

# Seleucia

Sayı XIV - 2024



Olba Kazısı Serisi



# Seleucia XIV

Olba Kazısı Serisi

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## PRAEFATIO

Seleucia'nın 2024 yılı, XIV. sayısını okurlarımıza sunmaktan ve bu sayıda da seçkin arkeolojik çalışmalara yer vermekten dolayı gurur ve mutluluk duymaktayız.

Seramik çalışmalarının ağırlıklı olduğu bu sayımızda özellikle de Orta Anadolu seramik buluntuları konusundaki çalışmalara yoğunluklu olarak yer verilmektedir. Cappadocia'daki Aksaray Büyük Deller kazısı ile Lycaonia bölgesindeki Karaman Sisan Höyük kazısı seramiklerine ilişkin makalelerin yanında Karaman Eminler Höyük araştırmalarında tespit edilen Erken Tunç Çağı III seramik buluntularına ilişkin çalışma bölge tarihinin çok daha erken evrelerini yansıtmakta; MÖ üçüncü binyıl sonlarında Karaman Ovası yerleşimleri konusunda aydınlatıcı bilgiler sunmaktadır. Yine Orta Anadolu arkeolojisini aydınlatan verileri içeren bir makale de Cappadocia'da Avanos ve çevresinde yapılan yüzey araştırmalarının sonuçlarını okuyucularımıza sunmaktadır. Akşehir Nasreddin Hoca Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Müzesi koleksiyonunda yer alan bir grup pişmiş toprak unguentarium'un ele alındığı çalışmada incelenen eserlerin birçoğu her ne kadar müzeye satın alma ve zoralık yolu ile ulaşılmış olsalar da bunların bir kısmının Akşehir'de ele geçmiş olması, karşılaştırmalar yapma imkanını vermekte ve bölgenin MÖ birinci yüzyıl ortaları ile MS ikinci yüzyıl arasındaki tarihine ışık tutmaktadır.

Bu sayıda sadece Orta Anadolu değil, diğer bölgelerinden gelen seramikler konusundaki çalışmalara da yer verilmektedir. Tarsus buluntusu Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi ve Geç Antik Çağ amphoraları bağlamında kentin diğer bölge ve merkezlerle kurduğu geniş ilişki ağı ile ilgili sonuçlara ulaşılmakta; Batı Anadolu seramik çalışmaları ise Lebedos yüzey araştırmalarında ele geçen siyah firnisli Attika seramikleri ile temsil edilmektedir. Karadeniz bölgesi arkeolojisini yansıtan bir seramik çalışması "Sinop Balatlar Kilisesi Kazılarında Ele Geçen Herakleia Pontika Amphora Buluntuları" başlığını taşımaktadır. British Museum koleksiyonundaki mühürlü bir Rhodos amphorasından yola çıkılarak, Hellenistik Dönem'deki yönetici-üretici bağlantısı konusuna yaklaşımlar getirilen çalışmanın da okuyucularımızın ilgisini çekeceğini ümit etmekteyiz.

Seleucia'nın XIV. sayısında heykeltıraşlık çalışmalara da yer almaktadır. Bunlardan ilki, Tire Müzesi'nde bulunan İzmir-Kiraz (Koloe) buluntusu Roma heykeltıraşlık eserlerine ilişkindir. Bunların kökenlerinin Philadelphia heykel üretim merkezine dayandığı önerilmektedir. British Museum'da bulunan Phryg başlıklı ve yaşmaklı

büst ayrıntılı olarak değerlendirildikten sonra eserde bir kadının betimlenmekte olduğu ve bunun bir Parthia personifikasyonu olduğu önerisinde bulunmaktadır.

Bu sayıda cam çalışmalarına ilişkin tek makalede Anadolu buluntusu olan ve kalıba üfleme tekniğinde yapılmış iki cam vazo yorumlanmakta ve bunların Hıristiyanlıkla ilgili olan çağrışımları ele alınmaktadır.

“Isaura Territorium’undan Yeni bir Yazıt” başlıklı makalede bir Pers adı olarak değerlendirilen Sisiphernes’in yer aldığı Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi heykel kaidesi üzerindeki yazıt tanıtılmaktadır. Doğu Anadolu’nun Demir Çağı’nı yansıtan bir çalışma olarak “Ahlat Müzesi’nden Bir Grup Urartu Eseri” başlıklı makalenin araştırmacılara çeşitli malzeme grupları üzerinde yaptıkları çalışmalarda fayda sağlayacağını düşünüyoruz.

