, e.g. from tooled work ashlar masonry, typical building blocks (Hornblower, 1982; Laumonier, 1936) or change in the character of leagues after the King’s Peace, including the Peraea. Since Archaic type strongholds survived, even with the Rhodian takeover after the Social War, they hallmarked the vulnerability of the region to a continuous clash of interests between the Rhodians

and the Diadochi and counterbalances until the 2<sup>nd</sup> Macedonian War however, the struggles, as Reger (1999) pinpoints, do not appear to have had completely obscured the situation as the Rhodians always managed to turn the periods of political instability to their advantage in southern/southwestern Caria and that the Hellenistic kingdoms could merely put the region under temporary control. Moreover, the nature and content of relations with the Hellenistic kingdoms, particularly for Ptolemies, Seleucids and Attalids remain arbitrary when limited to the Peraea. Obviously, the involvement of southern Greeks and their penetration into socio-political life outweighed the Achaemenid, Athenian or indigenous powers of Anatolia.

The interest of Rhodes on the mainland- the Classical Carian Chersonesos, opened the way for the enjoyment of power on Carian territories that the Island must have turned it into an advantage by the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. If a successful diplomacy of Rhodes (Strabo) had never been there, the Peninsula as part of the newly introduced “Rhodian Peraea” would not have been controlled for a longer period than expected under some extraordinary conditions. Although the administrative and the political framework is rather reflected through a network of leagues which developed into the Hecatomnid era, the territorial system of the *demes*, based on the notion of *ktoina*, seems to have had its earliest roots in the governing model of the three old mother *poleis* before their synoecism on the Island of Rhodes (Hornblower, 1982; Ma, 1998; Şahin, 1976; Held, 2005; Berthold, 1984; Fraser and Bean, 1954; Gabrielsen, 2000). Early organic relations might be an alternative answer. It is also likely that the Peraeans were not alien to the notion of *synoecism* or nothing could have been very unusual since that of Mausolus and Rhodians could be treated at least within a similar context (Hornblower, 1982)- cultural and political unification (excluding conditions rooted in the genesis), vis-à-vis the practices of some others, e.g. Megalopolis which experienced it on physical terms.

Bozburun Peninsula is a mini laboratory for hallmarking the role countryside played in antiquity and laying down the rightfulness of the growing interest in neglected ruralities within the modern archaeological context. Regarding the generic history of

the *demes* and their perception in antiquity, the southwest Anatolia helps discover significant aspects on strong relations between the urban and the hinterland, though it may seem trivial in the discussions based on the long acceptance of oppositions between the *polis* and countryside. The introduction and development of rural type settlements and the key elements of the *chora* may be dated back to pre-Classical periods, however, self-realization of the Peraea must have been achieved during the late Classical and early Hellenistic era although a degree of autonomy (Robert, 1946; Marchese, 1989) could never be comparable to that of *poleis* in the north of the Peninsula later, with the ratification of the Peace of Apameia. Predictable patterns may then be brought to the agenda under the very common attributes of rustic settlements (flexibility in administrative patterns, self-declaration in territorial limits, typical architecture, social mark-up, cultic codes, etc.).

The imprints left by the Carian culture are attributable to the scope area where typical evidence is specifically found in the architectural fashion, early settlement plans, the network of *komai* and linguistic codes, members of the Delian League and numismatics until the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The introduction of a new *deme* system on the mainland or the replenishment of old territorial forms of administration based on the *ktoina* practice of the three old *poleis* (Ialysos, Lindos, Kamiros) of Rhodes made the Peraea a land of Hellenized indigenous communities (Hansen and Nielsen, 2004) and a nodal point for the interests of the Island of Rhodes in south Caria. It could have been a smooth process as the Carians were familiar with village federations made up of decentralized *komai*, namely the *koinons* (hardly comparable to the character of great political unions of the Greek world) before the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C and the upcoming movements following the Peace of Apameia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. The coinage, indicators of a well-established transport amphora manufacturing, the assemblages onto which eponyms were inscribed, numerous epitaphs and inscriptions relating to economic, political and cultural relations between Rhodes and Peraea mark the Peraea's new Hellenistic identity (Tuna and Empereur, 1989; Doğer and Şenol, 1996; Aydaş, 2010; Bresson 1991). The efforts of the Rhodioi to access the physical resources of the mainland and the islands, and the possible motives of the three old *poleis* in grabbing land and constructing long recognized social ties with

the Peraea before synoecism of the Island could have accelerated the acknowledgement of the mainland as an eternal ally, also due to the geographical proximity. As the prehistoric remains have not been fully understood up to now, a question that still remains unanswered is whether the early Mycenaean settlers in the northern sector of Rhodes (perhaps Trianda) could have taken an interest in the mainland (Mee, 1982), regarding its physical proximity. No matter, a peripheral development and “colonization” finds place for the future ages. Evidence about the relations with Rhodes is more intact in terms of literary sources, coinage and epigraphy for the Hellenistic period. The impact of Rhodes is explicitly stated in the Island’s coinage standard (Florance, 1966) after the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Of course, the preservation of ethnic identity in the Peraea could never be that strong as in the case of the Subject Caria. It is somehow manifested through the adoption of deities (including the Incorporated Peraea and the Subject Peraea where divinities like Helios and Rhodian Demos hallmark a penetration into religious life (Fraser and Bean, 1954), foreign influence in simple form burials and altars (Fraser, 1977; Bilde, 1999), bilingualism in onomastics (Reger, 2007), announcement of *proxenoi* (Hansen, 2004), etc. accorded with the altered policies but strong Carian traits could have been simultaneously preserved in the distinctive etymology regarding site names (Uyguç, 1992) like Thysannos or the lion depictions on coinage (Grose, 1929; Head, 1963; Konuk, 2007), although it was a powerful means of adaptation to the changing economic and political conjuncture by using various weight standards.

Multiple problems arise from the extent of the Subject Peraea (about which Fraser and Bean, 1954; Berthold, 1984; van Bremen 2009 turned their eyes to the issue) where the Rhodians have often been identified by their ethnic (Constantakopoulou, 2007). Attributable to the Incorporated Peraea, it was the demotics which made the Rhodians known to the region. Commentaries on the physical extent of the Incorporated Peraea until the early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C have addressed the sub-region including Kallipolis in the north and Caunos and Cnidus in the east and west, respectively, on the mainland. The southeastern part of the Incorporated Peraea was a sub-region of the Subject Peraea, however, the Rhodians were possibly withholding Caunos and Stratonicia and the major settlements in the north of the Ceramic Gulf

until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Macedonian War (168/7 B.C). If correct, such a view locates the Peraea to the default influential scope of the three old *poleis*, bearing in mind the losses of important dominions of Rhodes with the Peace of Apameia with which the Peraea was certainly excluded. In that case, the Peraea could have become the “dependent of dependents” where the dependents were the three old *poleis* under *sympas damos* on the Island of Rhodes. Despite the weaknesses of ancient literature (but mainly based on the views of Meyer, 1925; Fraser and Bean, 1954; Bean and Cook, 1957; Calder and Bean, 1958; Papachristodoulou, 1999; Dmitriev, 1999; Jones, 1987) and discreteness in epigraphical evidence, the *demes* located in the west of the Peraea seem to have been attached to the mother *polis* of Kamiros, those lying in the east belonged to Lindos whereas the case is almost uncertain for Ialysos. More reasonably, the determinant factor must have been the position of natural harbours and auxiliary edifices leading the way to the most suitable corridors. Casarae apparently masters the east and the western tips of the Peninsula but her dependency on Lindos could have arisen from the advantageous positions of Loryma and Serçe Bay facing the east. If there were a total number of 13 *demes* for the three old *poleis* on the mainland, this may make at least 4 *demes* for each *polis* providing that a complete egalitarian atmosphere prevailed in Rhodes at all times of the early-late Hellenistic “colonization”. If the exact numbers of *demes* were fixed to the three old *poleis* without hesitation, it could make sense but incompleteness on the subject matter, even about the Peraean *demes* names makes the situation obscure. Also, attempts for making an assignment on the number of Peraean *demes* by counting the number of Peraean fortifications, shall merely remain immature unless the list is refreshed with the help of a complete record of epigraphical material. A refreshed category for the known *demes* is that Tymnos and Phonix were the Kamiran *demes* and Physcus, Amos and Casarae were Lindian whilst the rest are still open to debate. Associating the Peraean *demes* with the three old *poleis* may need to be reinforced regarding the distance criteria so further administrative relations must have been inevitable in the long-run. As an inseparable part of the Incorporated Peraea, the Peraea enjoyed certain privileges in social and political life. The privileges and the mobility factors in the administrative and military framework and perhaps the consent for an external interference due to security concerns, bring to forth the

possibility that the colonization of the Peraea was a smooth process and that it might have become a shareholder to Rhodes until it was completely detached from the Island's political and economic life. We must still remain skeptical about the theories on the degree of involvement of the Peraean *demesmen* in *sympas demos* or their familiarity with the ordinary life on the Island, and the patterns of presence of the Rhodians on the mainland (Gabrielsen, 1999) since a two-tier citizenship somehow denoting social unbalance (Diler, 2007; Papachristodoulou, 1999) was there. In fact, the use of sub-ethnics in the Peraea was limited to citizenship whereby the locals must have fully enjoyed self privileges granted by the *demes* however, the context of citizenship granted by Rhodes on the Island (Strabo) must have been a result of populist policies, especially during the Hellenistic period. Also, the terms and conditions of such citizenship is under question but possibly (apart from perhaps e.g. *matroxenoi* who enjoyed certain privileges through inter-marriages from both sides) the commercially important people and/or priestly families holding administrative offices on the Island (e.g. *damiourgoi*) were entitled to such rights in Rhodes (Rice, 1999). That the only privileged groups could have accelerated mobility from the mainland shall remain as a one-way flow of action (van Bremen, 2009). Taking into account the notion of *katoikeuntes* (free people whom could not hold membership to a *deme*) and those entitled to *matroxenoi* (Foucart, 1889), neither Rhodes nor the Peraea withheld pure localities. We however come across evidence on the use of e.g. *matroxenoi* in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The meaning attributed to citizenship seems to have changed a great deal with greater involvement from both sides during the Hellenistic period but no demographic percentage can be fixed in the light of available data since Rhodes was a real cosmopolitan state. On the other hand, although the real status of any *strata* can never be thoroughly constituted, frequent use of *demotics* (except for the rules applied to the foreigners) on the Island and the mainland (Varinlioğlu, 1990; Dmitriev, 1999), including the Subject Peraea, is still a vital aspect which calls for more on the matter of citizenship and mobility and Rhodians' excess involvement which seems to have caused them be gradually swept into the cultural and psychological sphere of local Carians and/or others over time.

As well as generic identification of the *demes* with the associated *poleis* and reconsideration of spatial discussions which are not free from environmental, socio-economic, political and cultural context, the theoretical background on settlements, general literature and recent evidence grabbed during field works provide the minimum vision- though it may seem prudent, on the reconstruction of the Peraea within the most general context. In doing that, the corpus of linguistics and inscriptions, secondary data which is not free from contradictory information and settlement data acquired at the field open the way to cope with and reinterpret the locational problems of the Peraean *demes* and theorize on their territorial boundaries under the discussions of size, function and land use. Hence, the following are inferable from what has been stated herewith and, under newly introduced evidence from the region:

1. The Peraea, once being the focal point of the Classical Carian Chersonesos (in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C) which was almost equivalent to a *polis* that fell into the category of a moderate/large size territory, became a Hellenistic periphery with the Rhodian takeover. When taken individually, it was possibly based on *demos* formations. The resources of the Peraea take precedence (regarding the physical position) in seeking the correlation between her importance and attractiveness in ancient times.
2. The Peraea- a “peninsula settlement” in nomenclature, was a network of rural sites revealing dispersed forms and conurbation of at least 7 (seven) *demes* which began to be explicitly announced from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. However, the intersecting chronological set of the Peraean *demes* may be limited to ca. 500 years- roughly to an interval between the late Classical and early Roman era. The problems with the exact locations of *demes* have long raised debates amongst the scholars. The recent picture, albeit destructive processes over the last few decades, shows that the modern settlements associated with the *demes* are Turgut (Hydas), Kızılköy (Losta or hypothetical Hygassos complemented with Losta Bay), Bayır (Syrna), Bozburun (Tymnos), Söğüt (Thysannos), Taşlıca (Phoinix) and Bozuk (Casarae). The *Acropoleis* of the mentioned *demes* are situated at Kaletepe (270 m), Yancağız Tepe (200 m), Asarcık (410 m), Kaletepe (205 m), Oyuk Tepe (199 m), Hisartepe (222 m),

Hisardibi (35 m)?/Hisarüstü (226 m)?, respectively. It seems that designation of the territorial boundaries of the *demes* was achieved as a result of the egalitarian atmosphere of the Classical period and that their average size was 30 km<sup>2</sup>. Based on the recent data and sampling study, the *deme* centers (often *Acropoleis*) would not exceed 2-4 ha in essence but the natural restrictions on average size draw up the possible limits for each *deme*. Disregarding Hydas and Amos, the largest *deme* was possibly Thysannos (35,28 km<sup>2</sup>) and the smallest was Phoinix.

3. The Peraea is like a test platform where varying rural settlement types acknowledged in the nomenclature are verifiable such as the *polis* (when deemed as a whole for the Classical period), *korion*, *katoikia*, *demos*, *aule*, *kome*. As a matter of fact, along with the decline of the Hecatomnid power, there could have been a reorganisation in the sense of *dioikismos* (as attested by Hornblower, 1982; Tuna, 1999)- analogous to past ways of living in *komai* but now being the earliest forms of *demes*. However, it is rather difficult to state the co-habitation of *poleis* and *komai* in the scope area. The development of the *chora* down to Hellenistic and Roman periods seems to have taken place similar to the way the *chorai* developed on the Kerch and Taman peninsulas (about which Saprykin (2004) provides basic notes) within the Bosphoran territory in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C, except if one prefers to leave room for the co-existence of the *demes* of the Peraea and the three old *poleis* of Rhodes.

4. The basic motive behind the development of the *demes* was the mode of economy in which the centre of gravity was pastoral practice engaged with agriculture and shaped according to environmental conditions. The vast majority of land was reserved to agricultural terraces so the products of economic value must have been treated as inputs to the trade sector and amphora “industry” as a result of Rhodian protectionism. An open question is the degree of exploitation through the use of work force operated on the terrace systems but when the patterns of administration and principles of citizenship are taken into account, it is difficult to claim a fix figure of a hundred percent. Generally, the bulk of the settlement clusters are concentrated around land suitable for terracing (the way of concentration also implied by Benter, 2010). The organisation of the countryside and changes in the mode of production is reflected through the practice of land tenure recovered from

rich epigraphical materials in content, in the vicinity of Amos (Fraser and Bean, 1954; Bresson, 1991) and, the rising density of utilitarian objects like press stones (Diler, 1994, 2004) and pottery (Tuna, 1990, 1999; Tuna and Empereur, 1989; Held, 1999-2002; Held et.al, 2010; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006), finally leading to interpretations in favour of well-established relations across the boundaries of local peripheries and/or between regions. Analogous to Rhodes, whose vital point was her well-established market (vindicated by huge amounts of amphorae as may be found elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean or the Aegean), the Peraea could have experienced a peak in commercially valuable products (but not comparable to the volume of transactions and trade in ancient peninsula settlements like Corinth) between 200-190 B.C but a generic time span for the acceleration of traditional production patterns possibly relates to the accession of the Hecatomnids and continued into her absorption into the domain of Rhodes. Minimum parallels for the latter may be established with two old *poleis* of Lindos and Kamiros which made their peaks in amphorae production in the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C and that their products infiltrated far as Levantine cities until the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C (Lund, 1999; Rauh, 1999). In any case, we have to be contented with evidence on stamped amphorae beginning from 300 B.C (Mattheson and Wallace, 1982) but persistent Peraean traits appear with stamps in the Rhodian standard from the 3<sup>rd</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. Referring to the dates of the Roman conquest of Asia Minor, we also need to make a virtual stress on increases in the production of different provenance wine in contrast to declines in Rhodian exports, as Rauh (1999) underscores. Between 167-67 B.C, such a process could have influenced the scale of the Peraean economy, except for the portion reserved for self-sustaining purposes but there is a need to remain skeptical as these kinds of issues are still arbitrary in the scholarly world. However, the lack of systematic evidence even obscure the real potential of the Peraea (perhaps her revival in the production of certain goods but mainly wine) which could have undergone a similar? process like Rhodes in the upcoming period-specifically during the reign of Claudius. It is still hard to fix an exact date on the loss of control over the markets but a reality was that amphorae traffic from Cos to Labraunda continued in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C (Georgopoulou, 2005) or “rivals” like Cnidus, Chios and Cos seem to have replaced declining figures of Rhodian

(Rauh, 1999) and indirectly Peraean products upon cooperation with the Romans. Likewise, the lack of systematic survey on unstamped amphorae (Lund, 1999) and that whether such may find an explanation in favour of self-sufficiency makes the situation unclear. Some evidence on *terra sigillata* may well herald reestablished relations with the growing power of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C- the Romans but hardly recalls links with a specific west: the Samians.

5. It is difficult to make a claim on the counterbalance of space used for cult, art or a collective attraction centre which is only attributable to the far north in Amos and Kastabos or in the south around Casaræ. But, a possible political and religious gathering spot (as put forward by Kuban and Saner, 1999)- Kırın in the territorium of Casaræ is never comparable to places like Corinth where a combination of various creational and economic activities made it a real center of attraction. The Peraea was devoid of aesthetic tastes. This was probably a matter of functionality in terms of planning and architecture expressed through self-containment. A general category of burials seemingly relates to the simple rock-cut pits, occasionally appearing as cluster tombs (as also noted by Bilde (1999)) that may also find expression in the countryside but, nothing serious relates to the monumental architecture. Those equipped with plain stelae are some strong indicators for the wide application of inhumation. Far from the idea of a *polis* perhaps in the physical sense, the lack of one body standing theatres in the scope area is not that surprising which is quite associable with the rural status of the Peraea. The *necropoleis*/isolated burials constitute only a small portion of the land vis-à-vis the land used/not used as waste land the majority of which seems to have been run like *eschatia*. The building materials, perhaps indigenous products of the late Classical era, are easily distinguished with typical stepped blocks amongst which huge pyramidal pieces could have been used as altars (Bean, 2000) or any other item regarding the rituals- perhaps reworked as the crumbs of fashionable components of sepulchral architecture often found in Cos (particularly attested by Höghammer (2004) for Cos) and Rhodes. An indicator of a dynamic economy in the territorium of the *demes*, the spaces reserved to manufacture offer huge numbers of amphorae deposits from the late Classical and the Hellenistic era, detectable with mushroom rim amphorae and typical base profiles. The kilns concentrated in the northern sector (Tuna and

Empereur, 1989; Held et al., 2009) of the Peraea point to the well-established practices of amphorae production. Presumably geared toward self-sufficiency (Diler, 2004), the press stones, often found *in-situ*, add to the vitality of local products like olive oil or wine, which are widespread in the *chora*, on rocky platforms. Those situated near the shore line and appear with larger dimensions were possibly used for producing surplus for the international market.

6. The views on the administrative decentralization and loose political forms for the last decade may be vindicated by a corpus of inscriptions indicating the flexible administration of local authorities like magistrates or *prytaneis* (possibly the older forms of administrative institutions) under a *strategos* (Fraser and Bean 1954), functioning at the peripheral status of the three mother *poleis* and *demes*' closed habitats. Hence, the administrators sent from the Island signal the ruling character of Rhodes on the mainland. Additionally, a mention of *ktoina*, where the best cases have been proven from Tymnos and Phoinix (Cook, 1961a), forces us to rethink about the territorial divisions in the Peraea as well as the possibility of its internalization in the Subject Peraea. There is also reason to assume that *ktoina* could have related to sub-divisions of the *demes*, which had to do with ethnic identity or religious bonds. Theories now roll around that it could have been imported from the three old *poleis* (based on *phylae*) before the synoecism of Rhodes as evidence also recalls its presence in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C (Constantakopoulou, 2007). Brief to say, it could have the earliest roots before synoecism of the Island and continued into the Roman period, also involving the Peraea, as is now evident from some other *demes* like Syrna. Hence, the territorial divisions were either expressed as *ktoina* or something different than that, beginning with the Classical period in which case we may be inspired by the egalitarian practices which is also deemed to have applied to the administrative patterns. The conditions implying *demos* or *trittyes* are discussable in the lines of terminology. It seem reasonable to refer to a territory equivalent to a *polis* (which paid about 2-3 talents to Athens between 452/1- 433/2 B.C) rather than purely defining it as a community in loose defensive networks.

7. There lies a network of fortress settlements throughout the Peraea. That Peraea lacked a single administrative center (Pimouguet-Pedarros, 1997; Benter, 2010) may also be looked into with two type- administrative and military character

fortifications which may be found within the territorial borders of the majority of the *demes*.

8. The orientation of the *demes* fit to topography which is to be essentially expressed with limestone formations highly affected by the karstic processes. As, the physical conditions of the Peninsula flash back to the long-term role of tectonic, coastal and depositional processes and perhaps a middle range affect of its semi-arid climate and overgrazing of *nomos* (also possible to have been exploited for natural manuring), it is taken for granted that all the *demes* reached their ultimate outlook primarily because of the ecological factors. Also thinkable, there could have been an effect of deforestation (as claimed for Loryma by Held (2001)), however, perhaps in terms of deforestation of the shrubland biome which could have repeatedly shaped the patterns of pastoral economies. Similar to the elongated plots in Cnidus, the basic units of agriculture (indispensable components of the terrace systems) which present rectangular and rather uniform sizes (Tuna, 1990) but now with late additions may be attributable to the Roman period (Carter et. al, 2004), as a result of state-imposed regulations? On the other hand, the practice of drawing lots on the terrain could have taken mature forms before and during the Hellenistic period. The land was basically shaped by working parallel banks of earth (like the practice stated for Attica as noted by Bradford (1956)) over the most fertile slopes.

9. The *deme* centers are located at regular intervals where 5 km is the average value and the visibility is high on the *Acropoleis*. Indeed, the highest sites with a fortification on top can see partial or a great deal of the *territorium* of at least two *demes*. The proximity to water resources or corridors giving way to the coastal outlets seems to have been taken into account in the course of initial designation of the *demes*. The water features complement the defensive structures and dwelling areas. The *Acropoleis* reveal commonalities, particularly in the masonry technique and the similar design and dimensions of at least two cisterns. Typical of architecture, coarse polygonal masonry often worked with a rough finish or the quarry faces is observable on the fortifications, while the isodomitic techniques of quadrilateral masonry with tooled work is widely traceable on the Hellenistic structures- the public or elite buildings in particular.

10. It seems that the inland *demes* (Syrna, Losta/ Hygassos?) exploited the resources of mountainous zones. They exhibit compact patterns whereas the coastal/ quasi-coastal *demes* like Tymnos (which seems to have been geared toward seasonal agriculture and grazing), Thysannos (as the most disturbed and dispersed) and Casarae (where the vast majority of land is waste) and situated in between marine and hinterland resources unveil dispersed patterns. The common thing about all of them is that, as Benter (2010) notes, plain areas mark the *deme* centers and fragmented topographies address the *chorai* which have a connection to the *deme* centers via communication networks. Relevant to the most general manner of organisation, the *Acropoleis* and lower settlements complement each other whilst good road networks enable complementarity (Benter, 2010) of the “urban” and rural areas. As the *deme* centers and the countryside look interwoven, a kind of uniformity is observed in the masonry technique, domestic architecture, fortification plans and water features, despite the workmanship with slight differences, which are a major concern of chronology.

11. The earlier traces of settlement observed in the vicinity of Losta/Hygassos?, Thysannos and Phoinix bring up the probable *terminus post quem* for the Carian occupation. Although it is disputable for the time-being, the safer positions of such enclaves may address the original locations of the *demes*.

12. The *deme* centers left enough space for self-identity and the operation of secondary settlements within the territorium. Although the entire Peraea may be treated as a big *chora*, the sub-segmentation may be found in the ranking system of the *deme* components. The low order settlements (generally made up of 5-20 dwellings) situated around a core or in the pocket plains, or appearing as individual farmsteads (having catchment areas 0.1 and 1.7 ha which confront to the ranges in literature, mostly conveyed by Blanton, 2000; Held, 2001; Rhodes and Osborne, 2003; Alcock, 2007) show the effective utilization of the countryside. They act as supporting habitats of the *deme* centers. Obviously, a shift from nucleated settlements to dispersed forms occurred in the course of the Rhodian colonization.

Phoinix, as one of the smallest *demes* in the Peraea, gives us information to the maximum extent since the *deme* is one of those least disturbed. The main conclusions are given as the following:

1. Considering the use of sub-ethnics in the Peraea and the mention of “Tloans” on fragmentary materials (Fraser and Bean, 1954; Bresson, 1991) in the *deme* center or out in the *chora*, it could be that Phoinix was a conurbation of *komai* one of which was made up of the Tloans or all were named under the same ethnic. No matter, the acknowledgement of the *deme* needs to be based on the territorial borders named as Phoinix.

2. Although extensive survey carried throughout this *deme* shares worries on the chronological problems, the contextual data relevant to the *Acropolis*, 251 (two hundred and fifty one) dwellings and 9 (nine) farmsteads, has a lot to say on behalf of the other *demes* or for establishing some flexible analogies, besides different character settlement components so recorded.

1. Looking at the mosaic pattern formed as a result of habitat fragmentation, one can discern that the major criteria on the determinants of settlement in Phoinix are the environmental factors and man altered patches to exploit the land to the maximum extent.

2. Situated between the steep topographies and the coast and equipped with multi-ports, the *deme* center rolls around a plain area in the middle of which the *Acropolis* stands. Moderate environmental conditions attributable to the *Acropolis* echo the typical Vitruvian instructions on the initial planning. The *Acropolis* is affiliated with compact settlements (and associated the cultivable land) stretching to a catchment area of about 150 ha (disregarding the waste land). The internal relief arising from the topographical constraints and the availability of *terra rosa* soil show their affect on the positioning of any type settlement.

3. The range of elevation regarding the settlements is 43-440 m, however the overwhelming majority of the settlement structures are situated between 100-200 m. All types of settlement rest on *terra rosa* character soil, which shows a non-random choice for settlement. On average, the bulk of dwellings and all the farmsteads rest on the moderate slopes occurring between 0-30%. On the other hand, higher slope

degrees (up to 40-60%) of the dwellings at the *Acropolis* also outline the borders of the compact settlement to leave suitable space for agriculture at the plain level. The aspect results show that around 1/3 of the dwellings face the southeast, basically along the densely occupied slopes of the *Acropolis*. Avoiding the adverse effects of the hot temperatures of long summer seasons could have been the reason. However, regardless of aspect, many dwellings, by being arranged in an orderly manner on the terraces (terrace settlement), seem to have eliminated similar effects. When it comes to the rural structures, they face the west and southwest. Such a positioning may be meaningful when their close connection and physical proximity to the agricultural areas (which seem to be indexed to more sunlight) are reconsidered. On average, the elevation value of more than half of the agricultural terraces is between 150-300 m while slope values of the majority indicate 10-30% but what is almost certain is that they reach up to 70% where the boundaries of limestone begin. Notwithstanding, nothing uniform can be posed for the agricultural terraces in relation to aspect; the exploitation of terrain at the maximum level was the basic motive for the cultivators. That around 43% of the terraces face the NW-SE is explainable with the orientation of Phoinix in NE-SW axis. As the compact settlements and rural structures stretch across the NE-SW fault corridor, a search for land out in the *chora* at opposite directions might have been an alternative answer to such. On the other hand, due to the climate regime and scarcity of permanent water, the dwellings are either situated nearby a dried up stream or equipped with cisterns and wells that enable access to the underground reserves. An ancient arterial road travels around the *deme* center but forks to wherever necessary to keep continuous contact of the *chora* and the *Acropolis*. Another form of contact seems to have survived via fortifications and lookout posts (in the NE and SW communication line) with high visibility.

4. Numerous potsherds documented in the *deme* center and the outskirts of the *Acropolis* address the late Classical/early Hellenistic and Roman periods. The diagnostic profiles suggest the mushroom rim amphorae- typical of the late Classical period, the Hellenistic amphorae (including those with stamped handles) and *pithoi* and coarse wares datable to the Hellenistic and Roman periods on a large scale. Although evidence is poor, later period potsherds are attributable to the catchment area of the *Acropolis*. The sites where *terra sigillata* have been documented, if not all

exposed to the down-slope displacement of surface materials or settlements, mark the “capillary diffusion” of settlement in the *chora*, possibly during the late Hellenistic-Roman periods. When the current and secondary data (including the great corpus of epigraphical material) is reassessed, the imprints of Rhodes are discernable with Rhodian imitation amphorae and the Greek names associable with the Rhodian administrative and priestly institutions.

5. Although few remained in the countryside, the isolated tombs (e.g. the two *sarcophagi*) could have been related to a declaration of ownership or longing for the remote ancestral links at times of the Rhodian or the Roman suzerainty. Another category hallmarking the Hellenistic and Roman periods is press stones, often identifiable with close forms of *mola olearia* albeit differences in size, which may be found regardless of the site character. Wherever larger size press stones are found, it is possibly an indication of an expansion in the volume of production in the close vicinity of a cluster settlement or a gigantic farmstead. It is quite difficult to tackle the problem of chronology regarding the water features but those having larger dimensions (side by side with press installations) are deemed to address possible workshops or collectively used areas (e.g. for the livestock, drinking) which continued into the post-Hellenistic periods as is also evident in the modern practices. Dependency on underground water has strong grounds in the geological character and the climate regime. That numerous cisterns are concentrated in the northern sector could have forced the modern settlers to fly to the vicinity of this area as the *Acropolis* gradually became an unattractive area, due to safer political conditions. In any case, it seems that the ancient people knew how to tackle the problem of water by constructing numerous cisterns and wells in the *deme* center and the *chora* in which case, a rightful reason for seeking pre-established relations with Kamiros (which is also quite rich with cisterns) and Phoinix may be questioned in terms of specialization and workmanship in cistern construction.

6. The density of settlement is quite high along the slopes (particularly the eastern slope of the *Acropolis* near a dried up stream bed) of the *Acropolis*. Such a case is explainable with the idea that the *deme* centre was the hub and maintained the status of a miniature *polis*, implying a certain degree of “urbanization” and perhaps being more than a *kome*. The situation may also be favoured with the increasing

number of dwellings inversely proportional to decreasing distance to the *Acropolis*, where 1-2 km is the moderate interval. That is, all the farmsteads fall out of the visibility zone of the *Acropolis*. Although distance values for the farmsteads to a nearest dwelling which range between 289 m- 1.2 km mark some irregularities in view of the results incumbent on the *Acropolis*, disadvantages of being in the *chora* (e.g. keeping contact with the temples, large markets, social gatherings, etc.) seem to have been eradicated by a well-established road network in every direction.

7. The planning of the settlement has grounds for visibility whilst a viewshed area of the *Acropolis* determined the scope of direct/indirect control over the territorium of Phoinix. The farmsteads (small structures having boundaries between 0.1- 0.3 ha, almost verifying the average values emphasized by the scholars, particularly by Alcock, 2007; Blanton 2000), often built on relatively high lands in the *chora*, maintain a high visibility over the agricultural areas whereas the second order clusters (having catchment areas of between 0.5-5 ha) often face the *Acropolis* and the coastal band.

8. The dynamics of land and the environmental disturbance regimes are best reflected through agricultural terraces which have been exposed to degradation. A successful manipulation of land was realized to the upper limits of the hills where the limestone begins. Place to place and typical of the Greek patterns, the debris of terrace wall relics and pre-defined boundaries of plots show clear ownerships based on the equal distribution of land, both associable with *insulae* of dwellings in the *deme* center and some farmsteads or clusters in the *chora*.

9. Compatible with the axial position of Phoinix, the site exploitation is primarily concentrated in the NE-SW direction and that the agrarian phenomena must have flourished along the tectonic fault. The land suitable for agriculture and built areas make up only 12 % (twelve percent) and 2 % (two percent) of terrain, respectively. The rest could have partly replaced the gaps with e.g. *eschatia*, herding stations for extensive grazing or remained inert. The ruins of sheep-folds (13x15 m on average) seemingly associated with grazing and rustic architecture worked with typical building blocks (the same technology applied onto the walls), and often standing on the moderate terraces in the territorium of Tymnos bear resemblance

with many of those traceable in Phoinix. A considerable number of such structures make the issue worthwhile for future researches on pastoral economies.

10. Phoinix grew into a dendritic pattern within which the complex-nucleated settlements (also supported with many previously recovered inscriptions in the environs of the *Acropolis* but mainly reported from the Lower and Upper Fenaket) associated with plain areas and the dispersed settlements associated with the pocket plains in the *chora*, make up the general silhouette. The sporadic outlook is not a coincidence where a network of dispersed settlement patterns represents the effective exploitation of land. More specifically, the Classical *deme* transformed itself into a dendritic pattern as far as 1.3 km, which does not seem inconsistent with some ancient cases reported (by Sevenant and Antrop (2007)) e.g. for Lasitthi in the Cyclades and Paros in Crete. However, a close analogy may be found in the rural settlement of Paros which revealed a dispersed layout extending inland. In Phoinix, 5-20 dwellings form the clusters of settlement which also encompass or stand close to the small scale or large isolated farmsteads (*aule*) out in the *chora*. Lying on or nearby a well established road network, the clusters have a proximity to the *deme* center whilst they maintain an intermediate position between the farmsteads and the *Acropolis*. The horizontal and vertical relations were achieved via the road network which travels according to topography across the most suitable terrain.

11. Hypothetically, the origins of or the earliest settlements in Phoinix is traceable in the outskirts, on a promising inland site (local Gökçalça) in the northeast, however it is too early to come up with firm statements. This site, perhaps heralding pre-Archaic patterns, may generate further knowledge for those interested in the long-term change.

12. The administrative center was the *Acropolis*- evidently the first order settlement, while the possible gigantic *korion/phrourion*- military base was stationed on top of Kaledağ (presenting a trapezoidal plan with undisturbed ramparts, having a perimeter of about 1 km, and occupying approximately 5 ha), in the northeast. The low order settlements evolved into the *chora* extending from the catchment areas of the *Acropolis* toward the southwest, however, that the northeastern part of the *deme* is almost blank in terms of surface assemblages and settlement remains (except

Gökçalça) does not necessarily mean that organic relations between the *deme* center and the robust *korion* were absent.

13. As dispersed settlement patterns provide flexibility in the social relations, they may conceal clues for the forms of elite control in Phoinix or elsewhere in the Peraea. Such a case may be supported with a well established network of communication and an ancient itinerary but it should not lead to the idea that the strength of the *chora* had firm grounds for full independence. It seems that the improvement of the reflexes of the *chora* with the proliferation of various habitation units was an inevitable result of the agricultural booms and flexibility in the administrative patterns during the Hellenistic period. Contrary to Thasos where the communication lines, especially in the countryside were weak (as reported by Osborne, 1987) and that the center was occupied by the administrative staff and people were divorced from the core, there was, physically, no strict control in the *chora* of Phoinix, and the hybrid populations co-residing with wealthy/elite groups survived into later periods.

14. The plan of the *deme* and megaron dwellings (rustic or urban) highlights functionality and easy management of the landscape. The reorganisation of the household with additional rooms, which created a far more enlarged space, is vividly observed in the lower settlement. Analogous to the precedents of Archaic houses in southern Greece but free from a chronological worry, it is rather explainable with the changing socio-economic conditions from the early Hellenistic to the Roman periods. Representative of protodemocracy, on the contrary, the plots allocated to the Classical houses and their interior designs appear to be smaller. The domestic architecture seems to have been accorded with population pressures rather than regional perceptions during the Hellenistic and later periods. The two gigantic farmsteads (hypothetically the temple-farmstead complexes as inspired from the literature and Amian lease agreements) hallmark the presence of a serving market, a redistribution policy or a possible logistic/urban service and trade nexus in the sub-region. Although we should remain skeptical about the purpose of their construction, these two edifices (1.6 ha and 1.7. ha) more or less verify the range of size of the leased plots in the ancient period, considering their catchment area.

15. The *Acropolis* (2,6 ha), which draws up the principles of the general layout, was the backbone of the man-man environment in Phoinix. The fortification system (in the NE-SW axis) of the *Acropolis* could have been bigger as the aerial study diverted the attention to the traces of outer wall relics now earthed at the plain level (Sindili location). Although part of the components are quite disturbed, the fortification presents a clear inner and outer design limited with *diateikhisma* walls (Classical) embracing 6 (six) cisterns, a possible elite residence and the ruins of a public structure perhaps associable with the rock-cut Hellenistic inscription on the eastern sector, and outer walls (Hellenistic and Roman), respectively. Both wall systems were worked in polygonal masonry, however, the size of the stones and the subtle technique hallmark the changing conditions from the Classical to the later periods.

16. Two main structures may be reviewed for reconstructing the civic limits of the *deme*: the ruins of the bossaged Hellenistic walls (possibly the remnants of a public structure) in the northeast and southwest of the *Acropolis*, which are both worked with the isodomic ashlar with tooled work. The extent of the boundaries of the *deme* center, far exceeding the walls in the northeast, seems to have been interrupted by the *necropolis* in the northernmost sector. We must be contented with a single fortification system unless the outer walls, if correct, travelling the lower settlement along the slopes of the *Acropolis*, are unearthed. An additional note on the main components of the layout may be reserved to the wall series (worked in the isodomic technique mentioned above) in the southwest which now suggests that they could have acted as a nexus for the transmittal of urban/international goods and vital logistics, as a lively, social space for the visitors, or like an agora since the ruins of a structure are not detached from the area the walls occupy. Midway between the *necropolis* and the *Acropolis*, the *naiskos* dedicated to Apollo (dated to the Hellenistic period with the inscriptions carved onto the frontal walls) is representative of a rural sanctuary. The meaning ascribed to this public structure may also be reconsidered taking into account its position on a main itinerary, connecting the densely occupied lower settlement and the northern borders leading the way to some extensively cultivated agricultural fields and rural settlements in the *chora*. Recalling that Apollo Erethimios is often found in Rhodes, we cannot know whether

the temple was associated with an “agro culture” but it could be a native equivalent or an inherited deity from a genuine Caria in that adoption in a different form during the Hellenisation process could be an answer. On the other hand, its physical location between the *deme* center and the *chora* may recollect a compromise between the “urban” and the rural. When wrapped, the site plan is a refined version of the Carian *polis* of Alinda, which was a nexus for Mausolus’ expansionism in the late Classical period, otherwise the autonomous Hellenistic site down to the Roman period. Moreover, placement of the fortress gate, *bastions*, walls and *pyrgoi* on and around the *Acropolis* prove minimum parallels with the sites of northern Caria. Regarding the limits of the *chora*, the rural sites situated between the small strait facing the Arap Island in the northeast and Gedikçukur site neighbouring the coastal Casarae outlined the entire territorium.

17. As the function of Phoinix continued into the late Classical- early Hellenistic era, the *deme* must have expanded from the core to the countryside to cope with the economic and social expansions, however the initial movements could have taken place from the safer inlands in the N-NE and the centre could have flown to the *Acropolis*. The sphere of influence seems to have been dramatically felt toward the coastal band and the southwest due to cooling-off periods and the secure atmosphere created by Rhodes. However, inequalities arising from a shortage of land and overdevelopment of the center around the plain area are reflected in the settlement pattern which could have gradually marked the growing forms of elite control. Accorded with the population booms, a change in the social composition possibly matured during the Hellenistic period since a vast majority of inscriptions corroborate the residence of Peraeans and Rhodians on both sides and the creation of a hybrid community on the mainland. Although it is difficult to cope with the nature of relations, issues like citizenship are open to question from the viewpoint of real locals/slaves, who are deemed to have made up a great portion of the population.

18. The expansionist movements in the late Classical world and the upcoming era give a partial insight into the financial status of *poleis* in Asia Minor. The heydays of Hellenism caused a boom in the agricultural production in the Peraea, finally reflected in the administrative and socio-economic life and population. The Bouletic quotas highlighting the relationship between territorial size and payment capacity,

socio-cultural habitat of the Peraea and its relation to Rhodes, late statistics (essentially of the Ottoman Empire), approximate values acquired through experimental archaeology which is often indexed to production rates and the demographic breakdown, and data collected during field work offer some hints and a semi-quantitative access to the population projections of Phoinix. The combination of different methods has put forward that the Classical population of Phoinix could have experienced about 250 % (two hundred- fifty percent) growth as it developed into the Hellenistic era, where the ultimate figure could have reached 700 inhabitants, almost half of whom are supposed to make up the labour force. The social changes, with the Rhodian involvement, could have accelerated the demographic expansions. The immunity against the disadvantages of a fragmented environment and successful management of the land made her a self-sufficient economy, however the indicators for producing a surplus (created by wine production to replace the possible deficiency of cereals and equivalent to a labour force of about 1181 people which is attained through the calculation of the market values of cereal and wine (an exchange rate of 1/3), based on the average annual production rates per ha) and dispatching it abroad come to the foreground as it relates to a well-established market. Likewise, the *demes* in the Peraea could have been amongst the significant players, even held the primary arteries of regional development in the periphery of Rhodes. In any case, the socio-economic organisation and transformation of the Peraea may be explained with “assimilation” in the modern terms.

19. In order not to be stuck with monocausal processes, a comparative approach has contributed to our understanding of the ancient Peraea, including the *deme* of Phoinix. The epigraphical evidence has shown that the neighbouring communities were not foreign to each other. Although an interaction bears powerful implications for the social aspects within the cognitive system of ancient people, some common denominators may be explored in the general outlook and intermingled settlement patterns and the conceptualization and manipulation of the landscape. Arising from the environmental determinants shaping land use, it is considered that pragmatism and the mode of economy hallmarked similarities with the Cnidian Peninsula and the Lycian settlements in the nearest neighbourhood and with Methana lying farthest in

the Cyclades. Still, relations with the Cycladic Islands are not clearly understood while the Minoan and Late Bronze Age patterns are defective. Further researches on the possible interests taken by islanders on the mainland are awaited. Analogous to the *polis* center of Cnidus which lay in the plain area while it was rather a random choice for settling in the *chora* (at three population levels), a minimum semblance is attributable to the Peraea. An exception may be that the dispersed settlement pattern found stronger expression in the environmental background in which case it was not solely the settlers' discretion to cope with topography in settling either in isolated, clustered or compact forms wherever necessary, but was rather the rules of the nature that somehow forced them create the most suitable habitats in the Peraea. The case is similar, in certain respects, to the settlement practices of *komai* formed across the harsh terrains of the western Lycia. On the other hand, the art of state of a possible *dioikismos*, which could have acted as the driving mechanism for the new *deme* system in the course of the Rhodian rule, might be reassessed by looking at the acceleration of urbanization attempts in Psidia during the heydays of the Seleucids. Both cases prove to have flourished as dominions of the two Hellenistic powers in the same era although "colonial" motives of states could have varied. Perhaps, a better explanation (regardless of chronology) may be found in the organisation of well-established military zones and security network relating to a relative vulnerability when compared to some others in the neighbourhood. Corroborated through the epigraphical material (the presence of foreign dwellers/ visitors from e.g. the Phaselitans, the Selgians), the commercial links could have been reinforced under the Rhodian control and that various forms of interaction could have affected the Peraean way of living which also had place for new inspirations and growing perceptions regarding the settlement patterning/planning. However, the most significant of all may be attributable to the Rhodian *poleis* where the reconciliation of inland areas with limited resources and the coastal zone affiliated with maritime affairs had to be achieved. Although systematic planning at the city of Rhodes is far from relating to the inner designs of the Peraean *demes*, the abundance of secondary order sites in Kamiros, the position of its *Acropolis* half a mile from the harbour and the terrace settlements concentrated along the slopes and in close vicinity appear to be some good indicators for the idea behind the planning/replanning practices in the

Peraea, which is particularly observed in Phoinix. In spite of the diverse motives behind Hellenisation, the practice of often configuring 5-20 dwelling clusters in the countryside or formations of *komai* with 70-100 houses in Rough Cilicia (as noted by Şahin (2008) for Rough Cilicia) may inspire us to the minimum extent when the case of Phoinix is reviewed. Potential debates on the issue should be freed from an absolute chronology.

