HELLENISTIC SETTLEMENT IN SMOOTH CILICIA (CILICIA PEDIAS)

A Master's Thesis

by
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June 2016

To my family

HELLENISTIC SETTLEMENT IN SMOOTH CILICIA (CILICIA PEDIAS)

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree
of
MASTER OF ARTS

THE DEPARTMENT OF
ARCHAEOLOGY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY

June 2016

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Archaeology.

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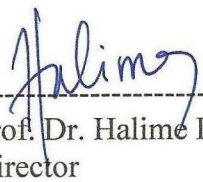

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ABSTRACT

HELLENISTIC SETTLEMENT IN SMOOTH CILICIA (CILICIA PEDIAS)

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June 2016

This thesis investigates the nature of the Hellenistic settlements in Smooth Cilicia from the perspective of five multi-period sites that give clear, stratified evidence for architecture and other aspects of material culture. Before the 1990s, such a study would have been impossible. The only excavation project in the region that could have contributed evidence was Tarsus. Otherwise, the Hellenistic period was known only from textual records and some surveys. Now, thanks to excavations at Soli-Pompeiopolis, Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük, and Kinet Höyük, in addition to those at Tarsus, sufficient data for examining the nature of Hellenistic settlements is available. This thesis first examines historical events and geographical features that might have effects on settlements. The main focus, however, is the architecture, its development through the Hellenistic centuries, and the ceramics and other cultural material recovered from stratified deposits. The data used in this study mainly comes from the excavation reports, which are either detailed, as for Tarsus, or, as for the recent excavation projects, short and preliminary. This thesis concludes that the Hellenistic period in the multi-period settlements of Smooth Cilicia was characterized by small towns with simple buildings in contrast with those yielding monumental and impressive structures in Greece, Western Anatolia, or Egypt. Occupation at these sites, except at Tarsus-Gözlükule, had been continuous from the

previous Persian period. In the Roman era, most of these settlements were abandoned, to be reestablished at new locations nearby with monumental and impressive structures.

Keywords: Hellenistic Cilicia, Kinet Höyük (Issus), Sirkeli Höyük, Soli-Pompeiopolis, Tarsus-Gözlükule.

ÖZET

OVALIK KİLİKYA'DA (KİLİKYA PEDİAS) HELENİSTİK YERLEŞİM

Yıldız, Selim
Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Charles Warner Gates

Haziran 2016

Bu tez Ovalık Kilikya'daki Helenistik Dönem yerleşimlerinin doğasını, mimari ve malzeme kültürünün diğer yönleri için açık, tabakalaşmış kanıt veren çoklu-dönem (höyük) yerleşimleri perspektifinden inceler. 1990'lardan önce, böyle bir çalışma yapmak imkânsız olabilirdi. Bölgede, kanıt sunabilecek tek kazı projesi Tarsus idi. Bunun dışında, Helenistik Dönem sadece yazılı kaynaklardan ve yüzey araştırmalarından bilinmekteydi. Günümüzde, Tarsus'takilere ek olarak, Soli-Pompeiopolis, Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük ve Kinet Höyük'te yapılan kazılar sayesinde, Helenistik yerleşimlerin doğasını incelemek için yeterli veri mevcuttur. Bu tez, öncelikle, yerleşmeler üzerinde etkileri olabilecek olan tarihi olayları ve coğrafik özellikleri inceler. Bununla birlikte, tezin odak noktası, mimari ve mimarinin Helenistik asırlar boyunca gelişimi ve seramikler ile tabakalaşmış kontekstlerden gelen diğer kültürel malzemelerdir. Bu çalışmada kullanılan veriler genellikle, ya Tarsus'unki gibi detaylı olan ya da günümüz kazı projelerininki gibi kısa ve ilk değerlendirme niteliğindeki kazı raporlarından gelir. Bu tez, Ovalık Kilikya'nın çoklu-dönem (höyük) yerleşimlerindeki Helenistik Dönem'in, Yunanistan, Batı Anadolu veya Mısır'daki anıtsal ve etkileyici yapılar verenlerin aksine, basit yapılardan oluşan küçük kasabalarla karakterize olduğu sonucuna varır. Tarsus-Gözlükule dışında, bu yerleşmelerdeki iskân, bir önceki Pers Dönemi'nden

devam etmekteydi. Roma Dönemi’nde, bu yerleşmelerin çoğu, yakılanlardaki başka yerlerde anıtsal ve etkileyici yapılarla yeniden kurulmak üzere terk edildiler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Helenistik Kilikya, Kinet Höyük (Issus), Sirkeli Höyük, Soli-Pompeiopolis, Tarsus-Gözlükule.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Dr. Charles W. Gates, for his great encouragement and valuable guidance throughout this thesis. I am also appreciative of my examining committee members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Julian Bennett and Prof. Dr. D. Burcu Erciyas for their helpful comments and insightful questions. I also would like to thank Dr. Jacques Morin for teaching me Ancient Greek and commenting on my thesis.

I am grateful to the rest of the faculty in the Bilkent Archaeology Department, for creating an intellectual environment and providing me with scholarships to conduct my research projects. In particular, I am deeply indebted to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marie-Henriette Gates, for her patience and guidance to find my way, even if I came up with ridiculous questions.

I would like to thank my excavation directors Prof. Dr. Mirko Novák and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ekin Kozal for giving me the opportunity to work on the Hellenistic Period of Sirkeli Höyük which led me to write this thesis on this topic. I am grateful to Dr. Alexander Ahrens, my pal, bearing with me the hell-like heat of Adana in the trenches for years and commenting on the Sirkeli section of my thesis. I would like to thank Dr. Susanne Rutishauser for sending me her PhD thesis and helping me with maps. I also owe thanks to Dr. Natascha Kreutz and Dr. Peter Stone for helping me with the dating and the terminology of the Hellenistic pottery. I would like to express my appreciation to my friends in Sirkeli, Jonathan Gerber, the IT guru, and Nicole Gäumann.

My special thanks go to Sevilay Zeynep Hacıbekiroğulları for her support, who has been and shall always be my best friend. There are no words to express my gratitude to my family who has consistently trusted and supported me in whatever I do.

Because of them, I am who I am and able to complete this study. It is to them that this thesis is dedicated. I love you all.

I also have to acknowledge all the Bilkent staff for their incredible work. I especially thank Füsun Yurdakul, the librarian at the Interlibrary Loan Department, who is doing a great job, and Nimet Kaya from the dormitory management for her help.

Last but not least, I thank my friends and colleagues in Bilkent, past and present, Hande Köpürlüoğlu, Kasia Kuncewicz, Bahattin İpek, Humberto DeLuigi, Tom Moore, Nurcan Küçükarslan, Zeynep Akkuzu, Şakir Can, and Andrew Beard in the Archaeology Department; Uluç Karakaş, İsmail Erkam Sula, Burak Toygar Halistoprak, and Sercan Canbolat in the Department of International Relations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT……iii
ÖZET……...v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS……vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS……ix
LIST OF FIGURES……xii

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION……1
CHAPTER 2: SMOOTH CILICIA (CILICIA PEDIAS)……5
2.1. Geography……5
2.2. History.....8
CHAPTER 3: HELLENISTIC SETTLEMENTS IN SMOOTH CILICIA.....18
3.1. Tarsus-Gözlükule.....18
3.1.1. The Hellenistic Phases.....21
3.1.1.1. The Early Hellenistic Phase.....22
3.1.1.2. The Middle Hellenistic Phase.....24
3.1.1.3. The Late Hellenistic Phase.....29
3.1.1.4. The Hellenistic-Roman Phase (Transitional).....31
3.1.1.5. Section A.....32
3.1.2. Pottery.....33
3.1.3. Coins……35
3.1.4. Lamps……36
3.1.5. The Stamped Amphora Handles……...36
3.1.6. The Miscellaneous Finds……..37

3.1.7. Conclusion……37
3.2. Soli (Pompeiopolis) Höyük……...38
3.2.1. Trenches with Hellenistic Finds……42
3.2.1.1. Trenches on the Main Mound……43
3.2.1.2. Trenches at the Colonnaded Street……45
3.2.2. Conclusion……46
3.3. Sirkeli Höyük……48
3.3.1. The Hrouda Excavations (1992-1996)…….…….50
3.3.2. The Ehringhaus Excavations (1997)…….....52
3.3.3. Current Excavations by Novák (2006-present)……52
3.3.3.1. Area A……53
3.3.3.2. Area C……57
3.3.3.3. Area D……58
3.3.4. Conclusion……58
3.4. Tatarlı Höyük……60
3.4.1. Trenches with Hellenistic Remains and Finds……..62
3.4.1.1. Trench AT-185 (Citadel B Building)……62
3.4.1.2. Step Trenches AO 186 and AP 186……...…62
3.4.1.3. Trenches AZ 173 and AY 173……...63
3.4.1.4. Trench AV 182 at the Center of the Citadel……...64
3.4.1.4. Trenches around the Citadel Building A……64
3.4.2. Archaeobotanical Studies……..66
3.4.3. Conclusion……....66
3.5. Kinet Höyük……...……68
3.5.1. The Hellenistic Layers……..70
3.5.1.1. Period 3B (Transitional from the Persian period)……..71
3.5.1.2. Period 3A……73
3.5.1.3. Period 2……..73
3.5.2. Conclusion……77
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION: THE NATURE OF
HELLENISTIC SETTLEMENT IN SMOOTH CILICIA……....79
4.1. What types of Hellenistic settlements can be found?.....80

4.2. What were the reasons for people to settle those sites during the Hellenistic period?.....80
4.3. How did the settlements develop and function throughout the period?.....81
4.4. How did the political environment affect those sites?.....84
4.5. Conclusion: What is the nature of Hellenistic settlement in Smooth Cilicia?.....85
REFERENCES……...86
FIGURES……..104

LIST OF FIGURES

1 Map of Cilicia with two sub-regions (Google Earth)……...…105

2 Smooth Cilicia with mountains, rivers and passes (Courtesy of Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, University of Bern)……..……....106

3 The Campaigns of Alexander in western Asia and Phoenicia (Mensch, 2010: 56, Map 2.1)…….……..….107

4 The movements of the Persian and Macedonian armies before the Battle of Issus (Mensch, 2010: 69, Map 2.7)…….107

5 A view from Yılan Kale towards Sirkeli Höyük and environs (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)…….……..108

6 Municipal and royal mints in the western part of the Seleucid Empire (Meyer, 2001: 515, Fig. 1)……...109

7 Map of Smooth Cilicia (Cilicia Pedias) with cities and ancient sites (Courtesy of Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, University of Bern)..……...110

8 Dynastic stemma of the Tarkondimotidai proposed by N. Wright (Wright, 2012: 70, Fig. 2)……..…..……111

9 Earlier Tarkondimotid stemmata proposed by different scholars (Wright, 2012: 71, Fig. 3)……..….111

10 The topographic map of the Gözlükule mound (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 1)……..……...112

11 The mound of Tarsus-Gözlükule surrounded by densely occupied modern city (www.tarsus.boun.edu.tr).....113

12 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early (solid walls) and Middle Hellenistic

structures (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 3)…….....…...113
13 Tarsus-Gözlükule .Early and Middle Hellenistic
structures (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 2)……...……..114
14 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic Phase, Rooms C-G
from southwest (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 4)……115
15 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Southwestern end of Early Hellenistic Phase
from northwest (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 5)……...…….115
16 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic, bronze workers' channel?
(Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 8)…….….116
17 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic pot, found in situ
in Room C (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 9)……...116
18 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic amphora
in Room G (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 7)……..…….116
19 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic hearth in southeast
corner of Room F (Goldman, 1950a: 6)……...…….117
20 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Coin of Alexander
the Great (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 87/2)……..……...117
21 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic Phase, Rooms 5 and
and part of court (after Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 10)……...…….117
22 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic, Room 6 containing
pebble mosaic (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 13)……....118
23 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic pebble mosaic
found in Room 6 (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 12)……...…….118
24 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic phase, west wall of court
(Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 16)……119
25 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic phase, bath looking east
(after Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 19)……...….119
26 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic Phase, east drain of bath
looking south (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 20)……..……...120
27 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic Phase, oven in Room 15,
looking south (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 21)……...…..120
28 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Late Hellenistic, Hellenistic-Roman, Early Roman,

and Middle Roman Phases (after Goldman, 1950a: Plan 4)……...….121
29 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Walls associated with Late Hellenistic, Hellenistic-Roman, and Middle Roman Phases (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 5)……122
30 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Late Hellenistic, Room I D, looking west (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 32)……..……122
31 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Building II in Section A (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 9)……...……..123
32 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Section A, Building II, looking east (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 79)……...…….124
33 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Section A, Building II, blocked doorway looking west (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 80)……..…….124
34 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Plain pointed type of amphorae (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 133)……..……...125
35 Tarsus-Gözlükule. Terracotta loom-weights (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 267)……..…….126
36 Sketch of ruins of Pompeiopolis with the Roman harbor (Beaufort, 1818: 249)……..……127
37 Soli-Pompeiopolis. The Colonnaded Roman Street after restoration (Yağcı and Kaya, 2013a: 252, Resim 9)……...……..127
38 The topography map of Soli-Pompeiopolis with mound and the Colonnaded Street (Yağcı, 2001a: 264, Plan: 1)…….……128
39 Soli-Pompeiopolis. The topography of the mound itself and the grid system (Yağcı, 2002: 289, Plan 1)……..……..128
40 Soli-Pompeiopolis. A fragment of a dribble ware bowl (Yağcı, 2001a: 268, Resim 1)……..……129
41 Soli-Pompeiopolis. The fragment of a figurine associated with Kybele (Yağcı, 2001a: 268, Resim 2)….……..129
42 Soli-Pompeiopolis. A fragment of a Rhodian amphora handle (Yağcı, 2001a: 270, Resim 6)……...……..130
43 Soli-Pompeiopolis. Terracotta objects found in H3 (Yağcı, 2001a: 270, Resim 5; Yağcı, 2001a: 271, Resim 7)……...……..130
44 Soli-Pompeiopolis. A fragment of West-Slope ware

(Yağcı, 2002: 291, Resim 4)……...…….131
45 Soli-Pompeiopolis. An example of a Homeric bowl
(Yılmazer-Çorbacı, 2011: Resim 1)……..131
46 Soli-Pompeiopolis. In trench E6, row of blocks forms a platform
(Yağcı, 2008a: 166, Resim 10)…….132
47 Soli-Pompeiopolis. A late Hellenistic/early Roman
lamp (Yağcı, 2007: 181: Fig. 4)……..……..132
48 Soli-Pompeiopolis. Fragments of red figure ceramic with a Dionysiac
representation (Yağcı and Kaya, 2009: 472: Res. 4)…….....….133
49 Soli-Pompeiopolis. A general view of the Roman Colonnaded Street
(Yağcı, 2014: 357, Resim 1 and 2)……..134
50 Soli-Pompeiopolis. A broken “heptad” terracotta
lamp (Yağcı, 2004a: 57: Resim 3)…..……..135
51 Soli-Pompeiopolis. Byzantine channel and adjacent
Roman manhole (after Yağcı and Kaya, 2013a: 249, Resim 1)……...…….135
52 Soli-Pompeiopolis. Hellenistic finds discovered in the
Roman manhole (Yağcı and Kaya, 2013a: 249, Resim 2)……...…….136
53 Soli-Pompeiopolis. Mold-made bowls dated to the Hellenistic
period (Yağcı and Kaya, 2013a: 250, Resim 3)……....137
54 Soli-Pompeiopolis. Hellenistic lamps
(Yağcı and Kaya, 2013a: 250, Resim 4)……..…….137
55 Soli-Pompeiopolis. A Hellenistic terracotta
figurine (Yağcı and Kaya, 2013a: 251, Resim 5)……..……...138
56 Soli-Pompeiopolis. The “Pompeiopolis” inscription
(Yağcı and Kaya, 2012a: 174: Resim 2)……...138
57 Soli-Pompeiopolis. Bronze coin of Antoninus Pius
(Boyce, 1958: Plate 10, Fig. 1)…….139
58 3D reconstruction of the Roman Harbor with the Colonnaded
Street (Yağcı and Kaya, 2013a: 252, Resim 10)……..……139
59 The location of Sirkeli Höyük in Smooth Cilicia
(Courtesy of Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, University of Bern)…….....140
60 The sketch plan of Sirkeli by Garstang (1938: Plate XIV)……..…….140

61 The topographic plan of Sirkeli Höyük with location of trenches (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……..…….141
62 Sirkeli Höyük. Trenches, excavated by Hrouda and Ehringhaus in the 1990s (Ehringhaus, 1999a: 85, Figure 2)……..……..142
63 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic period. A fragmentary terracotta figurine (Haider in Hrouda, 1997a: 126, Abb. 31/d)……..……..142
64 Sirkeli Höyük. A 35 cm long iron spearhead from Area 18/1 (Haider in Hrouda, 1997a: 127, Abb. 29/a)……...…...143
65 Sirkeli Höyük. A terracotta draped female figurine (Haider in Hrouda, 1997a: 126, Abb 30)……..…143
66 Sirkeli Höyük. A fragmentary terracotta female head with kalathos, (Hrouda, 1997a: 102, Abb. 12)……..144
67 Sirkeli Höyük. A fragment of a Rhodian amphora handle (Hrouda, 1997a: 102, Abb. 11)……...……144
68 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic fine wares found during the Hrouda excavations at Sirkeli (Hübner, 2000: Tafel 25)……...145
69 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic fine wares found during the Hrouda excavations at Sirkeli (Hübner, 2000: Tafel 26)…….…..146
70 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic finds retrieved during the Ehringhaus excavations at Sirkeli (Ehringhaus, 1999a: 103, Abb. 12)……...…….147
71 Stratigraphy of Area A in Sirkeli Höyük (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……..…….148
72 Sirkeli Höyük. Plan of Hellenistic Building A2 discovered in Area A (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)…….……..148
73 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic Building A2 with multiple rooms in Area A (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……..…….149
74 Sirkeli Höyük. Later added walls of Building A2 in Area A (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……...……149
75 Sirkeli Höyük. Section drawing of Area A (Kreutz, 2011: 144, Abb. 4)……..……150
76 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic pottery found in Area A (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 95, Abb. 25)……..……150

77 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic finds (Kreutz, 2011: 146, Abb. 6 and 7)……151
78 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic Period. West-Slope
wares found in area A (Kreutz, 2011: 147, Abb. 8)……..……...151
79 Eastern Sigillata A vessels (Kreutz, 2011: 149, Abb. 9)……..…….151
80 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic pottery (Laube in
Ahrens et al., 2008: 97, Abb. 26)…….....……...152
81 Two examples of Hellenistic cooking pots found in Area A
of Sirkeli Höyük (Novák and Kozal, 2010: 489, Resim 11, 12)……..….152
82 Sirkeli Höyük. Terracotta figurine fragments
(Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 100, Abb. 27 and 28)……...…….153
83 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic terracotta figurine
fragment (Novák and Kozal, 2013: 423, Resim 5)……..…….153
84 Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic terracotta and stone objects
(Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……..…….154
85 Hellenistic coins found in Area A of Sirkeli Höyük
(Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……..…….155
86 A probable courtyard in Area C of Sirkeli Höyük
(Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……..…….156
87 A terracotta female bust with a kalathos on the head was found
in Area C (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)…….…..156
88 Area D in Sirkeli Höyük (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project)……...157
89 The geology of Tatarlı Höyük and environs
(Girginer et al., 2010: 470, Resim 2)…..……..157
90 The topographic map of Tatarlı Höyük with citadel
and lower town (Ünal and Girginer, 2010: 280: Res. 2)…...……158
91 The grid plan of the mound Tatarlı and the locations
of the trenches (Girginer et al. 2016: 499, Resim 1).……...…….158
92 The Citadel B Building and Hellenistic pottery found
in this building (Girginer et al., 2010: 474, Resim 10)……..……...159
93 Hellenistic remains found in step trenches AO 186 and AP 186
of Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer et al., 2010: 475)……159
94 The Hellenistic bust of Zeus or Asclepius found in trench AP 186

of Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer et al, 2011a: 134, Fig. 10)……...……..160
95 Tatarlı Höyük. Hellenistic structures, sharing the zig-zag fortification wall (Girginer et al., 2011a: 132, Fig. 6)…..……160
96 Aerial view of Tatarlı Höyük (Tatarlı Höyük Excavation Brochure 2012)……...……...161
97 Tatarlı Höyük. An example of a lamp with a relief of Dionysus (Girginer et al., 2011a: 131, Fig. 5)……...……...162
98 Tatarlı Höyük. Hellenistic period. A terracotta figurine of a draped female (Girginer et al., 2011: 132, Fig. 6)……...……...162
99 In trench AZ 187 of Tatarlı Höyük, 35 loom-weights in different shapes were exposed (after Girginer, 2012: 111, Fig. 2)……...162
100 Tatarlı Höyük. Part of the plan drawing of Citadel A Building (Girginer et al., 2010: 471, Res. 3)……....163
101 Tatarlı Höyük. A section drawing of Citadel Building A (Girginer et al., 2010: 472, Resim 6c)……...….163
102 Tatarlı Höyük. Citadel A Building, Hellenistic artifacts and walls (Girginer et al., 2014a: 189, Resim 2)……...…164
103 The stratigraphy of Kinet Höyük (adapted from M.-H. Gates, 1999b: 261)……...……...164
104 An aerial view of Kinet Höyük and the Mediterranean Sea (C. Gates, 2015: 83, Fig.2)……...……..165
105 The topographic map of Kinet Höyük with excavated areas (C. Gates, 2015: 85, Fig.3)……..……...166
106 Kinet Höyük. A plan of the west entry area of the Period 3B circuit wall in Area E/H (C. Gates, 2015: 89, Fig. 8)……....167
107 The west entry area of the Period 3B circuit wall in Area E/H, from the east (C. Gates, 2015: 90, Fig. 9)…….167
108 Kinet Höyük. Attic black-glazed pottery from Period 4 in Area U (C. Gates, 2015: 88, Fig. 6)……...….168
109 An amphorae cache from Period 3A in Area U (C. Gates, 2015: 98, Fig. 18)……...……..168
110 Kinet Höyük. The Period 3B circuit wall and the adjacent

building in Area G (C. Gates, 2015: 90, Fig. 10)……..…169
111 Kinet Höyük. A plan of the Period 3 building
in Area G (C. Gates, 2015: 92, Fig. 12)……..…..170
112 Kinet Höyük. An amphora with stamped handles from
Period 3A in Area U (after C. Gates, 2015: 98, Fig. 16)……..171
113 Kinet Höyük. A black-slipped imitation lamp and a red-slipped
three-spouted lamp (C. Gates, 2015: 100, Figs. 20-21)……...….172
114 Kinet Höyük. Period 2. A group of residential rooms and courts
in areas E, H, and C (C. Gates, 1999: Plate 105, Fig. 6)…….…..173
115 Kinet Höyük. A house with roof tile collapse and terracotta
roof tiles with stamps (C. Gates, 2015: 101, Figs. 22-23)……..…..174
116 Kinet Höyük. A bronze coin (KNH-581) issued
by Demetrios I (C. Gates, 2015: 102, Fig. 4)……...…….175
117 Kinet Höyük. The soundings in the BP field,
from the north (C. Gates, 2015: 94, Fig. 14)…...……..175
118 Kinet Höyük. Sounding No. 3 in the BP field,
from the southwest (C. Gates, 2015: 95, Fig. 15)……..……...176
119 Hellenistic architecture and finds discovered in trenches AZ 186
and AY 186 (Girginer et al., 2016: 502, Resim 7 and 8)…..……....177

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the nature of the Hellenistic settlements in Smooth Cilicia. The region known as “Smooth Cilicia” is located at the junction point of Anatolia, Cyprus and Syria. It has a long history from the prehistoric ages to the Medieval period. Bordered naturally by high mountain ranges and the Mediterranean, Smooth Cilicia is already self-defined geographically. Because of these high ranges, it is only possible to enter Smooth Cilicia via narrow passes. It is an extremely fertile plain watered by important rivers. Thus, situated in a strategic location and being a naturally protected fertile territory, Smooth Cilicia has always been important throughout history.

The thesis focuses on the Hellenistic period in the multi-period sites of Smooth Cilicia because this period has been ignored by researchers working at such sites in this region. Archaeologists have been mostly motivated to learn more about earlier periods. Because of this reason, in many excavation projects at multi-period sites, Hellenistic layers are not recognized and recorded well but skipped in favor of preceding layers, or they are just recorded quickly during the excavation but not studied later in detail. However, Cilicia is very important for its rich history in the Hellenistic period and also as part of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms; thus, it deserves more attention. Besides, a comprehensive study which aims to understand the Hellenistic period from the perspective of the multi-period sites which could give

a clear stratigraphy of the material culture and the architecture types of the Hellenistic period is lacking.

Multi-period sites have many advantages compared with single-period sites. They are more often excavated whereas the single-period sites are mostly known from surveys. In contrast to single-period sites, cultural materials are excavated in a stratigraphic manner in the multi-period sites, which can give information about cultural change as reflected in finds coming from different layers and their sub-layers. Thus, in the multi-period sites, it is possible to observe how the settlement developed through time. However, in single period sites such as castles, fortresses, etc., the material is not excavated in a stratigraphic manner but is seen as one monolithic block of a single period. In such sites, the different building phases of the settlement are usually unknown or not understood in detail.

By studying the Hellenistic material culture found in multi-period sites, I intend to answer the following questions: In Smooth Cilicia, what types of Hellenistic settlements can be found? What were the reasons for people to settle those sites during the Hellenistic period? How did the settlements develop and function throughout the period? How did the political environment affect those sites?

Smooth Cilicia has evoked a great deal of archaeological interest since the 1930s. In Cilicia, the first systematic archaeological investigations were initiated by a group of American researchers under the direction of Hetty Goldman in the 1930s, notably excavations at Tarsus-Gözlükule, which provided the first corpus of Hellenistic material culture and chronology that is still being used by scholars working in the region today (Goldman, 1935; 1937; 1938; 1940a; 1940b; 1950a; 1956; 1963). During the winter of 1936-1937, John Garstang excavated Sirkeli Höyük (Garstang, 1937; 1938). After a single campaign, Garstang left Sirkeli and moved to another pre-classical site, Yumuktepe / Mersin where he excavated for several years. These excavations were part of the “Neilson Expedition to Cilicia” project. However, apart from two short preliminary reports, not much is known and it is not possible to correlate his results with those of current excavations of Sirkeli (Ahrens, 2014).

In 1951, Marjory Veronica Seton-Williams surveyed the Cilician plain and the vicinity of the Gulf of Iskenderun. She identified and dated many sites by examining pottery. Among the 149 sites that she visited, 95 sites yielded ceramics that she

claimed were Hellenistic (Seton-Williams, 1954). In 1955-1959, Theodor Bossert excavated the mound of Misis (Yakapınar). After a long gap in research, the 1990s was the decade in which several significant archaeological inquiries began. In 1991, the Bilkent University Survey under the direction of İlknur Özgen and Marie-Henriette Gates was conducted in the coastal strip between Yumurtalık and İskenderun where Seton-Williams did not visit. This survey was a complement to Seton-Williams's survey and documented 33 archaeological sites (Özgen & Gates, 1993). Following this survey project, Kinet Höyük was excavated by M.-H. Gates between 1992 and 2012. More recently, during the Mopsos Project, a survey conducted in the İskenderun Bay region by Gunnar Lehmann, Ann Killebrew, and Marie-Henriette Gates between 2004 and 2009, 195 archaeological sites were identified, most of them Hellenistic and Roman (Lehmann, Killebrew, M.-H. Gates, & Halpern, 2006; Lehmann, Killebrew, & M.-H. Gates, 2008; Killebrew, Lehmann, & M.-H. Gates, 2009; Killebrew & Lehmann, 2010; Killebrew, 2011).

Moreover, other important sites in the region have been investigated since 1990s: Sirkeli has been excavated by Miroslav Novák since 2006 after the excavations by Barthel Hrouda between 1992 and 1996, and in 1997 by Horst Ehringhaus. Following the Kizzuwatna Project which aimed to identify the location of over 50 Kizzuwatna cities (known from Hittite textual sources), Serdar Girginer has excavated Tatarlı Höyük since 2007. Soli-Pompeiopolis Höyük has been excavated by Remzi Yağcı since 1999. After a long hiatus in the study of Tarsus-Gözlükule, Aslı Özyar began the Tarsus-Gözlükule Interdisciplinary Project in the beginning of the 2000s and resumed excavations at the site in 2007.

In addition, there are other sites with Hellenistic occupation in the region such as Anazarbus, the Karasis Fortress, Hierapolis-Castabala, Misis, and Magarsus. However, the information regarding the Hellenistic period from these settlements is limited. Anazarbus (Gough, 1952: Posamentir, 2011; De Giorgi, 2011) and Karasis (Radt, 2011; Hoffmann, 2011; Polla, 2011) were only surveyed. Excavations at Hierapolis-Castabala have been conducted by Turgut H. Zeyrek since 2009, but Hellenistic material from this site has not yet been published in detail (Zeyrek, 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2013a; 2013b; Zeyrek & Zeyrek, 2014a; 2014b; 2016). Although the Misis Excavations were initiated in 2012 by Anna Lucia D'Agata and Giovanni Salmeri, no excavation report has been published yet. In Magarsus (Karataş),

Hellenistic structures including monumental buildings - such as theatre, temple, stadion - were investigated during the survey project of M.H. Sayar and Ralph Rosenbauer between 2006 and 2009 (Rosenbauer, Sayar, Langenegger, & Rutishauser, 2011). Following the survey project, excavations at at Magarsus have been conducted since 2013 by the Adana Archaeology Museum; however, apart from a short excavation report, no further information has been published yet (Erhan & Gülşen, 2016).[1]

Before investigations began in the 1990s at the Cilician multi-period sites, it was not possible to study Hellenistic settlements in Smooth Cilicia. Apart from the Tarsus excavations, there was no other project in the region to contribute to such a thesis and the Hellenistic period was known only from textual records and some surveys. Thanks to excavations in Tarsus, Soli-Pompeiopolis, Sirkeli Höyük, Tatarlı Höyük, and Kinet Höyük, useful evidence for examining the nature of Hellenistic settlements is now available. In the course of the thesis these five settlements are investigated.

The goal of the thesis will be to understand the nature of Hellenistic settlement in Smooth Cilicia from the perspective of these five multi-period sites. In the following chapter, the study will first summarize the geographical features of Smooth Cilicia which have important effects on the settlements. Then a brief summary of historical events that had reflections in the settlement patterns will follow. In the third chapter, the five Cilician sites with stratified Hellenistic material culture will be presented, beginning first with Tarsus-Gözlükule which offers the fullest evidence for the Hellenistic period with its building sub-phases and which has been used as the reference site by the other four settlements studied in this thesis. Soli-Pompeiopolis Höyük will follow. Afterwards in Chapter 3, Sirkeli Höyük where I myself have been working and excavating the Hellenistic layers since 2011, will be presented. Lastly in Chapter 3, the results of the excavations of Tatarlı Höyük and Kinet Höyük will be explained. Although the Hellenistic material is not represented equally in every settlement, the sites will be presented according to findings published so far. Finally, Chapter 4, a synthesis of the results of this study will conclude with an answer to the question of "What is the nature of Hellenistic settlement in Smooth Cilicia?"

[1] Current excavations at Magarsus have only focused on investigation of the theatre so far. The other Hellenistic remains and finds have yet to be published. For the preliminary report, see Erhan and Gülşen (2016).

CHAPTER 2

SMOOTH CILICIA (CILICIA PEDIAS)

2.1. Geography

In antiquity, Cilicia was subdivided into two regions based on physical features, Cilicia Tracheia ("Κιλικία Τραχεία" in Greek, "Rough" or "Rugged" in English) in the west and Cilicia Pedias ("Κιλικία Πεδιάς" in Greek, "Smooth" or "Flat" in English) in the east (Figure 1) (Strabo, *Geography*: 14.5.8). Rough Cilicia, extending from Alanya (Coracesium) to the west part of the province of Mersin, refers to a mountainous region. Smooth Cilicia, on the other hand, corresponds to today's Çukurova, a flatter region stretching from Soli in the west of modern Mersin province to the Dörtyol region (Issus) in Hatay province. The Lamus River, modern Lamas or Limonlu Çayı, located west of Erdemli, is the border between these two regions (Strabo, *Geography*: 14.5.1-8; Vann, 1997: 307; Tobin, 2004: 1; Oruç, 2013: 3). Because of geomorphological differences between the two regions, Rough Cilicia was settled sparsely and hosted pirates[2] and bandits whereas Smooth Cilicia was densely settled and had a long history of occupation (Tobin, 2004: 1). The geographic scope of the thesis will be limited to Smooth Cilicia. Therefore, this section will present the geographic features of this region.

Smooth Cilicia is naturally bordered by high mountain ranges, the Taurus on the north and west, the Amanus (Nur) Mountains on the east, and by the Mediterranean

[2] For more, see Casabonne (2004: 50-51).

Sea on the south (Seton-Williams, 1954: 121-123; Atalay, 1997: 205; Ünal, 2006: 17; Ünal & Girginer, 2007: 23). Although this mountainous territory separates this region from the rest of Anatolia and Syria, major passes allow access into Smooth Cilicia. It is only possible to enter Smooth Cilicia via narrow passages through the mountains (Figure 2). The Amanic Gates (Bahçe Pass), the Jonah Pass (the Pillar of Jonah) and the Syrian Gates (Belen Pass) in the Amanus Mountains provide a way from the east. It is possible to enter Smooth Cilicia from central Anatolia by the Cilician Gates (Gülek Boğazı) in the Taurus Mountains (Seton-Williams, 1954: 123; Jean, 2001: 5; Casabonne, 2004: 44-47; Tobin, 2004: 1-2; Ünal & Girginer, 2007: 35-44; Oruç, 2013: 3). Thus, not only in antiquity but also today, Smooth Cilicia constitutes the intersection of various regions such as Syria, Mesopotamia, central Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Levant which are involved in international trade networks and cultural exchanges. In addition, the extremely fertile plain and naturally surrounded by mountains that provide an isolated terrain protected from immediate attacks makes Smooth Cilicia a very distinctive region.

Smooth Cilicia is watered by three major rivers[3]: the Cydnus (modern Tarsus or Berdan, 124 km in length), the Sarus (Seyhan, 560 km in length), and the Pyramus (Ceyhan, 509 km in length) (Seton-Williams, 1954: 121; Tekin, 2001: 525-527; Casabonne, 2004: 31-35; Ünal & Girginer, 2007: 24-25). The Cydnus and Sarus rivers originate in the Taurus Mountains and flow into the Mediterranean. The Pyramus, on the other hand, begins in Elbistan in the province of Kahramanmaraş and passing the Amanus Range empties into the Mediterranean (Tekin, 2001: 525-527). These three deposed sediments that made up Smooth Cilicia as a vast flood plain (Tobin, 2004: 1). This plain was called "Aelian"[4] in antiquity and today is known as "Çukurova" (Casabonne, 2004: 31).

Although it is named "smooth", Smooth Cilicia is not always flat. There are sub-regions divided by mountains and volcanic low hills within the region. The Plain of Issus, one of these sub-divisions, bordered by the Amanus Mountains on the east, lies at the easternmost end of Smooth Cilicia. It is separated from the Aelian Plain by the Misis Mountains (Figure 2) (Tobin, 2004: 1). Low volcanic hills unite these two

[3] The rivers were depicted as the gods in human form on the Cilician coins. In addition, sites were often called with the rivers that they were close to. For more on these, see Meyer (2001) and Tekin (2001).
[4] Herodotus, *The Histories*: 6.95; Homer, *Iliad*: 6.201.

mountain ranges. In this part of Smooth Cilicia, basalt beds, which were quarried by ancient builders, are widespread because of the lava flows in prehistoric times. Because of this black basalt, the plain is named as "Black Cilicia" (Tobin, 2004: ix, 1). Although there are no active volcanos in the region today, several fault lines causing earthquakes are still active (Özgen & Gates, 1993: 388; Tobin, 2004: 1). The coastal strip, to the south of the Misis Mountains (the Yumurtalık region), contains hills which obstruct travel from east to west.

According to geomorphological studies and to ancient writers, it is understood that the rivers must have been more appropriate for navigation and transportation in the 2nd millennium BC than in later times (Horden & Purcell, 2000: 313-314; Oruç, 2013: 31-32)[5]. From the 1st millennium BC, the silt eroded from the mountains caused both the rapid progradation of the coast and clogged up the rivers, rendering navigation difficult because it reduced the water depth and made the water level too shallow for navigation by deep-water vessels (Oruç, 2013: 32). The geomorphological studies conducted in Tarsus (Öner, Hocaoğlu, & Uncu, 2005) and in the vicinity of Kinet Höyük (Ozaner, 1993; 1994; Beach & Luzzadder-Beach, 2008) further supported this idea (Oruç, 2013: 14-16). According to Beach and Luzzadder-Beach (2008: 425-427) the aggradation peaked around Kinet Höyük between the Hellenistic to Late Roman periods (Oruç, 2013: 16).

If the rivers were not navigable in the 1st century BC, land roads must have connected the cities within Smooth Cilicia. Such routes may partially be reconstructed from *Anabasis of Alexander* by Arrian of Nicomedia who recorded the march of Alexander the Great (Figure 3 and 4) (Mensch, 2010: 55-98, Maps 2.1 and 2.7). According to this reconstruction a road leads from Ancyra to Tarsus which is reached by passing the Cilician Gates. From Tarsus, the road bifurcates to the west and east. The west road leads to Soli through Anchiale. The east road, after passing Mallus, runs to the Issus Plain which was connected to the Syrian plateaus by the Syrian and the Amanic Gates (Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*: 2.4-12; Mensch, 2010: 55-98; C. Gates, 2015: 95-96).

[5] For Cilicia, this phenomenon was recorded well by Strabo (*Geography*: 1.3.7) who noted rapid progradation in the delta of the river Pyramus: he thought that, because of this progradation, the Cilician coast would rapidly unite with Cyprus.

Having a rich loamy soil (because of silting) makes Smooth Cilicia extremely fertile. Numerous crops such as cereals, rice, figs, dates, vines and flax were cultivated in this region (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*: 13.48; 16.113; 18.81; A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 20; Özbayoğlu, 2003: 159; Tobin, 2004: 1). This is well noted by Xenophon (*Anabasis*: 1.2.22) when he mentions the expedition of Cyrus descending into Cilicia:

> Thence he (Cyrus the Younger) descended to a large and beautiful plain (Cilicia), well-watered and full of trees of all sorts and vines; it produces an abundance of sesame, millet, panic (*Panicum miliaceum*; proso millet), wheat, and barley, and it is surrounded on every side, from sea to sea, by a lofty and formidable range of mountains.

Today, as well, the region is very important for growing fruits and vegetables, cotton, wheat, and sesame (Kıray, 1974: 184; Dewdney, 1971: 180; Tobin, 2004: 1). The Mediterranean climate dominates in the region; summers are very hot and humid while winters are mild (Casabonne, 2004: 33; Ünal & Girginer, 2007: 29-31). In spring when snow melts and in summer, the region used to be subject to flooding. Indeed, during the reign of Justinian (527-565 AD), the course of the Cydnus was changed in order to protect the city of Tarsus from flooding (Özyar, Danışman, & Özbal, 2005b: 9; Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 2). Summer brought a threat to the region because the marshy lands bred malaria-bearing mosquitoes.[6] In contrast, the foothills of the mountains are cooler and more refresh during summers (Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 2; Ramsay, 2000: 11-22).

2.2. History

In this section, historical events that occurred in Smooth Cilicia during the Hellenistic period will be presented. Textual sources become more available at the end of the 1st century BC with increasing Roman interest in the region (Meyer, 2001; Sayar, 2004). The main sources of information are ancient writers such as Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian of Nicomedia, Cicero, and Plutarch (Tobin, 2004: 4;

[6] However, since 1950, the efforts of the Turkish government to eliminate these dangers by building dams and pursuing insect control have provided a healthier environment (Kıray, 1974: 185; Dewdney, 1971: 180; Tobin. 2004: 1).

Desideri, 1991; 2003). Coinage also gives valuable information about the Hellenistic history of Cilicia.

During the Persian period, Cilicia was ruled by local dynasts loyal to the Persians. In ca. 546/539 BC when Cyrus the Great came into Smooth Cilicia, the inhabitants were already allied with the Persians (Xenophon, *Anabasis*: 1.2.22-27). This alliance enabled them to have an independent vassal state[7] under local dynasts who held the title "Syennesis" (Tobin, 2004: 4). The base of the Syennesis' rule was Tarsus. In 401 BC, having sided with Cyrus the Younger, the Syennesis was removed and a Persian satrap was assigned[8] for the region by Artaxerxes (Xenophon, *Anabasis*: 1.2.26-27; Tobin, 2004: 4).

In the summer of 333 BC, coming from Ancyra, Alexander and his troops entered Smooth Cilicia via the Cilician Gates and first settled in Tarsus. Alexander fell ill at Tarsus after bathing in the Cydnus River. Soon he recovered from this illness. In honor of this recovery, Alexander went to Soli through Anchiale to offer sacrifices to Asclepius. When he arrived at Soli, he saw the inhabitants "were more favorably disposed to the Persians." Therefore he fined the people of Soli 200 silver talents (Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*: 2.4.7-11; 2.5.1-9). Afterwards, he returned to Tarsus, then moved eastward to Mallus. Learning that Darius III had encamped at Sochoi, Alexander thought that Darius would cross the mountains through the Syrian Gates and led his soldiers to the southeast and crossing the Jonah Pass, he encamped at the foot of the Syrian Gates. Darius III, however, crossed the Amanus Mountains not by the Syrian Gates, but by the Amanic Gates. The confrontation of Alexander's army and the Persians took place at Issus in November of 333 BC. After a conclusive victory against Darius III at the Battle of Issus near the Pinarus River[9], Alexander the Great ended[10] the Persian rule in Cilicia (Figure 3 and 4) (Arrian, *Anabasis of*

[7] According to Salmeri (2003: 274), Cilicia was more or less a vassal kingdom under Persian rule with few privileges. However, it was not "thereby granted autonomy or governed -from the perspective of the imperial centre- on principles different from those of a satrapy."
[8] Casabonne (1999: 59) thinks that the assigning of a Persian satrap does not necessarily mean the end of local rule. See also Tobin (2004: end note 10).
[9] Janke (1904: 49-74) identified the Pinarus River as the Deli Çay (Tobin, 2004: 9, endnote 11). However, Hammond (1994: 95-111) and also Ozaner and Çalık (1995) argued that the Payas River is a better candidate for the Pinarus River (Tobin, 2004: 9, endnote 11; C. Gates, 2015: 95-97).
[10] Salmeri (2003: 280-81) argues that after the expedition of Alexander, the Greek presence did not materialize suddenly in the region but did start with the "colonizing" activity of the Seleucids and Ptolemies.

Alexander: 2.4-12; Tobin, 2004: 4; Sayar, 2004: 18; Wilson, 2013: 469; C. Gates, 2015: 95).

The death of Alexander in 323 BC led to fights for the throne between Alexander's generals. Perdiccas (ca. 355 - 320 BC) at first, and then Antipater (ca. 397 – 319 BC) took control of Smooth Cilicia. By 301 BC, the region fell under the rule of Seleucus I Nicator, the founder of the Seleucid Dynasty[11] (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*: 18.3.1; 18.39.6; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni:* 10.10; Akpınar, 2004: 21-24; Sayar, 2004: 17-18; Tobin, 2004: 4). The institutions of the Seleucid dynasty had Greco-Macedonian and Syro-Persian features (Hitti, 1951: 262; Akpınar, 2004: 21). While the head of the state was the king holding all power, satraps, district governors, secretaries and overseers of taxes were in charge in the provinces (Hitti, 1951: 264-267; Akpınar, 2004: 21-22).

In the 3rd century BC, Cilicia was still "a ground of dispute between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies" (A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 197-198; Salmeri, 2003: 280; Akpınar, 2004: 22). Smooth Cilicia was one of the most strategically important regions for both dynasties as it linked Asia Minor with Syria. Rough Cilicia, on the other hand, attracted the Ptolemies for its rich timber sources since Egypt is insufficient in timber. The Ptolemies were also interested in Rough Cilicia for its supply of mercenaries (A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 198-199). Although the control of Rough Cilicia often shifted between these two, the Seleucids ruled Smooth Cilicia for the most part[12] (Tobin, 2004: 4; Sayar, 2004: 18). During the 3rd century BC, some cities of Smooth Cilicia became intellectually important centers, especially for philosophy. Among them, Soli, Tarsus, and Mallus were the most prominent (Strabo, *Geography*: 14.5.8; 14.13-16; Yağcı, 2004b).

Seleucus I Nicator (305-281 BC), the founder of the Seleucid house, re-founded old cities with new names during the early 3rd century BC. Tarsus was renamed as "Antioch on the Cydnus" and Magarsus as "Antioch on the Pyramus" (Cohen, 1995: 55-56; Salmeri, 2003: 281; Tobin, 2004: 5). In this way, he strengthened his claim over the region. In addition, he also founded new cities: Aegeae and Alexandria ad

[11] For more on the Seleucids, see Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993) and Kosmin (2014).
[12] There was an exception to this. Soli, Zephyrium and Mallus were taken by Ptolemy III during the mid-3rd century and they remained Ptolemaic until Antiochus III took them over in 197 BC (Cohen, 1995: 362; Tobin, 2004: 9, endnote 13).

Issum[13]. The former was named for the Macedonian capital and the latter was named probably to celebrate Alexander's victory; it became important for controlling the Gulf of Issus.[14] (Tobin, 2004: 5). In 285 BC, Seleucus I fought a campaign against Demetrius I Poliorcetes (son of Antigonus I Monophthalmus), who was invading Cilicia and reclaiming his father's lands. Seleucus I prevented his attacks by blocking the two major passes in the Amanus Mountains, the Amanic Gates (Bahçe) and the Syrian Gates (Belen) (Grainger, 1990: 132; 1997: 680; Akpınar, 2004: 22). After the assassination of Seleucus I at Lysimachea by Ptolemy Keraunos in 281 BC, his son, Antiochus I Soter, succeeded to the throne. During Antiochus I's reign the Syrian Wars (a series of six wars)[15] began between the Seleucids and Ptolemies (Appian, *The Syrian Wars*). With the First Syrian War (ca. 274 - 271 BC), Ptolemy I took control of Rough Cilicia as well as major parts of Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia (Gmirkin, 2006: 158-159). Further, the Ptolemaic supremacy was confirmed by the Ptolemaic cities, including newly established Arsinoe, on the southern coast of Asia Minor (Gmirkin, 2006: 159). Between ca. 260 and 255/253 BC, during the Second Syrian War, Ptolemy III Euergetes regained control of Smooth Cilicia including Tarsus (Meyer 2001; 508, footnote 16; Gmirkin, 2006: 159).

The successors of Seleucus I Nicator were not as successful in establishing authority over their territory (Akpınar, 2004: 22). This situation changed with the arrival of Antiochus III the Great (223-187 BC), during whose reign the confrontation of Seleucids with Romans came onto the stage. Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at the Battle of Thermopylae (191 BC) and again at the Battle of Magnesia (190 BC) (Appian, *The Syrian Wars*: 4.16-20; 6). Consequently, at the end of the Syrian wars, the Treaty of Apamea was signed in 188 BC (Appian, *Syrian Wars*: 6; Titus Livius, *History of Rome*: 37; Akpınar, 2004: 23; Sayar, 2004: 19). As a result,

[13] In fact, three different founders have been proposed for Alexandria ad Issum: Alexander the Great, Antigonus I Monophthalmus, and Seleucus I Nicator (Cohen, 2006: 73-75, also footnote 4). Alexandria ad Issum was surveyed and documented during the Mopsos Project (Lehmann et al., 2008: 172, 174-176; Killebrew et al., 2009: 230). According to A.H.M. Jones (1983: 197-198), Aegeae was probably a military colony of Macedonians. In addition he suggests that Alexandria ad Issum may have been formed by a "synoecism" of Myriandrus and Issus (Tobin, 2004: 9, endnote 16). Synoecism simply means "union."

[14] Further information on these cities: see Cohen [1995: 355-357 (for Aegeae); 358-360 (for Antioch on the Cydnus); 360-362 (for Antioch on the Pyramus)].

[15] Six conflicts were fought between the leading Hellenistic states, the Seleucid kingdom and Ptolemaic Egypt. The dates of the wars: the first: 274–271 BC; the second: c. 260–255/253 BC; the third: c. 245–241 BC (also known as the Laodicean War); the fourth: 219–217 BC; the fifth: 202–200/195 BC (also known as the Battle of Panium); the sixth: 170–168 BC [*Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Syrian Wars", accessed April 17, 2016, http://global.britannica.com/topic/Syrian-Wars.]

Antiochus III lost all his power north of the Taurus Mountains and was compelled to pay a heavy war tribute. He also had to surrender all his war elephants along with prisoners and was forbidden to obtain mercenaries from Roman territories. In 189 BC, on the eve of Apamea, as a result of this conflicted atmosphere, the city of Soli tried unsuccessfully to free itself from the Seleucids by obtaining the status of "ἐλευθερία"[16] from the Romans through the intervention of Rhodes (Salmeri, 2003: 281).

After the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC, Seleucus IV Philopator ascended to the throne. However, there is not much information about Cilicia during his reign. After his death, Antiochus IV Epiphanes[17] (ruled 175-164 BC) pursued an agenda similar to Seleucus I Nicator, by refounding cities in Cilicia as a sign of the Seleucid control over the region (Magie, 1950: 280-281; Cohen, 1995: 56, 355-372; Mørkholm, 1966: 116-118; Meyer, 2001; 2011; Tobin, 2004: 5; De Giorgi 2011: 132-133; C. Gates, 2015: 98)[18]. This was perhaps an effort to regain the loss of Seleucid territories. Accordingly, Mopsuestia became Seleucia on the Pyramus, ancient Adana became Antioch on the Sarus, Castabala became Hierapolis on the Pyramus, and Oiniandus became Epiphaneia after the nickname of Antiochus IV Epiphanes[19] (Meyer, 2001; 2011; Tekin, 2001; Sayar, 2004: 20; Tobin, 2004:5; Wilson. 2013: 496). Antiochus IV gave certain privileges to the cities of Smooth Cilicia. Minting municipal coinage was one of these privileges. Silver and bronze coins had the royal portrait on the obverse and the city name on the reverse often attested with the river name (Figure 6) (A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 199-200; Meyer, 2001; Tekin, 2001; Tobin, 2004: 5; C. Gates, 2015: 98). In the western Seleucid Empire 19 cities including five Cilician ones, Alexandria ad Issum, Hierapolis-Castabala, Aegeae, Mopsuestia, and Antiochia on the Sarus (Adana), started to mint coins with the king's portrait except for Soli and Seleucia on the Calycadnus (modern Silifke)[20] which had royal mints (Meyer, 2001;

[16] Transliterated as “eleutheria”, ἐλευθερία is a Greek word for liberty which is also the personification.
[17] Meyer (2001: 505) describes him as “the most fascinating and most controversial of all Seleucid kings.”
[18] Although Mørkholm (1966: 116-118) and Cohen (1995: 56) accept that most probably Antiochus IV was responsible for these foundations, they draw attention to the point that there is no direct evidence to prove this (Tobin, 2004: 9, endnote 17).
[19] For more on the cities see Cohen [1995: 362-363 (for Antioch on the Sarus); 365-366 (for Epiphaneia/Oeniandus); 366-369 (for Hierapolis/Castabala); 371-372 (for Seleucia on the Pyramus/Mopsuestia)].
[20] The last two settlements issued municipal coinage beginning in the 2nd century BC (Meyer, 2011: 200).