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## PREFACE

In Seleucia's 2024 issue we are proud and happy to present many distinguished archaeological studies. This issue focuses mainly on pottery studies, particularly on the finds from Central Anatolia such as the material from Aksaray Büyük Deller excavations in Cappadocia or Karaman Sisan Höyük excavations in Lycaonia. Early Bronze Age III pottery discovered in Karaman Eminler Höyük provides data on much earlier phases of the history of the Karaman Plain providing enlightening information about the Karaman Plain in the late third millennium BC. Another illuminating article on the archeology of Central Anatolia presents to our readers the results of the surface surveys carried out in Avanos and its surroundings in Cappadocia. Although many of the terracotta unguentaria studied in another article in the collection of Akşehir Nasreddin Hoca Archeology and Ethnography Museum reached the museum through purchase and confiscation, the fact that some of them were recovered in Akşehir makes it possible to make comparisons and sheds light on the settlement history of the region between the mid-first century BC and the second century AD.

This issue includes studies on pottery not only from Central Anatolia but also from other regions. The study on the Roman Imperial and Late Antique amphorae found in Tarsus reveals the wide network of relationships established by the city with other regions and centers. Western Anatolian finds are represented by an article on the black glazed Attic pottery found in the Lebedos surface surveys and Black Sea region by another study on the Heracleia Pontica amphorae discovered in Sinop Balatlar Church Excavations. We hope that the study, which approaches the issue of the manager-producer connection in the Hellenistic Period, based on a sealed Rhodian amphora in the British Museum collection, will attract the attention of our readers.

This issue also includes articles on ancient sculptures. The first example is related to the Roman sculptural pieces found in Izmir-Kiraz (Koloë) now in the collection of Tire Museum. It is suggested that they are the works of sculpture production center in Philadelphia. After a detailed evaluation of the bust with Phrygian cap and yashmak (veil) in the British Museum, it is suggested that the work depicts a woman and is a Parthia personification.



The only article on glass is a comment on two Roman mold-blown glass vessels found in Anatolian findspots and with possible Christian connotations.

The inscription on the Roman Imperial Period statue base mentioning Sisiphernes, which is considered a Persian name, is introduced in another article. As a study reflecting the Iron Age of Eastern Anatolia, we think that the article titled “A Group of Urartian Artifacts from the Ahlat Museum” will benefit researchers in their studies on various material groups.

Editors:

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# Olba Kazısı Serisi

## Seleucia

### Makale Başvuru Kuralları

Seleucia, Olba Kazısı yayını olarak yılda bir sayı yayınlanır. Yayınlanması istenen makalelerin en geç Şubat ayında gönderilmiş olması gerekmektedir. Seleucia, arkeoloji, eski çağ dilleri ve kültürleri, eski çağ tarihi, sanat tarihi konularında yazılan, daha önce yayınlanmayan yalnızca Türkçe, İngilizce çalışmaları ve kitap tanıtımlarını yayımlar.

### Yazım Kuralları

Makaleler, Times New Roman yazı karakterinde, word dosyasında, başlık 12 punto baş harfleri büyük harf, metin ve kaynakça 10 punto, dipnotlar 9 punto ile yazılmalıdır. Sayfa sayısı, kaynakça dâhil en çok on sayfa olmalıdır. Müze, kazı, yüzey araştırması malzemelerinin yayın izinleri, makale ile birlikte yollanmalıdır. Kitap tanıtımları, üç sayfayı geçmemelidir. Çalışmada ara başlık varsa bold ve küçük harflerle yazılmalıdır. Türkçe ve İngilizce özetler, makale adının altında, 9 punto, iki yüz sözcüğü geçmemelidir. Özetlerin altında İngilizce ve Türkçe beşer anahtar sözcük, 9 punto olarak “anahtar sözcükler” ve “keywords” başlığının yanında verilmelidir. Doktora ve yüksek lisans tezlerinden oluşturulan makaleler, yayına kabul edilmemektedir.

- Dipnotlar, her sayfanın altında verilmelidir. Dipnotta yazar soyadı, yayın yılı ve sayfa numarası sıralaması aşağıdaki gibi olmalıdır. Demiriş 2006, 59.
- Kaynakça, çalışmanın sonunda yer almalı ve dipnottaki kısaltmayı açıklamalıdır.

Kitap için:

Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., İstanbul.

Makale için:

Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., “Arius: Bir ‘Sapkın’ın Kısa Hikayesi”, Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, İstanbul.

- Makalede kullanılan fotoğraf, resim, harita, çizim, şekil vs. metin içinde yalnızca (Lev. 1), (Lev. 2) kısaltmaları biçiminde “Levha” olarak yazılmalı, makale sonunda “Levhalar” başlığı altında sıralı olarak yazılmalıdır. Bütün levhalar, jpeg ya da tift formatında 300 dpi olmalıdır. Alıntı yapılan levha varsa sorumluluğu yazara aittir ve mutlaka alıntı yeri belirtilmelidir.
- Levha sayısı her makalede 10 adet ile kısıtlıdır.
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- Tarih belirtilirken MÖ ve MS nokta kullanılmadan, makale başlıkları ile yazar ad ve soyadlarında sadece baş harfler büyük harf olarak yazılmalıdır.