20. When looked at a distinct sub-region, the general manner of organisation of the Peraea is reminiscent of the Milesian territory where rural exploitation and physical expansion was realized by dispersed forms of habitation in the late Classical- early Hellenistic period unlike the network of rural localities, which took nucleated forms e.g. in Hellenistic Jordan or Corinth and Athens which experienced expansions before the Classical period.

21. Contrasting a monochrome picture, perhaps highly limited to the Hellenistic world, the Peraea must have maintained a peculiar character attributable to her socio-cultural composition and local aspects inherited from the Carian culture until her survival into the later periods. In this respect, the Bozburun Peninsula needs to be put forward as a potential land as far as a contribution to the accumulation of knowledge in rural Anatolian archaeologies is concerned.

In consideration of the potential offered by the Peninsula, some suggestions (mainly based on the (i) period, (ii) settlement components and ceramic assemblages, and (iii) site criteria), which may contribute differently to the foreground, can be offered as the following:

1. Some certain areas now seem far more promising for future studies, which are expected to divert the attention to the later periods in which case the environs of Tymnos, particularly the headland between Mercimek Bay and Apostol Promontory, and Kızılada and Kiseliada may give further proof about the Roman and Byzantine periods. Notwithstanding, possible early locations, which may generate knowledge in relation to the most neglected contexts regarding the Carian period, thus culture, roll around the southern sector of Losta (specifically on top of Karatepe) and the inland site within the borders of Phoinix along the slopes of Gökçalça.

2. There is, on the other hand, need for systematic studies regarding the rural elements of the Peninsula. It seems that the pressing equipment documented up to now make up a considerable part of a potential inventory which may act as an input for studies relating to rural economies. As far as the rural context is concerned, more questions on the drivers of ancient economies, including the motives behind the construction of rural structures- mainly the farmsteads, may help to the creation of new agendas. Also, water features, which are quite rich in number all over the Peninsula, may bring new opportunities for those whom are interested in ancient water works. Such studies may also help us deal with the real chronological problems which are not immune to debates on the factors affecting settlement patterns. As one of the pitfalls of this study arose from the scope of survey permission given by the official authorities such that the collection of any original surface material was prohibited, we have a poor presentation of the new pottery samples which posed certain limitations on the interpretation of chronology. Hence, it is deemed crucial that “intensive” surveys, which shall hopefully be biased toward selectiveness on the ceramic assemblages in the newly introduced sites, need to be launched.

3. Inland Losta/ Hygassos?, the eastern sector of Thysannos and particularly the northeastern part of Phoinix possess prolific sites for future work which is expected to focus on fortress settlements. Hence, the sites of Kaletepe (2), Gemecitdüzü, Kaletepe (3) and the *phourion* on top of Kaledağ and, which have been skipped or not thoroughly understood up to now, may have many to reveal about the ancient strongholds in the Carian Chersonesos/the Peraea. Kaletepe (1) is also an interesting site which may generate knowledge for any relationship, if there, between a (possible) fortress settlement that seems to be interwoven with sepulchral architecture. Also, the ancient settlement (in the western valley of Güncebaşı Tepe) behind which the outstanding fortification rises is deemed to be an opportunity in order to study the various aspects of a rural settlement in the middle of the Peraea. Finally, the settlement pattern of relatively less disturbed *demes*, as endeavored for the sampling case of Phoinix, needs to be studied and modelled in detail in the coming future.

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## APPENDIX A

### SETTLEMENT MATRIX TABLE (PERAEA)

LOCATION	DEME CENTER	AVERAGE ELEVATION	TERRITORIAL SIZE	FUNCTION	POSSIBLE ORIGINAL LOCATION(S)	PERIOD
Hydas (Turgut)	Kaletepe	270 m	> 11,90 km <sup>2</sup>	Agriculture Defense Urban Services	?	12 <sup>th</sup> century B.C- LP <sup>1083</sup>
The shortest and safest route for the transportation of goods in north of the scope area, stretches between Hydas and Syrna, in the W-E direction						
Syrna (Bayır)	Yancağız Tepe	200 m	35,28 km <sup>2</sup>	Agriculture Defense Urban Services	?	H, R
Losta/ Hygassos? (Selimiye/ Kızılköy)	Asarcık (West of Güncebaşı Tepe)	410 m	27,26 km <sup>2</sup>	Agriculture Defense Urban Services	Karatepe Gemecitdüzü?	C, H, R
Tymnos (Bozburun)	Kaletepe (1)	205 m	35,17 km <sup>2</sup>	Agriculture Defense Stockbreeding	Avlana-Örenyaka? Kaletepe (2)	C, H, R, LR
Thysannos (Söğüt)	Oyuk Tepe (Ortaca)	199 m	31,91 km <sup>2</sup>	Agriculture	Marmarcık Tepe? Kaletepe (3)	C?, H, R

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<sup>1083</sup> Benter. 2001: 177-179.

**Settlement Matrix Table (Peraea) Continued**

LOCATION	<i>DEME</i> CENTER	AVERAGE ELEVATION	TERRITORIAL SIZE	FUNCTION	POSSIBLE ORIGINAL LOCATION(S)	PERIOD
Phoinix (Taşlıca)	Hisar Tepe (Fenaket)	222 m	28,24 km <sup>2</sup>	Agriculture Defense Urban Services	Gökçalça Tepe	C, H, R, LR, LP
The shortest route for the transportation of goods in south of the scope area stretches between Phoinix and Casaræ, in the N-S direction						
Casaræ (Bozuk)	Hisardibi Hisarüstü?	35 m 226 m	34,87 km <sup>2</sup>	Agriculture Defense Urban Services Cultic	Hisardağ? Loryma	A, C, H, R <sup>1084</sup>

A (Archaic), C (Classical), H (Hellenistic), R (Roman), LR (Late Roman), LP (Later Periods)

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<sup>1084</sup> Held. 1999: 295.

**APPENDIX B**

**SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE MATRIX TABLE (PHOINIX)**

SETTLEMENT/ STRUCTURE INVENTORY NO.	SITE NAME	SECTOR	TYPE	AREA/ DIMENSIONS	PERIOD	CONDITION	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
O20A00501	Kaledağ	NE	Fortification	~ 5 ha	C?, H, R	Mostly well preserved apart from ruins of settlement	Hilltop of limestone, rocky platform, vision of 360 degrees, ruins on top and along slopes, polygonal masonry
O20A00502	Gökçalça	N	Dwelling Cluster	~ 3 ha	NA	Mostly preserved	Quite invisible, hilltop settlement (50-60 dwellings) scattered across a ridge of limestone between Gökçalça and Somakkaya Tepe, Lelegian influence masonry?, agricultural terraces
O20A00503	Taşlıca (Elementary School)	N	<i>Necropolis</i>	~ 0,5 ha	NA	Disturbed	Lying amongst modern fields in the vicinity of modern Elementary School, simple amorphous stelae suggesting early dates
O20A00504	Taşlıca (SW)	N	Water Features	~ 4 ha	R/LR?	<i>In-situ</i> , mostly well preserved, currently used	Lying on either side of the modern road in the east of İnkaya Tepe, scattered over modern fields
O20A00505	Peynir Dağ (E)	N	Tomb	50x100 cm; ~ 40X80 cm	H?	<i>In-situ</i> , partly disturbed, lids absent	Two rock-cut tombs overlooking a dried up stream bed and agricultural terraces, near the main road on a shallow rock cliff

Settlement Structure Matrix Table (Phoinix) Continued

SETTLEMENT/ STRUCTURE INVENTORY NO.	SITE NAME	SECTOR	TYPE	AREA/ DIMENSIONS	PERIOD	CONDITION	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
O20A00506	Peynir Dağ (SE)- Top Tepe (NW)	NE	Wall and Dwelling	~ 45 m ~ 3X2,8 m <sup>2</sup>	H	<i>In-situ</i> walls partly disturbed; dwelling disturbed	Two range isodomic ashlar and bossaged walls lying near the stream bed, associated with a dwelling not far from another dwelling
O20A00507	Upper Fenaket (E)	N	Dwelling Cluster	~ 5 ha	C, H	Disturbed	Small cluster of dwellings (8-10) affiliated with terrace walls and water features, numerous reused blocks in modern fields near the main road
O20A0050801	Upper Fenaket	W	Compact Settlement	~ 5 ha	LC, H, R, LR, LP	Mostly disturbed	Ruins of numerous megaron type terrace dwellings which were in use until 1930s, situated nearby the plain area, at the opposite side of <i>Acropolis</i>
O20A0050802	Upper Fenaket (S)	W	Dwelling	~ 1 ha	H?	Disturbed	Ruins of individual dwellings situated at the opposite side of the modern road passing by megaron dwellings
O20A0050901	Çakallık Tepe	W	Dwelling Cluster	~ 2 ha	C, H?, R	Disturbed	Small scale cluster (4-5 dwellings) or possible workshop complex situated above the coast, overlooking agricultural terraces, engaged with an ancient path running from Upper Fenaket
O20A0050902	Opposite of Çakallık Tepe	W	Dwelling Cluster; Terrace/tomb?	~ 0,6 ha	C, H?, R	Disturbed	Ruins of three or more dwellings and a possible tomb situated at shallow terraces, at the opposite side of the modern road
O20A00510	Bahçakise	W	Dwelling Cluster	~ 0,5 ha	H, R	Natural abrasion, disturbed	Quite hidden hilltop settlement, 15-20 <i>in-situ</i> plots designated with small course polygonal walls

Press Stone Matrix Table (Phoinix) Continued

SETTLEMENT/ STRUCTURE INVENTORY NO.	SITE NAME	SECTOR	TYPE	AREA/ DIMENSIONS	PERIOD	CONDITION	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
O20A00511	Bahçakise	W	Dwelling Cluster	~ 3 ha	H, R	Disturbed	Dwelling with clear terrace walls reached by an ancient pathway, press stones, ruins of dwellings at the beginning of the mentioned path near the plain area of Sindili, and those scattered over an inland enclave surrounded with agricultural terraces at the rear side of a strait reached from the said dwelling
O20A00512	Sindili (SW)	SW	Wall	~ 50 m	H	Partly disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> isodomic ashlar and bossaged walls lying near a stabilized road travelling the southwestern plains of Sindili, base of a possible building above the walls on the left corner
O20A00513	Pırnal	SW	Dwelling	~ 0,1 ha	H, R	Disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> base walls and terrace walls of an isolated dwelling situated inland near the agricultural terraces
O20A00514	Badrık Tepe (E)	SW	Farmstead	~ 0,3 ha	H, R	Partly disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> ruins surrounded with shallow agricultural terraces where an ancient road meets a pocket plain
O20A00515	Yeşilgelme Bay (E)	SW	Farmstead	~ 0,3 ha	H, R	Disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> ruins overlooking the coast and situated on the ancient road
O20A00516	Kaynarlık Tepe	SW	Dwelling	~ 0,5 ha	?	Disturbed	Ruins of few dwellings engaged with agricultural terraces, overlooking Hisardibi Location
O20A0051701	Yelkaya- Akgeri Tepe	SW	Farmstead	~ 0,3 ha	C?, H, R	Disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> ruins situated inland on the ancient road, in the north of Yelkaya Tepe on the isthmus
O20A0051702	Yelkaya- Akgeri Tepe	SW	Farmstead	~ 0,3 ha	C?, H, R	Disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> ruins of two attached farmsteads situated inland on the ancient road and surrounded by agricultural terraces near the modern fields, overlooking Karagelme Bay

Press Stone Matrix Table (Phoinix) Continued

SETTLEMENT/ STRUCTURE INVENTORY NO.	SITE NAME	SECTOR	TYPE	AREA/ DIMENSIONS	PERIOD	CONDITION	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
O20A0051703	Yelkaya- Akgeri Tepe	SW	Farmstead	~ 0,3 ha	C?, H, R	Disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> ruins situated inland on the ancient road, between the modern fields and agricultural terraces, block scatters in the environs
O20A00518	Gedikçukur (SW)	SW/S	Farmstead	~ 0,8 ha	H, R?	Mostly disturbed	<i>In-situ</i> base walls and clear boundary lines, situated on a high terrace near a pocket plain and ancient road, overlooking agricultural terraces on its south, pile of blocks lying at the opposite side
O20A00519	Gedikçukur (S)	S	Farmstead	~ 1,6 ha	H, R?	Partly disturbed	Huge complex with quarry faced ashlar (overwhelmingly isodomic) terrace walls, situated on a shallow agricultural terrace near Karahorata Stream reaching Gedik Bay in the very south
O20A00520	Gedikçukur	SW	Dwelling Cluster	~ 1,2 ha	H, R	Disturbed	Quite hidden inland enclave, 8-10 dwellings forming a compact cluster and each situated on a terrace wall, majority covered with rubble masonry associable with possible barns, near the ancient road
O20A00521	Sindili (S)	SW	Dwelling	~ 0,1 ha	H?	Disturbed	Situated on a shallow terrace wall, slightly above the plain area of Sindili
O20A00522	Sindili (E)	S	Dwelling	~ 0,2 ha	?	Disturbed, stairs exposed to abrasion	Situated on a higher terrace in the lowlands of Karayüksek Dağ, nearby the ancient road

Press Stone Matrix Table (Phoinix) Continued

SETTLEMENT/ STRUCTURE INVENTORY NO.	SITE NAME	SECTOR	TYPE	AREA/ DIMENSIONS	PERIOD	CONDITION	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
O20A00523	Phoinix	SW/S/NE	Ancient Road	Route recorded: ~ 10 km Estimated total length: 15 km Average width: ~ 150-180 cm	NA	Traceable, disturbance is high near agricultural terraces	Travelling in NE-SW direction and passing by the eastern slopes of <i>Acropolis</i> , discreteness traceable where human intervention is high
O20A0052401	<i>Acropolis</i> (Hisartepe)	NA	Fortification	~ 2,6 ha	C, H, R, LR	Disturbed	Two-tier settlement on top, with fair vision in 360 degrees, walls address different periods, affiliated with 6 (six) cisterns, Hellenistic inscription, temenos walls of a possible public structure, possible elite residence
O20A0052402	Lower Fenaket	All sectors	Compact Settlement	~ 25 ha	C, H, R, LR, LP	Disturbed	Megaron dwellings (including late use) situated along the slopes and near environs of <i>Acropolis</i> between Sindili and Gökseriç Location, density is high in the eastern sector which is interrupted by a dried up stream meeting the lowlands of Tülütepe, ancient road reaching a strait and plain area in NE of <i>Acropolis</i> , ruins of three large buildings with bossaged terrace walls in the west of Burgaz Tepe
O20A00525	Gökseriç	N/NE	Temple	~ 0,3 ha	H	Mostly preserved except temenos walls	Situated near a dried up stream at the end of the ancient road, two Hellenistic inscriptions recognizable up on the gate lento, dedicated to Apollo in Greek script

Press Stone Matrix Table (Phoinix) Continued

SETTLEMENT/ STRUCTURE INVENTORY NO.	SITE NAME	SECTOR	TYPE	AREA/ DIMENSIONS	PERIOD	CONDITION	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
O20A00526	Burgaz Tepe (E)	E	Farmstead	~ 1,7 ha	LC, H	Mostly well preserved	Situated on a terrace and overlooking the stream bed running down to Apollo Temple, large polygonal terrace walls lying near the ancient road which travels from <i>Acropolis</i> , quarry faced ashlar walls used for the farmstead, equipped with a small atelier at the front corner, surrounded with agricultural terraces on its north and east
O20A00527	Burgaz Tepe	E	Watch tower	NA	NA	Mostly well preserved	Situated on top of Burgaz Tepe, quite invisible from all directions except east
O20A00528	Burgaz Tepe (S)	E	Farmstead?	~ 0,1/0,2 ha	NA	Disturbed	Situated inland, below the watch tower, press bed and reused blocks over modern field boundaries, near the ancient road
O20A0029	Dağ Yeri	E	Dwelling Cluster	~ 0,7 ha	R?	Disturbed	Situated inland, min. 10 dwellings forming a compact cluster along a terrace, facing modern fields and agricultural terraces in S-E, near the ancient road

\*The *Acropolis* is taken as the reference point in stating the sectors

C (Classical), LC (Late Classical), H (Hellenistic), R (Roman), LR (Late Roman), LP (Later Periods)

NA (Not applicable)

## APPENDIX C

**TABLE OF SOME VALUABLE COORDINATES  
AT THE ACROPOLIS (PHOINIX)**

NO.	LOCATION Map No (1:5000) O20d-12c	FEATURE	EASTING	NORTHING	ELEVATION	UTM (ED 50) ZONE 35	
1			Northernmost Gateway	597808	4053145		200 m.
2			Stairs Leading to Inner Fortress	597749	4053095		205 m.
3			Hellenistic Inscription	597776	4053075		209 m.
4			Public Structure	597745	4053045		205-210 m.
5			Possible Elite Residence	597730	4052995		204 m.
6			Cistern	597796	4053136		201 m.
7			Cistern	597740	4053083		212 m.
8			Cistern	597745	4053043		209 m.
9			Cistern	597666	4052994		183 m.
10			Cistern	597605	4052935		207 m.
11		Cistern	597735	4053019	206 m.		

## APPENDIX D

### WALL MEASUREMENTS TABLE (PHOINIX)

NO.	LOCATION	AVERAGE CODE (m)	TYPE OF MASONRY	HEIGHT (cm)	WIDTH (cm)	LENGTH (cm)	ESTIMATED PERIOD
1	Phoinix (NE)	158	Isodomic ashlar	~ 60	~ 60-80	~ 4500	Hellenistic
<i>Diateikhisma Walls at the Acropolis (Perimeter: ~ 510 m)</i>							
2	<i>Acropolis</i> (N)	210	Small size polygonal, without mortar	300	120	2300	Classical
3	<i>Acropolis</i> (S)	200	Small size polygonal, without mortar	500	120	1600	Classical
<i>Outer Fortification Walls at the Acropolis (Perimeter: ~ 770 m)</i>							
4	<i>Acropolis</i>	195	Mixed (massive; coursed polygonal; irregular and/or isodomic ashlar)	~ 150-500	~ 100	NA	Hellenistic, Roman
5	Phoinix (SW)	130	Isodomic ashlar	200	60	~ 5000	Hellenistic

Except the irregularities, the range of wall measurements at the *Acropolis* more or less matches the average measurements given by Akarca (1972: 112).

## APPENDIX E

### WATER FEATURE MATRIX\* TABLE (PHOINIX)

SITE NAME	TYPE			SIZE			DIAMETER (cm)	TOTAL # WITHIN A DWELLING	TOTAL # NEARBY A DWELLING	TOTAL # ON/ NEARBY FIELD/ AGRICULTURAL TERRACE	TOTAL # ON FORTIFICATION	ELEVATION (m)	CURRENT CONDITION
	Cistern	Well	Collection tank/ Basin	Small	Medium	Large							
Kaledağ						X	~ 200				2	444, 447	Unused
Taşlıca (E)		X			X		~ 100			≤10		235-240	In use
Gökçalça	X		X	X1		X2	X1: ~ 50 X2: N-S (~ 200); E-W (50-100-50)	1		1		345 285	Disturbed Unused
Taşlıca (SW)	X	X			X		~ 100			≥ 18		190-250	In use
Upper Fenaket (E)	X	X		X			~ 50	≥1	≥7			129-146	Unused or partly in use
Çakallık	X					X	~ 200	1 (Common use)				109	Unused
Bahçakise	X	X			X1, X2, X3	X4	X1, X2: ~ 100 X3: ~ 150 X4: > 150	2	2			130-160	Partly in use

**Water Feature Matrix\* Table (Phoenix) Continued**

SITE NAME	TYPE	SIZE	DIAMETER (cm)	TOTAL # WITHIN A DWELLING	TOTAL # NEARBY A DWELLING	TOTAL # ON/ NEARBY FIELD/ AGRICULTURAL TERRACE	TOTAL # ON FORTIFICATION	ELEVATION (m)	CURRENT CONDITION	SITE NAME	TYPE	SIZE	DIAMETER (cm)
Namlıalan Tepe (E)		X			X1	X2	X1: ~ 150 X2: NA			2		69, 95	Unused, closed from top
Yeşilgelme Bay (E)	X					X	~ 200		1			121	Partly in use
Kaynarlık Tepe	X						?			1		75	Late use
Yelkaya-Akgeri Tepe	X			X			NA	1				82	Unused
Akgeri Tepe-Gedikçukur (SW)	X	X			X1	X2	X1: ~ 100 X2: ~ 200	1		1		145 , 170	Partly in use, In use
Gedikçukur	X	X			X1?	X2	X1: ~ 100-150 X2: ~ 200	1 (Common use)		1		153, 140	Partly in use, In use
Sindili (S)	X			X?			NA		1			145	Unused
Sindili (E)	X					X	> 200			1		165	Unused
<i>Acropolis</i>	X				X		~ 100				1	183	Unused
<i>Acropolis</i>		X			X		~ 100				1	206	Unused, within the borders of a hypothetical temple

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**Water Feature Matrix\* Table (Phoenix) Continued**

SITE NAME	TYPE	SIZE	DIAMETER (cm)	TOTAL # WITHIN A DWELLING	TOTAL # NEARBY A DWELLING	TOTAL # ON/ NEARBY FIELD/ AGRICULTURAL TERRACE	TOTAL # ON FORTIFICATION	ELEVATION (m)	CURRENT CONDITION	SITE NAME	TYPE	SIZE	DIAMETER (cm)
<i>Acropolis</i>	X				X		~ 100				1	212	Unused
<i>Acropolis</i>	X				X		~ 100				1	201	Late use
<i>Acropolis</i>	X				X		~ 100 ~ 120				1	207	Unused
<i>Acropolis</i>	X	?				X	~ 300				1	209	Unused
Lower <i>Acropolis</i>	X						?		1			155	Unused
Burgaz Tepe (E)	X					X	> 200	1				291	In use
Dağ Yeri	X			X2, X3	X1	X4	~ 100 ~ 50 ~ 50 > 500	3	1			316, 310, 337, 331	In use, Unused
<b>TOTAL</b>								≥ 12	≥ 13	35	8		
<b>TOTAL # ABOVE 100 m</b>												64	

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\* All the features are given regardless of period; size is categorized based on the diameter values

**APPENDIX F**

**PRESS STONE MATRIX TABLE (PHOINIX)**

SITE NAME	TYPE		SIZE			DIMENSIONS (Diameter, Length (N-S), Width (E-W) in cm)	TOTAL # WITHIN A DWELLING	TOTAL # NEARBY A DWELLING	TOTAL # ON/ NEARBY FIELD/ AGRICULTURAL TERRACE	ELEVATION (m)	CURRENT CONDITION
	Simple	Mola Olearia/ Trapetum	Small	Medium	Large						
Kaledağ	X		X			60, 100, 80	2	-	-	393, 395	<i>In-situ</i> , abrasion, partly broken
Upper Fenaket (E)	X		X			55, 65, 65	1	-	-	130	<i>In-situ</i> , abrasion, partly broken
Çakallık	X		X			60, 100?, 100?	1	-	-	103	Badly destroyed, ¾ broken
Bahçakise		X		X		75, 100, 100 Canal depth: 3 Canal width: 5 Height of press bed: 50	1	-	-	153	<i>In-situ</i> , undisturbed
Bahçakise					X (Millstone)	Ellipse, 230, 150	1	-	-	156	Broken
Bahçakise					X	Smaller one: amorphous; Larger one: 130, 290, 290	-	2	-	122, 123	One is <i>in-situ</i> , abrasion for both, partly broken

**Press Stone Matrix Table (Phoinix) Continued**

SITE NAME	TYPE		SIZE			DIMENSIONS (Diameter; Length (N-S); Width (E-W) in cm)	TOTAL # WITHIN A DWELLING	TOTAL # NEARBY A DWELLING	TOTAL # ON/ NEARBY FIELD/ AGRICULTURAL TERRACE	ELEVATION (m)	CURRENT CONDITION
	Simple	Mola Olearia/ Trapetum	Small	Medium	Large						
Hisardibi (E)				X		73, 165, 83	1	-	-	38	Partly broken
Burgaz Tepe (E)		X		X		75, 185?, 165?	1	-	-	285	<i>In-situ</i> , abrasion
Burgaz Tepe (S)		X		X		75, 85/90?, 85	-	-	1	270	Reused material on field wall, almost complete
Dağ Yeri		X			X	120, 160, 130 Canal depth: 2 Canal width: 3 Height of press bed: 60	-	1	-	316	<i>In-situ</i> , little abrasion, nearly undisturbed, attached to a newly plastered basin
Dağ Yeri		X			X	70, 160, 130 Canal depth: 3 Canal width: 7 Height of press bed: 35	-	1	-	318	Little abrasion, nearly undisturbed
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>TOTAL # ABOVE 100 m</b>										<b>12</b>	

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## APPENDIX G

### BURIAL FEATURE MATRIX TABLE (PHOINIX)

SITE NAME	TYPE	SIZE/ AREA			DIMENSIONS (cm)	TOTAL # WITHIN A DWELLING	TOTAL # ON/ NEARBY FIELD/ AGRICULTURAL TERRACE	ELEVATION (m)	CURRENT CONDITION
		Small	Medium	Large					
Taşlıca (Elementary School)	<i>Necropolis</i>	~ 0,5 ha			NA	NA	1	205	Replaced by late, modern tombs, situated near water features
Peynir Dağ (E)	Tomb	X	X		50X100 ~ 40X80	-	2	161	<i>In-situ</i> , rock-cut rectangular tombs, lids missing
Hisardibi (E)	Group of tombs	X	X		40X80 80X150 100X200	-	8	14	<i>In-situ</i> , rock-cut rectangular tombs, exposed to abrasion; lie at ground level on a field near the modern road, partly disturbed
Gedikçukur (SW)	Chamber Tomb?				~ 70X210	1	-	145	<i>In-situ</i> , possible vaulted tomb now lying within the borders of an ancient farmstead, partly disturbed
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>1</b>	<b>11+ NA</b>		

## APPENDIX H

### PLATES

#### PLATE 1 (Photographs)

Plate 1.1 (Losta (Selimiye)/ Hygassos?)