2011: 200)[21]. Minting municipal coins was advantageous for both the Seleucid Dynasty and the cities themselves: city names and coin types demonstrated the loyalty to the Seleucid rule, while permitting the minting of coins meant that the value of the separate identity and tradition of each city was recognized by the dynasty (Meyer, 2001; 2011; C. Gates, 2015: 98).[22]

After the death of Antiochus IV, the prosperity of the kingdom weakened. Continuing dynastic wars led to the decline and eventual collapse of Seleucid control in Smooth Cilicia and to the Roman annexation of the kingdom (A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 200-201; Sayar, 2004: 21; Tobin, 2004: 5; Meyer, 2011: 205-206; C. Gates, 2015: 98). As a consequence, many of those cities with a royal Seleucid title returned to their original names and started to issue coins only with symbols of their own, having given up the "double identity"[23] (Meyer, 2011: 206). Ultimately, lacking a central authority caused conflicts and anarchy in Smooth Cilicia. Thus, during the second half of the 2nd century BC, the power of local rulers increased in the region, as did also piracy and banditry (Tobin, 2004: 5; A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 201). Because this piracy was a threat to Roman interests, the first Roman military intervention in Cilicia was initiated. In 102 BC, Marcus Antonius[24] was assigned "*provincia Cilicia*" as his proconsular command to deal with the matter in 102 BC (Sayar, 2004: 23; Tobin, 2004: 5; Tozan, 2013). Although the title of the command used the geographical term "Cilicia", the focus of Antonius' activities was Pamphylia, Lycia, the region of Milyas[25], and some parts of Phrygia. Following on from this initial burst of Roman involvement in the region, "Cilicia" was also subjected to Roman pressure at later intervals in order to suppress the piracy and establish peace in Asia Minor (A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 201; Tobin, 2004: 5)[26]. During this period, in spite of the Roman interventions, the cities of Smooth Cilicia suffered much because the

[21] Under Achaemenid Persian rule some Cilician cities (Soli, Tarsus, Mallos and Issus) were minting coins (Meyer, 2011: 200).
[22] According to C. Gates (2015:98), although Issus/Kinet Höyük did not issue coins during this period, changing the orientation of the city plan in ca. 175 BC may have been another way of reshaping these relations.
[23]For more on the issue of the "double identity", see Meyer (2001).
[24] There are two well-known men named Marcus Antonius. The first is the orator who was elected as praetor with proconsular powers and who led the first military intervention to Cilicia in 102 BC. The second is the grandson of the first, who is frequently known as "Mark Antony", the triumvir associated with Cleopatra, the last active pharaoh of Ptolemaic Egypt.
[25] Μιλυάς (ancient Greek), was the mountainous country in the north of ancient Lycia, the south of Pisidia, and a portion of western Phrygia.
[26] For the debate of the "Provincia Cilicia", see Freeman (1986), A.N. Sherwin-White (1976: 5), and Oktan (2011).

commercial activities were disturbed by piracy, with the inhabitants regularly abducted for the slave trade (A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 201; Tobin, 2004: 5; Arslan, 2003). The most violent of the raids was in 83 BC by Tigranes (II) the Great[27], King of Armenia and son-in-law of Mithradates VI (Magie, 1950: 295). After conquering Northern Syria and Smooth Cilicia, he forced the inhabitants of 12 Greek cities[28] to migrate to Tigranocerta, his new capital (considered by many to be today's Silvan in the province of Diyarbakır, Turkey), in order to increase population there and build his new city (Plutarch, *Lucullus:* 14.5; 22.5; 26.1; 29.4; Strabo, *Geography*: 11.14.15; Magie, 1950: 296; Salmeri, 2003: 284; Sayar, 2004: 24; Tobin, 2004: 5; Wilson, 2013: 496).

Until his defeat by Roman General L. Licinius Lucullus near Tigranocerta in 69 BC, Tigranes ruled the region. Lucullus forced him to escape to Armenia and re-established Seleucid rule in the region by placing Antiochus XIII as the ruler of Northern Syria and Smooth Cilicia (Sayar, 2004: 24; Tobin, 2004: 5). In 67 BC, the piracy threat was eliminated by Pompey the Great's expedition at Coracesium in Rough Cilicia (Salmeri, 2003: 284). After this, Pompey placed more "amenable" people in three underpopulated cities of Smooth Cilicia: Adana, Mallus, and Epiphaneia[29] (Tobin, 2004: 5). Pompey also ensured that the inhabitants of Soli could return back to their home, and as a result, the city was thereafter known as Pompeiopolis (Strabo, *Geography*: 14.3.3; 14.5.8; Salmeri, 2003: 286; Sayar, 2004: 24-25; Tobin, 2004: 5). Thus, the Romanization of Cilicia was started.

From 64 BC onwards, textual records concerning Smooth Cilicia are frequent. Plutarch, Appian, and Cassius Dio Cocceianus are the important sources for this period. In 64 BC, Pompey annexed the Seleucid Kingdom and Smooth Cilicia was incorporated into the province of Cilicia (Tobin, 2004: 5). Controlling the important routes between Asia Minor and Syria, the province acted as a land bridge between

[27] He is referred to as "King of Kings" by Plutarch (*Lucullus:* 14.5).
[28] Strabo (*Geography*: 11.14.15) only mentions the number but not the name of the cities. However, in current excavations at Soli Höyük, which must be among the 12 cities, an ashy layer has been identified with the plundering of Tigranes (Yağcı, 2001a; 2003a: 515; 2008b; see also the section "3.2. Soli (Pompeiopolis) Höyük" below).
[29] For more see Strabo (*Geography*: 14.5.8); Plutarch (*Pompey*: 28.4); Appian *(Mithridatic Wars*: 14-16); Cassius Dio Cocceianus (*Historia Romana*: 36.37.6); Lucius Annaeus Florus (*Epitome of Roman History*: 1.41.14); Marcus Velleius Paterculus (*History*: 2.32.5); Magie (1950: 298-300); Tobin (2004: 5).

Roman Asia and the non-Roman world (Magie, 1950: 383-384). The capital of this new province was Tarsus (Tobin, 2004: 5).

The nearest foreign territory to Smooth Cilicia was Castabalis (located on the eastern edge of Smooth Cilicia) which was ruled by the Tarcondimotid dynasty. Its first ruler was the reformed pirate Tarcondimotus I (Philantonius), son of Strato[30]. Having such local rulers must have been the way of the Romans to control mountainous regions such as the Amanus which are not easy to govern because of the geographic difficulties (Akpınar, 2004: 27). Its capital was at Castabala Hierapolis situated near the Ceyhan River in the province of Osmaniye (Figure 7). The exact borders of his kingdom are not known. However, it contained the cities of Castabala and Anazarbus[31] and most likely the districts of Bryclice, Lacantis and Characene (A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 204). In addition, the kingdom might have included the coastal sites like Aegeae and the western settlements of Corycus and Elaeussa because Tarcondimotus I must have had access to the sea as he sent ships to the battles at Pharsalus and Actium (Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historia Romana*: 41.63; Magie, 1950: 402-404; Gough, 1952: 93; Sayar, 2004: 26-27; Tobin, 2004: 5, also endnote 30).

In 51 BC, Marcus Tullius Cicero was assigned to be the governor of the new province of Cilicia (Magie, 1950: 390-401; Sayar, 2004: 26; Wilson, 2013: 496). After administrative failures of his predecessor Appius Claudius Pulcher[32], Cicero was praised for successfully dealing with the affairs there (Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*:

[30] Different genealogies are suggested by previous scholars (Figure 8 and 9) (Stein, 1932: 2297-2298; Dagron and Feissel, 1987: 70; A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 437; Lange, 1988: 336; Syme, 1995: 161-162; Wright, 2008; 2012). On the two inscriptions found at Castabala-Hieropolis, the children of Tarcondimotus I were named as Laios, Philopator and Julia (Wright, 2008: 116). Laios is presumed to have predeceased his father and one of the inscriptions honors him. Cassius Dio Cocceianus (*Historia Romana*: 51.2) mentions Laios and Philopator but not a third son (Tarcondimotus II). According to this, A.H.M Jones (1983: 437) sees Philopator and the second Tarcondimotus to be one person, "Tarcondimotus II Philopator". This consideration is followed by Tobin (2001; 2004: 5-7), Sayar (2001; 2004) and Kreutz (2011: 150-151). However, Cassius Dio Cocceianus (*Historia Romana*: 51.7.4) also mentions the "sons" (plural) of Tarcondimotus I, who fought against Antonian Gladiators in 30 BC, a year after the death of Tarcondimotus I. As Laios, the oldest son of Tarcondimotus I, had already died before his father, there must have been at least two living sons (Philapator and Tarcondimotus II) to Tarcondimotus I in 30 BC, so they are not the same person but two different individuals (Wright, 2008: 116). This is supported further by a discovery of a new coin dated to Tarcondimotus II from Anazarbus (Wright, 2009). Contrary to previous authors, I follow Wright's proposal for the genealogy of the Tarcondimotid family, in which the whole issue is put forward convincingly (Wright, 2008; 2009; 2012). For the stemma of the Tarcondimotidai, which is followed in this study, see Figure 8.

[31] For more on Anazarbus, see Gough (1952), Posamentir (2011), and De Giorgi (2011).

[32] For his governorship see Magie (1950: 387-390).

6.2.4; Tobin; 2004: 5). Cicero praises Tarcondimotus I as "the most faithful" and "the friendliest" ally to Romans because he warned Cicero that the Parthians were invading Syria (Cicero, *Letters to Friends*: 15.1.2; Andrade, 2011: 124). Although the Parthian threat could not reach Smooth Cilicia, it caused some internal conflicts in the region. Cicero had to deal with rebellious movements such as "Free Cilicians"[33] (Sayar, 2004: 26; Tobin, 2004: 6; Andrade, 2011: 123).

In the 40s BC, the civil war[34] between Caesar and Pompey came to a head and Smooth Cilicia was affected by this unstable atmosphere (Tobin, 2004: 6; Fields, 2008: 50-79). The region took sides with Pompey at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC and Tarcondimotus I supported him with a fleet (Magie, 1950: 402-404; Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historia Romana*: 41.63; Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*: 2.13.6; Sayar, 2001: 374; 2004: 26-27; Tobin, 2001: 383; 2004: 6). Caesar defeated Pompey and pardoned Pompey's supporters. In 47 BC, coming from Egypt, Caesar stopped at Tarsus and met with the delegates of the communities. Tarcondimotus was among the delegates (Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historia Romana*: 41.62; Tobin, 2004: 6). In 44 BC, after Caesar's death, Smooth Cilicia was incorporated into the province of Syria (Sayar, 2004: 27; Tobin, 2004: 6).

After Caesar was murdered, Gaius Cassius, one of the conspirators, invaded the province of Syria and forced Tarcondimotus I and the inhabitants of Tarsus to support him (Tobin, 2004: 6). After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at the Battle of Philippi, in 41 BC, Mark Antony recompensated the sufferings of the population of Tarsus by "exempting them from taxation and liberating those sold into slavery" (Sayar, 2004: 27; Tobin, 2004: 6; Magie, 1950: 419-421). It is also the year when Mark Antony was visited by Cleopatra at Tarsus and then followed her to Alexandria (Plutarch, *Antony:* 25). During this period, Tarcondimotus I may have developed his relations with Antony as he was named "King Tarcondimotus Philantonius"[35] on the coins (Sayar, 2001: 375; 2004: 27; Tobin, 2001: 383-385; 2004: 6; Wright, 2008; 2012). In 40 BC, Quintus Labienus, who was a Roman republican general and later

[33] "Free Cilicians" was a group of bandits who never had recognized the Seleucid or the Roman rule (Tobin, 2004: 5).
[34] For details and after effects of this conflict, see Osgood (2006); Fields (2008); and Breed, Damon, and Rossi (2010).
[35] Strabo (*Geography*: 14.5.18): "...a notable man established himself as lord of all, and was named king by the Romans because of his manly virtues – I refer to Tarcondimotus..."

in the service of Parthia, invaded Cilicia with a Parthian army but then this attack was repelled (Magie, 1950: 430- 432).

For the next decade, some of the territories were given to local rulers but Smooth Cilicia, being still attached to Syria, was under Roman control. In 31 BC, at the Battle of Actium, these local rulers supported Antony against Octavian (Tobin, 2004: 6). Tarcondimotus I was among the supporters again by leading a fleet but he died shortly before the battle (Plutarch, *Antony:* 61.1; Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historia Romana*: 50.14; Sayar, 2004: 27). The victorious Octavian forgave the vanquished local rulers, as Caesar had, and allowed most of them to keep their kingships. After his father's death in 31 BC, Philopator I, the second son, succeeded in 30 BC as the oldest son, Laios, had died before his father. In late 30 BC, Philopator I together with his remaining brother Tarcondimotus II fought against the Antonian Gladiators. Because of this, Philopator I was removed from the throne by Octavian in 30 BC (Dio Cassius Cocceianus, *Roman History:* 51.2; Wright, 2008: 117; 2012: 77).

Perhaps suspicious of his loyalty, Octavian made the third son, Tarcondimotus II (brother of Philopator I), wait for ten years, until 20 BC, to take the rule of the kingdom of Castabalis (Wright, 2008: 117; 2012: 78). However, Tarcondimotus II had to give up governing the coastal areas (Magie, 1950: 443-445; Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historia Romana*: 50.9.2; Sayar, 2004: 28; Tobin, 2004: 6). In 19 BC, most probably, honoring Julius Caesar and celebrating the recognition of Tarcondimotus II as king, the name of Anazarbus was changed to "Caesareia" (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*: 5.93; Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*: 60; A.H.M. Jones, 1983: 204; Sayar, 2004: 27; Wright, 2008: 117; 2012: 78-79). After this date, Anazarbus became the political center of the kingdom while Castabala was a religious center (Sayar, 2004: 28; Wright, 2008: 122; Andrade, 2011).

Following the death of Tarcondimotus II in 19 BC, Philopator II (Tarcondimotus III) became the king (ruled 19 BC - 17 AD). After his death, the kingdom of Castabalis was disbanded by Tiberius (Sayar, 2004: 28; Wright, 2008: 117: 2012: 78-81). With the annexation of the Kingdom of Commagene in 72 AD, Smooth Cilicia was detached from the province of Syria and united with the region of Rough Cilicia by Vespasian (Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*: 8.4; Tobin, 2004: 6; Wilson, 2013: 496).

CHAPTER 3

HELLENISTIC SITES IN SMOOTH CILICIA

3.1. Tarsus-Gözlükule Höyük

The ancient city of Tarsus was located on the eastern Mediterranean shoreline of Turkey, in the modern town of Tarsus within the province of Mersin. Situated near the banks of the Berdan or Tarsus River (ancient Cydnus), Tarsus today lies 20 km inland, on the alluvial plain of Çukurova which is surrounded by the massive Taurus range, and at the intersection of roads connecting the eastern Mediterranean territories with inner Anatolian plains.[36] The plain surrounding Tarsus is extremely fertile and humid, suitable for agriculture (Hild & Hellenkemper, 1990: 22-23; Ramsay, 2000: 9-12, Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 2). The climate is very hot during the summers. Because of the malarial danger in the plain, the foothills of the Taurus Mountains provide a cooler and more refreshing environment for living during the summer (Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 2; Ramsay, 2000: 11-22).

Tarsus was once situated on the eastern bank of the "icy cold" Cydnus (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*: 8.28.3; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*: 5.22; Xenophon, *Anabasis*: 1.2.23; Plutarch, *Alexander*: 19). It was built a few meters above this river's waterbed (Özyar et al., 2005b: 9). Until it became a marshland in the Roman era, the plain was subject to flooding, especially in the spring (Toskay-Evrin, 2002:

[36] The location of Tarsus has been of strategic importance through the ages. This was recognized by early Greeks. Tarsus was colonized by Rhodians from Lindus around 700 BC (Bing, 1971).

2). During the reign of Justinian, the bed of the Cydnus was diverted and the flooding of the city was prevented (Özyar et al., 2005b: 9; Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 2). The Cydnus flowed into a lake called *Rhegmoi* or *Rhegma*. The lake was probably a lagoon located ca. 9 km south of Tarsus (Hild and Hellenkemper, 1990: 28; Ramsay, 2000: 25-27; Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 2). Strabo (*Geography*: 14.5.10) locates this lake near the Tarsus naval base:

> After Anchiale one comes to the outlets of the Cydnus, near the Rhegma, as it is called. It is a place that forms into a lake, having also ancient arsenals; and into it empties the Cydnus River, which flows through the middle of Tarsus and has its sources in the city Taurus, which lies above Tarsus. The lake is also the naval station of Tarsus.

The name of the settlement, like its occupational history, goes back earlier than the Hellenistic period (Özyar, 2005b: 1). In the Hittite documents, it was "*Tarsa*" or "*Tarsha.*" It is called "*Tarzi*" or "*Tarzu*" in Neo-Assyrian texts. In the Old Testament, it is expressed as "*Tarshish.*" "TRZ", the Aramaic legend, was used on the coins (Kooij, 1998: 44-45). Xenophon names it "Ταρσοί" (Tarsoi) in *Anabasis* (1.2.23) and describes Tarsus as "a large and prosperous city of Cilicia." "Ταρσός" (Tarsos) is used in other Greek sources (Özyar, 2005: 1; Kooij, 1998: 45). Tarsus is the Latin version of the Greek name (Özyar, 2005b: 1).

"Gözlükule," situated within the densely occupied modern city of Tarsus, is the mound which was more or less continuously occupied from the Neolithic period to the Early Islamic period and which produced the well stratified material culture found in Hellenistic building layers (Figures 7, 10, and 11) (Özyar et al., 2005b: 9; Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 1). The visible part of the mound measures 350 m by 150 m; it culminates at 37.5 m above sea level. (Figure 10 and 11) (Özyar et al., 2005b: 9). The geodetic study carried out in the course of the Tarsus-Gözlükule Interdisciplinary Research Project has revealed that the mound has been destroyed partially in the last decade. Compared to Hetty Goldman's topographical map (Figure 10), ca 1-1.5 m of the stratified deposit on the eastern summit has been shaved off by the Tarsus municipality in order to create an even ground for ceremonies in front of the flag-pole (Özyar et al., 2005b: 9-10; Özener, Doğru, Yılmaz, Turgut, & Gürkan, 2005). The settlement was already disturbed before as Goldman reports: it had been used as cemetery, pitted for the drainage systems, and terraced for agricultural

purposes. The most severe damage was done during the First World War, by the military operations of the French in 1921 (Goldman, 1935: 527).

Tarsus was first explored in 1845 by the British consul William Burckhardt Barker in a search for antiquities (Goldman, 1935: 528; Barker, 1853). He found numerous broken terracotta figurines and lamps. Astonished by Barker's success, Victor Langlois visited and investigated the site in 1852 (Goldman, 1935: 528; Langlois, 1861). Langlois found figurines which are exhibited in the Louvre Museum today. In the early 1930s, American archaeologists under the direction of Hetty Goldman began a research project in Smooth Cilicia. The aim of this project was to understand the Hittite presence in the region and investigate the issue of Ahhiyawans, mentioned in the Hittite texts and considered to be Mycenaeans (Achaeans) (Goldman, 1935; Özyar, 2005b: 1-3). After visiting the site and opening test trenches in 1934, the first systematic excavations at Tarsus were initiated by Goldman in 1935 under the aegis of Bryn Mawr College, along with the Archaeological Institute of America and Harvard's Fogg Museum. Excavations were conducted in mainly two areas, "Section A and B" (for location see Figure 10). The excavations were interrupted during World War II and resumed again in 1947-1949 (Goldman, 1935; 1937; 1938; 1940a; 1940b). Goldman and her team published the excavation results in three extensive volumes which are still used as a major reference (Goldman, 1950a; 1956; 1963).

In 1993, when the Municipality of Tarsus began construction of an auto-park, archaeological remains belonging to a Roman colonnaded street were exposed ca. 500 m to the north of the Gözlükule mound. Salvage excavations were then conducted by Levent Zoroğlu between 1993 and 2001 (Zoroğlu, 1995; 1996; Zoroğlu et al., 1998; 1999; Toskay-Evrin, 2002). During these excavations, some Hellenistic architectural remains with a few Hellenistic sherds (3rd and 2nd centuries BC) were found in soundings 1 and 2, and related with a layer earlier than the construction of the Roman street (Zoroğlu, 1996: 404; Zoroğlu, Adıbelli, & Doğan, 1998: 498-499; 1999: 465-469; Toskay-Evrin, 2002: 46-48, 261).

In 2001, 52 years after Goldman concluded her work, Aslı Özyar initiated an interdisciplinary project in Tarsus, concerning especially the mound Gözlükule, for the following reasons: to organize the archive of the Goldman Excavations; to finish the publication of the medieval remains; to prepare for future excavations; to

determine the degree of damage at the site and take necessary precautions; and finally to investigate the natural environment in which Tarsus was situated (Özyar, Danışman, Gürbüz, & Özener, 2003; Özyar, Danışman, Karabulut, & Özener, 2004; Özyar, Danışman, & Özbal, 2005a; 2005b; 2006; Özyar & Danışman, 2009). This project ended in 2006 and was followed by the current excavations[37] that began in 2007 (Özyar, Danışman, Kuruçayırlı, & Ünlü, 2009; Özyar, Ünlü, Kaschau, Person & Duvarcı, 2010; Özyar, Ünlü, Karacic, & Person, 2011; Özyar, Ünlü, Karacic, Külekçioğlu, & Pilavcı, 2012; Özyar et al., 2014; 2016).

The excavations of Goldman revealed that Gözlükule was more or less continuously occupied from the Neolithic period to the Early Islamic period with a break in the Persian period (Goldman, 1950a; 1956; 1963; Boardman, 1965). Both the Goldman excavations and the current excavations have recovered Hellenistic material. However, the findings of the current project from the Hellenistic period have not yet been fully studied. In addition, the results (concerning the Hellenistic period) of the Zoroğlu excavations have not been fully published. The Goldman excavations, on the other hand, present a good picture of Hellenistic architecture and objects. I will base my study on Goldman's publications (Goldman, 1935; 1937; 1938; 1940a; 1940b; 1950a). Goldman published the Hellenistic period of Tarsus-Gözlükule in a monograph (1950a) that presents the Hellenistic structures, providing detailed stratigraphic and chronological information, and analyses of Hellenistic finds.

3.1.1. The Hellenistic Phases

In the Goldman excavations, four phases of occupation associated with the Hellenistic period, the Early, Middle, Late, and Hellenistic-Roman (transitional phase) "Units"[38] were recognised mainly in two areas, "Section A and B" (Goldman, 1950b; 1950c). The well stratified material from the four sub-phases mainly came from Section B. Four different building phases yielded many Hellenistic finds, including architectural remains, ceramics, coins, lamps, stamped amphora handles, terracotta figurines, and miscellaneous artifacts – such as terracotta loom-weights,

[37] An up-to-date publication list of the excavations of Tarsus- Gözlükule can be found at the official webpage of the project: http://www.tarsus.boun.edu.tr/?sayfa=4 (accessed 1 Jan, 2016).
[38] Goldman (1950a) refers to different building phases as "units" which, to my understanding, are the sub-phases of the Hellenistic period. Therefore, I prefer to use "phase" instead.

metal tools, and glass (Goldman, 1950b; 1950c; 1950d; F.F. Jones, 1945; 1950; Cox, 1950; Goldman & Jones, 1950; Grace, 1950; Raubitschek, 1950). The chronology of the layers is determined by the evidence of coins, lamps and amphora handles with inscriptions (F.F. Jones, 1950: 149-150). Since my concern is settlement, I will present Hellenistic layers with architectural remains in detail. A brief summary of finds from the Hellenistic contexts will follow. Primarily, I will present the habitation levels and related architectural remains in chronological order. Afterwards, I will briefly mention the other finds in the following order as they are important for dating and the function of the buildings: ceramics, coins, lamps, stamped amphora handles, and miscellaneous artifacts.

3.1.1.1. The Early Hellenistic Phase

In the stratigraphy of Tarsus, the Early Hellenistic Phase followed the pre-classical layers and stood between the latest Iron Age level and the Middle Hellenistic Phase. Based on numismatic evidence and lamps, it was dated to the end of the 4th century BC (Goldman, 1950c: 30). The Persian period, which is the antecedent of the Hellenistic period, is missing in the settlement sequence, so there is a gap between the Iron Age and the Hellenistic period in the occupation history of the mound, unless it occurs in an unexplored portion of the mound.

A single long-narrow building with multiple rooms, which measures ca. 30 x 7 m, was discovered in Section B at a depth of ca. 12.20 m below the datum[39] point and associated with the Early Hellenistic Phase (Figures 12, 13, 14, and 15) (Goldman, 1950b: 5). Because the building extends beyond the excavated area, its exact length and width are not clear. Oriented northeast to southwest, this building has walls made of mudbrick without stone foundations, which have most likely needed considerable repair and rearrangements because of the lack of durability of the construction material. Generally, the thickness of the walls ranges between 1 m to 1.20 m (Goldman, 1950b: 6).

[39] The "datum" must have been a kind of fixed point which is used by Goldman (1950a: 3, Introduction) to compute the height of levels. Although its location seems to be marked by Goldman in the topography map of the site (Figure 10) the exact location and the height of this fixed point remains unclear. Therefore, all the heights given by Goldman become relative but not absolute. All measurements of height for Tarsus in the following sections are to be read as depth below datum.

In this building, the rooms had both thick, heavy walls and thinner walls. What is interesting is that the thicker walls were carefully lime-washed but thinner ones were not. Apparently, the heavy walls were made first and the other walls were added later (Goldman, 1950b: 8). The major walls of the building run from northeast to southwest. The southern (longest) one measures approximately 30 m. Because neither end of the wall was discovered in the excavated area, its exact length is unknown. The building has multiple rooms. At the western end of the building, there were at least five rooms (Goldman, 1950b: 6).

To the southwest of the Early Hellenistic building, a small channel or trough (Figure 16)[40], measuring 0.12 x 2.50 m was discovered. It was made of limestone containing small dark river stones. At the north end of the channel were the remains of small basin-like cavities. Fragments of bronze waste, usually in the shape of crumbling sheets of metal, were discovered on the floors of all rooms in this area (Goldman, 1950b: 6). In addition, in one room, fragments of a broken crucible were found. Accordingly, this entire Early Hellenistic building was interpreted as a bronze workshop. Because none of the pits discovered in this area could be identified as pits for the workshop, the building is thought to have been for the production of "small objects" (Goldman, 1950b: 6-7).

In addition, in the northeast corner of Room H in the Early Hellenistic Building, a "cemented" bottom of a tank was exposed. It was disturbed by the wall of a later Hellenistic structure (Goldman, 1950b: 7). The tank measured ca 2.75 x 3.75 m and must have been for the water supply needed for the workshop. In the northwest corner of the same room was probably a second tank or a low basin again lined with "cement" which was bedded on fine gravel (Goldman, 1950b: 7). Room C, which is reached by Room D by an open passage (1.6 m), covered an area of 3.30 x 3.10 m. In a small part of the Room C, strikingly, bronze fragments were abundant. A lead-covered pot (Figure 17), was also discovered in room C. Fragments of pointed amphorae were found in the northwest corner of Room G (Figure 18). The floor in room F had a solid coating of lime and stood at the depth of 12.20 m whereas the floor in Room G was at 12.36 m. Because this was a workshop area, the differences between the levels of the floors, sometimes up to 20 cm, have been seen as normal

[40] The location of the channel is not clear on the plans published by Goldman (1950a).

(Goldman, 1950b: 7). Further, Goldman indicates that even today it is possible to find rooms at different levels in an old house of Tarsus (Goldman, 1950b: 8). Recalling our village house in my hometown which has different rooms at different levels in the basement, I think Goldman has a point. In the northwest corner of F, an amphora was discovered with a pointed base of which only the lower part was preserved. An oven was uncovered in the southeast corner of F (Figure 19).

This Early Hellenistic single building is dated by the late 4th century BC coins found on the floors and in the walls (Goldman, 1950b: 5). However, this does not actually show evidence of the last period when the walls were used but it can offer a *terminus post quem* for the construction date of the wall. The remains of this building were damaged by the foundations of the later periods and Islamic pits (Goldman, 1950b: 5-6). The plan of the building is similar to Iron Age building levels below. This, however, does not necessarily indicate a continuation in the stratigraphy but, in fact, a cultural break. There was not a single Persian coin in this phase although a few miscellaneous fragments of coins, dated to the late 6th and 5th centuries, came from the late or unstratified contexts (Goldman, 1950b: 5).

Coins and lamps found in this phase confirmed the dates. Coins of Philip II (No. 1 in Cox, 1950: 64) and Alexander the Great[41] were found on the floors (Cox, 1950: 39-40, 64). The Tarsus Group 1 type of lamps[42], dated between the 5th and early 3rd century BC, were recovered in the Early Hellenistic Phase of the Gözlükule mound (Goldman, 1950c: 30).

3.1.1.2. The Middle Hellenistic Phase

The Middle Hellenistic Phase was dated between the first half of the 3rd century BC and the early years of the 2nd century BC (Figures 12 and 13) (Goldman, 1950c: 30-31). Thanks to the well-defined floors, three sub-phases, "bottom" (at 12.65 m),

[41] The best preserved coin of Alexander the Great, which I indicate in Figure 20, was found in the Middle Hellenistic Phase. This coin was probably struck at Amphipolis (Cox, 1950: 39). On its obverse, the coin is depicting the head of Heracles; and on its reverse, the seated Zeus on a backless throne, resting on his scepter and holding an eagle in his right hand. Its legend reads "ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ." There is the Greek letter "Λ" above a racing torch (Figure 20). Cox (1950: 39, 64) dated this coin to 330-323 BC. Mørkholm, Grierson, & Westermark (1991: 61-62), however, noting that the use of "Λ" and torch started around 315 BC and continued at least to Cassander's death in 297 BC, would date the coin to this later period.

[42] It is the equivalent of the Corinth type VII group.

"middle" (at 12.50 m), and "top" (at 12.30 m), each representing approximately 40 years, were identified within the Middle Hellenistic phase (Goldman, 1950c: 30). According to coins, the bottom must be dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC. The latest coins in the bottom level belong to Antiochus I Soter (281 -261 BC). There were no earlier forms of lamps of Tarsus Groups I and II. The earliest and sole example of the amphora handle found in the bottom level must be dated to the early 3rd or possibly late 4th century BC (No. 85 in Grace, 1950: 146; Goldman, 1950c: 30). In the middle and top phases of the Middle Hellenistic, the original building plan of the bottom continued with few alterations. These two phases were dated together between the mid-3rd to the early 2nd centuries BC. Because the evidence is individually not strong for each, it is difficult to divide the middle and top levels. Nevertheless, their dating range was tentatively proposed by Goldman. Accordingly, the middle phase of the Middle Hellenistic Phase must be equated with the later years of the 3rd century BC, and the top levels must be dated between the very end of the 3rd century to the early years of the 2nd century BC (Goldman, 1950c: 30-31).

In the Middle Hellenistic phase, the orientation of the structures was changed from previous northeast-southwest to north-south (Goldman, 1950b: 8). Structures in this building phase became more complex. In addition, a new wall-building technique was introduced while mudbrick walls still exist: The walls were made of roughly shaped blocks. The spaces in between were filled with mud and clay (Goldman, 1950b: 9). Compared with previous Early Hellenistic walls (ca. 1 m to 1.20 m), the walls in the Middle Phase were thinner (ca. 75-80 cm). Although it is not clear how many independent buildings were represented and despite disturbance from pits, the best preserved structures dated to the Middle Hellenistic phase were unearthed in Section B.

A building complex with multiple rooms whose walls were made of stone blocks, covering approximately 35 x 30 m in excavated parts, was identified in Section B and dated to the Middle Hellenistic Phase. This building complex, in general, had three types of rooms: 1) the rooms situated around the courtyard (Rooms 3 - 10); 2) a two-room unit that Goldman called "megaron" (Rooms 1 and 2) open to the north; and 3) the group of rooms related with a bath complex (Rooms 11-15) (for the plan see Figures 12 and 13) (Goldman, 1950b: 8).

The courtyard, forming a rectangle narrowing from north to south, was at the center of the earliest rooms (Goldman, 1950b: 9). Three sub-phases of the Middle Hellenistic phase were clearly identified with three different floor levels in this courtyard: a floor of hard-packed earth (bottom), a crushed limestone layer (middle), and an upper floor of packed earth (top) (Goldman, 1950b: 8). In this area, the north wall dividing the “megaron” from Room 4, shows three different building levels. The second level of this wall represents the aforementioned characteristic wall technique of the Middle Hellenistic Phase. The court, in its latest phase, was in almost an “L” shape and had a drain, made of hollowed limestone blocks and running from west to east at an incline to let the waste material flow out. A later pit disturbed the eastern end of this channel (Figure 21). In the middle phase of the Middle Hellenistic (at 12.50 m), were an entrance from the east and a pavement (Goldman, 1950b: 9).

Room 6 (north), adjacent to the court, contains a pebble mosaic floor. The main entrance to the building, on the west, was through this room. The doorway was destroyed by an Islamic pit but the pivot stone was found on the edge. In addition, the wall decorations were found in Rooms 3 and 5. The decorations and the mosaic were associated with the last phase of the building; however, the walls of the rooms go deeper (Goldman, 1950b: 10).

The pebble mosaic, measuring 3.10 x 1.90 m, was made of stones in three different colors: white, red, and blue-black (Figure 22 and 23). The “cement” in which the stones were set was soft and pink. The main design of the mosaic depicts a white central panel with four dolphins (blue-black) situated around a red circle surrounding a white rosette against blue background. The outer border represents a blue wave pattern on a white background, a white cable, and egg-and-dart. The side panels show three white and red circles surmounted by white palmettes. Although this pebble mosaic is pleasing in general, Goldman (1950b: 10) thinks that it was executed carelessly because the patterns were not carefully laid beforehand to fit the area. Thus, the size and spacing of the palmettes and the egg-and-dart motifs vary, and also the middle panel was not properly centered.

A row of cut stones, 0.12 m wide and varying in length, were found to the east of the mosaic (Figure 22). Two of the blocks on the south were in situ (Figure 21). The western end of the west block had a cutting (0.10 m deep and 0.05 m wide). Because

the door was already identified on the west wall, this cutting must have accommodated the frame or a large window-like opening (Goldman, 1950b: 10). Although stones of the east wall of Room 6 had been removed, their negative traces could be followed in their original setting (Figure 21). The plastered walls of room 6 were painted red. In the northwest corner of the room, an in situ fragment of the plaster indicated that it was not laid directly against the stone wall but had a 10 cm thick backing of earth (Goldman, 1950b: 10). Room 6 also had a broad opening to the south, which has been thought to serve as the "portico" or "prostas" (Goldman, 1950b: 11).

Room 3, measuring 3 x 5 m, was not preserved well, and therefore, except room 5, its relation with the other rooms was not clear (Goldman, 1950b: 11). Room 3 served as an anteroom to Room 5. The walls, of mud-brick without stone foundation, were frequently found in these levels (Goldman, 1950b: 11, end note 11). There was a ca. 1 m opening in the east wall, leading from Room 3 to 5, and it was closed by a door with projecting jambs (Goldman, 1950b: 11).

Room 5, measuring 5.40 at the widest point and 7.50 m in length, narrowed from north to south as its east (outer) wall was not exactly parallel with the inner wall. Like Room 3, its walls received a 0.015m thick layer of unpainted ornamental plaster with incisions in a dado (0.49 m high) and panels (1.07 x 1.09 m). Distinctly, a thin layer of fine gravel or sand, having no mixture of potsherds, was between the mud of the wall and the plaster. A "cement" patch was found in the southwest corner of the room where there was a shallow drain (0.08 x 0.16 x 0.09 m) (Goldman, 1950b: 11, footnote 12). The whole floor of this room might have been covered with this "cement" originally, or the "cement" may have formed a border at floor level (Goldman, 1950b: 11). A well-made rectangular hearth, measuring 0.80 x 1.10 m and lying in the center of Room 5 (at 12.30 m, ca. 0.13 m above the floor), was covered with plaster which must have been renewed at least once. On account of this hearth, Goldman (1950b: 11-12) thought that this room might be defined as an "oecus" or, because of the dimensions, possibly as an "andron".

Room 4 had wall fragments belonging to structures intermediate between the bronze workshop and this Middle Hellenistic Phase. Although Room 4 did not have any ornamental features like Rooms 3 and 5, it was larger than the Room 3. As for the

rooms on the south side of the court, Rooms 9, 10, and 11 were disturbed by Islamic pits and their exact plans could not be understood (Goldman, 1950b: 12).

The so-called “megaron”, associated with the Middle Hellenistic Phase, consisted of two rooms, 1 and 2 (Goldman, 1950b: 12). This two-room unit did not have traces of the two columns in the entrance, the characteristic elements of megara. However, in Goldman’s reconstructed plan, two columns were added because the plan of the building seemed clear to her (Figure 12). Goldman (1950: 12) compared the “megaron” of Tarsus with examples from Priene. In Priene, a megaron, a large room with a porch, was an important feature of early Hellenistic houses, serving as the living room. It faced south and was integrated in the complex surrounding the court. In Tarsus, however, the “megaron” stood rather in relation with a street or an open space to the north. A long stone sill indicated that there was a door into Room 4 in the early period and it was blocked in the middle phase of the Middle Hellenistic period. Therefore, the “megaron” must have been an independent building, at least for the last two phases of the building (Goldman, 1950b: 12-13).

A bath complex (Rooms 11-15) was associated with the third or the latest building phase of construction of the Middle Hellenistic period and dated to the same period as the pebble mosaic (Goldman, 1950b: 13). However, its relation to the house with the courtyard is not clear. The original line of the west wall surrounding the court was damaged and replaced by another wall to the west (ca. 2.70 m, II on Figure 12) with a doorway at 12.35 m (Figure 24). If the bath was in relation with the courtyard and thus, with the rest of the Middle Hellenistic Phase, it was most probably entered through Room 12 (Goldman, 1950b: 13). Because the walls were not preserved well, no traces of a doorway had been found. Nevertheless, a rearrangement of the west wall must have been made in order to connect the bath with the area of the court (Goldman, 1950b: 13).

The bath had a floor with an integrated tub in the northeast corner and a small basin, measuring 0.50 x 0.60 m, to the west (Figure 25). The floor, measuring 2.06 x 2.84 m, consisted of fine concrete (Goldman, 1950b: 13). A platform sloped from west to east and led to a well-made “cement” drain. The drain was running through the east wall into Room 12 (Figure 26) and turning north to evacuate in the main drain. The tub, measuring 1 x 0.80 m, had a low seat, a circular depression for the feet, and a

rim. A second small drain, passing through the north wall, was uncovered between the tub and basin (Figure 25). The drain must have been used as a latrine (Goldman, 1950b: 13).

Because the structures were not preserved well, there is not much to present for the other rooms (Goldman, 1950b: 14). Along with the fragments of walls of Room 14, a doorway with a sill of small stones was exposed. Since Room 15 had a large circular oven whose preserved diameter is 0.50 m, this room was interpreted as a kitchen or a kind of working area. The oven was made of coarse potsherds (Figure 27). Its bottom was laid on the floor and its sides were then constructed with clay (Goldman, 1950b: 14).

The earliest well-stratified Hellenistic material including all kinds of artifacts came from the Middle Hellenistic Phase. The coins of Seleucus III Soter (225-223 BC) and Antiochus III the Great (223-187) are the latest and most common coins found in this phase. Some fragments of amphora handles, dating between the early 3rd century or 220 BC and 180 BC, were retrieved. The latest amphora handle must be dated not earlier than the second quarter of the 2nd century BC (No. 44 in Grace, 1950; Goldman, 1950c: 30). However, this handle was found along with some Roman ceramics, as well as a coin of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (115-95 BC), so it could also be intrusive (Goldman, 1950c: 30, also footnote 2). Tarsus Group II[43] lamps were found for the first time in the Middle Hellenistic Phase. There were numerous Corinth Types X or XII lamps[44] dated between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. A very few examples of Corinth Type XIX lamps[45], dating back to the early 2nd century BC, were also retrieved (Goldman, 1950c: 30).

3.1.1.3. The Late Hellenistic Phase

Above the Middle Hellenistic Phase, because of the very fragmentary condition of the walls, preserved only in their lowest foundations, it was not possible to differentiate independent structures (Goldman, 1950b: 14). The location of doorways could also not be identified. Figure 28 shows these wall fragments dated between the

[43] Corinth Type IX, dating back to the early 3rd century BC, is parallel of this group.
[44] They are the equivalent of Tarsus Group III.
[45] They are the equivalent of Tarsus Group VI.

early 2nd century BC and the end of the 3rd century AD. In Figure 29, the walls were represented differently according to the strata with which they were associated: the hatched lines indicate the Late Hellenistic wall. Most of these walls were reused in the Hellenistic-Roman period (2nd and 1st centuries). While the outlined walls represent the Hellenistic-Roman walls, the walls belonging to the Middle Roman Phase (the 3rd century AD) are shown solid. Further, a different coding system is used: all I-numbers belong to the Late Hellenistic, II-numbers to the Hellenistic-Roman, III-numbers to the Middle Roman remains (Goldman, 1950b: 14).

The Late Hellenistic Phase in section B accumulated as a thin layer on top of the Middle Hellenistic phase (its architecture is represented with hatched lines and all I-numbers in Figure 29). It precedes the appearance of Eastern Sigillata A (ESA)[46] pottery (Goldman, 1950b: 14; 1950c: 31). ESA is the oldest of the so-called Roman red-slip[47] group (Goldman, 1950c: 31; F.F. Jones; 1945). Accordingly, the Late Hellenistic Phase was dated between 175 and 150 BC while the transition to this type of ware was dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC.[48]

A group of rooms which could clearly not be identified as a single building or a complex were exposed in the Late Hellenistic Phase. The foundations of the walls stood at approximately 12.00 m (Goldman, 1950b: 14). The thickness of the walls ranged between 0.70-0.80 m and 1.80 m. The continuous walls, belonging originally to this phase, were preserved only on the east part of the area (Figure 29). Earlier buildings from the previous Middle Hellenistic phase were still in use. An introduction of a new kind of substructure for walls, which can be seen in the east area of Figure 28, became a common feature of the late Hellenistic phase: small stones, laid in a very shallow cutting (maximum 0.10 m in depth), were used as bedding (Figure 30). This process was occasionally repeated when the walls were

[46] Goldman (1950b: 14; 1950c: 31) and F.F. Jones (1945; 1950) identified this group as the "Hellenistic Pergamene" pottery but today this is called "ESA" ware [for example see Slane (1997); Lund (2013; 2015)].
[47] This group of pottery was called "red-glazed" by Goldman (1950b: 14; 1950c: 31) and F.F. Jones (1950); however, today the preferred term is "red-slipped". Likewise, the term "black-glazed" used in 1950 has been replaced by "black-slipped" [for example see Slane (1997)].
[48] Laube (in Ahrens et al., 2008: 99) and Kreutz (2011: 148-149) dated ESA pottery between the late 2nd century BC and the end of 1st century AD (see the Sirkeli Höyük section below: "3.3.3. Current Excavations by Novák (2006-present)." According to Jackson (in Jackson & Tidmarsh, 2011: 326-327), however, ESA types started around the middle of the 2nd century BC and continued in use until almost the end of 2nd century AD. Lund (2013: 190-191; 2015: 164) also sees ESA starting ca. 150 BC, but places its end slightly earlier, late 1st and 2nd century AD.

heightened. This made it difficult to understand the definitive outlines of the walls as the stone foundations soon started to scatter and spread when the mudbricks of the walls disappeared. Therefore, only the general orientation of the walls could be determined (Goldman, 1950b: 14-15).

The dates are confirmed by the following artifacts. Among the six coins coming from uncontaminated Hellenistic deposits, four belong to ca. 190-160 BC (Nos. 110, 119, 120, 126 in Cox, 1950: 68-69), one to Antiochus IV (No. 103 in Cox, 1950: 68), and one to Alexander Balas (No. 104 in Cox, 1950: 68). The first four coins did not appear before the Late Hellenistic period. They are mostly common in context with Roman slipped ceramics. The latest Hellenistic amphora handle (No. 39 in Grace, 1950: 142) must be dated after 166 BC (Goldman, 1950c: 31). The other datable handles were dated before 180 BC. Although the lamps of the Ephesus type (which is the equivalent of Tarsus Group VI) were numerous, they did not become frequent until the widespread use of ESA pottery (Goldman, 1950c: 31).

3.1.1.4. The Hellenistic-Roman Phase (Transitional)

After the Late Hellenistic comes the Hellenistic-Roman Phase in Section B. The lowest level of the Hellenistic-Roman Phase lay at ca. 11.75 m on the east and 11.50 m on the west side, its top at ca. 11.00 m (Goldman, 1950: 15). This phase was dated between the mid-2nd and mid-1st BC, possibly extending into the later part of the 1st century AD (Goldman, 1950c: 31).

As was the case for the Late Hellenistic Phase, a group of rooms, some of which form independent buildings, were exposed in the Hellenistic-Roman Phase (Figure 28 and II coded walls in Figure 29). Due to the puzzling nature of the walls and structures, it is not clear how many individual buildings were represented, nor their function. Compared to earlier phases, the walls get thinner in this phase, generally measuring ca. 0.40 m in thickness. Earlier walls, associated with the Late Hellenistic Phase, continued in use.

I,D-H and II,A-B are similar in shape and together connect as narrow buildings divided by a passage. The west wall of II,A-B was built on top of the Middle Hellenistic “megaron”. II,F and G had similar construction with II,A-B. In II,F, a

circular hearth, whose diameter measures 0.48 m, was found. In II,G, there was a posthole and its function was not probably structural (Goldman, 1950b: 15). II,J and II,K-L were independent complexes as they were not oriented with the buildings II,E-H across the street. These complexes were probably of the characteristic type of two-room independent buildings divided by an alley (Goldman, 1950b: 15). II,I was a narrow structure and its exact length could not be determined because it extends beyond the excavated area (Goldman, 1950b: 15).

The following finds confirmed the dating of the Hellenistic-Roman Phase. Among the 55 coins, 31 were dated to the 2nd century BC or earlier. Ten of them were placed in the transitional phase between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (Nos. 107, 109, 146, 147, 151, 166, 170, 172, 175, 179 in Cox, 1950). Three of them were of the 1st century BC (Nos, 262, 271, 273 in Cox, 1950). Two of them belong to the Seleucid Empire although they are not preserved well. Nine of the coins could not be read (Goldman, 1950c: 31). The amphora handles were found more frequently in the bottom level of the Hellenistic-Roman Phase than in any other single layer. They were mostly dated to 220-180 BC, and some of them after 180 BC. One of the latest amphora handles (No. 82 in Grace, 1950: 145) belongs to the 1st centuries BC and AD. Another one, which is the only example with stamped Latin letters, must not be earlier than the second half of the 1st century BC (No. 100 in Grace, 1950: 147). Tarsus Group VI lamps whose equivalent are the Ephesus lamps dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, were many in number. However, there are also Tarsus Groups IX-XIII lamps (Corinth Types XVIII, XXI-XXIII), and occasionally later types which must have been mixed in (Goldman, 1950c: 31-32).

3.1.1.5. Section A

Apart from Section B, in Section A, a free-standing Hellenistic building, “Building II”, measuring ca. 6.5 x 4.5 m, was revealed (Figure 31 and Figure 32). This partially preserved building was built on top of a Hittite structure. Some of the Hittite stones were probably used in its construction, especially in its north and east walls (Goldman, 1950b: 24). It has a small room, measuring 2.50 m^2, whose west wall running northward was destroyed by Islamic Building I. The doorway of the building was in the west wall. From the east wall into the room, two narrow extensions were

discovered. These extensions could have belonged to a shrine as they were making a tripartite division but there was no artifact supporting this idea. A floor at 3.50 – 3.55 m, continued through the doorway and outside (Goldman, 1950b: 25). There was a paving of small, flat stones embedded in the floor between the two little spur walls. Below the ground level, a large burnt pit was found. The ceramics retrieved from the floor almost entirely belonged to the Hellenistic period, and no classical pottery came from the walls (Goldman, 1950b: 25). A second floor stood at 3.36 – 3.40 m. The fill recovered between these two floors was dated to the Hellenistic period. The doorway was blocked when this second floor was formed (Figure 33). An Islamic construction whose floor lies at 2.90 – 2.95 m was built on top of the building. According to some Roman pottery, which might be mixed in, the building is associated with the Late Hellenistic and early part of the Hellenistic-Roman phases (Goldman, 1950b: 24-25; 1950c: 34).

3.1.2. Pottery

The Hellenistic pottery from Tarsus, despite its fragmentary and badly broken condition, has contributed greatly to knowledge in eastern Mediterranean studies (F.F. Jones, 1950). Before Tarsus, the Hellenistic collection of Athens was the primary source for comparisons and cross-cultural analyses. Thanks to excavations at Tarsus, substantial information was provided for Asia Minor for the Hellenistic period (F.F. Jones, 1950: 149).

The excavations at Tarsus yielded masses of Hellenistic ceramics coming from well-stratified contexts. They showed gradual changes and development in production. They were mostly of an ordinary character and for everyday domestic use. A great majority of the pottery were fragments although some more or less intact pieces were retrieved from fills, wells, cisterns, and large dumps. Otherwise, the Hellenistic pottery was found in the streets and on the floors of the houses. Except for miniature vessels, the pottery is wheel-made. The Hellenistic pottery from Tarsus is not used to establish a chronology but rather to confirm the dates. The chronology of the layers is better determined by the evidence of coins, lamps and amphora handles with inscriptions (F.F. Jones, 1950: 149-150).

As stated above the Persian period is apparently lacking at the mound of Gözlükule. On current evidence, the mound was probably unoccupied between the late 6th and late 4th centuries (F.F. Jones, 1950: 150; Goldman, 1950b: 5). A small amount of imported pottery of that period from Greece and Western Anatolia was found in Gözlükule, however. Because of the Persian dominance at that time, the commercial link between Greece and Tarsus and other Cilician ports must have been cut off (F.F. Jones, 1950: 151).

By the time of the Early Hellenistic Phase, Greek culture which was an "alien" concept before at Tarsus, was adapted and absorbed (F.F. Jones, 1950: 152). The Hellenic wave that started with the Macedonian conquests arrived at Tarsus and caused an increasing demand for Greek products. This is reflected in Hellenistic ceramics. The pottery was Greek but it also had some characteristic features of ceramics from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean (F.F. Jones, 1950: 152).

Before the Hellenistic period (late 4th – mid-2nd centuries BC), Attic pottery was distinct and remained as a separate group from the local wares. However, this changed when the local producers started to imitate Attic wares in a cheaper way. As a result, the quantity of Attic imports decreased in the Hellenistic period and local products increased. The plain slipped vessels, West Slope ware, and mold-made bowls marked this period. Although a great majority of the vessels were locally, some ceramics came from the Greek mainland. Coarse and cooking wares were also available (F.F. Jones, 1950: 153).

At the beginning of the Hellenistic-Roman Phase of Tarsus, towards the mid-2nd century BC, the widespread Greek types (especially black-slipped wares) decreased and the red-slip technique, which is the characteristic feature of the Roman imperial world, became popular with eastern potters. The black-slip technique continued to be used and was gradually affected by the new eastern products. Probably at Tarsus, there was a transitional phase when both techniques were used. The older one, however, completely ceased when red wares became universal, by the Early Imperial period. The new pottery was better in quality but less decorated compared to the old. Mold-made bowls[49] were the only decorated vessel in the monochrome tablewares (F.F. Jones, 1950: 172).

[49] This type of ware is commonly known as "Megarian Bowls" (Rotroff, 1982).

3.1.3. Coins

In addition to the ceramic repertoire, coins from Tarsus made a great contribution to the studies in the region although most of them were badly preserved. In total, 345 coins were published by Cox (1950: 64-83). No Persian coins have been found at Tarsus during the Goldman excavations (Cox, 1950: 38 Goldman, 1950b: 5). Apart from a bronze coin of Philip II (No. 1 in Cox, 1950: 64), no coin earlier than Alexander the Great was found. This also confirmed the gap of the Persian period at Gözlükule (Cox, 1950: 38). A great majority of the coins belonged to the Seleucids and Roman.