## Olba Excavations Series

# Seleucia

### Scope

Seleucia is annually published by the Olba Excavations Series. Deadline for sending papers is February of each year. Seleucia features previously unpublished studies and book reviews on archaeology, ancient languages and cultures, ancient history and history of art written only in Turkish or English.

### Publishing Principles

Articles should be submitted as word documents, with font type Times New Roman, font sizes 12 points for headings (first letters should be capitalized), 10 points for text, and 9 points for footnotes and references. The number of pages of each article should not be longer than ten pages, including the bibliography. If the study is on some material/materials from a museum or an excavation, the permission for publication should be submitted together with the article. The book reviews should not be longer than three pages. If there are sub-titles, the headings should be written bold with small letters. Abstracts written in both Turkish and English should appear below the heading of the article, should be size of 9 points and minimum count of words should be 200. Below the abstracts, a minimum of 5 keywords for both languages should be included (of size 9 points) below the headings “anahtar sözcükler” and “keywords”. The articles produced out of master’s theses or doctoral dissertations will not be accepted for publication.

- Footnotes should be given under each page. The ordering of author surname, year of publication and page number should be as follows: Demiriş 2006, 59.
- The reference list should appear at the end of the study and should explain the abbreviation given in the footnote.

Book format:

Demiriş 2006 Demiriş, B., Roma Yazınında Tarih Yazıcılığı, Ege Yay., İstanbul.

Article format:

Kaçar 2009 Kaçar, T., “Arius: Bir ‘Sapkın’ın Kısa Hikayesi”, Lucerna Klasik Filoloji Yazıları, İstanbul.

- Photographs, pictures, maps, drawings, figures etc. used in the article should be referred to in the text as (Fig. 1), (Fig. 2) as abbreviations, and an ordered list of these items should appear at the end of the article under the heading “Figures”. All figures should be in JPEG or TIFF format with 300 dpi. If there are figures cited, the responsibility lies with the author and citation should be explicitly given. The number of figures for each article is limited to 10.



## Trade Relations of Tarsus in the Light of Amphora Finds: From Roman Imperial Period to Late Antiquity

Erkan Alkaç\*

### Abstract

Tarsus is an important harbour city of the Eastern Mediterranean. Different excavation sites of this city – Gözlükule Mound, Olive Market, Roman Baths and the northern hinterland of Tarsus – yielded amphorae from the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity: Hispania, Italy, Aegean Islands and Western Anatolia, Black Sea, Cilicia, Palestina, Egypt and North Africa. These amphorae, which are evidence of the maritime trade of Tarsus, date to different centuries of both periods. When the amphorae are classified according to their production centres, a wide network of commercial relations emerges.

**Keywords:** Tarsus, Cilicia, Roman Imperial Period, Late Antique Period, amphora, trade relations.

## Amphoralar Işığında Tarsus'un Ticari İlişkileri: Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi ve Geç Antik Çağlar

### Öz

Tarsus, Doğu Akdeniz'in önemli bir liman kentidir. Bu kentin farklı kazı alanlarından – Gözlükule Höyüğü, Zeytin Pazarı, Roma Hamamı ve Tarsus'un kuzey hinterlandı – Roma İmparatorluk ve Geç Antik Dönemlere ait amphoralar bulunmuştur: Hispania, Italia, Ege Adaları ile Batı Anadolu, Karadeniz, Kilikia, Palestina, Mısır ve Kuzey Afrika. Tarsus'un deniz ticaretinin kanıtları olan bu amphoralar, her iki dönemin farklı yüzyıllarına tarihlenmektedir. Buradaki amphoralar üretim merkezlerine göre sınıflandırıldığında karşımıza geniş bir ticari ilişki ağı ortaya çıkmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Tarsus, Kilikia, Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi, Geç Antik Dönem, amphora, ticari ilişkiler.

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\*\* I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Işık ADAK-ADIBELLİ for the excavation archive information on the Olive Market and Roman Baths.

\*\*\* I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Murat DURUKAN and Prof. Dr. Mehmet KURT for their contributions to the conclusion of this article.

## Introduction

Tarsus is located in Cilicia Pedias<sup>1</sup>. It has grown from a simple settlement into a large metropolis. The Kydnos River divided Tarsus into two while connecting it to the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, the river had an important role in the commercial, cultural and social life of Tarsus. After the great flood of the Justinian period, the riverbed was redirected to circulate around the city<sup>2</sup>. Ancient sources mention a harbour at the point where the Kydnos reaches Lake Regma<sup>3</sup>. It is stated that the distance between Tarsus and the harbour was 2-3 km<sup>4</sup>. To the north of Tarsus, there is an important passage defined as Cilicia Pylai. Both harbour and passage are geopolitical elements that made Tarsus an important commercial center in the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>5</sup>.