Plate 1.1.1



Plate 1.1.2



Plate 1.1.3



Plate 1.1.4



Plate 1.1.5



Plate 1.1.6



Plate 1.1.7

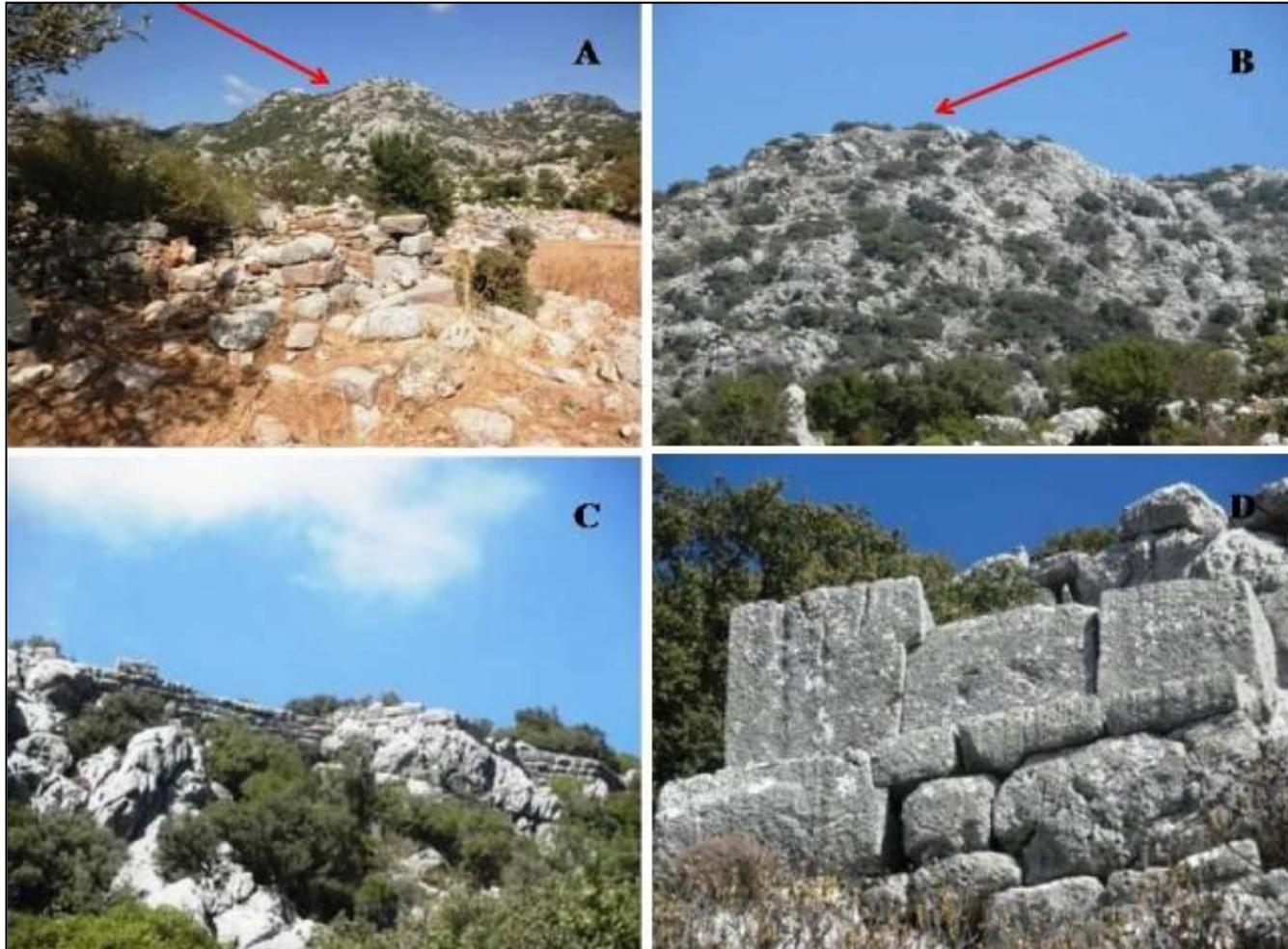


Plate 1.1.8



Plate 1.1.9



Plate 1.1.10



Plate 1.1.11



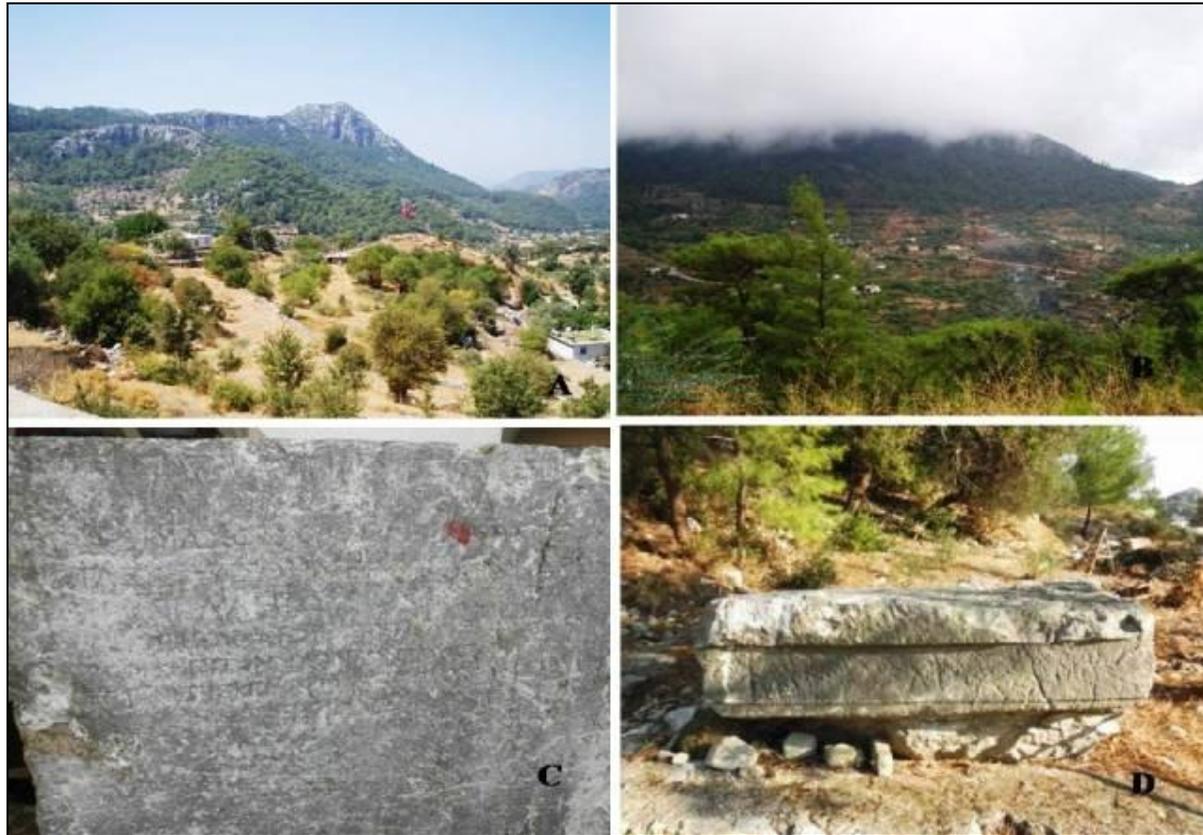
Plate 1.1.12



**Plate 1.2 (Syrna)**

**Plate 1.2.1**

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**Plate 1.3 (Tymnos)**

**Plate 1.3.1**



Plate 1.3.2



Plate 1.3.3



Plate 1.3.4



Plate 1.3.5



Plate 1.3.6



**Plate 1.3.7**



Plate 1.3.8



Plate 1.3.9



**Plate 1.4 (Thysannos)**

**Plate 1.4.1**



Plate 1.4.2



Plate 1.4.3



Plate 1.4.4



Plate 1.4.5



Plate 1.4.6



**Plate 1.5 (Phoinix)**

**Plate 1.5.1**



Plate 1.5.2



Plate 1.5.3



Plate 1.5.4



Plate 1.5.5



Plate 1.5.6



Plate 1.5.7



Plate 1.5.8



Plate 1.5.9



**Plate 1.5.10**



Plate 1.5.11



Plate 1.5.12



Plate 1.5.13



Plate 1.5.14



Plate 1.5.15

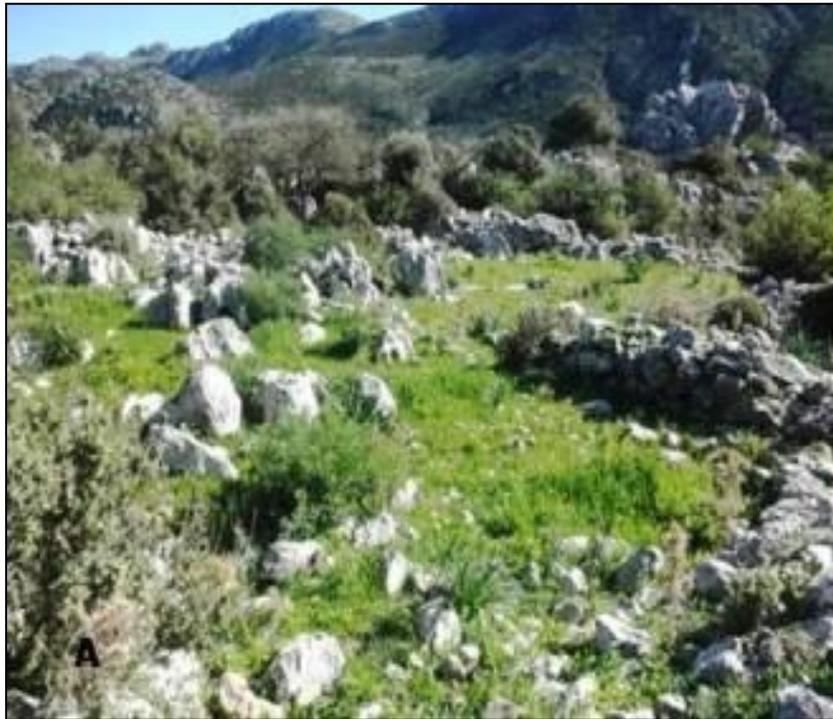


Plate 1.5.16



Plate 1.5.17



Plate 1.5.18



Plate 1.5.19



Plate 1.5.20



Plate 1.5.21



Plate 1.5.22



Plate 1.5.23



Plate 1.5.24



Plate 1.5.25



Plate 1.5.26



**Plate 1.5.27**



Plate 1.5.28



Plate 1.5.29

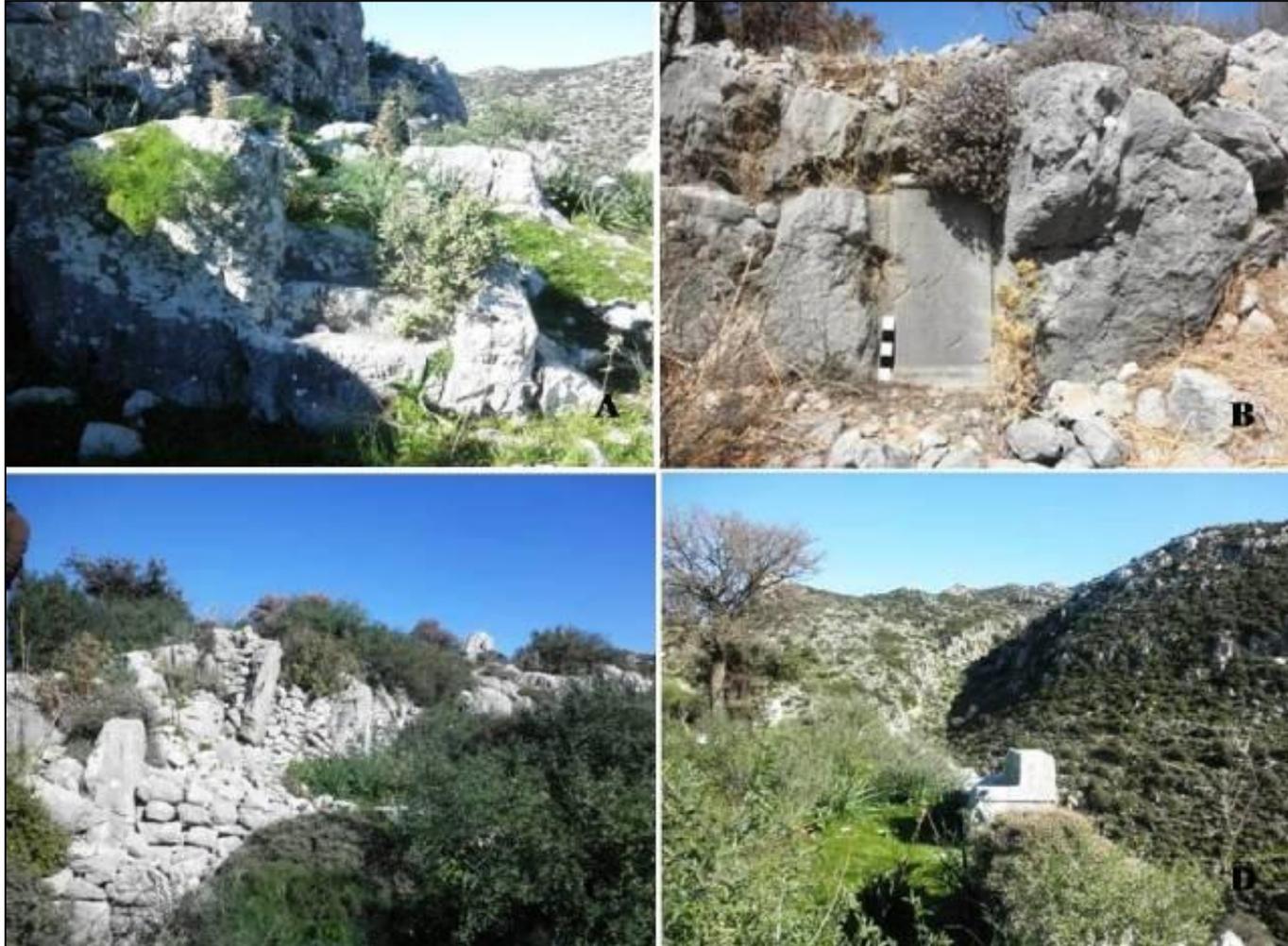


Plate 1.5.30



Plate 1.5.31

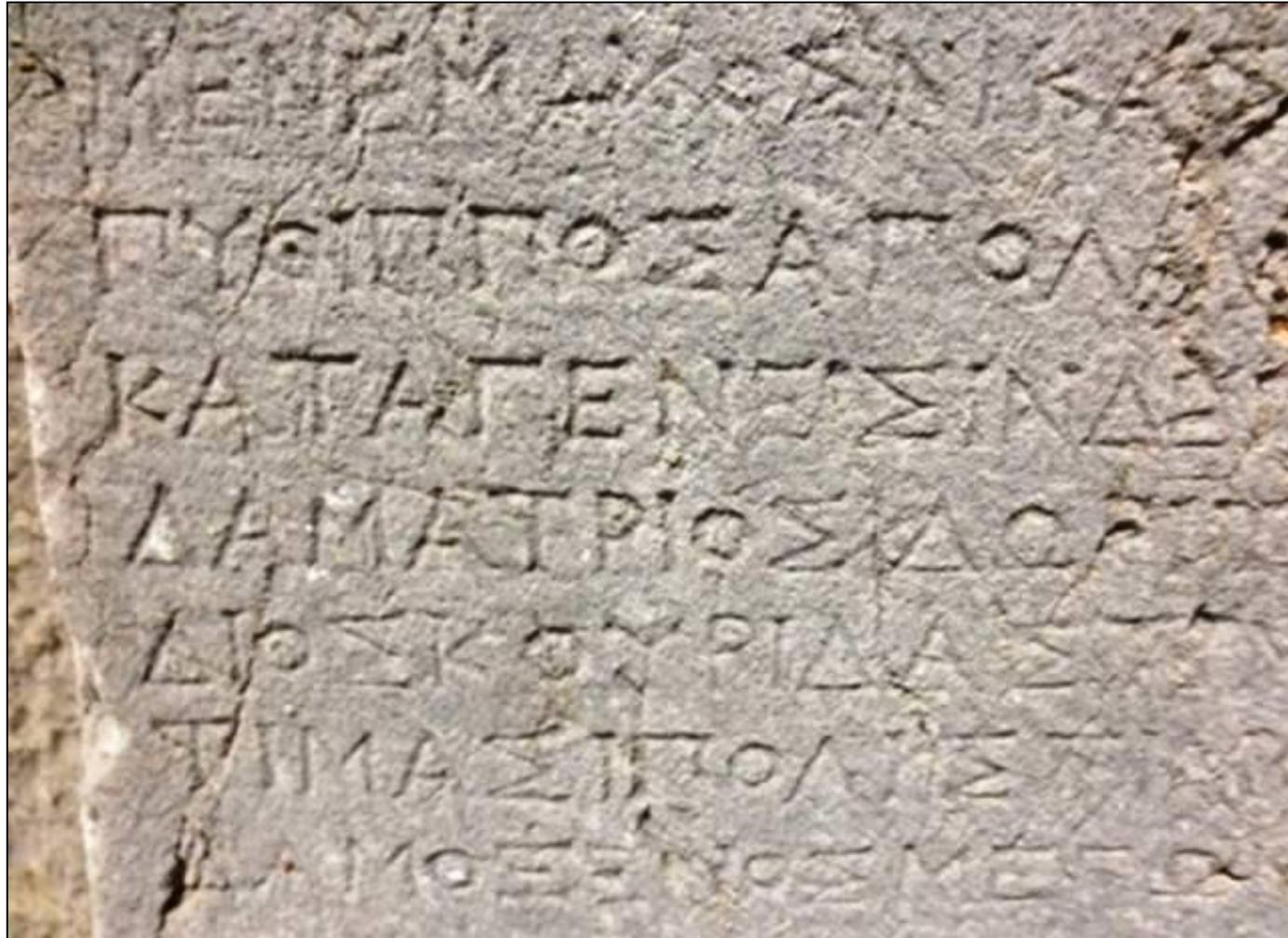


Plate 1.5.32



Plate 1.5.33



Plate 1.5.34



Plate 1.5.35

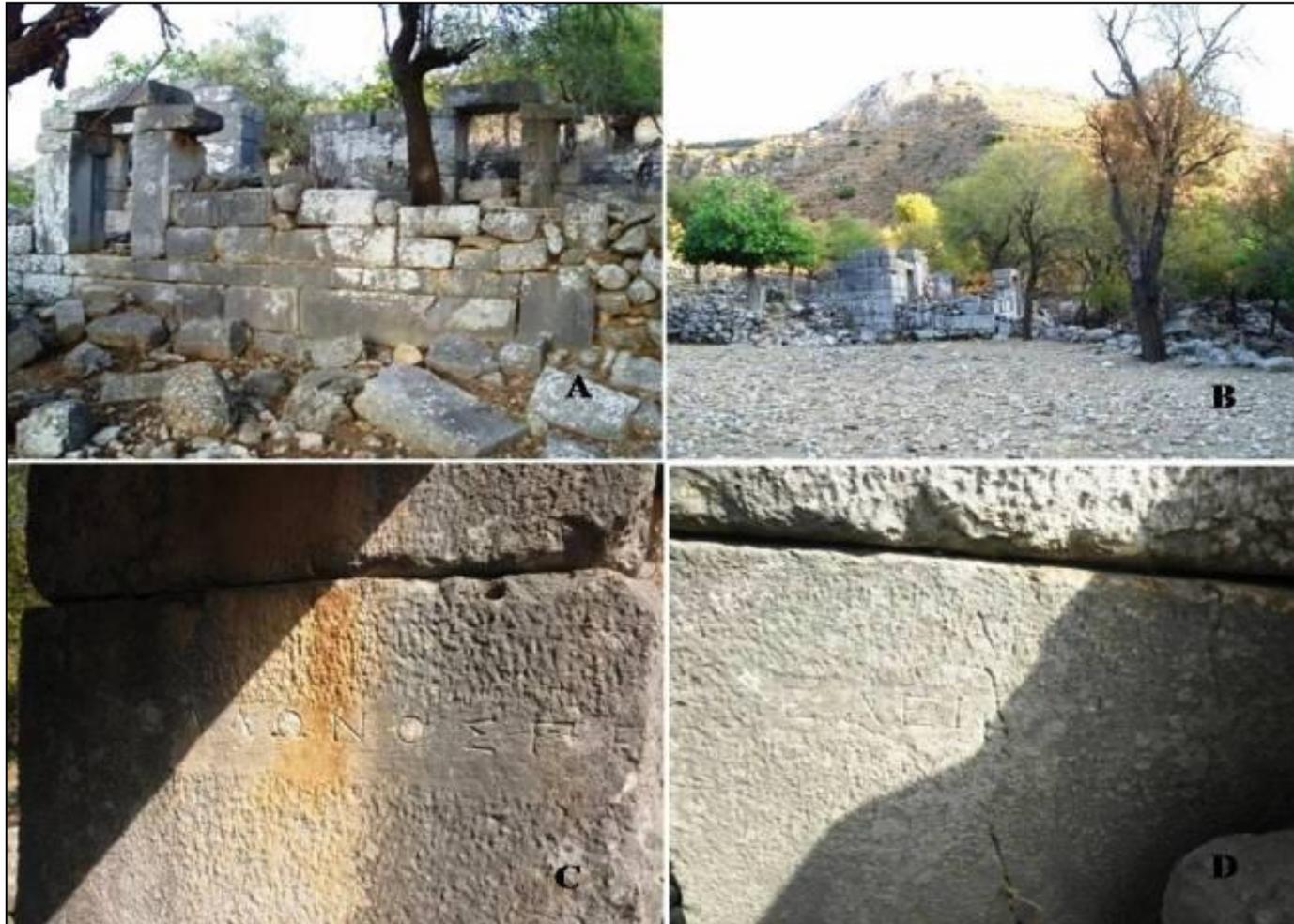


Plate 1.5.36



Plate 1.5.37



Plate 1.5.38



Plate 1.5.39



**Plate 1.6 (Casarae)**

**Plate 1.6.1**



Plate 1.6.2



**Plate 1.6.3**



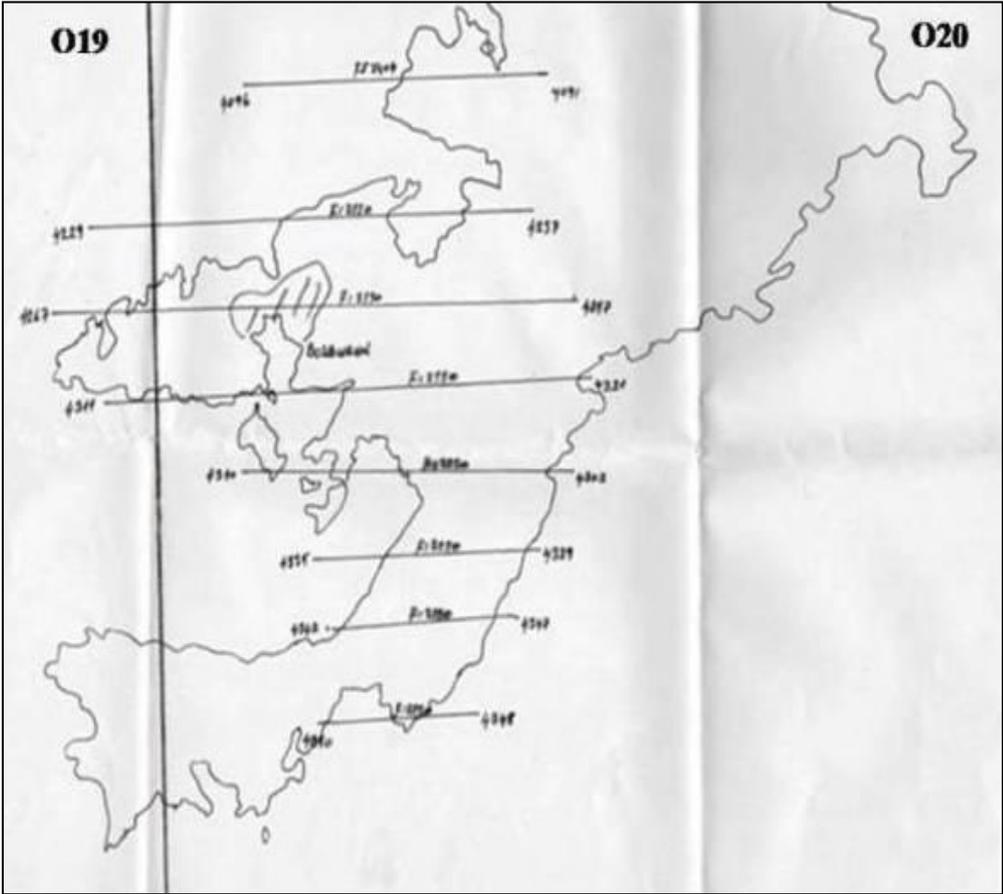
Plate 1.6.4



PLATE 2 (Maps and Plans)

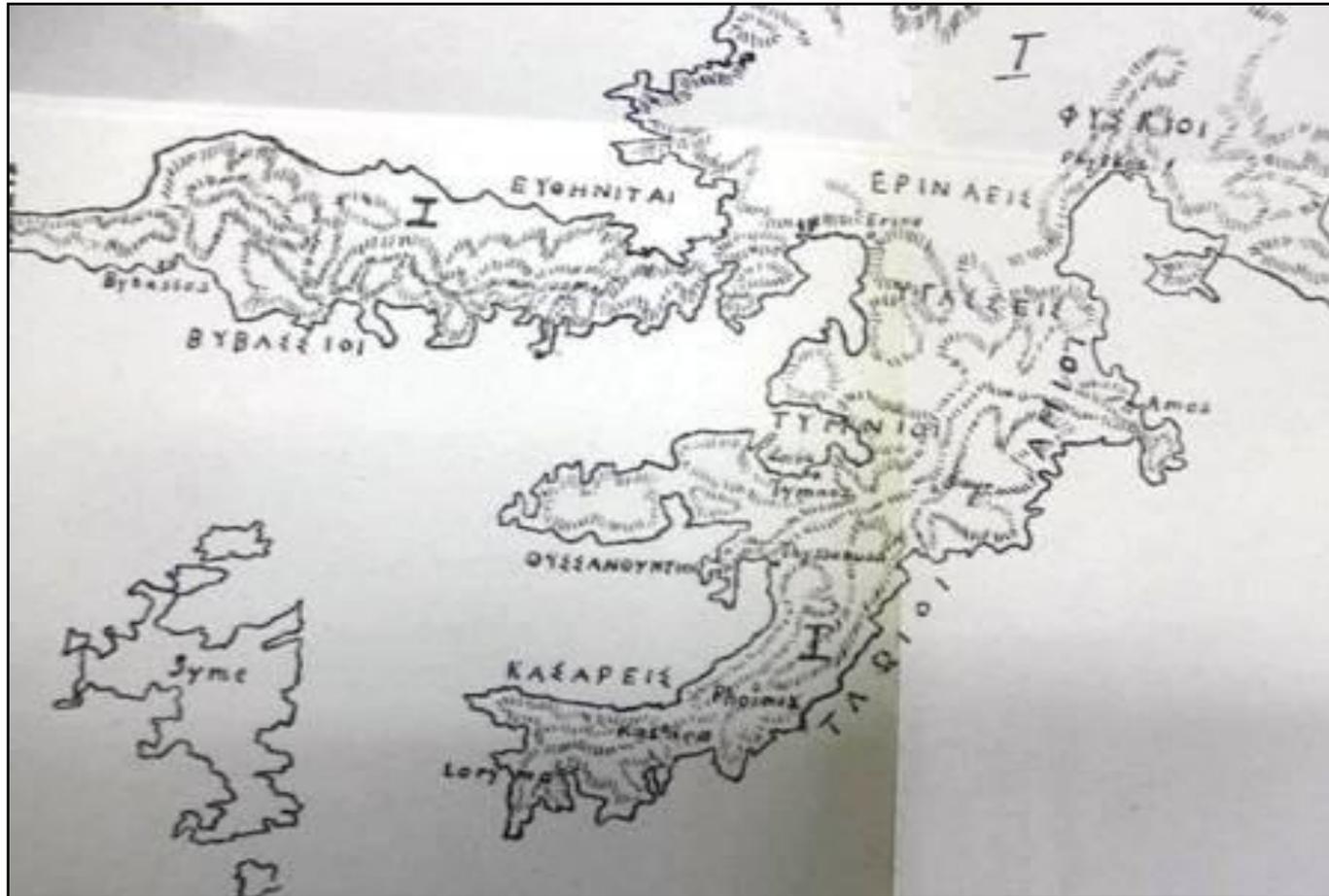
PLATE 2.1 (Maps)

Plate 2.1.1



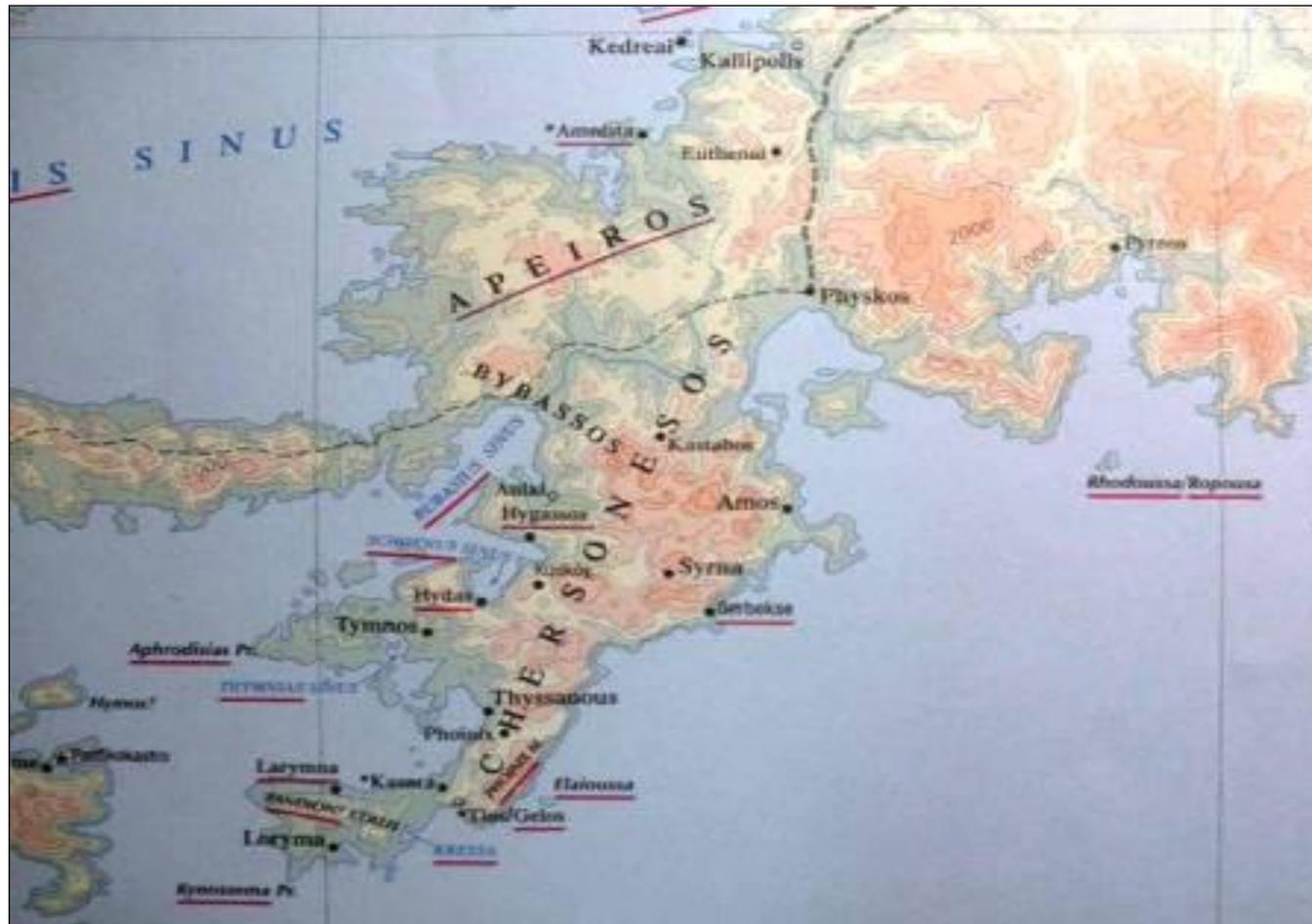
Scope of Aerial Photographs

Plate 2.1.2



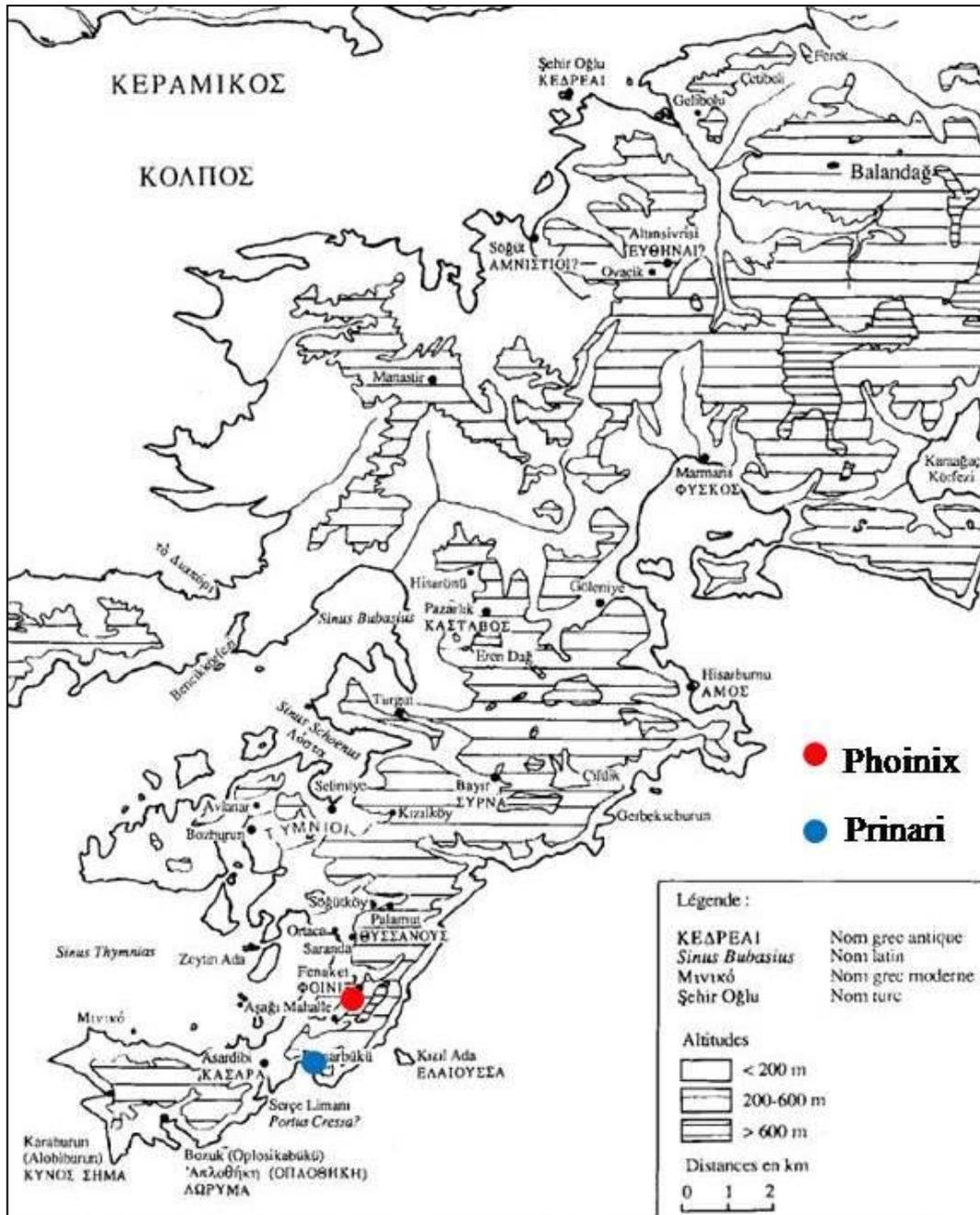
Ancient Names Based on Ethnic Divisions (Meyer, 1925, Blatt I)

Plate 2.1.3



Names of Ancient Settlements in the Perea (Talbert, 2000)

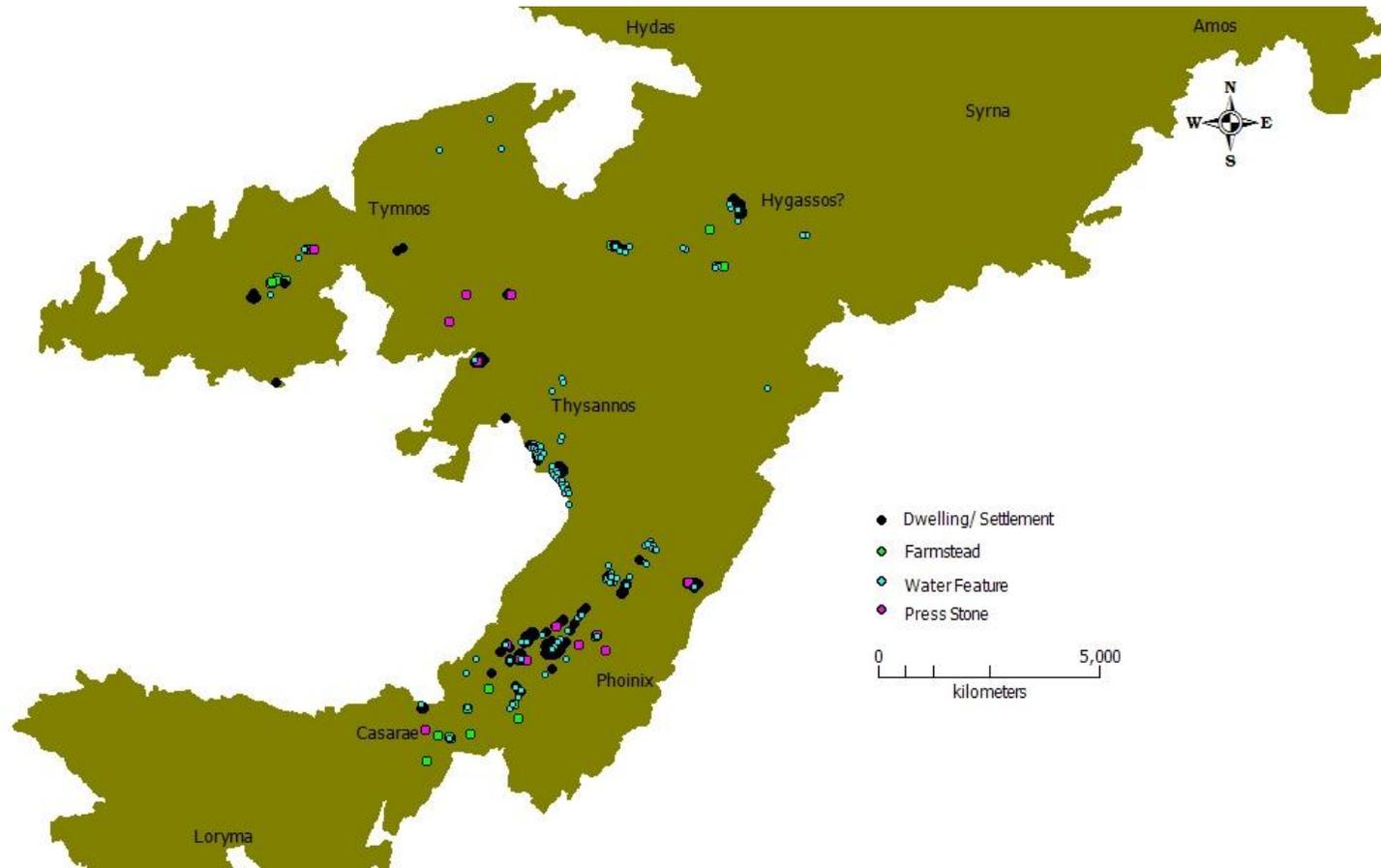
Plate 2.1.4



Location of Phoinix and Prinari Bay (Bresson, 1991, p.251)

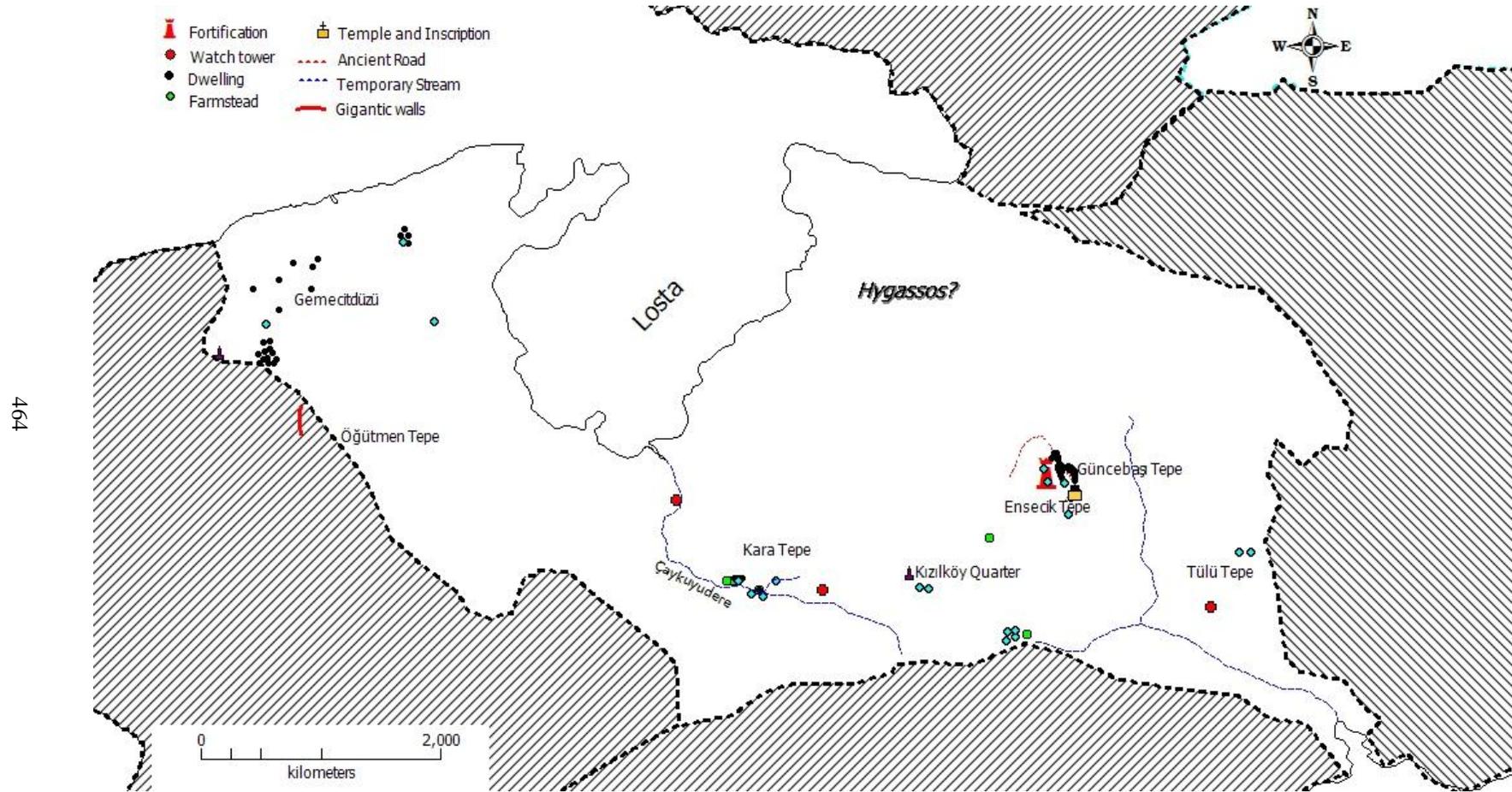
Plate 2.1.5

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Distribution of Ancient Settlements and Related Features Over the Recent the Perea

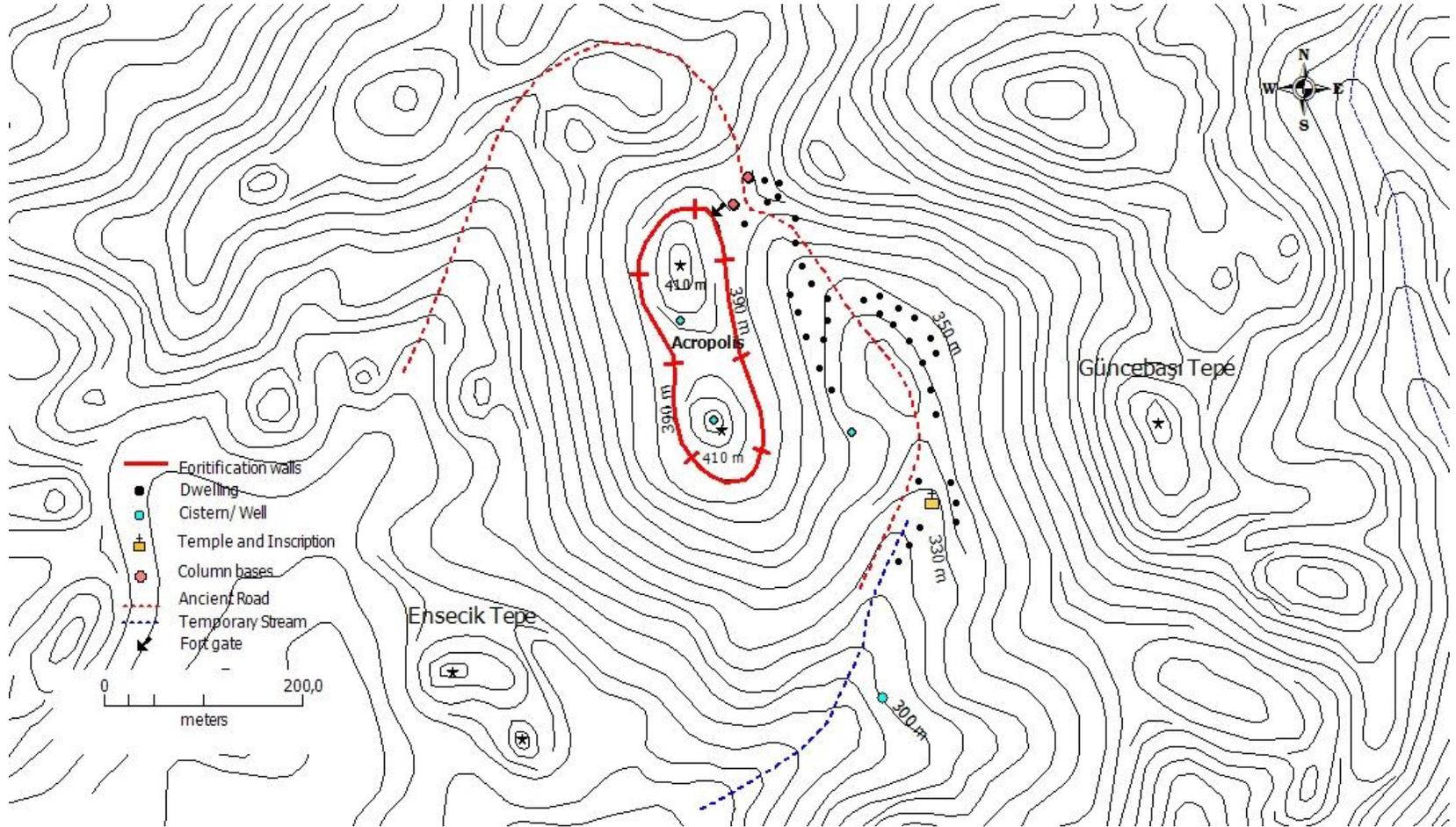
Plate 2.1.6



Identified Archaeological Sites and Related Features in Losta/ Hygassos?

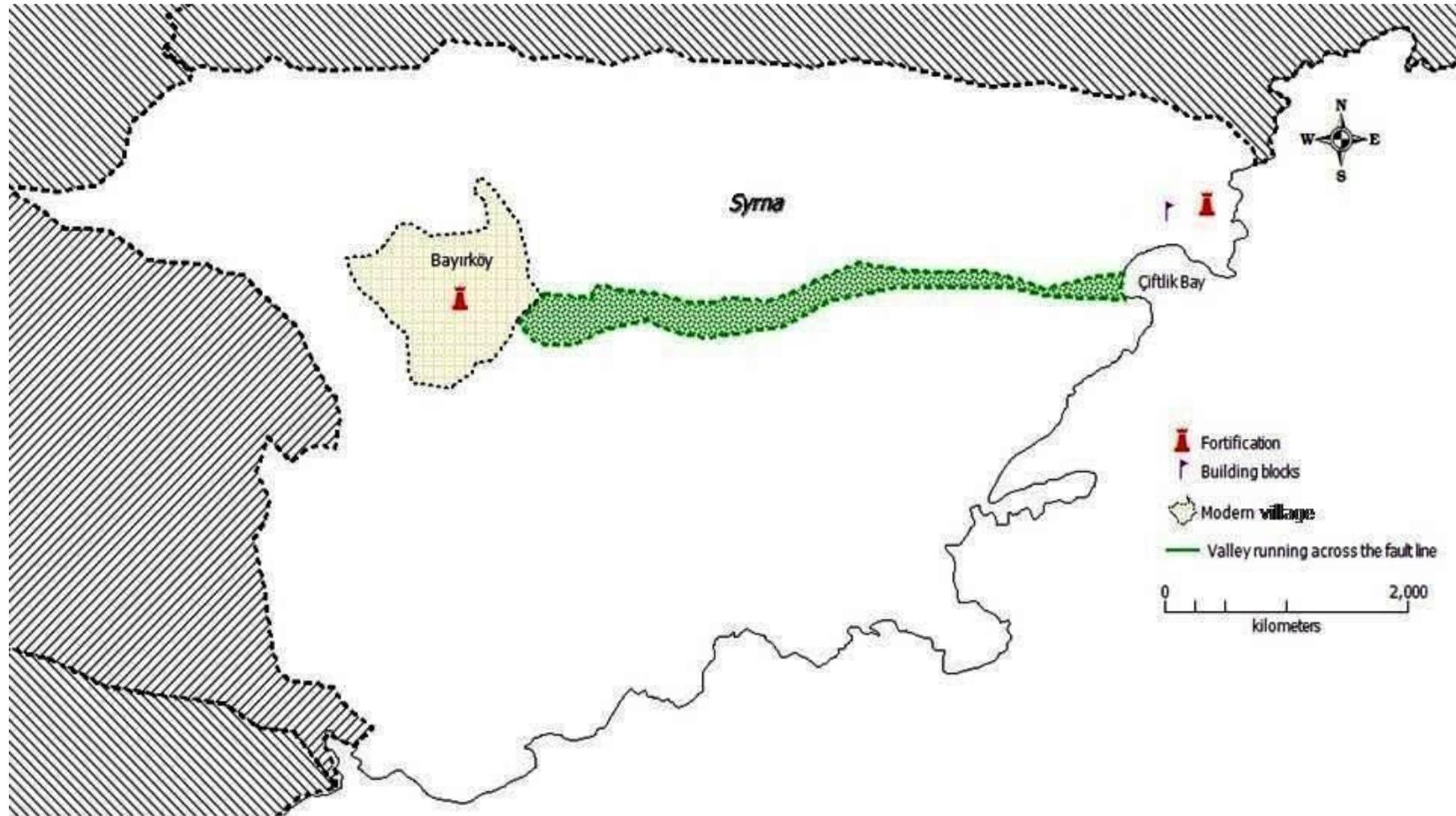
Plate 2.1.7

465



The *Acropolis* (Asarcık) in Losta/ Hygassos?

Plate 2.1.8

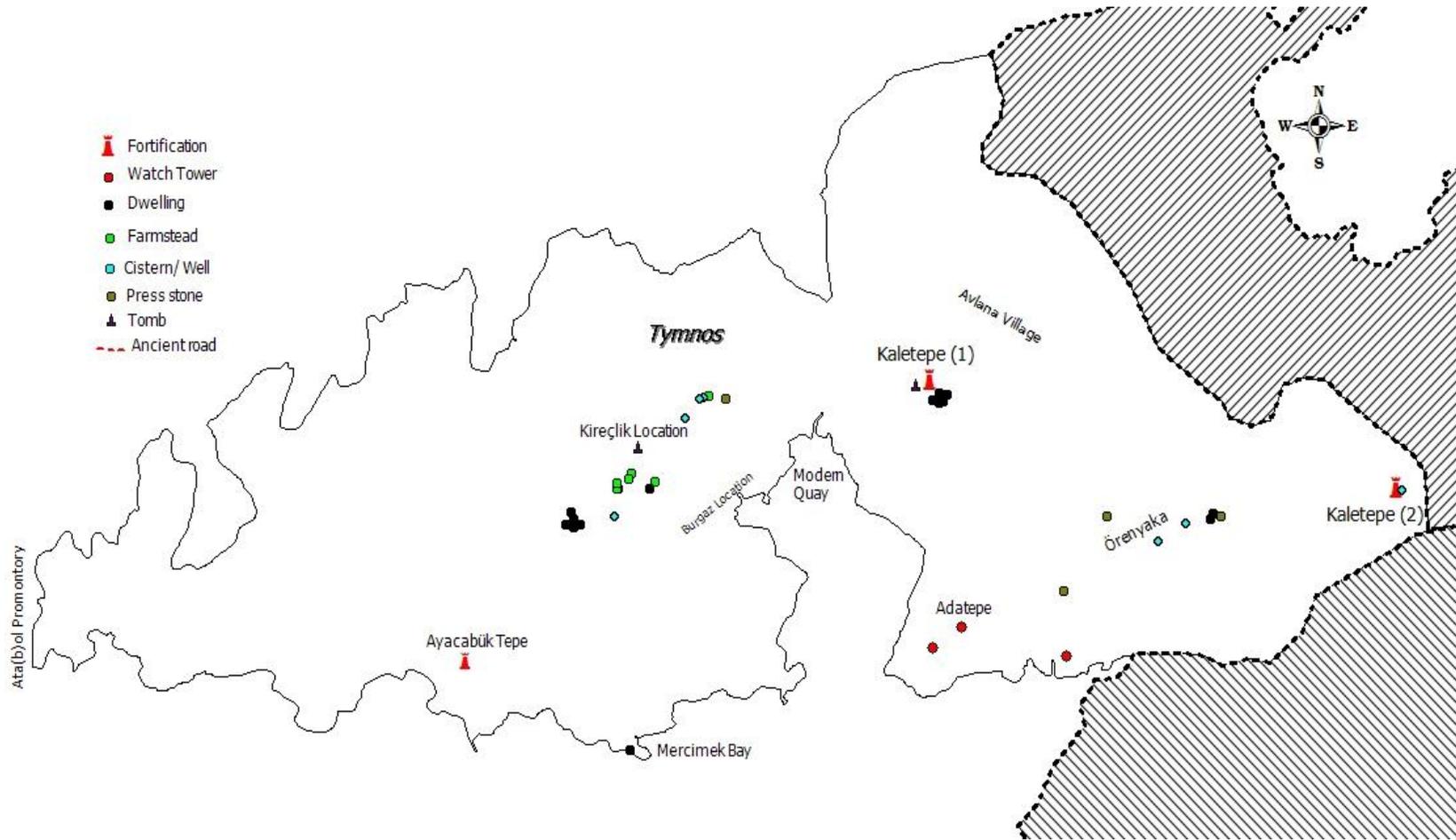


466

The Valley Between Bayır (W) and Çiftlik Bay (E)

Plate 2.1.9

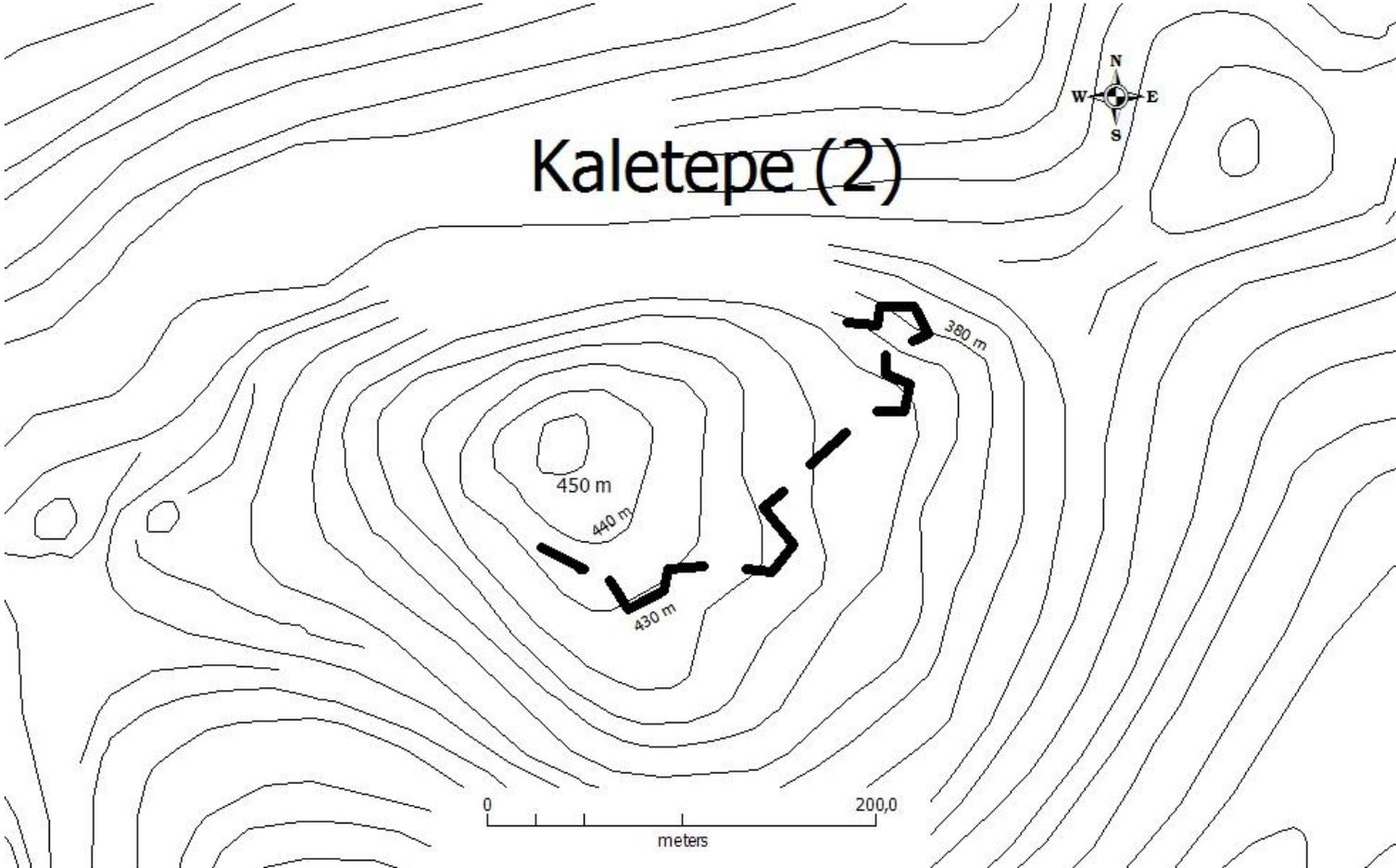
467



Identified Archaeological Sites and Related Features in Tymnos

Plate 2.1.10

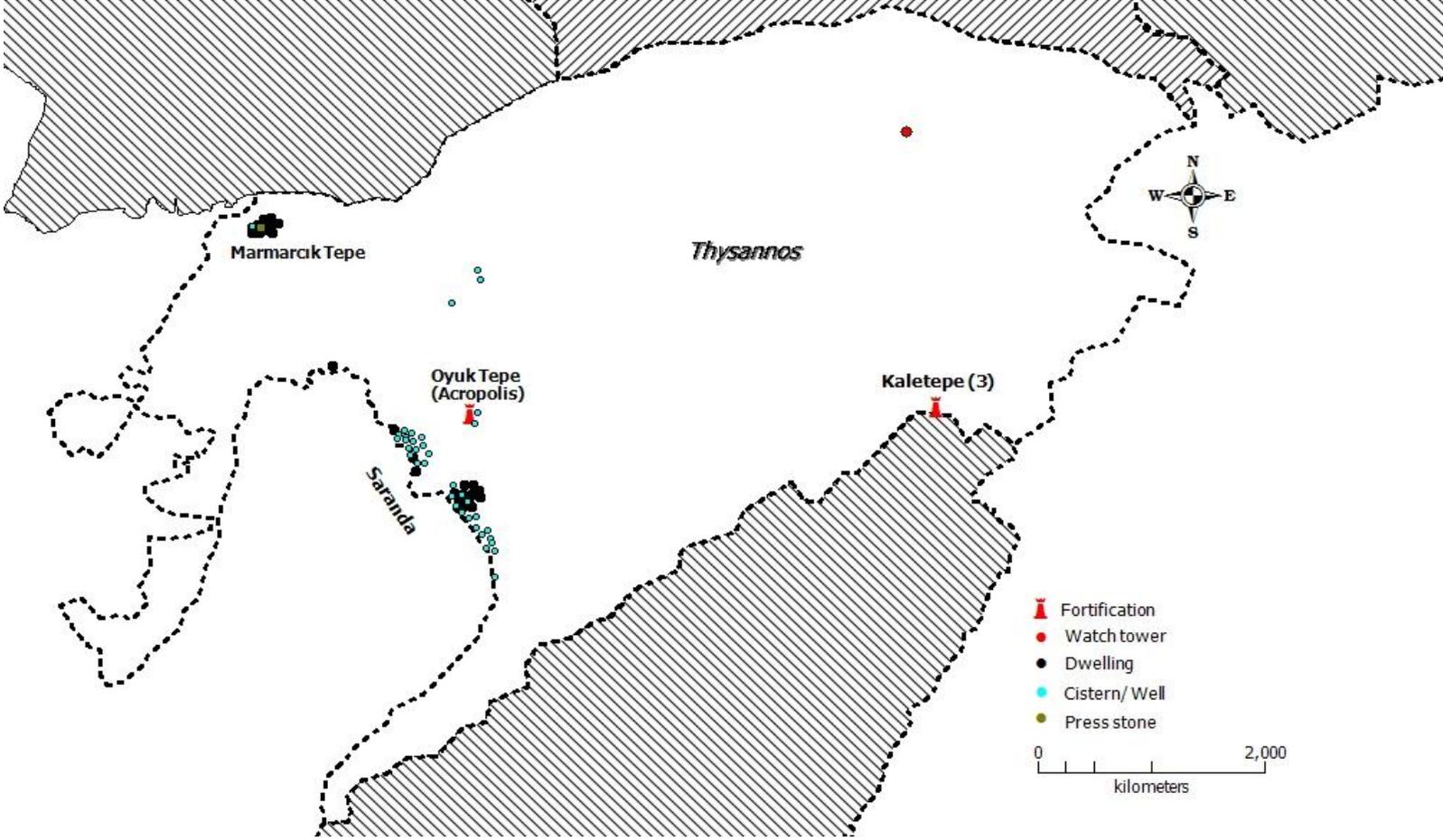
468



Setting of Kaletepe (2)