Tarsus and Aegeae initiated the civic (municipal) coinage during the Seleucid rule in the Hellenistic period. Tarsus issued four main types of coins in the Hellenistic period: 1) coins depicting a female with a mural crown head on the obverse and a seated male god holding a scepter (Zeus or Baal Tars) on the reverse; 2) coins depicting a female with a mural crown head on the obverse and a standing male figure on a monster (Sandan) on the reverse; 3) coins depicting a club in an oak wreath on the obverse and a cornucopia on the reverse; 4) coins depicting a female with a mural crown head on the obverse and a Sandan-monument on the reverse (Meyer, 2011). Types 1, 2, and 3 are the early coins of Tarsus with the dynastic name "Antiochus on the Cydnus" and dated between the mid-3rd to mid-2nd centuries BC (Meyer, 2001: 508-509; 2011; Tekin, 2001: 525-526). The female head with a mural crown on the obverse has been interpreted as the personification of the city. This persona of Tarsus was later represented by Tyche of Antioch in the 1st century BC (Meyer, 2011). Strikingly contrary to other cities minting coins in Cilicia during the reign of Antiochus IV, the municipal coins of Tarsus have legends written along the edge in a curved line – which is a Ptolemaic feature. Because Tarsus was a Ptolemaic possession 261/60 BC (during the 2nd Syrian War) and possibly between 246 and 243 BC (during the 3rd Syrian War), this clearly indicates that Tarsus began minting municipal coinage before the sixties of the 2nd century BC unlike the other Cilician cities which started their municipal coins with vertical legends (Seleucid) during the reign of Antiochus IV (175-164 BC) (Meyer, 2001: 508-9; 2011).

In addition, the royal coinage of Tarsus initiated a type that was followed by other Seleucid cities of Cilicia. The royal coins had a head of the royal authority on the

obverse and a legend on the obverse that proclaims the minting authority (Meyer, 2011). Therefore, Tarsus, acting as a minting authority, had clearly a leading and decisive role among the Hellenistic cities of Smooth Cilicia.

3.1.4. Lamps

Like the coins, lamps and amphora handles were used by Goldman's team to establish the chronology of the stratigraphic units because their dates were already determined at other sites with considerable certainty (Goldman & Jones, 1950: 84). The lamps were typologically divided into 23 groups (for details see Goldman & Jones, 1950). From Group I to Group XI (inclusive), lamps were related with the Hellenistic strata. Group I consisted of lamps associated with the Early Hellenistic Phase and continued into the Middle Hellenistic Phase. Group II, III, IV, and VI belong to the Middle Hellenistic Phase. While Group II lamps were used until the Middle Hellenistic Phase, Group VI were also found in the late Roman deposits. Group V, however, was associated with the Hellenistic-Roman Phase. Group VII was only seen in the Late Hellenistic Phase. Group VIII started to be seen in the Late Hellenistic Phase and ceased at the end of the Hellenistic-Roman Phase. Groups IX, X, and XI were associated with the Hellenistic and Roman Phase (Goldman & Jones, 1950: 85).

Both imported and domestically produced lamps were found at Tarsus. The majority of the lamps were locally made and some came from Greece or neighboring eastern Mediterranean territories (Goldman & Jones, 1950: 85). The exact percentages of the imported lamps and also the role of Tarsus as importer or producer are not clear.

3.1.5. The Stamped Amphora Handles

The fragments of stamped amphora handles retrieved in Tarsus belong to plain pointed amphorae (Figure 34) (Grace, 1950: 135-148). As standard shipping vessels for liquids, the amphorae of Tarsus were used primarily to carry wine and oil. The stamps on the handles attested to the capacity of the amphorae; of the 101 found in Tarsus 84 were Rhodian, three Cnidian and 14 of unknown origin. Some Rhodian amphorae were stamped on both handles (Grace, 1950: 135, 139-148).

The dating of the amphora handles was done according to well stratified deposits. The majority of the Rhodian stamps were dated between 220 BC and 180 BC with the parallels retrieved in the foundation of a building at Pergamum (Grace, 1950: 136). None of the fragments could be dated earlier than 300 BC; the latest example was dated to the late 1st century AD.

3.1.6. The Miscellaneous Finds

Apart from the aforementioned artifacts, miscellaneous finds include objects made of clay, metal, stone, lead, glass or other materials (Goldman, 1950a: 387-403). Among them, terracotta loom-weights are a main interest of the thesis as they were found in the other settlements in great numbers. The loom-weights of Tarsus generally had three shapes: pyramidal, discoid and lentoid. These three forms were used both in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, compared to the Hellenistic period, discoid loom-weights appear to be more decorated and popular in the Roman period. The pyramidal loom-weight has one pierced hole while other forms may have two holes (Figure 35). There were loom-weights with incised, stamped alphabet letters (Goldman, 1950a: 387-403). The abundance of loom-weights suggests the existence of textile production in the region during the Hellenistic period.

3.1.7. Conclusion

In comparison with other settlements in Smooth Cilicia, Tarsus presents more vivid and complete evidence for the Hellenistic period. Three sub-phases of the Hellenistic period have been represented stratigraphically in addition to a transitional phase to the Roman period. All four layers have yielded important Hellenistic finds which have been used as the source of reference by scholars working in the region. Therefore, Tarsus is the key site for the Hellenistic studies of Smooth Cilicia.

With the Hellenistic remains and artifacts found in the sub-phases of the Hellenistic period at Tarsus, it possible to see how buildings change through time. In the Early Hellenistic period, a single building having thick walls of mudbrick without stone foundations and covering an area of 30 x 7 m was used as a bronze workshop. This Early Hellenistic building follows the plan of an earlier Iron Age building. In the

Middle Hellenistic Phase, however, structures became more complex and complicated. A building complex, measuring 35 x 30 m in excavated parts, was dated to the Middle Hellenistic Phase of Tarsus. The complex had three different types of rooms including a "megaron", a courtyard, and a bath complex. On the basis that this is a "megaron", which is a Greek phenomenon, the architecture shows that the Greek culture which was an "alien"[50] concept before, seems absorbed and adapted. In addition, the "megaron" and the building with the pebble mosaic found in this Middle Hellenistic complex suggest that the inhabitants of Tarsus in the Hellenistic period were probably from the upper class that governed the region. Compared to other settlements in the region (Sirkeli, Kinet, Tatarlı, and Soli), which have simpler structures, the Hellenistic buildings of Tarsus look more complex with drains, baths, and alleys. Tarsus draws a picture of a larger and more prosperous city than the other settlements in the region during the Middle Hellenistic Period. Thus, the idea of Tarsus being the leading settlement in the region during the Hellenistic period becomes more probable. The quality and variety of other finds such as ceramics, coins, lamps, and other clay objects support this idea. The following Late Hellenistic and Hellenistic-Roman phases of Tarsus also yielded Hellenistic structures with artifacts. However, due to the puzzling nature of the surviving walls and building layers, it was not possible to separate out individual buildings.

Almost all kinds of Hellenistic material were found in the Hellenistic building phases of Tarsus. Although these finds are still being consulted by researchers for dating and cross-cultural analyses, studies on the Hellenistic material culture of Tarsus seems to be frozen since the Goldman excavations with the exception of the coins. During the current excavations, hopefully, the Hellenistic material of Tarsus will be re-examined and the information will be updated.

3.2. Soli (Pompeiopolis) Höyük

Soli Höyük is a multi-period settlement with a harbor, located in Viranşehir (town) in the Municipality of Mezitli, ca. 11 km west of modern Mersin (Figure 7) (Yağcı, 2001a: 259; Tulunay, 2005). Soli Höyük, one of the oldest sites in the region, is very

[50] According to ceramic analysis, F.F. Jones (1950: 152) claims that the Greek culture was an "alien" concept at Tarsus in the Early Hellenistic period (see section: 3.1.2. Pottery).

close to the modern city center. While the Roman harbor and the Colonnaded Street are immediately near the sea, the mound itself is ca. 250 m north of the sea coast. Soli Höyük is very close to the Lamas River (today's "Limonlu Çayı" to the west) and the ancient city of Lamos (west), which together have been accepted as the border between Rough Cilicia (on the west) and Smooth Cilicia (on the east) (Strabo, *Geography*: 14.5.8; Özbayoğlu, 1999: 209; Yağcı, 2001b: 159-160; 2003b: 93; 2008b; 2011; 2013).

The name of the mound derives from "Soloi" (in ancient Greek, Σόλοι) and "Soli" is the Latin version of "Soloi". From the place name "Soloi" has come the term "solecism" (Σολοικισμός in Greek; "solecismus" in Latin) which means "incorrectness in the use of language" (Özbayoğlu, 1999; Yağcı, 2001b). The people of Soli Höyük who spoke a corrupted form of Athenian Greek became famous from this term (soloikizein; σολοκιζειν) (Özbayoğlu, 1999; Yağcı, 2001b: 159; Salmeri, 2003: 282-284).

There are two different views about the origin of "Soli" (Yağcı, 2001b: 159-160; Salmeri, 2003: 282-284). The first, according to Diogenes Laertius ("Solon" in *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*: 1, 51), a biographer of the Greek philosopher who lived the 3rd century AD, is that "Soli" stems from the name of its founder Solon who was an Athenian statesman, lawmaker, and poet (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a). Solon founded the ancient city in Cilicia and brought Athenians to live there:

> After leaving that place he lived in Cilicia and founded a city which he called 'Soli' after his own name. In it he settled some Athenians, who in process of time corrupted the purity of Attic and were said to "solecize." Note that the people of this town are called Solenses, the people of Soli in Cyprus Solii.

The second view, also learned from Diogenes Laertius, is that there were two cities with the same name: one in Cilicia and the other in Cyprus. Burkert (1992: 12, 39) associates "Soloi", the name of these two cities, with the meaning of "metal ingots" (Yağcı, 2001b: 160), which might refer to the role of Soli in trading relations.

In addition to Diogenes Laertius, Soli is mentioned by other ancient writers such as Strabo, Xenophon, and Arrian (Yağcı, 2001b; 2004b; 2008b; 2011; Özbayoğlu, 1999). Xenophon (*Anabasis*: 1.2.23-24) mentions Soli while describing the circumstances in Cilicia in the early 4th century BC (Özbayoğlu, 1992: 210-211):

> After descending he (Cyrus the Younger), marched through this plain four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus, a large and prosperous city of Cilicia, where the palace of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians, was situated; and through the middle of the city flows a river named the Cydnus, two plethra in width. The inhabitants of this city had abandoned it and fled, with Syennesis, to a stronghold upon the mountains—all of them, at least, except the tavern-keepers; and there remained also those who dwelt on the sea-coast, in Soli and Issus.

Strabo (*Geography*: 14.5.8) locates Soli at the border between Smooth and Rough Cilicia. According to him, Soli was founded by Achaeans and Rhodians:

> After Lamus one comes to Soli, a noteworthy city, the beginning of the other Cilicia, that which is around Issus; it was founded by Achaeans and Rhodians from Lindus[51]. Since this city was of scant population, Pompey the Great settled in it those survivors of the pirates whom he judged most worthy of being saved and provided for; and he changed its name to Pompeiopolis. Among the famous natives of Soli were: Chrysippus the Stoic philosopher, whose father had moved there from Tarsus; Philemon, the comic poet; and Aratus, who wrote the work entitled The Phaenomena, in verse.

Arrian (of Nicomedia) relates in the *Anabasis of Alexander* (2.5.87-89) that Alexander the Great offered sacrifice to Asclepius and arranged festivals in Soli after recovering from a serious illness in Tarsus. Alexander also sentenced the city of Soli to pay 200 talents because of their admiration for the Persians (Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander:* 2.5.5). This indicates that Soli was rich enough at that time to afford such an amount of money (Ayteş, 2000: 211; Yağcı, 2008: 1427). Furthermore, a statue of Asclepius was found in Soli (Yağcı, 2005; Tulunay, 2005), which may reflect the importance of the city as a healing center.

Furthermore, "Pompeiopolis", the Roman name of Soli Höyük, was given to the city after Roman general Pompey (Magnus) took back control of city from Tigranes II, the king of Armenia, in 68 BC. Pompey eliminated the piracy and commenced a new building campaign of the city, which would Romanize Soli (Sayar, 2012). He gave his name to the city as did other Hellenistic kings and rulers (Strabo, *Geography*:

[51] Strabo (*Geography*: 14.5.8) describes Soli as a colony (κτίσμα) of the Achaeans and the Rhodians of Lindus. Salmeri (2003: 270, 277-278) prefers to avoid "attributing to Soli the status of a late eighth century Rhodian colony". He rather sees the relations between Soli and Rhodians to be of a cultural and religious type (Salmeri, 2003: 277-278). However, in the current excavations of the "Archaic Terrace" at Soli, some architectural remains have been associated with the Rhodian colonization period of Soli in ca. 7th – 6th century BC (Yağcı, 2016: 109-110).

14.5.8). After 66/65 BC, Soli/Pompeiopolis obtained the status and the title "civitas libera" ("free city") (Yağcı, 2008b: 1427; 2011: 57).

The site of Soli Höyük, although ancient, was later modified and settled by Romans until the end of the Roman era. The main mound measures 300 m in diameter and rises 22 m high above sea level (Yağcı, 2001a: 259). A Roman colonnaded street connects the mound with the harbor. The colonnaded street measures ca. 350 m in length, only 33 of its columns survive. Soli/Pompeiopolis with its main mound, Colonnaded Street, and harbor covers an area of ca. 30 ha (Yağcı, 2001a: 259).

Soli Höyük was documented by several travelers in the 19th century[52]. Their drawings and illustrations have given important information. Among the travelers, Francis Beaufort, an English admiral, is particularly worth mentioning. In his book, *Karamania* (1818: 249), he published a plan[53] of the settlement with the Roman harbor in addition to remarks about the site and its environs (Figure 36) (Beaufort, 1818: 249). According to Remzi Yağcı (2011: 57), the Soli/Pompeiopolis illustration of Beaufort is still one of the most accurate drawings of the shoreline and the site itself.

In order to understand the settlement pattern of Soli and its importance in ancient maritime trade activities, Remzi Yağcı has been conducting excavations since 1999 (Yağcı, 2001a; 2002; 2003a; 2004a; 2005; 2006a; 2006b; 2007; 2008a; 2010; 2016; Yağcı & Kaya, 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; 2014a; 2014b; Yılmazer-Çorbacı, 2008; 2011). In addition, an underwater investigation project (ROMACONS: The Roman Maritime Concrete Study) was initiated in 2009 to investigate the Roman harbor (Autret, Yağcı, & Rauh, 2010; Brandon, Hohlfelder, Oleson, Rauh, & Yağcı, 2010a; 2010b; Yağcı, 2010; Yağcı & Kaya, 2011; 2012a). Further, the Soli Project focuses on the role of Soli in Greek colonization. One of the aims of the project is to find out whether the famous Soli-Pompeiopolis Treasure Trove, the metal hoard dated to the Middle Bronze Age brought from Soli to Berlin in the early 1900s (Bittel, 1940: 183-205), was truly taken from Soli (Yağcı, 2001b:

[52] A full list of the travelers who visited Soli can be found at the website of the Soli Höyük project: http://www.soli-pompeiopolis.eom/icerik/2/english.html (accessed, 8th Dec, 2015).
[53] In his sketch of ruins (Figure 36), Beaufort (1818: 249) illustrates a fortification wall with towers, surrounding the whole settlement. However, the information regarding the wall is inadequate and its date is unknown.

159). Apart from the excavations, a restoration and a cleaning project especially in the colonnaded street have been carried out (Figure 37).

As a result of the ongoing investigation, it is understood that Soli Höyük was continuously settled from the Bronze Age into the beginning of the Byzantine period. It must have been settled before the Bronze Age but the earlier levels have not been reached yet although some obsidian tools and grinding stones dated to the Neolithic/Chalcolithic periods have been found. Soli/Pompeiopolis with its harbor was one of the largest settlements of the Eastern Mediterranean where harbors played an important role for trading goods and for providing military security. Soli reached its peak in prosperity and standards of living during the Hellenistic period. (Ayteş, 2000: 211; Yağcı, 2002: 285; 2008: 1427)[54]. Excavations, conducted both in the mound itself and the Roman Colonnaded Street, have yielded a variety of Hellenistic objects ranging from terracotta to glass and metal but no architectural remains except for a platform and a channel. Because of the erosion on the mound and the later Roman occupation at the site, the stratigraphy of Soli Höyük is problematic (Yağcı, 2003b). In addition to this difficulty, a complete stratigraphy of the mound has not been provided yet. In his excavation report of 2002, Yağcı (2004: 49) associated some of the Hellenistic finds to the "Period/Layer VI" but there is no further information about this layer, whether it alone represents the Hellenistic period or whether there are other layers representing the period. It is also not clear whether the Hellenistic period in Soli Höyük had sub-layers or different building phases.

3.2.1. Trenches with Hellenistic Finds

Important Hellenistic finds ranging from ceramics to small finds were retrieved from trenches situated in the areas of both the mound itself and the colonnaded street. I will first present the finds from trenches situated on the mound, and then finds from the trenches in the Colonnaded Street.

[54] In addition, Yağcı himself claims this in the documentary of Soli Höyük (made in 2013) in the minutes between 00:10:40 and 00:11:00. http://www.soli-pompeiopolis.com/kategori/26/soli-belgeseli.html (Retrieved, 8th Dec, 2015).

3.2.1.1. Trenches on the Main Mound

In trenches D4 and D5, situated on the north and highest point of the mound (Figure 38 and 39). Hellenistic ceramics, clay objects, a head of a female figurine, a fragment of a glass bowl, and a bronze coin were retrieved. Among the ceramics were "dribble ware" burnished bowls and plates (Figure 40) as well as fragments of skyphoi, kantharoi, kraters, West Slope ceramics, and unguentaria (Yağcı, 2001a: 260). A terracotta figurine fragment of a head of a lady with a polos was found along with Hellenistic pyramidal and discoid loom-weights. The figurine fragment (Figure 41) is identified as "Kybele" by Yağcı (2001a: 260). A fragment of a rim belonging to a glass bowl which was made in the "casting technique"[55] was dated to the 1st century BC, the late Hellenistic period (Yağcı, 2001a: 260). Lastly, a bronze coin with a head of Athena on the obverse was found in the baulk between the trenches D4 and D5. Although, its reverse was much corroded the coin was dated to the Hellenistic period (Yağcı, 2001a: 260).

In trenches G2, G3, and H3 (all located on the terrace, at the southwest of the mound: see for the location Figure 39), below the ruins of the theatre, Hellenistic finds have been retrieved in a heavily ashy layer (Yağcı, 2001a; 2003a: 515). Finds include ceramics, fragments of stamped amphora handles, terracotta loom-weights, figurines, and lamps. Among the forms of Hellenistic ceramics are skyphos, kantharos, krater, amphora, unguentarium, and phiale (Yağcı, 2003a: 515). In addition, fragments of amphora handles with finger print decorations and stamps were found in H3 (Yağcı, 2001a: 261). Particularly, one of the fragments of a Rhodian amphora handle has an inscription reading "ἐπὶ Φιλοκράτευς", dated to 240/230 BC (Figure 42) (Yağcı, 2001a: 261). Fourteen terracotta pyramidal loom-weights were found in H3 along with some discoid shaped loom-weights (Figure 43: A). Some of the pyramidal loom-weights have impressed decorations of the goddess Athena as a warrior wearing a helmet, and a man with spear. Strikingly, one loom-weight, made in the Miletus style, has the painted (red) sign "Δ" which, according to Yağcı (2001a: 261), may suggest a value or a scale. Moreover, two fragments of terracotta figurines in parallel with the one found in D4 (Figure 41), were retrieved from the trench H3. They are heads of Eros. Although Tanagra type figurine heads were also found in

[55] The technique used in glass production before "blowing" was introduced (Yağcı, 2001a: 260).

this ashy layer, no picture or drawing of them has been published. Finally many terracotta lamps, dated between the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC, were found in H3 (Figure 43: B). They are all wheel-made and most of them are burnished. Some examples have decorations of applique masks and bucrania, like those found in the Agora of Athens (Yağcı, 2001a: 261).

All of these Hellenistic artifacts retrieved from trenches G2, G3, and H3 came from a thick ashy layer. This layer has been associated by Yağcı (2001a; 2003a: 515; 2008b: 1427) with the invasion of Tigranes II.[56]

In trench C4, a discoid loom-weight and a bone bodkin were discovered and dated to the Hellenistic period. These two items were related with textile production (Yağcı, 2001a: 261). However, there is no published illustration of these items. In addition, Roman sherds were found mixed with Hellenistic ceramics in this trench.

In trenches D6, E4, E5, and E6 (near the trenches D4, D5, and H3; below the theatre), additional important Hellenistic finds were recovered (Yağcı, 2002). Ceramics include dribble ware with polished vessels with roulette and palmette impressions, West Slope ware, Hadra pottery, and Mold-made bowls. The quantity of West Slope ceramics is higher than the others (Figure 44), with black slipped plates, skyphoi, kantharoi, amphorae, and oenochoe are among the most frequent shapes (Yağcı, 2002: 286). Mold-made bowls also take an important place in this assemblage. Particularly, fragment of Homeric bowls, a subgroup within the Mold-made bowls (Yılmazer-Çorbacı, 2011: 424), are quite striking. The major difference between Mold-made bowls and the Homeric bowls is that, generally, Mold-made bowls have floral decorations while Homeric bowls have scenes from Homeric epic. (Yağcı, 2002: 286; Yılmazer-Çorbacı, 2011: 424). In one example of the Homeric bowls, of which only fragments have survived, there are inscribed names along with the relief of the figures depicted. Inscriptions read as [Ἀ]χιλ[λ]εύς (Achilles), Ἀθήνα (Athena), and Νέστω[ρ] (Nestor) (Figure 45). This Homeric bowl dates to the 2nd century BC (Yılmazer-Çorbacı, 2011: 428). In addition to pottery, in trenches D6, E4, E5, and E6, other finds include terracotta lamps, loom-weights, an unguentarium, terracotta figurine heads, and amphora handles (with the stamps of Rhodes, Cnidus, Thasos, and Cyprus). These amphora handles indicate the interregional interactions

[56] However, this ashy layer could also be explained by a normal fire.

and the trade between these sites, and also the importance of wine (Yağcı, 2002: 286).

In the excavations of trench E6, a row of limestone blocks forms a platform dated to the Hellenistic period (Figure 46; Yağcı, 2008a: 157). A Hellenistic jug was exposed in situ, along with a metal nail and an arrowhead on the blocks. Hellenistic ceramics found here included fragments of amphorae, stamped handle fragments, and an almost complete burnished dribble ware bowl.

Excavations conducted on the west part of the mound have also yielded Hellenistic finds. In trenches F7, H7, H8, G7, and G8, Hellenistic burnished dribble ware, a late Hellenistic/early Roman lamp (Figure 47), fragments of unguentaria, loom-weights, Rhodian amphora handles as well as a fragment of red figure ceramic with a Dionysiac representation, dated to the 5th century BC were found (Figure 48) (Yağcı, 2007: 177; Yağcı & Kaya, 2009: 468).

3.2.1.2. Trenches at the Colonnaded Street

Apart from the trenches in the mound, Hellenistic finds came from the trenches situated in the Colonnaded Street. These Hellenistic artifacts, especially found below the ruins of the Roman street, indicated that this part of the settlement was also occupied during the Hellenistic period (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 247), as the harbor must have been.

During the excavations in area G, a Hellenistic channel system was discovered below a modern limestone quarry area (which is ca. 3m deep). Because the area was used in the Byzantine period and in modern times, the Hellenistic layer was damaged badly. Nevertheless, according to the ceramics, the layer and the channel could be dated to the Hellenistic period (Yağcı, 2002: 288).

Excavations in areas E and F (where the Roman shops and the western portico were found) have yielded Hellenistic finds (Figure 49). A 2.85 cm deep sounding was opened in E6. Ceramics retrieved from this sounding were associated with “Period/Layer VI”. This layer lies between the heights of 2.70 m and 2.10 m. It is associated with the invasion of Tigranes the Great ca. 70 BC because of the ashy layer (Yağcı, 2004a: 49). Hellenistic ceramics found in these areas are high in

number. The ashy layer could be followed in the trenches E3 and F3 which are parallel to the trench E6. In trench E3/F3 (in depth of 2.55 m), a broken “heptad” terracotta lamp was found (Figure 50). This lamp represents the transitional phase between the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Yağcı, 2004a: 50). From the areas E and F situated in the Colonnaded Street, a total of 227 fragments of Hellenistic burnished ceramics, 44 unguentaria dated to the late Hellenistic/early Roman period, 16 West Slope ware sherds, 89 lamps dated to the late Hellenistic/early Roman period, and 75 coins of both the Hellenistic and Roman periods were retrieved (Yağcı, 2004a: 50).

In addition, an important collection of Hellenistic finds was exposed in the Roman manhole (ca. 3.5 m deep) and in the excavations of the trenches B9, C9, D9, E7, E8, E9, and E10 (for location see Figure 49 and 51) (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a; Yağcı, 2014). The Roman manhole probably served as a garbage pit to dump the finds coming from the Hellenistic layer (Yağcı & Kaya, 2012b: 103; 2013a: 247). The finds, including kitchen wares in different shapes and miniature sacrificial objects, have been dated between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BC. Among the finds are terracotta lagynoi, olpai (one-handled jugs) (Figure 52), Mold-made bowls (Figure 53), amphoriskoi, lamps (Figure 52, 54), unguentaria, metal coins, a terracotta figurine depicting an animal carrying amphorae (Figure 55), a mortarium with a pestle, and terracotta loom-weights related with textile production (Yağcı & Kaya, 2012b: 103; 2013a: 247). According to Yağcı and Kaya (2013a: 247), these Hellenistic artifacts found in the Roman manhole clearly indicate that the area of the Colonnaded Street was continuously used from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods. In other words, Soli/Pompeiopolis was a dynamic harbor settlement also in the Hellenistic period (Yağcı & Kaya, 2012b: 103; 2013a: 247).

Finally, in addition to above mentioned finds, there are many Hellenistic artifacts whose context is not clear. They were usually found in mixed and not- well-stratified layers. Because their stratigraphic provenance and dates were not secure, they are not presented here.

3.2.2. Conclusion

In summary, Soli/Pompeiopolis is a harbor settlement situated in a strategic locus, the border between Smooth and Rough Cilicia. Soli has yielded evidence not only for

the Hellenistic period but also the later Roman period. Because Soli/Pompeiopolis was mentioned by ancient writers, we are also provided with textual information. The events noted by ancient writers correspond with the material culture exposed during the current excavations. Thus, here, we are able to reconstruct to a certain extent the story of the settlement thanks to the collaboration of textual sources and archaeological excavations.

We know from the ancient texts that Alexander the Great took control of Soli without a fight before the Battle of Issus in 333 BC (Yağcı, 2008b). He made sacrifices to Asclepius in Soli after recovering from a serious illness. Indeed, a statue of Asclepius dated to the Roman period was found in Soli (Tulunay, 2005). Moreover, Alexander the Great condemned the people of Soli to pay 200 talents, which suggests that the inhabitants were rich at that time. This has been confirmed by the current excavations. According to Hellenistic finds, especially lamps, coins, figurines, imported ceramics (like amphorae of Rhodes, Thasos, Cnidus, and West Slope ware), the inhabitants had a prosperous settlement and life standard.

Tigranes the Great plundered Soli in the 70s BC, and forced people to go build the new capital of the Armenian Kingdom, Tigranocerta. This event has been identified by Yağcı with an ashy layer in the excavations (Yağcı, 2001a; 2003a: 515; 2008b). Thanks to Pompey who eliminated the piracy threat in the region, people of Soli could come back to their homeland in 68/67 BC (Yağcı, 2008b). Pompeius / Pompey then started a big construction project. This is how Soli became "Pompeiopolis" (Figure 56, showing the Pompeiopolis inscription). From this date onwards, the Romanization process of Soli/Pompeiopolis started. The Colonnaded Street and the Harbor[57] were built during this process.

The above-mentioned results are preliminary. A fuller publication and a complete analysis of the finds have not yet been done. In addition, apart from a platform and a channel, there is no reported architecture dated to the Hellenistic period. Therefore, there is no information about, for example, the domestic and royal structures of the Hellenistic period in Soli/Pompeiopolis. Because the site was occupied in later and modern periods, and also because of the erosion effect at

[57] Figure 57 shows a bronze coin of Antonius Pius depicting the Roman harbor. For a sketch of the harbor in the 19th century by Beaufort (1818), see Figure 36. Figure 58 shows the 3D reconstruction of Roman structures.

the site, layers were not preserved well. This is also the reason why there is no clear stratigraphy of the site. Nevertheless, the Hellenistic finds are rich and varied. Their parallels can be found at Tarsus / Gözlükule. Because of its archaeological and textual evidence, Soli/Pompeiopolis is one of the important settlements of the region.

3.3. Sirkeli Höyük

Sirkeli Höyük, located 40 km east of Adana on the left bank of the Ceyhan river (ancient Pruna and Pyramos) and 30 km north of the ancient port town Aigeai / Aegeae (modern Yumurtalık), is one of the largest multi-period sites of Smooth Cilicia (Figure 7 and 59). Its name comes from Sirkeli village which is separated from the mound by the Sirkeli Çay, flowing from the west and joining with the Ceyhan (Ahrens, Kozal, Kümmel, Laube, & Novák, 2008: 68; Ahrens Kozal, & Novák, 2010: 55). Sirkeli is situated at the point where the Ceyhan breaks through the foothills of the Misis mountains (Figure 5), on the important trade and military routes from Syria to Central Anatolia via the Cilician Gates (Hrouda, 1997: 92; Kozal & Novák, 2013: 229). Its location was not only important in pre-Hellenistic times but also in medieval and modern times. Yılan Kalesi, a medieval fortress, was constructed just across the river from Sirkeli Höyük (Figure 5). Besides the recently built highway leading to central Anatolia, the famous early 20th century İstanbul-Baghdad Railway passed Sirkeli at a close distance (Hrouda, 1997a: 92; Ehringhaus 1999a: 83; Ahrens et al., 2010: 55; Kozal & Novák, 2013: 229).

Sirkeli Höyük is an oval-shaped mound which measures ca. 300 x 350 m in size and rises ca. 30 m above the plain around it (Figure 61). The main mound consists of two parts: the citadel, the highest part of the mound in a trapezoid shape, and the surrounding oval-shaped terraced plateau. The citadel was fortified by a massive terrace wall that was exposed partly by Barthel Hrouda (1997a: 107; Kozal & Novák, 2013: 231). Outside the citadel walls, lower towns lie on the north and southwest of the mound (Kozal & Novák, 2013: 231). In addition, a Hellenistic necropolis, southwest of the mound, was discovered and excavated first by Hrouda in 1993 (Figure 61 shows the location of Hellenistic necropolis on the west). After illegal excavations between 1998 and 2006 in the necropolis area, the Adana Museum

opened several soundings in order to define the borders of the necropolis in 2006 (Novák & Kozal, 2010: 478; Kreutz 2011: 141).

The site was excavated first by John Garstang in 1936-37 (Garstang, 1937; 1938; Ahrens, 2014). In 1951, Seton-Williams, during her Cilician survey, determined that the site was inhabited continuously from the Chalcolithic through the Hellenistic-Roman periods (Seton-Williams, 1954). Afterwards in 1992-96, Hrouda (1997b: 291-311; 1998: 467-483) and in 1997 Horst Ehringhaus (1999b: 383-399) conducted excavations in order to understand the relations between two Hittite rock reliefs[58] and the mound. The current excavations under the direction of Mirko (Miroslav) Novák have been conducted since 2006 in order to determine the stratigraphy of the settlement and investigate the interactions between Sirkeli and surrounding cultural regions, and the urbanistic development of the site (Ahrens, Kozal, Kümmel, Laube, & Novák, 2009: 297-310; Novák & Kozal, 2010: 477-490; 2011: 42-50; 2013: 413-428; 2014a: 428-442; 2014b: 1-16).

Although the main information for the Hellenistic settlement has come from the current excavations, earlier excavations yielded some Hellenistic materials. According to his preliminary report, Garstang excavated five test trenches (he calls them "cuttings", namely A to E) (Figure 60**)** but his two preliminary reports were scanty and did not present fully the trenches and the material found (Garstang, 1938; Ahrens, 2014: 47). In the 1990s, Hrouda and Ehringhaus opened around 20 trenches on the mound including the citadel and plateau parts of Sirkeli **(**Figure 62) (Ehringhaus, 1999a: 85). Their excavations yielded materials from the Chalcolithic period through the end of the Hellenistic period but the stratification of the mound could not be clearly understood (Ahrens et al., 2009: 298). Although both Hrouda and Ehringhaus found Hellenistic artifacts, they did not discover any architecture that would attest to the stratigraphic phases of the period. Therefore, I will present results of the current excavations by Novák after summarizing Hellenistic finds coming from the previous excavations of Hrouda and Ehringhaus. A recent study on the Hellenistic occupation of Sirkeli was published by Natascha Kreutz (2011).

[58] Two rock reliefs depicting Hittite kings were found at Sirkeli. The first one was discovered by Garstang in 1936 (Garstang 1937; 1938) and identified as Muwatalli II by Hans Gustav Güterbock (in Garstang, 1937: 66-68). The second one was detected by Hrouda (1997a: 94; 1997b: 292) in 1994. However, it has suffered from *"damnatio memoriae"* (Hrouda, 1997c) and it could not be clearly determined which king was depicted.

However, after her article, continuing excavations in Area A, which have been supervised by myself with Alexander Ahrens since 2011, have yielded significant information about the architecture and the stratigraphy of the Hellenistic period. In this study, I combine her results and analyses with the recent discoveries from the ongoing investigations in Area A.

3.3.1. The Hrouda Excavations (1992-1996)

In Hrouda's excavations, especially in Area 18/1, various Hellenistic finds including metal objects, terracotta figurines and most importantly ceramics were found (Hrouda, 1997a). A 35 cm long iron spearhead retrieved from the Area 18/1 was typologically dated to the Hellenistic period (Figure 64) (Haider in Hrouda, 1997a: 124). A terracotta draped female figurine (Figure 65), ca. 14.5 cm in height, whose head and feet were missing, was found in an ashy layer with Mold-made bowls in the west part of Area 18/1. Besides this female statuette, a fragmentary terracotta figurine of a horse and rider, which could be dated to either ca. 600 BC or the Hellenistic period, was exposed in 18/1 (Figure 63). Apart from Area 18, in Area 4 and 6, some Hellenistic small finds were retrieved. Among them, a fragmentary terracotta female head with kalathos was particularly significant because it gave a Hellenistic date (Figure 66). Parallels of this figurine have been found in Susa and Failaka[59] (Hrouda, 1997a: 101-102).

In addition to small finds, highly decorated and carefully executed Hellenistic fine wares were found (Figure 68, 69) (Hübner, 2000: 77-86). Hrouda's publications focused on fine ware but not plain ware (also called coarse or drab ware) because fine wares were easily distinguishable whereas plain wares were not. Among the examples of Hellenistic fine wares found in Sirkeli are skyphoi with appliqué mask handles retrieved from Area 16 and 18, whose parallels can be found in Northern Greece and Pergamum and dated between the second half of the 3rd century BC to the mid-2nd century BC (3-6 in Figure 68) (Hübner, 2000: 79). West-Slope Ware type skyphoi (Hübner, 2000: 79-80, no. 7-9) which have black slipped interior and russet

[59] Failaka is an island off Kuwait, located at the mouth of an ancient course of the Euphrates. "Ikaros" must be the Hellenized version of the local name of the settlement (Hornblower, Spawforth, & Eidinow, 2012).

color slip outside were retrieved from Area 18 and 4 (7-9 in Figure 68). Parallels of these skyphoi were found in Tarsus and dated to the end of the 3rd century BC or the early 2nd century BC (Hübner 2000: 79-80). Jugs including examples with fragmentary handles shaped as dolphins were found in areas 13 and 10 and dated between the second half of the 3rd century BC to the first half of the 2nd century BC (10-12 in Figure 68) (Hübner, 2000: 80, No. 10 -12). Mold-made bowls with relief decorations, which usually have reddish brown slips, came from Area 3, 6, 10 and 18 (13-20 in Figure 68, 69). Some of the Mold-made bowls have reliefs of hunting on them and were mostly dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC (Hübner, 2000: 81). Plates with stamped seal impressions of palmettes and rosettes came from Area 4 and 6 and were dated to the 3rd century BC (Hübner, 2000: 82- 83). Parallels of these plates were found in Corinth and Tarsus. It is striking that many parallels from different regions were found and this clearly shows how Sirkeli was in close relation with other regions far away.

In addition, ceramic sherds with Greek inscriptions were found at Sirkeli. Fragments of Rhodian type amphora handles were retrieved during Hrouda's excavations (Hrouda, 1997a: 102). Two amphora handles had clearly readable inscriptions of the name of the potters: the first is "ἐπὶ Γόν[ος]" (Figure 67), the second is "Ἀριστόκλεις". From Area 12, came a West Slope skyphos with an inscription: "[…] ς Διονύσου" and "[…] τις" ("… of Dionysus") (8 in Figure 68) (Hrouda, 1997a: 127; Hübner, 2000: 80). The skyphos was dated to the end of the 3rd century BC (Hübner, 2000: 80).

Besides these ceramics, lamps (Hübner, 2000: 82, Nos. 21-26) were also collected and dated from the first half of the 3rd century BC to the early 2nd century BC, with parallels found in Tarsus (Figure 69).

According to Hübner (2000: 77-86), the density of the tones, the slips, and the quality of the finishing indicate that, except for the stamped Rhodian amphorae, fine wares found in Sirkeli were locally made. During the Hellenistic period, inhabitants of Sirkeli imitated types that were frequently found in the big urban centers in Greece and western Asia Minor. The petrographic analysis done on the ceramics also proves this argument (Hofbauer & Masch in Hrouda, 1997a: 132-142; Kozal & Novák, 2013: 230).

3.3.2. The Ehringhaus Excavations (1997)

In the Ehringhaus excavations at Sirkeli, similar types of Hellenistic finds were found (Figure 70) (Ehringhaus, 1999a). A fragment of a handle with a satyr mask application was retrieved from Area 18/1 and dated to the 2nd century BC. Parallels for this handle have been found in the Agora of Athens, Delphi, Pergamum, Aegina and Tarsus (Reitmaier in Ehringhaus, 1999a: 102). Many fragments of Mold-made bowls were also found and dated to the second half of the 2nd century BC with parallels from Tarsus. A miniature amphora (amphoriskos) came from areas 13 and 15 (c in Figure 70). Another Rhodian stamped amphora handle was found. Its inscription reads "ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος Σμινθίου" ("Under Ariston, the month Smintheus"). This find is important not only to show the trade with Rhodes but also to give a date. The amphora fragment can be dated to 170 BC because it bears the name of a Rhodian official, "Ariston," known from textual sources to have been active before 170 BC (Reitmayer in Ehringhaus, 1999a: 105; Polybius, *Histories*: 28.14-6). Strikingly, parallels from distant cities show again how Sirkeli was connected to the trading network.

Clearly, the finds retrieved from both the Hrouda and Ehringhaus excavations proved that Sirkeli Hoyük was, indeed, inhabited during Hellenistic times. However, since they could not find any clearly datable Hellenistic architectural features, the stratigraphy of the period was lacking. Discoveries of stratified Hellenistic remains in the current excavations conducted by Novák in grids 2039 and 2139 have filled this gap and made new contributions.

3.3.3. Current Excavations by Novák (2006-present)

During the current excavations, areas A, C and D have yielded Hellenistic finds but it is area A where the Hellenistic building (A2) was found (see Figure 61 for location of trenches). I will present the Hellenistic finds from these areas in alphabetic order.

3.3.3.1. Area A

Area A, measuring ca 400 m^2, was opened in grids 2039-2139 on the northwest corner of the plateau where Hrouda and Ehringhaus did not excavate. Garstang (1938), however, did excavate here and labelled the area as “lion”, probably to indicate where he found the double-lion-headed column base which is now in the Adana Museum (Figure 60). Garstang’s remarks and comments about the area were too general to be useful. They cannot be correlated with the finds from the current excavations (Ahrens, 2014).

The preliminary results of the investigations in area A have revealed that the plateau in Sirkeli Höyük has at least five stratigraphic layers with nine sub-phases including the Hellenistic period (Figure 71) (Novák & Kozal, 2014b: 2-3).

Below the modern debris (Al), the Hellenistic period is represented by levels A2-A4. Building A2 with multiple rooms was discovered in these levels (Figure 72 and 73) (Novák & Kozal, 2014b: 2-3). Due to erosion in the region and the closeness of the Hellenistic layers to the modern surface, Phase A2 of the building was not preserved well. It has suffered also from stone robbery. However, the A3 and A4 phases were preserved better although they were disturbed by pits. Apparently, the building had at least four rooms (namely A-D) (Novák & Kozal, 2014b).

The foundation walls of Building A2 were made of stone, its partly preserved floors of a mixture of limestone and sand. The upper parts of the walls, which must have been of mudbricks, did not survive but very fragmentary mudbrick layers which must have been collapse from these walls were discovered in the rooms. The exact borders of the building have not yet been defined because they continue beyond the excavated area. It has, however, a rectilinear plan and the dimensions of the rooms are in different sizes. Some of the walls were probably added later (Figure 74) and these later additions correspond to Phase A3. Besides the fine and plain wares, Hellenistic objects such as coins, loom-weights, figurines and metal objects have been found in the rooms. Judging from the size of the building and the artifacts inside the rooms, Building A2 must have been a dwelling which belonged to a prosperous family. The abundance of loom-weights and perforators of bone suggests that part of the building was used for textile production (Novák & Kozal, 2014b).

In addition to the construction remains, Area A contains also Hellenistic pits. The pits must have been dug to get stones from older buildings. A massive and deep pit dated to the Hellenistic period, dug in the southwest corner of the area, destroyed the southern part of Building A1 and its stone pavements, dated to the Late Bronze Age (Figure 75) (Kreutz, 2011: 144-145).

During the current excavations, many Hellenistic finds including fine and plain ceramics, terracotta objects like lamps, figurines and loom-weights, stone objects like spindle whorls and grinding stones, and coins have been exposed in area A. Some of the material has been partially studied in detail and published.

Fine wares found in Area A contain unguentaria; drinking vessels such as skyphoi, kantharoi and kraters; West-Slope wares; Mold-made bowls, undecorated shallow bowls; fish plates; and fragments of stamped amphorae handles. Unguentaria, usually undecorated and made of light red or gray clay, dated between the 4th to the first half of the 3rd century BC, are the earliest Hellenistic ceramics found in Area A. They can be subdivided into two groups (Kreutz, 2011: 145-146): The first group consists of unguentaria with a globular, smaller body and shorter base, dated to the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century BC with parallels from Athens, Sardis and Tarsus (Figure 76: Si07A-225) (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 94-95). The second group contains spindle shaped unguentaria with a long-drawn foot and neck and dated later than the first group, to the 2nd and the first half of the 1st century BC with parallels from Tarsus, Paphos[60], and Gindaros[61] (Figure 77) (Kreutz, 2011: 145-146). Drinking or wine related vessels were also found: especially, fragments of skyphoi, kantharoi, and kraters dated to the 3rd or 2nd century BC (Figure 76: Si06A-1.14) (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 95-97). The fragments of handles of skyphoi and kantharoi with carefully executed applique mask decorations formed in theater masks or satyr masks have been exposed. One of the interesting examples of this group is the handle with applique lion (Figure 77) (Kreutz, 2011: 146). West-Slope wares found not only in Building A2 but also area A in general, are seen as copies of metal or glass vessels (Figure 78 and Si06A-18 in Figure 80) (Kreutz, 2011: 147; Ahrens et al., 2008: 97). They usually have black slipped exteriors and hemispherical shapes. Their parallels have been found in Athens, Pergamum, Sardis, Tarsus and Antioch

[60] Paphos is a city on the southwest coast of Cyprus.
[61] Gindaros (Jandairis) is a town in northern Syria in the Afrin District of the Aleppo.

and dated to from the third quarter of the 3rd and the 2nd century BC (Kreutz, 2011: 147). Mold-made bowls, another group of distinguishable Hellenistic ceramics, decorated mostly with ornamental motifs, floral and figural representations, were retrieved from (Si06A-51 in Figure 80) (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 98). They are dated from the 2nd to the 1st century BC with parallels from Tarsus, Antioch, and Samaria (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 98-99; Kreutz, 2011: 147-148). Fragments of shallow bowls with ringed bases, found widely in all Hellenistic settlements of eastern Mediterranean, are dated to the 3rd and 2nd century BC (Si06A-46 and Si07A-292 in Figure 76) (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 95; Kreutz, 2011: 148). Fish plates, dated to the 2nd century BC with parallels from Paphos, are also frequently exposed (Si06A-57 in Figure 80). Both the bowls and fish plates had dark slips, brown and reddish polished, or were in the dribble ware style (which is the result of the practice that the vessel is put into the slip as the open mouth facing down and then turned up without having slip on the base). The fragments of stamped amphorae handles were found; however, they have not yet been sufficiently studied (Novák & Kozal, 2014a: 441).

Moreover, plain wares including cooking pots, plates and bowls, which are also classified as "kitchen ware," were found in Area A. Because they are undecorated and much damaged, it is very difficult to classify and date these ceramics. Two examples of cooking pots belonging to that plain ware group were found (Figure 81) (Novák & Kozal, 2010: 489). Plain wares are dated to the late 3rd to early 2nd century BC with parallels from Tarsus (Kreutz, 2011: 148). Finally, Eastern Sigillata A (ESA) vessels mark the end of the Hellenistic ceramic repertoire in Sirkeli (Figure 79 and Si06A-56 in Figure 80) (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 98: Si06A-56; Kreutz, 2011: 149). These vessels appeared in the late 2nd century BC and were maintained in use until the early Augustan period. Their parallels were found in Athens, Samos, Antioch, Samaria, and other cities in the eastern Mediterranean (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 98-99; Kreutz, 2011: 148-149). Because it is the latest group of Hellenistic ceramics, ESA wares are important for giving a date when the settlement was abandoned.

Terracotta objects include oil lamps, figurines, and loom-weights. Lamps, the earliest Hellenistic finds such as are unguentaria, came from Area A. One example of a lamp, which has a spherical body but no slip and whose muzzle is missing was retrieved in

2007 (Si07A-188 in Figure 75). It is dated to the first half of the 4th to the middle of the 3rd century BC with parallels from Tarsus, the Kerameikos, the Agora of Athens, and Samaria (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 96). Three fragments of three terracotta figurines were found in Area A (Figure 82 and 83). The first one, depicting a woman's head, came from a Hellenistic pit. The rest of her body was not preserved. Its inside is hollow. This statuette was dated to 3rd or 2nd century BC because of her eyes and small mouth (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 99-100). The second one, depicting a woman, was found in Area A. Only her head and right shoulder were preserved. Because of her damaged face, it could not be clearly dated but similar ones with one or two raised arms were found in East Greece and dated to the 3rd century BC. It is tentatively dated to the Hellenistic period. The last fragment of a terracotta female figurine came from Area A. The figurine is depicting a draped woman who carries her child in her left arm and its lower part of the legs are broken. Because it was found in front of the threshold, Novák and Kozal (2013: 414) think that it was hung on the door. Although an absolute date has not been given yet, this figurine is relatively dated to the Hellenistic period. Loom-weights with one or two holes are among the abundantly found terracotta objects from Building A2. They are pyramidal and round in shape and occasionally have signs incised on them (Figure 84: a-d). They are related with textile production (Novák & Kozal, 2014b: 3).

The stone objects (Figure 84: h-j) consist of spindle whorls and grinding stones. There are both conical and biconical spindle whorls made of stone and clay. Both the loom-weights and the spindle whorls suggest textile or net production for fishing (Hrouda, 1997a: 103), appropriate since the Ceyhan flows by Sirkeli. Grinding stones are usually of basalt and probably related with domestic production in Area A.

In total, five coins have been found in Area A so far. The first coin, a silver drachma from Magnesia ad Meandrum (Figure 85: Si07A-262) had a Herakles head on the obverse and on the reverse seated Zeus holding a staff in his left hand and an eagle on his right hand. Its legend reads "Ἀλεξάνδρου". The coin is dated to 317 - 307 BC (Novák & Kozal, 2010: 481). The second coin (Figure 85: Si07A-176), made of bronze must be dated to Antiochus I (281-261 BC), Seleucus III (226-223 BC), or Antiochus III (223-187 BC) (Novák & Kozal, 2010: 481). The third coin (Figure 85), a tetradrachm, was found on the floor of the courtyard of Building A2. It was made of silver and had probably a head of Antiochus II with diadem on the observe and

Apollo holding a bow with his left hand on the reverse. The legend reads "Ἀντιόχου" and "βασιλέος" ("of king Antiochus"). It must have been belonged to Antiochus II (261-246 BC) (Novák & Kozal, 2014b: 5-6). Parallels were found in Tarsus. The fourth coin (Figure 85), made of bronze, depicting Apollo on both obverse and reverse, had the legend reading "βασιλέος Σελεύκου". It is dated to Seleucus IV Philopator (187-175 BC) (Novák & Kozal, 2014a: 432). The fifth one is particularly significant, a bronze coin of Anazarbus, issued by Tarcondimotus I (1st century BC); it is one of the latest finds from Sirkeli Höyük (Figure 85: Si07A-301). Its obverse was damaged badly. On the reverse, seated Zeus holding his staff with his left hand and probably an eagle in his right hand was depicted. The vertical legend next to his staff reads "[Ἀνα]ζαρβ[έων]." In front of his knees, there is the Greek letter "P" (rho), the monogram which must have belonged to "TAP" that is known from other examples and identifies Tarcondimotus (Kreutz, 2011: 150-151).

Apart from Area A and Building A2, Hellenistic artifacts were found in areas C and D. Besides the excavations and surveys, geophysical prospection and satellite imagery analyses have been undertaken during the current excavations. Accordingly, in order to expose the buildings which have been detected in these geophysical prospections and satellite images, area C in the middle of the plateau and area D on the citadel were opened (Novák & Kozal, 2014a).

3.3.3.2. Area C

After detecting a large rectangular building in the middle of the plateau by analyses of the satellite images, geophysical surveys were conducted in order to learn more about the plan of that building. Thus, in area C, in order to expose this large building, excavations were initiated in 2012 (Novák & Kozal, 2014a: 431). Preliminary results indicated that the area had a stratified Hellenistic layer (C2) and a Late Iron Age layer (Persian) (C3) but they were not preserved well because of the closeness to the surface (Cl). A probable courtyard of a rectilinear building which seems similar to Building A2, in area A, was exposed (Figure 86).

From that probable courtyard, some clearly Hellenistic finds were retrieved (Novák & Kozal, 2014a: 431-434). Among them, remarkable are terracotta loom-weights and figurine fragments (Figure 84: e-g). A round shaped loom-weight

with a hole in the middle was significantly peculiar. It had an inscription reading "φιλα" (Figure 84: e). Another special find of the Hellenistic period was a female bust, 10.7 cm high, with a kalathos on the head (Figure 87). The figurine had visible paint traces preserved on it. Both types of Hellenistic finds were certainly helpful for dating and showed the Hellenistic presence in the middle of the plateau. However, the short-term excavation in area C was not enough to understand the stratigraphy fully.

3.3.3.3. Area D

As in area C, in area D, situated on the citadel, excavations were started in 2012, in order to expose the structures seen in the satellite images and the geophysical prospecting. Although Hellenistic finds have been retrieved from area D, Hellenistic architecture could not be identified. However, the negative traces of probable Hellenistic walls, which were very close to the surface, were noticed by the excavations. According to Novák and Kozal (2014a: 431), stones of the Hellenistic walls could have been dug up and taken for construction projects elsewhere in later periods. In addition, robbing pits containing Hellenistic material, which must have been dug to get stones from the Iron Age buildings below, were also detected. The walls of the Iron Age building (Building Dl) found in D seem to suffer from these pits (Figure 88) (Novák & Kozal, 2014a: 432-433; 2014b; 6).