Numerous amphorae were found during the excavations and surveys of Tarsus. These amphorae, which are important evidence of the city's maritime trade, are from different origins and centuries. In this article, the commercial relations of Tarsus are studied based on amphorae dating to the Roman Imperial Period and Late Antiquity. For this purpose, the finds from Gözlükule Mound, Donuktaş-Roman Temple, Zeytin Pazarı and the Roman Bath were examined. Amphorae from the northern hinterland of the city were also included in the study. To add that the origins and dates of some published amphorae from Tarsus were re-evaluated. That being said, some amphorae from the Zeytin Pazarı and the Roman Bath are published for the first time.

## Hispanic (Iberian Peninsula) Amphorae

Two amphorae were found in the Gözlükule Mound, coming from the layers dated to the middle Roman Imperial Period<sup>6</sup> and classified as Beltrán IIA<sup>7</sup>. Beltrán IIA amphorae produced in the Baetica are dated to the Flavian Period, or just before to the mid-2nd century AD<sup>8</sup>. A rim of an Hispanic amphora was discovered during the excavations at the Zeytin Pazarı<sup>9</sup>, and identified to be a Dressel 20 B<sup>10</sup> of Baetican origin. This amphora should be dated to the Antonine Period (138 - 192 AD)<sup>11</sup>.

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1 Strabon, XIV, III, 1.

2 Arıcı – Göçmen 2022, 289-290.

3 Aşkın 2013, 169-180.

4 Durukan 2017, 348.

5 Durukan 2015a, 5.

6 Jones 1950, 274, no. 790-791, fig. 161-162.

7 Ehmig 2002, 238, no. 1, fig. 4.

8 Bezecky 2013, 146-147.

9 Excavation Archive.

10 Millet 2008, 318-334.

11 Bezecky 2013, 139-140.

### **Italic Amphora**

At Keşbükü in the northern hinterland of Tarsus, a rim-neck fragment of Dressel 6 A amphorae was found<sup>12</sup>. Amphorae of this group were produced at Fermo<sup>13</sup>. Parallel of Keşbükü specimen is kept in the Alexandria Greco-Roman Museum and dated to the late 1st century BC - early 1st century AD<sup>14</sup>.

### **Amphorae from Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands**

Two Late Rhodian amphora handles were found in the Olive Market. These amphorae were produced in Rhodos and Peraia, opposite this island<sup>15</sup>. Similar amphorae are dated to the middle of the 1st century AD on the island of Kekova<sup>16</sup> and to the second half of the 1st century AD - end of the 2nd century AD in the İzmir Museum<sup>17</sup>.

Fragmentary amphora found at Gözlükule Mound<sup>18</sup> is identified as Kapitän II. Kapitän II amphorae were produced in Kos, Samos, Lesbos and Rhodes<sup>19</sup>. Our amphora from Gözlükule Mound is similar to Type A.2.2.1 dating to the first half of the 3rd century AD<sup>20</sup>.

LR 2 amphorae<sup>21</sup> produced in many parts of Western Anatolia and the Aegean are represented in Zeytin Pazarı. Amphorae from Zeytin Pazarı is identified as LR 2B<sup>22</sup> and dated to the 5th and 6th century AD<sup>23</sup>.

Futhermore, an example of LR 8 was found in Zeytin Pazarı. Aegean Islands or Western Anatolia are recommended origins<sup>24</sup>. The Tarsus example is dated to the 4th-5th centuries AD<sup>25</sup>.

LR 3 amphorae were produced at Ephesos, Samos, Kos, Halicarnassos and Sardis<sup>26</sup>. The production of this group began at Ephesos in the middle of the 1st century BC<sup>27</sup>. An amphora found at Gözlükule<sup>28</sup> is a Type 2A example of LR 3 dating to the mid-5th century

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12 Alkaç 2021, 197-198, no. 17, fig. 17 a-b.

13 Şenol 2003, 76-78.

14 Şenol 2018, 308, no. 262.

15 Empereur - Picon 1989, 226, fig. 1; Şenol 2019, 100, fig. a-d.

16 Aslan – Erdoğan – Orhan – Kılıç 2018, 256-257, fig 5a-b.

17 Sezgin – Şenol – Cankardeş-Şenol 2022, 35, kat. no 22.

18 Jones 1950, 278, no. 834, fig. 210.

19 Şenol 2018, 419.