Plate 2.1.11

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Identified Archaeological Sites and Related Features in Thysannos

Plate 2.1.12



470

Aerial View of Kaletepe (3)/ Korsan Kale

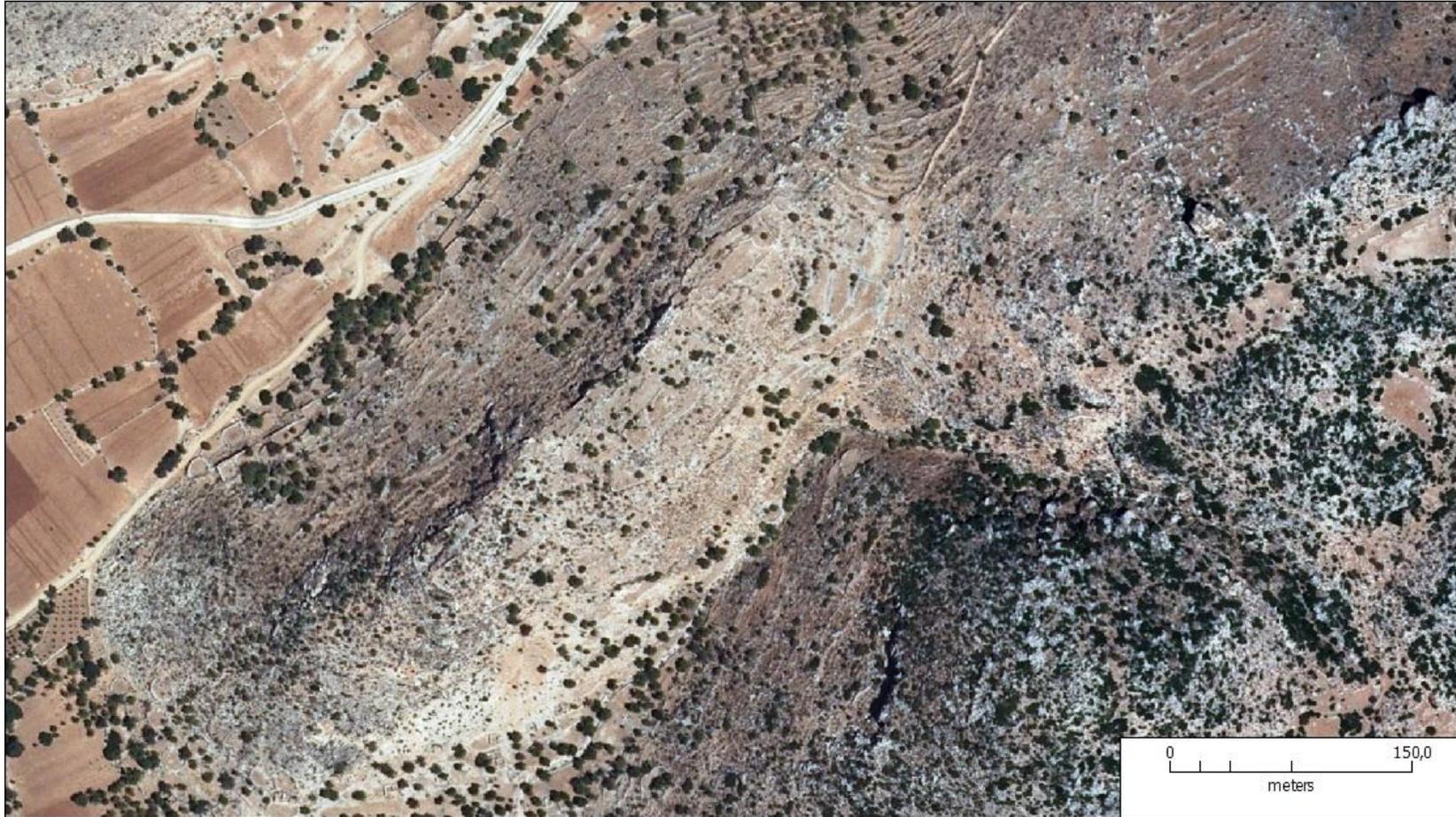
Plate 2.1.13



471

Aerial Photograph of *Acropolis* (Scale: 1:20.000; Zoom: 1.490 feet)

Plate 2.1.14



472

Aerial Photograph of *Acropolis* (Zoom: 0.9 km, Spatial Accuracy: 1:5000, Spatial Resolution: 50 cm)

Plate 2.1.15

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Aerial View of Fortification on Top of Kaledağ

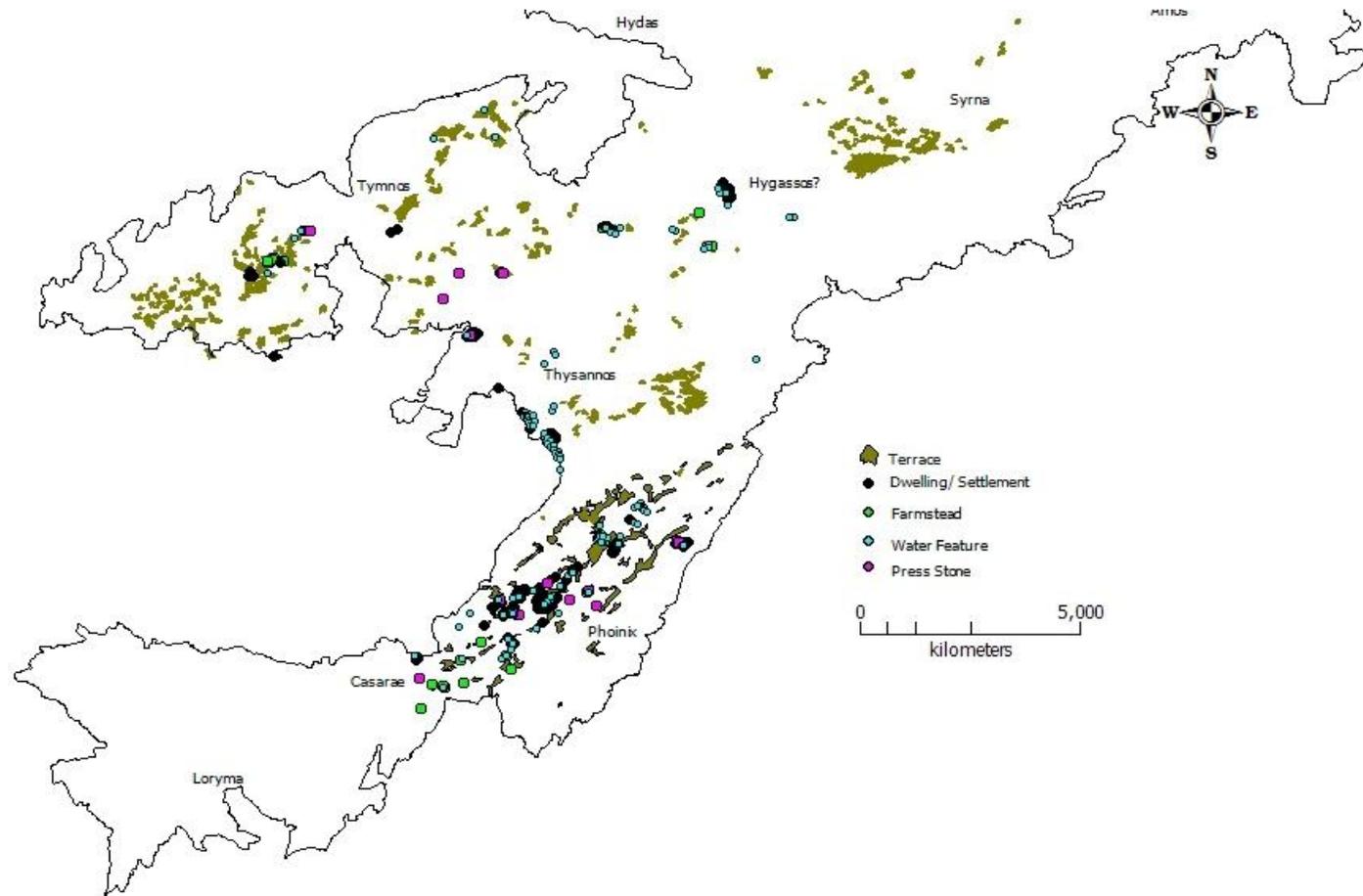
Plate 2.1.16



474

Location of Loryma Fortress

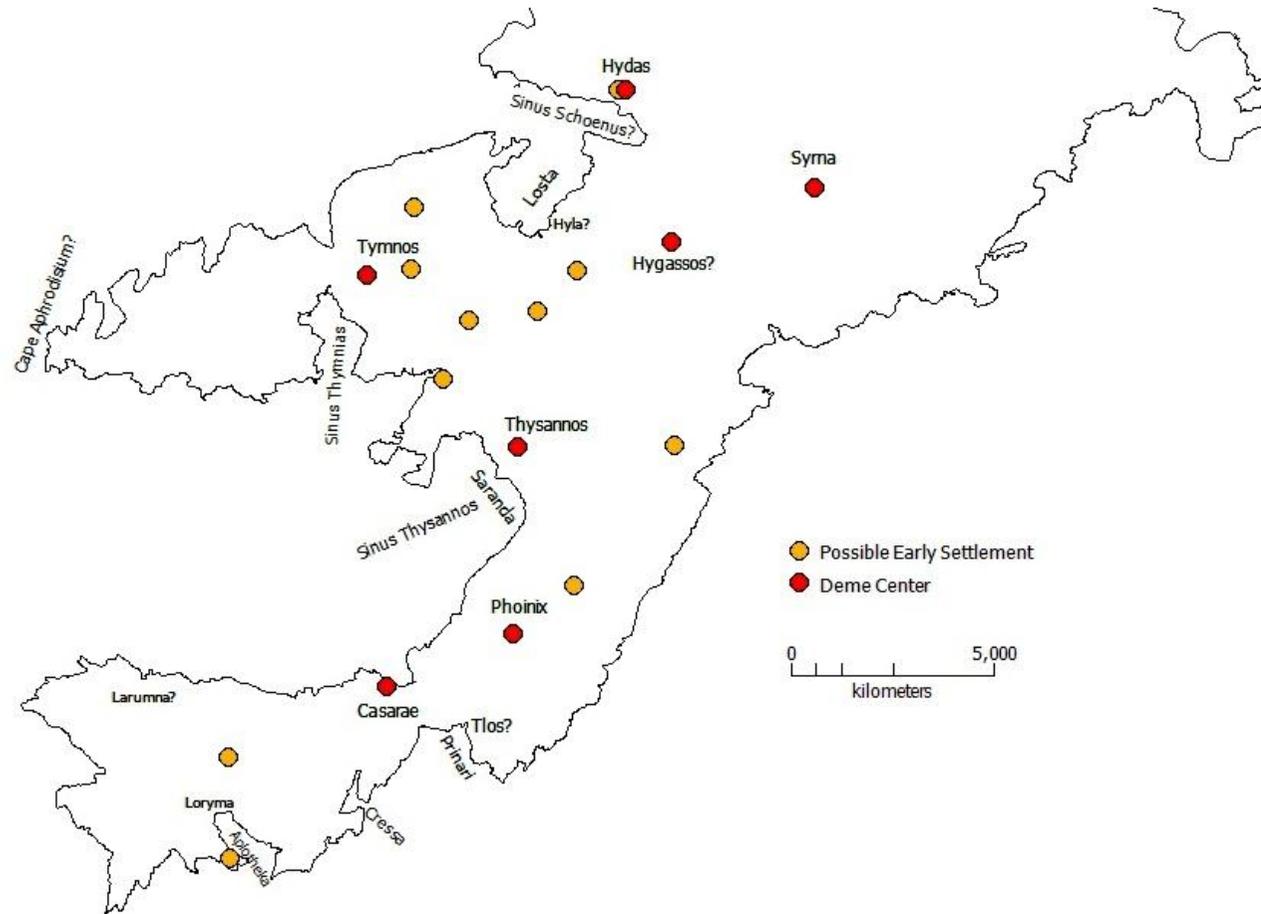
Plate 2.1.17



475

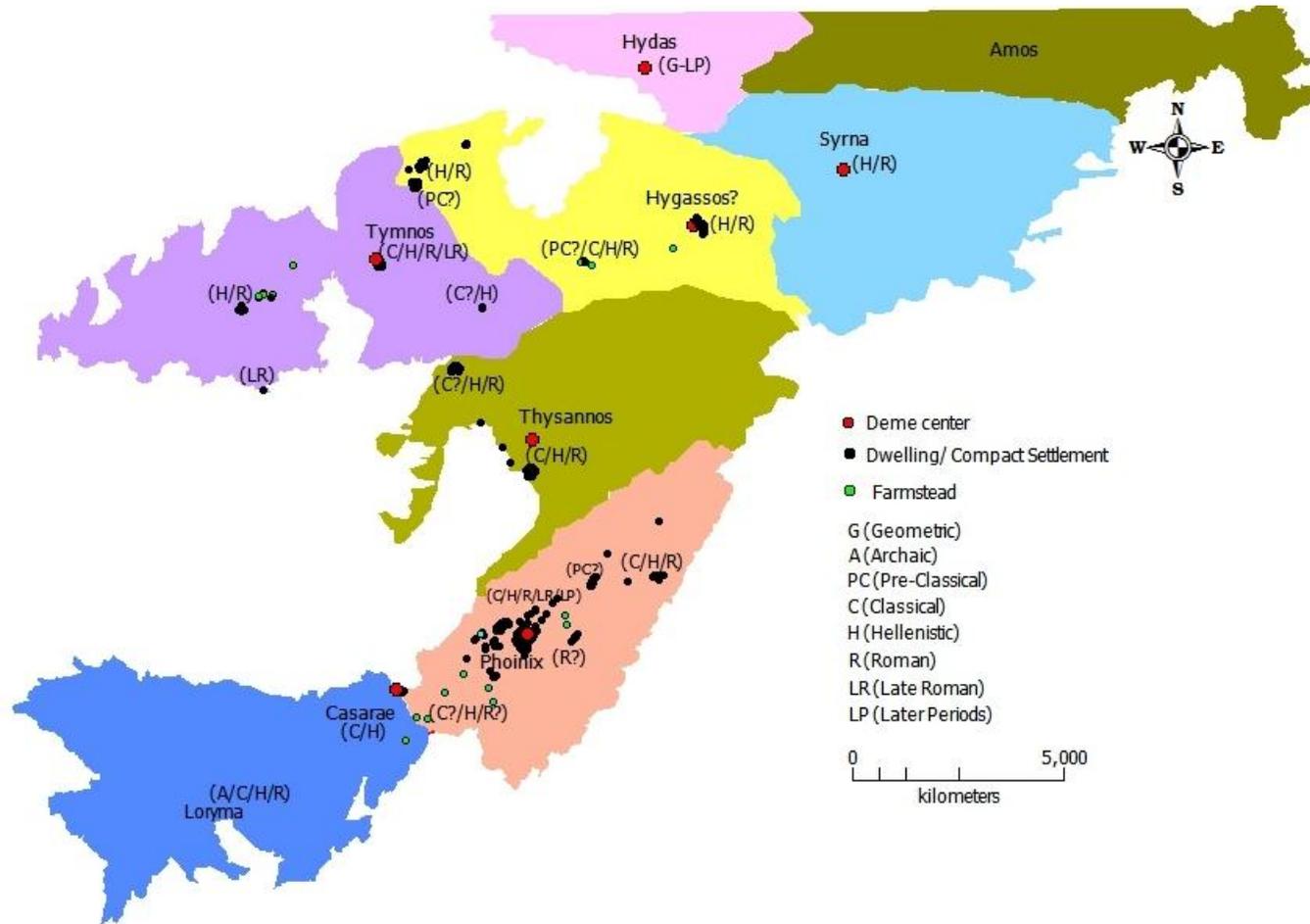
Settlement Components And Terraced Areas in the Peraea

Plate 2.1.18



Possible Early Sites For Settlement in the Peraea

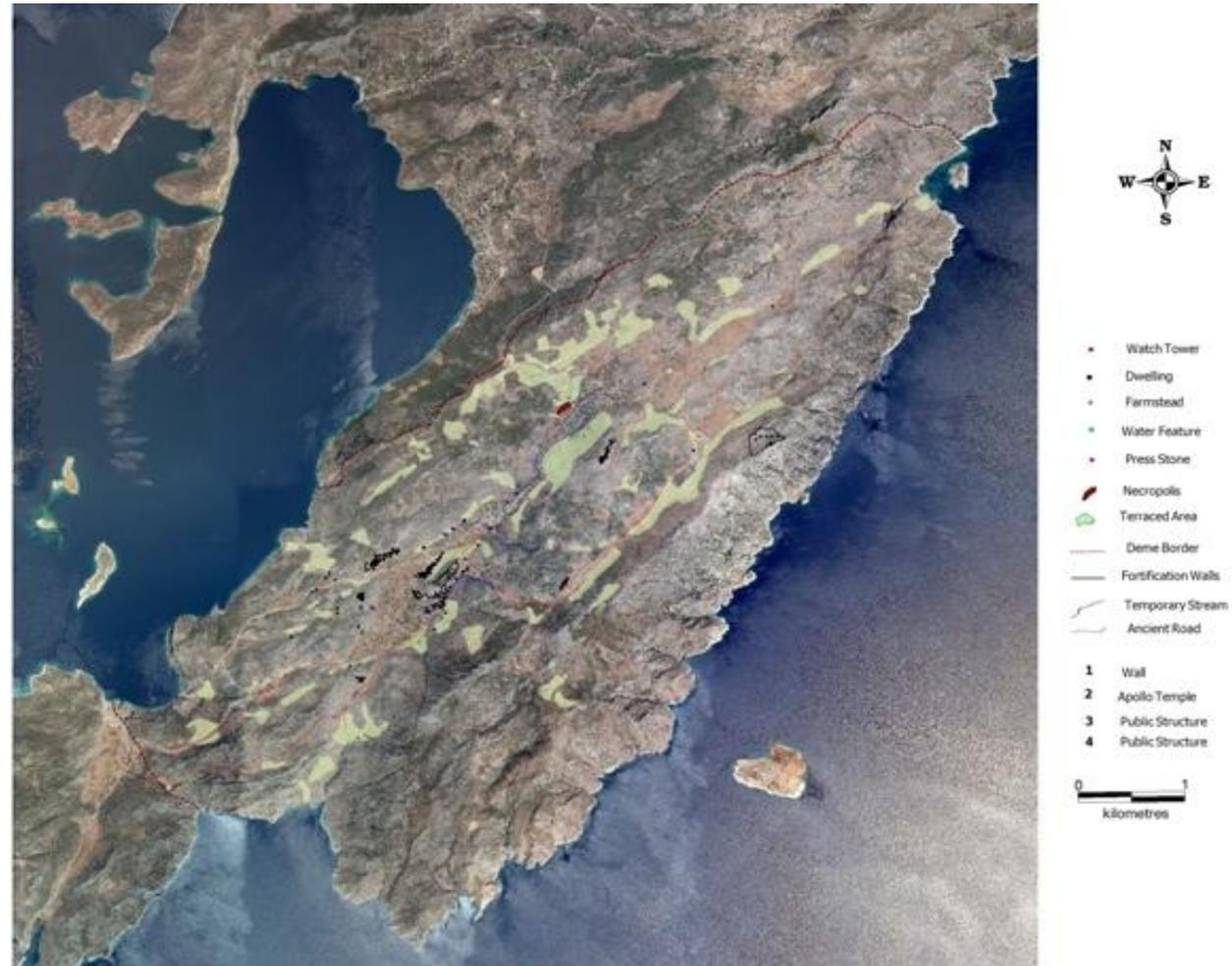
Plate 2.1.19



Distribution of Settlement in Relation to Period in the Peraea

Plate 2.1.20

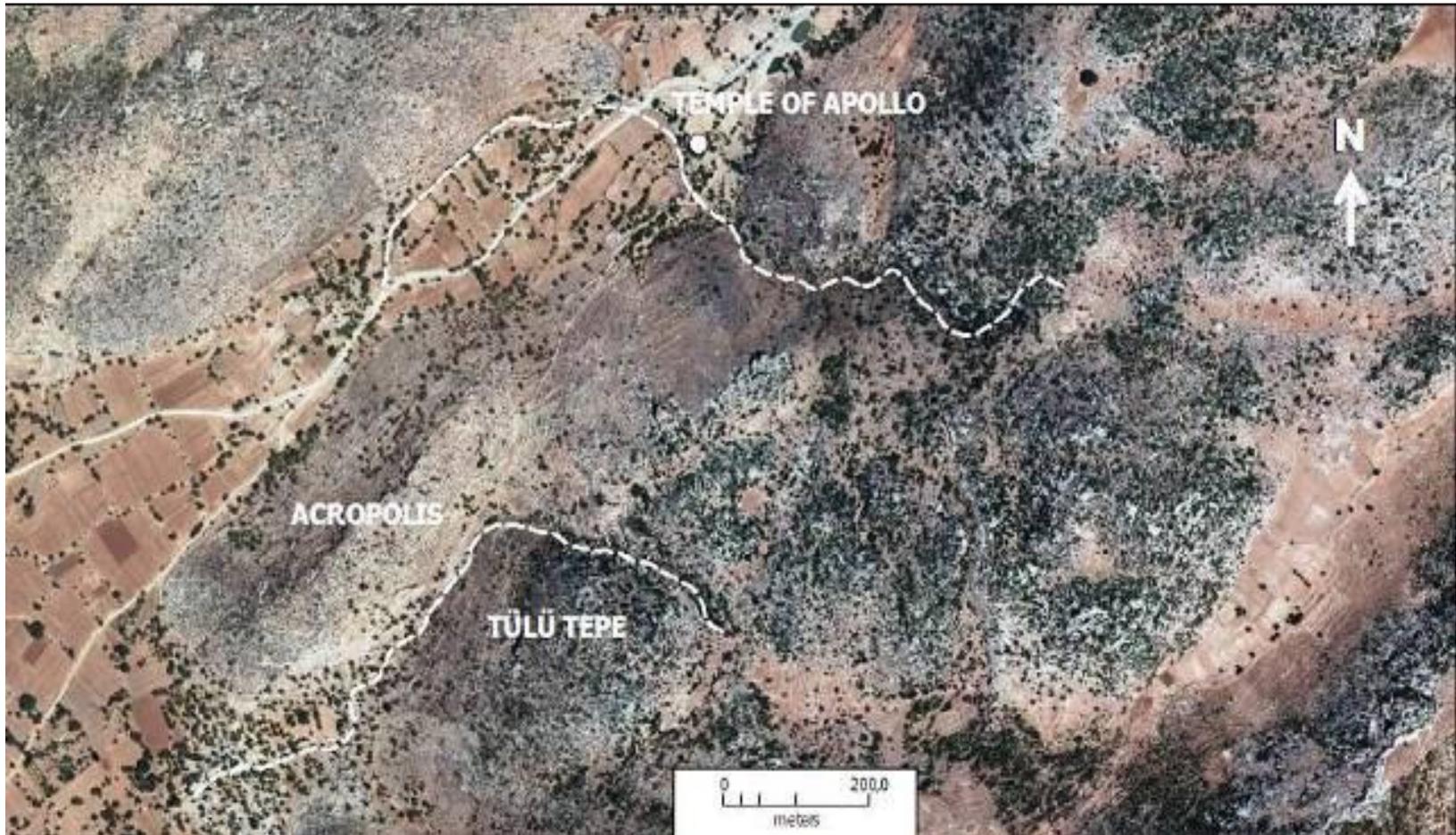
478



Map Showing All Findings From the Entire Peraea on A1 (Enveloped)

Plate 2.1.21

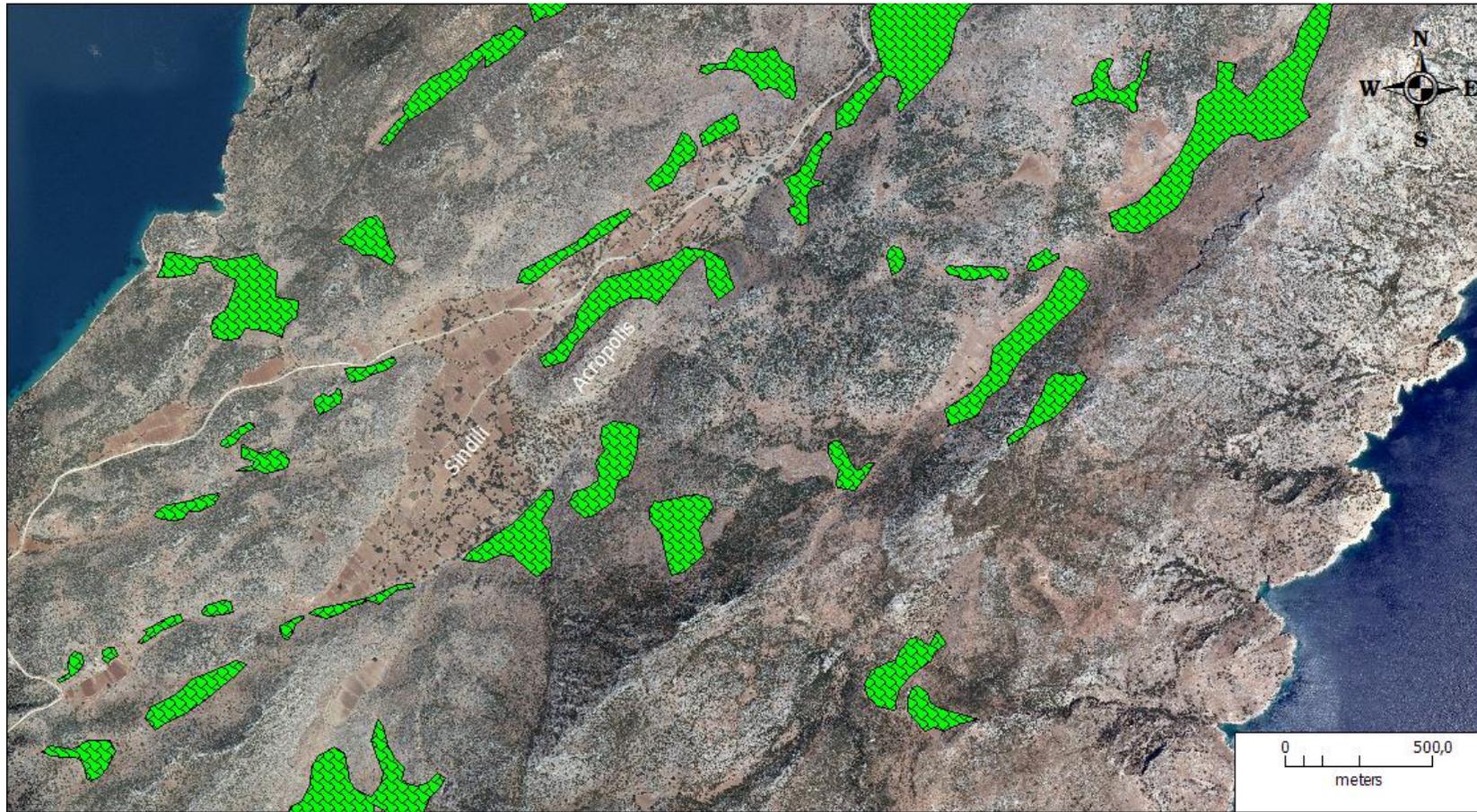
479



Temporary Streams in the *Deme* Center of Phoinix (Zoom: 2 km, Spatial Accuracy: 1:5000, Spatial Resolution: 50 cm)