Along with the loom-weights, stamped amphora handle fragments with inscriptions are the most distinctive Hellenistic finds from Area D (Novák & Kozal, 2014a: 441). The Hellenistic materials found in D have not yet been published.

3.3.4. Conclusion

To sum up, the Hellenistic finds exposed in Sirkeli Höyük in general, are concentrated in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 94; Kreutz, 2011: 149). Sirkeli Höyük did yield some early Hellenistic material such as unguentaria and lamps although they are very few in number. Afterwards, in the mid-Hellenistic period (late 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC) when Seleucid coins indicate Sirkeli was under Seleucid rule, there was a climax in the Hellenistic material culture

when both architectural remains and artifacts, such as ceramics, increased in quantity and variety. The building (A2) exposed in area A was not monumental or impressive but simple in character; thus, probably it was an ordinary dwelling. The quality of the Hellenistic finds, however, shows that the Hellenistic settlers were prosperous because they had the power to obtain imports from distant lands and imitate them locally (Kreutz, 2011: 151). Comparable Hellenistic objects to those recovered at Sirkeli were found in the other multi-period sites of Cilicia Pedias, such as Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, Akıl, Cevher, & Aklan, 2014a: 186), Kinet Höyük, Soli Höyük, and Tarsus. The abundance of loom-weights tells us that Hellenistic people in Sirkeli were occupied with textile or net production. According to the size of the building, perhaps, this was only a domestic production.

The end of the Hellenistic settlement in Sirkeli was marked by two important features. The first is the use of Eastern Sigillata A types of ceramics and the second is the Anazarbus coin issued by Tarcondimotus I. Due to historical records, we know that there were major changes in 1st century BC Cilicia after the internal conflicts of the Seleucid dynasty (Kreutz, 2011: 150). The struggle with pirates in Cilicia began already in the late 2nd century BC. These events led to the Romanization of Smooth Cilicia. Tarcondimotus I was a help to the Romans during both these struggles and the clash with Caesar's murderers. Because of that reason, his own autonomous client kingdom in the region was tolerated. The individual land owners, under the control of Pompey, were allied to Tarcondimotus I. Afterwards, in 19 BC, Augustus travelled through Cilicia Pedias and reestablished Anazarbus. Tarcondimotus II[62], the son of Tarcondimotus I, was assigned as the ruler to Anazarbus in 17 BC (Kreutz, 2011:150-151). These political events must have gradually prepared the end of the settlement in Sirkeli. This newly established Anazarbus might have been more attractive to people who lived in Sirkeli and perhaps they abandoned their settlement and moved to Anazarbus or they could have been forced to move there to be employed in the construction projects. The Anazarbus coin supports this conclusion (Kreutz, 2011: 150-151; Kozal & Novák, 2013: 235).

[62] Kreutz (2011: 150-151) calls him Tarcondimotus II Philopator. However Tarcondimotus II and Philopator are two different persons.

3.4. Tatarlı Höyük

Tatarlı Höyük[63], one of the largest settlements of Smooth Cilicia, is located in the village of Tatarlı within the Ceyhan Municipality (Figure 7). Tatarlı Höyük is ca. 20 km north of the sea. The distance between Tatarlı and Sirkeli is 40 km. Like Sirkeli, Tatarlı Höyük is located at the intersection of important routes running north-south and east-west. Heading south from Tatarlı, Dörtyol-İskenderun is reached through the Erzin Plain after passing Toprakkale. Further south, it is possible to reach Antioch through the Syrian Gates. To the north-east, via the Amanic Gates, the İslahiye Plain and Syrian plateaus beyond are reached from Tatarlı. Three important castles, Toprakkale, Hemite, and Anazarbus are visible from the citadel of Tatarlı (Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, & Akıl, 2010: 454-455).

The geography around Tatarlı is distinctive. The Ceyhan flows 10-12 km north of Tatarlı. Alluvial sediments reach between 5 and 20 meters in thickness around the mound. There are three inactive volcanos in close vicinity of Tatarlı, approximately 750 m to the north-east, called Üçtepeler (three-hills) which erupted probably in the Plio-Quaternary period (Girginer et al., 2010: 453). Üçtepeler are the subordinate cones. The major cone, namely Delihalil Tepesi, is in Toprakkale-Tüysüz Köyü, ca. 2.5 km further south (Figure 89). As a consequence of the volcanic activity, the region has ca. 23 km^2 of basalt formations. Besides, there are rich water resources and springs because of these volcanos. In fact, 22 villages and 2 towns including Ceyhan are supplied by these sources and springs today. One of the water depots was built on Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer et al., 2010: 455).

Tatarlı Höyük is an oval-shaped mound whose citadel measures ca. 250 x 360 m (Figure 90). The citadel is located immediately south-southwest of the modern village. The larger lower town, outside the citadel walls, encompasses the area now occupied by the modern village (Girginer et al., 2010: 455).

Seton-Williams visited the site in the course of her “Cilician Survey” in 1951. She concluded that Tatarlı Höyük was, more or less, continuously settled from the Neolithic period to the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods (Seton-Williams, 1954: 179; Girginer et al., 2010: 455-456). In 1991, Mustafa Hamdi Sayar surveyed Tatarlı village during his epigraphic studies in the region (Sayar, Siewart, & Taeuber, 1993:

[63] Locals call it “Tazılı Tepe”.

179). Afterwards, in 2002, a survey project, in order to identify the location of over 50 Kizzuwatna cities (known from the Hittite textual sources), was initiated by K. Serdar Girginer and lasted until 2006 (Girginer & Yüksel, 2002; Girginer, 2004; 2005a; 2005b; 2007; 2008; Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, & Erhan, 2006). Tatarlı Höyük was visited by Girginer's team in 2005 and various artifacts dating from the Neolithic to the Hellenistic and Roman periods were found (Girginer, 2007). As a consequence of the survey project, Tatarlı Höyük was chosen by Girginer to be researched further. Excavations at Tatarlı have been conducted under the direction of Girginer since 2007 (Girginer, 2011; 2012; Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, & Akıl, 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2016; Girginer, Oyman-Girginer, Akıl, Cevher, & Aklan, 2014a; 2014b). The aim of the current excavations, like the survey project, is to record the inventory of archaeological settlements and Hittite relations in Cilicia, and to understand the position of Tatarlı Höyük in the history of the region (Girginer et al., 2010: 453).

Current excavations have shown that Tatarlı Höyük was densely settled during the Hellenistic period. In addition to Hellenistic architectural remains, ceramics and objects have been exposed all over Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer et al., 2014b). Although the material culture of the Hellenistic period has been excavated and retrieved for several years, a complete stratigraphy of the Tatarlı excavations is still to be done. The Tatarlı Höyük Project has not yet published or provided such a study but in one of the short excavation reports, Girginer associated a Hellenistic structure with phase "Hellenistic Ia" (Girginer, 2012: 112). Similar to this, in a recent excavation report, a Hellenistic pit is assigned to phase "Hellenistic IIa" (Girginer et al., 2016: 493). However, what Hellenistic Ia or IIa refers to is not clearly explained in the publications. It is also not clear whether, for example, there is "Hellenistic Ib" or "Hellenistic IIb" in the settlement's sequence. Therefore, the stratigraphic information of Tatarlı is problematic and inadequate at this stage to make comparisons with other settlements. Nevertheless, the Hellenistic material exposed at Tatarlı is important to show that this part of Smooth Cilicia was densely settled during the Hellenistic period.

3.4.1. Trenches with Hellenistic Remains and Finds

During the current excavations at Tatarlı, most of the trenches opened over the whole mound have yielded Hellenistic finds and remains. In the following section, I will present these trenches with Hellenistic material (see Figure 91, for the location of the trenches).

3.4.1.1. Trench AT-185 (Citadel B Building)

In trench AT-185, Citadel B Building (Sitadel B Yapısı), was exposed approximately in the middle of the citadel, and dated to the Hellenistic period (Figure 91 and 92) (Girginer et al., 2010: 462). The building had a rectilinear shape and at least three rooms. Because the walls extend beyond the excavated area, the exact numbers of rooms and the borders of the building cannot yet be determined. As for other buildings in the mound, basalt, which is abundant because of the volcanos in the region, was used as the construction material. According to preliminary results, at least two sub-phases were discovered. However, studies are still ongoing; thus, the stratification of the Hellenistic period has not been clearly understood yet (Girginer et al., 2010: 462).

In addition to pottery, small finds from different materials have been exposed from the Citadel B Building. Among the forms of ceramic vessels are Mold-made bowls, West-Slope plates and bowls, ESA plates, fish plates with a hollow in the middle, and cups. Undecorated shallow bowls with ringed bases, which have a slipped interior but an exterior slipped only until the base (dribble ware) are many in number. Some examples of the undecorated shallow bowls had a red slipped interior and a black or dark brown slipped exterior. Fragments of amphorae handles and bases are also in the ceramic repertoire of this building. Moreover, Hellenistic objects out of metal, obsidian and flint; miniature stone axes; and pyramidal terracotta loom-weights were also retrieved (Girginer et al., 2010: 462-463).

3.4.1.2. Step Trenches AO 186 and AP 186

In order to understand the stratification of the settlement, as a standard goal in a new excavation, deep test trenches, namely AO 186 and AP 186, were opened on the

northern part of the mound (Figure 91) (Girginer et al, 2010: 463-464; 2011a: 133). In these step trenches, “Building l” has been dated to the Hellenistic period. Oriented from northwest to southeast, the building has at least two rooms and walls made of basalt (Figure 93). The thickness of the walls measures up to 80 cm. Big stones form the outer faces, whereas the interior is filled with small stones. Some of the walls were destroyed by tree roots. It is understood that the floor of the building was renewed frequently; the overall thickness of the floors is ca. 10 cm. A fragmentary stone pavement was discovered in one of the rooms (Girginer et al., 2011b: 66). Apart from the Hellenistic walls, about six Hellenistic pits, destroying the Iron Age layers below, were discovered in these areas (Girginer et al., 2011b: 66).

As in Citadel B Building, in the step trenches AO 186 and AP 186, ceramics and terracotta objects were retrieved (Girginer et al., 2010: 464). Ceramics include shallow bowls, base fragments of unguentaria, fragments of cup-kantharoi, Mold-made bowls with floral decorations, and fragments of amphorae bases and handles. Loom-weights in pyramidal, conical, and discoid shapes are among the terracotta objects found in large numbers. Girginer thinks that the abundance of the loom-weights can be related with textile production in the citadel area (Girginer et al., 2010; 2011a). One of the most important terracotta objects is a bust, depicting Zeus or Asclepius, retrieved from the trench AP 186 (Figure 94). It was dated between the 2nd to 1st centuries BC. Girginer suggests that this terracotta bust may indicate the ritual function of the building (Girginer, 2011: 78; Girginer et al., 2011a: 134; 2014b: 433).

3.4.1.3. Trenches AZ 173 and AY 173

In trenches AZ 173 and AY 173, situated at the far southwest of the citadel (Figure 91), Hellenistic structures, sharing the zig-zag (saw-tooth) fortification wall which is dated to earlier periods, were exposed (Figure 95). Below the modern debris, in the mudbrick collapse fill, Hellenistic figurines, lamps, and loom-weights were found. Ten Hellenistic pits destroying the earlier layers below were identified (Girginer et al., 2011a: 132; 2011b: 66; Girginer, 2012: 112). However, neither the photographs nor drawings of these finds have been published yet.

3.4.1.4. Trench AV 182 at the Center of the Citadel

Trench AV 182, located at the center of the citadel (Figure 91), was excavated. There, a Hellenistic structure with an associated stone pavement were found. Although these structures were assigned to "Hellenistic la" (Girginer, 2012: 112), no further comment or information have been presented about the trench. Fifteen Hellenistic pits were identified. Unguentaria, loom-weights, and fragments of lamps were retrieved from these pits (Girginer et al., 2014a: 185).

3.4.1.5. Trenches around the Citadel Building A[64]

Trenches in and around the Late Bronze Age Citadel Building A (Sitadel A Yapısı in Turkish) have been excavated since the beginning of the excavations in 2007. The Citadel Building A is the major building discovered so far with a long history of use. It has been identified as a "temple-palace" and was reused in later periods with some alterations (Girginer et al., 2010: 460). Hellenistic remains have been exposed both inside and outside of this building. To understand both the extent of this building and the Hellenistic occupation of the citadel section of Tatarlı, trenches in the southeastern part of the mound, surrounding this temple-palace complex, were opened (Girginer et al., 2011a; 2011b; 2014a; 2014b; Girginer, 2011; 2012).

Trenches AY 190 and AZ 190 were both situated on the east of the Citadel Building A (Figure 96). In AY 190, a Hellenistic foundation wall, ca. 4.2 m long and 80 cm wide, running from east to west, was discovered (Girginer et al., 2011a: 132; 2011b: 66; 2014b: 433). As in the other structures, basalt was the construction material. The mudbrick superstructure, better preserved than anywhere else in Tatarlı, was clearly detected. In AY 190, another Hellenistic wall, ca. 4.6 m long and 60 cm wide, with an almost 90° corner, was discovered. The Hellenistic finds retrieved from AY 190 include lamps and terracotta figurines. Among the lamps, one example with a relief of Dionysus, dated to the end of the Hellenistic period, is especially noteworthy (Figure 97). A terracotta figurine of a draped female whose head is missing (Figure

[64] For the grid-plan showing the location of trenches see Figure 91. In Figure 90, the Citadel Building A is labelled as "A Yapısı". Figure 96 shows an aerial view of the trenches located on the mound.

98) is another distinctive Hellenistic find from AY 190 (Girginer et al., 2011a: 132; 2011b: 66; 2014b: 433).

Trench BA 189, situated on the south side of Citadel Building A, yielded a Hellenistic wall with a floor. The Hellenistic wall shares the southern wall of Citadel Building A. The relation between this wall with a floor and Citadel Building A is not clear (Girginer et al., 2011a: 131; 2011b: 65).

In addition, trenches AZ 186, AY 186, AZ 187, AY 187, and AV 187 were opened on the west side of Citadel Building A (Figure 91). In AZ 186 and AY 186, regularly built Hellenistic structures were excavated. Two fish plates and an ESA plate came from these structures along with terracotta figurine fragments (Figure 119) (Girginer et al., 2016: 494-495). In AZ 187, a structure dated to Hellensitic Ia, was found. Around the entrance (80 cm wide) of this structure, a stone pavement was discovered. The floor of the room consists of compact earth (Girginer, 2012: 110-111). Significantly, 35 loom-weights in different shapes (Figure 99) and three hearths were exposed. Therefore, Girginer (2012: 110-111) thinks that this area must have been a weaving workshop. In addition, eight Hellenistic pits destroying the earlier layers below were identified. In order to expose the extensions of the remains to the north in AZ 187, trench AY 187 was opened. The walls and stone pavement, found in AZ 187, continue in AY 187. On the pavement, a terracotta head of a bust which probably belongs to Zeus or Asclepius was retrieved. Because the head was very similar to the one found in AP 186 (one of the step trenches on the north), it is also dated between the 2nd to the 1st century BC (Girginer et al., 2014b: 433). However, the project has not yet published any illustration of this head. AV 187, to the north of AY 187 was opened and another room was discovered. Near the basalt wall, oriented east-west, a hearth was exposed along with two bowls, amphorae, snails, and burnt bones. Accordingly, the room was identified as the “kitchen” (Girginer et al., 2014b: 432-433). Botanical samples were taken from this area.

Apart from the construction activity and the digging of pits around and in the Citadel Building A, some of the rooms of Building A were completely filled with stones (Girginer et al., 2010: 458). For instance, Room 9 in trench AZ 189 was filled in the Hellenistic Period (Figure 100 and 101). Also, some of the stones were taken from

the Citadel Building A and reused in constructing the Hellenistic walls (Girginer et al., 2014a: 183).

3.4.2. Archaeobotanical Studies

In addition to excavations, archaeobotanical analyses have been conducted at Tatarlı (Aslan Çakan, & Girginer, 2014; Girginer et al., 2014b: 437). Botanical samples were taken from the pits, possible hearth locations, and inside pithoi, dated to the Hellenistic period, and from the places where carbonized seeds were highly visible. The flotation method - both manual and automatic (machinery) - was used to separate botanical particles from the earth. According to preliminary results, much cereals (gramineae) were found. Wheat (triticum), linen (linum) which is often used for oil and textile production, grape (vitis vinifera), and olive (olea europaea) are among the most frequently found plants (Aslan et al., 2014: 101-102). Wild species are better represented than domesticated ones. This is explained by the growth of the wild vegetation after the abandonment of the settlement at the end of the Hellenistic period (Aslan et al., 2014: 102). Grains must have had a major role in the diet of Hellenistic people in Tatarlı since they were found often (Aslan et al., 2014). According to Aslan et al. (2014: 103), the existence of grape may suggest that Hellenistic inhabitants of Tatarlı were cultivating vines. Generally, the Hellenistic fauna seems similar to today's fauna (Aslan et al., 2014: 103).

3.4.3. Conclusion

To sum up, Tatarlı Höyük has yielded important evidence for the Hellenistic period by having both architectural remains and artifacts. The Hellenistic settlement is characterized by small scale dwellings which usually have one single room. The thickness of the walls of the Hellenistic structures ranges from 50 to 70 cm. Because of the volcanos in the vicinity of Tatarlı, basalt is abundant. Basalt blocks in different sizes were used for the foundations and the superstructure of the walls were of mudbrick. The foundation usually had two rows of basalt blocks and mud was used to fill spaces in between (Girginer et al., 2014a: 183). Unlike Sirkeli Höyük,

Hellenistic remains were scattered densely all over Tatarlı Höyük and preserved better. This might be due to the basalt, a more durable material than limestone.

Some particular finds give information about what the functions of the Hellenistic structures were. Rooms yielding a large number of terracotta loom-weights, metal tools such as knives, and perforators (Figure 99 and 102: b) were interpreted as workshops. In general, Hellenistic rooms, exposed around the Citadel Building A, had one or multiple hearths at the corner of the room. These rooms were interpreted as kitchens (Girginer et al., 2014a).

The Hellenistic ceramic repertoire of Tatarlı looks similar to those found in other locations in Smooth Cilicia. The widespread Hellenistic types such as plain ware bowls, Mold-made bowls, fish plates, Eastern Sigillata A, and West Slope ware have been found in Tatarlı. Their parallels have been found in Tarsus-Gözlükule, Sirkeli Höyük, and Kinet Höyük (Girginer et al., 2014a: 186). Therefore, Girginer et al. (2014a: 186) claim that Tatarlı Höyük shows a very similar character to these three sites for the Hellenistic period.

The above mentioned results are preliminary. A fuller publication of the Hellenistic settlement and finds of Tatarlı still needs to be done. Apart from the short excavation reports, and the archeobotanical study, nothing in detail about the Hellenistic period has been published yet. Therefore, it is not possible to come to a clear conclusion. In addition, the short published reports contain contradictions. For instance, the excavation report published in 2010 (Girginer et al., 2010: 466) claims that Tatarlı Höyük was continuously settled from the Neolithic to the Byzantine period. However, according to the publications, the latest evidence retrieved from the mound so far has been dated to the Hellenistic period. After the Hellenistic period, Tatarlı Höyük seems abandoned but this is not mentioned in the reports. It is only mentioned implicitly in the archeobotanical study report (Aslan et al., 2014). The findings still need to be adequately analyzed and published by the project. Nevertheless, Tatarlı Höyük is very important for studies of the Hellenistic period in Cilicia because of its clearly attested Hellenistic structures and finds.

3.5. Kinet Höyük

Kinet Höyük is an ancient coastal multi-period site located at Yeşil-Dörtyol (in Hatay-Antakya province, ancient Antioch), 30 km north of İskenderun, along the seashore in the Erzin or the Issus Plain, a very fertile and rainy land probably created by an early course of the Ceyhan river (Figure 7 and 104). The Issus plain serves as a corridor between Cilicia and the Amuq and Syria to the south. Kinet is surrounded by the Gulf of İskenderun to the west, and the Amanus Mountains, the serpentine and limestone massifs, ca. 10 km to the east (M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 303; 1994a: 193; M.-H. Gates, C. Gates, Redford, & Eger, 2014: 157). The sea today is situated only 525 m to the west of Kinet. The Deli Çay (stream) flows 2 km south of Kinet Höyük but its earlier course must have been closer to the mound (Ozaner, 1994: 516; M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 305).

The origin of the name "Kinet" is unknown. It could derive from the corrupted version of the medieval name Hisn al-Tinat (perhaps means "Fortress of Figs"), a fortified seaport dated to the early Islamic period and possibly situated 1 km to the north of Kinet, if not Kinet itself (M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 303-305; Eger, 2010; C. Gates, 2015: 83). Hisn al-Tinat was mentioned in Arab chronicles dated from the 10th through the 13th centuries AD as "a fort on the sea-shore" holding an important trade role between the Islamic and Christian powers (Le Strange, 1890: 455; Cornu, 1985: 13; M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 303-304). Kinet has also been frequently associated with Issus (or Issos), a Classical city near the battlefield where Alexander the Great defeated Darius III Codomannus in 333 BC, which was a momentous victory in his march against the Achaemenid Empire (Seton-Williams, 1954; Hellenkemper, 1984; M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 304; Tobin, 2004: 4; M.-H. Gates et al., 2014; C. Gates, 2014: 85; 2015: 83). Issus was mentioned by ancient writers. Xenophon (*Anabasis*: 1.4.1.) describes Issus as: "...the last city in Cilicia, a place situated on the sea, and large and prosperous...," with a harbor large enough to hold Cyrus's fleet (M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 304).

M.-H. Gates (1999a: 304) claims that Kinet Höyük fulfills the criteria for Issus in terms of size, location, and periods of occupation. In fact, there is as yet no other site in the region which meets the descriptions about the location and harbor facilities (M.-H. Gates, 2013: 231). Thus, despite the lack of epigraphic confirmation from the

site itself, Kinet is so far the only credible candidate for Issus in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The mound of Kinet is an artificial hill rising impressively in a flat coastal landscape. Its mound measures 200 m east-west by 120 m north-south and rises 26 m above the eastern shore of İskenderun Bay. Kinet has terraces extending on all sides and covers an area of approximately 3.3 ha (M.-H. Gates, 1994a; 1999b: 259-260).

Kinet Höyük was visited by İlknur Özgen and Marie-Henriette Gates in 1991 (Özgen & Gates, 1993; Ozaner, 1994; Ozaner, Gates, & Özgen, 1993) during the survey project of Bilkent University in the coastal area between Yumurtalık and İskenderun. The aim of the survey was to investigate the coastal strip that Seton-Williams did not visit while she was surveying Cilicia and northern Hatay in 1938 and 1951 (Seton-Williams, 1954). Because the region was threatened by industrial activity in recent decades, it became necessary to conduct research before the ancient traces disappeared under factories and roadwork (Özgen and M.-H. Gates, 1993). In the survey, ceramics, indicating international connections already in the 1st millennium BC, were collected. The geomorphological research, conducted by F. Sancar Ozaner (1994; Ozaner et al., 1993), confirmed that the site originally had two harbors: the first is a small natural bay on the north and the second is the estuary of a river on the south (M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 305). The northern one was naturally protected from the winds and currents, and sheltered from the turbulence by the Gulf of İskenderun. During the construction activity of the Delta Petroleum Company, Hellenistic masonry which might represent the harbor installations was exposed at the south terrace but it was not possible to investigate this further. Both harbors have been altered by the erosion and alluviation as a consequence of silting in the bay and the shifting course of the Deli Çay. The site was abandoned ca. 80 BC[65] and the revival of the harbor must have been achieved in the medieval period by the construction of an artificial harbor (M.-H. Gates, 1999a: 305).

After this short survey project of 1991, excavations were conducted under the direction of M.-H. Gates between 1992 and 2012 in order to understand the importance of Kinet in the ancient economic, cultural, and political situation of the

[65] According to ongoing analysis of Hellenistic pottery by Peter Stone and Philip Bes, Kinet was abandoned in ca. 80 BC, in contrast to the previously proposed date, ca. 50 BC (Charles Gates; Peter Stone, personal communication, May 20, 2016).

eastern Mediterranean and Kinet's role in maritime trade over the long term (1994a; 1994b; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1999a; 1999b; 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; 2005; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; C. Gates, 1999; 2005; M.-H. Gates & Eger, 2013; Yıldırım & Gates, 2007)[66]. Excavations confirmed that Kinet Höyük was inhabited from the 6th millennium BC more or less continuously until ca. 80 BC, and after a gap, again for a short period in the late 12th to early 14th centuries (C. Gates, 1999: 323; M.-H. Gates, 2006; M.-H. Gates et al., 2014: 157). Seton-Williams (1954: 161), during her Cilician survey, identified Kinet as a site settled in Roman and Byzantine times. However, excavations showed that the Persian and Hellenistic periods were the final period of ancient occupation of the site, until the medieval reoccupation in the 12th century (C. Gates, 1999: 323-324). The Persian period has been identified as Periods 5, 4 and 3B while Periods 3A and 2 represent the Hellenistic period (Figure 103) (M.-H. Gates, 1999b: 261; C. Gates, 2005: 8; M.-H. Gates et al., 2014). In this thesis, in addition to excavation reports published by M.-H. Gates, I have based my investigation on studies published by Charles Gates (1999; 2014; 2015), which present the Hellenistic and Persian occupations of Kinet Höyük.

3.5.1. The Hellenistic Layers

In the following part, I will present the layers that yielded remains and artifacts which were dated to the Hellenistic period. It would be best to start first with a look at the last phase of the Persian occupation (Period 3B) because some of the features continue into the Hellenistic period. Therefore, I will first present the available remains and finds dated to the last phase of the Persian occupation (Period 3B) and then continue with the same approach by examining Periods 3A and 2, representing the Hellenistic period in Kinet Höyük.

[66] A complete bibliography of the Kinet Höyük Project can be found online: http://arkeo.bilkent.edu.tr/Kinet-pubs.pdf (accessed, January 1, 2016).

3.5.1.1. Period 3B (Transitional from the Persian period)

The most distinct evidence for the Achaemenid Persian period was found in Period 3B (ca. 400-330 BC). In the early 4th century BC, Kinet Höyük experienced a major building campaign. A new city wall, enclosing the hilltop town, with towers or buttresses and a glacis, covering the slopes of the mound (ca. 20 m above sea level), was built (C. Gates, 1999: 326; 2014: 87; 2015: 87). There is no clear answer for the reason why this major construction activity occurred. According to C. Gates (2015: 87), it might be related with some historical events: the revolt of Cyrus the Younger in 401 BC, conflicts in the eastern Mediterranean following that revolt, and the importance of Cilicia as a strategic region for Persian military preparations.

Remains of these city walls with its impressive stone foundations and glacis were notably exposed on the north and west sides, especially in areas G and E/H; as well as on the south in areas P and U (Figure 105: locations) (M.-H. Gates, 2001: 210; C. Gates, 2014; 2015: 88-89). A monumental entrance, measuring 5 m wide, was found in Area E/H. This entrance had a threshold, consisting of a single course of limestone ashlar blocks. The size of the blocks varied and their visible surfaces were smoothly worked whereas their invisible surfaces (sides and bottoms) were roughly shaped (Figure 106). There were large limestone blocks with traces of plaster, standing upright (ca. 0.55 m high) at each end (north and south) of the threshold. The northern block did not have any traces of paint but the southern block had remains of paint; red on its west face and yellow on its north face (Figure 107) (C. Gates, 2014; 2015: 84-89). The upper surfaces of the blocks were covered with cement-like mortar and gravel on the top (C. Gates, 1999: 327). This gravel surface was followed in a courtyard lying to the east (Figure 106).

The most distinctive evidence, concerning the Persian period in Area H, was the stone foundation of a tower or a buttress (Figure 106). The foundation, measuring 2.4 x 3.1 m, preserved 1.05 m in height, with its sides oriented to the compass points (C. Gates, 1999: 326). It was adjacent to the threshold noted above. This foundation consisted of packed rubble and earth. Its sides were covered with large river stones and volcanic purple stone blocks. Squared limestone blocks were used in its two projecting corners (C. Gates, 1999: 326). The tower base was a part of a wall complex which had also a retaining wall, oriented at a right angle to the slope but not

parallel to the tower (C. Gates, 1999: 326). A glacis covering the hill and made of densely packed small stones, identical with the rubble used to fill inside the tower base, was also connected to it and the retaining wall. Thanks to the amphorae and Attic black-slipped ceramics of the early 4th century BC (for similar ones found in Area U, see Figure 108), the original construction date of these structures can be assigned to Period 3B, to the last century of the Persian period (C. Gates, 1999: 326). C. Gates (1999: 327) notes that the towers and the walls in Area E/H continued to be used well into the Hellenistic period (Period 3A) according to later modifications of the walls and plans, and pottery finds.

The remains of the city wall were best preserved in Area G on the north (Figure 105). There, a 15.3 m long section was opened (M.-H. Gates, 2000: 198; 2001: 208-210; C. Gates, 2015: 89). The wall, made of unworked river stones without mortar, was 1.70 m thick. The maximum preserved height measured 2.30 m (Figure 110). The projecting buttresses, measuring 1 x 1.1 m each, were built along the inner wall face and located closely at intervals of 1.85 m, 1. 85 m, and 3.22 m. In the projecting corners of the buttresses, in addition to large limestone blocks, basalt blocks, perhaps from the volcanic region approximately 20 km to the north (C. Gates, 2015: 91), were used infrequently. The upper structure of the walls was probably made of sun-dried mudbricks but they did not survive. According to C. Gates (2015:91) this fortification wall continued in use from the 4th century (Period 3B) to the 2nd century BC (Period 3A). The wall was no longer in use in the late Hellenistic period (Period 2).

Adjacent to this fortification wall in Area G on the north side of the mound, a regularly planned building, extending south, with several rectilinear rooms, was exposed (Figure 110-111). The remains of mudbrick superstructure were retrieved in this section. Although the finds do not give a conclusive result, this building is associated with a military function as barracks because of the regularity in the plan and rooms with storage facilities and circular hearths (M.H. Gates, 2003a: 285-286; 2007: 692-693; M.H. Gates et al., 2014: 165; C. Gates; 2015: 93). It remained in use from the late Persian period (Period 3B) into the early Hellenistic period (Period 3A) (C. Gates, 2015: 93).

3.5.1.2. Period 3A

Before we go into the Period 3A, the historical events which had effects on the settlement pattern of Kinet must be mentioned. After Alexander the Great defeated Darius III Codomannus in 333 BC at the Battle of Issus, Hellenistic kings took control of Cilicia. The Seleucids, fighting over the region with the Ptolemies (or Lagids) who had taken early control, became the ultimate rulers of Cilicia (Cohen, 1995: 49-52; Tobin 2004: 4-5; Tempesta 2013: 27-28; C. Gates, 2015: 97). There were changes in the urbanism of Cilicia at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. New Hellenistic cities were established. Alexander the Great founded Alexandria ad Issum (modern İskenderun) (Cohen, 2006: 73-76; Lehmann et al., 2008: 171-176; C. Gates, 2015: 97). In ca. 300 BC, Seleucus I Nicator founded Antioch as the new capital, over the Belen Pass, and its harbor at Seleucia Pieria located north of the mouth of the Orontes River (Cohen, 2006: 80-93, 126-35; C. Gates, 2015: 97). Antioch then became one of the major cities of the Seleucid kingdom.

Because Kinet was not far away from Antioch, Kinet used this advantage and maintained its "cosmopolitan character" for the Period 3A (C. Gates, 2015: 97). Finds from Period 3A retrieved in all sides of the site showed that it kept its prosperity during the early Hellenistic period. Amphorae (Figure 109 and 112), molded bowls and lamps with lion heads' decorations (Figure 113), terracotta figurines, and a small Phoenician glass pendant representing a man's head were found (C. Gates, 2015: 97). All clearly indicate this cosmopolitanism. As mentioned above, the fortification wall and related adjacent architecture in Area G (north of the mound) were still in use in Period 3A (the early Hellenistic period). Some architectural readjustments occurred during this period. These structures were then abandoned and rooms were filled with mudbricks at some point in the early 2nd century BC. According to finds like animal bones, the area was used as a garbage dump. Numerous medieval pits were detected in this area (C. Gates, 2015: 97).

3.5.1.3. Period 2

Period 2, the final phase of ancient occupation of Kinet Höyük from the 2nd to the early 1st century BC, is documented in the west and south, but especially in Area G in the north (C. Gates, 1999: 327-328; 2015: 97-98; M.-H. Gates, 2003a: 287; 2005;

166-167; 2007: 692-693). For an unknown reason, the layout of the city shifted from north-northwest to north-south in ca. 175 BC. This reorientation in the plan might be explained with the historical associations. At that time, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, a Seleucid king who ruled 175-164 BC followed a refounding campaign and gave some of the names of the Seleucid royalty to those newly established cities (Cohen, 1995: 355-372; Meyer, 2001; De Giorgi, 2011: 132-133; C. Gates, 2015: 98). Some of the cities in Smooth Cilicia, including Tarsus, and other cities in Syria, Upper Mesopotamia, and Phoenicia were privileged to mint their own municipal coins. While the cities were showing their loyalty by minting the coins with the new names of the cities, Seleucid royals were securing support by allowing these cities to mint their own coins (Meyer, 2001; C. Gates, 2015: 98). Kinet Höyük / Issus did not issue coins at this time but the new orientation in the city plan of Kinet might be another way of taking part in this royal initiative (Gates, 2015: 98). Because the Seleucid control weakened due to conflicts in the dynasty after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, such refounding activity would be unlikely after that time (Tobin, 2004: 5; C. Gates, 2015: 98).

Furthermore, the Period 2 city was smaller than the earlier Period 3A (C. Gates, 2015: 98). In Period 2, the tower built in Period 3 was no longer in use as the Period 2 wall foundations stood at a higher stratigraphic level than the top of the tower base (C. Gates, 1999: 328). Period 2 walls had a completely different plan and orientation from the earlier the Period 3 buildings. A group of residential rooms and courts were discovered in areas E, H, and C (Figure 114). Here, a street running east to west was also unearthed. Because the street extends beyond the excavated area, only a small section of it could be exposed (C. Gates, 1999: 328). The superstructure of these walls must have been of mudbricks. Different than for the earlier walls in Period 3A, this time, medium sized basalt blocks were used together with the unshaped river stones in Period 2. Strikingly, terracotta roof tiles with stamps were used for the first time in Period 2 (Figure 115) (C. Gates, 1999: 328; 2014: 88; 2015:98).

Ceramics found in Period 2 helped the dating. According to excavations conducted in Area G, two architectural phases were detected (C. Gates, 2015: 98).
While the early Hellenistic period was dated from the “dribble ware”, the late Hellenistic period was dated from the Eastern Sigillata A wares (M.-H. Gates, 2005: 166-167; C. Gates, 2014: 88; 2015: 98). Approximately 25 percent of the domestic

wares were Eastern Sigillata A (C. Gates, 1999: 328). Parallels of other types of Hellenistic ceramics were found Tarsus, Hama and several Palestinian sites. A fine example of West Slope ware was found, but unexpectedly in an earlier Period 4 context. The imported amphorae from Rhodes, Kos, Chios, and especially the Italian Dressel IC type and Lambroglia 2 type amphorae indicated the long-distance trade (C. Gates, 1999: 328). The Dressel IC type amphorae might be the earliest examples in this region (C. Gates, 1999: 328).

Apart from the ceramics, small finds dated to Period 2 were retrieved. Among them were stamped amphora handles, terracotta loom-weights in different shapes, metal items including two bronze furniture legs whose parallels were found in Al Mina, terracotta figurines, and lamps (C. Gates, 1999: 329; 2015: 98; M.-H. Gates, 1994a: Fig. 3). Coins were found for the first time in Period 2. However, only one of them has a readable legend; others were damaged badly. A bronze coin (KNH-581) issued by Demetrios I, a Seleucid king, was found in Area K3 (Figure 116). On the observe, it has a horse's head looking left. On the reverse, it has an elephant's head looking right with legends read "[β]ασιλέος" (of the "King") written above and "[Δη]μητρί[ου]" ("Demetrios") written below. The coin is dated between 162-156 BC (C. Gates, 1999: 329; 2015: 102). Despite the absence of impressive and monumental architecture, all of these finds indicate that Kinet Höyük was a prosperous town in Period 2 (C. Gates, 2014: 88; 2015: 98).

In addition to the aforementioned military and domestic structures found in the mound itself, the existence of a larger lower town with harbors has also been proved by the excavations. When the gas storage tanks were built in 1991-1992, the harbor installations were exposed on the south of the mound in the area where the Deli Çay once flowed but no further exploration was possible. In September 2011, the Kinet Höyük team was able to open soundings in the area halfway between the main mound and the current coast, on a property that belonged to British Petroleum (BP) (Figure 117 and 118) (M.-H. Gates & Eger, 2013: 96-97; C. Gates, 2015: 94). Stone wall foundations were found 2 m below sterile soil (Figure 118). The foundations revealed three architectural levels identified on the mound: Periods 5/4, 3, and a thinly represented 2 (M.-H. Gates & Eger, 2013: 96-97; C. Gates, 2015: 94). Here the earliest ceramics were dated to the 5th century BC. According to C. Gates (2015: 94), if this dating is correct, it shows that "the coastline had advanced considerably

west of the mound by the mid- Persian period". These walls must have been the remains of the lower town and harbor installations. The existence of the lower town of the Persian and Hellenistic periods had already been proven by the soundings opened in 1999-2000 on the northwest, north, northeast, and the east of the mound (C. Gates, 2015: 94). If so, then Xenophon (*Anabasis*: 1.4.1-3) must be right in his description of Issus: "...the last city in Cilicia, a place situated on the sea, and large and prosperous... " (C. Gates, 2015: 95). Period 2 is thinly represented here; it is also possible that the material could have been washed down from the mound, though.

Kinet Höyük was abandoned at the end of Period 2 (ca. 80 BC) (M.-H. Gates, 1999b; C. Gates, 1999: 329; 2014; 2015: 102). Several reasons for the abandonment of the town have been proposed. The harbors of the town might have filled completely with sediment eroded from the Amanus Mountains. As a result, maritime trade must have been damaged (C. Gates, 1999: 329; 2015: 102). Changing its course many times, the Deli Çay could have had an important role in this (Ozaner, 1994, C. Gates, 1999; 2015). It is also possible that the area became swampy after the filling of the harbors and changes in the river course, thereby creating an unhealthy malarial environment (C. Gates, 1999: 329; 2015; 102). Another explanation for the abandonment is the possibility of an earthquake. Because of the roof tiles found neatly collapsed against the foot of some walls, C. Gates (1999: 329; 2015: 102) thinks that a destructive earthquake may have been the reason. Furthermore, this idea is supported by the unusual discovery of many complete vessels and iron objects indicating the sudden abandonment of the buildings. In addition, the possibility of an earthquake is also supported by the textual sources. Significantly, Justinus, a Latin historian who lived under the Roman Empire, recorded a severe earthquake that struck Antioch ca. 69 BC in his "Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus" (Downey, 1938: 106; C. Gates, 1999: 329).

A successor settlement might have been established by Romans with the same name again, "Issus", 1 km to the south of the mound. During surveys, fragments of Roman ceramics were discovered around the partially preserved Roman bridge, in immediate the vicinity of Kinet (M.-H. Gates, 2007: 694; C. Gates, 2015: 102). This Issus is surely the town described by Strabo (14.5.19) writing during the Augustan period, 400 years after Xenophon:

> ... Next to Aegaeae is Issus, a small town with a shelter for vessels, and a river, the Pinarus. At Issus the battle was fought between Alexander and Darius. The bay is called the Issic Bay. The city Rhosus is situated upon it, as also the city Myriandrus, Alexandreia, Nicopolis, Mopsuestia, and the Gates, as they are called, which are the boundary between Cilicia and Syria...

In any case, we already knew from the historical records that the settlement and economic patterns were changing in Smooth Cilicia in the Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic foundations of Antioch, Seleucia and Alexandria, ports in the close vicinity, affected the prosperity of Kinet Höyük and caused a decline in Kinet's strategic and commercial importance (C. Gates, 1999). In addition, after ca. 64 BC - with Pompey's annexation of the kingdom of the Seleucids - Romans took control of the region. During the Roman period, Epiphaneia, situated 30 km north of Kinet, and having its own harbor at Küçük Burnaz, became the major town in the region (Figure 7: location) (Tobin, 1995; 1999; 2004). It was the new center of maritime trade and agriculture (C. Gates, 1999: 329; 2015: 102). Thus, Kinet had lost its importance and was abandoned until the 12th century when medieval settlers found it an attractive site again (M.-H. Gates et al., 2014; C. Gates, 1999: 329; 2015:102).

3.5.2. Conclusion

In sum, Kinet Höyük is an important settlement continuously inhabited from the Bronze Age through the Hellenistic Period. It had important well stratified architectural remains and archaeological finds dated from the Persian to the Hellenistic period. It provides not only a very good glimpse of the nature of Hellenistic settlement but also hints of the transitional period from the Persian to the Hellenistic period, which is missing in most of the Cilician settlements. Thus, we could see how the settlement evolved and was modified through time, what the reason of change or stability in the settlement pattern was, and what the effects of the historical events were. There is also information not only about the domestic structures but also about the military and possibly administrative architecture of the Hellenistic period.

Although Kinet provided this very important evidence of material culture, its final publication is still in progress. Finds need detailed analyses and comparisons with other settlements. Nevertheless, Kinet has been a fundamental investigation project

for exploring the archaeological record of Cilicia and the northeastern Mediterranean. With its harbors, lower town and main mound, Kinet yielded an excellent stratified sequence giving information about the international and interregional contacts and maritime trade, not only for the Hellenistic period but also earlier periods. Accordingly, its material culture can be used for cross-cultural comparisons. As M.-H. Gates et al. (2014: 158) claim, the results present "…the first supplement and challenge to the archaeological profile for Smooth Cilicia drawn in the 1930s and 1940s from the Tarsus excavations…"

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION: THE NATURE OF HELLENISTIC SETTLEMENT IN SMOOTH CILICIA

This thesis intends to understand the nature of the Hellenistic settlements in Smooth Cilicia by mainly focusing on the multi-period sites yielding stratigraphic information in which change in the settlement patterns are better observed. In the scope of this thesis five multi-period settlements of Smooth Cilicia, Tarsus, Soli, Sirkeli, Tatarlı, and Kinet are examined because they have yielded Hellenistic architecture with stratified material culture. However, Hellenistic material found in these sites is not equally represented. While Tarsus gives the most complete evidence for the Hellenistic occupation with stratigraphic information, for Soli, in contrast, no Hellenistic architecture has been reported, except for a platform and a channel. As was the case in Tatarlı, no clear stratigraphic information was provided for Soli either. In addition, Tarsus is the only settlement, so far, whose final report is published. Therefore, one should always be careful about the preliminary nature of the evidence that is presented in this study.

4.1. What types of Hellenistic settlements can be found?

In contrast with a characteristic Greco-Hellenistic settlement like, for instance, Magarsus (modern Karataş)[67] which had monumental buildings made of stone blocks (Rosenbauer et al., 2011; Erhan & Gülşen, 2016), these five settlements had only modest, ordinary structures made of mudbrick walls whose foundations were of stone, except for Tarsus in the Middle Hellenistic period which had walls made of roughly shaped blocks. This architecture suggests that these settlements were villages or small towns that were inhabited by a small population. This conclusion is aligned with that of Akpınar (2004: 58) following Rauh (1998: 341), who claims that the settlements of Cilicia began as small towns (at least in Rough Cilicia) in the Hellenistic period. In the Middle Hellenistic period, the Hellenistic settlement at Tarsus became more complex with multi-room structures.

Located on the seacoast, Kinet Höyük and Soli Höyük were two harbor settlements which were involved in maritime trade during the Hellenistic period. The other three settlements, Tarsus, Sirkeli, and Tatarlı, were near rivers but the silting became an important problem in the 1st millennium BC because it reduced the water depth and made the water level too shallow for navigation. Therefore, it is possible that the imports from overseas (the Greek mainland, Cyprus, Levant) first reached the ports of Kinet and Soli, then were distributed into Smooth Cilicia via land roads.

4.2. What were the reasons for people to settle those sites during the Hellenistic period?

The occupation of the sites was already continuing from the previous Persian period, except for the Tarsus-Gözlükule mound on present evidence. These settlements were not founded in the Hellenistic period but had occupation histories earlier than Hellenistic. One should always remember that the periods are the artificial time frames that we, modern people, created. Those people who lived in the Hellenistic period did not change their habits or move from one place to another because the period changed. But why, then, did they continue to settle in those places? There could be two reasons for that: agriculture and fishing.

[67] See above: Chapter 1: Introduction.

Watered by three major rivers, the Ceyhan, the Seyhan, and the Tarsus, Smooth Cilicia is an extremely fertile plain that is very suitable for farming. These five settlements were surrounded by such fertile plains and rivers that agriculture and pastoralism provided wealth. Therefore, one of the reasons for people to inhabit these mound settlements must have been due to agriculture and pastoralism. Today, as well, Smooth Cilicia (Çukurova) is one of the most productive and important farming regions of Turkey.

The second reason for people to settle in these five settlements would be related with fishing. All five settlements were either established on a river bank or a seashore or sometimes both. The inhabitants of these sites were probably dealing with fishing. The abundance of the loom-weights found in all five settlements may indicate the production of nets for fishing, as well as the manufacture of ropes and textiles from materials such as hemp, linen, and wool. The loom-weights could also be for textile production which might be another reason for settling in these sites.

At the end of the Hellenistic period, three of the settlements, Sirkeli, Tatarlı, and Kinet, were abandoned. Tarsus and Soli Höyük continued to be occupied in the Roman period with monumental structures extending beyond the mounds, which showed major changes in the settlement patterns.

4.3. How did the settlements develop and function throughout the period?

Tarsus, having three sublayers of the Hellenistic period, the Early, Middle and Late Hellenistic Phases in addition to a transitional phase from the Hellenistic to Roman period, becomes the key site of this thesis. In the Early Hellenistic phase of Tarsus structures were simpler. A long-narrow building, simple in plan, made of mudbrick without stone foundations and following the plan of earlier Iron Age building, was identified as a bronze workshop. In the Middle Hellenistic phase of Tarsus, structures with thinner walls compared to the earlier phase became more complicated. A building complex with stone walls had three different types of rooms: the “megaron”, rooms around the courtyard, and a bath complex. Apparently the Middle Hellenistic period provided structures with a mosaic, alleys, and drains, signs of sophistication that indicated a dramatic change in the building system of Tarsus. Most probably, the city became more prosperous. The “megaron” building and the room with the mosaic

suggest that Tarsus was the home of an upper class personality who governed the region as there is no other example of a “megaron” in Smooth Cilicia. The coinage tradition of Tarsus that is followed by other cities also indicates its leading position among the other Cilician cities, indeed the role it played for preceding and succeeding periods. The quality, quantity, and the variety of the finds confirm this hypothesis.

According to the written sources Soli had a very prosperous Hellenistic period as an important port involved in maritime trade. Although no individual Hellenistic structure has been found, Soli has yielded important Hellenistic finds. There is no stratigraphic information provided by the excavation project. Therefore, in terms of change observed by stratigraphic analysis, Soli is less informative for the Hellenistic period than what was hoped at the beginning of this research project. Significantly, a historically known event may have been attested in the material culture. An ashy layer was associated by Remzi Yağcı, the excavator, with the invasion of Tigranes which marked the end of the Hellenistic period in Soli (Yağcı, 2001a; 2003a: 515; 2008b: 1427). From 69 BC onward, the Romanization process of Soli was started and the city was rebuilt with monumental structures which showed a dramatic shift in construction compared to earlier structures situated on the mound.

In Sirkeli Höyük, Hellenistic structures were identified only in the plateau part of the mound although Hellenistic artifacts were found all over the site. The Hellenistic architecture is characterized by small dwellings consisting of rooms around a courtyard. The construction technique of the buildings, mudbrick walls with stone foundations, followed the previous Iron Age structures and continued without change until the end of occupation. The abundance of loom-weights, and metal and bone tools suggested that, at least a part of the rooms was used as a domestic production area. The loom-weights especially were related with textile or net production. Although the settlement seems to have been small and rural, the parallels of Hellenistic pottery from Greece, the Greek islands, Western Anatolia, and the Levant suggest that Sirkeli was interrelated with other regions in the Mediterranean and involved in trade. The site was abandoned at the end of the Hellenistic period. Because of the Tarcondimotid coin found in Area A, the Hellenistic inhabitants of Sirkeli might have been forced to move to Anazarbus or people might voluntarily have moved to Anazarbus.

For Tatarlı, as was the case for Soli Höyük, no complete stratigraphic analysis of Tatarlı has been published yet. Similar to Sirkeli, the Hellenistic settlement in Tatarlı is characterized by small dwellings made of mudbrick walls with stone foundations. At Tatarlı, however, the stone used was basalt. Basalt was favoured as a construction material because it was a locally available stone, the product of once active volcanos in the close vicinity. Without major change, the Hellenistic settlement buildings of Tatarlı followed the tradition of earlier buildings. In addition to newly constructed Hellenistic structures, the earlier structures from the Late Bronze Age (Citadel Building A) were reused with some alterations. Tatarlı was abandoned by the end of the Hellenistic period, probably because of the same reason for Sirkeli although there is no evidence to prove this.

Lastly, excavations at Kinet Höyük (Issus) have also revealed important evidence for the Hellenistic period. Here, in addition to a transitional phase (Period 3B) from the Persian period, two layers, Period 3A and 2, were attested for the Hellenistic period. In Period 3B, a city wall with towers and an adjacent regularly planned complex which might have served a military function continued in Period 3A of the Hellenistic period. At some point in the early 2nd century BC, this complex was abandoned and its rooms were filled with mudbricks. In Period 2, the layout of the city shifted to north-south and became smaller. The reorientation of the buildings is dated to ca 170 BC, and a program of urban renewal during the reign of Antiochus IV has been seen as the possible cause for the change. Considering the location of the site and the fortifications with military structures, Kinet (Issus) may have functioned as a frontier before going into Smooth Cilicia from Syria. Kinet (Issus) was abandoned early in the 1st century BC. Several reasons have been put forward for the abandonment of the site. The change in the course of the Deli Çay and the shoreline of the Mediterranean caused the filling of its harbors, which might have led to the collapse of its maritime trading connections. The change might have also caused an unhealthy swampy environment that brought malaria-bearing mosquitoes. Another possible reason is the earthquake that struck Antioch ca. 69 BC. The last explanation is that Kinet (Issus) might have lost its attraction after the establishment of new Roman cities such as Epiphaneia (M.-H. Gates, 1999b; M.-H. Gates et al., 2014; C. Gates, 1999; 2014; 2015).

4.4. How did the political environment affect those sites?

After the death of Alexander, in the 3rd century BC, Smooth Cilicia became a conflicted region between the Seleucids and Ptolemies. When the Seleucids took control of the region, they followed a program of refounding cities with royal titles to strengthen their authority. Antiochus IV (ruled 175-164 BC) was one of the Seleucid kings who followed this program. He also granted cities the right to mint municipal coinage (Meyer, 2001; 2004; Tekin, 2001). The effects of this policy were observed at Kinet Höyük. Although Kinet (Issus) did not mint coins in this period, the shift in the orientation of the buildings may have been the result of this refounding activity (ca. 175 BC) (C. Gates, 2015: 98).