20 Negru – Bădescu – Avram 2003, no. 6.

21 Sezgin – Şenol – Cankardeş-Şenol 2022, 88.

22 Pieri 2005, 87, fig. 45.

23 Böttger 1992, 350-352, cat. nr. 79, taf. 102; Tekocak – Zoroğlu 2013, 116, fig. 8-9.

24 Pieri 2005, 136.

25 Sezgin – Şenol – Cankardeş-Şenol 2022, 94-97, nos. 69-72; Opait 2004, 303, fig. 26.

26 Outschar 1993, 47, 48; Pieri 2005, 94-101.

27 Bezeczky 2013, 66.

28 Jones 1950, 274, no. 794, fig. 162.

AD<sup>29</sup>. The other findspot for LR 3 amphorae in Tarsus is the Zeytin Pazarı<sup>30</sup>. The examples from Zeytin Pazarı are identified as LR 3A and dated to the second half of the 5th and 6th centuries AD<sup>31</sup>.

Planta pedis stamp bearing dots on it was found in the northern hinterland of Tarsus. The form and clay characteristics of the handle are similar to those of amphorae produced in the Lykos Valley dating between the 4th and the first half of the 7th century AD<sup>32</sup>.

### **Cilician Amphorae**

Pompeii V amphorae were found at several excavation sites in Tarsus. This group was produced in the harbour city of Aigeai in Cilicia Pedias<sup>33</sup>. Tarsus examples of the form are dated to the 1st-2nd century AD at Gözlükule<sup>34</sup>, to the 1st BC - 1st-2nd century AD at Köylü Garajı<sup>35</sup> and to the 1st-2nd century AD at Zeytin Pazarı<sup>36</sup>.

Another production of Aigeai<sup>37</sup>, Agora G 198 were also found at Gözlükule<sup>38</sup> and the Zeytin Pazarı<sup>39</sup>. They are to be dated to the 1st-2nd century AD<sup>40</sup>.

Zemer 41 is another Cilician production found at Tarsus. They were produced in western Cilicia Trachea (Bıçkıcı, Antiochia ad Cragum and Syedra)<sup>41</sup>. Examples of this form were found at the Zeytin Pazarı<sup>42</sup> and east of İstiklal İlkokulu<sup>43</sup>. Similar amphorae are dated between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD<sup>44</sup>.

Proto LR 1 amphorae were found during the excavations at the Zeytin Pazarı<sup>45</sup> and the Roman Baths<sup>46</sup>. This group was produced at Elaiussa Sebaste in Cilicia Trachea in the second half of the 4th century AD<sup>47</sup>.

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29 Pieri 2005, 95-96, fig. 57.

30 Adak-Adibelli - Alkaç in press; Excavation Archive.

31 Pieri 2005, 98, fig. 61; Akkaş 2020, 200, no. 41, fig. 12.

32 Alkaç 2020, 40-41, fig. no. 17.

33 Empereur – Picon 1989, 237, fig. 20-21.

34 Jones 1950, 268, no. 712, fig. 158.

35 Alkaç – Durugönül – Gökçay 2013, 183-184, fig. 10.

36 Alkaç – Adak-Adibelli 2024, 86-87, fig. 1-2.

37 Empereur – Picon 1989, 237, fig. 20-21.

38 Jones 1950, fig. 210-c.

39 Alkaç – Adak-Adibelli 2024, 87-88, fig. 3.

40 Alkaç – Adak-Adibelli 2024, 88.

41 Autret 2012, 255-256.

42 Excavation Archive.

43 The Tarsus Museum carried out a rescue excavation in this area. I would like to thank the Museum Director Mr. Doğukan ALPER for his contribution.

44 Alkaç – Adak-Adibelli 2024, 88-89, fig. 4-8.

45 Adak-Adibelli – Alkaç in press.

46 Excavation Archive.

47 Kızıllarslanoğlu 2016, 180.



### **Palestinian and Egyptian Amphorae**

LR 4 amphorae were found at Gözlükule<sup>48</sup>, Roman Bath<sup>49</sup> and Zeytin Pazarı<sup>50</sup>. This form was produced in the southern part of Palestine<sup>51</sup>. The Tarsus examples are types A2-B1-B3 of the group and dated between the second half of the 5th century AD and the second half of the 7th and early 8th centuries<sup>52</sup>. The latest examples of the group found in this city should not be dated later than the middle of the 7th century AD.

LR 5-6 amphorae were also found at Gözlükule<sup>53</sup>, Donuktaş Roman Temple<sup>54</sup>, Zeytin Pazarı<sup>55</sup> and Roman Bath<sup>56</sup>. Amphorae of this group were produced in various parts of Egypt<sup>57</sup>. The Tarsus finds, which are subtypes of LR 5-6 amphorae, are dated to the mid 6th - 7th century AD<sup>58</sup>.