Plate 2.1.22

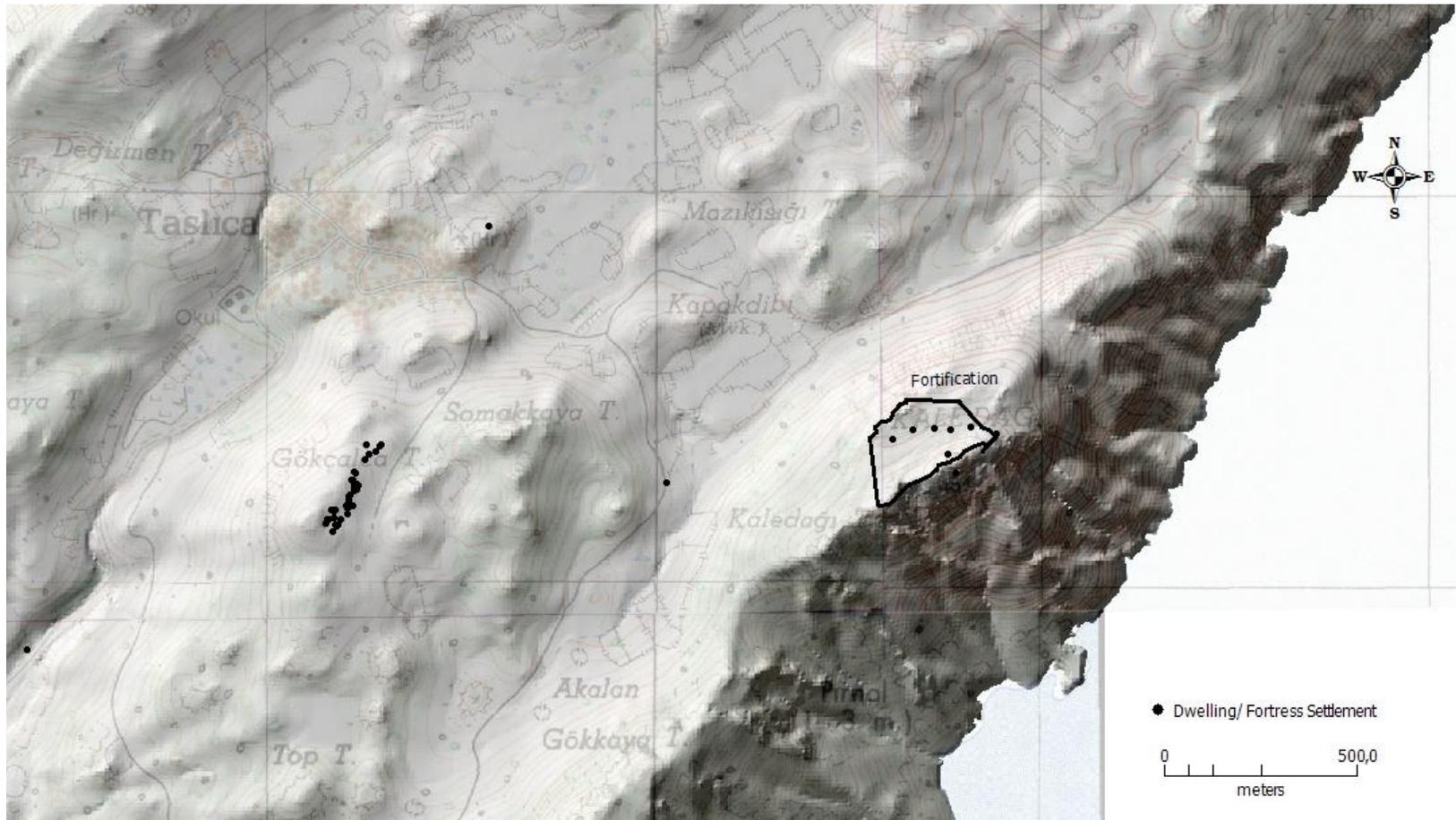
480



Terraced Land in the Vicinity of *Acropolis*

Plate 2.1.23

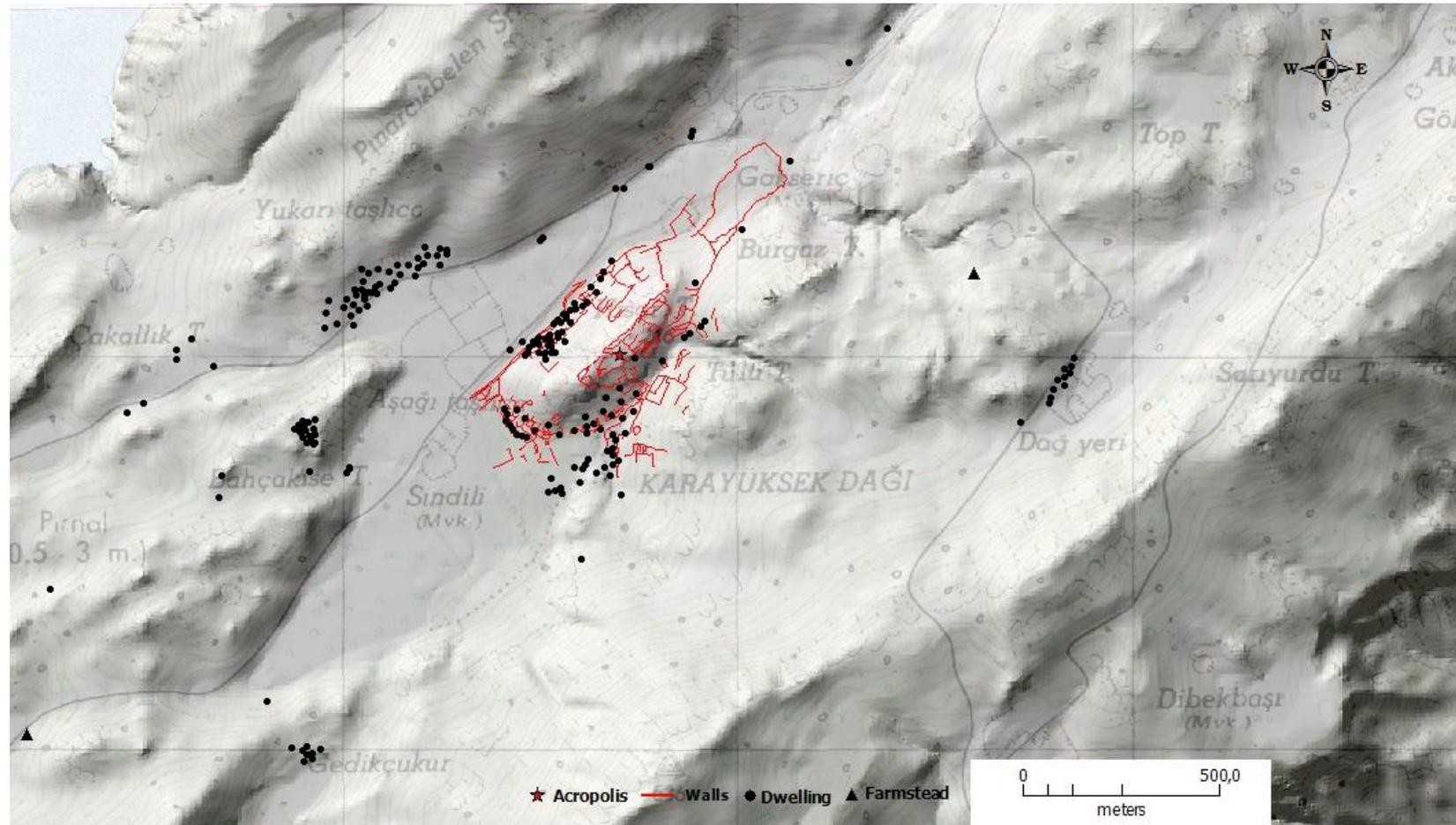
481



Areas Surveyed in the Environs of Modern Taşlıca

Plate 2.1.24

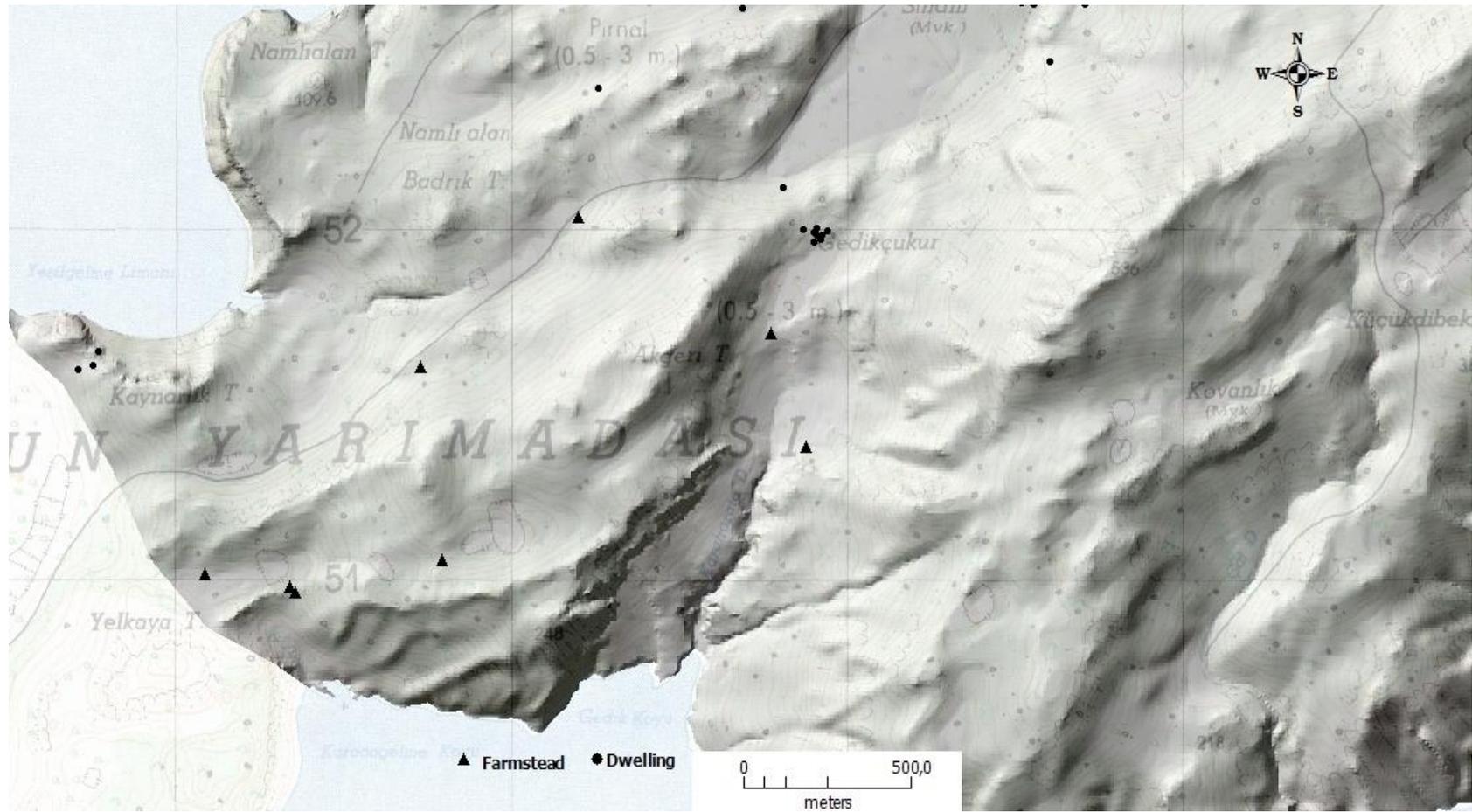
482



Areas Surveyed in the Environs of Lower and Upper Fenaket

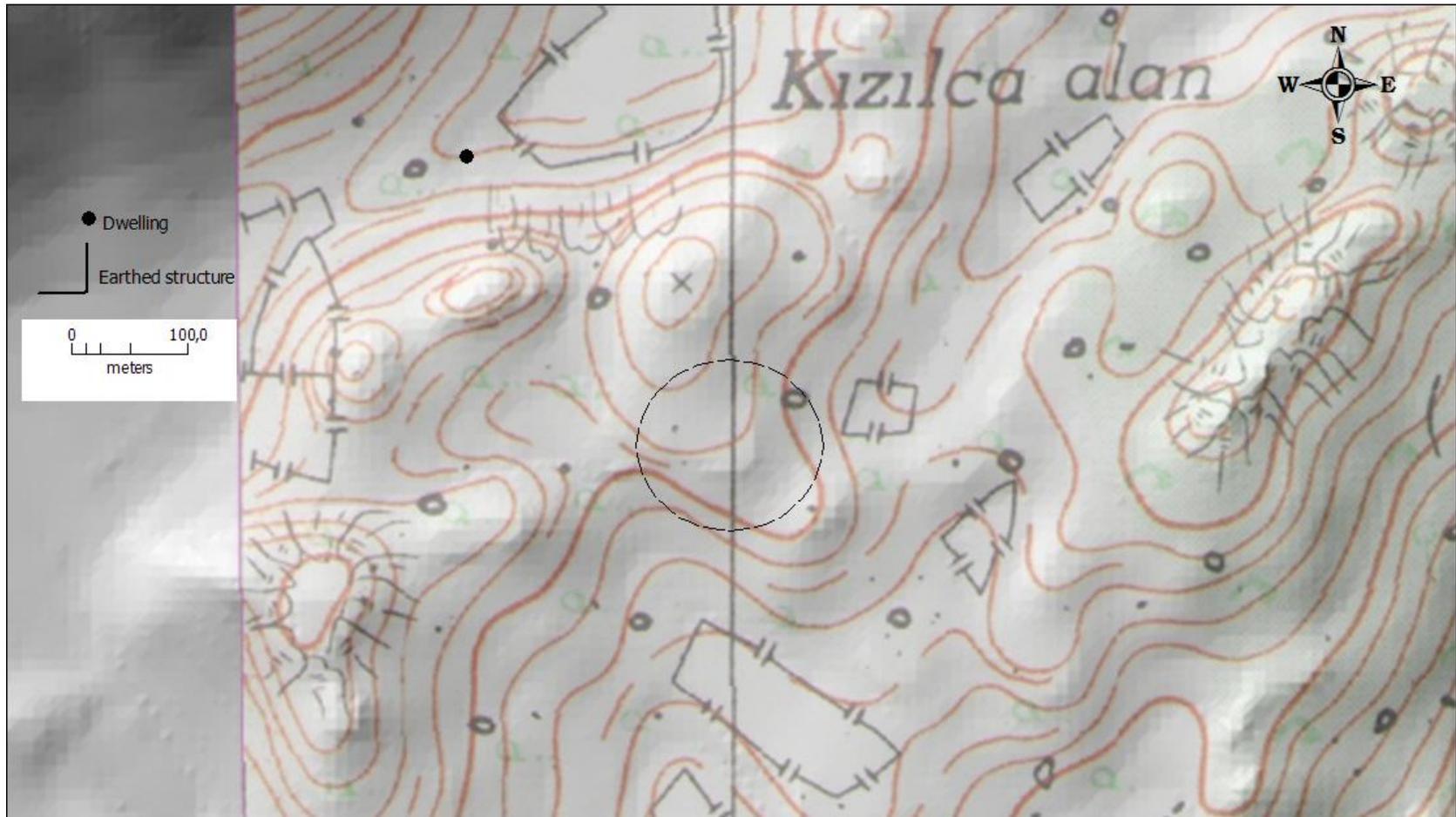
Plate 2.1.25

483



Areas Surveyed in South and South-West

Plate 2.1.26



484

Traces of An Earthed Structure in the South-West of Kızılcaalan

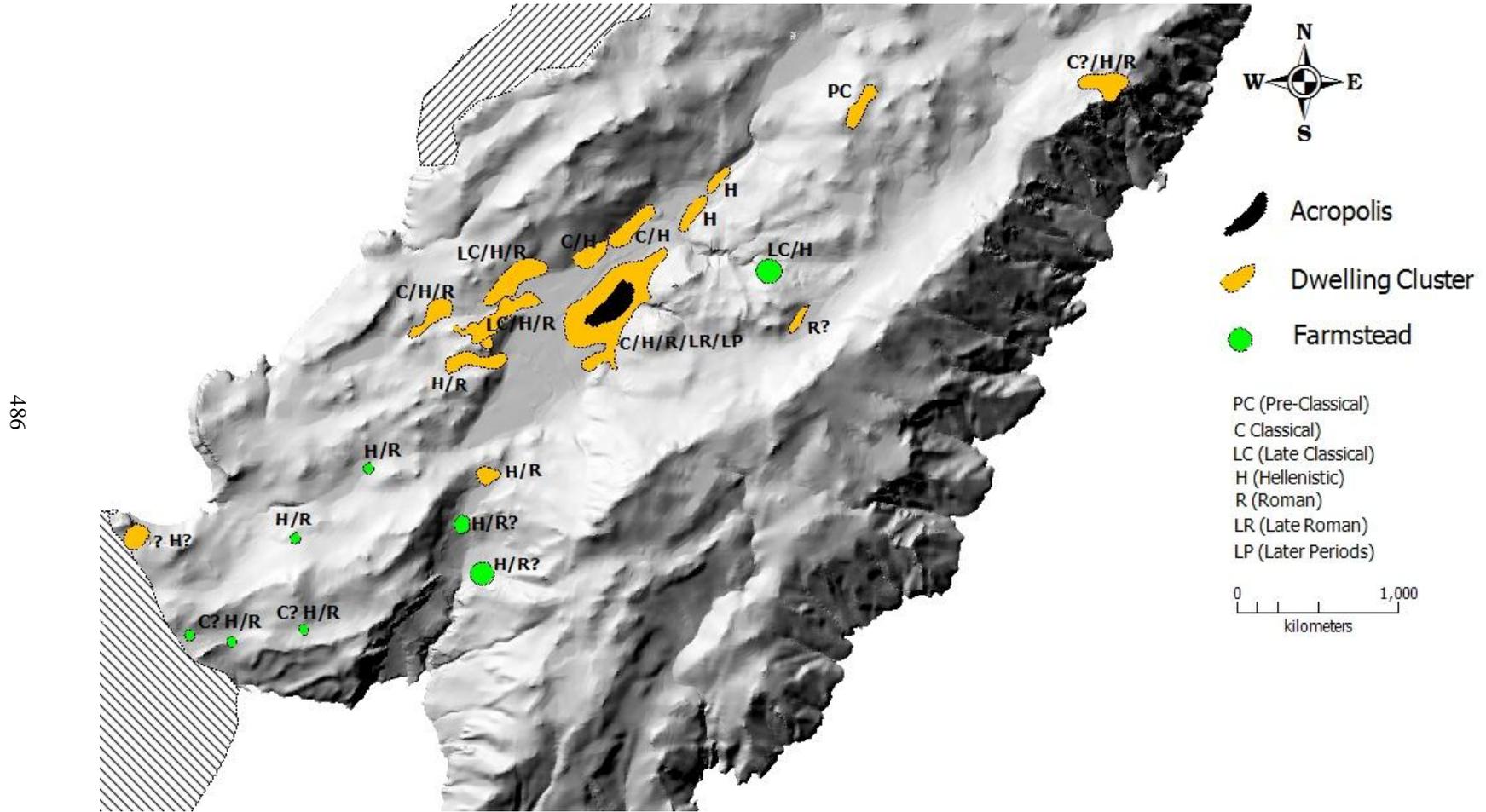
Plate 2.1.27

485



Aerial Photograph of Ancient Water Works in Gökçalça

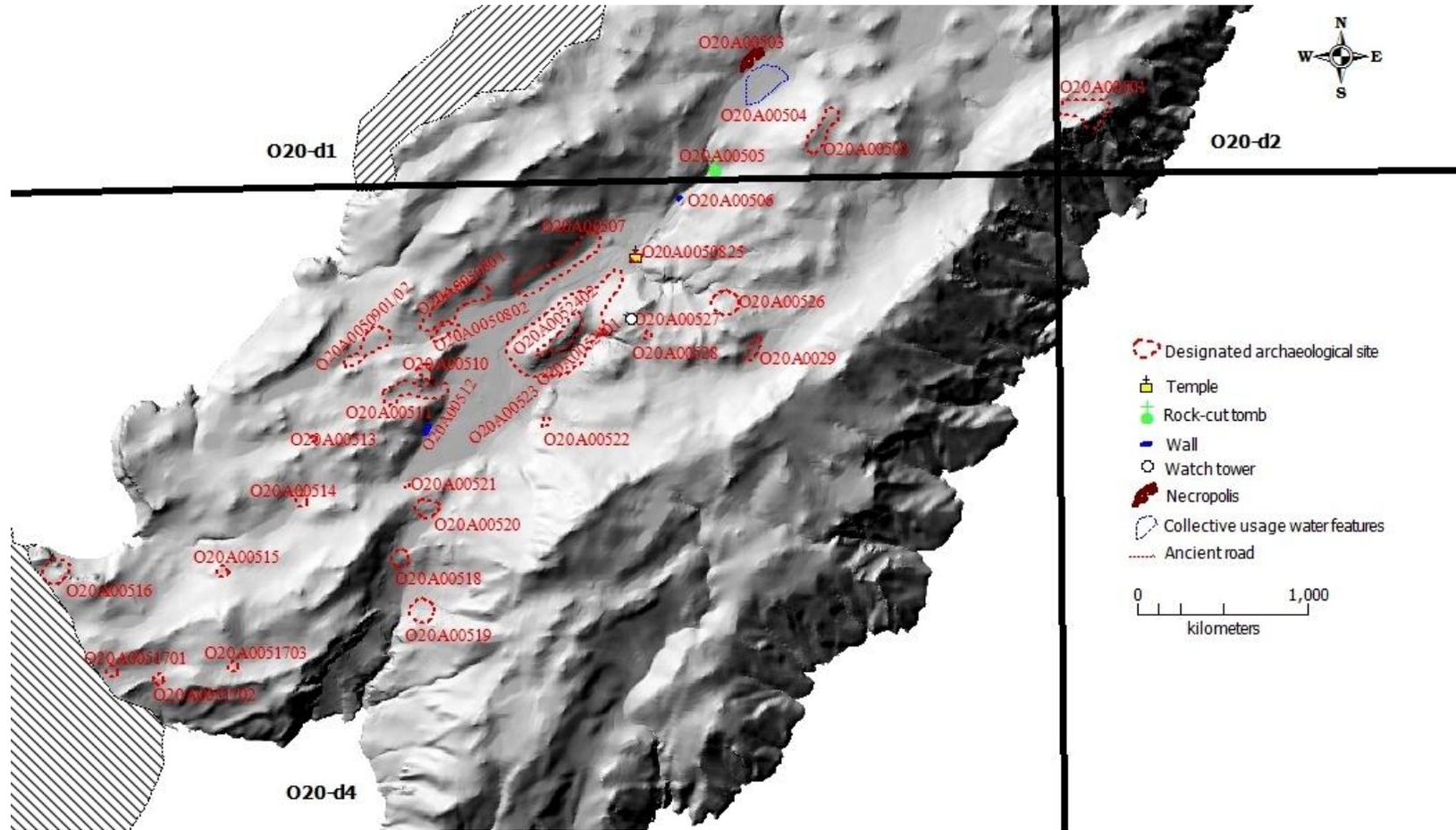
Plate 2.1.28



Distribution of Settlements in Relation to Period in Phoenix *Territorium*

Plate 2.1.29

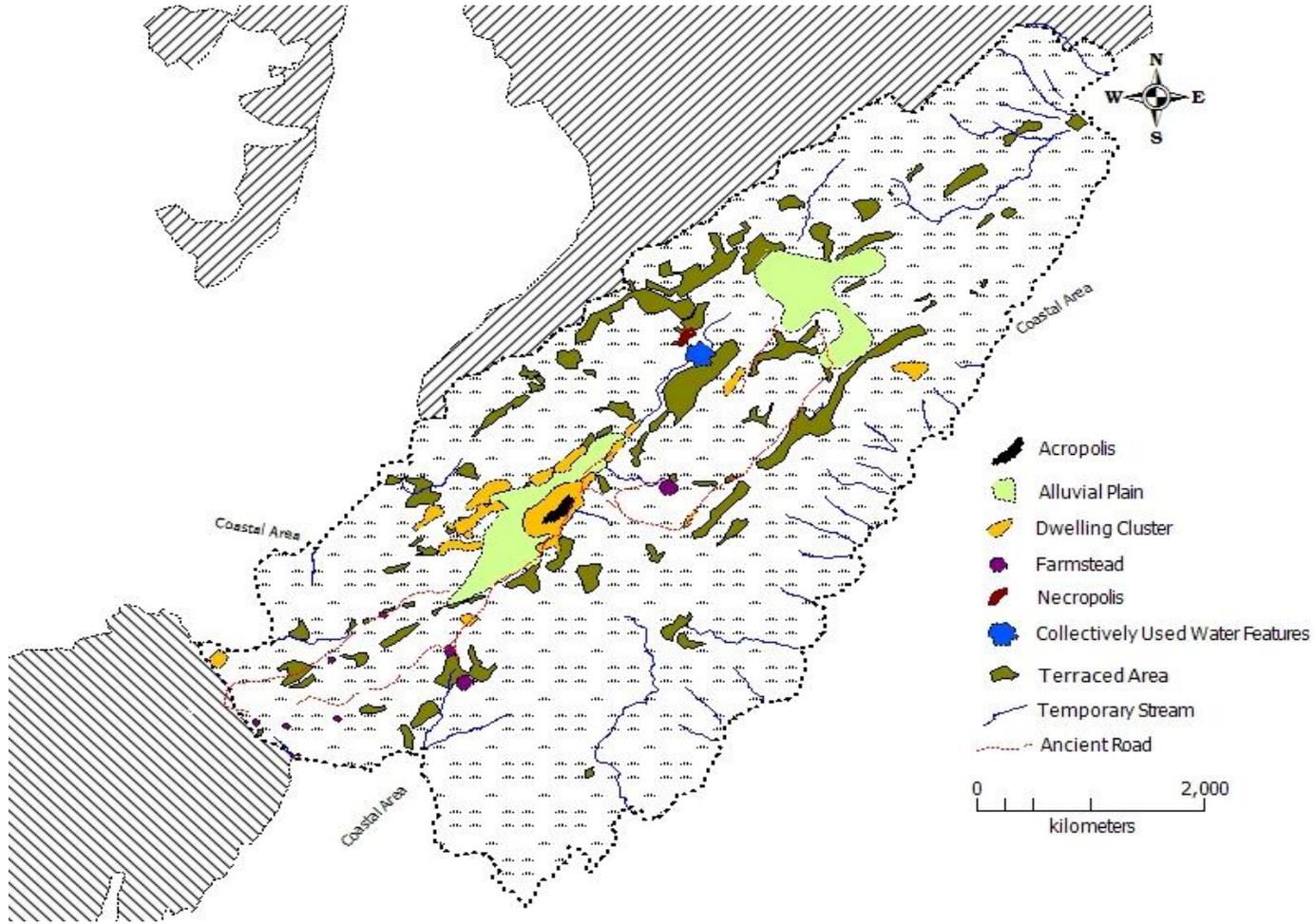
487



Internal Coding on O20-d1, O20-d2, O20-d4 Quadrangles

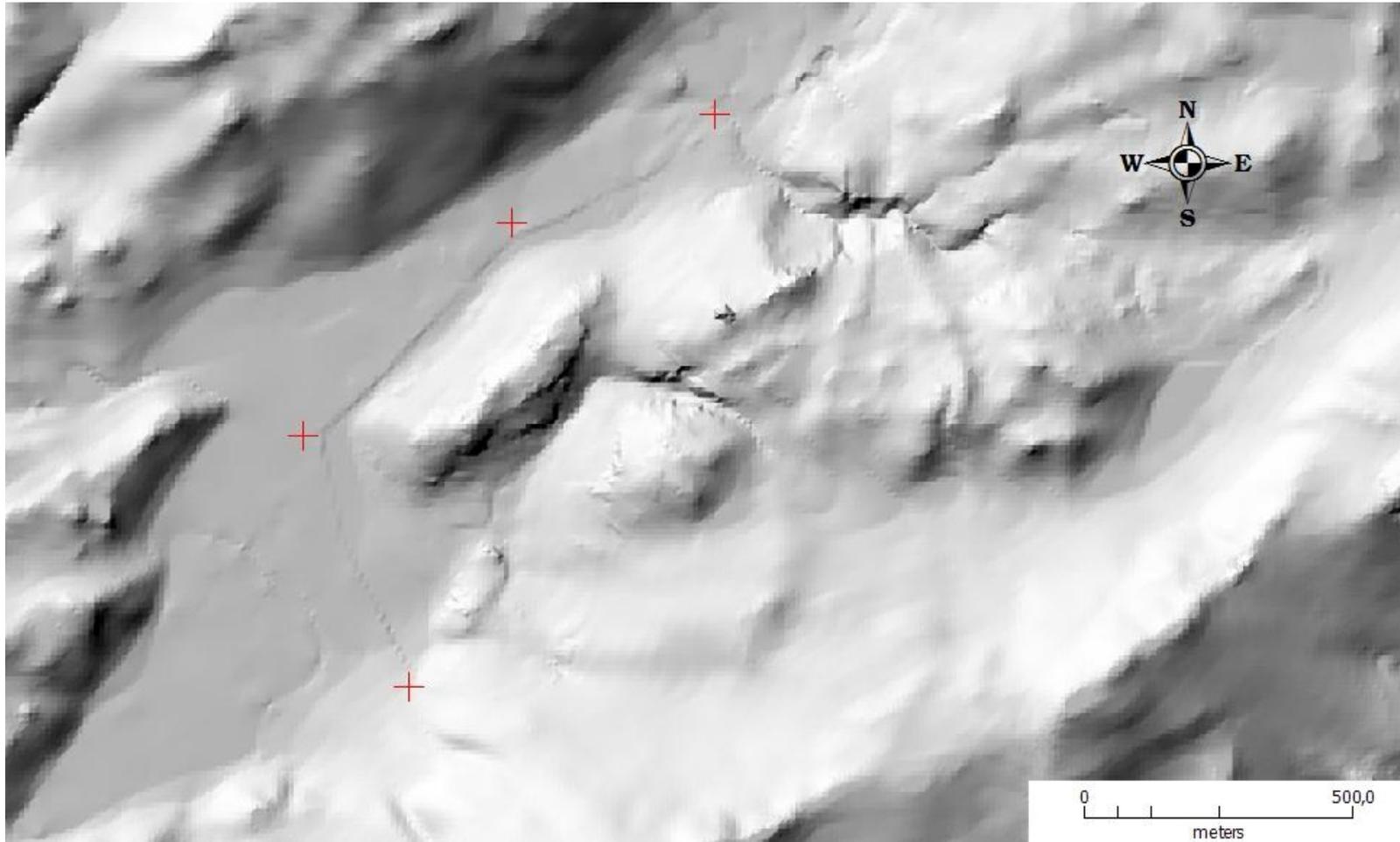
Plate 2.1.30

488



Spatial Components in Phoinix

Plate 2.1.31



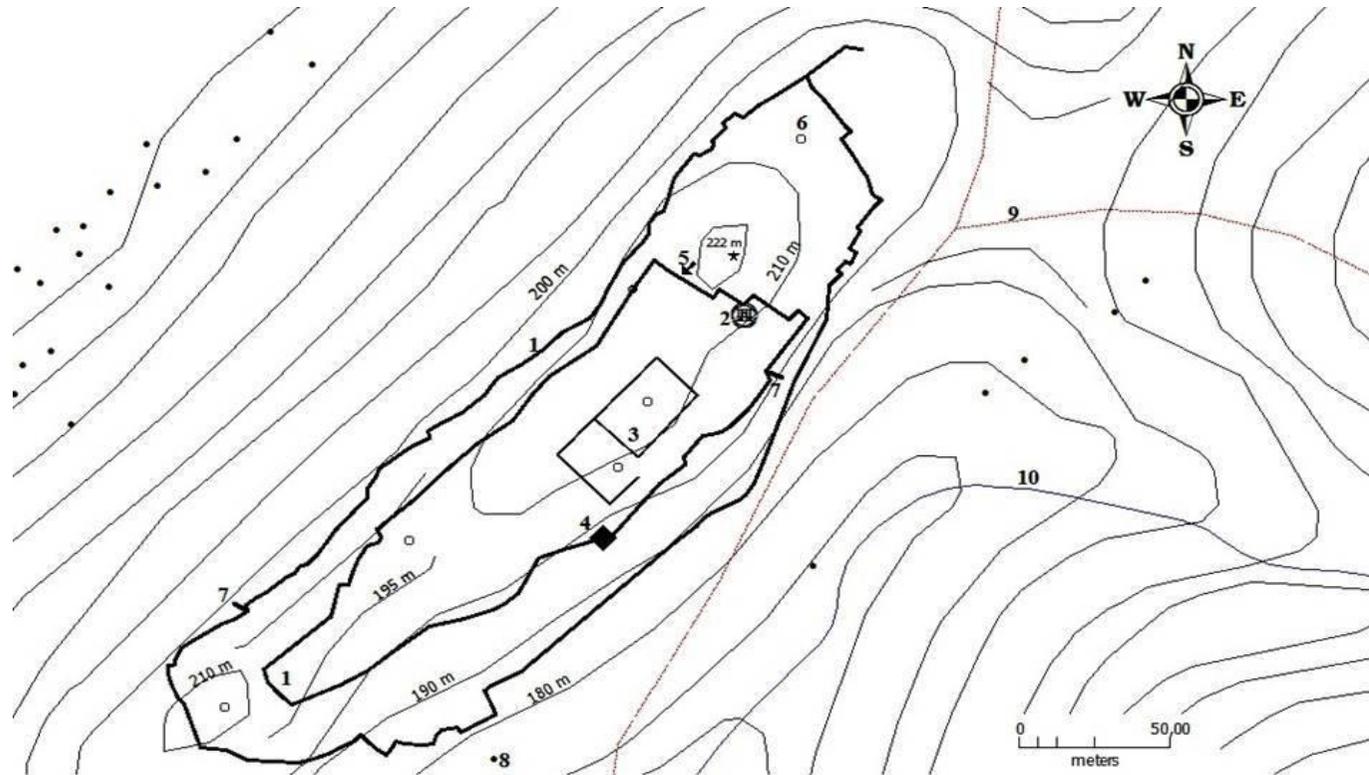
489

Traces of Outer Fortification Walls Around the *Acropolis*

**PLATE 2.2 (Plans)**

**Plate 2.2.1**

490



- |                         |                       |                            |                                    |                            |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>1- Fortification</b> | <b>2- Inscription</b> | <b>3- Public Structure</b> | <b>4- Possible Elite Residence</b> | <b>5- Fortress Gate</b>    |
| <b>6- Cistern</b>       | <b>7- Bastion</b>     | <b>8- Dwelling</b>         | <b>9- Ancient Road</b>             | <b>10- Dried Up Stream</b> |

*Plan of Acropolis*

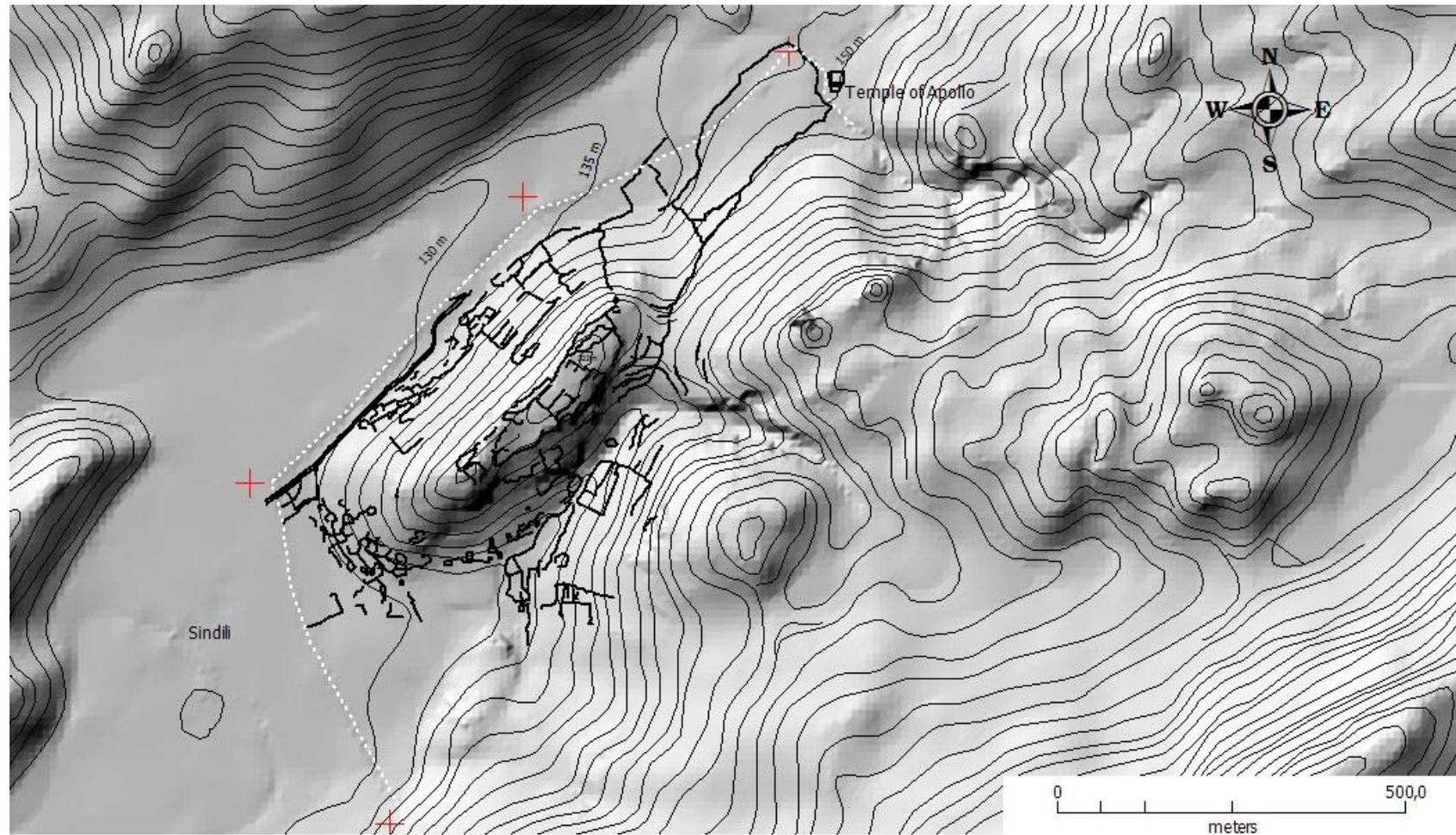
Plate 2.2.2



491

Perspective View of *Acropolis'* Fortification Walls

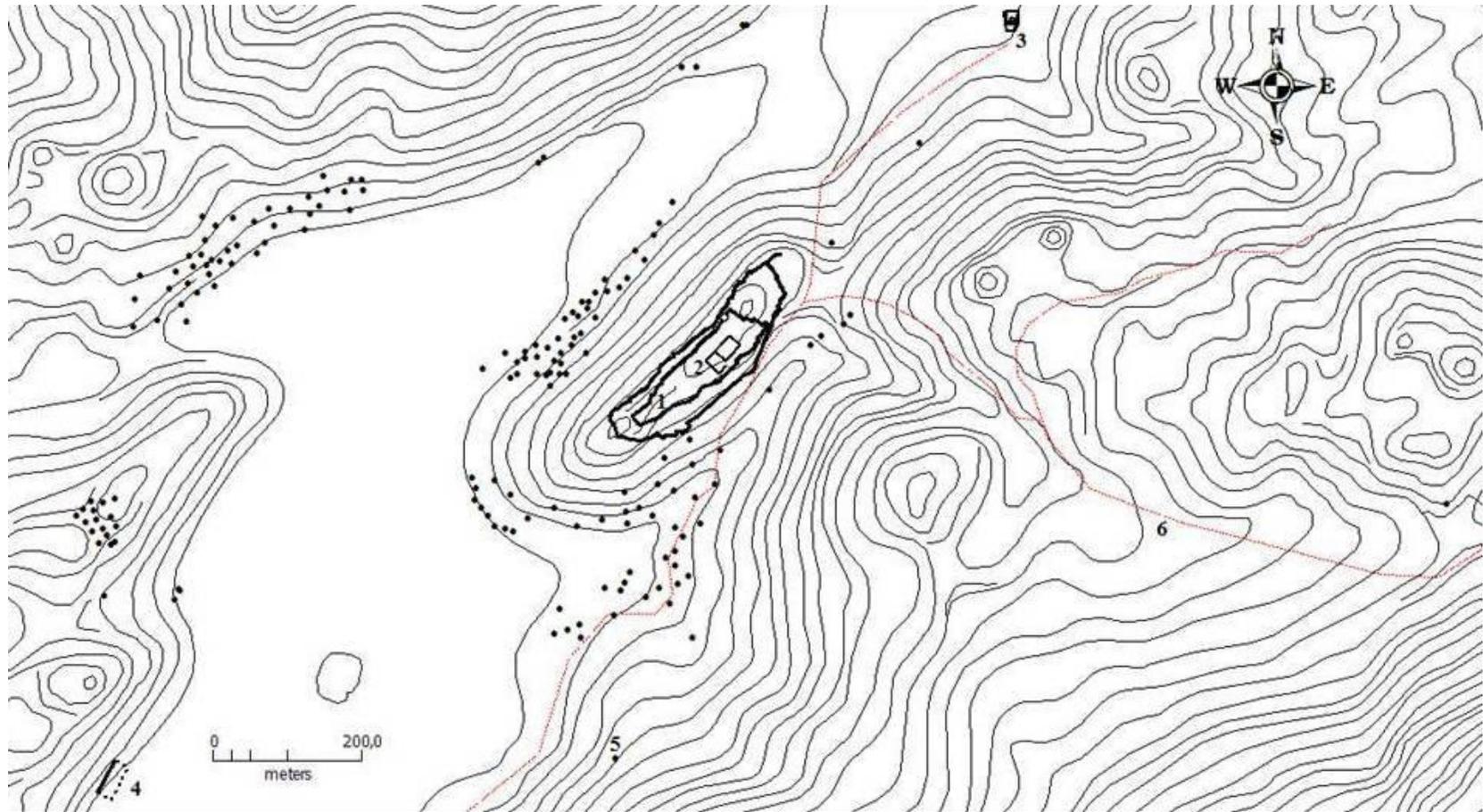
Plate 2.2.3



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Plan of Wall Traces at the *Deme* Center of Phoinix

Plate 2.2.4



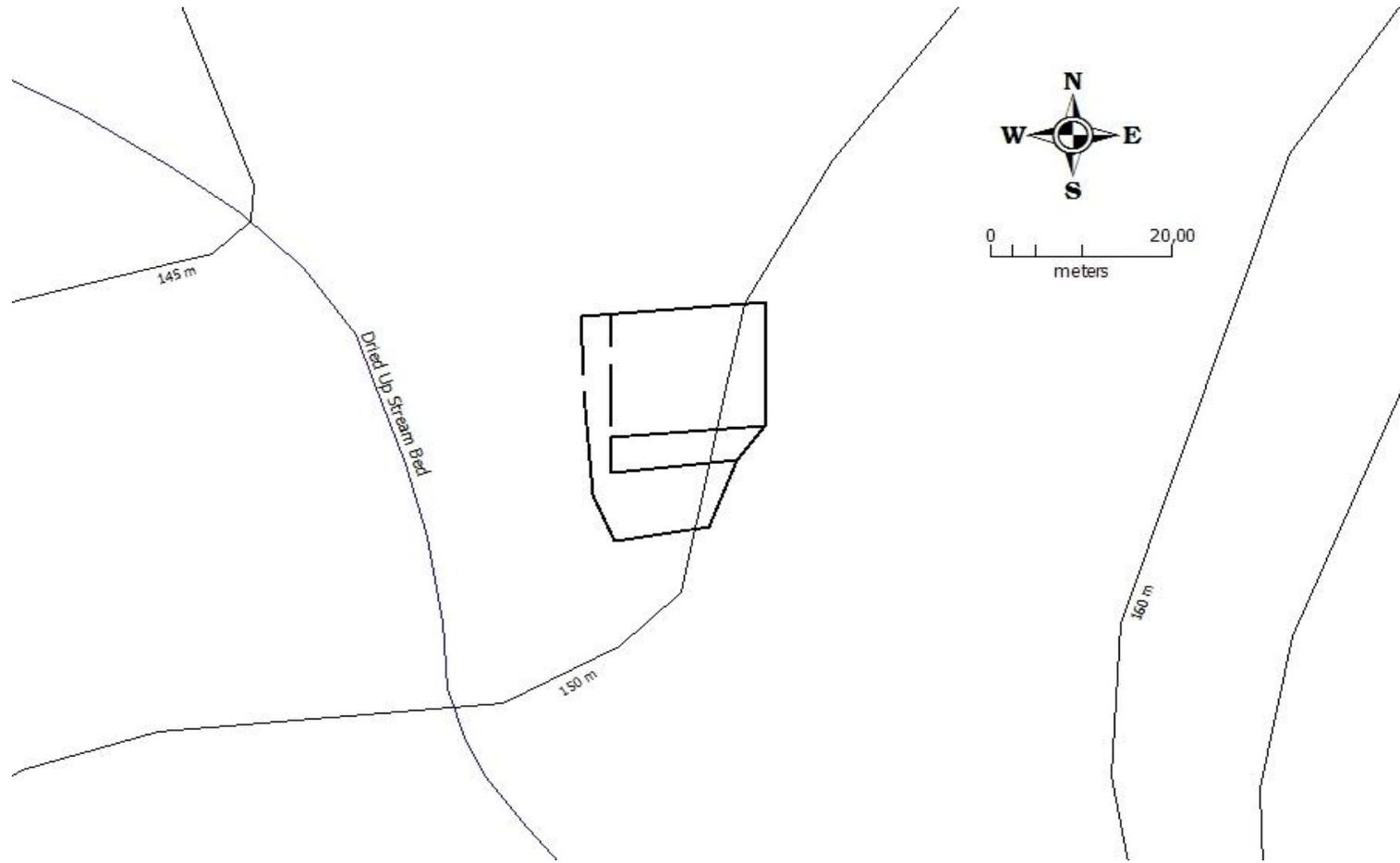
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**1-Fortification 2-Public Structure 3- Temple of Apollo 4-Public Structure 5-Dwelling 6- Ancient Road**