After Antiochus IV, the Seleucid control over Smooth Cilicia was weakened because of the dynastic wars which created an unstable environment. The lack of a central power led to invasions of Smooth Cilicia by pirates and bandits. Therefore Roman interventions took place in Smooth Cilicia, which started the Romanization process in the region. These conflicts also led to the strengthening of local dynasties, especially in the northern mountainous part of the region that is difficult to control. Taking advantage of this political turmoil, Tigranes invaded the Cilician cities (Plutarch, *Lucullus:* 14.5; 22.5; 26.1; 29.4; Strabo, *Geography*: 11.14.15). The invasion of Tigranes, which marked the end of the Hellenistic occupation at Soli, was identified with an ashy layer. Supported by the Romans, the Tarcondimotid dynasty also gained strength in this unstable atmosphere. Because of a Tarcondimotid coin, which is the latest object found in Sirkeli, it is thought that its inhabitants may have been forced to move or voluntarily moved to Anazarbus to work in building this newly established Tarcondimotid city and increase population there (Kreutz, 2011: 150-151; Kozal & Novák, 2013: 235). Although there is no clear evidence, this was probably the case for Tatarlı because of its closeness to Anazarbus. As they established order in Smooth Cilicia, the Romans followed a different policy from the Seleucids, encouraging the creation of urban centers with monumental architecture at locations peripheral to the older centers (the Colonnaded Street at Soli for instance). This has been seen a possible reason for the abandonment of some settlements (Kinet for instance) by the end of the Hellenistic period as these newly created cities became more attractive.

4.5. Conclusion: What is the nature of Hellenistic settlement in Smooth Cilicia?

This thesis can conclude that the Hellenistic period in the multi-period settlements of Smooth Cilicia was characterized by small towns with simple buildings. The inhabitants of these settlements were natives of the region. They produced and used Hellenistic objects during the Hellenistic period but their preceding lifestyle did not dramatically change until the Roman period. At least, they followed the old tradition of architecture from the preceding periods. This might be explained by the governing policy of the Seleucids. Otherwise, as Smooth Cilicia was a conflicted region between the Seleucids and Ptolemies during the 3rd century BC, this might be due to lack of a central power that would dominate and impose a culture over the settlements. A weak central power was also a cause of piracy and banditry activity. Tarsus, on the other hand, did have more complex and sophisticated structures in the Greek style because it was the leading city in the region. Although settlements were small in scale, they were well interrelated with the other regions as they acquired imports from overseas. By the end of the Hellenistic period and the beginning of the Roman era, the multi-period sites in general were abandoned and reestablished at new locations with monumental and impressive structures.

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FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Cilicia with two sub-regions. Cilicia was subdivided into two regions based on physical features, Cilicia Tracheia ("Κιλικία Τραχεία" in Greek, "Rough" or "Rugged" in English) in the west and Cilicia Pedias ("Κιλικία Πεδιάς; in Greek, "Smooth" or "Flat" in English) in the east (adapted from Google Earth).

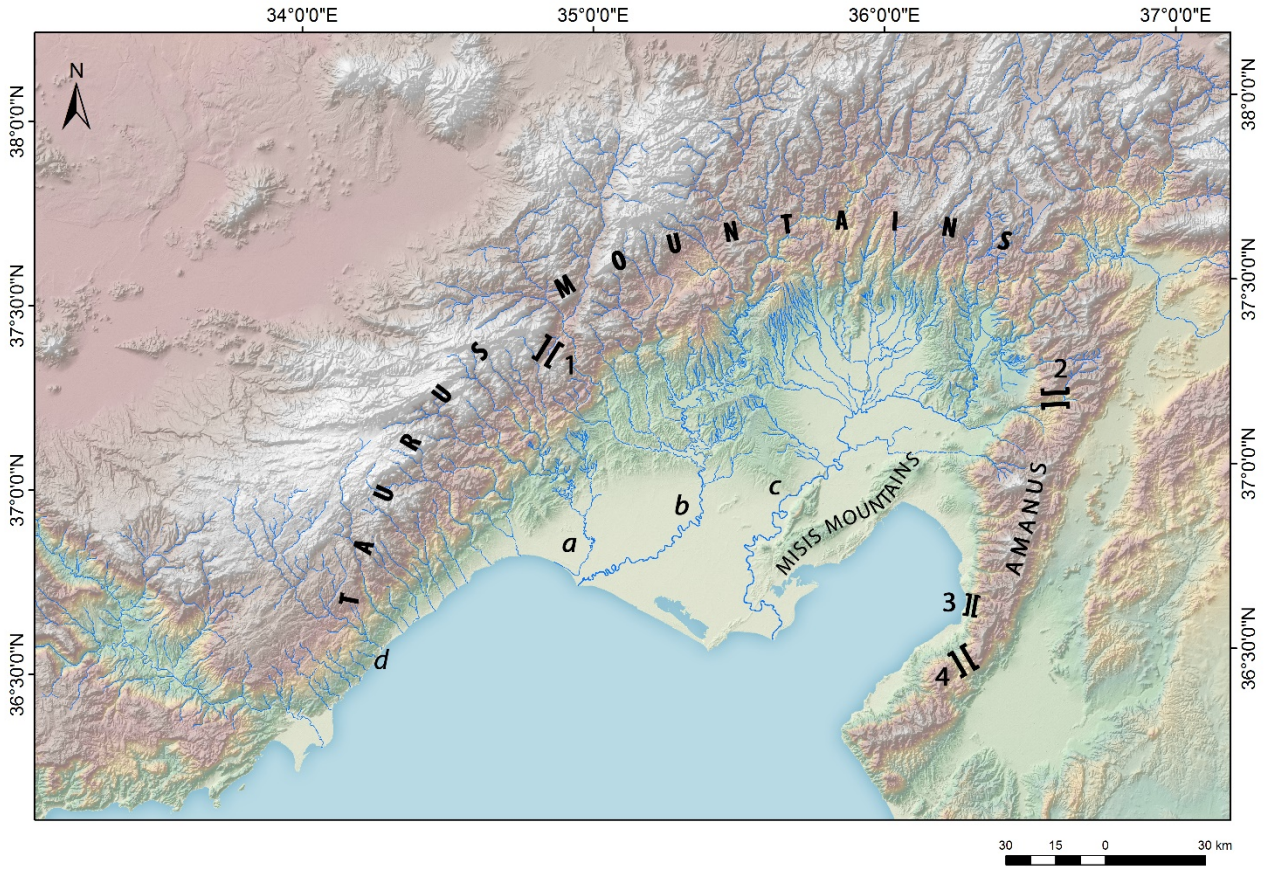


Figure 2. Smooth Cilicia with mountains, rivers and passes: 1) Cilician Gates; 2) Amanic Gates; 3) Pillar of Jonah; 4) Syrian Gates; a) Tarsus River; b) Seyhan River; c) Ceyhan River; d) Lamus River (Courtesy of Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, University of Bern).

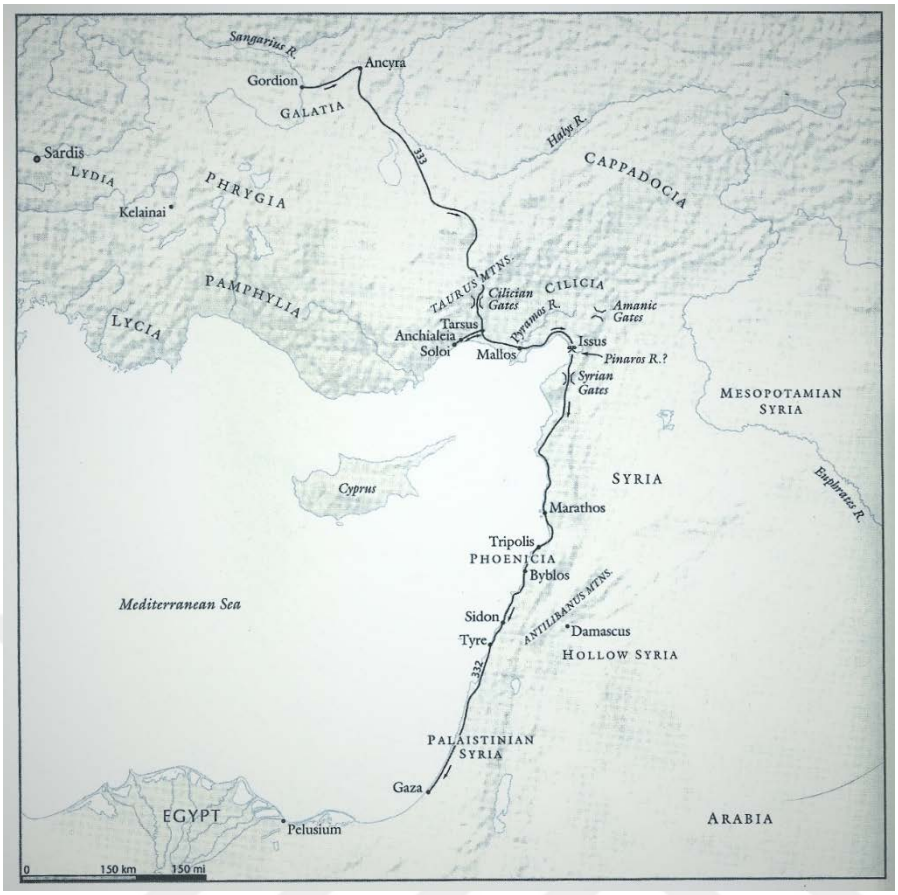


Figure 3. The Campaigns of Alexander in western Asia and Phoenicia (Mensch, 2010: 56, Map 2.1).

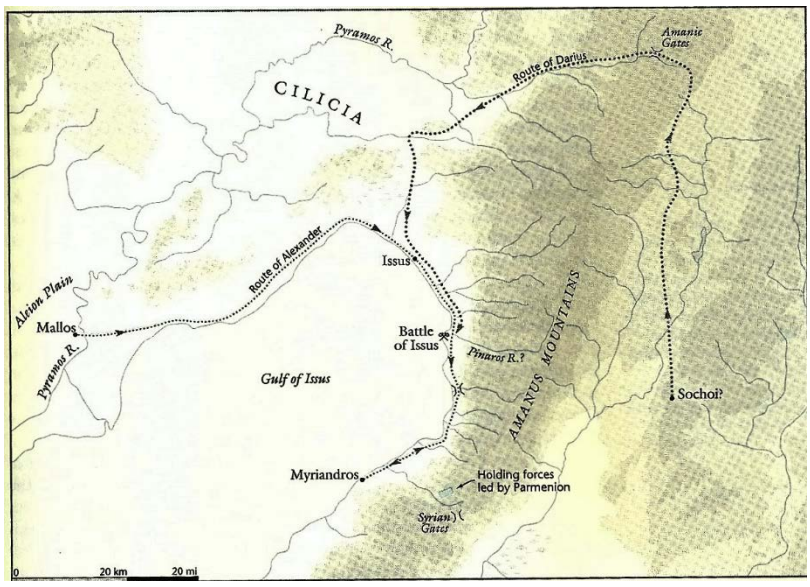


Figure 4. The movements of the Persian and Macedonian armies before the Battle of Issus (Mensch, 2010: 69, Map 2.7).

Figure 5. A view from Yılan Kale towards Sirkeli Höyük and environs. Sirkeli was situated at the point where the Ceyhan breaks through the foothills of the Misis mountains (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

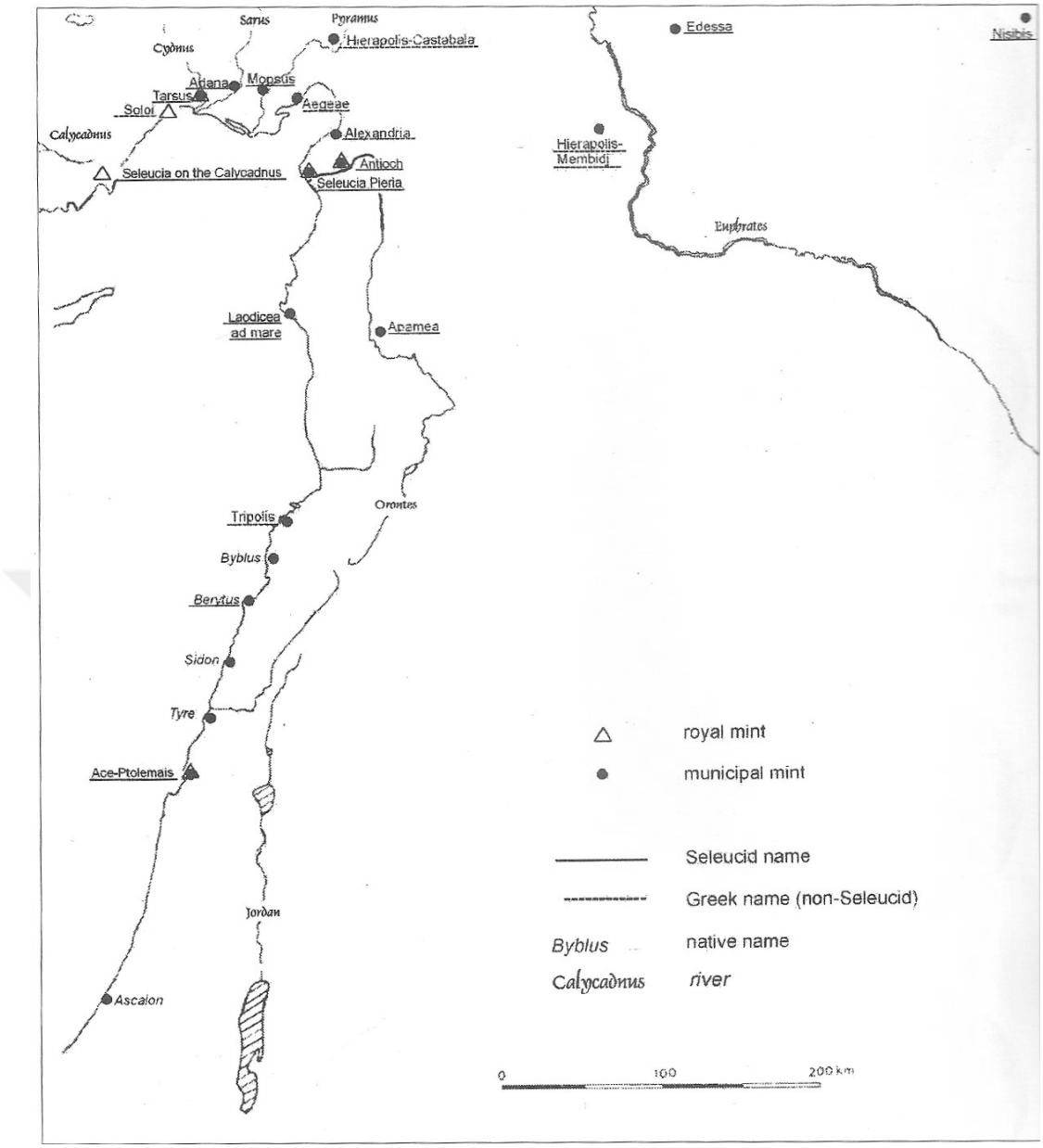


Figure 6. Municipal and royal mints in the western part of the Seleucid Empire (169/68-164 BC) (Meyer, 2001: 515, Fig. 1).

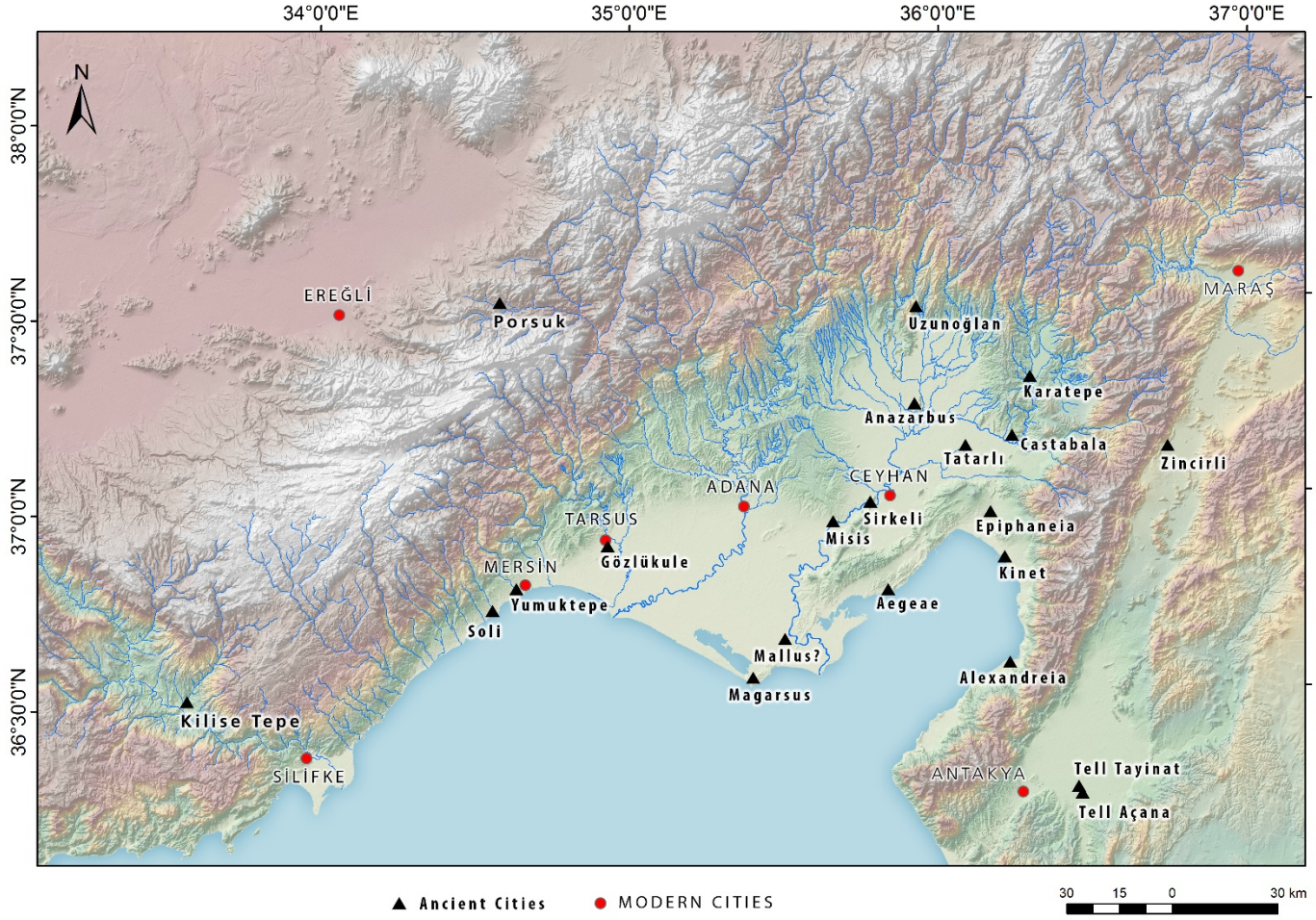


Figure 7. Map of Smooth Cilicia (Cilicia Pedias) with cities and ancient sites (Courtesy of Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, University of Bern).

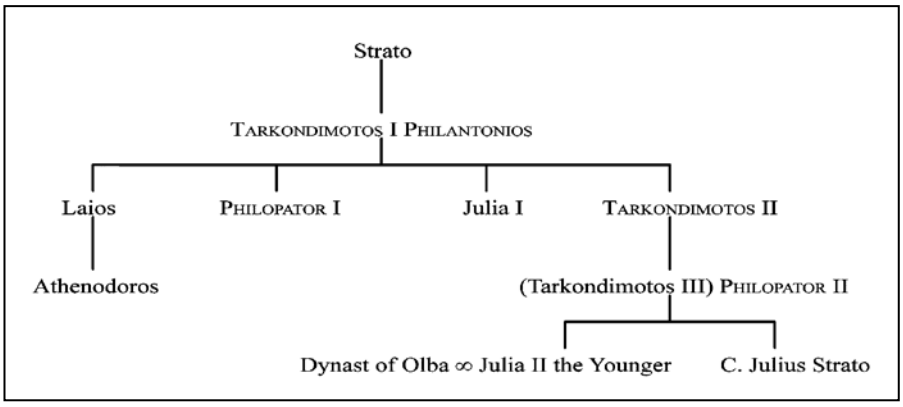


Figure 8. Dynastic stemma of the Tarkondimotidai proposed by N. Wright (Wright, 2012: 70, Fig. 2).

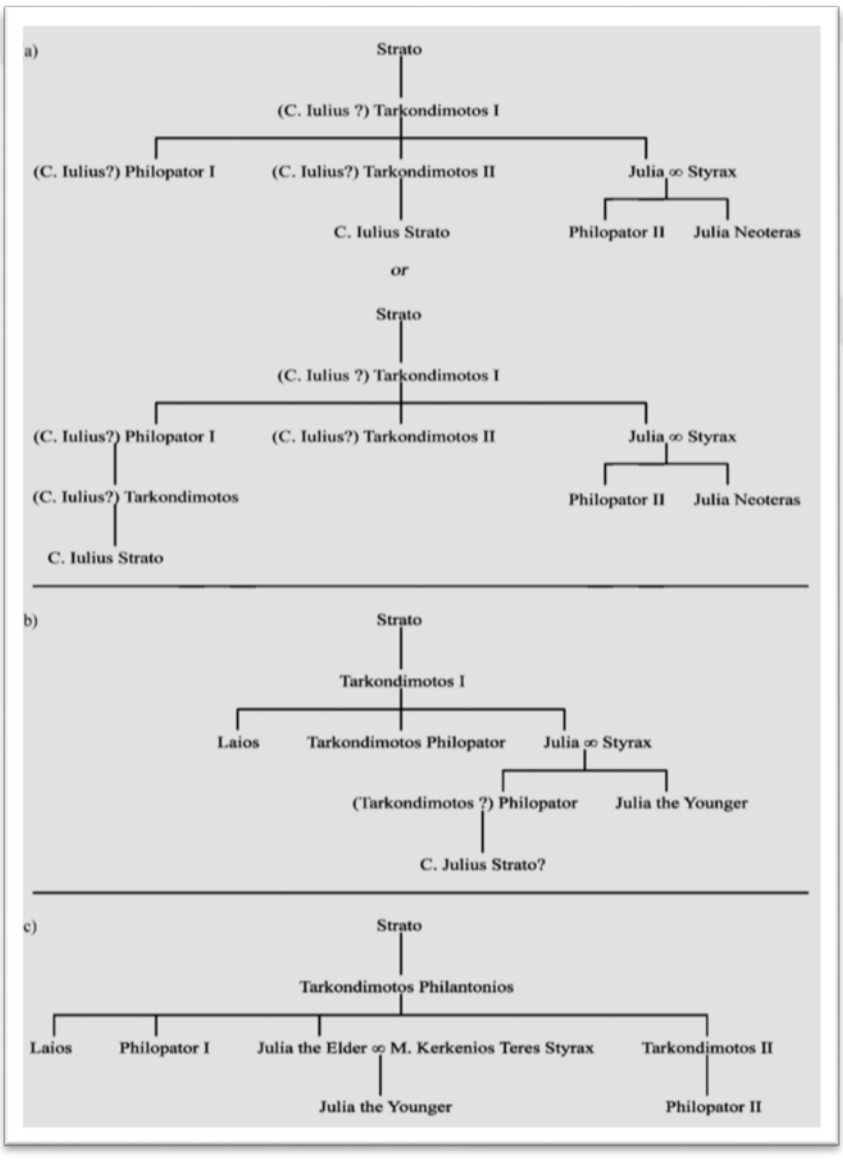


Figure 9. Earlier Tarkondimotid stemmata proposed by different scholars: a) Stein, 1932; b) A.H.M Jones, 1983; c) Lange, 1988 (Wright, 2012: 71, Fig. 3).

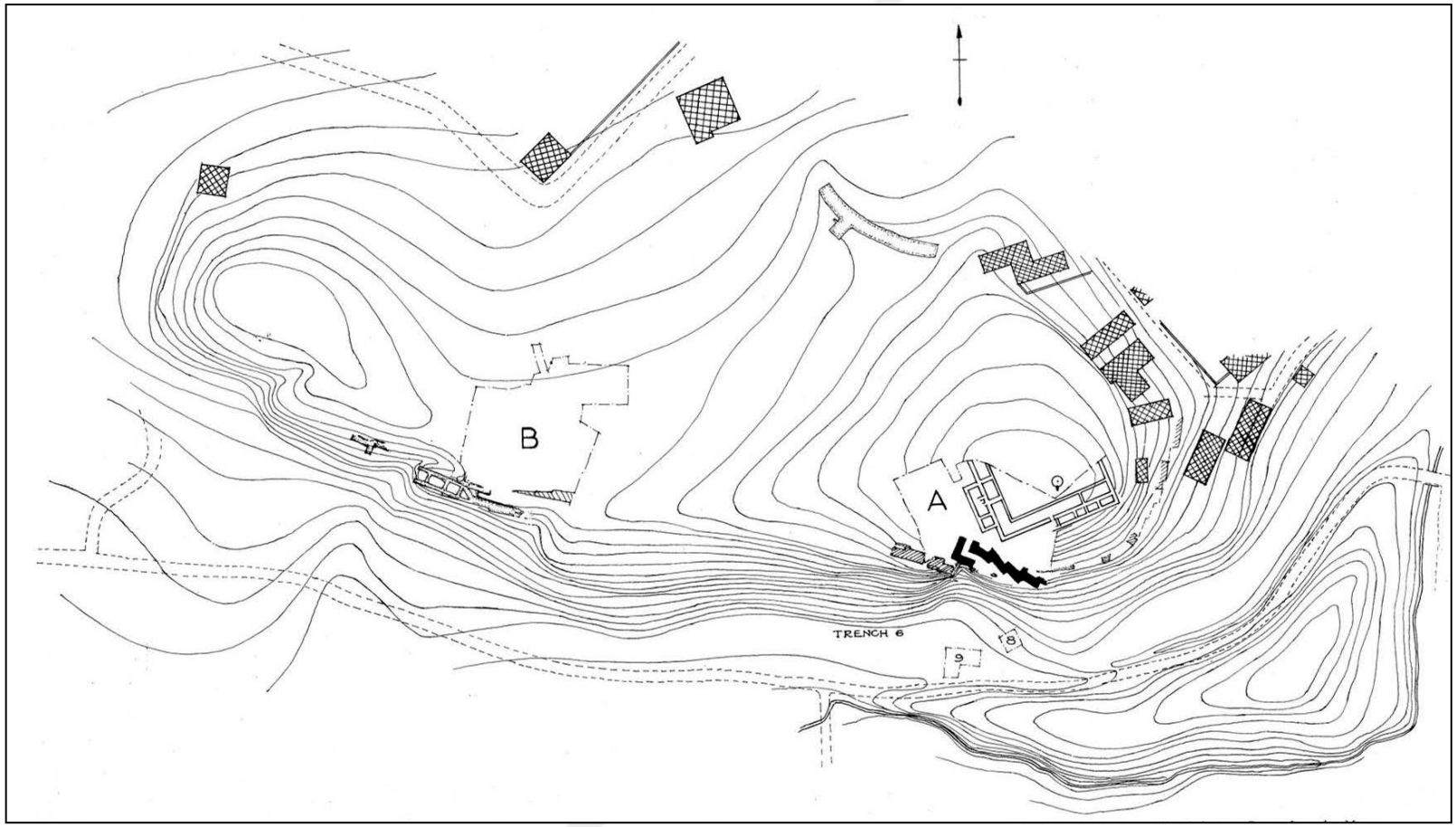


Figure 10. The topographic map of the Gözlükule mound. Scale 1:100. Cross-hatched buildings are modern; dotted walls Roman; hatched walls early 1st millennium BC; outlined building in Section A Hittite; solid wall 3rd millennium BC (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 1).

Figure 11. The mound of Tarsus-Gözlükule surrounded by densely occupied modern city (retrieved from www.tarsus.boun.edu.tr).

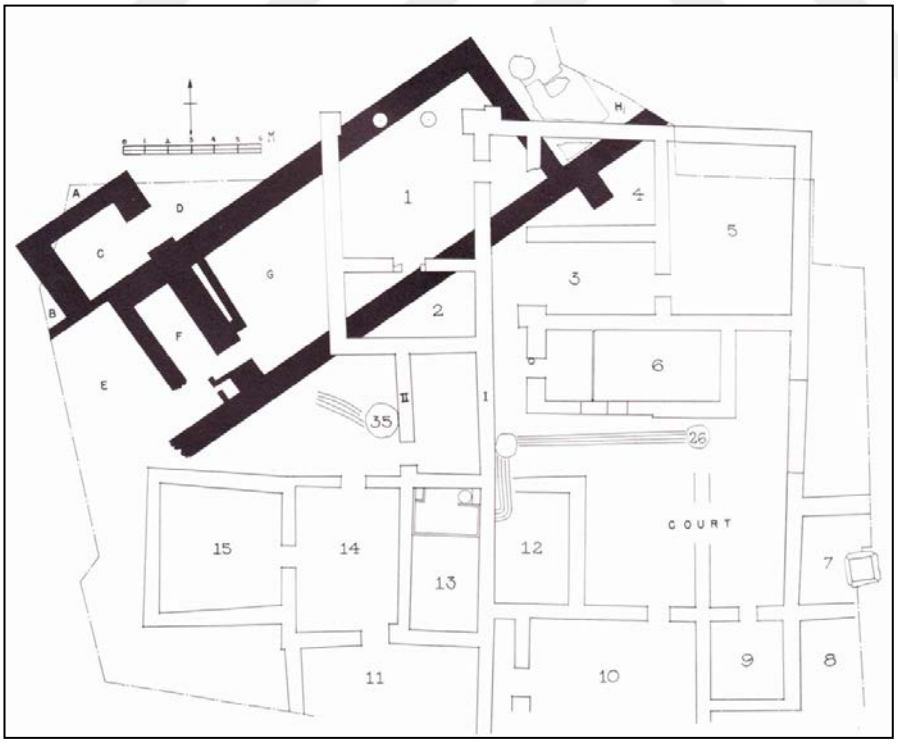


Figure 12. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early (solid walls) and Middle Hellenistic structures (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 3).

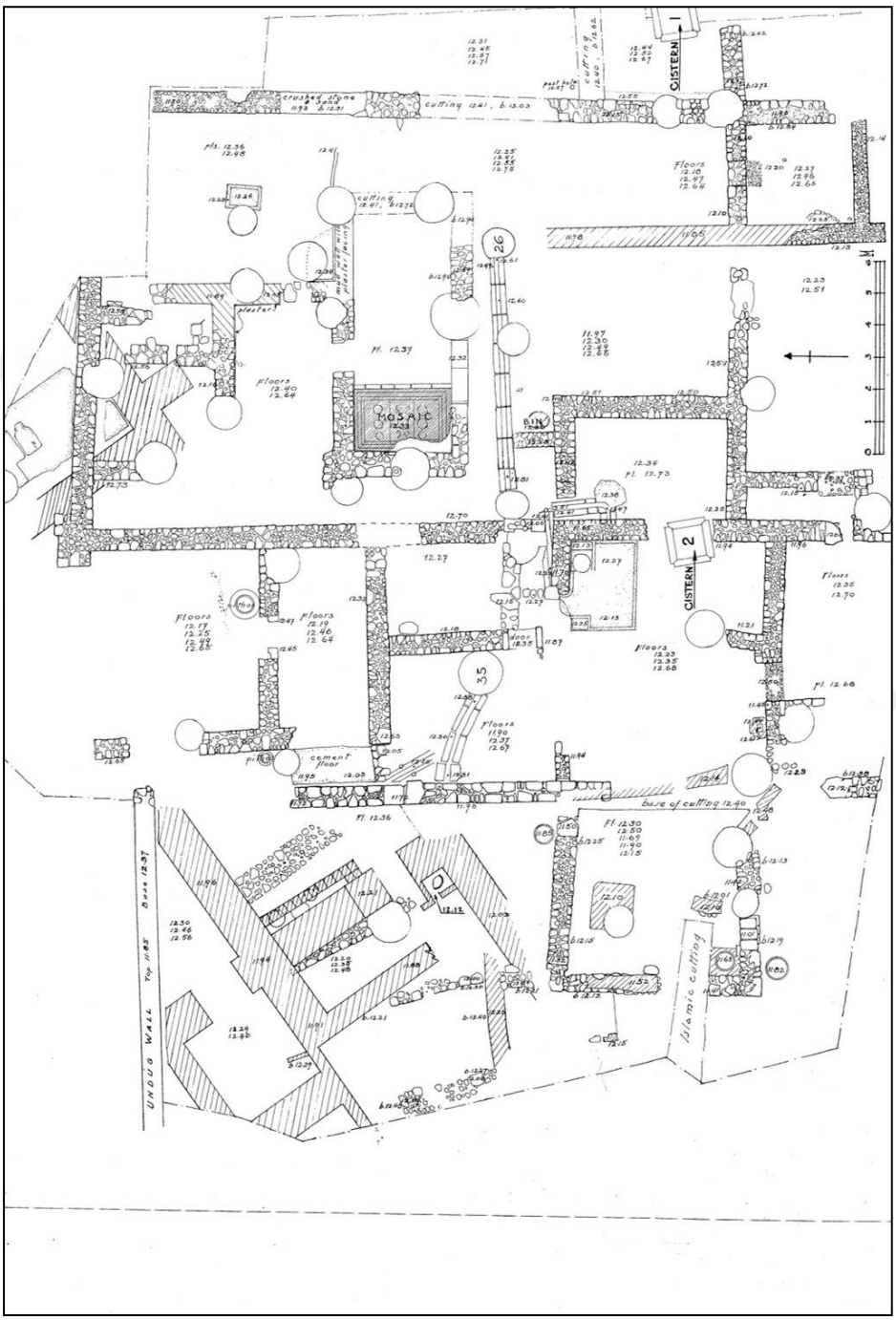


Figure 13. Tarsus-Gözlükule .Early and Middle Hellenistic structures. Hatched walls are Early Hellenistic (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 2).

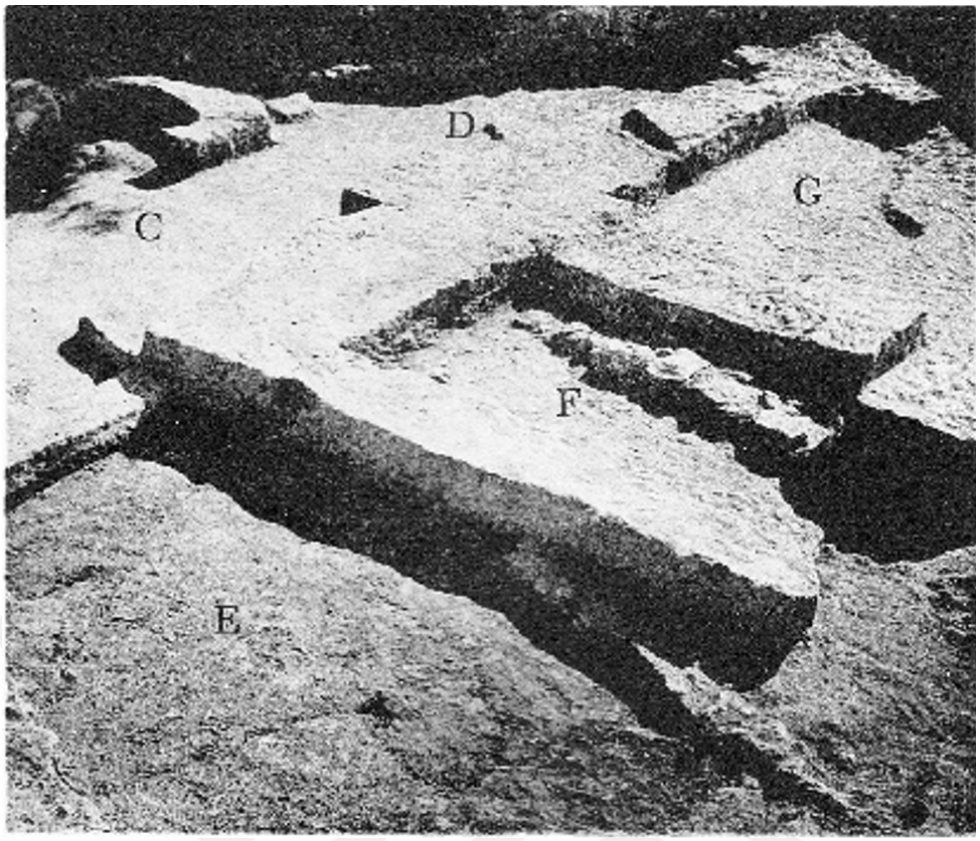


Figure 14. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic Phase, Rooms C-G from southwest (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 4).

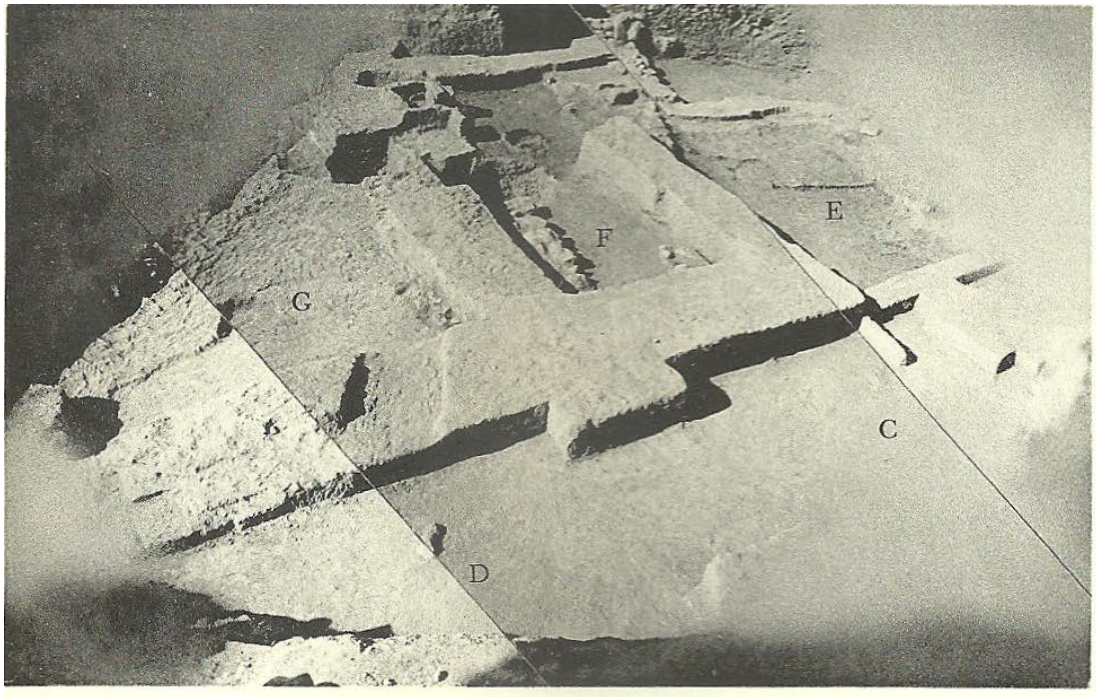


Figure 15. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Southwestern end of Early Hellenistic Phase from northwest (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 5).

Figure 16. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic, bronze workers' channel? (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 8).

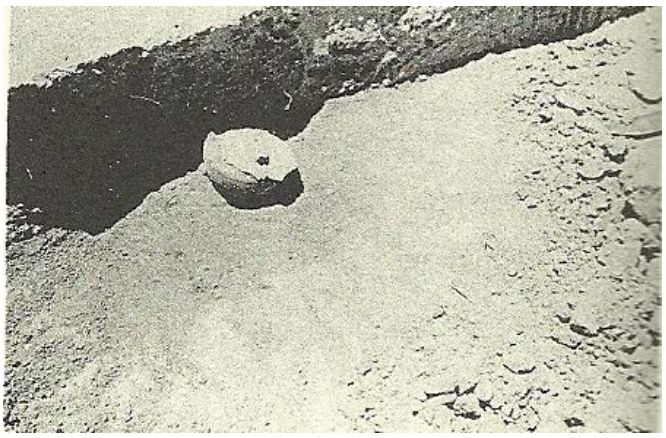


Figure 17. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic pot, found in situ in Room C (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 9).

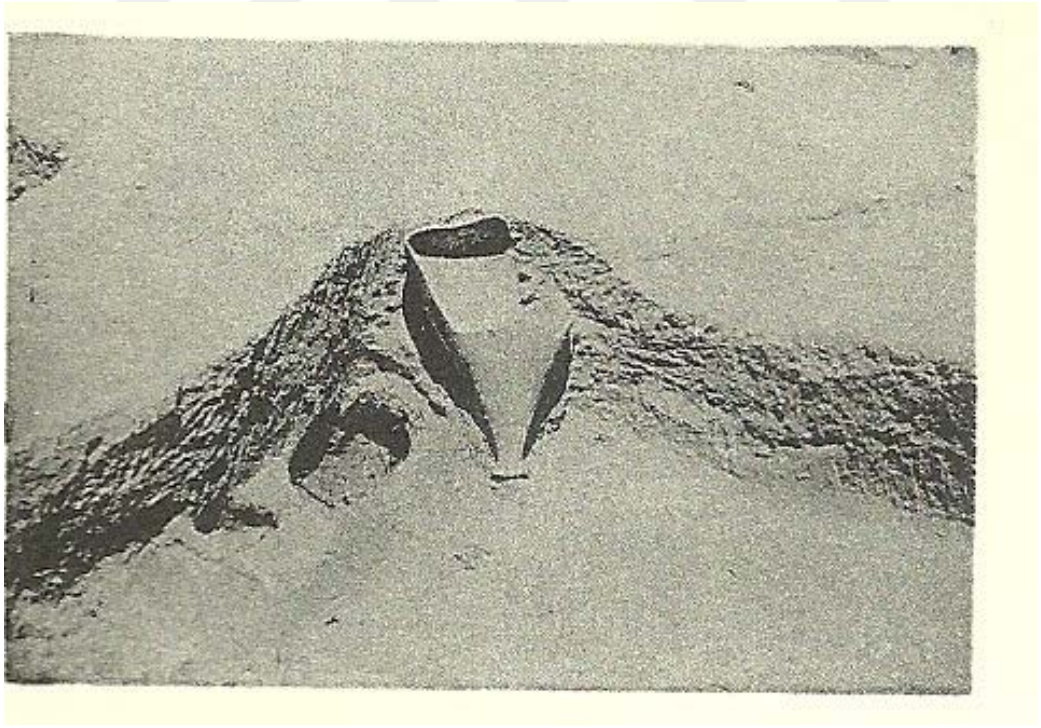


Figure 18. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic amphora in Room G (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 7).

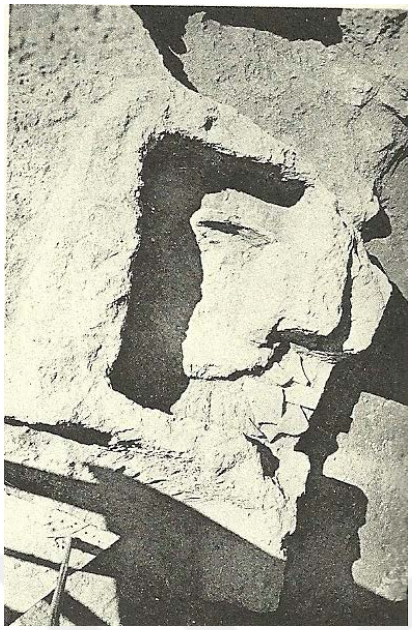


Figure 19. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Early Hellenistic hearth in southeast corner of Room F (Goldman, 1950a: 6).

Figure 20. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Coin of Alexander the Great (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 87/2).

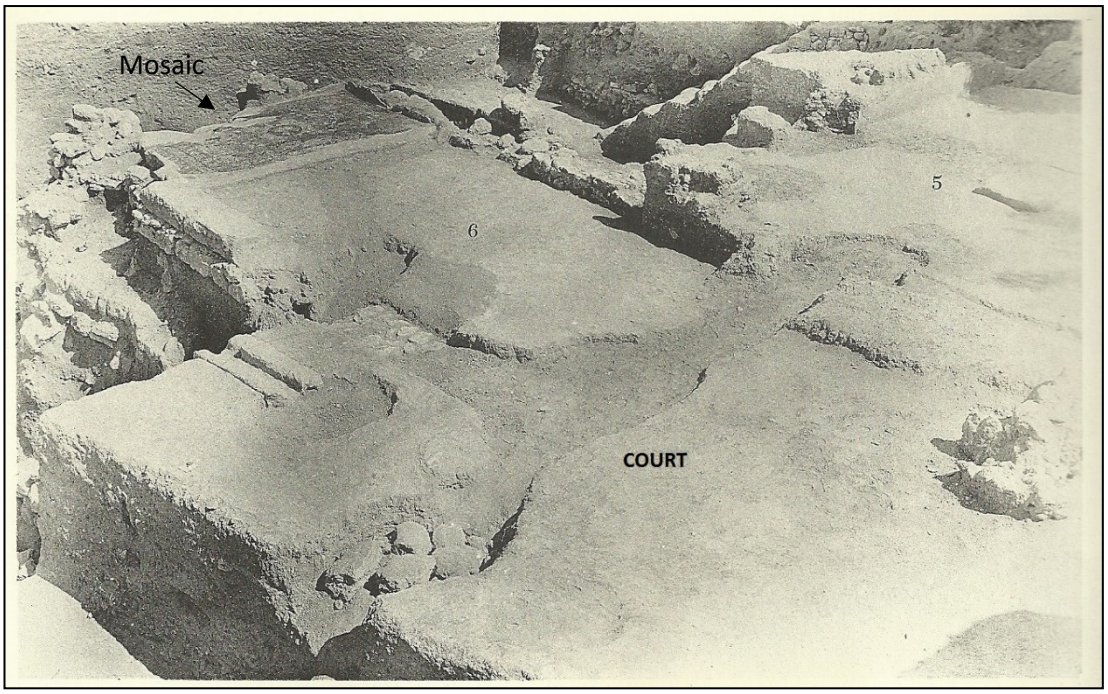


Figure 21. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic Phase, Rooms 5 and 6 and part of court from southeast (after Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 10).

Figure 22. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic, Room 6 containing pebble mosaic (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 13).

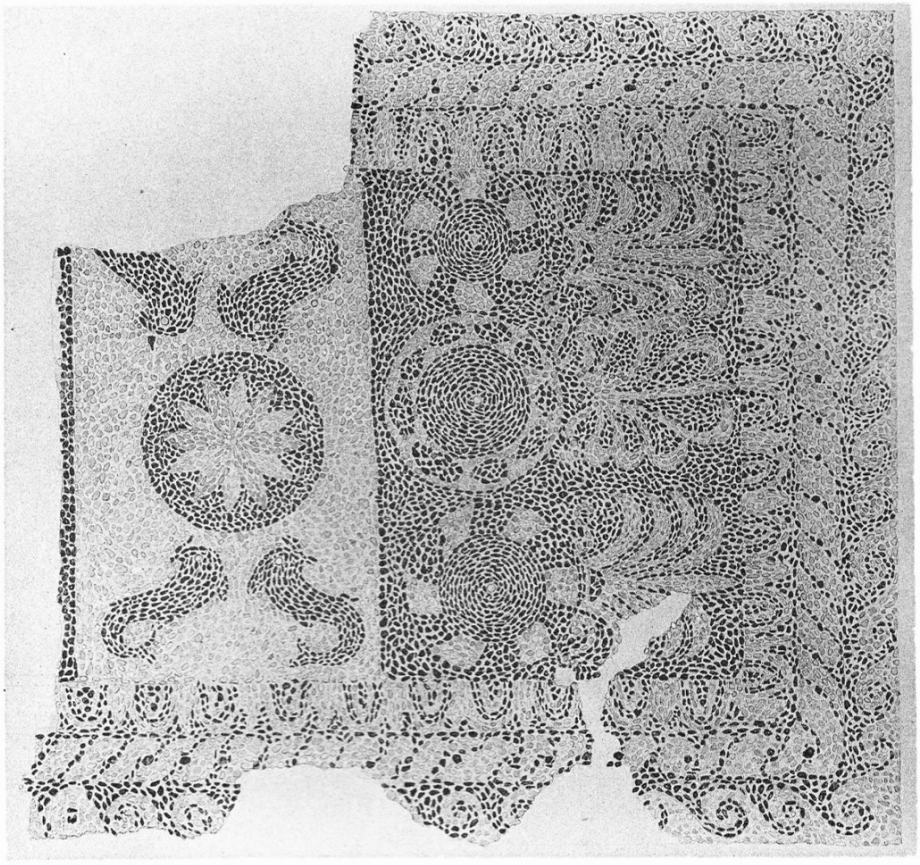


Figure 23. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic pebble mosaic found in Room 6 (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 12).

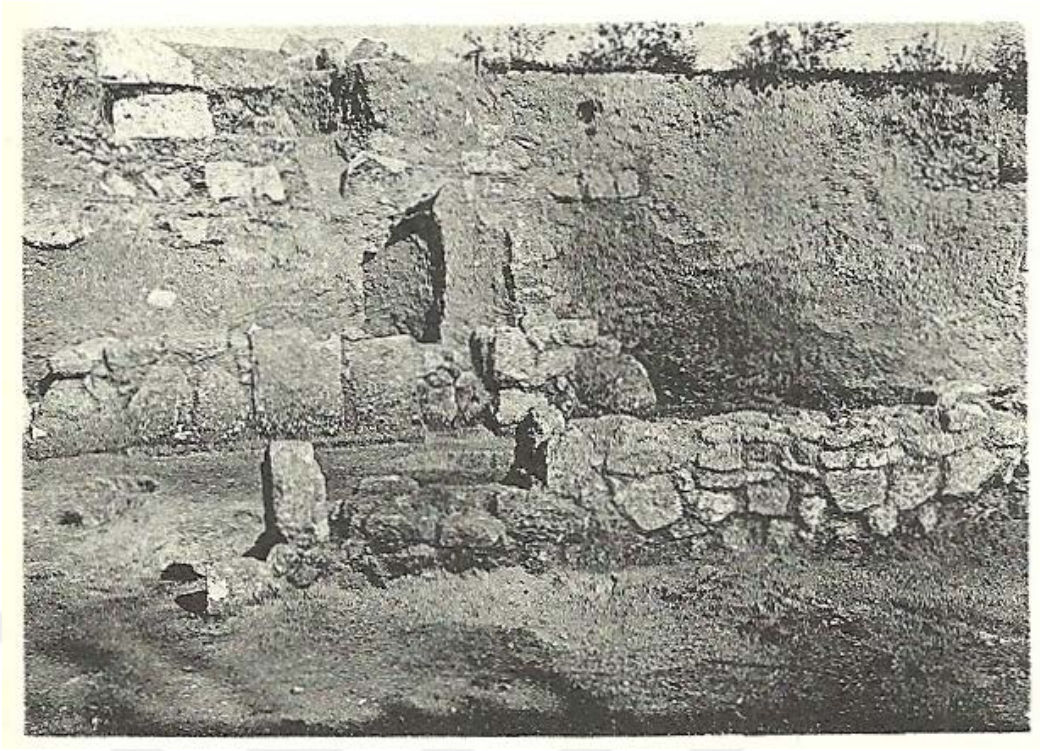


Figure 24. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic phase, west wall of court with door seen from east (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 16).