### **North African Amphorae**

A fragment of an amphora belonging to African Type IIIB was found in the Zeytin Pazarı<sup>59</sup>. This type was produced in Nabeul in the 4th century AD<sup>60</sup>. A rim and neck fragment belonging to the African IIIC group was found in the Roman Baths<sup>61</sup>. This amphora dates to the second half of the 4th century AD and was produced in Byzacena<sup>62</sup>.

### **Sinopean Amphorae**

Sinopean amphorae were found in large numbers during the excavations of Gözlükule Mound<sup>63</sup>, Zeytin Pazarı<sup>64</sup> and Roman Bath<sup>65</sup>. These amphorae are similar to the Type C SNP II-III examples<sup>66</sup> which are generally dated to the 5th-6th century AD<sup>67</sup>.

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48 This amphora has been identified as a pithos. Jones 1950, 278, no. 835, fig. 167.

49 Excavation Archive.

50 Adak-Adıbelli – Alkaç in press.

51 Pieri 2007, 622, fig. 9; Riley 1975, 30;

52 Pieri 2007, 317, fig. 5.

53 Jones 1950, 227, no. 205, fig. 186.

54 Baydur 1984, 281, pl. 27.

55 Excavation Archive.

56 Adak-Adıbelli – Alkaç in press.

57 Ballet 2007a, 157-158; Ballet 2007b, 625, fig. 3-4; Şenol 2018, 138.

58 Şenol 2018, 140, no. 113; Alkaç 2013, 116-117, no. 10, fig. 12.

59 Adak-Adıbelli – Alkaç in press.

60 Bonifay 2004, 122.

61 Adak-Adıbelli – Alkaç in press.

62 Bonifay 2004, 119-121, fig. 65, no. 1.

63 Jones 1950, 278, no. 831, fig. 166.

64 Excavation Archive.

65 Adak-Adıbelli – Alkaç in press.

66 Kassab-Tezgör 2010, 169-170, pl. 3-4.

67 Böttger 1992, 350-352, cat. nr. 79, taf. 102; Tekocak – Zoroğlu 2013, 116, fig. 8-9; Kızıarslanoglu 2022, 163, cat. nos. 6-9, fig. 3-4; 170.

## Discussion and Conclusions

For studies concerning amphorae, it is important to determine the commercial relations and the periodical changes in these relations in the chronological process, in order to understand the conjunctural developments of the period. To put it more clearly, it is important to analyse the amphorae in order to understand with which geographical regions Tarsus had established commercial relations; the time and duration of these commercial relations; and the factors that affected these commercial relations, positively or negatively. For this purpose, the origin, date and quantity of amphorae should be examined thoroughly.

The amphorae recovered during the excavations in different parts of Tarsus reveal the city's commercial relations intra and extra regional. Main material of this relations were olive oil, wine and seafood. During the Roman Imperial Period and Late Antiquity, Tarsus had a wide range of commercial relations with different regions as one can see from the amphora finds from different origins as Hispania, Italia, Aegean Islands, Western Anatolia, Black Sea, Cilicia, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa (map). Undoubtedly, the geopolitical significance of Tarsus played a pivotal role in this diversity of trade forms, as the city has been a crucial hub of Mediterranean commerce since its foundation.

Western Mediterranean settlements were not the main target for the intensive commercial relations for Tarsus during the Roman Imperial period. Nevertheless, examples of Baetican Beltrán IIA amphorae dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD and Dressel 20 amphorae, which are published for the first time in this article, can be regarded as a minute traces of this low-rhythm trade. It is unusual to find Baetican amphorae, which are known to have been used especially for the transport of seafood and olive oil<sup>68</sup>.

The quantity of Hispanic amphorae from Tarsus is quite low. This makes it difficult to comment on the commercial relations between these two regions, which are quite distant from each other. The same conclusion is valid for Anatolia in general. Each Hispanic amphora that will be found and published from Anatolia will contribute to the understanding of the commercial relations between the two regions, hopefully.

The same thing stands of Latin amphorae. Their limited number makes it difficult to interpret commercial relations. The Gözlükule finds prove that products came to Tarsus from Italy from the late 2nd - early 1st century BC<sup>69</sup>. The Keşbükü specimen, on the other hand, hints that the importation from Italy to Tarsus continued during the Roman Imperial Period.

The amphorae produced in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands are seen in Tarsus from the second half of the 7th century BC<sup>70</sup>. Importation of the goods from both regions continued throughout the Hellenistic Period<sup>71</sup> and the Roman Imperial Period. The Late

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68 Kızırlarşlanođlu 2014, 236.