General Plan of the *Deme* Center of Phoinix

Plate 2.2.5

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Plan of Apollo Temple

**PLATE 3 (Field Record Sheets)**

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00501	<b>Site Name:</b> Kaledağ	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d2 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d13-a, O20-d13-b	<b>Date:</b> 2010
<b>Type:</b> Fortification/ <i>Phrourion</i>	<b>Coordinate:</b> 600779 E 4055323 N	<b>Sector:</b> NE	<b>Elevation:</b> 451 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 5 ha	<b>Perimeter:</b> ~ 1 km		
<b>Period:</b> C?, H, R	<b>Condition:</b> Almost well preserved apart from the ruins of dwellings/ simple plan buildings	<b>Publication:</b> Strabo (14.2.4), Flensted- Jensen (2004)	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.1-1.5.4 2.1.15 2.1.23
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>Kaledağ- a massive hill of limestone rises up in the east of Taşlıca. The lowlands stretch to Kapakdibi Location where the modern fields and a large pond lie. The visibility is high on the harsh character hilltop, seeing as far as Söğüt Bay in the west, and Kızılada (Elaeoussa Island) and Rhodes in the south. The northern and southern sectors are limited with the scarps. Modern practices show that the slopes of Kaledağ where the terrain is covered with maquis have been in use for grazing. Agricultural terraces show an extensive exploitation along the northern and western slopes, however one may easily trace degradation of similar terraces in the vicinity of the fortification.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>An ancient fortress and a group of simple buildings/ barracks are situated on top and along gently descending slopes. Many potsherds and reused building blocks on the walls of the modern fields were recorded over the plain area of Kapakdibi Location. The blocks must have fallen off the hill due to earthquakes as many are now available along the slopes. Fortification walls are nearly undisturbed, marking a two level construction. This dual plan fortress has a military-logistic character. The first level relates to the Upper and Middle fortification walls and the second level is traceable along relatively low code slopes. The inner walls encircle the Upper fortress (constructed on 450 m) whereas the Middle one is clearly bordered with elongated walls attached to the Upper one. The perimeter of the outer fortification is about 1 km. Massive quarry faced polygonal masonry hallmarks the trapezoidal plan of the fortification and appearance of ancient buildings. The boundary lines of dwellings vanish within the Middle fortress. Simple plan buildings lying over the peak reveal that they had to bank on water as two gigantic cisterns (one recorded with a lid) measuring 200X200 cm in diameter prove. These features must have been used by military personnel residing on top of the hill. Potsherds suggest a broad time span including the Roman era. Thick-walled rims of pithoi and amphora handles, presumably from the Hellenistic era and some late fragments make up the bulk of surface material scattered over the peak. A disturbed amorphous <i>in-situ</i> press bed (worked in circular form in the middle) looking rather early lies near the cliff (384 m), in the northern sector of the Middle fortress. About 40 m away in southeast, there is another broken press bed. It is akin to circular Hellenistic-Roman samples which were used for the processing of wine or olives. The ruins of typical architectural material bring to forth the possible Carian presence in the vicinity.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00502	<b>Site Name:</b> Gökçalça	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d1 <b>Map No:</b> O20-13-a	<b>Date:</b> 2010-2011
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling Cluster	<b>Coordinate:</b> 599220 E 4054240 N	<b>Sector:</b> N	<b>Elevation:</b> 333-385 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 3 ha			<b>Perimeter:</b>
<b>Period:</b> NA	<b>Condition:</b> Mostly preserved	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.5, 1.5.6 2.1.23 2.1.27
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>A cluster of dwellings arranged in the N-S axis lies upland, in the south of modern Taşlıca. An ancient path, running from the village heads towards a spot between two hills, Gökçalça Tepe and Somakkaya Tepe. Here is a well hidden, hilltop settlement scattered across a calcareous ridge between the mentioned hills. The site maintains defensibility due to high visibility. It watches over Söğüt Bay, the northernmost territories of Taşlıca and Kaledağ. The western side is interrupted by a rocky platform- a natural defensive small fortress, on top of Gökçalça. The lowlands in the west, however, reveal degradation over terraces, facing the Elementary School. The northern and southern sectors are also rich with agricultural terraces. Sharply divorced from terra-rosa brown soils by a natural curvature, coarse grained terra-rosa soil texture cover the agricultural terraces. The texture of dense maquis masters the vicinity.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>About 50-60 ruins of dwellings are situated on a ridge, at the end of the abovementioned path. They make up a compact terrace settlement where the dwellings may also appear with attached plans. Large, coarse polygonal walls limit the physical boundaries of each dwelling. Dwellings which stand near a rocky platform seem to have benefited from the topographical advantages of terrain. The rear chambers lean on the rocky facades so that no extra walls were worked. It is questionable whether Lelegian influence? masonry was applied without mortar. Architectural style recalls that of the ruins recorded at Buhu location in Söğüt and in the environs of Kara Tepe in Selimiye. There is a broken press stone within a dwelling in the northern edge of the settlement area. It might well have been a feeding trough as the dimensions are quite small. Presumably, an unfinished quarry lay at the opposite, along the slopes of Somakkaya. The spot where the limestone was extracted from bedrock suggests that the dwellings and enormous walls of the defensive platform on top of Gökçalça were worked with local stone extracted from the hypothetical quarry. An ancient basin (possibly part of a collection tank) draws attraction at a lower code where the physical extensions of the settlement area stretches down to a V-shaped wall range, approximating the modern quarters of Taşlıca.</p> <p>The entire settlement lacks potsherds. It may be that the site was abandoned or occupied seasonally, where the dwellers could have had the habit of carrying stuff away to a permanent settlement. Presumably, it is earlier (Archaic, Iron Age or perhaps antedating all) than expected since subsurface material could have been deposited in the deeper layers.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00503	<b>Site Name:</b> Taşlıca (Elementary School)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d1 <b>Map No:</b> O20-13-a	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> <i>Necropolis</i>	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598790 E 4054620 N	<b>Sector:</b> N	<b>Elevation:</b> 205 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,5 ha			
<b>Period:</b> NA	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> Chaviaras and Chaviaras ( <i>AE</i> 1913) cited by Bresson (1991)	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.7; A
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
The northernmost borders of Phoinix start from the modern Elementary School (the southwest of Taşlıca) behind which the <i>necropolis</i> rests. Slightly south to this area, numerous wells can be seen. The <i>necropolis</i> lies over a plain area which is interrupted by the agricultural terraces in the west.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
The tombstones are conspicuous and seem to have been categorized, in form and type of construction according to period. All appear to have been exposed to deposition over time since the area is covered with earth. No man-made structure lies over this area, which is limited with the modern boundary lines of the orchards. Apart from late graves, simple and amorphous stelae may suggest early dates. These seem to be tomb markers. We can see neither iconography nor an application of extra decoration. Simple stelae could have addressed the low status inhabitants or early burial practices.			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00504	<b>Site Name:</b> Taşlıca (SW)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d1 <b>Map No:</b> O20-13-a	<b>Date:</b> 2009
<b>Type:</b> Water Features	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598864 E 4054532 N	<b>Sector:</b> N	<b>Elevation:</b> 190-250 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,4 ha			
<b>Period:</b> R/LR?	<b>Condition:</b> <i>In-situ</i> , almost well preserved, currently used	<b>Publication:</b> Umar (1999)	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.7; B-D
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
Not far from the modern Elementary School, water features are scattered over a pocket plain (in the east of İnkaya Tepe) where modern fields are cultivated on terra-rosa soils. Wells lie on either side of the modern road. The spot is very suitable, thus currently used for stock breeding, however, the rest of the land is reserved to olive plantation and fig trees.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
More than 18 (eighteen) wells and/or cisterns catch the eye. Almost standing in the middle, one is interesting with a cross inscribed onto the outer surface. Many are plastered, however, feeding troughs are completely disturbed so some have become detached from their origin and/or broken.			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00505	<b>Site Name:</b> Peynir Dağ (E)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d1 <b>Map No:</b> O20-13-a	<b>Date:</b> 2010
<b>Type:</b> Tomb	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598595 E 4054023 N	<b>Sector:</b> N	<b>Elevation:</b> 161 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> 50x100 cm; ~ 40X80 cm			
<b>Period:</b> H?	<b>Condition:</b> <i>In-situ</i> , partly disturbed, lids absent	<b>Publication:</b> Bresson (1991)?	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.7; E
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
Two rock-cut rectangular tombs rest over a rocky platform where the modern road running from the southern borders of Taşlıca makes a sharp turn. They overlook the dried up stream bed, directly facing the agricultural terraces, near the main road on a shallow rocky cliff. Coarse grained terrain, almond trees and modern terraces form the general background. The base of the valley is currently used as a regular deposit area for the waste and garbage of modern Taşlıca.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
The tomb lying near the rocky cliff is the smallest one so it could have belonged to a child/ youngster. The tomb resting next to it, near the main road, probably belonged to an adult since the dimensions are much bigger than the former. The lids of both are missing. As simple, unpretentious structures, they are very similar in form and type of architecture. They are comparable to those reported from Latmos Heracleia. Surface material is scant.			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00506	<b>Site Name:</b> Peynir Dağ (SE)- Top Tepe (NW)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d1 <b>Map No:</b> O20-13-d	<b>Date:</b> 2009
<b>Type:</b> Wall and; Dwelling	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598381 E, 4053828 N; 598372 E, 4053834 N	<b>Sector:</b> NE	<b>Elevation:</b> 158 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> NA; 3x2,80 m <sup>2</sup> (dwelling)	<b>Length:</b> ~ 45 m (wall)	<b>Height:</b> ~ 60 cm (wall)	<b>Width:</b> ~ 60-80 cm (wall)
<b>Period:</b> H	<b>Condition:</b> <i>In-situ</i> walls partly disturbed; dwelling disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.8; A-C
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
Ashlar wall series lie on flat alluvial ground which divorces the main road from the now abandoned shallow agricultural terraces on both sides. The walls stand very near a dried up stream bed running (parallel to the road) from the southern end of Taşlıca and making its course toward the southwest. The spot is rich in fig trees and maquis.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
Isodomic ashlar, bossaged, two-range <i>in-situ</i> walls are built in the Hellenistic fashion. They lie in the NE-SW direction however, they show discreteness in the NE sector. They are levelled at the top. The entrance is clearly traceable in the middle. The walls are associable with a dwelling in the SW, which is not far from another dwelling. Reused blocks on terrace walls are conspicuous in the vicinity. Potsherds, many of which belong to amphorae bodies, suggest the Hellenistic period.			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00507	<b>Site Name:</b> Upper Fenaket (E)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling Cluster	<b>Coordinate:</b> 597771 E 4053481 N	<b>Sector:</b> N	<b>Elevation:</b> 130-140 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 5 ha			
<b>Period:</b> C,H	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.7; F-H 1.5.12; A
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
A group of dwellings are situated over shallow terraces, very near the dried up stream bed running between Upper Fenaket and the southern limestone lowlands of Peynir Dağ. Agricultural terraces and orchards covered with coarse grained terra-rosa soils make up the bulk of land. The nearest area familiar with water features is in the east (north of the Apollo Temple). Fig trees are widely encountered amongst the modern terraces. Human interference is obvious all over the site and in the vicinity.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
Above the dried up stream bed to Upper Fenaket, base walls of 8-10 ancient dwellings become clear among the shallow terraces. Apart from a dwelling which has a very complex plan with the largest dimensions (half earthed) but possessing a storage-like chamber at the rear side, all of the the dwellings appear to be rather small. They are all engaged with terrace walls, which may reach up to 2-2.5 m. Up on the modern field boundaries and near the main road, numerous stepped blocks and the remnants of a millstone are now visible. Indeed, remnants of a dwelling and 5 (five) cisterns/wells stand about half km away from the mentioned site, on the eastern side. Water features have uniform dimensions (50 cm in diameter). Two dwellings, almost attached or forming a complex possess a small press bed (diameter: 55 cm) in the courtyard. Numerous roof tiles and amphora pieces are scattered over the land but the majority is disturbed. Amongst all of these is a piece of black furnished ceramic which addresses the Classical era.			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A0050801/02	<b>Site Name:</b> Upper Fenaket	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2009-2012
<b>Type:</b> Compact Settlement	<b>Coordinate:</b> 597044 E 4053113 N	<b>Sector:</b> W	<b>Elevation:</b> 125-170 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 6 ha			
<b>Period:</b> LC, H, R, LR, LP	<b>Condition:</b> Mostly disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> Dürrbach and Radet (1886), Fraser and Bean (1954), Burgett et al.(1984), Jones (1987), Bresson (1991), Umar (1999), Özberk (2004)	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.9; A-D 1.5.10
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
A cluster of dwellings, which make up a compact terraced settlement and directly face the <i>Acropolis</i> , are situated along a shallow ridge on a rocky platform in the northern sector of the Sindili Location. The plain area of Sindili is one of those which have been exposed to a high degree of erosion all over the Peraea. All the dwellings rest on terra-rosa soil where vegetation is sparse however, few dwelling units situated in the south (at the opposite side of the modern road) are mastered by the shrubland biome scattered over agricultural terraces. Orderly planning of service lines/ streets and terraces may be discerned in the NE-SW direction, along the mentioned ridge.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
The ruins of megaron type late Greek dwellings, which were in use until the 1930s, reveal early base walls and reused building blocks on the facade. Generally, early material was used as supporting elements of late dwellings. Ruins of individual dwellings, which lie opposite, complement the layout of the late settlement in terms of building technique and architectural material used. Fragments, the majority of which belong to coarse wares and are datable to Hellenistic and Roman era, are traceable over the surface.			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A0050901/02	<b>Site Name:</b> Çakallık	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling Cluster; Terrace/ tomb?	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596662 E, 4052973 N; 596484 E, 4052879 N	<b>Sector:</b> W	<b>Elevation:</b> 93-109 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 2,6 ha			
<b>Period:</b> C, H?, R	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.11; A-D 1.5.12; B
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>Çakallık is accessible via an ancient path which runs from Upper Fenaket and falls down to the coastal pocket valley above which a profound silhouette of agricultural terraces catch the eye. Anyone who quits the path may turn back to the modern road and find the first modern field at the outlet of Fenaket and trace another trail that is about 100 m away from the ruins of houses. Slope values of terraces sharply decrease towards the middle however, they tend to descend gently thereafter. They are physically limited from all sectors including the mentioned site that is mastered by dense maquis. Seemingly, the site is suitable for maritime transport and logistics near the coastal band but not that far from the compact settlement of Upper Fenaket. It also has good visibility over open seas, facing Taşlıca and Değirmen Islands. Human intervention in terraces, which are covered up with coarse grained terra-rosa soils, is quite remarkable however, slope factor could have affected late preferences.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>A small cluster of 4-5 dwellings is situated at the foot of a shallow limestone hill, over slightly elevated ground, near a plain cultivation area. As they are high above the coast, easy management and control of terraces could be the idea. Forming quite a small cluster, the site diverts the attention to an ancient workshop/complex of atelier in the middle of which a large cistern (~ 200X250 cm in width and length, respectively), broken (<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>) press stone, roof tiles and Classical and Roman character coarse wares rest. The density of potsherds is quite high over the settlement area. The cistern, which can be characterized as a large water feature, hallmarks collective usage. An isolated block- part of a possible architrave lies in physical proximity to the dwellings, near the modern field and main road. The dwelling, at the field corner is remarkable with bossaged walls on the facade but disturbance is high. Typical Peraean block piles are observable. At the opposite side, the ruins of three or more dwellings are positioned over shallow terraces near the modern road. An interesting structure needs attention with huge walls, which suggest that they could have belonged to a terrace tomb.</p> <p>The westernmost part of Çakallık, as also followed by the modern route, abounds in successive shallow terraces and pocket plains to the environs of Namlıalan Tepe which provides a good vision of the sea up to the sortie at the isthmus, as far as Kaynarlık Tepe. Many wells, rarely in use among modern fields, are traceable on the way to Namlıalan but it is hard to find diagnostic potsherds all around the area. Of the most interesting structures in the east of Namlıalan Tepe- a low code area, is what could be a large well whose plan reminds us of a round altar or double stage podium. This feature (595679 N, 4052394 E; elevation: 69 m) is said to be a well (by locals) in which Greeks embedded their stuff, covered them with stones and closed from the top before they devastated Phoinix. Potsherds and amphora handles share a similar category with those found at Çakallık.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00510	<b>Site Name:</b> Bahçakise	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling Cluster	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596910 E 4052787 N	<b>Sector:</b> W	<b>Elevation:</b> 168-181 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,5 ha			
<b>Period:</b> H, R	<b>Condition:</b> Natural abrasion, disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.15; A,B
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>Group of dwellings are situated on top of Bahçakise Tepe, in the west of Sindili Location. This spot is accessible by following the ancient pathway to the narrow strait which opens to a pocket plain. The mentioned plain leads the way to the northern ridges of Bahçakise. The route traced passes by degraded land occupied by dense maquis so it is rather difficult to proceed. An alternative route starts from the boundaries of an ancient dwelling situated on the abovementioned strait, however dense vegetation and calcareous terrain makes it difficult to trace the new path heading up toward the peaks of Bahçakise. Following either way, the small enclave stretches over a plain area where large rocks of limestone can be seen. Here is a small, hidden hilltop settlement. It suggests some parallels with Gökçalça, in terms of the manner of positioning. It is hard to mention human intervention however, all seem to have been disturbed due to earthquakes. The site has a good view of the <i>Acropolis</i> and Karayüksek Dağ in the east, Taşlıca in the north, Taşlıca Island and Syme Island in the west.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>The ruins of 15-20 houses, now covered with piles of stones are clear. The boundary lines are drawn up with small coarse polygonal walls. It appears that the dwellings had equal shares of plot. The majority of sherds belong to coarse ware, smooth decorations highly suggesting Roman profiles are traceable on the rims. Red paste is common to few findings. Chaff and grid tempered potsherds make up the majority.</p> <p>On the other hand, some stones used on the boundary walls of dwellings have perfect holes in the middle. Their function is arbitrary. With the problem of period set aside, such samples may be met in Gökçalça. The type of habitation and the pattern of micro-settlement present similarities in both sites. Patterns of settlement may have developed into the late periods in Bahçakise.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00511	<b>Site Name:</b> Bahçakise	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling Cluster	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596906 E 4052704 N	<b>Sector:</b> W	<b>Elevation:</b> 122-156 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 3 ha			
<b>Period:</b> H, R	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.13; A-D 1.5.14
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>A shallow hill of limestone- Bahçakise Tepe is situated in the west of Sindili Location. An ancient pathway begins in front of the terrace walls of a couple of dwellings in the east, climbs up over the southern ridge of the mentioned hill and reaches a narrow strait which opens to a pocket plain embraced with agricultural terraces in the west. The spot where an ancient dwelling is situated (on top of the agricultural terraces), soon before the strait, maintains a good vision of the <i>Acropolis</i>. However, the enclave at the rear side is somehow isolated when compared with the open position of the next spot. Degradation of land is the foremost indicator, extensive cultivation was made all over the area. The southern ridge of the hill leaves a mark on recent exploitation. The soil texture is rather coarse, however, terra-soil is the dominant character of terrain.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>Polygonal terrace walls of a couple of dwellings lie at the plain level, in the east (western edge of Sindili). A cistern, now filled with earth, lies at the frontal courtyard of one of them. Few meters away, there rests two press beds at a code of 122-123 m. The large one is cracked in the middle, the smaller one is comparably less disturbed. They seem to have been transported from the near environs or disturbed due to earthquakes. Abrasion is observed on both.</p> <p>High above, the base walls of an ancient dwelling bordered with a recognizable terrace wall and modern well at the entrance are soon visible. An ancient, undisturbed circular press bed is the most impressive evidence (596892 E, 4052691 N; elevation: 153 m)- the finest of all observed throughout the Peraea. Inner diameter measures 75 cm, depth and width of the processing canal is 3 and 5 cm, respectively. The height from the ground level is about 50 cm. A proposal for transportation of this material to the nearest museum was submitted to the Ministry of Culture, at the end of 2011 campaign. As of silhouette and type, it is possibly <i>mola olearia</i>- typical of the Hellenistic and Roman samples. Behind the press lies quite a large ellipse form broken millstone. Carved into a massive rock, it lies at an elevation of 156 m. Modern traces of stockbreeding may be observed near the press bed. Another well may be found in the very south of the dwelling, over a shallow terrace.</p> <p>The ruins of two dwellings (149-152 m codes) with a large well in between, and now closed from the top with bunch of bushes, are recognizable in the middle of the pocket plain. Presumably, additional dwellings were there as typical block scatters lie in the plain area, which is now occupied with dense maquis.</p> <p>One may find tiny fragments across the southern ridge of Bahçakise where the agricultural terraces lie. They overwhelmingly address the Hellenistic and Roman eras in which case typical press stones reinforce the idea. Few red paste rims, amphora handles and a carinated body fragment were recorded during field work.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00512	<b>Site Name:</b> Sindili (SW)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2010
<b>Type:</b> Wall	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596911 E 4052416 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW	<b>Elevation:</b> 135 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b>	<b>Length:</b> ~ 50 m	<b>Height:</b> ~ 2 m	<b>Width:</b> 60 cm
<b>Period:</b> H	<b>Condition:</b> Partly disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> Umar (1999)?	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.16; A-C
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
Ashlar walls lie on quaternary alluvium terrain, on the western sector of the plain area of Sindili Location. Here is a site, just near a stabilized road travelling parallel to Sindili and facing a small pond between the modern fields that are currently cultivated. Refined soil texture is traceable at the base level while limestone bedrock sharply rises at the rear end.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
At least three/four range isodomic ashlar, reddish, slightly bossaged <i>in-situ</i> walls are built in the Hellenistic fashion. However very large walls on the top suggest a mixed form. Walls lie in the NE-SW direction, however, they reveal discreteness at the top such that rubble masonry replaces the upper level in a disorderly manner. They are associable with a building which was built with coarse polygonal masonry technique at the rear left corner. The potsherds possibly date back to the Hellenistic era. The base walls are clearly seen as soon as discreteness is observed.			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00513; O20A00514	<b>Site Name:</b> Pirnal; Badrik Tepe (E)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2010
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling; Farmstead	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596249 E, 4052405 N; 596190 E, 4052035 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW	<b>Elevation:</b> 140 m; 110 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,1 ha; ~ 0,3 ha			
<b>Period:</b> H, R	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed; partly disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.17; A-D
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
The ancient road beginning from the narrowest southern end of Sindili ascends and heads down to a pocket plain which is next to the modern highway, in the very southwest. On the way to the mentioned plain, mixed habitat of agricultural terraces and maquis scattered over coarse grained terrain are conspicuous on either sector. The ascent leads the way to the ancient farmstead, which is situated at a shallow terrace where the ancient road meets the pocket plain surrounded with modern fields.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
A sheep-fold built with reused, extremely large bossaged blocks is recognizable at the highest point of the ascent. A modern cistern lies nearby. The ruins of another building, appearing with terrace walls is situated slightly north, at the Pirnal location. <i>In-situ</i> base walls of the farmstead and typical blocks of the Peraea lie nearby the shallow agricultural terrace. It is difficult to find diagnostic potsherds, however, fragments seem to address the Hellenistic and Roman eras.			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00515	<b>Site Name:</b> Yeşilgelme Bay (E)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-d	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Farmstead	<b>Coordinate:</b> 595719 E 4051606 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW	<b>Elevation:</b> 119 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,3 ha			
<b>Period:</b> H, R	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> -
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>The ancient road travelling from Sindili and the eastern environs of Badrık Tepe makes an upward move to a spot surrounded by olive trees and dense maquis. The route it follows almost overlaps the modern highway running parallel to Yeşilgelme Bay to the isthmus, however, the ancient road continues at a slightly higher elevation. Almost hidden amongst the olive trees in the middle of a shallow ridge but exactly situated on the ancient road between the agricultural terraces, the spot is ideal for fair vision of the coastal area and Taşlıca Island.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>On the ancient road, an isolated farmstead is found whereby a large modern cistern (200 cm diameter) addressing late use is situated at 121 m elevation, near the associated plot. The entrance of the building lies in the north where base walls are almost recognizable. Typical architectural material and block scatters lie near the boundary walls. The type of construction and few diagnostic potsherds recall the Hellenistic era. However, one needs to remain skeptical as far as the problem of period is concerned since the neighbouring areas also reveal Roman samples.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00516	<b>Site Name:</b> Kaynarlık Tepe	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-d	<b>Date:</b> 2010
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling	<b>Coordinate:</b> 597741 E 4051610 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW	<b>Elevation:</b> 40-55 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,5 ha			
<b>Period:</b> ?	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> -
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
A few dwellings are situated in the southwest of Kaynarlık Tepe which falls into the south of Yeşilgelme Bay. Here is a rocky site where environmental background is formed by dense maquis and terra-rosa soils. They seem to draw up the limits of settlement in the north of the isthmus. They are inaccessible from the steep northern ridges of Kaynarlık Tepe, however, they stand 300 m away from the ancient and modern road.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
The ruins of few dwellings do not go beyond building block scatters and highly disturbed ceramic pieces. Dwellings are engaged with agricultural terraces, overlooking the Hisardibi Location. Only one cistern lies in the north of the dwellings, at an elevation of 75 m.			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A0051701; O20A0051702; O20A0051703	<b>Site Name:</b> Yelkaya- Akgeri Tepe	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c; O20-d12-d	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Farmstead	<b>Coordinate:</b> 595078 E, 4051013 N; 595347 E, 4050962 N- 595328 E, 4050976 N; 595783 E, 4051051 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW	<b>Elevation:</b> 77 m; 79-82 m; 186 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,3 ha for each			
<b>Period:</b> C?,H, R	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.18; A-D
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>When the ancient road transgresses the <i>territorium</i> of Casarae, makes a turn further toward inland in the counter clock-wise direction around the isthmus and infiltrates the inland <i>chora</i> of Phoinix (between Yelkaya Tepe and Akgeri Tepe), successive pocket fields situated at regular distances and embraced with agricultural terraces can be seen. Climbing up a moderate elevation terrace, which leads the way to a narrow strait via the mentioned road, the farmstead appears in the western end of the inland <i>chora</i>. All others are situated on or near the ancient road. The co-habitation of maquis, Mediterranean medlar, quercus ilex and olive trees master the terrain. Actually, here is a sub-region in southwest Phoinix which is physically limited with two hill ranges in the north and south. The terra-rosa soil texture is coarse.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>Where the ancient road runs parallel to Hisardibi (Casarae) Location, a press bed, now lying in the courtyard of a modern house (at an elevation of 38 m), was recorded. Normal abrasion is observable inside and outside. The diameter is 73 cm. At the beginning of the strait mentioned, the first farmstead attracts attention with piles of coarse walls and numerous roof tiles scattered over the ground level.</p> <p>The other pocket plain is remarkable with two attached farmsteads and a cistern. <i>In-situ</i> blocks are well recognizable however, the degree of disturbance is quite high. Situated in the southern sector of a modern field, the farmsteads maintain an advantageous position overlooking Karagelme Bay and a dried up stream bed, and watching the agricultural terraces in all directions. The boundary lines are more or less visible. These are simple plan buildings built with rubble masonry.</p> <p>Another individual farmstead is situated between the rest of the fields facing agricultural terraces, in the southern end of the inland <i>chora</i>. Base walls, block scatters in the environs, <i>in-situ</i> bossaged blocks, the body of a cooking pot and amphorae handles make up the bulk of findings. Typical blocks reused on a tomb-like storage/closet stand in the middle of the final field. Potsherds generally suggest the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, the foremost example appeared as a circular stamped amphora (a “button form” stamp” on the handle) with an undetectable monogram in the vicinity of the first farmstead, nearby Yelkaya Tepe.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00518	<b>Site Name:</b> Gedikçukur (SW)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Farmstead	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596765 E 4051705 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW/S	<b>Elevation:</b> 143 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,8 ha			
<b>Period:</b> H, R?	<b>Condition:</b> Mostly disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.19; C,D 1.5.20
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>Quite a big farmstead is situated in the south of the plain area known as Gedikçukur. Here is the site where the ancient road travelling from inland <i>chora</i> and passing by scarp slopes of Akgeri Tepe forks to the south and north. Situated in the N-S axis, the farmstead stands high above the Karahorata Valley. It has an advantageous position with a fair vision of agricultural terraces and Gedik Bay. Terraces formed by the mentioned valley gently descend and reach the plain area. Coarse grained terra-rosa ridges and rocky terrain covered with maquis form the environmental background.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>Boundary lines of the farmstead are limited with western and eastern terrace walls worked out of local limestone in rustic style masonry. <i>In-situ</i> base walls, typical blocks and supporting elements indicating entry points to the living areas help to comprehend the inner limits and plan of the farmstead. A cistern partly in-use lies within the boundaries, on its southwest. Typical blocks, possible storage rooms and a rectangular rock-cut tomb-like structure (70X210 cm) lie opposite, on its northeastern borders. Besides Hellenistic sherds the majority of which belong to amphorae rims, rims, body fragments and, a stamped amphora handle suggesting the early Hellenistic era was recorded in the vicinity. The density of potsherds increases over the southern sector- possibly a courtyard. The least disturbance is observable in the middle plan where distance between two inner gates measures 300 cm with the height of each at about 70 cm. The plan suggests that at least 4 segments were reserved for the living space and/or livestock. Red paste sherds and rim decorations are also traceable in the surroundings.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00519	<b>Site Name:</b> Gedikçukur (S)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Farmstead	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596867 E 4051376 N	<b>Sector:</b> S	<b>Elevation:</b> 120 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 1,6 ha			
<b>Period:</b> H, R?	<b>Condition:</b> Partly disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.19; A,B 1.5.20
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>A huge farmstead is situated on a shallow terrace near a dried up stream, namely Karahorata Deresi, which is accessible by the ancient road travelling between Akgeri Tepe and Gedikçukur. This stream reaches Gedik Bay in the very south. A broad band of steep agricultural terraces occupy this deep, inland valley up to the mentioned bay. The structure appears to be regularly occupied by locals for stock breeding, hence is currently used as a barn. Despite the scarcity of vegetation apart from the maquis, the number of olive trees is comparably high regarding the other sites of Phoinix. Figs are rarely seen however, olive trees outline the limits of sparse vegetation.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>The boundaries of this huge farmstead- possibly a Hellenistic temple-farmstead complex- are well drawn by large, quarry faced ashlar (overwhelmingly isodomic) terrace walls. On average, each stone worked on the terrace walls has a dimension of about 50X70 cm. Yet, partly the plan, gate lentos and masonry technique applied inside bear resemblance to those of the Apollo Temple. Rectangular stones forming gate lentos on the top approximate 70X200 cm. Large limestone boulders used on terrace walls are conspicuous. As of literature, particularly the Amian case, it could well have acted as a public lease authority or trade depot/urban service base regarding its proximity to the southern shores of Phoinix. It could have been part of the distribution economies. A trough-like basin, possibly a small altar carved into a block of limestone lies within the residence. Blocks reveal disturbance due to tectonic activity.</p> <p>Surface materials are scant but they seem to belong to a limited period- mainly the Hellenistic era. Many appear to be part of pithoi and amphorae. Round bases, rims and whitish amphora handles were recorded during field work.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00520	<b>Site Name:</b> Gedikçukur	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling Cluster	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596901 E 4051983 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW	<b>Elevation:</b> 144-156 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 1,2 ha			
<b>Period:</b> H, R	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.21; A-C 1.5.22
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>A cluster of dwellings is situated in the northernmost part of the plain area of Gedikçukur where the physical boundaries of a modern field are interrupted by moderate elevations, approaching the narrowest sector of Sindili. The enclave maintains a safer position and is well hidden from Sindili. The cluster occupies an area covered with shrubland biome, on a rocky calcareous terrain. The ancient road passes very near the settlement area and heads toward the lowlands of Karayüksek Dağ and the <i>Acropolis</i>. The big farmstead (O20A00518) in the southern sector of Gedikçukur is well visible from the spot.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>8-10 dwellings form a compact cluster in which each is situated on a terrace wall. The majority is disturbed and covered with small polygonal stones. The base walls of a dwelling can easily be tracked in the middle of the enclave but many others are now covered with piles of stones. It is possible that the current ruins have been used as simple shelters or barns for the livestock until recently. The entrance of the noted dwelling is in the west, from the frontal courtyard. Traced from base and terrace walls, a rectangular core dwelling situated 90 cm above the courtyard covers an area of 3.5X5.5 m<sup>2</sup>. The boundaries and simple plan of dwellings suggest egalitarianism, the use of domestic space suggests functionality. Service lines are available but the main route runs across the middle of the residential area while no dwelling interrupts another. One is of attraction because it reveals a megaron-like plan. Niches carved into the inner walls of a house and a broken trough-like material in the vicinity of the said cistern may be of interest.</p> <p>Roof tiles, rims of pithoi, whitish coarse ware rims and amphora handles make up the bulk of potsherds, suggesting the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Some pieces also suggest <i>terra-sigillata</i>. A stamped amphora handle, appearing in the early Hellenistic form was recorded at the site. Interestingly, only one cistern suggesting common usage is observable.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A00521; O20A00522	<b>Site Name:</b> Sindili (S); Sindili (E)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling; Dwelling	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596798 E, 4052120 N; 597594 E, 4052483 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW; S	<b>Elevation:</b> 135 m; 180 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,1 ha; 0,2 ha			
<b>Period:</b> Sindili (S) H? Sindili (E) ?	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed; Disturbed, stairs exposed to abrasion	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.21; D
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
An ancient dwelling is situated about 100 m east of the ancient road, in the southernmost end of the plain area of Sindili. It stands on a shallow terra-rosa terrace, directly facing the <i>Acropolis</i> . Another dwelling in the east of Sindili, lies on a higher terrace in the lowlands of Karayüksek Dağ, nearby the ancient road which heads toward the <i>Acropolis</i> . The <i>Acropolis</i> , modern fields over Sindili and ancient terraces in its north are visible.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
Presumably, the individual dwelling affiliated with terrace walls belonged to the lower settlement in the vicinity of <i>Acropolis</i> . As human intervention is the greatest in the vicinity of Sindili, it may well be incorporated into the close domains of <i>Acropolis</i> . Likewise, surface material is so disturbed that it is theoretically of the Hellenistic or post-Hellenistic era. An <i>in-situ</i> cistern lies on its southern borders. Clear boundaries of terrace walls worked with rubble masonry mortar are well observable within the borders of another dwelling. 4-5 steps leading the way to the dwelling are more or less recognizable, however, almost all were exposed to abrasion. A cancelled large cistern (>200 cm in diameter) lies in the southwest of the dwelling, almost situated parallel to the ancient road. The building technique and appearance (neither resembles those of the lower settlement around the <i>Acropolis</i> ) suggest an early date.			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00523	<b>Site Name:</b> Phoinix	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c, O20-d12-d, O20-d13-a, O20-d13-d	<b>Date:</b> 2009-2012
<b>Type:</b> Ancient Road	<b>Coordinate:</b> 596715 E/ 4052145 N 595946 E/ 4051844 N 594961E/ 4051293 N 596100E/ 4051190 N 596770E/ 4051620 N 597900E/ 4053070 N 598800E/ 4052780 N 600010E/ 4054180 N	<b>Sector:</b> SW/S/NE	<b>Elevation:</b> 30-345 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> NA	<b>Route followed:</b> ~ 10 km <b>Estimated length :</b> ~ 15 km	<b>Average width:</b> ~ 150-180 cm	<b>Perimeter:</b> NA
<b>Period:</b> NA	<b>Condition:</b> Traceable, disturbance is high near agricultural terraces	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.17; A
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
The ancient road travels along the most suitable topographies regardless of passing by elevated or plain grounds and valleys. Discreteness is observed where human intervention is high. Generally speaking, it runs over or nearby terra-rosa soils to ease access to pocket plains and residential areas. The optimum route it follows is on the tectonic zone where a remarkable percentage of land it surpasses corresponds to natural corridors and/or the largest depression areas nearby the plain area of Sindili.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
The longest ancient road travels across NE-SW Phoinix. It is the longest route, interrupting the <i>territorium</i> of Casarae on the isthmus, making an inland turn in the counterclockwise direction and redetermines its course around the southwestern <i>chora</i> of Phoinix in the opposite parallel direction, passes by the eastern slopes of <i>Acropolis</i> and ends in the environs of the Apollo Temple. Presumably, the discrete ancient route which begins from Gökçalça has a connection to the <i>Acropolis</i> in the southwest. Another one, which begins from the terrace wall of a gigantic farmstead in the east of Burgaz Tepe, passes by the lowlands of Burgaz Tepe and makes a sharp turn as soon as it reaches the eastern sector of Tülü Tepe, then heads toward Kaledağ in the northeast. The potsherds are so disturbed that no period can be suggested.			

<b>Settlement Structure</b> <b>Inventory No:</b> O20A0052401/02	<b>Site Name:</b> <i>Acropolis</i>	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2009-2012
<b>Type:</b> Fortification; Compact Settlement	<b>Coordinate:</b> 597690 E, 4053003 N 598000 E, 4053380 N 597510 E, 4052630 N 597440 E, 4053030 N 597920 E, 4053070 N	<b>Sector:</b> NA; All sectors	<b>Elevation:</b> 202-222 m 129-203 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 2,6 ha; ~ 25 ha		<b>Perimeter:</b> ~ 510 m (inner fortification), ~ 770 m (outer fortification)	
<b>Period:</b> C, H, R, LR, LP	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> Dürnbach and Radet (1886), Fraser and Bean (1954), Bresson (1991), Umar (1999), Foss and Reger (2000), Flensted- Jensen (2004), Başgelen (2005)	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.23-1.5.34 2.1.13, 2.1.14 2.1.21 2.1.31 2.2.1-2.2.4
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
Surrounded by hills, the double-peak hilltop fortification and the lower settlement form a compact cluster up on the <i>Acropolis</i> (Hisartepe) and along its slopes, facing Sindili in the north, west and south. The location of the <i>Acropolis</i> offers safety maintaining a fair vision for 360 degrees, as far as the open seas. Karayüksek Dağ (536 m) abruptly rises in the south. The density of dwellings increase in the eastern sector where a narrow corridor- a valley is formed by a dried up stream bed at the opposite end of Tülü Tepe and Burgaz Tepe. The <i>Acropolis</i> is situated on undulated limestone bedrock whereas the lower settlement is affiliated with terrace dwellings extending to all directions. The terrain is covered with coarse grained terra-rosa soil where almond, fig and olive trees master the vicinity. The lowlands of the <i>Acropolis</i> has been exposed to extensive human intervention in the form of modern agricultural terraces and orchards lain over Sindili.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
Anyone may find the two-tier settlement on top of the <i>Acropolis</i> where different period walls are traceable. The fortress gate is in the north, accessible from a shallow strait on the eastern terrace. Soon after, stairs exposed to abrasion lead the way to the inner fortress. 6 (six) cisterns lie at regular intervals, their diameters measure 100 cm on average (excluding the one which possibly belongs to the hypothetical temple). Walls continue for about 350 m in the NE-SW axis. Massive or coursed polygonal, irregular and/or isodomic ashlar masonry in part draws up the outer boundaries whereas the inner fortification appears with polygonal, tightly arranged coarse walls made of small stones and with discrete extensions. <i>Diateikhisma</i> walls display a higher silhouette in the south (Further see Appendix D). A Hellenistic inscription (597776 E; 4053075 N- 209 m) carved onto a rocky facade in the east, giving a list of donors for the construction of Dionysos Temple; the outer walls of a public structure (597745 E; 4053045 N- 205-210 m) possessing a cistern/well in the middle; possible elite residence (597730 E; 4052995 N- 204 m) situated between large cisterns and not that far from a throne-like rock-cut sitting platform on the eastern edge can be found within the physical borders of the <i>Acropolis</i> . The vicinity of the possible elite residence			

abounds in surface fragments suggesting Hellenistic and Roman styles. However, many were observed to be gathered and deliberately exhibited on a flat rocky base. Presumably, such an attempt is attributable to the modern foreign or domestic travellers/ tourists whom must have had close interest in the environs. Cisterns lying near the north gate seem to have been recently used by the local dwellers.

The ruins of megaron dwellings (including late Greek use) situated along the slopes and near the environs of the *Acropolis* between Sindili and Gökseriç Location reveal orderly planning. Each possesses well-defined plots. Early base walls and reused blocks catch the eye in almost all. The building technique and architectural styles suggest uniformity in all of them. It is very usual to witness broken roof tiles around. A *bastion* is visible near a large rock-cut cistern, below the outer walls. There are indicators for a possible altar nearby; the base of a statue seems to have been removed from a rock-cut façade in the same sector, over a natural terrace. An ancient road begins to travel from the southern edge of Hisartep, runs across the dried up stream bed and reaches a small plain area in the midst of a strait between the entrance of the *Acropolis* and the east of Burgaz Tepe. As it is so rare to find stepped pyramidal blocks due to human intervention, this area is relatively rich in terms of the mentioned blocks (at least three were recorded). Parts of a gigantic column lie nearby. Strong indicators for looting activity mark the extent of disturbance in the surroundings. The ruins of three large- possibly elite/public- buildings worked with rectangular form bossaged terrace walls are remarkable at higher codes, directly facing the *Acropolis* (along the eastern slopes of Burgaz Tepe). All possess a tree in the middle of the frontal courtyard. The length of the terrace wall of the building at the highest code is about 17 m with its height measuring about 1.5-2 m. Fragments, the majority of which belong to coarse wares (with red paste, white-yellowish temper), carinated bodies, lots of round bases, and body fragment of a possible kylix, amphorae and pithoi, are datable to the Hellenistic and Roman eras. They are traceable over the terrain, where dwellings are tightly arranged, including the associated terrace walls. Few samples of mushroom rim amphora fragments- typical of the late Classical period, and potsherds datable to the Byzantine era were recorded.

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00525	<b>Site Name:</b> Gökseriç	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2009
<b>Type:</b> Temple	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598123 E 4053496 N	<b>Sector:</b> N/NE	<b>Elevation:</b> 150 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,3 ha with catchment area	<b>Perimeter:</b> ~ 100 m		
<b>Period:</b> H	<b>Condition:</b> Mostly preserved except temenos walls	<b>Publication:</b> Dürrbach and Radet (1886), Bresson (1991)	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.35; A-D 2.2.5
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
The Apollo Temple- a <i>naiskos</i> is situated on a flat terrain (coarse grained soil texture), near a dried up stream bed between Burgaz Tepe and Gökseriç Location. The stream bed makes its route from the east, passes by the temple and ends near the modern road. The temple is surrounded by a low terrace of limestone in the east, and modern fields, almond and fig trees in the north, west and south.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
Being one of the least disturbed edifices in Phoinix, its inner plan is mostly preserved with three gate lentos. Two Hellenistic inscriptions are recognizable on the gate lentos, dedicated to “Apollo” and “Ilithye” (hardly traceable) in ancient Greek. Although temenos walls were removed, the plan of the building becomes clear at the frontal part. Behind the portico façade, its <i>cella</i> is rather small. Numerous reused blocks on the surrounding field boundaries could have belonged to the temenos walls. The base of a column lies next to the entrance.			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00526	<b>Site Name:</b> Burgaz Tepe (E)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d13-d	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Farmstead	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598591 E 4053210 N	<b>Sector:</b> E	<b>Elevation:</b> 285 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> 1,7 ha			
<b>Period:</b> LC, H	<b>Condition:</b> Almost well preserved	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.36; A-D 1.5.37
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>The most suitable way to access the farmstead is to take the ancient road running from the <i>Acropolis</i> or a trail beginning from south Taşlıca. It is situated in the midst of low hills of limestone between Burgaz Tepe and Top Tepe- up on the eastern codes of the former one. It looks over a dried up stream bed which runs down to the Apollo Temple. Shrubland biome forms the background in the surroundings. The site is embraced with shallow agricultural terraces, stretching to the eastward direction toward Top Tepe and Sariyurdu Tepe where topography is the most suitable. The ancient road begins from the frontal polygonal terrace walls and travels a natural corridor along the eastern slopes of Burgaz Tepe and connects the farmstead to the <i>Acropolis</i>. As modern practices show, the environs of the farmstead are part of the grazing route of the local dwellers of Taşlıca.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>The individual farmstead is a gigantic structure built with quarry faced walls (ashlar and polygonal) that were worked without mortar. The elevated platform up to where natural steps lead the way in the southern sector could have been used as the core living space. The farmstead is equipped with a small space- possibly an atelier facing the north (in line with what Vitruvius conveys) at the frontal corner where a large <i>in-situ</i> press bed (diameter: 75 cm) carved into a very big rock is hardly recognizable as it is choked amongst dense maquis cover. Possibly, the farmstead had a direct control on the agricultural terraces in the north and east. There is a large cistern which is currently being used for stockbreeding at the rear side, in the eastern sector. Potsherd scatters suggest the early Hellenistic period. Many belong to coarse wares and amphorae in the form of bases and mushroom rims.</p>			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00527; O20A00528	<b>Site Name:</b> Burgaz Tepe; Burgaz Tepe (S)	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d12-c	<b>Date:</b> 2011
<b>Type:</b> Watch tower; Farmstead?	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598100 E, 4053121N; 598199 E, 4053032 N	<b>Sector:</b> E	<b>Elevation:</b> 280 m; 270 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> NA; ~ 0,1/0,2 ha			
<b>Period:</b> NA	<b>Condition:</b> Almost well preserved; disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.38; A,B
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
A watch tower is situated on top of Burgaz Tepe. It is hidden from all directions except the eastern the sector in the middle of which the ancient road passes and makes its course toward the <i>Acropolis</i> . There is a press bed and some reused blocks below the watch tower, in the modern fields which fall to the northeast of Tülü Tepe, near an ancient road.			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
Part of the rock-cut <i>pyrgos</i> is built with coarse stones forming a natural-artificial façade. Very near, the press bed (diameter: 75 cm), broken in the mouth but maintaining quite a smooth silhouette, was found to be placed under the boundary walls of modern fields. Form and dimensions suggest <i>mola olearia</i> . It probably belonged to a small farmstead since walls made of limestone and reused blocks draw the boundary limits of some recent fields.			

<b>Settlement Structure Inventory No:</b> O20A00530	<b>Site Name:</b> Dağ Yeri	<b>Quadrangle:</b> O20d4 <b>Map No:</b> O20-d13-d	<b>Date:</b> 2012
<b>Type:</b> Dwelling Cluster	<b>Coordinate:</b> 598819 E 4052924 N	<b>Sector:</b> E	<b>Elevation:</b> 320-330 m
<b>Area/ Dimension:</b> ~ 0,7 ha			
<b>Period:</b> R?	<b>Condition:</b> Disturbed	<b>Publication:</b> -	<b>Plate No:</b> 1.5.39; A-D
<b>Site Description (Morphology, geology and surface process, soil type, human effect, etc.):</b>			
<p>An ancient building- possibly a farmstead is situated inland, in the southern end of a pocket plain named as Dağ Yeri location. It is quite visible from all directions. Actually, it has quite a good vision of the open sea in the west, agricultural terraces in the east and fields in the northeast as it is situated at the beginning of a strait through which a trail passes.</p> <p>A cluster of dwellings is situated in the plain area of Dağ Yeri location, at the foot of a double topped hill. They directly face the fields whose boundaries are well designed. Here is a piece of land surrounded with terraces in the south and east, at the opposite side of Saryurdu Tepe. The position of the enclave is quite safe. The ancient route passes by the dwellings and runs toward Top Tepe and Kaledağ. Vegetation is sparse and the terrain is covered with coarse grained <i>terra rosa</i>-brown soil. <i>Pinus brutia</i> is frequently found.</p>			
<b>Dating and Findings:</b>			
<p>Near the road, the ruins of an ancient building can be found on top of a shallow terrace wall. Three <i>in-situ</i> and almost undisturbed rock-cut stairs (but exposed to normal abrasion) and block scatters catch the eye in the inner plan while a cistern lies at the rear side facing the northeast. On the road, at the entrance of the building, a gigantic cistern which is already plastered and currently used lies at an elevation of 310 m. A few minutes' walk away, at least 10 dwellings form a compact cluster along the slopes of the limestone hill but the majority is quite disturbed. Two cisterns may be found at the upper section. Base walls can be tracked in many of them but disturbance prevent distinguishing between the residential borders. Two press beds one of which is <i>in-situ</i> now lie within the borders of a dwelling at 316-318 m. Having almost similar dimensions, they are quite large and almost undisturbed in terms of outlook and except normal abrasion. The one recorded as <i>in-situ</i> is physically connected to a newly plastered basin.</p> <p>Diagnostic pieces are rarely found. Very few samples like broken roof tiles, two grey tiny body pieces with line decorations, red paste fragments, and an amphora base address the Roman period.</p>			

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: OĞUZ, Eser Deniz  
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### EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
M.Sc.	METU Settlement Archaeology	2007
M.Sc.	METU Science and Technology Policy Studies	2000
BS	METU Political Science and Public Administration	1997
High School	İçel Anatolian High School, Ankara	1993

### WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2001- Present	SSM (Undersecretariat for Defense Industries)	Expert
1998-2000	TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey)	Assistant Expert
1997 August	Vakıfbank	Intern
1995, 1997	THY (Turkish Airlines)	Clerk

### FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Fluent English, Intermediate French, Basic German

### PUBLICATIONS AND COMMUNIQUES

1. Oğuz, E.D., V. Toprak and N. Tuna. 2011. "Hasankeyf Yukarı Şehir'de Sarnıçların İkincil Kullanımı ve Kentsel Doku Üzerine Etkisi (Secondary Use of Cisterns at the Upper City of Hasankeyf and Its Impact on Urban Settlement)". In N. Tuna and O. Doonan (eds.), *Ilisu ve Karkamış Baraj Gölleri Altında Kalacak Arkeolojik ve Kültür Varlıklarını Kurtarma Projesi 2002 Yılı Çalışmaları Vol.1 (Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilisu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2002)*, 427-462. TAÇDAM, ODTÜ (METU), Ankara.

2. Oğuz, E.D. and V. Toprak. Hasankeyf Yukarı Şehir Sarnıçları (*Communiques*), Presentation. 64. *Türkiye Jeoloji Kurultayı (64<sup>th</sup> Geological Congress of Turkey)*, 25-29 Nisan 2011. Ankara: Maden Tetkik Arama Genel Müdürlüğü.

3. Oğuz, E.D. and V. Demirciler. Bozburun Yarımadası'nda Klasik ve Helenistik Dönem Kırsal Yerleşim Düzeni ve Tarım Terasları (The Rural Settlement Pattern and Agricultural Terraces of the Rhodian Peraea During Classical and Hellenistic Periods). *Regional Studies in Archaeology. Department of Settlement Archaeology Symposium Series IV, (Abstracts)*, Platform presentation, 12-13 May 2011, Ankara. METU.

### **RESEARCH INTERESTS**

Anatolian archaeology, history of art, geographical information systems, aerial techniques, environmental processes, ancient water systems

## TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Kırsal alanlar, tarih boyunca kentsel merkezlerin ve farklı nüfus profillerinin desteklenmesi anlamında önemli rol üstlenmiştir. Her ne kadar bilimsel çalışmalar kırsal bağlamdaki yerleşimlere ilişkin önemli bulgu ve ipuçları ortaya koymaya çalışıyor olsa da bu gibi yerleşimlerin tasarım ve düzenlerine ilişkin değerlendirmeler genellikle kentsel düzeydeki yorumların ötesine geçmemektedir. Öte yandan, kırsal alanları salt kentleşme özelliği gösteren alanlara hizmet etmeleri suretiyle onları uzun yıllardır ve çoğunlukla kentlere bağımlı kılan Klasik görüşlere karşılık, kırsalın, kendi kendine yeten ekonomiler de yaratan bir dinamiğe sahip olduğuna işaret etmek gerekliliği ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bütün bunlar yan yana getirildiğinde, antik kentlerin ve dâhil oldukları bölgelerin “*khora*”ları ile birlikte değerlendirilmesi gerekliliği arkeoloji dünyasının gündeminde artan bir ilgi ile tartışılmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, kırsal arkeoloji bağlamında ve yerleşim sorunsalı açısından yeni fırsatlar sunan ve antik dönemlerden itibaren “*terra incognita*” niteliğinde, az bilinen/ihmal edilmiş bir bölge olan Bozburun Yarımadası mercek altına alınmaktadır. Klasik dönemde Karya Kersonessosu, Hellenistik ve Erken Roma dönemlerinde Rodos Perası (Karşıyaka), daha geç dönemlerde ise Tarahya/Daraçya adı verilen Bozburun Yarımadası (bundan böyle Yarımada olarak adlandırılacaktır), Güneybatı Karya’da, modern Marmaris sınırları içerisinde yer almaktadır. Yarımada, özellikle Erken Hellenistik dönemden itibaren, Rodos’un etki alanına giren çevresel konumuyla yoğun ekonomik faaliyetlerin yer aldığı bir periferi addedilmektedir. Esasen Karya kültür kodlarına sahip olan, ancak özellikle Klasik dönemlerden itibaren farklı politik örgütlenmeler ve demografik özellikler göstermeye başlayan bölge, engebeli bir topografyada, kıt kaynakların akıllıca yönetildiği tarım alanlarına ve mekânsal dokulara sahiptir. Yarımada’da, Arkaik dönemlerden beri tanınan köy tipi ya da dengi ölçekteki süreklilik arz eden yerleşim tiplerine (*deme*) rastlanmaktadır. Bölgeyle ilgili yayınlar, 19. yy’ın başlarından itibaren başlamış, bugüne kadar gerçekleştirilen bilimsel çalışmalar ve/veya yüzey araştırmalarında

yerleşim konusu ayrıntılı olarak incelenmemiştir. Son on yılda yürütülen bazı çalışmalar dışında kalanların hepsi bölgenin epigrafik dökümünü çıkarmaya yönelmiş ve büyük bölümü bulgu-yazıt odaklı gerçekleştirilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, Yarımada'daki yerleşim düzeni ve zamanla geçirdiği değişim ve dönüşümler göz ardı edilmiş veya yeteri derecede çalışılmamıştır.