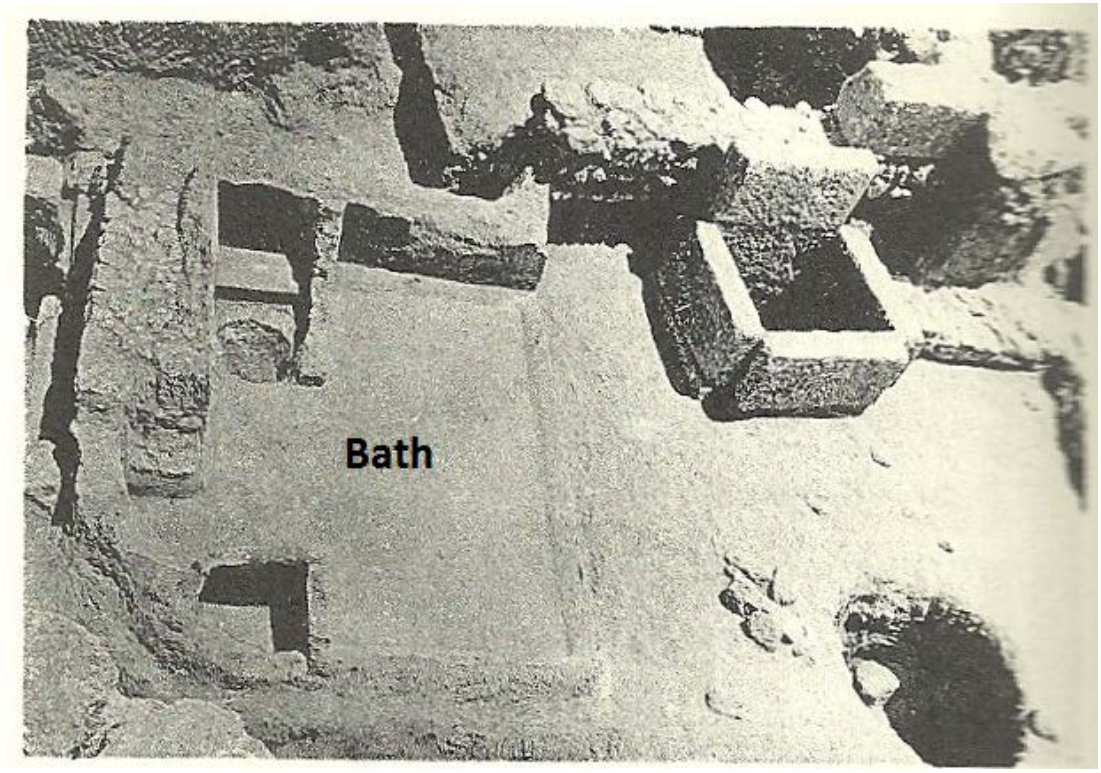


Figure 25. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic phase, bath looking east (after Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 19).

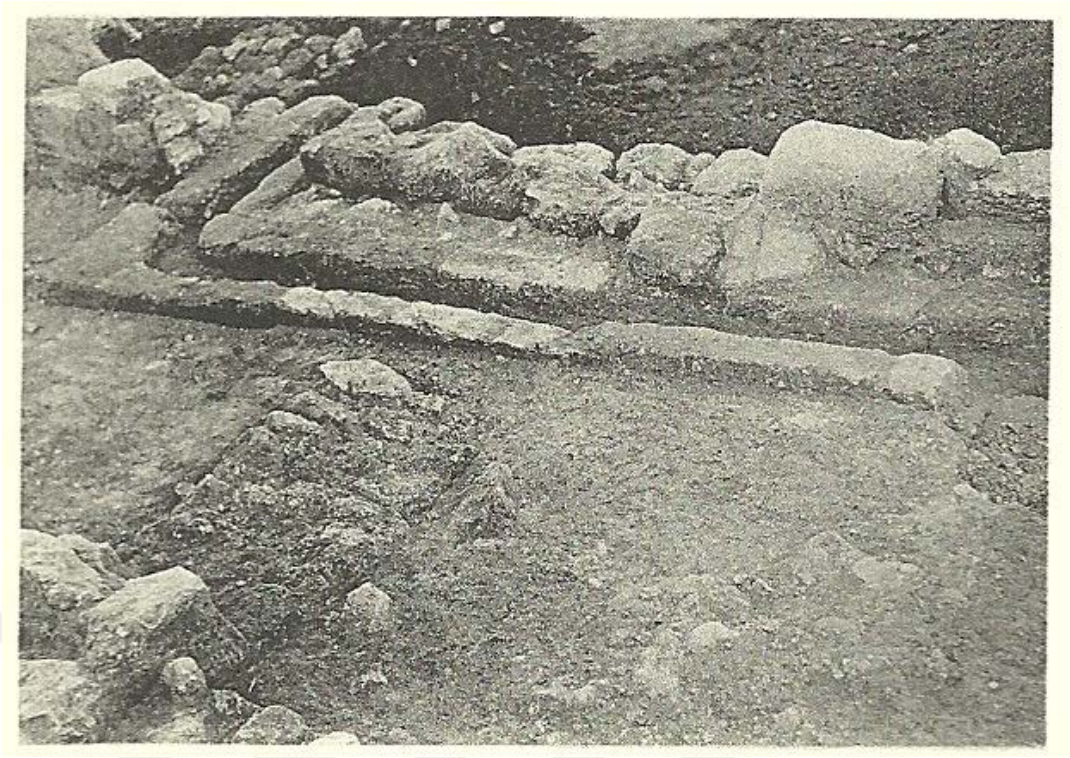


Figure 26. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic Phase, east drain of bath (after bath removed), looking south (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 20).

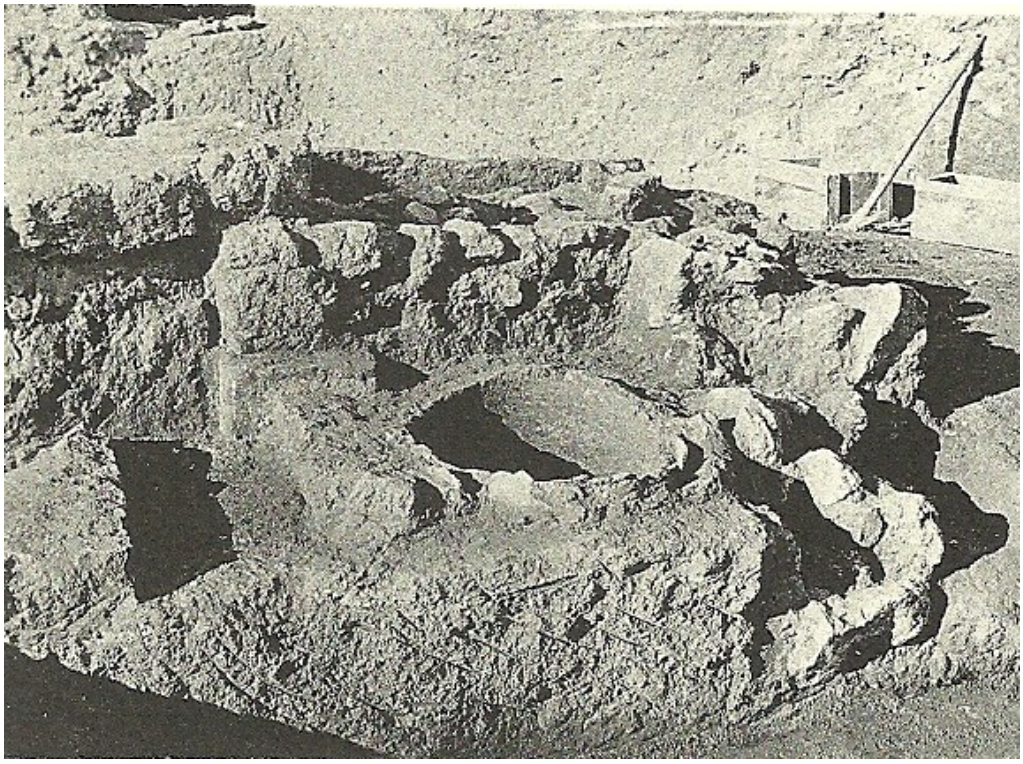


Figure 27. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Middle Hellenistic Phase, oven in Room 15, looking south (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 21).

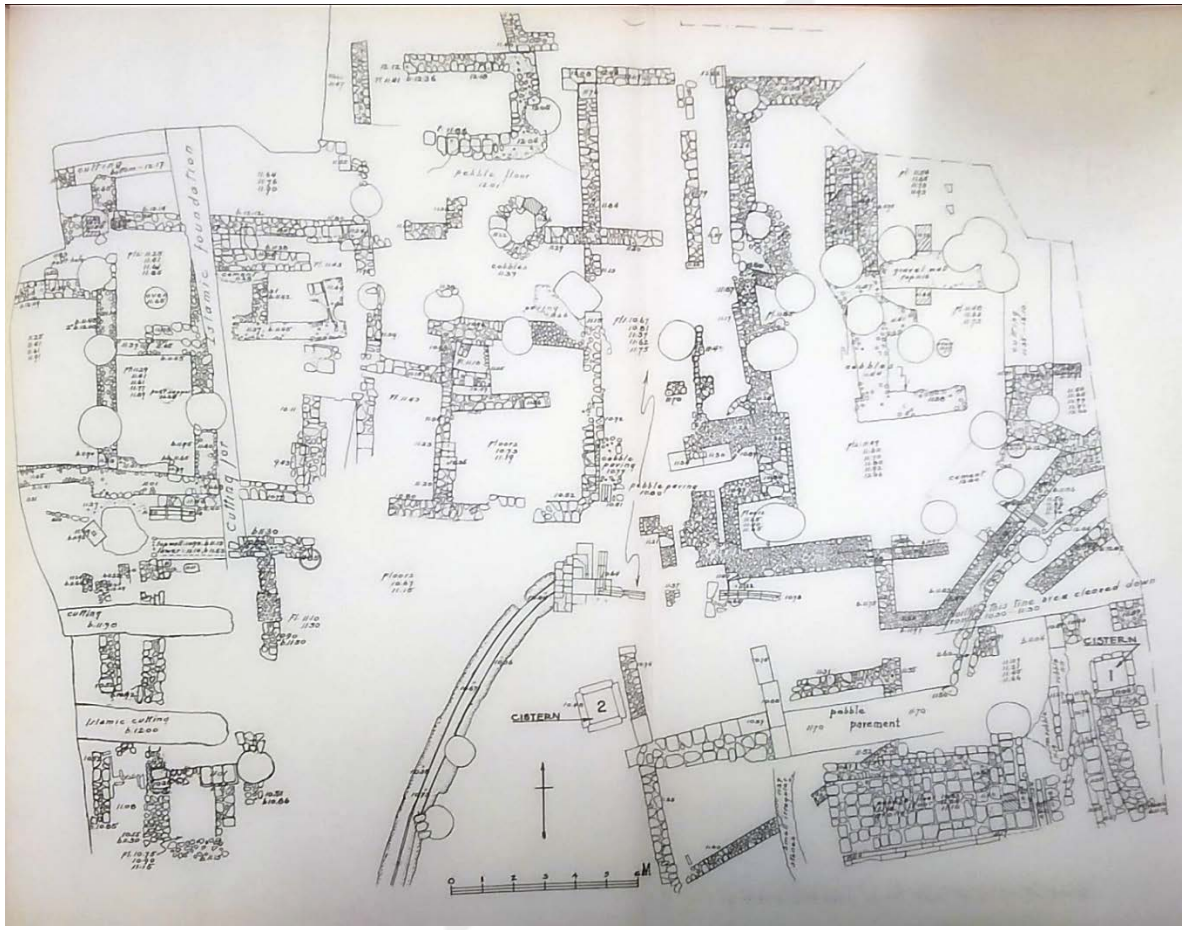


Figure 28. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Late Hellenistic, Hellenistic-Roman, Early Roman, and Middle Roman Phases (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 4).

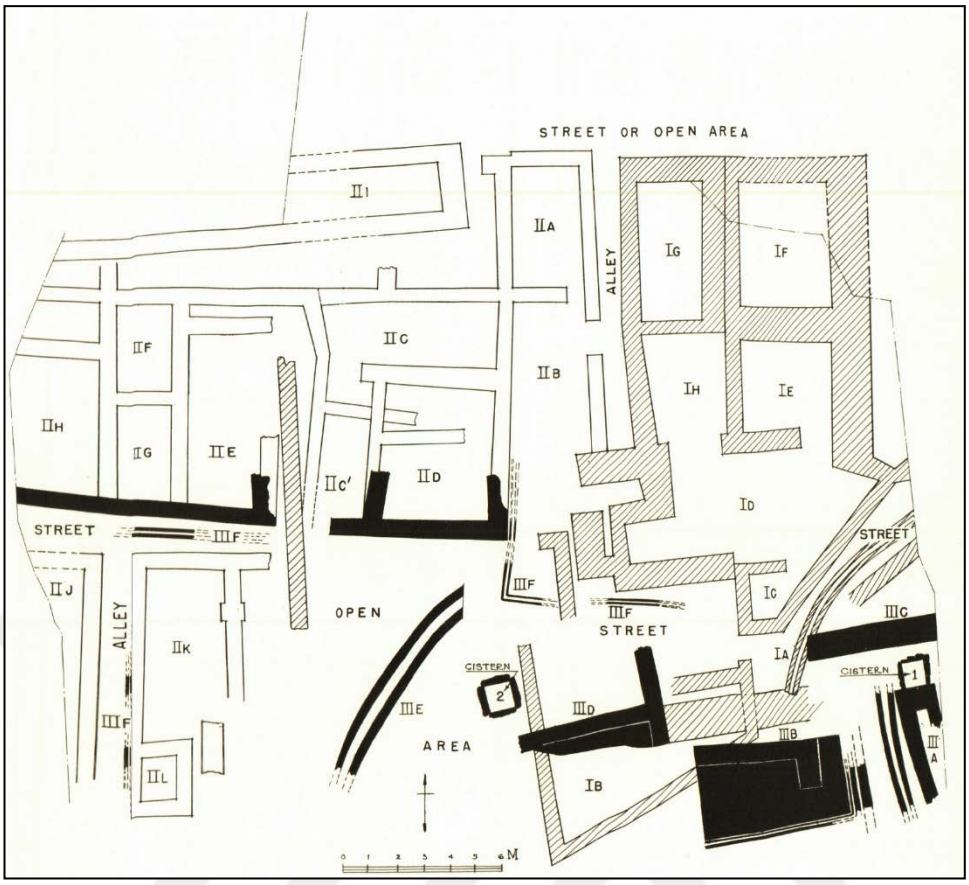


Figure 29. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Walls associated with Late Hellenistic (I), Hellenistic-Roman (II), and Middle Roman Phases (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 5).

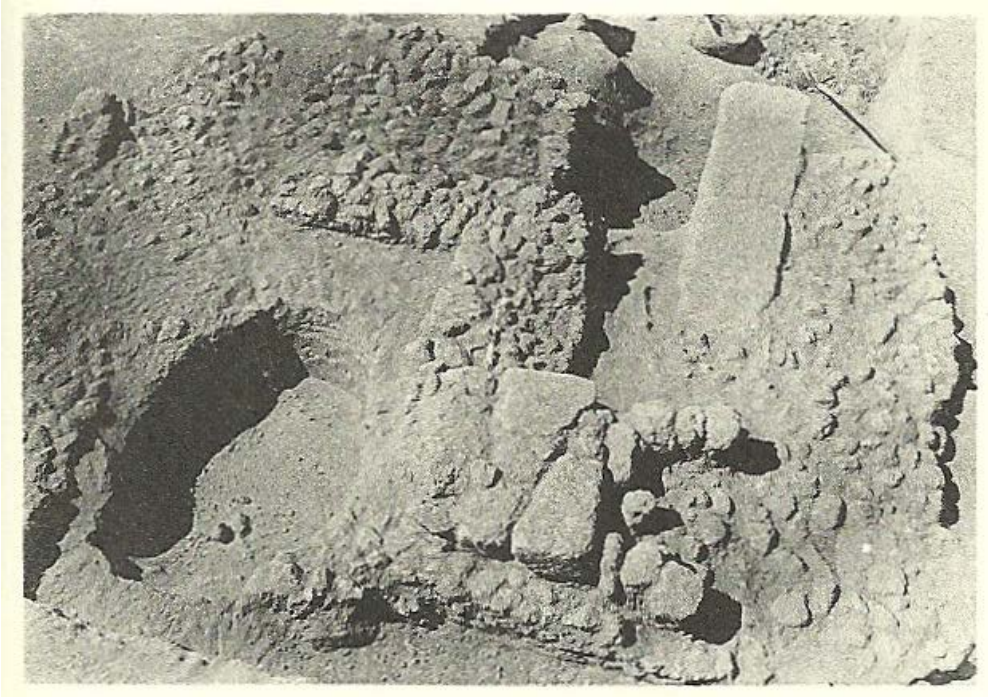


Figure 30. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Late Hellenistic, Room I D, looking west (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 32).

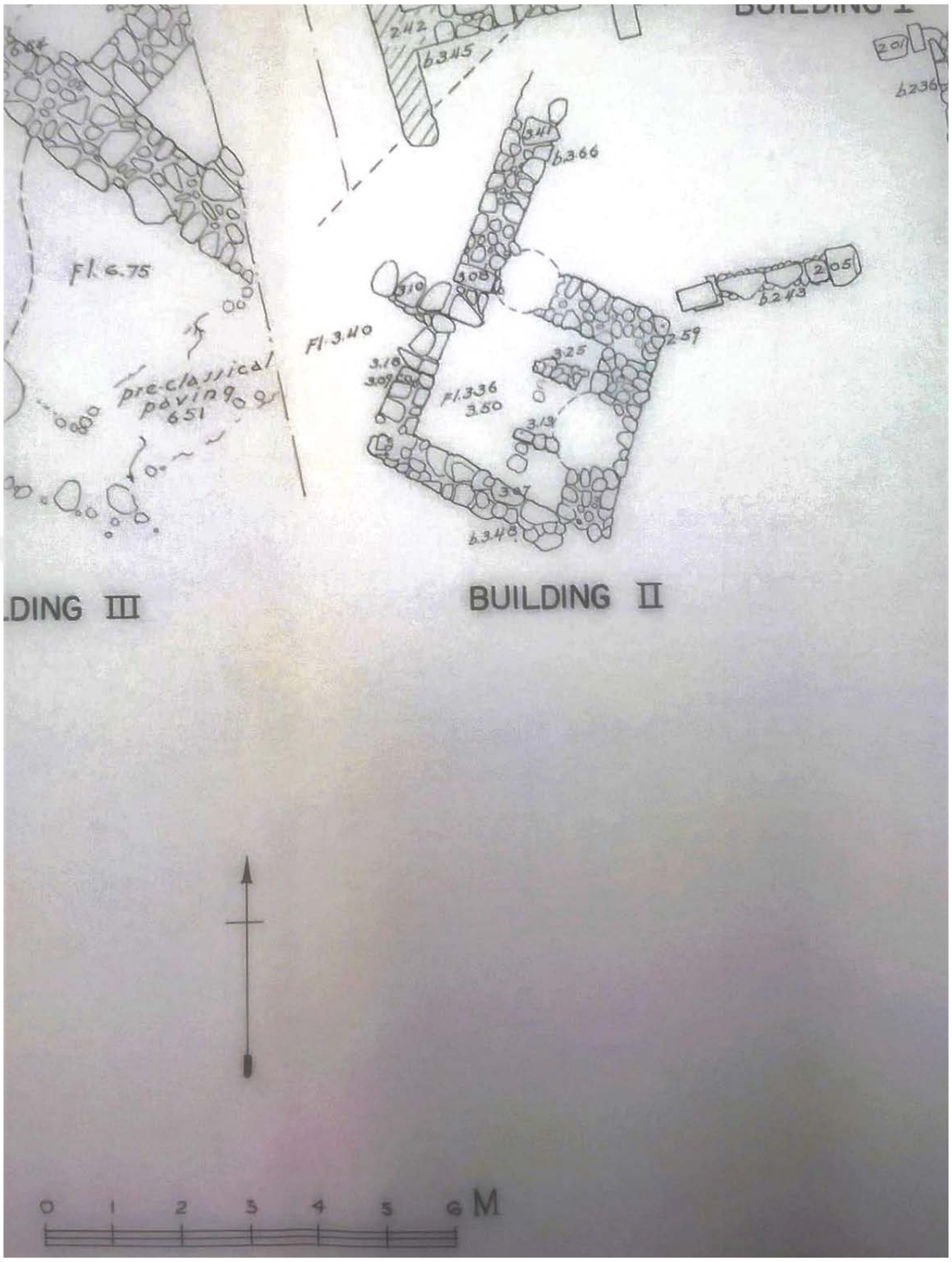


Figure 31. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Building II in Section A (Goldman, 1950a: Plan 9).

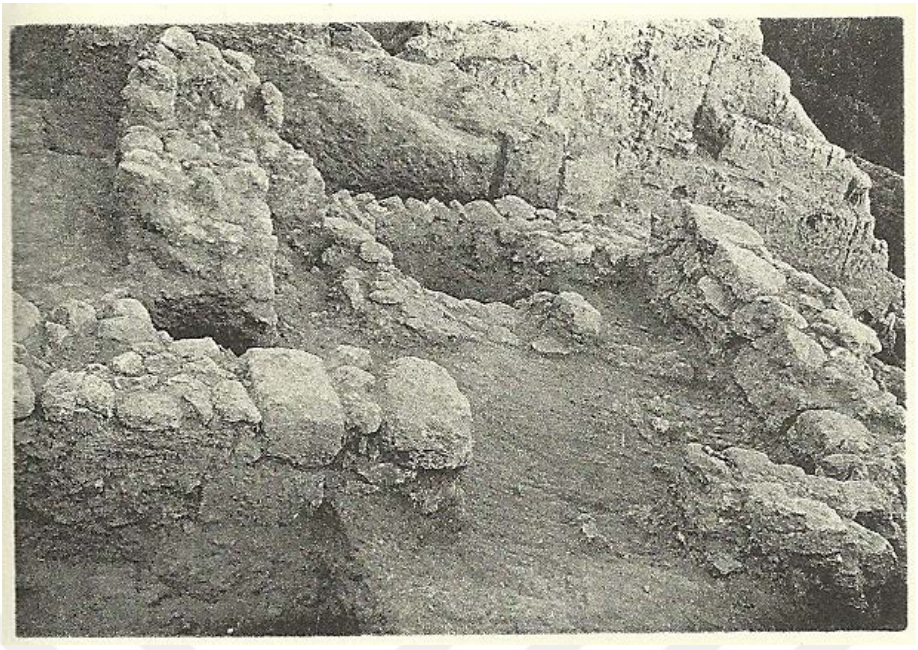


Figure 32. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Section A, Building II, looking east (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 79).

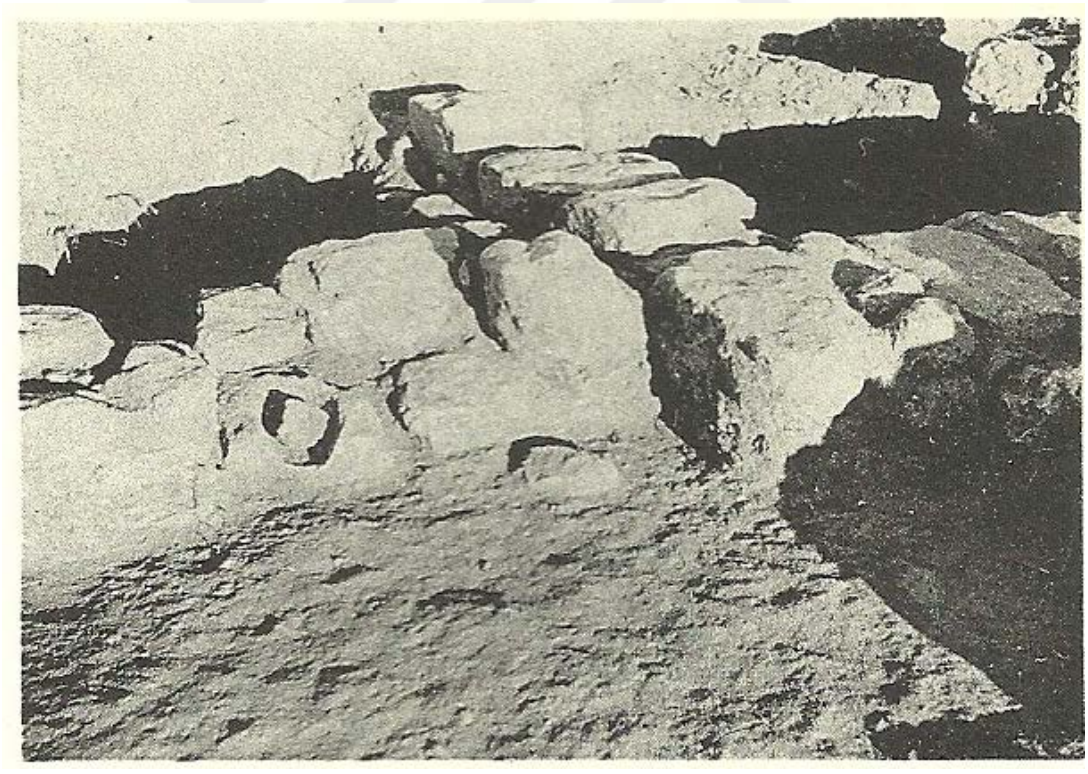


Figure 33. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Section A, Building II, blocked doorway looking west (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 80).

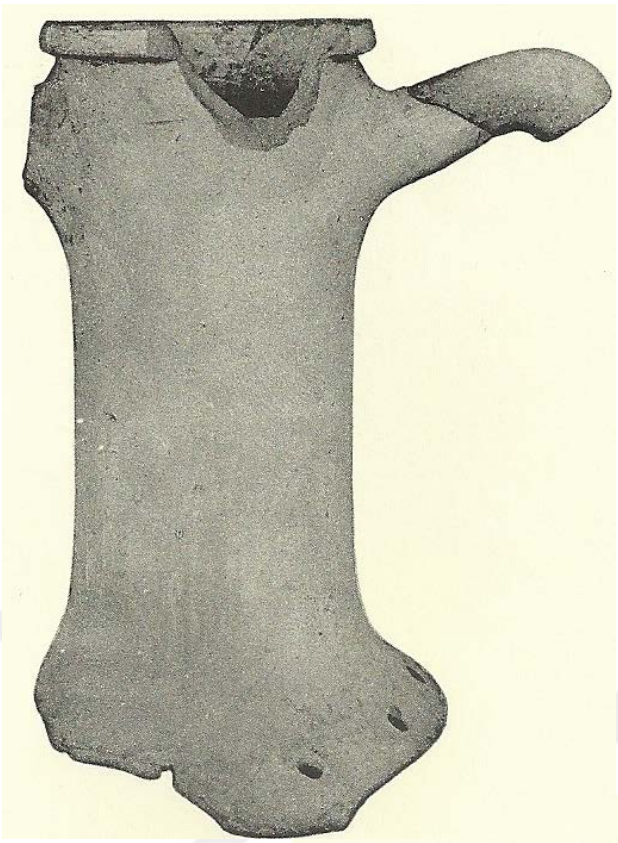
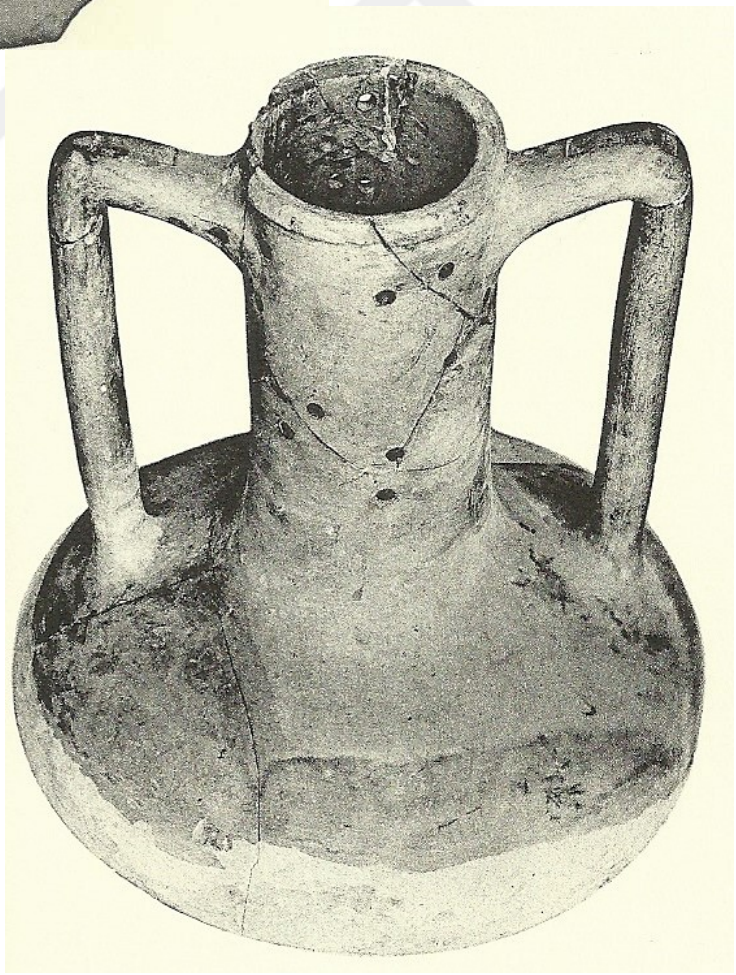


Figure 34. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Plain pointed type of amphorae (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 133).



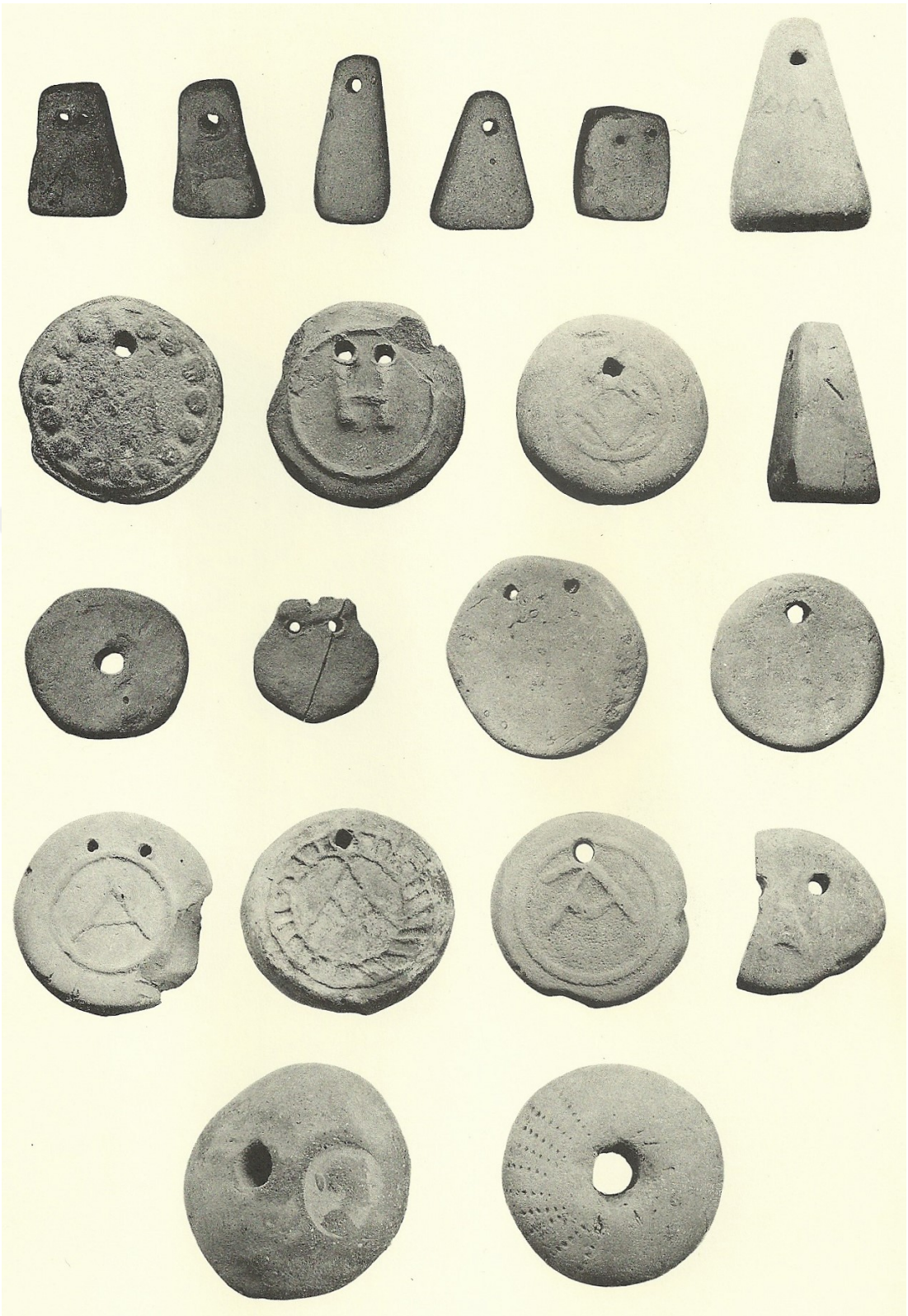


Figure 35. Tarsus-Gözlükule. Terracotta loom-weights (Goldman, 1950a: Fig. 267).

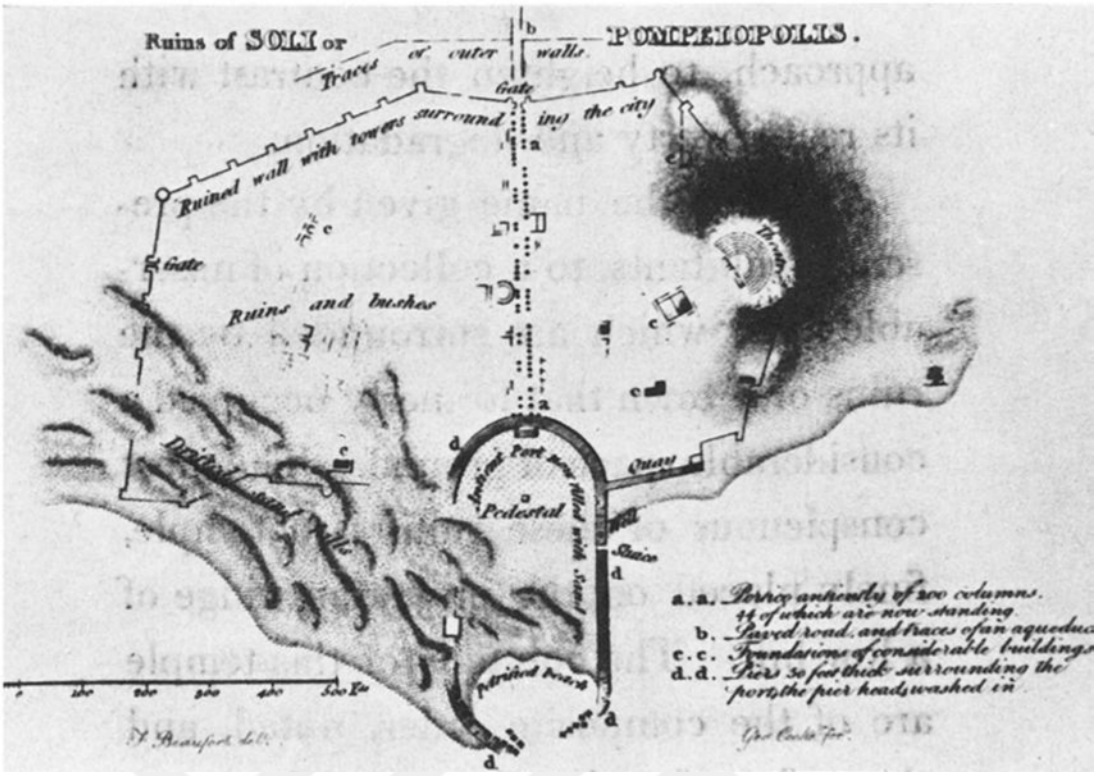


Figure 36. Sketch of ruins of Pompeiopolis with the Roman harbor (Beaufort, 1818: 249).

Figure 37. Soli-Pompeiopolis. The Colonnaded Roman Street after restoration (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 252, Resim 9).

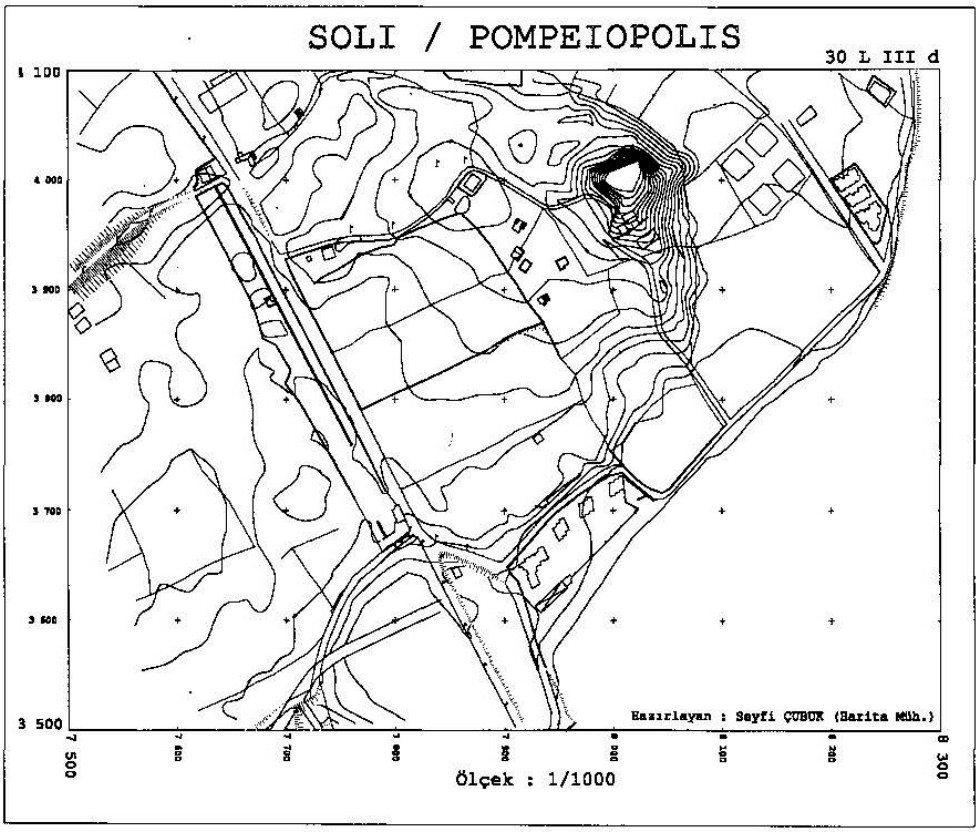


Figure 38. The topography map of Soli-Pompeiopolis with mound (northeast) and the Colonnaded Street (oriented northwest- south) (Yağcı, 2001a: 264, Plan: 1).

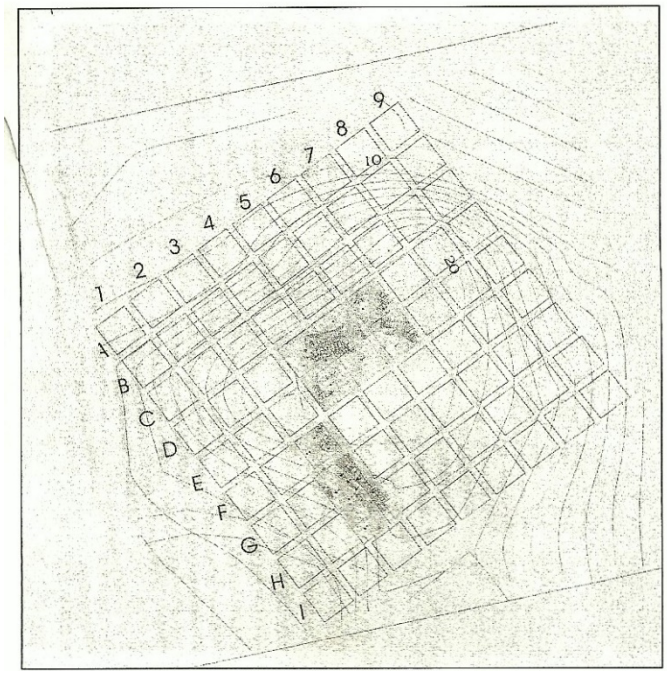


Figure 39. Soli-Pompeiopolis. The topography of the mound itself and the grid system showing also the location of trenches (Yağcı, 2002: 289, Plan 1).

Figure 40. Soli-Pompeiopolis. A fragment of a dribble ware bowl (Yağcı, 2001a: 268, Resim 1).

Figure 41. Soli-Pompeiopolis. The fragment of a figurine associated with Kybele (Yağcı, 2001a: 268, Resim 2).

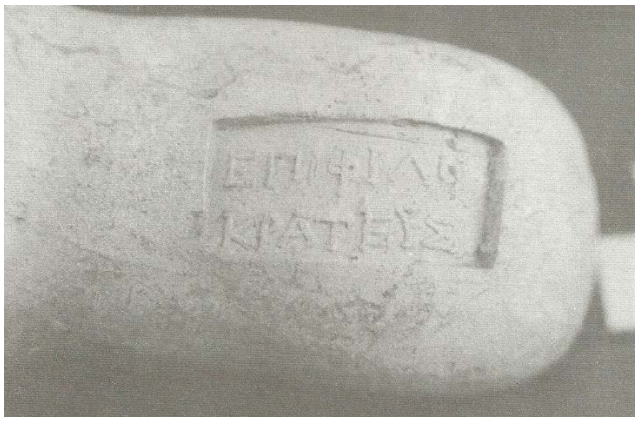


Figure 42. Soli-Pompeiopolis. A fragment of a Rhodian amphora handle with inscription reading “ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ”, dated to 240/230 BC (Yağcı, 2001a: 270, Resim 6).

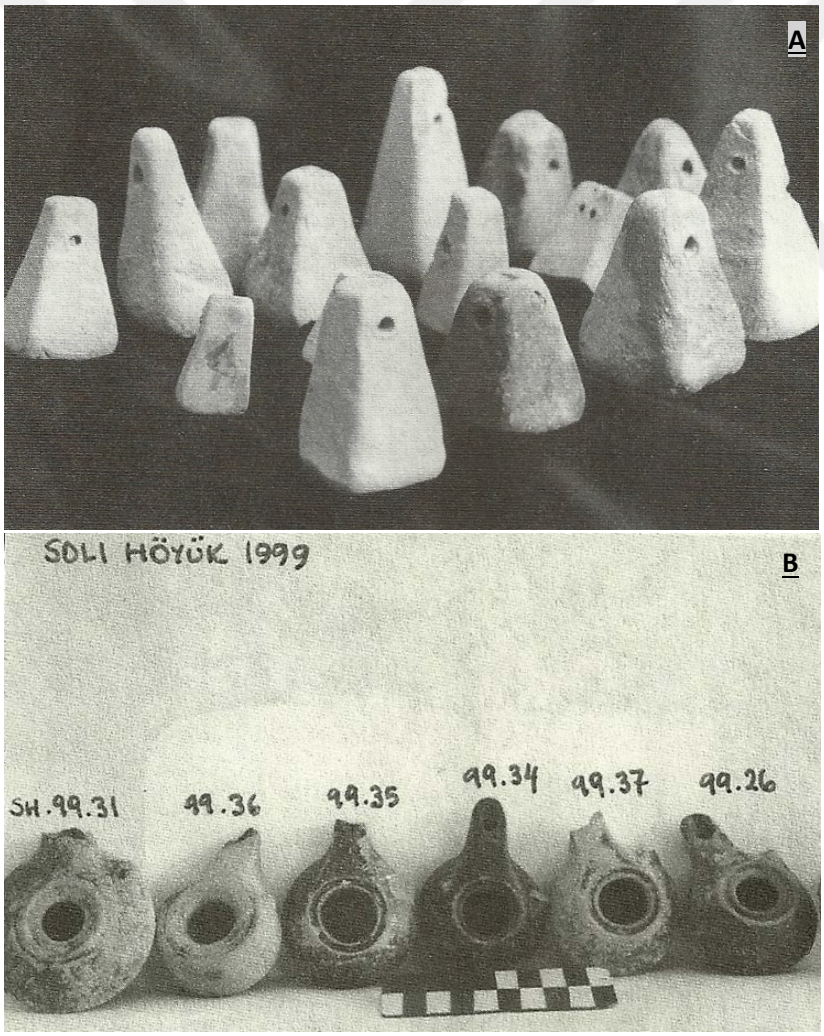


Figure 43. Soli-Pompeiopolis. Terracotta objects found in H3. A (above): Terracotta pyramidal loom-weights (Yağcı, 2001a: 270, Resim 5). B (below): Terracotta lamps, dated between the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC (Yağcı, 2001a: 271, Resim 7).

Figure 44. Soli-Pompeiopolis. A fragment of West-Slope ware (Yağcı, 2002: 291, Resim 4).

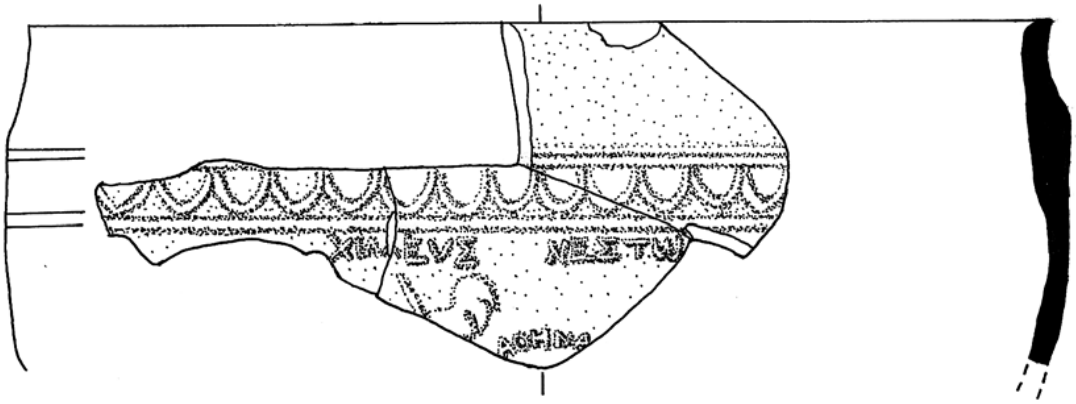


Figure 45. Soli-Pompeiopolis. An example of a Homeric bowl (2nd century BC). Inscriptions read as "A[ΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ]" ("Achilles"), "AθHNA" ("Athena"), and "[NΕΣΤΩ]" ("Nestor") (Yılmazer-Çorbacı, 2011: Resim 1).

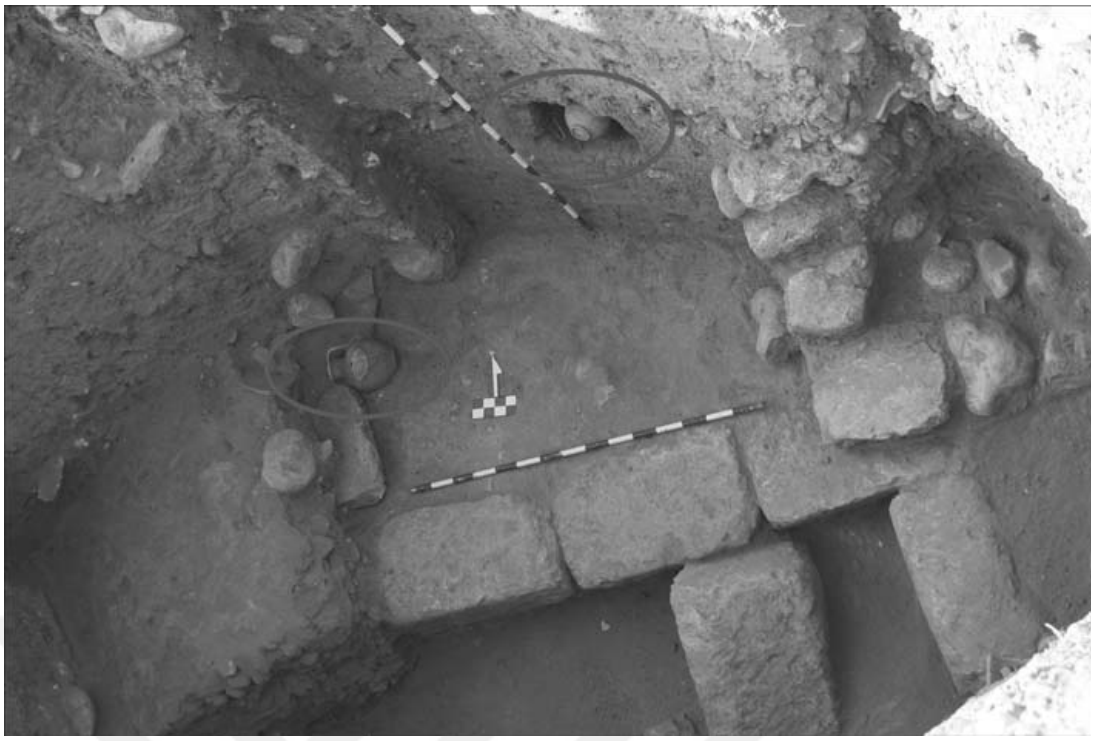


Figure 46. Soli-Pompeiopolis. In trench E6, row of blocks forms a platform dated to the Hellenistic period (Yağcı, 2008a: 166, Resim 10).

Figure 47. Soli-Pompeiopolis. A late Hellenistic/early Roman lamp (Yağcı, 2007: 181: Fig. 4).

Figure 48. Soli-Pompeiopolis. Fragments of red figure ceramic with a Dionysiac representation, dated to the 5th century BC (Yağcı & Kaya, 2009: 472: Res. 4).

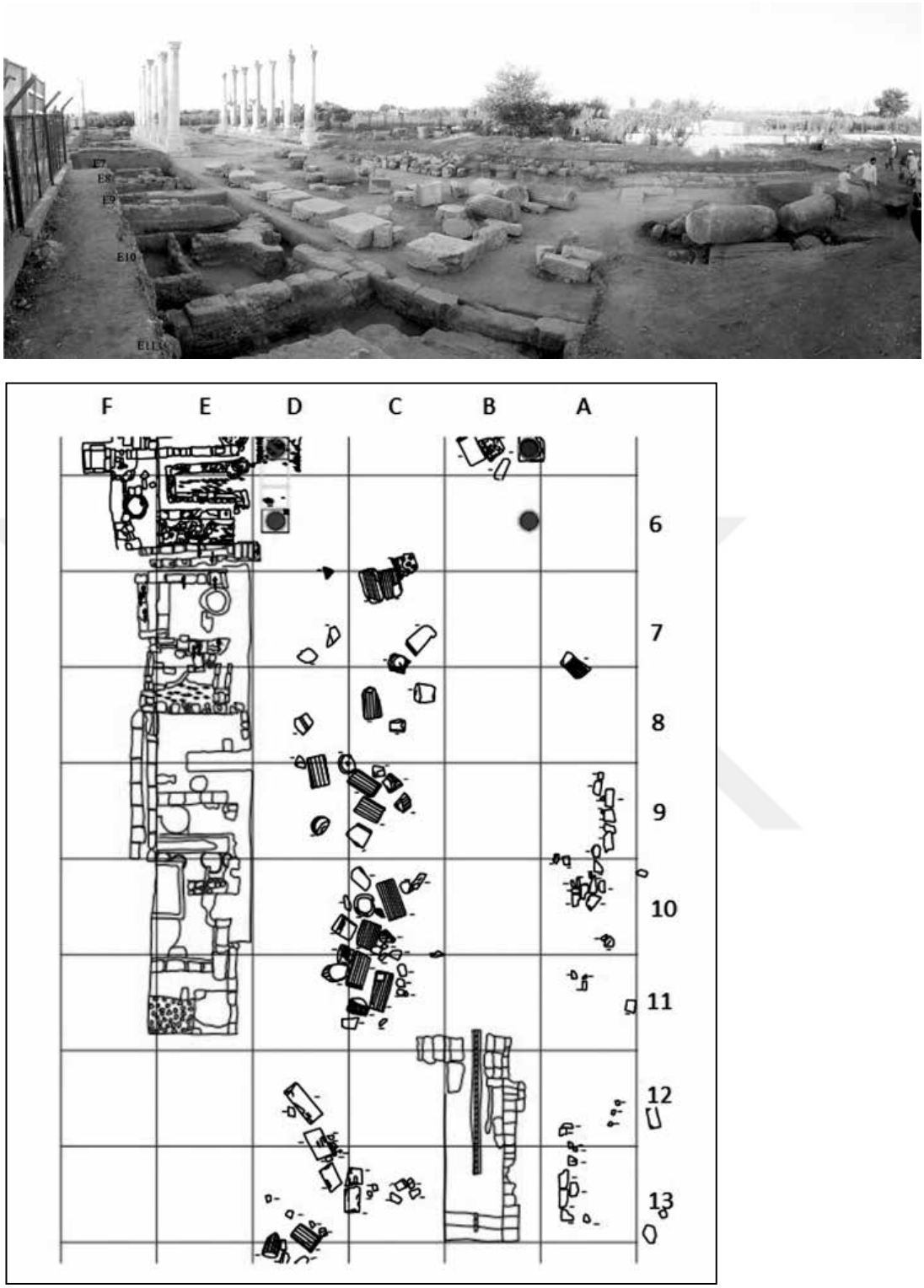


Figure 49. Soli-Pompeiopolis. A general view of the Roman Colonnaded Street (from northeast due to southwest) and trenches with architectural remains at the Colonnaded Street (Yağcı, 2014: 357, Resim 1 and 2).