69 Jones 1950, 296, no. 1050, fig. 169.

70 Hanfmann 1963, 242, no. 1028A, fig. 135. In this article the amphora is classified as Khios.

71 Grace 1950, 135-148.

Rhodian amphorae from the 1st-2nd century AD and the Kapitän II amphorae from the first half of the 3rd century AD found in the Zeytin Pazarı proves this<sup>72</sup>. However, the number of amphorae from the Roman Imperial Period is quite small.

As seen from the finds, the demand for the goods from Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands which were transported in amphorae to Tarsus increased from the 5th century AD onwards. From this period and onwards, the number of LR 2 and LR 3 amphorae increases at the excavation sites in Tarsus. The spread of these two forms over a wide geographical area is largely attributed to the *annona* (both *civica* and *militaris*) system of tax collection and distribution in kind<sup>73</sup>. Most probably, LR 2 and LR3 were transported to Tarsus within the *annona* system. This commercial practice continued until the Arab raids<sup>74</sup>.

Cilician amphorae were also found in Gözlükule, Zeytin Pazarı, the Roman Baths and several rescue excavations. These amphorae, which are evidence of intra-regional trade, were used to import wine or olive oil to Tarsus. Products were imported to Tarsus with Pompeii V and Agora G 198 from Aigeai, dating to the 1st-2nd century AD, and Zemer 41 amphorae dating to the 1st-3rd century AD from the western mountainous Cilicia. The dates of these amphorae indicate that Tarsus established simultaneous commercial connections with the cities of Plain and western Cilicia Trachea. Among Cilician amphorae dated to the Roman Imperial period, Zemer 41 examples have larger share than the other groups. Proto LR 1 amphorae from Elaiussa Sebaste are evidence of Tarsus' trade with the settlements of Cilicia Trachea.

LR 4 amphorae, produced in southern Palestine, were the most common form in the Mediterranean wine trade between the 4th and 7th centuries AD. The 6th century AD is the date when this group was most numerous in the Mediterranean market<sup>75</sup>.

LR 5-6 amphorae produced in different parts of Egypt were also found in Tarsus. The clay resembles to the production around the Lake Mareotis. These amphorae are dated to the mid 6th - 7th century AD.

The north-south alignment of the main trade routes in the Mediterranean to supply Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, and the agricultural measures implemented led to the wide spread of North African products from the 5th century AD<sup>76</sup>. The North African amphorae found in the Zeytin Pazarı and the Roman Baths proves that the trade relations between the two centres has began in the Roman Imperial Period and lasted until the 7th century AD. North African amphorae in this city has begun to have larger share in the market from the 5th century AD onwards. From this century onwards, the

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72 Excavation Archive.

73 Kara 2021, 65-79.

74 Sezgin – Şenol – Cankardeş-Şenol 2022, 88.

75 Sezgin – Şenol – Cankardeş-Şenol 2022, 136.

76 Şenol 2015, 249.

number of North African red-slipped ceramics also increased<sup>77</sup>. The North African amphorae found at the two excavation sites, although not numerically dense, are rich in form diversity<sup>78</sup>.

The Sinopean amphorae are also found in Tarsus. Sinope, who shows an intensive agricultural production between the 4th and the first half of the 6th centuries AD and whose products spread over a wide geography, also reached Tarsus<sup>79</sup>. A large number of Sinopean amphorae dating to the 5th-6th centuries AD were found especially at Gözlükule, Zeytin Pazarı and the Roman Baths.

The expedition of the Sassanid king Shapur I to the interiors of Anatolia via the Mediterranean coast and Isauria in 260 AD created a huge chaos<sup>80</sup>. Described as a plundering expedition, the event damaged the whole Cilicia<sup>81</sup>. Having sacked Aigeai, Mallos, Adana and Tarsus in Cilicia, Shapur I then turned westwards and captured Korykos and Elaiussa Sebaste and advanced as far as Selinus. During this period, a stagnation was observed in cities such as Elaiussa Sebaste<sup>82</sup> and Anemurium<sup>83</sup>. The invasion must have negatively affected the commercial relations of Tarsus. As a matter of fact, while the Roman Imperial Period amphorae in Tarsus were dense before the invasion, a long period of stagnation was observed after the invasion.

This phase of stagnation in Tarsus lasted until the 4th century AD. Discovery of an amphora group (Proto LR 1) dating to the second half of the 4th century AD marks the beginning of the end of stagnation. As it is difficult to state that these finds are also numerically high, and it seems that the stagnation but it should be taken as a signal for the changing trends. As a matter of fact, the second half of the 4th century AD witnessed a very important event not only for Tarsus, but also for the whole Cilicia and even for the whole Eastern Mediterranean: The Isaurian Revolts.

In the second half of the 4th century AD, the Isaurians attacked a wide geography in Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia, plundered many cities and even crossed into Cyprus, cutting off the seaborne trade between Cilicia and Cyprus.