Geç Geometrik dönemden itibaren bulgular veren Yarımada'da, sosyo-ekonomik ve politik hayatın ivme kazandığı dönemler, özellikle Geç Klasik ve Erken Hellenistik dönemler arasında karşılık gelmektedir. Bu araştırmanın kapsamı, söz konusu dönemler özelinde, Turgut Köyü (Hydas)'nın güney sınır çizgisinden itibaren ana karadaki kıstağa kadarki alan (bundan böyle Pera) ile sınırlanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, antik Hydas (Turgut), Syrna (Bayır), Losta/ Hygassos? (Selimiye ve Kızılköy), Tymnos (Bozburun), Thysannos (Söğüt), Phoinix (Taşlıca), ve Casarae (Bozukkale ve çevresi) doğu sektörünü içermektedir. Casarae sınırlarının tamamı çalışma kapsamına girmese de, tezin amaçları doğrultusunda ve yerleşimlerin bütünlüğünü değerlendirmek için kısmen çalışılmıştır. Benzer şekilde, Amos ve Hydas'a ilişkin ikincil veri, fiziksel kapsama girmeyen alanlar da dikkate alınmak suretiyle değerlendirmeye alınmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Geç Klasik Dönemi takiben özellikle Rodos hâkimiyetine rastlayan Hellenistik dönemde gelişimini tamamladığı düşünülen, öncelikle çevresel koşullara göre tasarlanıp tarımsal üretime göre şekillenen ve buna bağlı olarak İ.Ö. 2. yy'dan itibaren ciddi nüfus artışlarına yol açan yoğun köy tipi yerleşimlerin organizasyon biçimini anlamak ve bunların yerleşim düzenindeki değişimleri açıklamaktır. Bu amaca bağlı olarak öncelikle köy tipi yerleşimler tanımlanmış, bunların teritoryumu, büyüklükleri, işlevleri, arazi kullanımı ve mekânsal gelişimleri irdelenmiş, en sonunda da Phoinix özelinde bir kırsal yerleşim düzeni ve nüfus tahmini yapılmıştır. Antik dönemlerden itibaren, yerleşim birimlerinin seçiminde savunmaya elverişli konum, topografik kısıtlar, ulaşım ve haberleşme ağlarına ve su kaynaklarına fiziksel yakınlık, tarımsal potansiyel, vb. konular büyük önem arz etmiştir. Benzer durumun, araştırma kapsamındaki yerleşimler için de geçerli olduğu

gözlemlenmiştir. Bu amaçla, genel arazi taramasında, yerleşim desenindeki değişimleri yansıtan ve öncesinde ayrıntılı çalışmaları yapılmamış olan Phoinix antik yerleşimi (modern Taşlıca) örneklem olarak ele alınmıştır. Yerleşimin organizasyon biçimi, etki alanı, çevresel faktörler ve insan etkisi, başta mimari öğeler olmak üzere niceliksel ve karşılaştırma metotları yardımıyla incelenmiştir.

Çalışma kapsamında Kültür Bakanlığınca verilen izne istinaden arazide ekstansif yüzey araştırmaları yürütülmüştür. Araştırmada kullanılan birincil yöntem havadan arkeoloji ve Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri (CBS) uygulamalarıdır. CBS modellemeleri kapsamında, temel haritalama işlemleri için MapInfo Professional 10.5 ve ArchGIS 10.0 programları kullanılmıştır. Materyal olarak Harita Genel Komutanlığı'ndan, farklı ölçekte (1:25.000 dijital yükseklik paftaları, 1:5000 topoğrafik paftalar, 2009 tarihli 1:60.000 ölçekli güncel renkli hava fotoğrafları ve 1971 tarihli 1:20.000 ölçekli siyah-beyaz analog hava fotoğrafları) haritalar temin edilmiştir. Yanı sıra, Tarım Bakanlığı'ndan temin edilen modern köy sınırlarını gösteren basit analog haritalar ve 1:25.000 ölçekli dijital toprak haritası kullanılmıştır. Havadan arkeoloji konusunda uygulanan ilk alt yöntem hava fotoğraflarının fotojeoloji laboratuvarlarında incelenmesi olmuştur. Bölgenin havadan görüntüleri stereoskop ve üç boyutlu gözlüklerle taranmış, potansiyel yerleşim alanları ve ilişkili öğeler saptanmış, bunlar arazi çalışmasında tek tek ziyaret edilerek çalışılmıştır. Öte yandan, arazi dışı çalışmaların büyük kısmını fotogrametri uygulamaları oluşturmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, hava fotoğraflarında oluşan bozulmalar ortadan kaldırılmış ve hava görüntüleri gerçek yer koordinatlarına eşlenmiştir. Ardından, bölgenin üç boyutlu sayısal yükseklik modeli oluşturulmuş, antik alanlar ve yapılar sayısallaştırılmıştır. Dolayısıyla, yükseklik modelinin yardımıyla bölgenin, 1:5000 doğruluğunda yüksek çözünürlüklü ortofotosu elde edilmiştir. Çalışılan alanlarda kolaylık sağlaması bakımından, TÜBA'nın ortaya koyduğu genel talimatlar çerçevesinde bütün yerleşim alanları ve/veya mimari yapılar için iç kodlandırma uygulanmış ve bunlara arazi envanter kodları tahsis edilmiştir. Söz konusu kodlar, tez kapsamında karışıklık yaratmaması amacıyla yalnızca Phoinix antik yerleşimi bazında sunulmaktadır.

Çalışmadaki en önemli kısıt, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nca verilen iznin kapsamından kaynaklanmaktadır. Söz konusu izin, intensif yüzey araştırmasına olanak sağlamadığından arazi çalışmalarında, başta seramik ve seramik dağılımları olmak üzere orijinal yüzey malzemesi toplanamamış ancak yerinde incelenmiş, mimari öğelere ve yerleşim alanlarına ilişkin krokiler oluşturulmuş, arazi fişleri doldurulmuş ve bütün bunları fotoğraflamak suretiyle yüzey gözlemleri gerçekleştirilmiştir. Son kırk yılda, Yarımada'daki iskân faaliyetleri yüzünden tahribata uğrayan antik ya da kısmen antik yerleşimlerin belgelenmesinde de zorluklar yaşanmıştır. Diğer yandan, engebeli koşullar ve fiziksel kısıtlar nedeniyle kimi alanlara ulaşım sağlanamamış, bu gibi yerler hava görüntülerinden çalışılmıştır. Dijital toprak haritalarıyla ilgili bir kısıt, son yüzyılın pedolojik özelliklerini yansıtmasıdır. Bazı veri grubunun, temel toprak komponentlerini ayrıntılı olarak vermediği görülmüştür ancak mikroanalize yönelik herhangi bir çalışma yürütülmediği için verinin sunduğu katkı asgari düzeyde değerlendirilmektedir. Diğer yandan, nüfus tahmininde kısmi kullanılan nüfus kayıtları, 19-20. yy'dan öteye geçmemektedir. Bütün bu kısıtların yanında araştırmadaki varsayımlardan bir tanesi, Yarımada yerleşimlerinin tamamının kırsal bir statüye sahip olduğu ve var olan tüm terasların antik dönemde kullanılmış olduğudur. İkinci olarak bölgenin sosyo-kültürel bağlamda etnik kimliğine ve demografik özelliklerine karşın, antik dönem fiziksel çevre koşullarının jeoarkeolojik açıdan günümüzle benzer olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Son olarak, Phoinix yerleşiminin bölgedeki *demelerin* yerleşim özelliklerini yansıttığı, dolayısıyla diğerleri gibi son şeklini Hellenistik dönemde aldığı ve en fazla tarımsal üretimi ve beslediği nüfusu yine bu dönemde sağladığı varsayılmıştır. Bu nedenle, Phoinix araştırma alanında Klasik ve Hellenistik malzeme üzerinde daha seçici davranılmıştır.

Tezin giriş bölümünde, çalışma kapsamında faydalanılan genel literatür, kullanılan materyal ve kaynaklar, uygulanan yöntem(ler), kısıtlar ve genel metin planı yer almaktadır. İkinci bölümde, Yarımada'nın çevresel koşullarına ve tarihsel sürecine giriş yapılmaktadır. Çevresel bağlamda, bölgenin jeomorfolofik ve iklimsel özellikleri ve bugünkü durumunun, insan etkisine maruz kalan alanlar başta olmak

üzere Yarımada'nın şekillenmesinde oynadığı roller açıklanmaktadır. Merkez üssü yakın komşularında gerçekleşenler dâhil Yarımada'nın atlattığı depremler sonucunda oluşan denizel değişiklikler; baskın kireçtaşı özelliği gösteren ve yükselti farklarının fazla olduğu karasal alanlar, zengin yeraltı su kaynakları, Turgut ve Bayırköy arasında uzanan tektonik zon, Yarımada'nın geçmiş kesitini veren en önemli çevresel özellikler olarak tarif edilmektedir. Ardından, özellikle temelinde Karya kültürünün nüfuz ettiği çalışma alanında, tarihi süreçte cereyan eden olaylar özetlenmektedir ki Arkaik ve Klasik dönemlerde Lidyalılar, Persler ve Atinalıların etkisi, Hellenistik dönemin başlarından itibaren Rodos'un ve devamında Büyük İskender'in Generallerinin bölgeye karşı gelişen ilgisi, ve antik dünyanın büyük güçleri arasında sürekli olarak sıkışıp kalmış olan Yarımada'nın politik konumuna ilişkin ayrıntılar dikkate sunulmaktadır. Tarihe bakış altında, Karya Kersonessosu'nu etkileyen süreçlerden iki önemli kilometre taşı, İ.Ö. 6. yy'ın yükselen gücü Lidyalıların etkisi altında 1. Karya Birliği'nin kurulması ve İ.Ö. 3. yy'da Selevkoslar ve Ptolemler'in muhtemelen Yarımada'yı da içine aldığı mücadeleleri sırasında 2. Karya Birliği'nin kurulmasıdır. Diğer alt bir bölüm, Karyalıların erken dönemlerde temellerini atmış oldukları ve Hekatomnidler döneminde etkisini daha aktif gösteren “*koinon*” tipi federatif yapılanmaya (ki bunların işleyiş yapısını, Yunan dünyasındaki büyük *koinon* oluşumlarından farklı değerlendirmek gerekir) değinmekte ve Yarımada'nın politik örgütlenmesine odaklanmaktadır. Erken Hellenistik dönemde, Rodos devlet modelinin etkisi altında gelişen yönetim şekillerinden biri olan “*deme*” tipi yerleşim birliği sistemine vurgu yapılmaktadır. Bu bölümün son kısmında, yeni politik konjonktürden haliyle etkilenen ekonomik altyapıya giriş yapılmakta, bağlı olarak Yarımada genelinde tarımsal teras sistemlerine dayalı üretim şekillerinin ana hatları açıklanmakta ve ikincil veriler ışığında, ekonominin yerel ve kültürlerarası ticaret ağındaki rolü ve ölçeği gündeme getirilmektedir.

Üçüncü bölüm, antik dünyada kırsala ilişkin temel unsurları, kentsel yerleşimlerle olan organik bağlarını ve üstlendikleri rolleri açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, Yarımada yerleşimlerinin da ayrı ayrı atfedilebileceği kırsal yerleşim nitelendirmesi altında, kıra dönük yerleşim tipleri ve terminolojik ayrışmalar açıklanmakta, bunlar

Hellenistik dönemden çok daha önce varlığı bilinen *demeler* tarihi çerçevesinde incelenmektedir. *Demelerin* ortak özelliklerine değinilirken Karya tarzı kırsal yaşantının ana bileşenleri aktarılmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, bazı tipik Karya yerleşimlerinden örnekler verilerek Yarımada özeline inilmektedir. Klasik dönemde ilk kez Karya Kersonessosu olarak tanımlanan bölgenin Hellenistik döneme kadarki az bilinen politik ve ekonomik yaşantısı, nüvizmatik kanıtlar ve Atina Vergi Listeleri yardımıyla anlaşılmalıdır. Karya Kersonessosu'nun, İ.Ö. 452/1 ve İ.Ö. 433/2 arasındaki yıllarda 2 ila 3 talent arasında vergi verdiği bilinmektedir. Rodos'un artan ilgisi ve Yarımada'yı kendi perifersine alma çabalarına ilişkin bağlı bilgiler yine bu bölümde aktarılmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, Rodos'un politik ve kültürel entegrasyonu (*sinoikismos*) sürecinde ana rol üstlenen üç antik kenti (Ialysos, Lindos ve Kamiros), *deme* sisteminin kurulması ve *sinoikismos* sürecine ilişkin belli başlı ayrıntılar sunulmaktadır. Eldeki veriyle Yarımada'daki hangi *deme* merkezinin hangi ana kente bağlı olduğu konusu yeniden ele alınmıştır. Buna göre, çalışma kapsamı dışında kalanlar dâhil olmak üzere Tymnos, Thysannos, Phoinix'in Kamiros'a; Phycus, Amos ve Casarae'nin Lindos'a; Hydas'ın bir ihtimal Ialysos veya Kamiros'a bağlı olduğu değerlendirilmektedir. Losta/Hygassos? ve Syrna konusunda ne yazık ki bilgi ve bulgular yeterli olmadığından bu konuda tahmin yürütmek oldukça zordur. Diğer yandan, Rodos etkisi altında kalan ancak bölgesel kavramsallaştırmalar açısından farklı tanımlanan anakaradaki iki önemli bölgeye-Birleşik Pera ve Bağlaşık Pera'ya açıklık getirilmektedir. Bağlaşık Pera, Rodosluları tarifleyen etnik kimlikler, Birleşik Pera ise *demotiklerin* kullanımına ilişkin bulgular sayesinde tanınagelmiştir. Birleşik Pera'nın, İ.Ö. 4. yy'a kadarki fiziksel sınırları üzerindeki tartışmalar, Kallipolis'e kadar uzanan alt bölge ile Kaunos ve Knidos arasına işaret etmektedir. Esasen, Birleşik Pera'nın güneydoğu bölümü Bağlaşık Pera'nın alt bir bölgesi olarak da kabul edilebilir ancak Rodoslular, 3. Makedon Savaşı (İ.Ö. 168/7)'na kadar büyük ihtimalle Seramik Körfezi'nin kuzeyindeki ana yerleşimler ile Kaunos ve Stratonikeia'yı ellerinde tutuyordu. Bağlaşık ve Birleşik Pera'nın Rodos Devleti tarafından sahiplenilmesi, özellikle vatandaşlık ve ekonomik potansiyel gibi konular bağlamında farklı gelişmiştir ancak, Bozburun Yarımadası, Delos'un serbest ticaret bölgesi ilan edilmesine ve kısa süre sonra Rodos'un

Yarımada'yı kaybetmesine kadarki süreçte daima anakaradaki öncelikli topraklar olan Birleşik Pera'dan sayılmıştır. Yarımada'daki her bir *deme*, antik Rodos'un üç ana kentinden birine yönetsel açıdan bağlı kılınmıştır. Dolayısıyla, en üstte *sympas demos* olacak şekilde "bağlıların başlığı" konumundadır. Hellenistik dönemde yeni yönetim modeli altında gelişen Yarımada yerleşimlerinde rastlanan bazı ortak özellikler, bunların tek bir idari çatı altında yine benzer düzende geliştiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Söz konusu durum, ölü gömme tiplerinden, mezar yazıtlarına, ekonomik göstergelere (pres taşları, çoğunlukla Rodos yöneticilerinin isimlerini taşıyan amphoralara ilişkin bulgular, vb.), kült yaşamından Karya tekniğiyle inşa edilmiş mimari öğeler kadar geniş bir yelpazede örneklendirilmektedir. Benzer kanıtlar, Rodosla yakın ilişkiler dâhil bölgenin ekonomik, sosyo-politik ve kültürel kimliğini ortaya koyan en belirgin unsurlardır. Yarımada'nın, adayla olan ilişkileri üç ana boyutta (politik, ekonomik, kültürel) ele alınmakta ve yönetsel konular ve sosyal mobilite faktörleri ekseninde çok taraflı değerlendirilmesi gerekliliği ortaya konmaktadır. Ayrıca, çift vatandaşlık konusuna değinilmekte, Peralıların *sympas demos*'taki rolü ve Rodosluların Yarımada'da bulunma biçimleri tartışılmaktadır. Pera'da alt kimliklerin ifadesi, kendi *demeleri* tarafından verilen vatandaşlıkla sınırlıydı. *Matroxenoi* (karşılıklı evliliklerden doğan çocuklar ve doğal hakları) ile ilgili özel konular dışında, dini/ekonomik önemi haiz kalburüstü ailelerin (ör: *damiourgoi*) vatandaşlık bağıyla Rodos'ta yönetsel görevler üstlendiği açıktır. Ancak, yalnızca imtiyazlı grupların Ada'daki mobiliteyi hızlandırmış olabileceği, tek yönlü bir yaklaşımdan öteye gitmemektedir. Yönetsel açıdan dikkat çeken konulardan birisi, Rodos'un toplam on askeri yöneticisinden bir tanesini (olasılıkla, *strategos* sözcüğü altında ifade edilen "στρατηγός ἐκ πάντων εἰς τὸ πέραν") mutlaka Yarımada'da görevlendirmiş olmasıdır. Ancak esnek yapılanmaya izin verildiğinden, Yarımada, Rodos ana şehirlerinden birinin gölgesinde faaliyet gösteren muhtemelen yerli yöneticilerce idare edilmiştir. Askeri yöneticilere ilişkin bilgilerin büyük kısmı, gerek Rodos'ta gerekse Yarımada'da belgelenen epigrafik buluntular (İ.Ö. 2. yy'dan İ.S. 1.-2. yy) sayesinde öğrenilmektedir. Rodos'un Yarımada'da atadığı ve muhtemelen askeri yönetici sınıfına veya kumandasına giren yerel yönetici sınıfı *hegemon*ların adadaki üç ana kentte de görülüyor olması, yönetsel şablonların

Yarımada'daki izdüşümlerinin önemli kanıtları olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Olasılıkla, Rodos hâkimiyetinin yükselmeye başladığı dönemlerde, yine Karya yönetim modelinden miras kalan erken yerel krallık (*pritanlar*) kurumları, askeri sınıf yöneticilerin kontrolü altında Yarımada'da kalıcı olmuş, Rodos'un diplomasideki ustalığıyla varlığını uzun süre devam ettirmiştir.

Dördüncü bölüm, sonraki bölümlerin yorumlanmasına baz teşkil edecek şekilde ve arkeoloji dünyasındaki yerleşim konusuna odaklanmaktadır. Yerleşim desenleri ve çevre üzerinde oluşan insan etkisi ve güdümünün önemiyle yakın işbirliği içinde olan bu kısım, okuyucuyu, yerleşim arkeolojisinin teorik çerçevesine hazırlamaktadır. Alan, büyüklük, işlev, arazi kullanımı gibi tartışmalar ışığında yerleşimlerin sınırları, planlanmaları, vb.'ne ilişkin konulara temas etmektedir. Mekânsal teorilere ilişkin farklı görüşler özellikle antik Yunan dünyası etrafında dönmekte, yerleşim düzenlerini, yaşam formlarını, yerleşim kararlarını, kurgu ve planlamalarını etkileyen pek çok farklı etkene ait genel tanımlamalar yapılmaktadır. Buradan hareketle, geçmiş dönem nüfus tahminlerine yönelik teoriler ve yöntemler sunulmakta, çeşitli nüfus tahmin çalışmalarından örnekler verilmektedir.

Beşinci bölümde, Yarımada'daki *deme* merkezleri ve bunların fiziksel sınırları sorgulanmaktadır. Bugüne kadar araştırmacılarca, söz konusu merkezlere ve sınırlara ilişkin farklı tanımlamalar ve kronolojik atıflar yapılmış ancak henüz kesin bir görüş birliğine varılamamıştır. Buradan kaynaklanan epistemolojik sorunların yeniden gözden geçirilebilmesi için ikincil veri, arazi çalışmalarında elde edilen birincil veri ile birlikte ortaya konmaktadır. İkincil verinin en önemli kısmını oluşturan ve bugün neredeyse tamamı yabancı arşivlere taşınmış olan zengin epigrafik döküm, arazi çalışmalarının yoğunlaştığı mimari öğeler ve ilişkili bulgularla bir arada değerlendirilmektedir. Diğer yandan veri, Hellenistik dönemden itibaren Yarımada'da ortaya çıkan karma popülasyonların ve diğer bazı sosyolojik parametrelerin dikkate alınması suretiyle ayrıca ele alınmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, arazi çalışmalarında tespit edilen yeni bulgular yardımıyla bölgeye ilişkin kırsal yerleşim tipolojisi çıkarılmaya çalışılmakta, *demelerin* merkezleri, sınırları, işlevleri, arazi

kullanımı ve bunlar arasındaki mekânsal ilişkiler yeni bir bakış açısıyla yorumlanmaya çalışılmakta, ortaya genel bir tablo koyulmaktadır. Saha çalışmalarında belgelenen ve yerleşimle ilişkilendirilen bulgular on alt başlık altında toparlanabilir. Bunlar sırasıyla özel ve kamu yapılarına ait mimari öğeler, tipik duvar örgüleri, kaleler ve gözetleme kuleleri, su yapıları, yazıtlar, antik yollar gibi iletişim ağları, çiftlik evleri, pres taşları, mezar kalıntıları ve seramik bulgularıdır.

Altıncı bölüm, bu araştırmanın amaçlarını teminen can alıcı kısım olarak tasarlanmıştır. *Demeler* arasında, epigrafik malzeme açısından zengin bir paya sahip ve mimari öğeler açısından en az bozulmuş olan ve Hellenistik dönemde muhtemelen antik Kamiros'a bağlı olan Phoinix antik yerleşimi, çalışmanın örnekleme olarak sunulmaktadır. Arazi çalışmaları kapsamında, yerleşim açısından özel önem arz eden başlıca bulgular konut ve çiftlik evleri olmuştur. Toplamda 251 adet konut ve 9 adet çiftlik evi belgelenmiştir. Phoinix özelinde, bir dizi yerleşim parametresi saptanmaktadır; bunlar özetle yerleşime uygun topoğrafyalar, çok sayıda su ögesi, haberleşme ve ulaşım ağının varlığına yönelik güçlü göstergeler ve antik dönemlerden itibaren çevresel bağlamda kendini gösteren insan müdahaleleridir. Çevresel koşulların anlaşılmasına yönelik olarak yükseklik eğim, bakı ve mesafe analizlerini esas alan yöntemler uygulanarak bunların yerleşim üzerindeki etkileri gösterilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Arazi kullanım yöntemleri, yerleşim tercihleri, *deme* merkezi başta olmak üzere her tip yerleşim alanı arasındaki dikey ilişkiler, arazi bulguları ışığında yorumlanmakta, en sonunda da Phoinix'in genel planı çıkarılmaktadır. Klasik dönem öncesinde olası erken yerleşim alanları ayrıca dikkate sunulmakta ancak kesin yargılardan kaçınılmaktadır. Klasik dönemden itibaren *Akropol* etrafında şekillenen yerleşimin, Hellenistik ve Erken Roma'ya kadarki süreçte geçirdiği dönüşüm tespit edilmeye gayret edilmekte ancak yerleşimin son olgun ve fiziksel tasarımını yine Hellenistik dönemde almış olduğu açıklanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Hellenistik Phoinix, dönemin sosyo-politik ve ekonomik hamleleri ve tarım teraslarının etkin kullanımı sonucunda artan refah ve buna bağlı nüfus patlamasıyla birlikte ana merkezden başlamak suretiyle saçaklanmaya başlamış, tarımsal yaşantıya uygun her tip arazinin kullanılmasıyla dağınık bir yerleşim

düzenine doğru dönüşüm geçirmiştir. Öte yandan, tarihsel gerçekler ışığında yoğun teraslama faaliyetlerinin 20. yy'ın başlarına kadar devam etmiş olması, 1930'lara kadar bölgenin kırsal bir ekonomik cazibe merkezi olarak iskân edildiğinin kanıtı olagelmıştır. Bu bölümde, dördüncü bölümde ele alınan nüfus teoremleri yardımıyla ve pek çok farklı değişken (şehir devletleri vergi kotaları, literatürden gelen *deme* tipi yerleşimlerin nüfus marjları, özellikle kıta Yunanistan'ından deneysel arkeoloji sonuçları, tarımsal verimlilik değerleri, Osmanlı dönemi nüfus kayıtları, besleme ve üretim kapasitesi, arazide elde edilen ve aile bazında hesaplanacak şekilde dikkate alınan konut sayıları, imtiyazlı kesim ve tarımsal üretimi göğüsleyen muhtemel iş gücü ve çıkarımsal demografik yapı ve oransal durumu, vb.) dikkate alınarak nüfus tahmini yürütülmektedir.

Karşılaştırmalı çalışmanın hedeflendiği son bölümde, Yarımada'ya fiziksel veya kültürel anlamda komşu sayılan kırsal bölge veya coğrafyalardan örnekler sunulmaktadır. Kikladik Adalardan Doğu Akdeniz'e kadar örneklerin seçildiği antik yerleşim veya bölgelerin kırsal düzenlerine ait unsurların ayırt edici veya benzer özellikleri tarif edilmekte, politik ve sosyo-ekonomik koşulları da dikkate alınmak suretiyle bunların antik dünyadaki gelişim ve örgütlenmelerindeki ana hatlar ortaya konmaktadır. Kesin çıkarsamalardan uzak kalmak suretiyle Yarımada ve bahse konu komşular arasında, yerleşim düzeni veya modelleri açısından ortaklık ve/veya farklılık arz eden noktalar ele alınmaktadır. Ancak son tahlilde Yarımada'nın özgün tarafları değerlendirilmektedir. Çalışmanın sonuç kısmında Yarımada ve Phoinix özelinde, genel literatür, akademik dünyadaki tartışmalar ve bu araştırma kapsamında yürütülen ekstansif yüzey araştırmalarının sonuçları ışığında bir dizi çıkarsama yapılmaktadır ki aşağıdaki gibi özetlenebilir:

Yarımada'da, erken dönem yerleşim izlerine ve yakın çevreyle bağlantısına ilişkin bulgular henüz yeterli düzeyde olmadığı gibi Rodos'un kuzey sektöründe yoğunlaşan Minos ve Miken yerleşimleriyle ilişkilendirilebilecek ve bu dönemlerdeki periferik gelişimi anlamaya dair veri hemen hiç yoktur. Rodos'un güçlü etkisi, İ.Ö. 4. yy'dan itibaren izlenen nümizmatik kanıtlar ve Pera'da kullanılan ağırlık standartları

bağlamında yer bulmaktadır. Öte yandan, Pera'nın etnik kimliğini sahiplenmesine ilişkin bulgular hiçbir zaman Kuzey Karya'daki örnekler kadar olamamıştır. Ancak, bu durum daha çok dış kaynaklı tanrısal figürlerin benimsenmesi, mezar yapıları ve sunak formlarındaki dış etkiler, *proxenoi*, epigrafik kaynaklarda çift isim kullanımı, vb.'ye ilişkin bulgularda açıkça izlenmektedir. Nadir de olsa, *toponym*lerdeki ayırt edici etimolojik özellikler ve yerel paralarda betimlenen aslan figürleri (politik-ekonomik koşullara ayak uydurma gibi bazı haklı nedenler hariç), zaman zaman Karyalık'a ait izlerin korunabildiğine işaret etmektedir.

Batıdaki Helenleşme sürecinin, kendisini en fazla Büyük Menderes'e kadar uzanan Kuzey Karya ve Halikarnas Yarımadası'nda gösterdiği bilinmektedir. Ancak, Bağlaşık ve Birleşik Pera'yı da kapsayan Güney Karya'nın Geç Klasik döneme kadarki tarihsel çerçevesini, Rodos ve çevre adalarla olan ilişkiler daha belirgin çizmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle, güney Helen topluluklarının bölgeyle olan ilintisi ve sosyo-politik hayata nüfuzu, Pers, Atina veya yerel Anadolu topluluklarla olan ilişkilerden öteye geçmiştir. Temel bir soru, güneydeki Karya kentlerinin, (Hekatomnosların hüküm sürdüğü dönemi de kapsayan) İyonya Rönesansı ile ilişkili reformist atmosferden ne ölçüde faydalanmış olabileceğidir. Pera dâhil Güney Karya'nın, İ.Ö. 4. yy'a kadarki ve aynı yüzyılda devam eden uyanış sürecine katılım payı, öncelikle mimari atılımlarda (ör: çekiçlenmiş yüzeyli, dörtgen duvar örgülerine doğru nitelikli değişimler) ve Kral Barışı'ndan sonra *koinon*ların karakterindeki değişimde izlenebilir. Bölgede, Arkaik tipteki savunma yapılarının Sosyal Savaş (İ.Ö. 357/5)'a kadar ayakta kalması, 2. Makedon Savaşı (İ.Ö. 200-197)'na kadar Büyük İskender'in generalleri ve Rodosluların çıkarları arasında süregelen çıkar çatışmaları arasında varlıklarını devam ettirme çabalarına işaret etmektedir. Diğer yandan, çoklu ancak kısa süreli savaşların bölgenin kaderini tamamıyla karartmadığı, Rodos'un politik istikrarsızlıkların hüküm sürdüğü süreçlerde, özellikle Güney/Güneybatı Karya'daki emellerini avantaja çevirme yeteneğinden anlaşılabilir ki sonunda Hellenistik krallıkların Yarımada'yı yalnızca geçici süreler için ele geçirdiği ortadadır. Ancak, Pera'nın Selevkoslar, Ptolemler ve Atalidlerle kurduğu ilişkilerin içeriği tartışmaya açıktır.

Yarımada, kırsal yerleşimler için mini laboratuvar niteliği taşımaktadır. Her ne kadar erken Karya dönemlerine inse de, “kendini gerçekleştirme” ve gelişim sürecini Geç Klasik- Erken Hellenistik arasında tamamlamıştır ancak en olgun dönem yine Hellenistik dönem olarak ifade edilebilir. Rodos’un diplomatik hamleleriyle birlikte politik, askeri ve ekonomik açıdan yaklaşık iki yüzyıl boyunca vazgeçmediği çıkarları, Yarımada’nın yeniden örgütlenmesinde önemli kilometre taşları olmuştur. Genel olarak Yarımada’nın batı yakası Kamiros’a, doğu yakası Lindos’a, henüz belirlenemeyen diğer alanları ise muhtemelen Ialysos’a dâhil idi. Öncelikli göstergelerden birinin, her iki kara parçasındaki doğal limaların konumu ve tali yapıların açıldığı uygun doğal koridorlar olduğu düşünülebilir. Rahatlıkla fark edilebilir ki güneydeki Casaræ, Yarımada’nın hem doğu hem de batı ucuna hakimdir, ancak doğuya bakan ve en avantajlı konuma sahip Loryma ve Serçe Limanı nedeniyle Casaræ’nın Lindos’a bağlı olma ihtimali kuvvetlenmektedir. Şayet Rodos’un üç kentinin Yarımada’da toplam 13 *demesi* var idiyse her kente 4 *deme* düşmesi gerekirdi. Bu durum erken ve geç Helen “kolonizasyon”u arasında, Ada’da hüküm süren eşitlikçi atmosferle açıklanabilir. Ancak, her üç kentin sahip olduğu *deme* sayısı tam olarak kesinleşmediği için böylesi yaklaşımlar dayanaksız kalmaktadır. Diğer yandan, tüm *deme* isimlerinin halen net bir şekilde belirlenememiş olması, dahası Pera’daki kalelerin sayısı ile *deme* sayıları arasında bağlantı kurma çabaları, konunun yorumunu zorlaştırmakta, bu gibi düşünceler desteksiz kalmaktadır. Anakarayı, coğrafi yakınlığı bağlamında her zaman yakın periferi ve önemli ittifak alanı addeden ve kaynaklarını “sömüren” Rodos, diplomatik hamlelerle ve vatandaşlık hakları gibi özel imtiyazlar sağlamak yoluyla Yarımada’da esnek örgütlenmeye izin vermiş (özerklik derecesi, Apameia Barışı’ndan sonra Kuzey Karya kentlerinininkiyle karşılaştırılabilecek düzeyde olmasa da), iç işlerinde Yarımada’yı serbest kılmaya özen göstermiş ve antik Yunan-Anadolu topluluklarının kaynaşma koşullarını ister istemez sağlamıştır. Rodos’un Peralılara Ada’da verdiği vatandaşlık konusu, özellikle Hellenistik dönemde popülist politikaların doğal bir sonucu olarak addedilmektedir. Öte yandan, olgun dönemde vatandaşlık kavramına yüklenen anlamların, karşılıklı trafik nedeniyle değişmiş olabileceği bir gerçekliktir. Yani, Rodosluların, Birleşik Pera dahil Yarımada’daki istikrarlı varlığı

değerlendirildiğinde, zaman içerisinde, Karya orijinli toplulukların kültürel ve psikolojik dünyasından etkilenmiş olma ihtimali yüksektir. Rodos'un kozmopolit yapısı dikkate alınarak eldeki veriyle net demografik değerlendirmelerin yapılamayacağı düşünülmelidir.

Pera'da, *polis* (Klasik dönem için tüm Pera), *korion*, *katoikia*, *demos*, *aule*, *kome* gibi çeşitli yerleşim tipleri izlenebilir. Hekatomnosların düşüşüyle birlikte, *demelerin* olası en erken formlarına karşılık gelen ve örgütlenme anlamında eski yaşam biçimlerini andıran *dioikismos* sürecinde, *demeler* katkı sağlamış olmalıdır. Ancak, araştırma alanı için, aynı anda *polis* ve *kome* birlikteliğinden (Rodos'un üç *polis* ile periferide faal Pera *demelerinin* birlikteliği düşünülmezse) söz etmek mümkün görünmemektedir. Öte yandan, Pera'da, Hellenistik ve Roma dönemleri boyunca sürekli gelişen *khora* ve organizasyonunu, İ.Ö. 4. yy'da Bosphorus Krallığı'ndaki Kerç ve Taman yarımadalarındaki *khora* örgütlenmesindeki ortaklık nezdinde bir parça anlayabilmekteyiz.

5. yy'da, Klasik Karya Kersonesosu'nun odaklarından biri olan Pera, orta/büyük kategorisindeki bir *polise* denk toprak bütünlüğünden oluşmakta iken Hellenistik dönemde Rodos'a bağlı bir periferi konumuna gelmiştir. Bireysel bazda düşünüldüğünde, muhtemelen *demoslardan* oluşmaktaydı. Pera'nın kaynakları, antik dönemlerdeki önemi ve cazibesi arasındaki ilişkiyi, fiziksel konumundan da öncelikli bir mecraya taşımaktadır. Pera, bilimsel açıdan bir "yarımada yerleşimi"dir. Özel bağlamda, dağınık yerleşimlerin oluşturduğu kırsal bir ağ olup en az yedi *demeden* oluşan ve İ.Ö. 3. yy'dan itibaren adı (Rodos Pera'sı olarak) daha açık telaffuz edilen bir alt bölgedir. *Demelerin* tam lokasyonlarıyla ilgili sorunlar süregelse de genel görüntüde (son on yılların yarattığı tahribatlara rağmen), *demeler* şu köyler/kırsalla özdeşleştirilebilir: Turgut (Hydas), Kızılköy (Losta limanı ile tamamlanan Losta veya hipotetik Hygassos), Bayır (Syrna), Bozburun (Tymnos), Söğüt (Thysannos), Taşlıca (Phoinix) ve Bozuk (Casarae). Bahsedilen *demelerin Akropoller*i, sırasıyla Kaletepe (270 m), Yancağz Tepe (200 m), Asarcık (410 m), Kaletepe (205 m), Oyuk Tepe (199 m), Hisartepe (222 m), Hisardibi (35 m)?/ Hisarüstü (226 m)? mevkiindedir.

Pera'nın yönetim modeli, Rodos'un *synoikismos* öncesinden veya Karya'nın daha eski uygulamalarından esin verebilecek izler taşımaktadır. Tymnos and Phoinix'te karşımıza çıkan *ktoina* vurgusu, Birleşik Pera'da da içselleştirilmiş olabileceği gibi Pera'daki toprak bölümlenmesine iyi örnekler teşkil etmektedir. *Ktoinalar*, *demelerin* etnik ve dinsel bazlı alt-ayrışmalarının göstergesi olabilir. İ.Ö. 3. yy'dan Roma dönemine (ör: Syrna'da) kadar faal olduklarının kanıtlanmasının yanı sıra, son teoriler, *ktoinanın*, Rodos'un *synoikismos* sürecinden önce *phylae* bazlı üç eski *polisten* ithal edildiğini ele almaktadır. *Ktoinaların*, Klasik dönemden itibaren eşitlikçi anlayışa dayalı bir toprak bölüşüm sistemin ürünleri olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Klasik dönemin yarattığı görece "eşitlikçi" koşullar altında (ve yapılan alan hesaplamaları sonucunda) Yarımada'daki *demelerin* her biri, yakın politik sınırlara (ortalama 30 km<sup>2</sup>) sahiptir. Son verilere ve örneklem çalışmasına göre, genellikle *Akropollerle* ilişkili *deme* merkezlerinin 2-4 hektarı geçmediği görülmektedir ancak *deme* teritoryumlarının potansiyeli doğal kıstaslara göre belirlenmiş görünmektedir. Hydas ve Amos hariç, en büyük *deme* muhtemelen Thysannos (35,28 km<sup>2</sup>), en küçüğü Phoinix'tir.

Politik ve ekonomik bağlamda Rodos paydaşı olan Yarımada'nın kırsal karakterine yansıyan ve tarımsal örgütlenmesinde rol oynayan ana faktör, çevresel koşullar ve topografik özellikler olagelmıştır. Yerleşim kümelerinin büyük kısmı tarımsal teraslamaya en uygun arazilerin yakın çevresinde konuşlanmıştır. Tartışmaya açık bir konu, terasların işletilmesi için ihtiyaç duyulan yerli iş gücüdür ancak yönetim şekilleri ve vatandaşlık ilkeleri ele alındığında tam bir oran koymak sakıncalıdır. Üretim modelinin ayrıntılarını en fazla yansıtan arazi bulguları en işlevsel malzemelerdir ki bunlar pres taşları ve mühürlü/ mühürsüz amphora parçaları olarak gün ışığına çıkmaktadır. Tarımın önemi, Amos civarında önceden belgelenen ve arazi kiralama pratiğine ilişkin, içerik açısından zengin yazıt dökümüyle ortadadır. Rodos'a ait ve ekonomik getirisi yüksek buluntulara Doğu Akdeniz veya Ege Havzası'nda yaygın olarak rastlanmaktadır. Gelişkin piyasalarının varlığı böylelikle kanıtlanan Rodos'a benzer şekilde, Pera da, ticari açıdan en verimli dönemlerini ekonomik değeri yüksek ürünlerle deneyimlemiş olmalıdır ancak elbette Pera

ekonomisinin ve yarattığı ticari işlem hacminin, İ.Ö. 200-190 arasında Korint'teki gibi olması düşünülemez. Yine de, geleneksel üretim modellerinin, Hekatomnidler zamanında hızlandığı ve Rodos tarafından “sömürgeleştirilene” kadar devam ettiği değerlendirilebilir. Bu bakımdan, İ.Ö. 3.-2. yy'larda amphorae üretiminde patlama yaşayan ve İ.Ö. 2. yy'da Levant kentlerine kadar nüfuz eden Lindos ve Kamiros ile asgari bağlar kurulabilir. Her durumda, İ.Ö. 300'den itibaren görülmeye başlayan ve İ.Ö. 3.-2. yy'larda Rodos mühürleri taşıyan Pera'ya özgü tipik amphoraelarla yetinmek durumundayız. Romalıların Küçük Asya'yı ele geçirmesiye Rodos'un ihracat pazarlarını etkileyen farklı menşeli şarapların artışı bağlamında, Pera'nın, kendi kendine yeten faaliyetleri hariç, olasılıkla İ.Ö. 167-67 arasındaki ekonomik ölçeğine ilişkin çıkarımlar yapılabilir. Buradaki temel kıstas, sistematik verinin olmayışıdır. Rodos ekonomisinin hacmindeki rölatif düşüş, pek tabii Pera'nın onun için yarattığı ekonomik hacimle bağlantılı olabilir ancak Claudius döneminde, şarap üretimi yeniden artışa geçirilmiş olabilir. Yine bu konu tartışmaya son derece açıktır. Pazarların kontrolündeki net tarihi saptamak hala güç olsa da, Kos ve Labraunda arasındaki amphorae trafiğinin İ.Ö. 1. yy'a kadar devam etmiş olması, Knidos, Chios ve Kos gibi rakiplerin Rodos'un ihracatını düşürmüş ve dahi Rodosla işbirliğine gitmiş olması, Pera'nın da bahse konu zaman aralığında, dolaylı olarak bu süreçlerden etkilenmiş olabileceğini gündeme getirmektedir. Benzer şekilde, mühürsüz amphoraelara dönük sistematik çalışmaların eksikliği ve Pera'nın bu süreçte kendine yeten üretime odaklanmasına ışık tutacak temelsiz olasılıklar, durumun yorumunu güçleştirmektedir. Öte yandan, az sayıdaki *terra sigillata* buluntuları (ki Samos gibi özel bir batıyla ilişkiden muhtemelen bağımsızdır), Pera ve Roma arasında kurulan yeni ilişkilerin habercisi olabilir.

Pera'da, mekânın estetik kaygılarla kullanımı ikincil planda yer alsa da bu gibi durumlara daha çok Yarımada'nın (daha önce raporlanan) kuzey kısmında (Amos ve Kastabos) rastlanmaktadır. Bunlar kült ve siyasi açıdan toplanma merkezleriydi. Ancak, güneydeki alanlardan birisi, daha önce akademik çalışmalarda da ortaya konduğu şekilde, Casarae sınırları içerisindeki Kıran Gölü kült alanıdır. Kıran'ı, Korint gibi rekreasyonel ve ekonomik faaliyetlerin bir araya geldiği çok yönlü cazibe

merkezleriyle eşdeğer düşünmek ya da karşılaştırmak gerçekçi değildir. Pera her ne kadar estetik unsurlardan yoksun bir alt bölge olsa da, planlama ve mimarideki işlevselliğiyle kendine yeten bir merkez olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Anıtsal mimariye ilişkin önemli sayılacak kanıt yoktur. Mezarlar, basit kaya oygu yapılar olup zaman zaman kümelenmeler şeklinde kendini göstermektedir ki bu durum sıklıkla kırsal alanlarda yer bulmaktadır. Sade mezar taşlarıyla donatılanlar inhüstasyon uygulamalarına işaret etmektedir. Fiziksel bağlamda bir *polisleşme* kavramından uzaklığı niteler şekilde yek vücut tiyatroların bulunmayışı, kırsal statusünü desteklemesi bakımından şaşırtıcı değildir. *Necropoller/* izole mezarlar, büyük kısmı *eschatia* olarak ele alınabilecek ve kullanıma uygun olmayan/ kullanılmayan alanların aksine, küçük bir yüzdeye karşılık gelmektedir. Muhtemelen Geç Klasik dönemin ürünleri olan yapı malzemeleri, basamaklı bloklar şeklinde kolayca teşhis edilebilir. Bunlar arasında, daha önce yorumladığı gibi altar veya kült elemanı olarak kullanılmış olabilecek dev piramidal parçalar göze çarpmaktadır ki bilhassa Kos ve Rodos'ta gelişen mezar mimarisinin ve yarattığı moda akımların sonucunda, deneysel üretilen ve zamanla özgün biçimlere bürünen moda kırıntıları olarak değerlendirilebilir. *Demelerdeki* dinamik ekonominin göstergelerinden biri olan ve büyük çapta amphorae üretimine ayrılan mekanlarda araştırmacılarca belgelenen mantar ağızlı amphoraelar ve tipik kaideler, Geç Klasik- Erken Hellenistik dönemin habercisidir. Pera'nın kuzeyinde yoğunlaşan amphorae fırınları, gelişkin amphorae üretimine işaret etmektedir. Çoğunlukla *khora*daki kayalık platformlarda *in-situ* olarak bulunan pres taşlarının, şarap ve zeytinyağı üretimi için yapıldığı ve olasılıkla kendine yeten bir ekonominin unsurları olduğu; sahile yakın yerlerde bulunan ve daha büyük boyutlarda belgelenenlerin ise muhtemelen uluslararası pazara dönük faaliyet gösterdiği bilinmektedir.