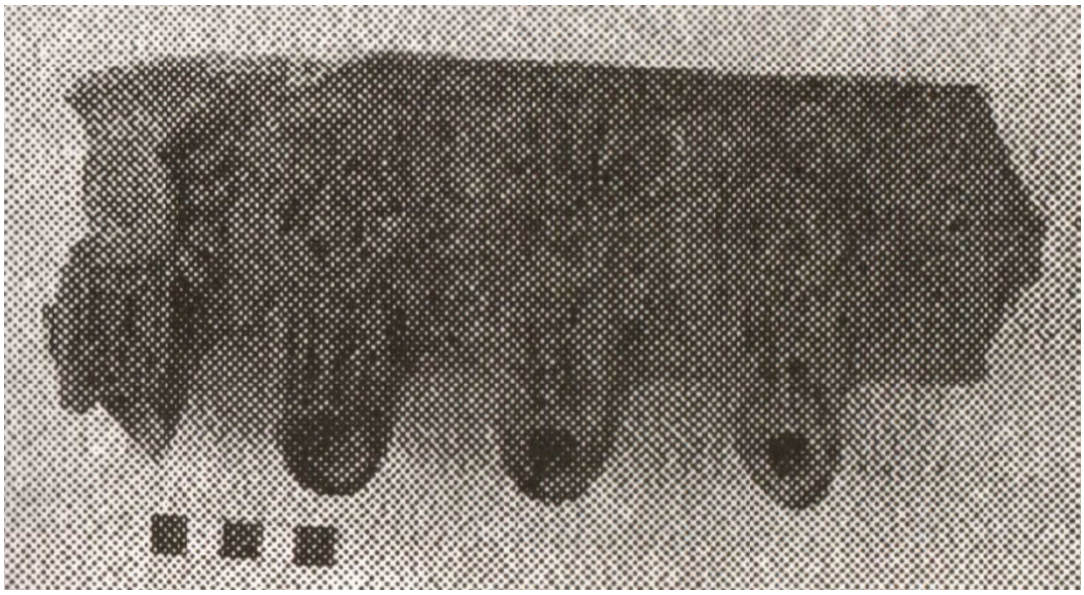


Figure 50. Soli-Pompeiopolis. A broken “heptad” terracotta lamp associated with the transitional phase between the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Yağcı, 2004a: 57: Resim 3).

Figure 51. Soli-Pompeiopolis. Byzantine channel (left) and adjacent Roman manhole. Roman shops on the right (after Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 249, Resim 1).

Figure 52. Soli-Pompeiopolis. Hellenistic finds discovered in the Roman manhole (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 249, Resim 2).

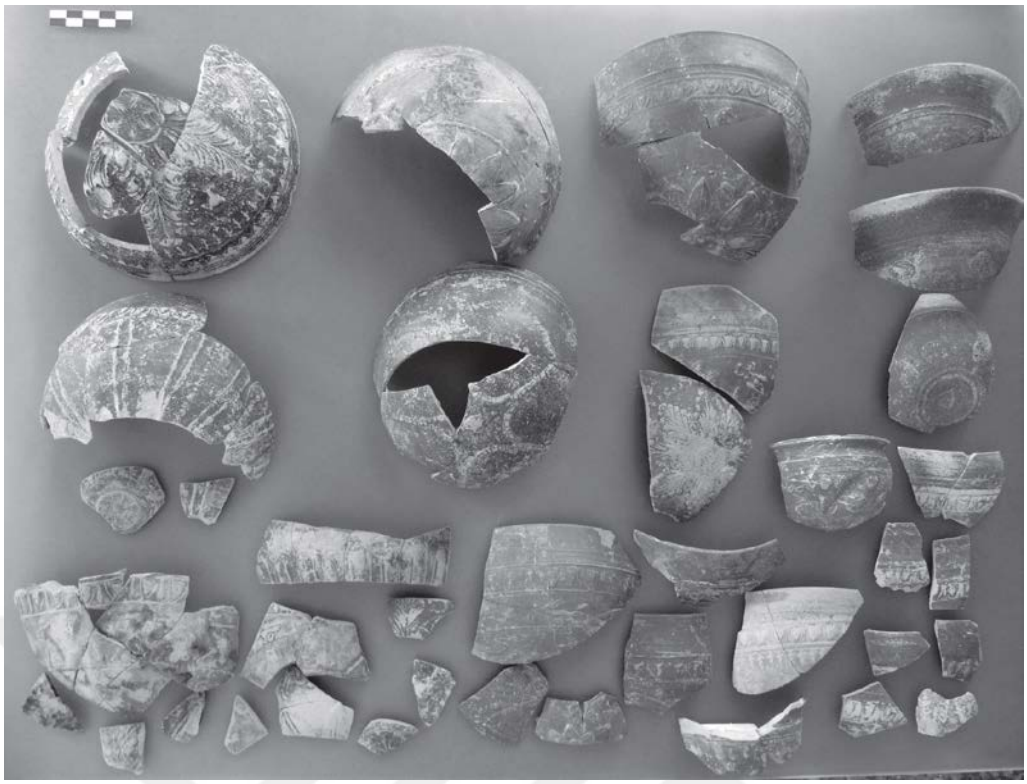


Figure 53. Soli-Pompeiopolis. Mold-made bowls dated to the Hellenistic period (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 250, Resim 3).

Figure 54. Soli-Pompeiopolis. Hellenistic lamps (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 250, Resim 4).

Figure 55. Soli-Pompeiopolis. A Hellenistic terracotta figurine depicting an animal carrying amphorae (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 251, Resim 5).

Figure 56. Soli-Pompeiopolis. The “Pompeiopolis” inscription (Yağcı & Kaya, 2012a: 174: Resim 2).

Figure 57. Soli-Pompeiopolis. Bronze coin of Antoninus Pius, depicting the Roman Harbor at Soli on reverse (Boyce, 1958: Plate 10, Fig. 1).

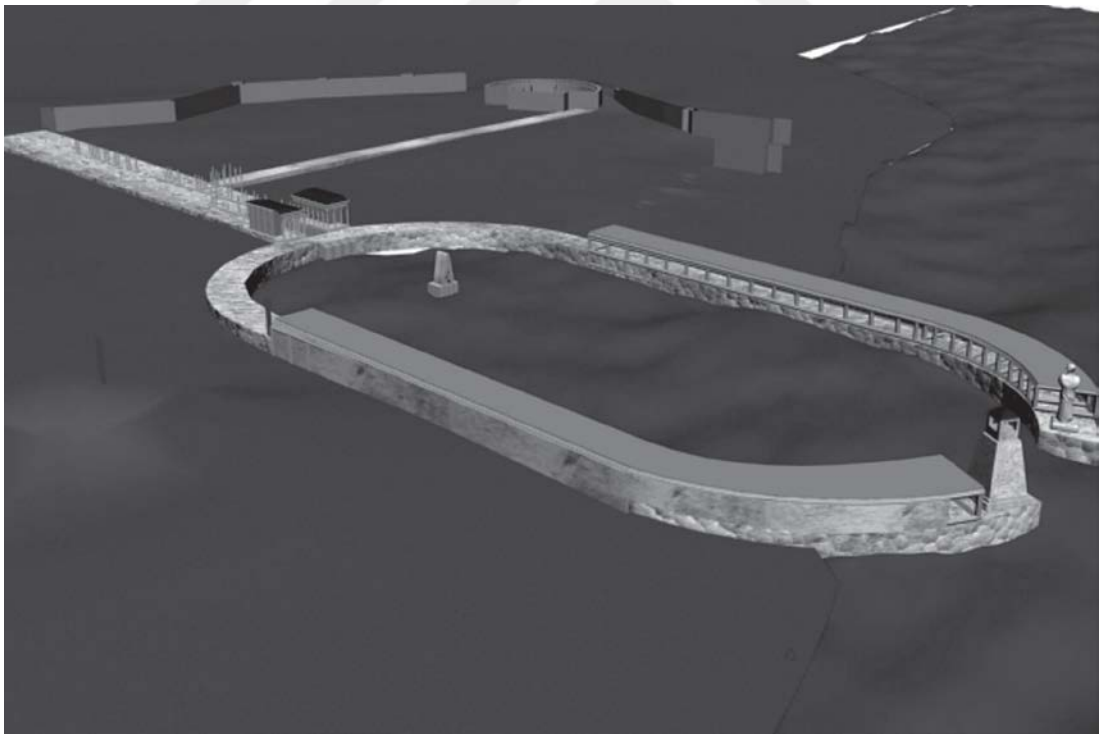


Figure 58. Soli-Pompeiopolis. 3D reconstruction of the Roman Harbor with the Colonnaded Street (Yağcı & Kaya, 2013a: 252, Resim 10).

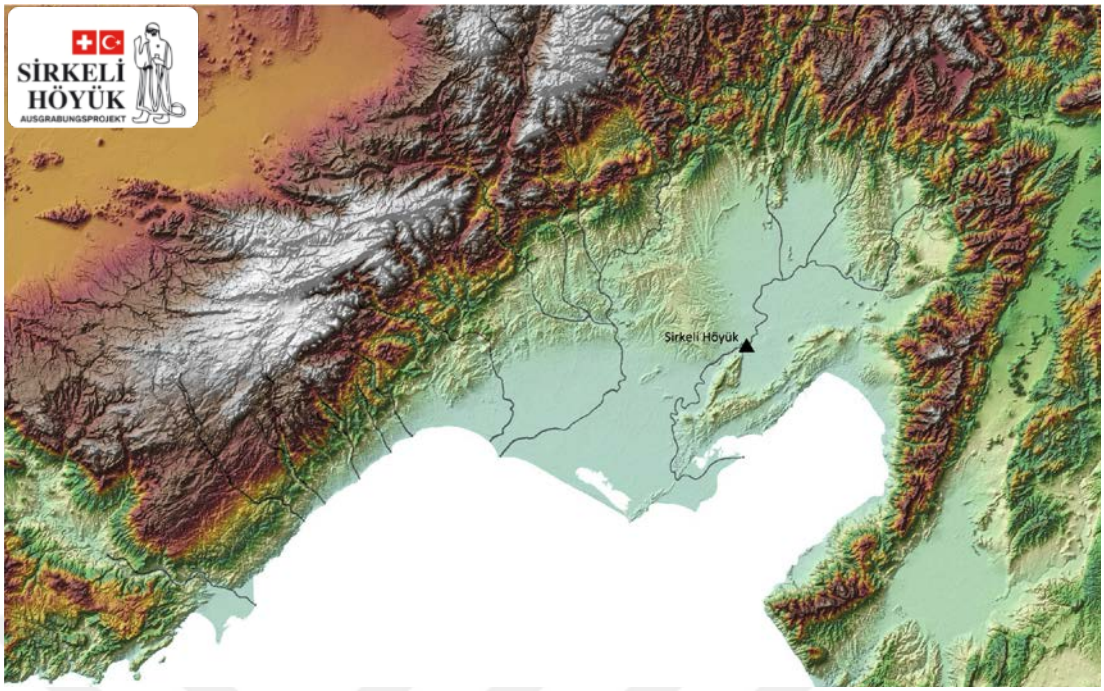


Figure 59. The location of Sirkeli Höyük in Smooth Cilicia (Courtesy of Susanne Rutishauser, IAW, University of Bern).

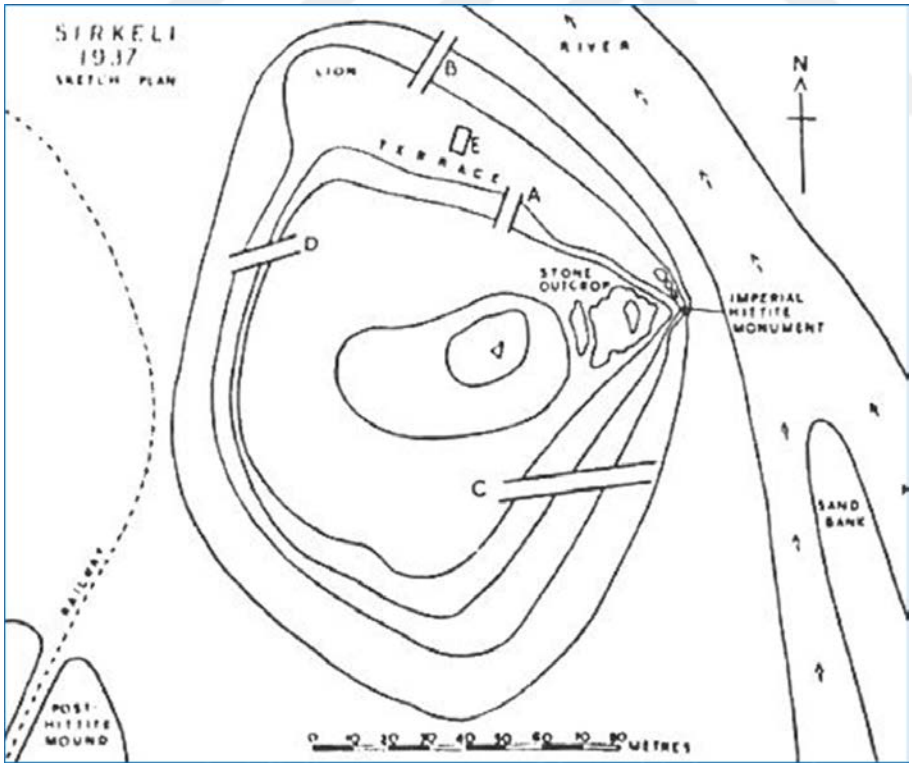
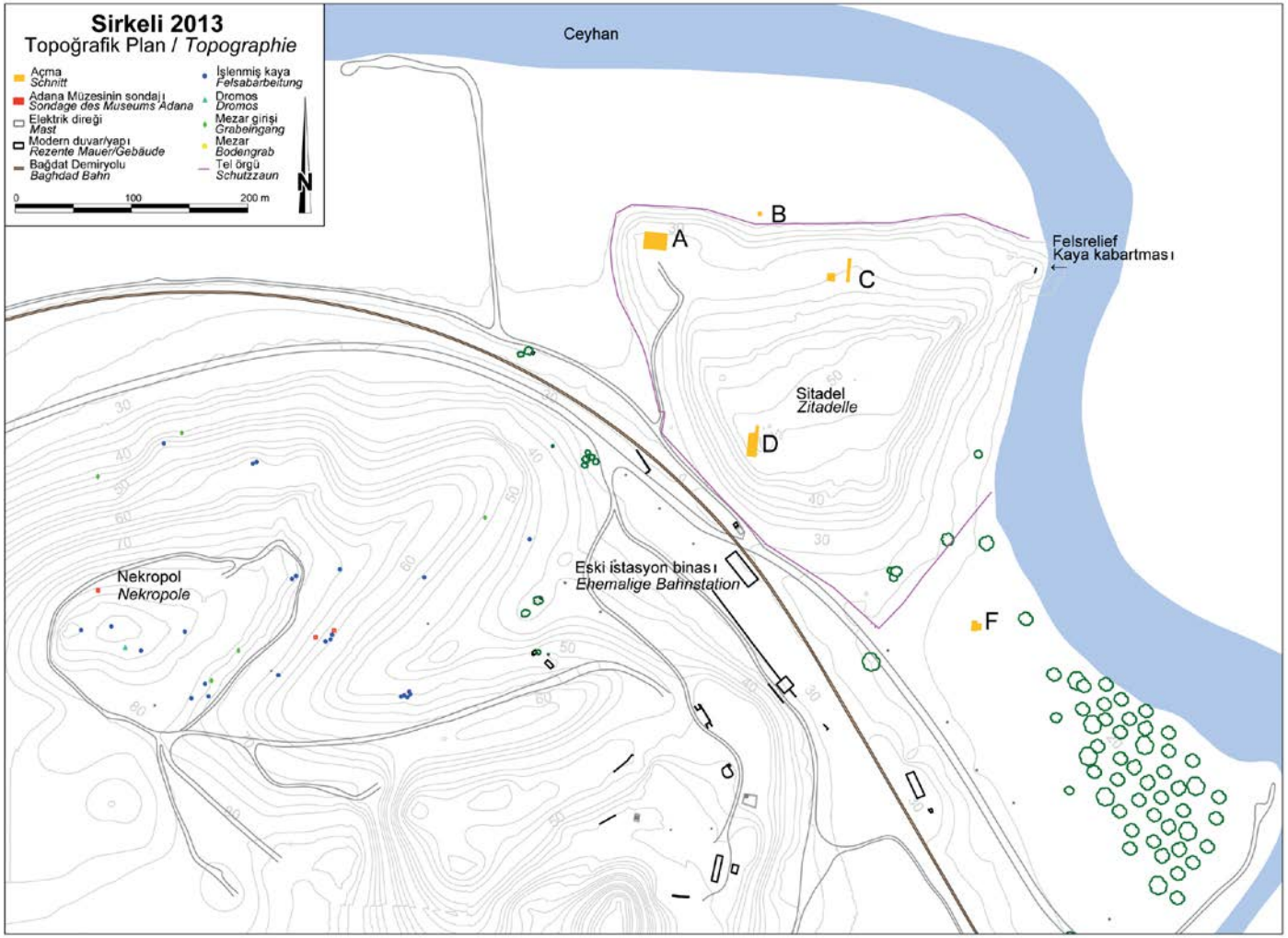


Figure 60. The sketch plan of Sirkeli by Garstang showing his five trenches (A-E) opened during the winter of 1936-1937; the find spot of the double-headed lion column base (Preclassical, marked as “LION”; and the location of the rock-relief of Muwatalli II (Garstang, 1938: Plate XIV).



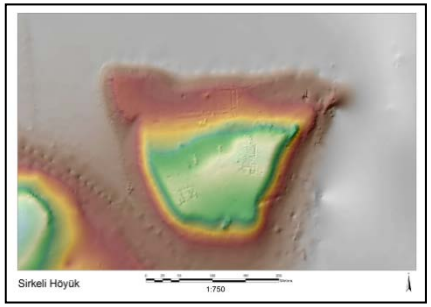


Figure 61. Left: The topographic plan of Sirkeli Höyük with location of trenches (A-F) being excavated by Novák during the current project. The Hellenistic necropolis lies west of the mound. Right: Showing the remote sensing and 3D modelling of the Sirkeli mound (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

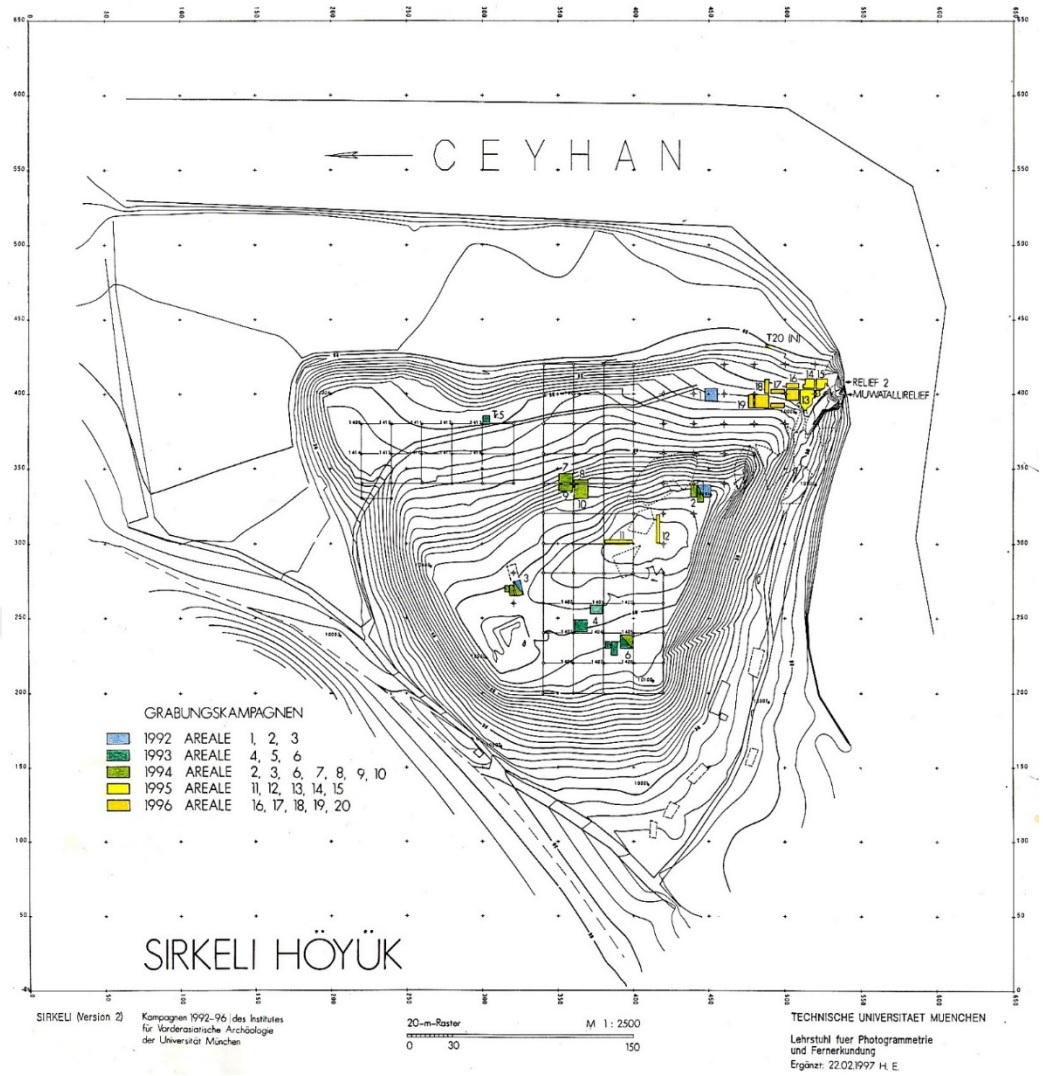


Figure 62. Sirkeli Höyük. Trenches, excavated by Hrouda and Ehringhaus in the 1990s, were situated both on the citadel and plateau parts of the mound Sirkeli (Ehringhaus, 1999a: 85, Figure 2; Sirkeli Höyük Project Archive).

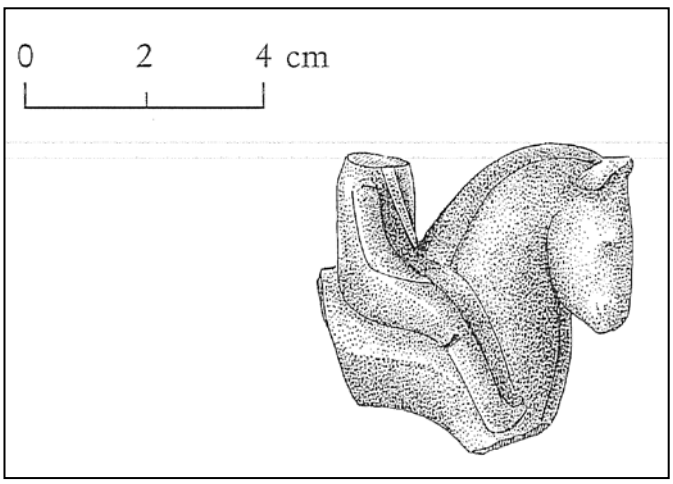


Figure 63. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic period. A fragmentary terracotta figurine of a horse and rider (Haider in Hrouda, 1997a: 126, Abb. 31/d).

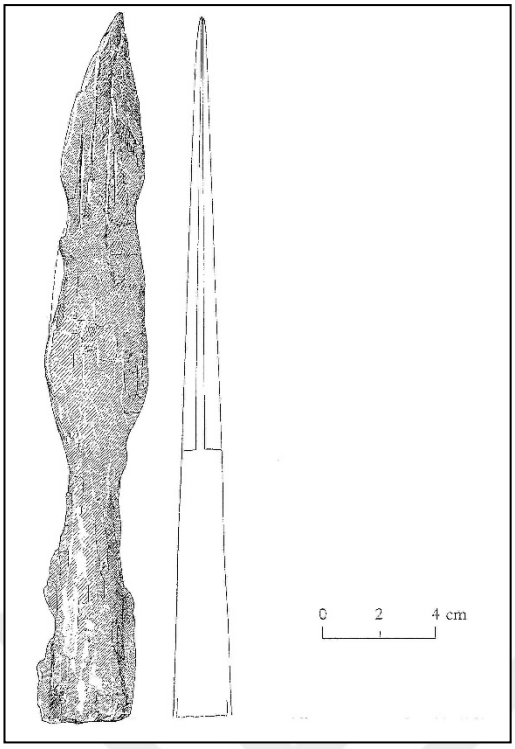


Figure 64. Sirkeli Höyük. A 35 cm long iron spearhead from Area 18/1, dated to the Hellenistic period (Haider in Hrouda, 1997a: 127, Abb. 29/a).

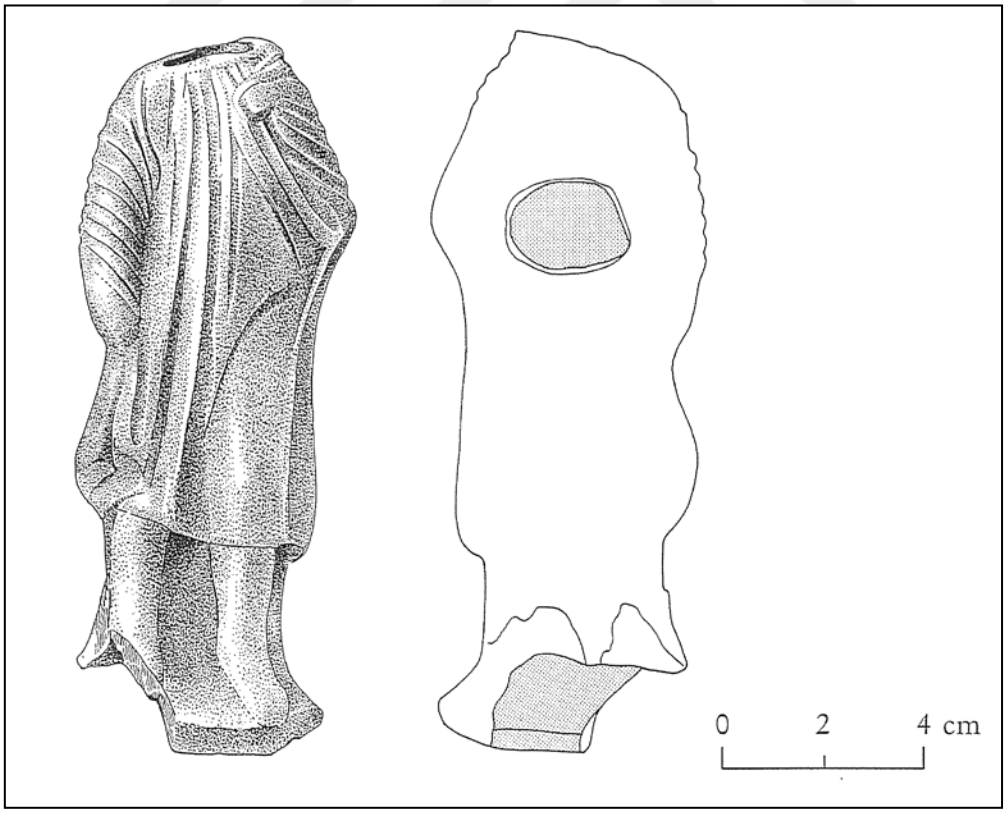


Figure 65. Sirkeli Höyük. A terracotta draped female figurine, Hellenistic period (Haider in Hrouda, 1997a: 126, Abb 30).

Figure 66. Sirkeli Höyük. A fragmentary terracotta female head with kalathos, Hellenistic period (Hrouda, 1997a: 102, Abb. 12).

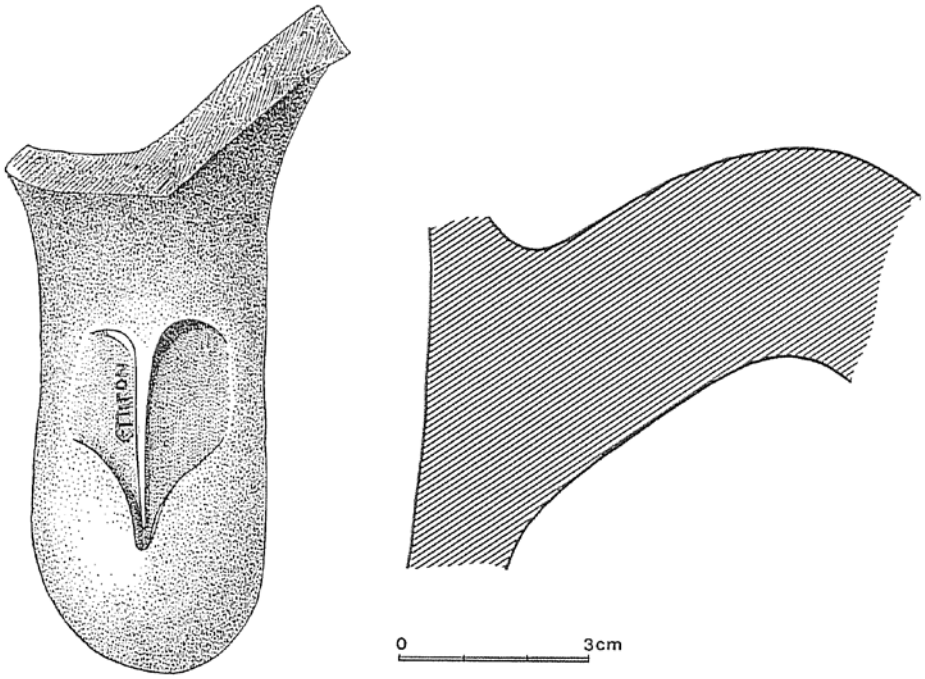


Figure 67. Sirkeli Höyük. A fragment of a Rhodian amphora handle. Hellenistic period. The name of the potter inscribed: "ΕΠΠΙΓΟΝ[ΟΣ]" (Hrouda, 1997a: 102, Abb. 11).

Figure 68. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic fine wares found during the Hrouda excavations at Sirkeli (Hübner, 2000: Tafel 25).

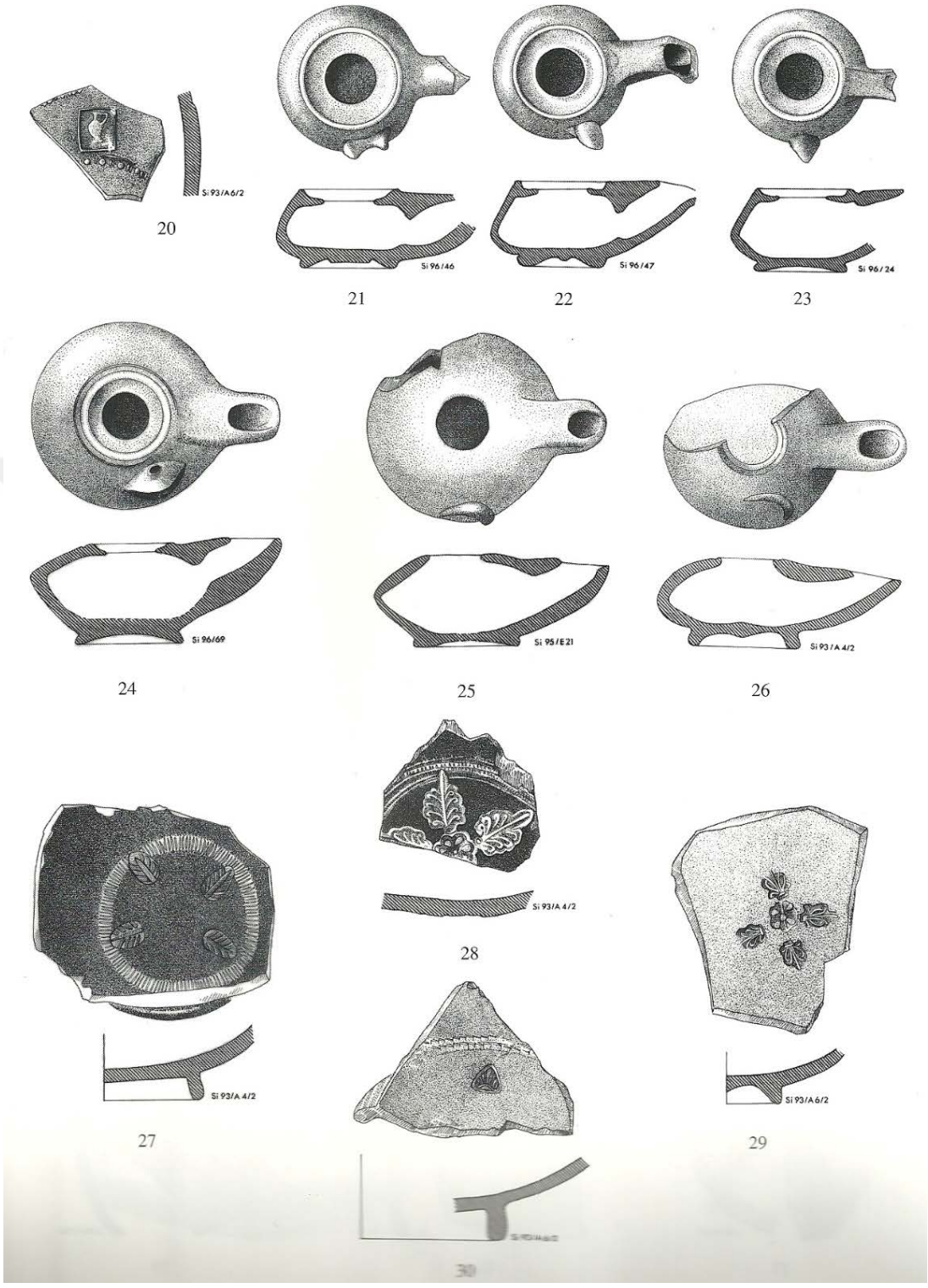


Figure 69. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic fine wares found during the Hrouda excavations at Sirkeli (Hübner, 2000: Tafel 26).

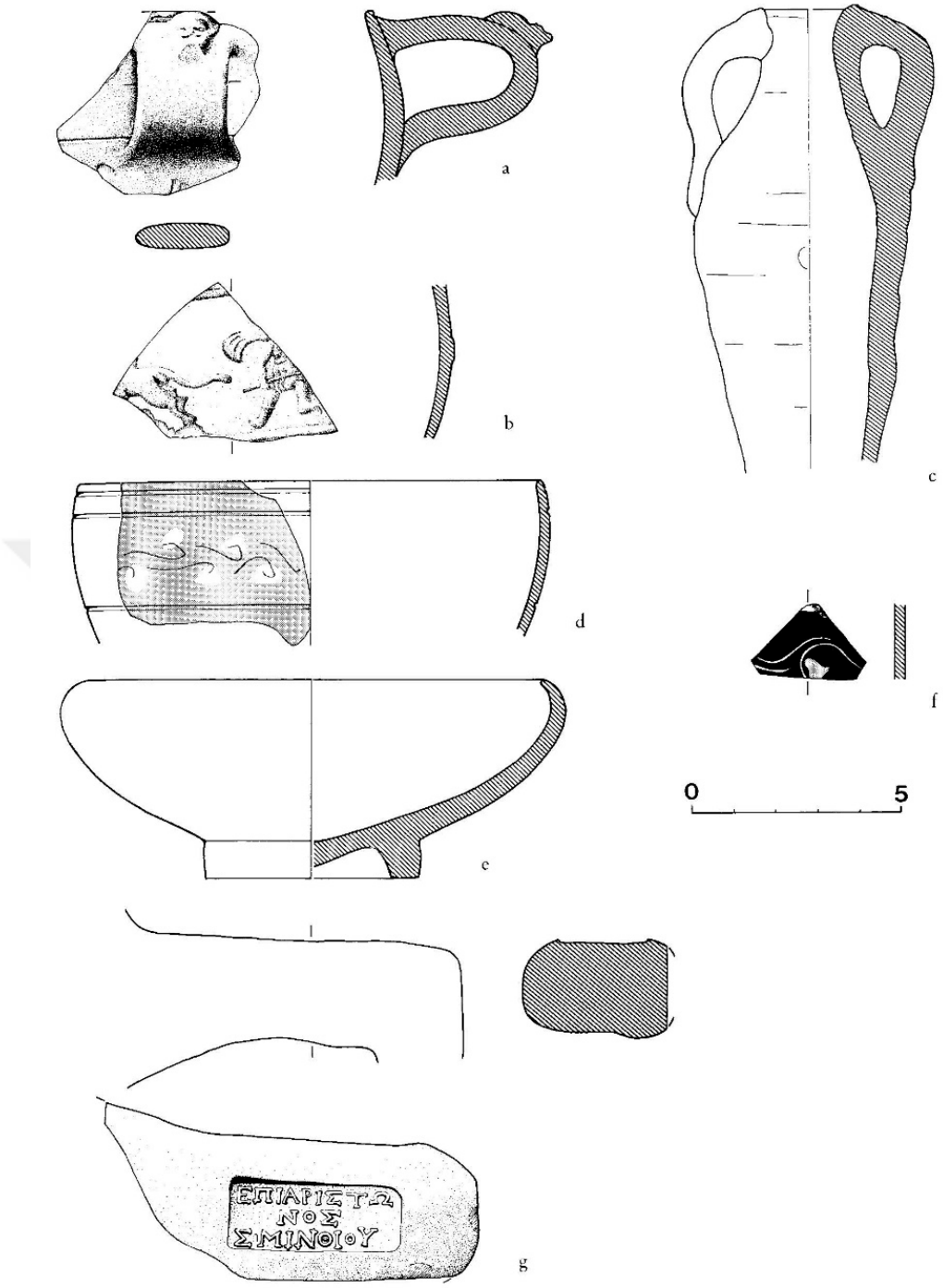


Figure 70. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic finds retrieved during the Ehringhaus excavations at Sirkeli (Ehringhaus, 1999a: 103, Abb. 12).

PHASE	STRATA	ARCHITECTURE
A9	V - Late Bronze Age I	
A8	IV - Late Bronze Age II	Building Al
A7	Early - Middle Iron Age	
A6	III - Iron Age	Building A3
A5		
A4		
A3	II - Hellenistic Period	Building(s?) A2
A2		
Al	I - Modern	

Figure 71. Stratigraphy of Area A in Sirkeli Höyük (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

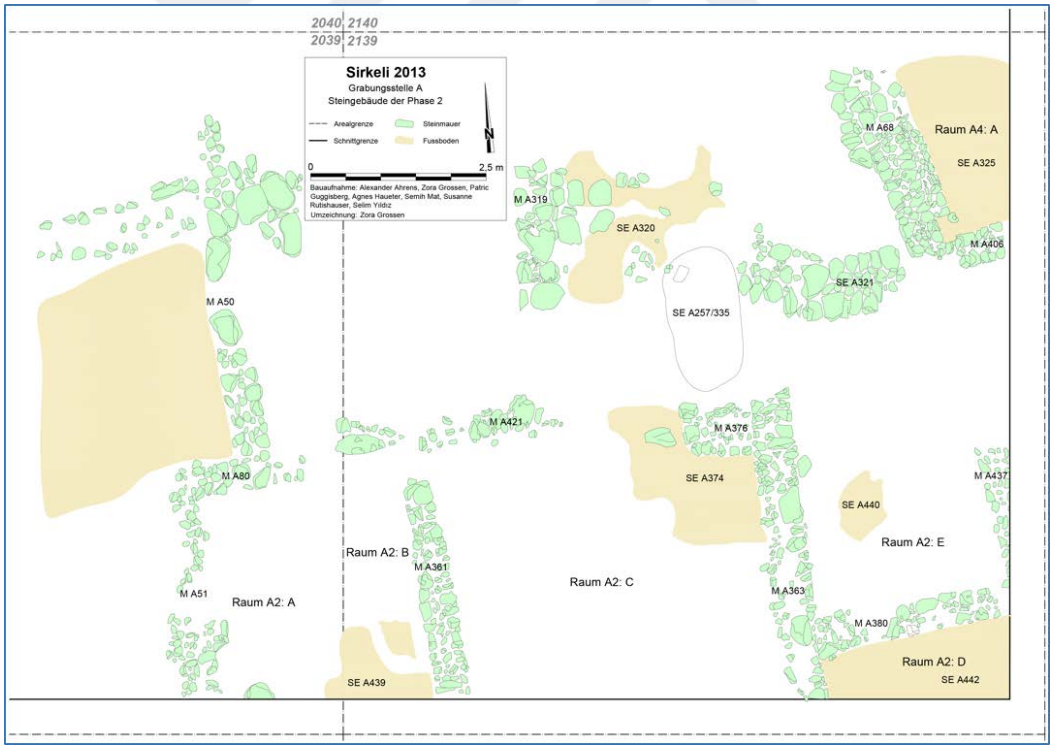


Figure 72. Sirkeli Höyük. Plan of Hellenistic Building A2 discovered in Area A (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

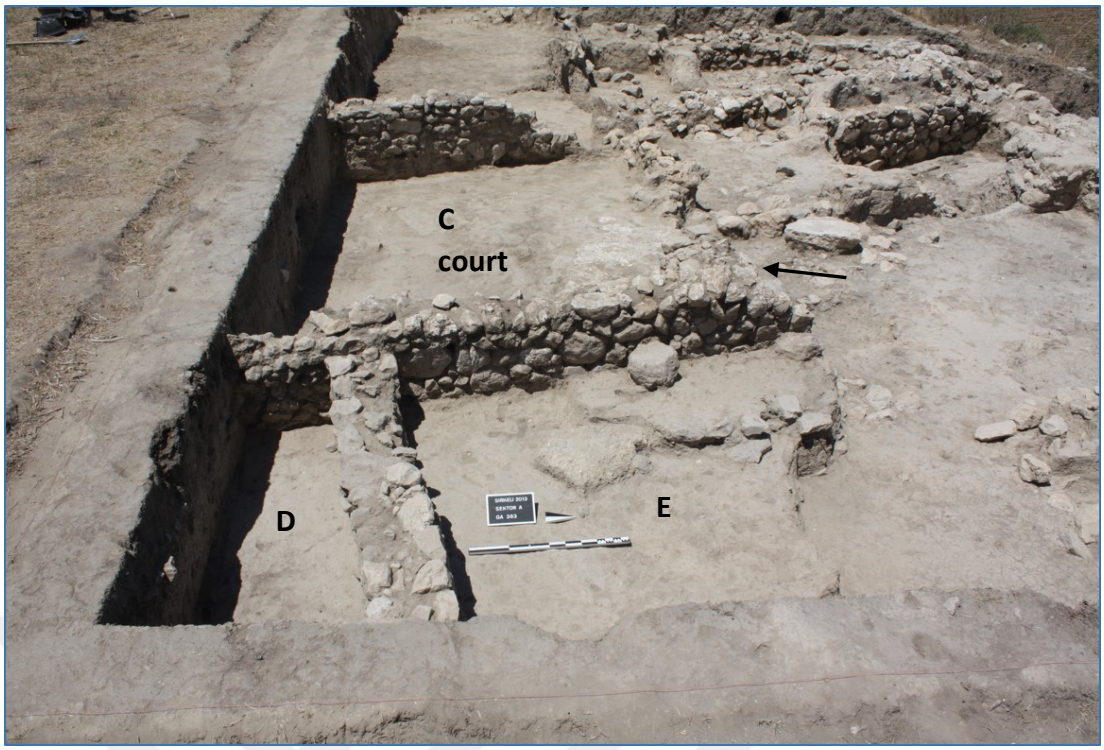


Figure 73. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic Building A2 with multiple rooms in Area A (due to west). Arrow shows the later added wall in Figure 74 (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

Figure 74. Sirkeli Höyük. Later added walls of Building A2 in Area A (corresponding to Phase A3) and their bottom level stood in different elevations than the original walls (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

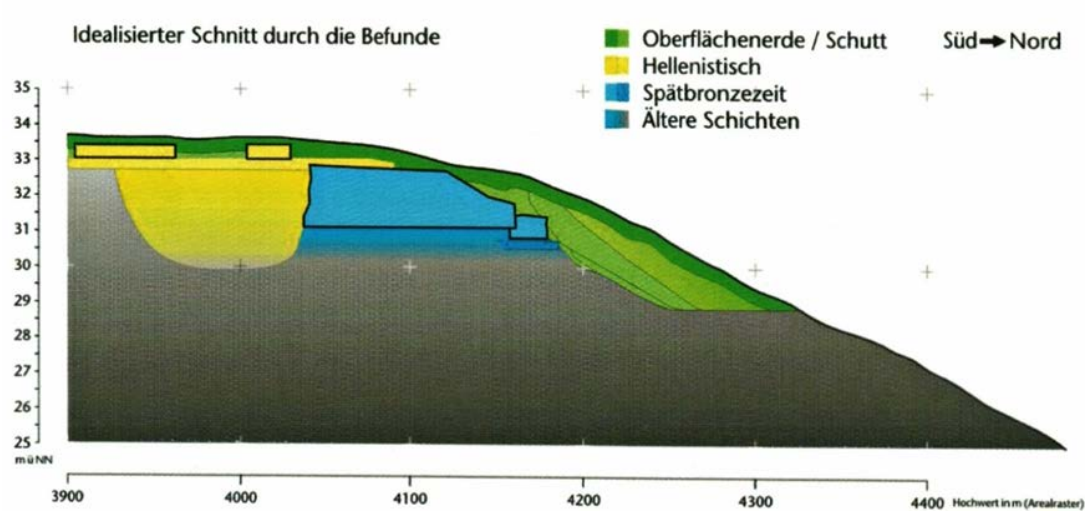


Figure 75. Sirkeli Höyük. Section drawing of Area A. A massively large and deep pit dated to the Hellenistic period, dug in the southwest corner of the area, destroyed the southern part of Building A1 and its stone pavements, dated to Late Bronze Age (Kreutz, 2011: 144, Abb. 4).

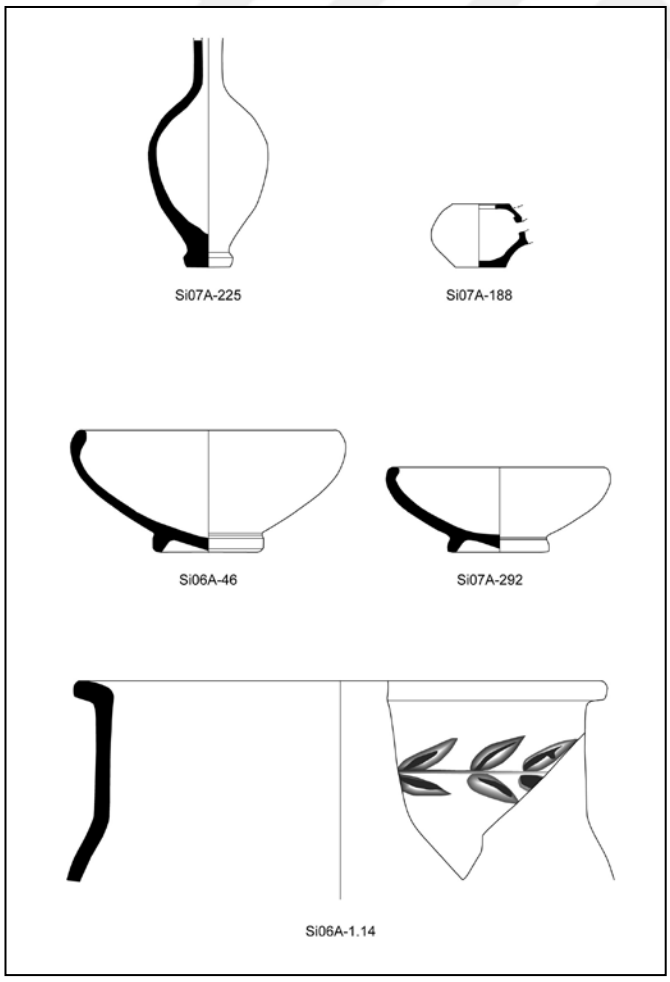


Figure 76. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic pottery found in Area A during the Novák excavations (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 95, Abb. 25).

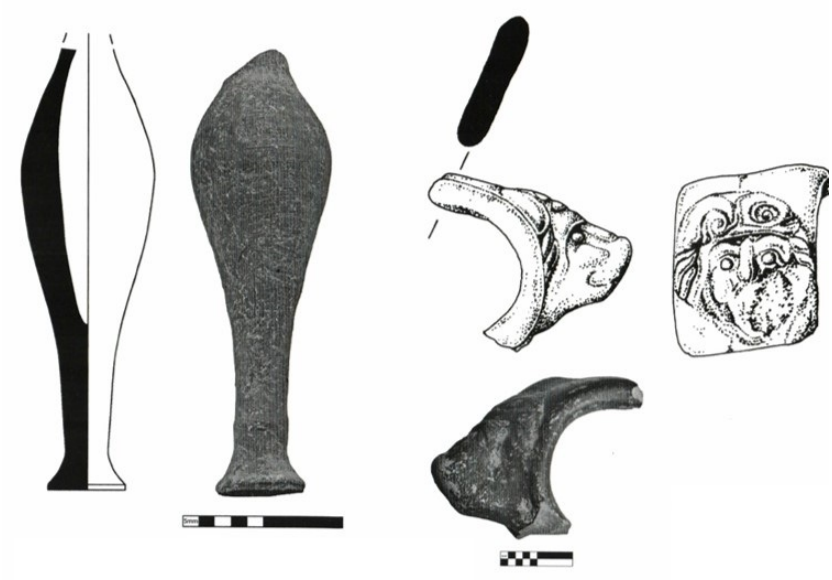


Figure 77. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic finds. Left: A spindle-shaped unguentarium with a long-drawn food and neck (ca. 1st century BC). Right: A handle with applique lion head (Kreutz, 2011: 146, Abb. 6 and 7).

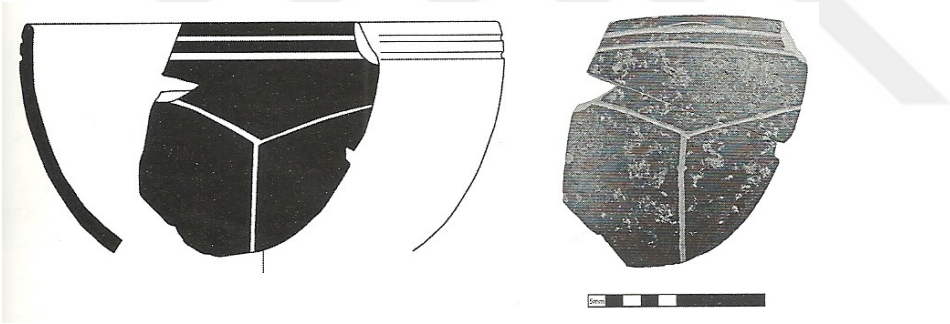


Figure 78. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic Period. West-Slope wares found in area A are seen as copies of metal or glass vessels (Kreutz, 2011: 147, Abb. 8).

Figure 79. Eastern Sigillata A (ESA) vessels mark the end of the Hellenistic ceramic repertoire in Sirkeli Höyük (Kreutz, 2011: 149, Abb. 9).

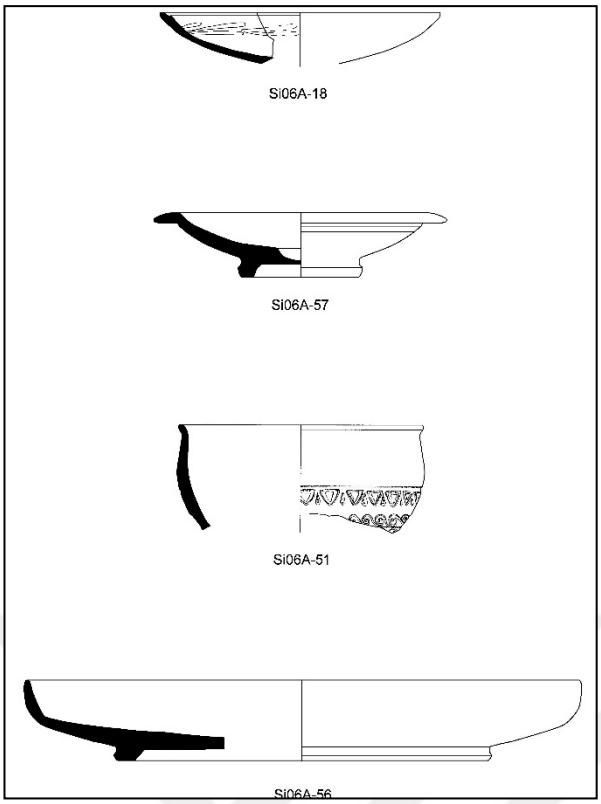


Figure 80. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic pottery (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 97, Abb. 26).

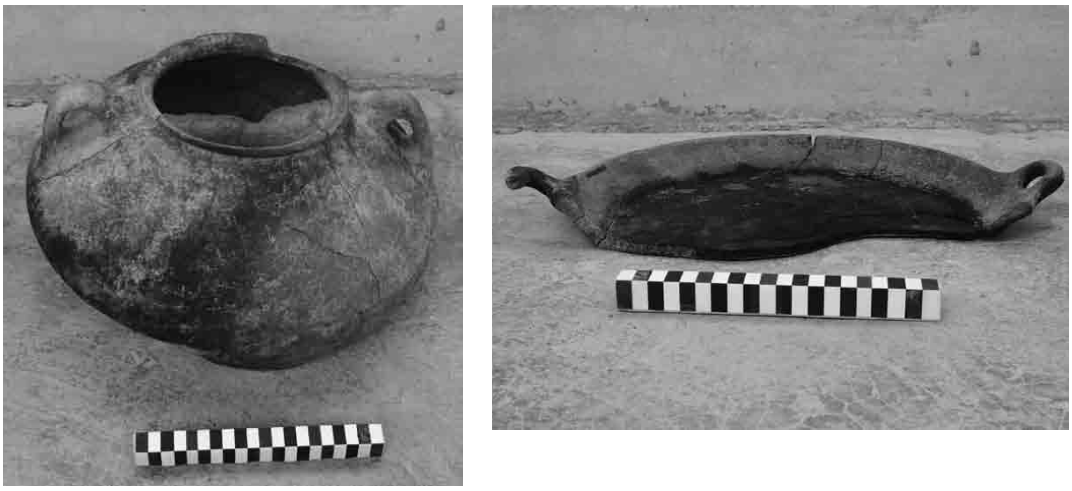


Figure 81. Two examples of Hellenistic cooking pots found in Area A of Sirkeli Höyük (Novák & Kozal, 2010: 489, Resim 11 and 12).

Figure 82. Sirkeli Höyük. Left: Terracotta figurine fragment, depicting a woman's head, came from a Hellenistic pit. Right: Terracotta figurine fragment, depicting a woman; only her head and right shoulder were preserved; Hellenistic (Laube in Ahrens et al., 2008: 100, Abb. 27 and 28).

Figure 83. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic terracotta figurine fragment found in A2 phase of Area A (Novák & Kozal, 2013: 423, Resim 5).

Figure 84. Sirkeli Höyük. Hellenistic terracotta and stone objects. “a-d” are terracotta loom-weights found in Area A. “e-g” are discoid loom-weights found in Area C. “h” and “i” are spindle whorls of stone, found in Area A. “j” is probably a stone weight (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

Figure 85. Hellenistic coins found in Area A of Sirkeli Höyük (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

Figure 86. A probable courtyard in Area C of Sirkeli Höyük (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

Figure 87. A terracotta female bust, 10.7 cm high, with a kalathos on the head was found in Area C of Sirkeli Höyük (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

Figure 88. Area D in Sirkeli Höyük. The plan (left) and the picture (right) of the Iron Age Building D1 damaged by Hellenistic pits (Courtesy of the Sirkeli Höyük Project).

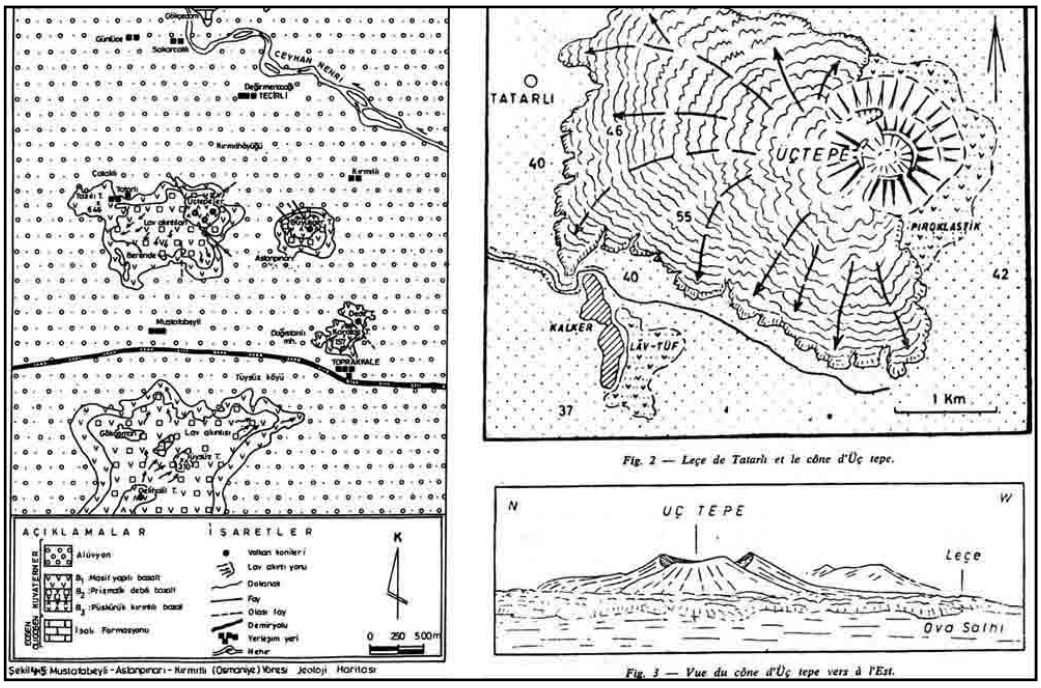


Figure 89. The geology of Tatarlı Höyük and environs. The volcanic activity during the Plio-Quaternary period (Girginer et al., 2010: 470, Resim 2).

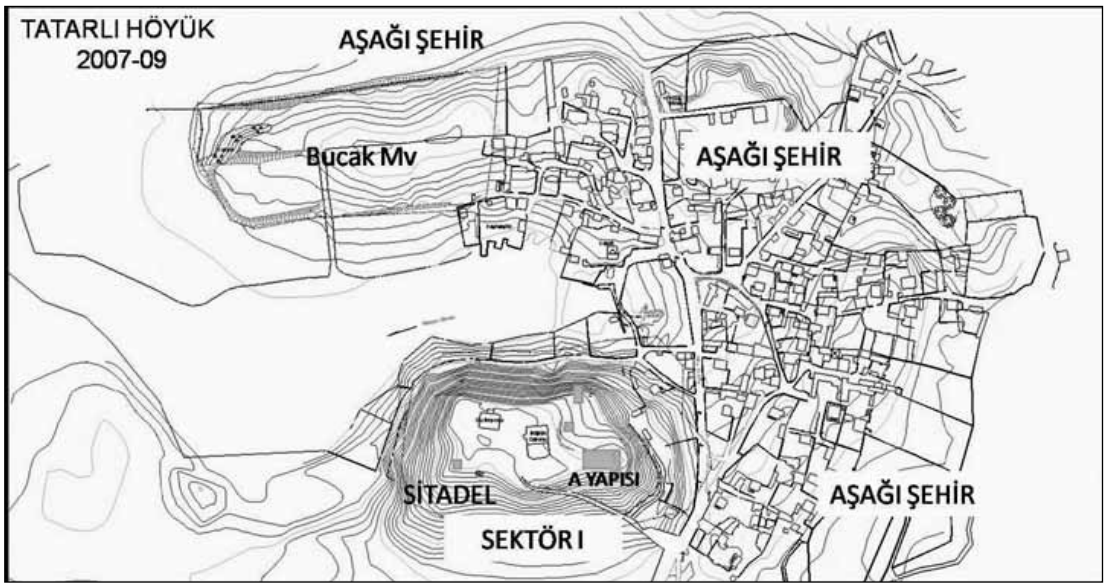


Figure 90. The topographic map of Tatarlı Höyük with citadel and lower town (Aşağı Şehir) (Ünal & Girginer, 2010: 280: Res. 2).

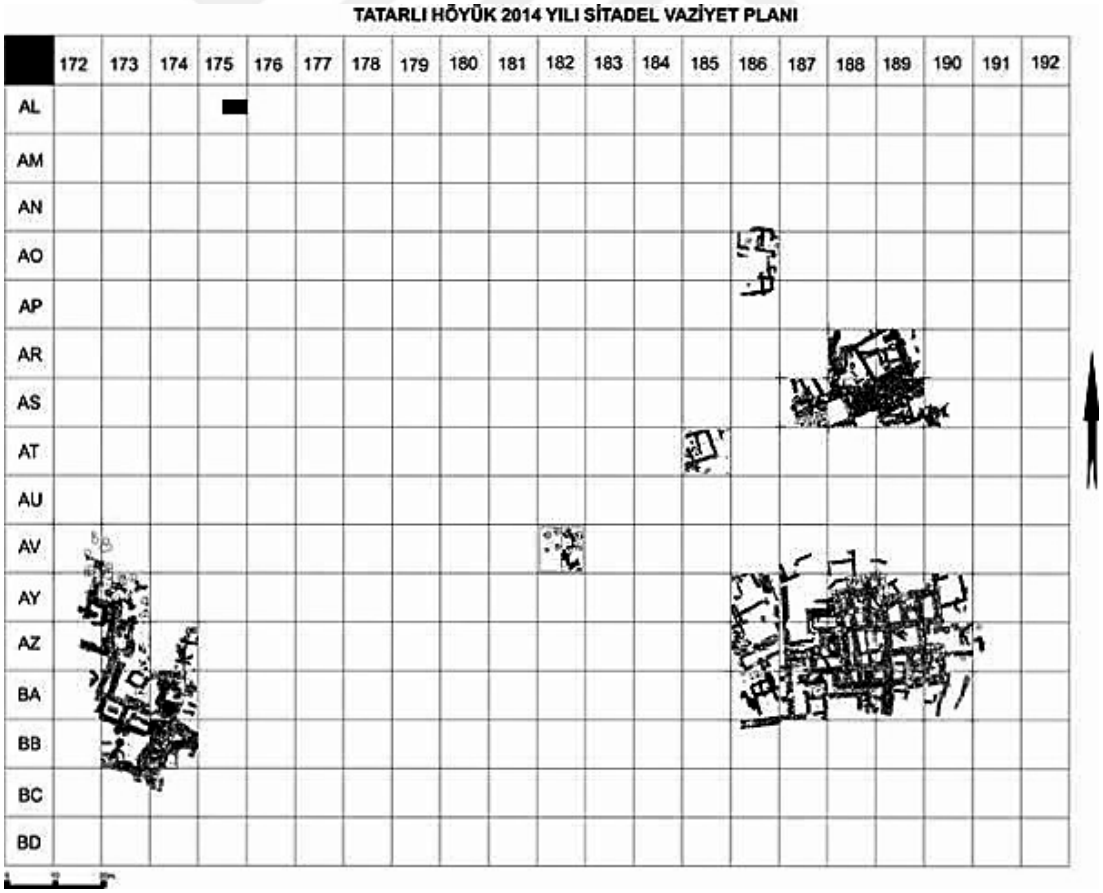


Figure 91. The grid plan of the mound Tatarlı and the locations of the trenches (Girginer et al. 2016: 499, Resim 1).

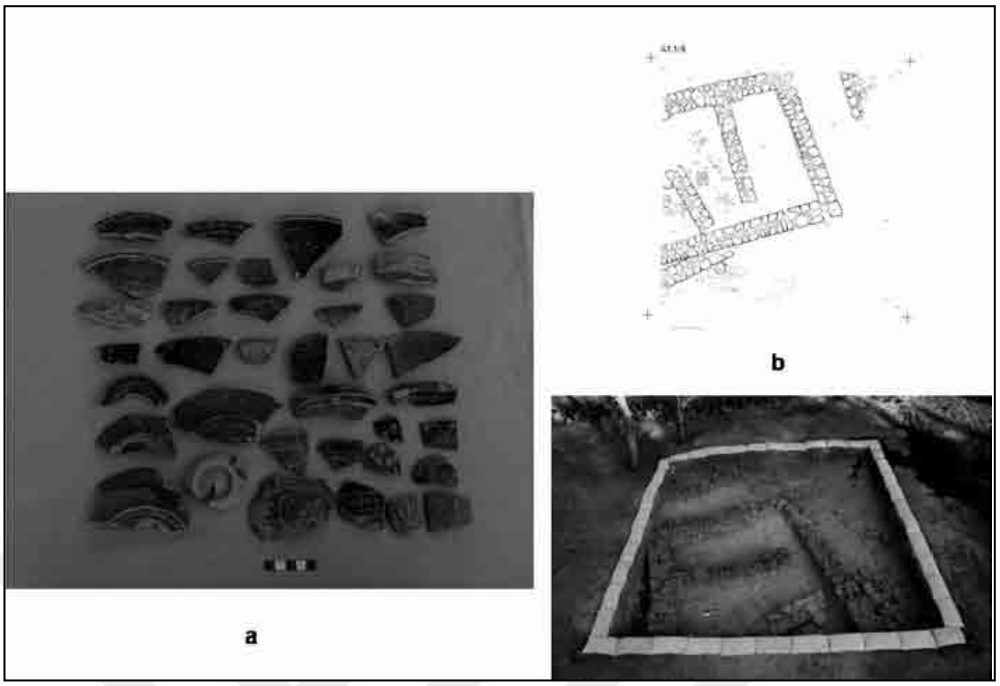


Figure 92. The Citadel B Building (b) with at least 3 rooms in Tatarlı Höyük and Hellenistic pottery found in this building (a) (Girginer et al., 2010: 474, Resim 10).

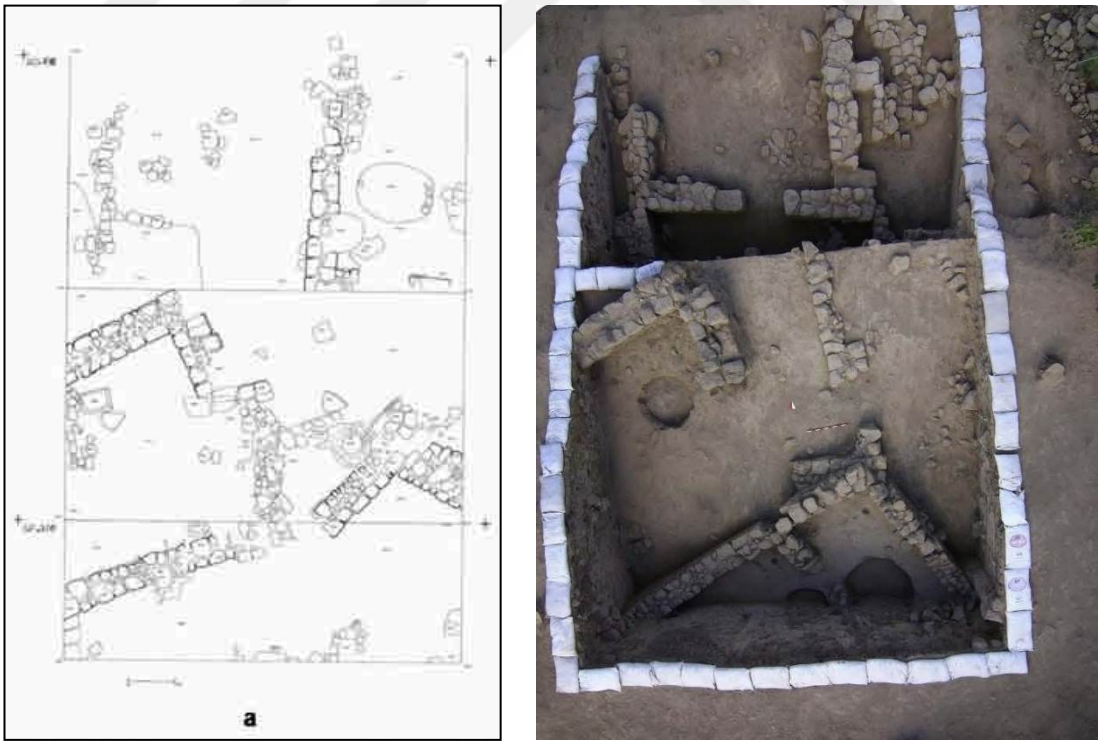


Figure 93. Hellenistic remains found in step trenches AO 186 and AP 186 of Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer et al., 2010: 475; Tatarlı Höyük Excavation Brochure 2011: https://www.academia.edu/2555024/Tatarl%C4%B1_H%C3%B6y%C3%BCk_Excavation_Brochure_2011_).

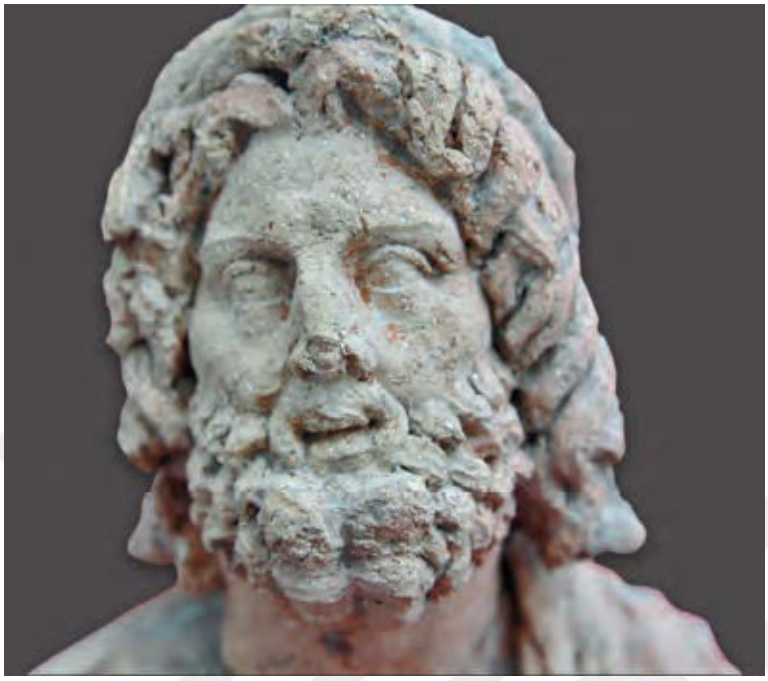


Figure 94. The Hellenistic bust of Zeus or Asclepius found in trench AP 186 of Tatarlı Höyük (Girginer et al, 2011a: 134, Fig. 10).

Figure 95. Tatarlı Höyük. In trenches AZ 173 and AY 173, Hellenistic structures, sharing the zig-zag (saw-tooth) fortification wall which is dated to earlier period (Girginer et al., 2011a: 132, Fig. 6).

Figure 96. Aerial view of Tatarlı Höyük, showing Citadel Building A and B, AZ 173 – AY 173, and step trenches (Tatarlı Höyük Excavation Brochure 2012:https://www.academia.edu/2458137/Excavations_at_Tatarl%C4%B1_H%C3%B6y%C3%BCk_in_2012).

Figure 97. Tatarlı Höyük. An example of a lamp with a relief of Dionysus, dated to the end of the Hellenistic period (Girginer et al., 2011a: 131, Fig. 5).

Figure 98. Tatarlı Höyük. Hellenistic period. A terracotta figurine of a draped female (Girginer et al., 2011: 132, Fig. 6).

Figure 99. In trench AZ 187 of Tatarlı Höyük, 35 loom-weights in different shapes were exposed (Girginer, 2012: 111, Fig. 2).

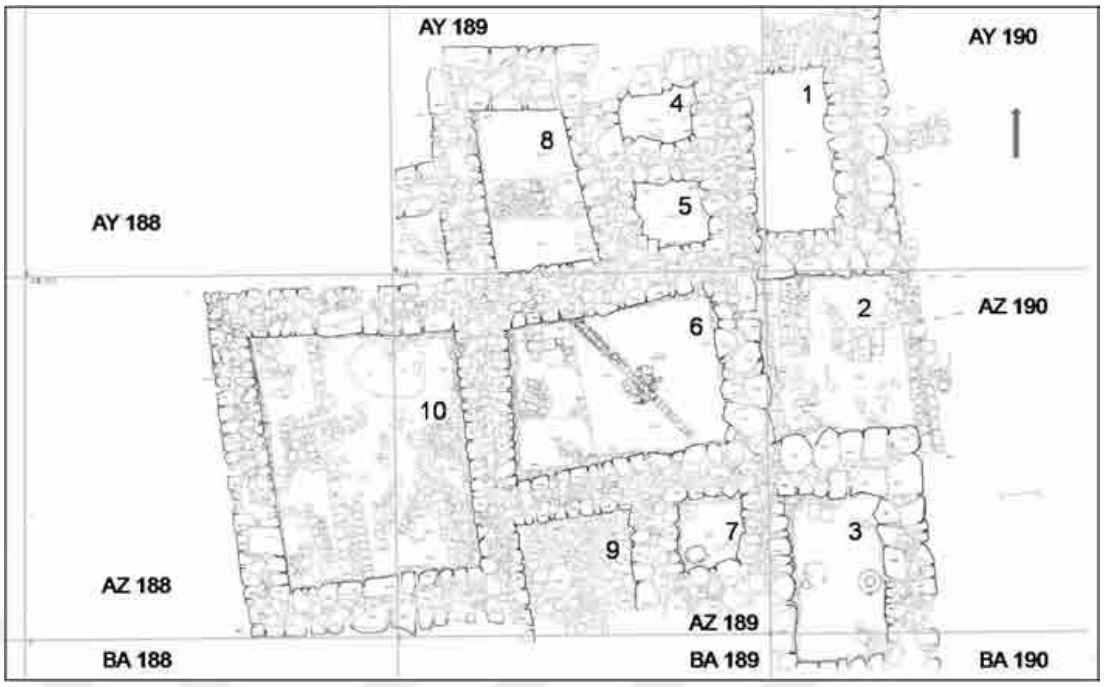


Figure 100. Tatarlı Höyük. Part of the plan drawing of Citadel A Building (Girginer et al., 2010: 471, Res. 3).

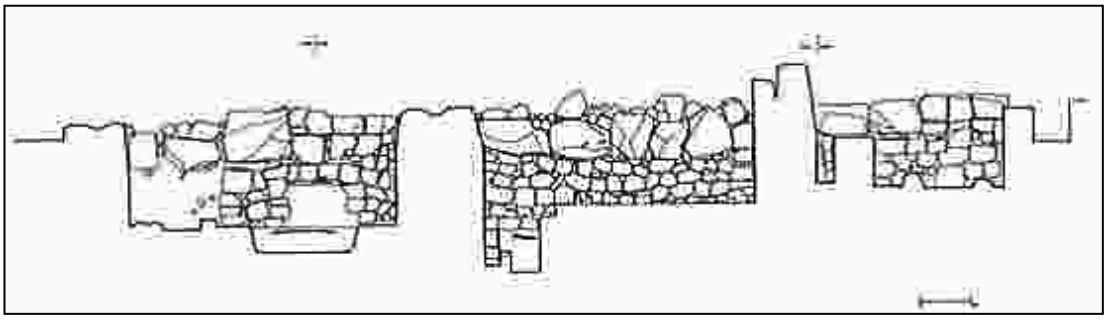


Figure 101. Tatarlı Höyük. A section drawing of Citadel Building A made of basalt blocks, some parts which were reused in the Hellenistic period with some alterations (Girginer et al., 2010: 472, Resim 6c).

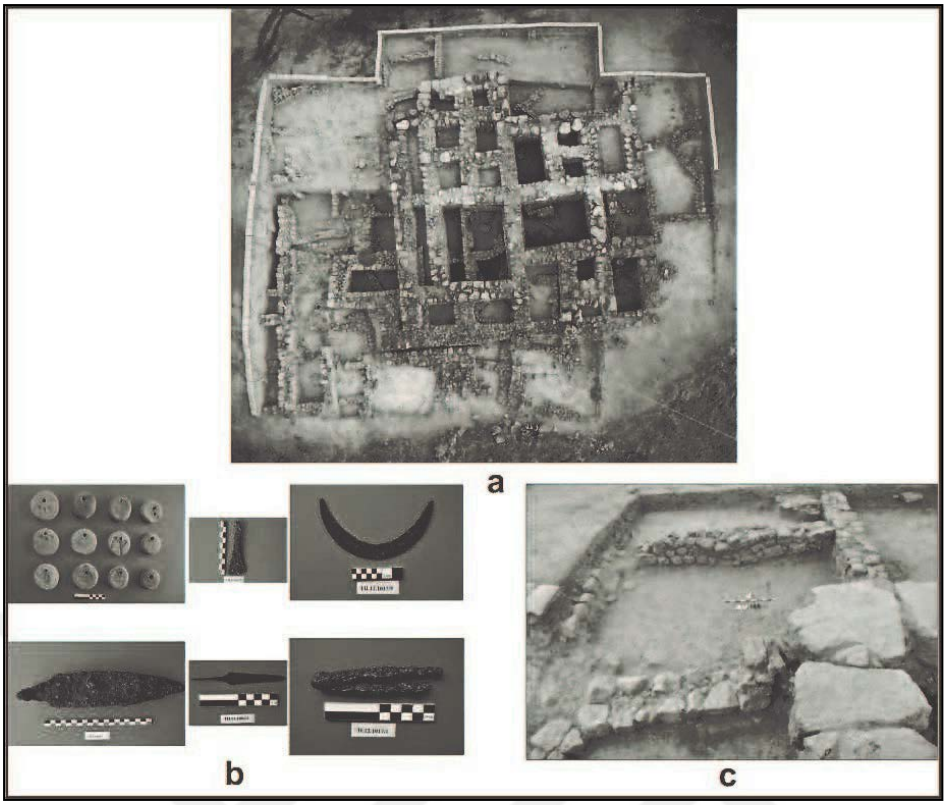


Figure 102. Tatarlı Höyük. a: Citadel A Building dated to the Late Bronze Age. b: Hellenistic artifacts of terracotta and metal found in trenches situated in and around the Citadel Building A. c: Hellenistic walls sharing the north wall of Citadel Building A (Girginer et al., 2014a: 189, Resim 2).

Phase	Period(s)	Date
I	1	Medieval (? 10th - 13th century AD)
II	3A-2	Hellenistic (ca. 330 - century 80 BC)[68]
III: 1	7-3B	Late Iron Age (7th - 4th century BC)
III: 2	11-8	Middle Iron Age (9th - 8th century BC)
III: 3	12	Early Iron Age (? 12th - 10th century BC)
IV: 1	14-13	Late Bronze II (13th century BC)
V	---	Middle Bronze Age (2000-1500 BC)
VI	---	Early Bronze Age (third millennium BC)

Figure 103. The stratigraphy of Kinet Höyük (adapted from M.-H. Gates, 1999b: 261).

[68] See above: the section "3.5. Kinet Höyük."

Figure 104. An aerial view of Kinet Höyük (right center) and the Mediterranean Sea (C. Gates, 2015: 83, Fig.2).

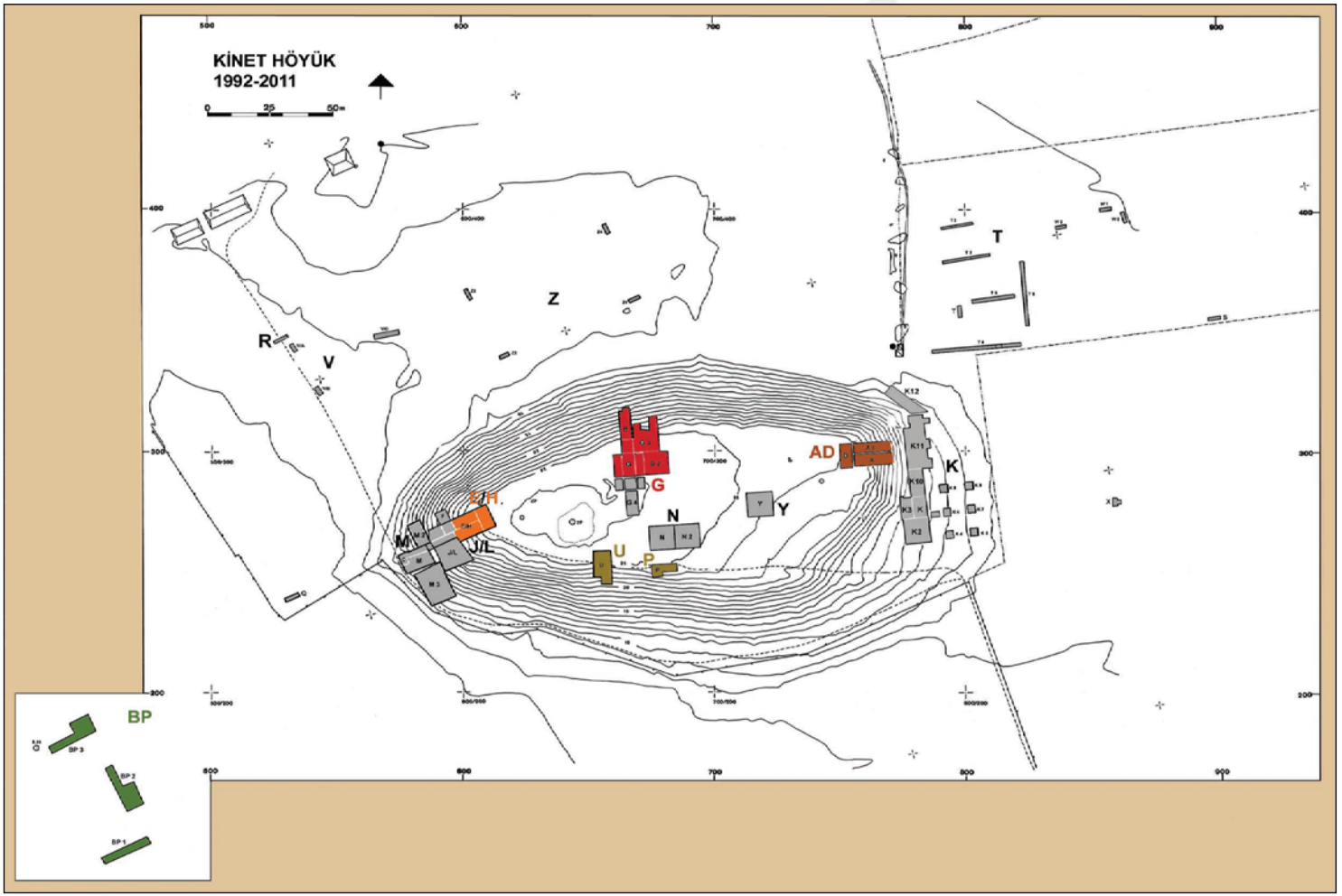


Figure 105. The topographic map of Kinet Höyük with excavated areas (C. Gates, 2015: 85, Fig.3).

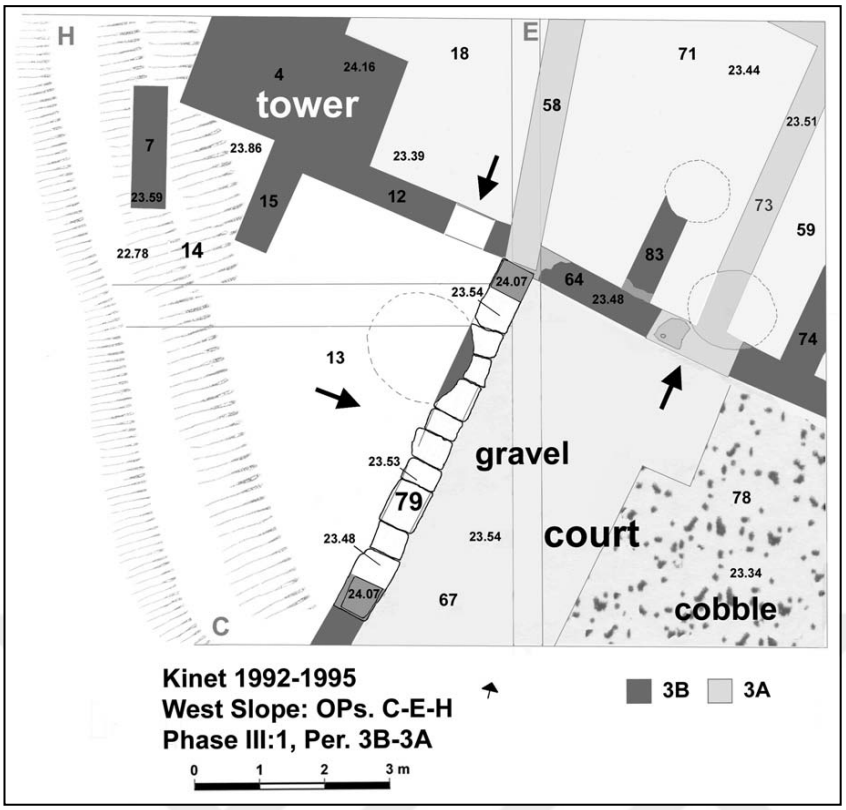


Figure 106. Kinet Höyük. A plan of the west entry area of the Period 3B circuit wall in Area E/H (C. Gates, 2015: 89, Fig. 8).

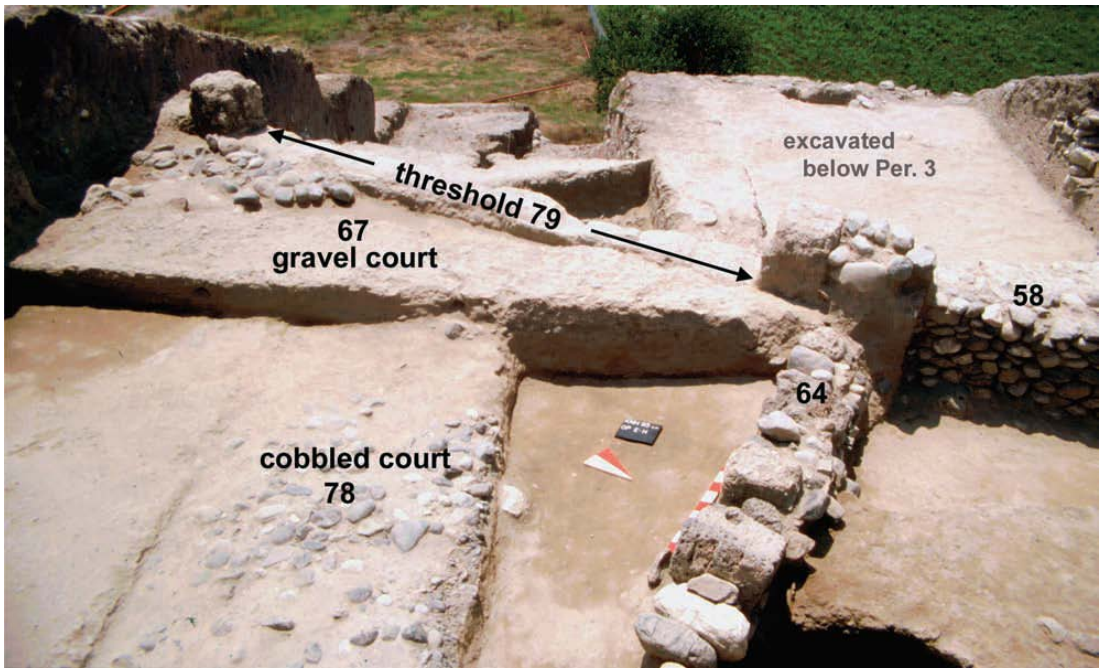


Figure 107. The west entry area of the Period 3B circuit wall in Area E/H, from the east (C. Gates, 2015: 90, Fig. 9).

Figure 108. Kinet Höyük. Attic black-slipped pottery from Period 4 in Area U, dated to ca. 400 BC (C. Gates, 2015: 88, Fig. 6).

Figure 109. An amphorae cache from Period 3A in Area U, dated to ca. 200 BC (C. Gates, 2015: 98, Fig. 18).

Figure 110. Kinet Höyük. The Period 3B circuit wall (on the left) and the adjacent building in Area G, from the west (C. Gates, 2015: 90, Fig. 10).

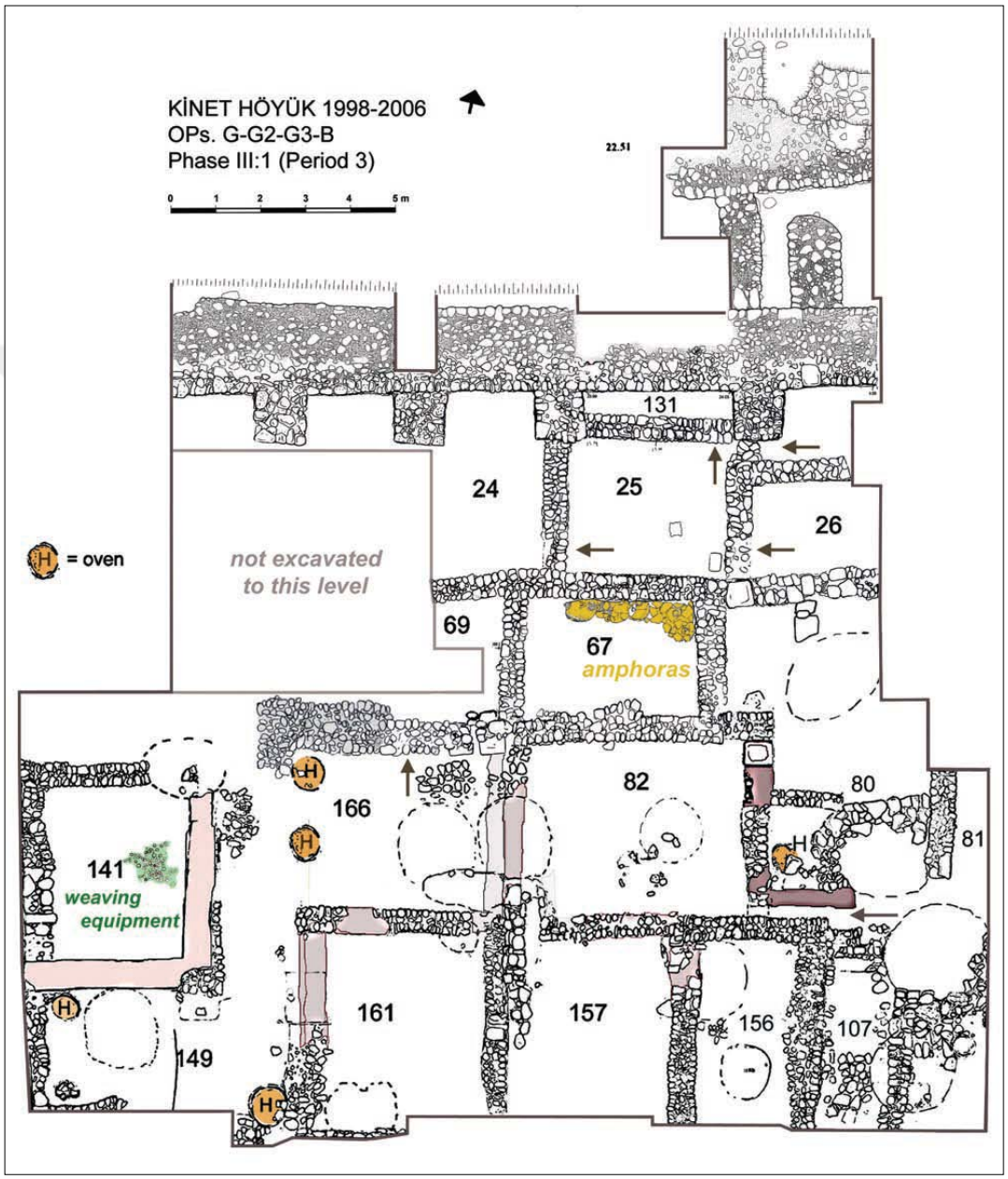


Figure 111. Kinet Höyük. A plan of the Period 3 building in Area G (C. Gates, 2015: 92, Fig. 12).

Figure 112. Kinet Höyük. An amphora with stamped handles from Period 3A in Area U, dated to ca. 200 BC (after C. Gates, 2015: 98, Fig. 16).

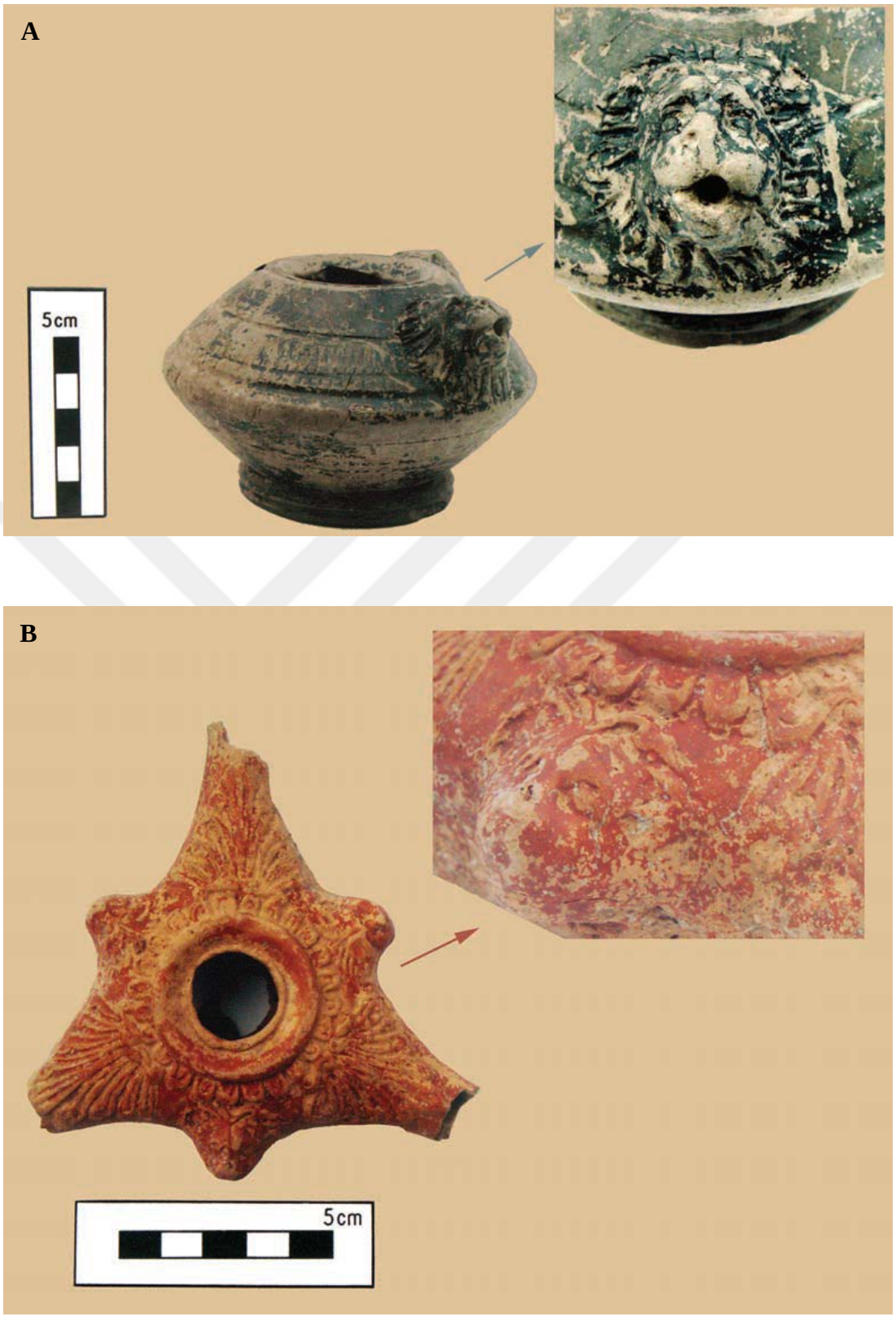


Figure 113. Kinet Höyük. A: A black-slipped imitation lamp from Period 3A in Area G, dated to ca. 325–275 BC. B: A red-slipped three-spouted lamp from late Period 3A in Area G, dated to ca. 200 BC (C. Gates, 2015: 100, Figs. 20-21).

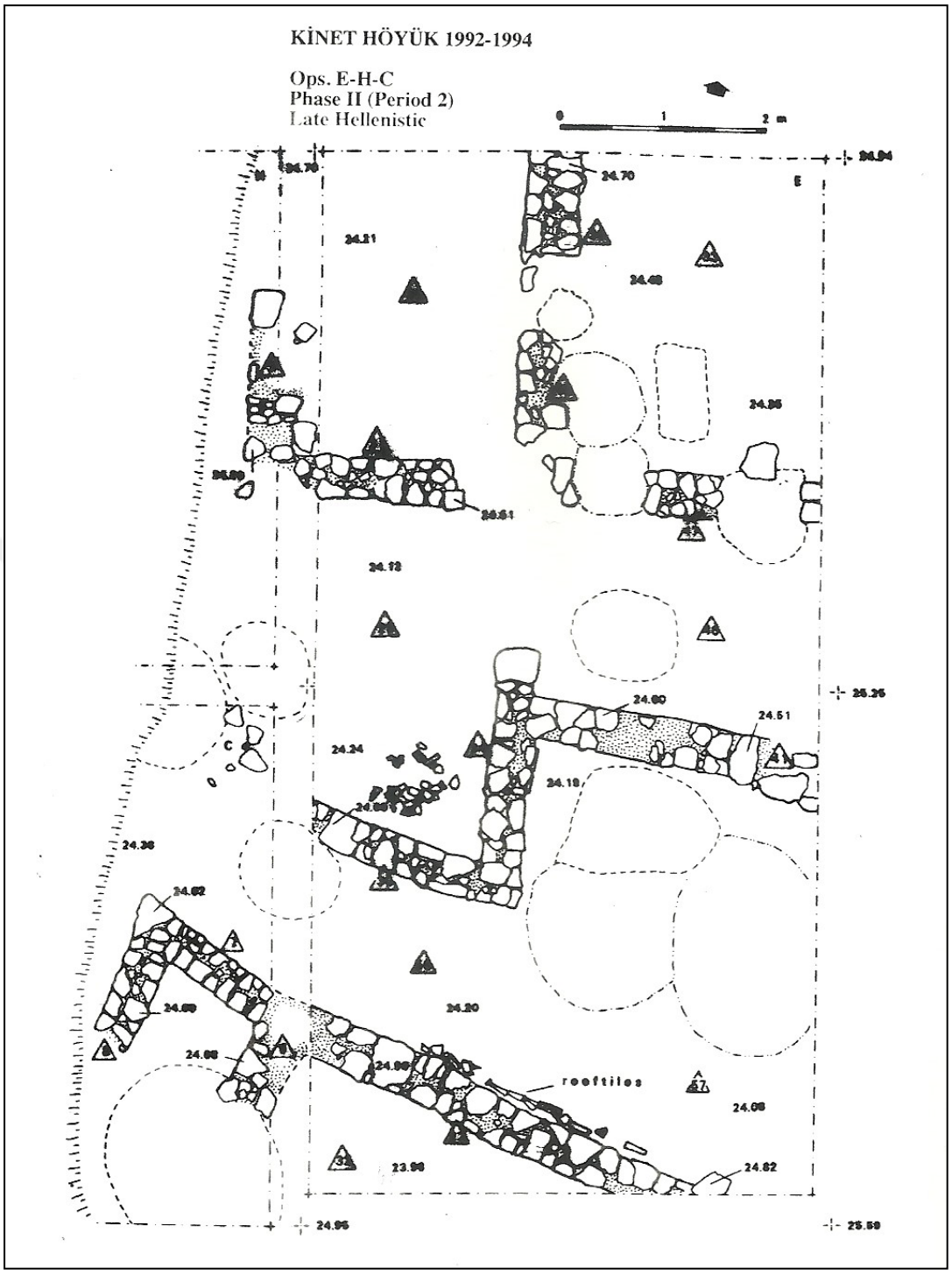


Figure 114. Kinet Höyük. Period 2. A group of residential rooms and courts were discovered in areas E, H, and C (C. Gates, 1999: Plate 105, Fig. 6).

Figure 115. Kinet Höyük. A: A house with roof tile collapse from Period 2 in Area G, from the southwest. B: Terracotta roof tiles with stamps from Period 2 in Area G (C. Gates, 2015: 101, Figs. 22-23).

Figure 116. Kinet Höyük. A bronze coin (KNH-581) issued by Demetrios I, dated between 162-156 BC (C. Gates, 2015: 102, Fig. 4).

Figure 117. Kinet Höyük. The soundings in the field of British Petroleum, from the north (C. Gates, 2015: 94, Fig. 14).

Figure 118. Kinet Höyük. Sounding No. 3 in the British Petroleum field, from the southwest (C. Gates, 2015: 95, Fig. 15).

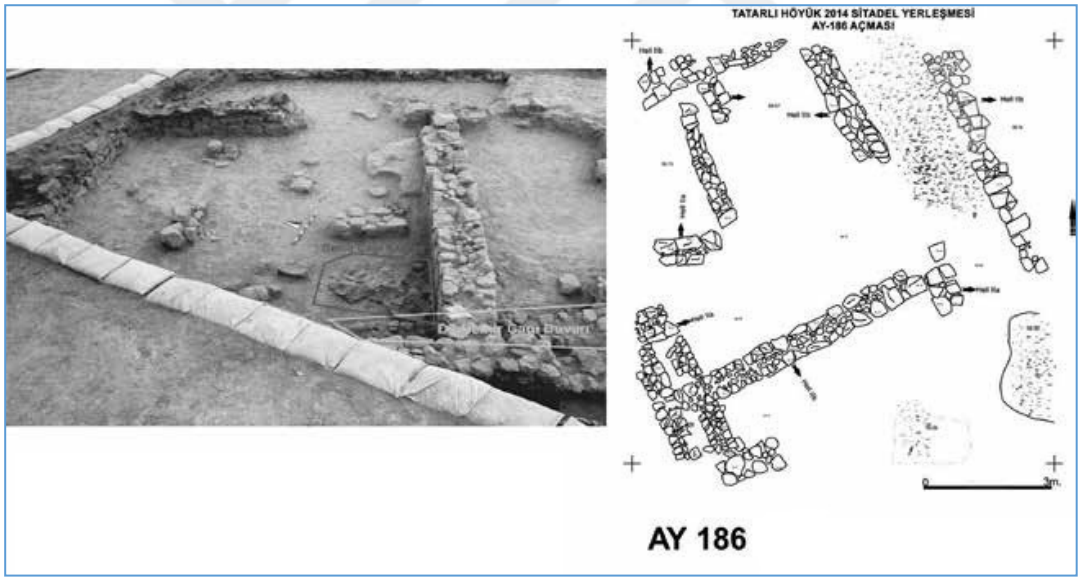


Figure 119. Tatarlı Höyük. Hellenistic architecture and finds discovered in trenches AZ 186 and AY 186 (Girginer et al., 2016: 502, Resim 7 and 8).