*Demelerin* bir araya gelmesiyle Klasik dönemde *polis* statüsünde vergi veren Yarımada'nın, Hellenistik dönemde de tek bir yönetim merkezine bağımlı olmadığı tartışılan konular arasındadır. Öte yandan, tüm Yarımada, esnek bir politik ağı oluşturduğu tek tip bir komünite olarak tanımlanmak yerine, Karya geleneği taşıyan ve aralarında organik bağların olduğu ve daha önce belirtildiği gibi büyük bir *polise*

denk yerleşim bütünü olarak değerlendirilebilir. Yarımada'da oldukça güçlü bir savunma ağının varlığı yeni kanıtlarla desteklenebilir şöyle ki; hemen hemen tüm *demeler* için yönetsel ve askeri açıdan iki tür yapılanma mevcuttur. Yönetim kaleleri genellikle bir *Akropol* çevresinde *deme* merkezini oluşturmakta, askeri amaçlı inşa edilen kale yerleşimler ise *deme* periferisinde koruyucu ve gözetleyici zonlar oluşturmaktadır. *Deme* sınırları içerisindeki askeri kalelerin büyük çoğunluğu en az iki komşu yerleşimi görebilmektedir. Su kaynaklarına ve doğal koridorlara/fay kırıklarına fiziksel yakınlık, yerleşimlerin ortak özellikleri arasında sayılabilir. Klasik dönemlerden itibaren oluşmaya başladığı düşünülen *Akropol* yerleşimlerinin çoğunluğunun tasarımı, duvar teknikleri ve üzerlerindeki sarnıçların (en az iki su ögesi) konumlanması benzerlik taşımaktadır. Savunma duvarlarında, kaba yüzlü çokgen duvar örgüleri uygulanmışken ana merkezlerde, Hellenistik dönem kamu yapılarında veya imtiyazlı konutlarda dökdörtgen *isodomos* örgülü (bosajlı, çekiçlenmiş) duvar tekniğine rastlanmaktadır. *Akropol* yakınında veya *khora*daki yerleşim öğelerinin pek çoğunda izlenen tipik mimari öğeler, yerel işçiliği yansıtmaktadır. Kilikya ve Lidya kentlerinden biri olan Blaundos'ta görüldüğü gibi tipik kapı lentoları, Yarımada mimarisi için en çarpıcı örnekler arasında sayılabilir. Özel ve kamu yapılarının inşa tekniğinde, lego ilkesini çağrıştıran faydacılık ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bazı istisnalar hariç, çiftlik yapılarının düşük kotlu teraslarda inşa edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bunların, daha önceki çalışmalarda da ortaya konduğu gibi bir yol sistemi vasıtasıyla merkeze erişim sağlamaları mümkün kılınmıştır.

Yerleşimlerin oryantasyonu, karstik süreçlerden etkilenen kireçtaşı oluşumlarına dayalı topoğrafyayla uyumluluk arz etmektedir. Yarımada'nın fiziksel koşulları, tektonik, tortul ve denizel süreçlerin uzun vadeli (olasılıkla yarı kurak iklimin ve *nomoslarda*, doğal gübreleme gibi amaçlar dahil, aşırı otlatmanın orta vadedeki) etkilerine bağlı meydana geldiği için, *demelerin* son doğal silüetlerinin öncelikle ekolojik etmenlere bağlı ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Ormansızlaşmanın da etkisi olmuş olabilir ancak orman dokusunun fakirliğini, maki dokusundaki kayıplar ve bunların kırsal ekonomide yarattığı etkiler açısından ele almak gerekebilir. Knidos'taki uzun parseller gibi, Pera'daki teras sisteminin vazgeçilmez unsurları

olan ana tarımsal birimler, birörnek dikdörtgen formlara bürünmüştür. Sonradan eklenilen parseller de göz önüne alınırsa, bunlar, olasılıkla Roma döneminden kalan ve devlet eliyle şekillendirilen tarım politikalarının bir parçası olabilir. Arazinin parsellenmesi ise Hellenistik dönemde veya öncesinde olgunlaşmış olabilir. Pera'nın tarımsal arazileri, Attika'da olduğu gibi paralel setlerin en verimli topraklar üzerine çekilmesiyle şekillenmiştir. Topoğrafyayla uyumlu teras ve yerleşimler konusunda, Syrna, Tymnos ve Phoinix'in ön aldığı gözlemlenmektedir. Öte yandan, *demeler*, özellikle ticari malların sevkiyatında doğal çevrenin yaratmış olduğu avantajları kullanılmış olmalıdır ki bunlar için en uygun adaylar Hydas, Syrna, Losta/Hygassos?, Phoinix ve Casarae olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Özellikle kuzeyde Hydas-Syrna arasındaki tektonik zon ve güneyde Casarae'nın doğusunda yer alan (Yarımada kıstağı üzerindeki Hisardibi) verimli geçiş vadisi, ticaret gemilerinin tüm Yarımada'yı dolaşmadan mal yükleyebileceği önemli kestirme lokasyonlar olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Aynı şekilde, bu lokasyonlar, araştırmalarda zengin amphora bulgularıyla gündeme gelmiştir. Ancak, arazi çalışmasında, Tymnos, Thysannos ve Phoinix'te mühürlü amphora parçalarından örneklerin belgelenmiş olması, Yarımada'nın neredeyse tamamındaki yerleşimlerin öncelikli işlevinin şarap ve zeytinyağına dayalı tarımsal üretim olduğunu bir kez daha gündeme getirmektedir. *Akropollerin* neredeyse tamamı, görüşü yüksek alanlara kurulmuş olup *deme* merkezlerinin arası ortalama 5 km olacak şekilde tasarlanmıştır. Yarımada yerleşimleri kabaca dağlık ve kıyı/yakın kıyı yerleşimleri olarak ikiye ayrılabilir. Birincisine en iyi örnek, sıkışık düzen gösteren Syrna ve Losta (adının Hygassos da olabileceği düşünülen yerleşim); ikinci içinse daha dağınık yerleşim özellikleri gösteren Tymnos (tarım ve otlak arazilere daha fazla odaklanmış görünmektedir), Thysannos (en dağınık ve tahribatın en yüksek olduğu *deme*) ve Casarae (arazinin çoğu kullanım dışı)'dır. Her iki tip yerleşimin ortak özelliği, çekirdek merkezlerin en düz alanlar etrafında ve iletişim ağları oluşturarak gelişmiş olmasıdır. *Akropoller* ve aşağı yerleşimler birbirini tamamlamakta, iyi oturmuş yol şebekesi "kentsel" ve kırsal alanların bütünlüğünü sağlamaktadır. *Deme* merkezleri ve kırsal alanların iç içe geçmiş olması sebebiyle işçilikteki nüanslar (ki kronolojik bağlamda yorumlanmalıdır) hariç duvar tekniğinde, konut mimarisinde, kale planlarında, su

öğelerinde birörneklik gözlemlenmektedir. Yerleşimlerde, olası erken iskân lokasyonu izlerine (muhtemelen erken Karya dönemleri) Losta/Hygassos?, Thysannos ve Phoinix antik kentlerinde rastlanmış olup bunlar için halihazırda kesin yorumlar getirilememektedir. Ancak, yeni araştırma veya kazılar ışığında bilgiye ulaşılabilir. Yarımada, fiziksel anlamda büyük bir kırsal bölge addedilse de tüm *deme* yerleşimlerinde alt yapılanmalar gözlemlenmiştir. *Deme* merkezleri, ikincil yerleşimlerin, teritoryumda işlerliği ve kimlik bulabilmeleri için yeterli alanı sunmaktadır. Merkez *deme* yaşantısını destekler nitelikte olan *khoralardaki* ikincil yerleşimlerin, cep ovaları/vadileri etrafında kümelenebildikleri (genellikle 5-20 arası yapı) ya da bireysel yapılar olduğu görülmektedir. Bu gibi yerleşimlerin, Rodos etkisi altında ortaya çıkarak yayılım göstermeye başladıkları düşünülmektedir. Antik literatürden gelen bilgiler ve özellikle daha önceden Amos sınırları içerisinde belgelenmiş olan ve İ.Ö. 4.-3. yy'lara tarihlendirilen yazıtlar yardımıyla, kamu (genellikle tapınaklar) eliyle toprak alım satımının veya kiralama faaliyetlerinin Yarımada'da sıklıkla uygulandığı anlaşılmaktadır. 0.7 ila 1.8 hektar arasında değişebilen küçük arazilerin kiralananmasının yaygın olduğu, standart hüküm ve şartların getirildiği ve kira sözleşmelerinin Rodos denetimi altında yapılabildiği ayrıca bilinmektedir. Amos teritoryumundaki örnekler dikkati, arazi araştırmaları esnasında Phoinix sınırlarında bulunup belgelenen iki büyük çiftlik yapısına yöneltmektedir. Amos'taki benzer uygulamaların Phoinix'te de yer etmiş olması, ayrıca bu dev yapıların tapınak-çiftlik kompleksi olmaları muhtemeldir. Diğer yandan, belgelenen çiftlik evlerinin kontrol altında tuttuğu çevreleriyle birlikte 0.1 ila 1.7 hektar arasında alan değerleri göstermesi, literatür tarafından desteklendiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Arazi özelliklerine ve mozaik oluşumlara bakıldığında, örneklemimiz Phoinix yerleşiminin, diğerlerinde olduğu gibi topografik kısıtlar ve çevresel faktörlere bağlı geliştiği anlaşılmaktadır. Alt-kimliklerin Pera'daki kullanımı ve *deme* merkezinde veya *khorada* "Tloslular"u anan yazıtlar dikkate alındığında, Phoinix'in, bir tanesi Tloslularca kurulan köylerin/mezraların bir araya gelmesiyle veya bütün köylerle birlikte aynı etnik isim altında kurulmuş olabileceği düşünülebilir. Her durumda,

*demenin* toprak bütünlüğü ve sınırları Phoinix olarak adlandırılmalıdır. Çoklu limana sahip *demenin* merkezi, modern Taşlıca'nın ortasındaki en düz çöküntü alan olan ve yöredeki en ılımlı çevre koşullarının hüküm sürdüğü Sindili Ovası ve yanı başındaki *Akropol* etrafında gelişim göstermiştir. İnsan tarafından şekillendirilen çevrenin bel kemiği konumundaki *Akropol* (2.6 ha), giriş kapısı kuzeyde olan ve KD-GB ekseninde güçlü bir savunma yapılanmasına sahip çift kademeli bir yerleşimdir. Fotogrametrik çalışmalar ışığında, Sindili Ovası tabanında, toprak altında silik izler tespit edilmiştir. Bu izler, surların daha geniş alanda yayılım göstermiş olabileceğini göstermektedir. *Akropol* üzerindeki dış kale, yer yer kaba yüzlü çokgen taşlarla *pseudo-isodomos* tekniğinde inşa edilmiş surlardan, iç kale ise küçük boyutlu ve kaba yüzlü taşlarla çokgen örgülü stilde inşa edilmiş surlardan oluşmaktadır. Taşların büyüklüğü ve duvarlardaki örgü tekniği, Klasik ve geç dönemler arasında değişen koşullara göre yapı teknolojsinin farklılaştığını ortaya koymaktadır. Dış surların çevresi yaklaşık 770 m, iç surlarınki 510 m'yi bulmaktadır. Hellenistik ve Roma dönemlerine ait olduğu düşünülen dış duvarların yükseklikleri 5 m'yi, Klasik dönemlere tarihlenen *diateikhisma* duvarlarınınki ise 3 m'yi bulmakta olup tüm surların kodu 195 ila 201 m arasında değişmektedir. Daha önceki yayınlarda da yer aldığı üzere, kuzeydoğu sektöründe, ana kayaya oyulmuş *in-situ* bir Hellenistik yazıt durmaktadır. Yazıtta, Dionysos Tapınağı'nın inşası için bağışta bulunanların listesi yer almaktadır. Bu yazıtın güneyinde, bugün toprak altında kalmış ancak temenos duvarları kısmen görünen ve ortasında büyük bir sarnıcın olduğu muhtemel bir kamu yapısı, daha güneyde (*Akropol*'ün doğu sektörüne bakan uçurumun yanında) ise imtiyazlı birine ait olabileceği düşünülen yapı temelleri belgelenmiştir. Söz konusu yapının yerel yönetici tarafından kullanılmış olması olasıdır. *Akropol* üzerindeki yapılar ve/veya *bastionlar*, tespit edilen toplam 6 adet büyük sarnıçla fiziksel yakınlık arz etmektedir. *Akropol* ve aşağı yerleşimin kuzey sektörüne düşen ve kurumuş bir su yatağının yanında bulunan kırsal statüdeki Apollon Tapınağı, kısmen bozulmuş temenos duvarları ve üç kapılı lentosuyla Phoinix'in en korunagelmiş yapısıdır. Antik yol, *Akropol*'den tapınağa kolay erişim sağlamaktadır. Tapınağa yüklenen anlam kuzey *khora*daki yoğun yerleşimler ve tarım terasları ile merkezdeki aşağı yerleşimleri bağlama, "kent" ve kırsal arasındaki uzlaşma sağlama misyonuyla

ilgili olmalıdır. Tapınak, Rodos'ta rastlanan Apollo Erethimios kültüne atfedildiği gibi tarım kültürüyle ilişkili olabilir ancak, Helenleşme döneminde Erethimiosla yerel denklikler kurulabileceği gibi, üzerindeki yazıtın daha önce Rodos dahil hiç bir yerle özdeşleştirilemediğinden hareketle temelde Karya kültürüne dayanan farklı bir benimseme pratiğiyle bağlantılı kült yapı olarak da yorumlanabilir.

*Akropol*'ün güneybatısında, Sindili Ovası tabanında, antik yol üzerinde bulunan ve uzunluğu 50 m'yi bulan *isodomos* ve bosajlı bir duvar örgüsünün, yerleşim planının tamamlayıcılarından biri olduğu düşünülmektedir. Yerleşimin *nekropolü* kuzeyde, modern Taşlıca merkezinin başladığı noktadadır. *Nekropol*, sayıca zengin su yapılarının olduğu ve bugün yerli halk tarafından hayvancılıkta kullanılan alanla fiziksel yakınlık içerisindedir. *Akropol* ve *nekropol* arasında, kuzeydoğu sektöründe, kurumuş diğer bir dere yatağının kenarında, uzunluğu yaklaşık 45 m'ye varan bir başka *isodomos* ve bosajlı duvar örgüsü belgelenmiştir. *Akropol* başta olmak üzere, merkez ve *khorada* belgelenen yerleşim yapıları, çoğunlukla yerleşimlerle bütünleşik olduğu tespit edilen pres taşları ve sarnıçlar ve yukarıda bahsedilen duvarlar, tapınak, muhtemel kamu yapıları ve *nekropolise* ait verinin değerlendirilmesi suretiyle Phoinix'in genel planı çıkarılmıştır. *Khorada* belgelenen iki büyük çiftlik ve diğer kırsal yapılar hariç, Phoinix'in ana yerleşim sınırlarının KD-GB sektöründe tespit edilen, yukarıda bahsedilen duvarlarla sınırlanmış olabileceği ayrıca değerlendirilmektedir. Öte yandan, Phoinix yerleşim planı, Geç Klasik dönemde Mavzolos yayılcılığının kilit yerleşimlerinden biri olan Karya *polisi* Alinda'nın sadeleştirilmiş planını çağrıştırmaktadır. *Akropol* ve civarındaki sur kapısı, duvarlar, *bastionlar*, *pyrgoslar*, Kuzey Karya'daki örneklerle asgari paralellikler sunmaktadır. Phoinix'te, KD-GB teritoryumu içerisindeki *khora*nın yayılım alanının, kuzeydoğudaki Arap Ada'ya nazır küçük karasal boğaz civarındaki ve Casarae'ya komşu Gedikçukuru arasındaki kırsal yerleşimlerle sınırlandığı değerlendirilmektedir.

*Akropol* yakın çevresinde bulunan, yaklaşık 150 hektarlık bir yerleşim alanı, öncelikle sıkışık düzendeki ana yerleşim kümelerinden oluşmaktadır. *Akropol* ve

*khora*sındaki yerleşim tiplerinin ezici çoğunluğunun, Akdeniz tipi kırmızı toprak (*terra rosa*) örtüsü üzerinde ve 100-200 m arasındaki yüksekliklerde inşa edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu bakımdan, yerleşim tercihlerinin rastgele yapılmadığı fikri ortaya çıkmaktadır. Konut ve çiftlik evlerinin büyük kısmı % 0-30 eğim değerleri gösterse de *Akropol* eteklerindeki konutların % 40-60'ları bulan eğimlerde konumlanabildikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum, Sindili Ovası'nın özellikle tahıl, meyve, sebze gibi ürünlerin yetiştirilmesi için etkin olarak kullanılmasıyla yorumlanabilir. Bakı sonuçları (esasen *Akropol* yamaçlarındaki yoğun yerleşimler önceliğinde), konutların üçte biri bulan kısmının güneydoğuya yöneldiğini göstermektedir. Bunun nedeni, kurak bir iklime sahip yörede, uzun yaz aylarında süregelen sıcaklık değerlerinin olumsuz etkilerinden kaçınmak olarak açıklanabilir. Bakı açısından değişkenlik gösterecek de, konutların çoğunluğunun, benzer olumsuzlukları, taraça konutlar inşa etmekle bertaraf etmeye çalıştığı ayrıca düşünülebilir. *Khora*daki çiftlik evlerinin büyük kısmı batı-güneybatıya bakmaktadır ki olası neden üretim bağlamında, güneşin olumlu etkisine göre ekilip biçilen tarım teraslarıyla fiziksel yakınlık içinde olmalarına yorulabilir. Tarım teraslarının yarısından fazlası, yerleşim yükseklikleriyle ortak payda oluşturacak şekilde 150-300 m'ler arasında konumlanmıştır. Terasların büyük çoğunluğu % 10-30 derece arasında eğim özelliği göstermektedir ancak yörenin kırık ve dağınık topografik koşulları nedeniyle % 70'lere kadar çıkabildikleri görülmektedir ki bu alanlar genellikle kireçtaşının başladığı yüzeylerdir. Yine analizler sonucunda, terasların bakışı için standart bir yönün olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak, yaklaşık % 43'ünün KB-GD'ya baktığı sonucu, Phoinix genel yerleşiminin KD-GB yönelimiyle açıklanabilir. Buna göre, KD-GB doğrultusunda oluşan fay hattında yayılım gösteren antik yerleşim, Erken Hellenistik dönemden itibaren, iskân alanlarının dışındaki her yönde ancak bilhassa zıt yönlerde tarımsal üretim yaratmak amacıyla KB-GD'ya yoğunlaşmış olabilir. Öte yandan, iklimsel rejim ve kıt su kaynakları nedeniyle konutların büyük çoğunluğu, bugün kurumuş bir çayın yakınına kurulmuş veya yeraltı su rezervlerinden faydalanacak şekilde kuyu ve sarnıçlar inşa etmiştir. Yerleşimler arası iletişimi azami düzeyde sağlayan antik bir yol, *Akropol* ve *khora* arasında, en uygun topoğrafyalardan geçmektedir. Diğer bir iletişim hattının ise KD-GB doğrultusunda

konumlanan, görüş mesafesi yüksek kaleler ve gözetleme kuleleri sayesinde oluşturulduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

*Deme* merkezinde ve *Akropol* çevresinde tespit edilen sayısız seramik parçası, Geç Klasik/Erken Hellenistik ve Roma dönemlerini adreslemektedir. Teşhis edilebilir profiller, Geç Klasik dönemle ilişkili tipik mantar ağızlı amphoraelar, kulpları mühürlü olanlar dahil Hellenistik amphoraelar ve büyük ölçüde Hellenistik ve Roman dönemine ait *pithoslar* ve günlük kullanım kaplarıdır. Sayıca az olsalar da, *Akropol*'ün yakın kapsama alanı içerisinde daha geç dönem kanıtları da mevcuttur. Zaman içinde toprak kaymaları, yersel değişimler, vb. yüzünden şayet original lokasyondan kopmamış ise malzemelerin tamamı ve *terra sigillata* belgelenen yerler, muhtemelen Hellenistik ve Roma dönemlerinde *khoradaki* yerleşimlerin kılcal damarların dağılımı biçiminde geliştiğine işaret etmektedir. İkincil (yazıtlar dahil) ve original veri birlikte ele alınırsa, Rodos'un izleri, Rodos tipi amphorae taklitlerinde, Rodos yönetim sisteminden tanınan Helen isimlerinde ve dini kurumlarda sezilebilmektedir. Kırsal alanda az kalmış olan izole mezarlar (ör: iki *sarcophagus*) mülkiyetin açık ilanına veya atalara özlem nedeniyle Rodos yönetimi altındayken terk edilmek istenmeyen eski bağlantılara düşkünlüğü simgeliyor olabilir. Hellenistik ve Roma dönemlerine çağrı yapan bir başka veri kategorisi pres taşlarıdır. Bunlar, farklı ebatlarda olabilen, genellikle *mola oleariaya* benzer formlardadır ve yerleşim tiplerinden bağımsız bulunabilmektedir. Ancak, büyükçe olanların bulunduğu yerler, büyük çiftlik yapılarının ya da yerleşim kümelerinin yakın çevresi olmakla birlikte üretimdeki artışı simgeliyor olabilir. Su öğeleri konusunda, kronolojik problemler baskındır ancak pres taşlarıyla yan yana duran daha büyük boyutlu olanların, kolektif kullanım veya içme, günlük ihtiyaçlar, hayvan sulama, vb. için yapılmış olması muhtemeldir. Günümüzde halen kullanımda olmalarıyla desteklenebileceği üzere geç dönemlere kadar tarihlendirilmeleri normal karşılanmalıdır. Yeraltı sularına bağımlılık, bölgenin jeolojik ve iklimsel özellikleriyle ilişkilidir. Sarnıçların kuzey sektörde çok fazla sayıda yer alması, modern yerleşimcilerin, güvenlik konusunun önemini kaybetmeye başladığı dönemlerde *Akropol*'ün yavaş yavaş terk edilmesi ve çevresinin cazibesini kaybetmesi sonucu bu taraflara yönelmeleriyle

açıklanabilir. Yine de, su elemanlarının *deme* merkezi ve *khora*daki üstün niceliği, antik Phoinixlilerin suyla ilgili sorunlarla başa çıkmada ne denli usta olduğunun açık göstergesidir. Kamiros'ta da zengin su öğelerinin varlığı, bu kentle çok önceden kurulan ilişkiler ve her iki taraftaki uzmanlaşma ve işçilik bağlamında değerlendirilebilir.

*Akropol*ün eteklerinde (özellikle kurumuş dere yatağının yanındaki doğu yamaçlarda) konumlanan yerleşim yoğunluğu, buranın cazibe merkezi ve kendi çapında bir "kentleşme" ölçeği yakalayan minyatür bir *polis* statüsündeki yönetim merkezi olmasıyla ifade edilebilir. Bu durum, çekirdek konutların artan sayısının *Akropol*'den itibaren ortalama 1-2 km'lik alan içindeki uzaklaşma mesafesiyle ters orantılı olarak azalmasıyla ifade edilebilir. *Khora*daki çiftliklerin en yakın konuta olan uzaklığı 289 m ile 1.2 km arasında, düzensiz değerler içerisinde değişiklik gösterebilmektedir. Ancak, ilginç olan bunların tamamı *Akropol*'ün görüş alanı dışına taşmaktadır. Yine de, iyi kurgulanmış yol şebekesiyle bunların merkezle, kamu yapılarıyla, sosyal toplanma alanları, pazarlarla, vb. olan bağlantısı daimi kılınmış görünmektedir.

Yerleşim planlaması vizibilite ile yakından bağlantılıdır. *Akropol*, Phoinix teritoryumu üzerinde doğrudan/dolaylı kontrol sağlamaktadır. Sınırları 0,1 ile 0.3 hektar arasında değişenlik gösteren (ki araştırmacıların öne sürdüğü ortalama değerleri doğrulamaktadır) küçük ölçekli çiftlik yapıları, *khora*da sıklıkla ve yüksekçe kotlarda inşa edilmiştir. Öte yandan kapsama alanları yaklaşık 0.5 ile 2 hektar arasında değişen ikincil yerleşim kümeleri genellikle *Akropol*'ü ve kıyı kesimini görmektedir.

Phoinix dâhilinde, arazi dinamiklerinin ve çevre manipülasyonunun en önemli göstergesi tarım teraslarıdır ancak bunların çoğu zamanla bozulmalara maruz kalmıştır. Antik Yunan teraslama örneklerine benzer şekilde, teras duvarları ve arsa sınırları yer yer mülkiyet sınırlarına işaret etmektedir. Merkezdeki *insulalarda* ve kimi zaman *khora*da rastlanabilen bu gibi sınırlar, Klasik dönemden itibaren

algılanan eşitlikçi ilkeyi yansıtıyor olabilir. Phoinix'in KD-GB aksında konumlanmasıyla uyumlu olarak tarımsal faaliyetlerin öncelikle yine bu doğrultuda yoğunlaştığı öne sürülebilir. Yarımada'daki *demeler* arasında en küçük politik sınırlara (28,24 hektar) sahip olduğu tespit edilen Phoinix içerisindeki tarım alanları %12'yi bulurken iskân alanlarının tamamı arazinin %2'sini geçmemektedir. Kalan arazinin, hayvancılık gibi faaliyetler için kullanıldığı veya atıl alanlar olarak kaldığı düşünülebilir. Ortalama 13x15 m ebatta olan ve otlakçılığa hizmet eden ağıllar ve ön duvarlarda da aynı teknolojinin kullanıldığı tipik yapı bloklarıyla öne çıkan kırsal mimari örnekleri, Tymnos ve Phoinix'te ortak özellikler arz etmektedir. Böylesi mimari örneklerinin sayıca zenginliği, kırsal ekonomilere dönük araştırmalar için önemli katkılar sunacak niteliktedir.

Yerleşim düzenine bakıldığında Phoinix'in genel silueti bir merkez etrafında saçaklanmalar göstermektedir. Açıkça, Klasik *deme* kendini, 1.3 km'ye kadar ağaç dalı desenine dönüştürmüştür ki bu durum, söz gelimi Kikladik Adalar'daki Lassithi ve Girit'teki Paros gibi bazı antik örneklerle çelişmemektedir. Ancak, daha yakın bir analogi, iç kesimlere kadar dağınık düzende gelişen Paros'un kırsal yerleşim deseni ile kurulabilir. Yerleşim kümeleri, 5 ila 20 konuttan oluşabilmekte, bunlar aynı zamanda küçük veya büyük ölçekli çiftlikleri (*aule*) kapsayabilmektedir ya da bunlara yakınlık arz etmektedir. Yol şebekesi üzerinde veya yanı başındaki kümelenmeler, çiftlik evleri ve *Akropol* arasında aracı konum üstlenmektedir. Yatay ve dikey ilişkiler, topoğrafyayla uyumlu ve en uygun araziye takip eden yol sistemiyle sağlanmaktadır. *Akropol* ve Sindili Ovası'nın yakın çevresindeki yoğun yerleşim öbekleri (Aşağı ve Yukarı Fenaket köylerinde raporlanmış olan yazıtlarla da desteklenir ölçüde); *khorda* ise vadi tabanları ve cep ovaları ile ilişkilendirilebilecek dağınık yerleşimler genel planı oluşturmaktadır. Bu haliyle, Phoinix arazinin en etkin kullanımını hedeflemek suretiyle gelişim göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla, kırsal yerleşim düzeni tesadüf eseri olmamalıdır.

Phoinix'in orijinal lokasyonu veya erken yerleşim alanları, kuzeydoğuya yaklaşan görece uzak noktalarda (Gökçalça mevki) aranabilir. Bu noktanın, pre-Klasik

yerleşimlerin habercisi olabileceği, dolayısıyla yerleşimlerin uzun dönemdeki değişimleri bağlamında pek çok şey kaydedebileceği değerlendirilmektedir. Ancak, her koşulda, yüzey malzemesi ve *in-situ* bulgular, Hellenistik dönemde tamamıyla iskân edildiğine işaret etmektedir. Birincil merkez *Akropol* iken *korion/phourion* tipi yapılanma özelliği gösteren askeri yönetim merkezinin, Strabon'un muhtemel Phoinix Dağı olarak tanımladığı kuzeydoğudaki Kaledağ'da olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bu dev merkez, yamuk planı, bozulmamış sur duvarları ve takriben 1 km'lik çevre uzunluğuyla yaklaşık 5 hektarlık bir alana yayılmıştır. *Khoradaki* ikinci seviye yerleşimler bilhassa güneybatı sektöründe tespit edilmiştir. Kuzeydoğu sektöründe ciddi bulgulara rastlanmamış olması yerleşimin bu tarafta olmadığı veya *Akropol* ve Kaledağ arasında organik bağlantıların olmadığı anlamına gelmemektedir.

Dağınık yerleşim düzenlerinin sosyal ilişkilerde esnekliğe görece fazla olanak sağlaması konusu, elit kontrolü bağlamında, Phoinix ve Pera'daki herhangi bir yerleşim için ipuçları taşıyabilir. İyi oturmuş yol şebekesi bunun en önemli göstergelerinden biridir ancak Pera'da güçlü bir *khora*nın varlığı kırsalda hüküm süren bir tam bağımsızlıkla ilişkilendirilmemelidir. Farklı habitatların artışıyla *khora*daki reflekslerin gelişimi, Hellenistik dönemde tarımsal faaliyetlerdeki patlamalar ve yönetimdeki esnekliğin doğal bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkmış olabilir. İletişim ağlarının (özellikle *khora*da) zayıf olduğu ve yönetim kadrosunun merkezde ikamet ettiği, sakinlerinin ana merkezden ayrıştırıldığı Tasos gibi örneklerin aksine, Phoinix *khora*sında sıkı bir fiziksel kontrolün yer bulmamış olması ve hibrid nüfusun imtiyazlı gruplarla birlikte, geç dönemlere kadar ikamet etmiş olması muhtemeldir.

Phoinix yerleşim planı ve megaron tipi konutların tasarımı, işlevselliği ve etkin konut idaresini ön planda tutmuştur. Konutların, daha geniş alanların kullanımına izin veren eklenti odalarla yeniden organizasyonu, *Akropol* eteklerindeki aşağı yerleşimlerde rahatlıkla izlenmektedir. Güney Yunanistan'daki Arkaik konut örneklerine benzer şekilde (kronolojik kaygılardan bağımsız), Phoinix'teki durum, Erken Hellenistik ve Roma dönemleri arasındaki sosyo-ekonomik koşulların

değişiminin işareti sayılabilir. Öte yandan, Klasik konutlara tahsis edilen parseller ve küçük iç tasarımlar, protodemokrasinin temsilcisi farz edilebilir. Konut mimarisinin, Hellenistik ve sonraki dönemlerde, bölgesel algılardan çok nüfus baskılarına göre geliştiği öngörülebilir. Phoinix'te dikkat çeken iki büyük çiftliğin, yörede olası bir lojistik merkez veya dağıtım ekonomilerine hizmet eden yapılar olduğu düşünülmektedir. Yapılış amaçları sandığımızdan farklı olsa bile, çevresiyle birlikte 1.6 ve 1.7 hektara yayılan bu iki masif yapı, hakimiyet alanları göz önüne alındığında kiraya konu araziler için bildirilen değerleri doğrulamaktadır. Phoinix'in, Geç Klasik- Erken Hellenistik dönemlerden itibaren merkezden *khora*ya doğru ekonomik ve sosyal açıdan genişlemeler yaşadığı öne sürülebilir. Ancak yerleşime ilişkin ilk atılımların kuzey-kuzeydoğudaki daha güvenli iç kesimlerden başladığı, *Akropol*'e doğru yer değiştirdiği ve Rodos'un yaratmış olduğu "sakinlik" dönemlerinde güneybatıya doğru açıldığı düşünülmektedir. Ekonomik büyüme, Rodoslu tüccarların yöreye akını ve yaratılan artı değerle birlikte gerçekleşmiş olmalıdır. Merkezdeki aşırı gelişme veya yeni arazi arayışlarıyla mülkiyet anlayışının değişmesi ve beraberinde kontrolü ele almaya başlayan imtiyazlı kesimin faaliyetlerini artmış olma ihtimali yüksektir.

Sosyal yapı, Hellenistik dönemdeki nüfus artışlarıyla birlikte değişmiş olmalıdır çünkü yazıtların büyük çoğunluğu Perahlılar ve Rodosluların her iki yakada da ikamet ettiğini ve hibrid grupların anakarada da yerleşik olduğunu kanıtlar niteliktedir. İlişkilerin içerik ve özelliğini tespit etmek zor olsa da, nüfusun çoğunluğunu oluşturduğu düşünülen yerliler/köleler açısından vatandaşlık gibi konular halen tartışmaya açıktır. Geç Klasik ve Erken Hellenistik dönemden itibaren artışa geçen yayılmacı yerleşim hareketleri, Anadolu'da kentlerin mali durumları hakkında az da olsa fikir sahibi olmamızı sağlamaktadır. Yarımada'da, Hellenistik dönemle ortaya çıkan tarımsal üretimdeki artışlar, refah ortamı ve yeni yönetim modelleri kendine sosyo-ekonomik hayatta ve nüfus bağlamında da yer bulmuştur. Phoinix özelinde, *demelerin* sınırları ve ödeme kapasiteleri hakkında ipuçları veren vergi kotaları, sosyo-kültürel yaşantı, geç dönem nüfus istatistikleri, üretim oranları ve demografik kırılımlara ilişkin analogiler yapılmasına yardımcı olan deneysel arkeoloji sonuçları,

birincil veri, vb. yarı-niceliksel yaklaşımlar için yol göstermektedir. Bu kapsamda, 200'leri bulduğu varsayılan Klasik Phoinix'in nüfusunun, Hellenistik dönemlerde yaklaşık yüzde % 250'lik artışla 700'lü rakamlara ulaştığı sonucu çıkarılmaktadır. Bu yuvarlak tahmine, eldeki veri ve kullanılan farklı yöntemlerin normalize edilmesiyle ulaşılmıştır. Bu nüfusun yarısına yakını emek-yoğun nüfusun oluşturduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Rodos etkisi altında hızlanan sosyal dönüşüm, nüfus artışında katalizör görevi yapmış olmalıdır. Çevresel ve topografik kısıtlarla ortaya çıkan olumsuzluklara karşı geliştirdiği bağımsızlık ve etkili arazi yönetimi, Phoinix'i, bölgesinde kendi kendine yeten bir ekonomi yapmıştır. Çalışmadan çıkan bir diğer sonuç, Phoinix'in, tahıl üretimi hariç, periferide zeytinyağı ve olasılıkla şarap pazarında üretim fazlasına sahip olduğudur. Hektar başına yıllık ortalama üretim kapasitesi hesabına göre, tahıldaki muhtemel açığın ihracata gönderilmek üzere şarap üretimiyle (pazar değeri 1/3 olarak hesaplanan tahıl ve şarap "çapraz kuru" ışığında yaklaşık 1181 emekçinin iş gücüne denk) yaratılan artı değerle ikame edildiği anlaşılmaktadır. Ayrıca, Rodos, "kolonileştirme" sürecinde Phoinix'i daima ana arterlerinden biri olarak görmüş, dolayısıyla, yine başta Ada'nın kendisi için olmak üzere Phoinix'i belli ürünlerde dışarıya mal ihraç eden bir dinamo haline getirmiş olmalıdır. Keza, Phoinix gibi, komşu *demelerin* de, Rodos periferisinde bölgesel gelişime katkıda bulunan aktörler olabilecekleri muhtemeldir.

Yarımada'yı, kendine özgü tek değişkenli faktörlerle değerlendirmekten uzak tutmak için yapılan karşılaştırmalı çalışmada ve epigrafik envanter ışığında, Phoinix'in yabancı toplulukların sıklıkla ziyaret ettiği bir yöre olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, komşularıyla etkileşim içerisinde olması, açık pazarlardan biri konumuna sahip olabileceği düşüncesini üretmektedir. Çevresel özelliklere göre yerleşim konusunda uzmanlaşan başka bölgeler incelendiğinde, Phoinix dahil Pera'nın, ekonomi modelinin ve faydacılığın ön plana çıktığı yakın komşulardan Knidos Yarımadası ve Likya yerleşimleri ve görece daha uzak bir coğrafyadaki Kikladik Adaları'nda Methana örneği ile ortak özellikler gösterdiği anlaşılmaktadır. Diğer yandan, Kikladik Adalarla ve Geç Bronz Çağ ve Minos kültürüyle ilişkiler henüz tam anlamıyla açıklanamadığından, erken dönemlerde buralardan

yerleşimcilerin gelip gelmediği tartışmalıdır. Diğer yandan, Knidosla bir analogi kurarak asgari benzerlikler öne sürülebilir. Knidos kent merkezinin düz alandaki konumu ve *khora*daki rastgele yerleşimler dikkate alındığında, Pera'daki *deme* merkezlerinin düzlük alanlarda tercih edilmiş olması ve kırsal yayılım, ortak bir nokta olarak kabul edilebilir. Pera'nın temel özelliği, dağınık yerleşimlerin doğal çerçevede ifade bulmuş olmasıdır ki yerleşimcilerin, gereken her lokasyonda, topoğrafyayla başa çıkmak için izole, kümelenmiş veya kompakt formlar oluşturmaya dönük tercihlerinden ziyade, onları en uygun habitatları yaratmaya iten doğa kurallarında ve belirleyiciliğinde aramak gerekmektedir. Bu durum Likya'daki örnekleri çağrıştırmaktadır. Diğer yandan, Rodos altında gelişen yeni *deme* sisteminin itici kuvvetlerinden biri olan olası *dioikismosun* eriştiği son nokta, Selevkosların Psidya'daki kentleşme çabalarıyla bir anlamda örtüşmektedir. Her iki durum da, “kolonizasyon”u tetikleyen nedenler farklı bile olsa, Hellenistik güçlerin gölgesinde gelişen toplulukları temsil etmektedir. Zaman olgusundan bağımsız daha makul bir yorum, böylesi toplulukların, tehlide açık bölgelerde kurageldikleri iyi oturmuş savunma sistemleri ve ilişkili yerleşim tipleriyle açıklanabilir. Yazıtlardan anlaşıldığı üzere, Phaselisliler, Selgeliler gibi yabancıların Pera'daki varlığı/ziyaretleri, Rodos güdümü altında ticari ilişkilerin gelişmiş olabileceğine ilişkin ipuçları vermektedir ki böylesi ilişkilerin, karşılıklı etkileşim sonucunda ve yeni ilhamlar ve artan algılar sayesinde planlamaya bir nebze de olsa katkı sunmuş olabileceğini akla getirebilir. Ancak, daha önemli bir etkinin, Rodos'un üç eski *polisinin* teritoryumlarında, kıt kaynaklı iç yerleşimlerle liman zengini kıyı yerleşimlerin uzlaşma zemini yaratarak oluşturduğu yerleşim pratiklerinden gelebileceği mümkündür. Rodos ana kentinin sistematik planı ile Pera'nın iç tasarımı bambaşka özellikler gösterse de, Kamiros'taki ikincil yerleşimlerin niceliksel üstünlüğü, *Akropol*'ünün limandan yarım mil uzaklıktaki konumu, teras yerleşimlerin *Akropol* eteklerinde ve yakın çevrede yoğunlaşması, Pera'daki planlama/yeniden planlamayı etkileyen faktörlerle önemli yakınlıklar ortaya koymaktadır. Helenleşmenin arkasında yatan farklı güdümlere rağmen, Kilikya kırsalında genellikle 5-20 arasında küçük tarımsal konutun kümelenmesi veya 70 ila 100 konutun bir araya gelerek köyleri oluşturması (kronolojiden bağımsız), Phoinix

örneğinde olduğu gibi Pera'nın Kilikya ile, farkında olarak ya da olmayarak, asgari düzeyde benzerlik gösterebildiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bir başka belirgin alan olan Miletus teritoryumuna bakıldığında, Klasik dönem öncesi Korint ve Atina'nın ya da Hellenistik Ürdün, vb.'lerin aksine, Pera ve Milet'teki kırsal habitat genişlemelerinin ve arazi kullanımının, Geç Klasik- Erken Hellenistik dönemlerde dağınık düzenlere doğru gerçekleştiği anlaşılmaktadır. Böylelikle, Hellenistik dünyayla sınırlanmış siyah-beyaz bir resme karşın, antik Bozburun Yarımadası'nın, Karya kültüründen miras aldığı sosyo-kültürel yapı ve zengin yerel unsurlara dayanarak kendine has niteliklerini her dönemde içselleştirmiş olması gerektiği sonucuna ulaşılmaktadır.

Çalışmada başlıca ele alınan konular göz önüne alındığında, Yarımada'nın, özellikle erken ve daha geç dönemler bağlamında önemli fırsatlar sunabileceği değerlendirilmektedir. Tymnos'un batı sınırlarını belirleyen ve ne yazık ki bugüne kadar arkeolojik çalışma yürütülmemiş kıyı şeridinde ve küçük adalarda, Roma ve Bizans dönemlerine odaklanmaya olanak sağlayacak ciddi araştırma alanları mevcuttur. Öte yandan, Karya temelli erken dönem çalışmalarının yürütülebilmesi için öncelikli alanların, Losta'nın güney sektöründeki Karatepe ve batısındaki Gemecitdüzü ve Phoinix'in iç kesimlerindeki Gökçalça mevkinin önemli bir potansiyel yaratacağı düşünülmektedir. Kırsal bölge çalışmaları için ortaya konabilecek diğer ciddi çalışmalar, bugüne kadar üzerinde sistematik çalışmalar yürütülmemiş olan pres taşları ve sayıca zengin su öğeleri olarak öngörülmektedir. Ayrıca, Phoinix'in kuzeydoğusunda (Kaledağ) ve Losta'da (Kaletepe (2) ve Gemecitdüzü mevki civarı), kale yerleşimleri veya bağlantılı yerleşimler üzerine ayrıntılı çalışmalar yürütülebilir. Benzer şekilde, Güncebaşı Tepe'nin batısındaki vadide yayılım gösteren antik yerleşimin ve arkasında yükselen kalenin, kırsal yerleşimlerin çeşitli unsurlarını irdelemek açısından önemli bir alan olduğu düşünülmektedir. Son olarak, tıpkı Phoinix örneğinde olduğu gibi, gelecekte de, görece daha az bozulmuş *demelere* ilişkin yerleşim dokularına ilişkin ayrıntılı çalışmaların yürütülerek bunların modellemelerinin yapılmasına ihtiyaç olduğu değerlendirilmektedir.

## TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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Soyadı : OĞUZ

Adı : Eser Deniz

Bölümü : Yerleşim Arkeolojisi

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce): The Rural Settlement Pattern In Bozburun Peninsula During Classical and Hellenistic Periods

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

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