The first of these revolts, which were repeated five times, took place in 353-354 AD, and these attacks centred on the coastal settlements of Cilicia Trachea, attacking storehouses and ships supplying goods. It is known that the rebels captured the city of Seleucia and the ships supplying goods on the Kalykadnos.

Between 395/396 and 400 AD, with the support of the Goths and Huns, the rebels,

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77 Adak-Adibelli 2017, 3; Adak-Adibelli 20006.

78 Daily use vessels and amphorae from North Africa are being prepared for publication by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Işık Adak-Adibelli and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erkan Alkaç.

79 Sezgin – Şenol – Cankardeş-Şenol 2022, 169.

80 Kurt 2018, 804.

81 Şahin 2007, 135.

82 Schneider 2008, 18.

83 Tekocak 2021, 3.

who became known as the Isaurian bandits, seized and plundered territory from Cilicia to Palestine. This last attack was only stopped by Flavius Fravitta in 400 AD<sup>84</sup>.

This insecure environment caused by the Isaurians, which lasted for about half a century, spread over a very large geographical area and a very long period of time. During this period, especially the southern coasts of Anatolia were under constant threat. The obstruction of sea transport between the southern coasts and Cyprus caused a commercial chaos in the eastern Mediterranean cities, and Tarsus was undoubtedly negatively affected by this situation. In some of the excavated coastal cities, this negativity can be documented especially with the characteristics of amphorae and red-slipped ceramics of the period.

In cities such as Anemurium<sup>85</sup>, Phaselis<sup>86</sup> and Myra<sup>87</sup> the number of amphorae dated to the 4th century AD is generally low. Anemurium, in the area that felt the Isaurian Revolts most intensely, was found to have returned to its heyday in the 5th and 6th centuries AD<sup>88</sup>. The amphorae found at Kelenderis, in the same location, are concentrated to the last quarter of the 4th century AD to the 5th century AD. Kelenderis gained commercial and religious importance in the Eastern Mediterranean after the said dates<sup>89</sup>. Elaiussa Sebaste is another settlement that was adversely affected by the period of looting during the Isaurian rebellions, and it is understood that the city achieved economic stability with the production of olive oil, wine and amphorae from the 5th century AD<sup>90</sup>. The majority of the city's local and imported amphorae date from after this date<sup>91</sup>.

Red-slipped ceramics, the most important commercial vessels of the Mediterranean world, have yielded similar results on the southern coasts. The historical density of Cypriot, African and Phokaian ceramics found at Tarsus<sup>92</sup>, Soli<sup>93</sup> and Kelenderis<sup>94</sup> increases from the late 4th - 5th century AD. The African<sup>95</sup> and Phokaian<sup>96</sup> ceramics from Elaiussa Sebaste also increase from the end of the 4th century AD. The examples of red-slipped ceramics from these cities dating to the second half of the 4th century AD are limited.

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84 Kurt 2018, 808-814; 817.

85 The amphorae of this city are being prepared for publication by Prof. Dr. Mehmet TEKOC AK and Assoc. Dr. Erkan ALKAÇ.

86 Orhan 2023, 231, garfik 5.

87 Tomay 2023, 242, table 8.

88 Tekocak 2021, 3.

89 Tekocak – Zoroğlu 2013, 124.

90 Schneider 2008, 17.

91 Kızırlanslanoğlu 2016; Kızırlanslanoğlu 2022, 159-180.

92 Adak-Adıbelli 2017, 6-8.

93 Yıldız 2022a, 119, cat. no. 5; 120-134, nos. 11-109; Yıldız 2022b, 117-142; Yıldız 2022c, 1123-1150.

94 Tekocak 2009, 132-142; Tekocak 2013, 161-169.

95 Kızırlanslanoğlu – Aktaş 2023b, 111-151.

96 Kızırlanslanoğlu – Aktaş 2023a, 315-364.

Although there was a boom in African red-slipped ceramics with the foundation of Constantinople, the situation changed in the later part of the 4th century AD and African ceramics declined in centres in the eastern Mediterranean. The reason for this decline is the introduction of red-slipped ceramics from Cyprus and Phokaia<sup>97</sup>. However, it is debatable whether this was the main reason. It should be taken into account that African producers may have had difficulties in the distribution and sale of goods due to the chaotic atmosphere that engulfed the entire Eastern Mediterranean due to the Isaurian Revolts in the second half of the 4th century AD. In such an environment, it is not difficult to imagine that commercial ships were no longer able to navigate safely, especially between Anatolia and Cyprus, and even the entire Eastern Mediterranean trade was adversely affected.

The finds from Tarsus provide clues that may shed light on the state of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean during this chaotic phase, the decline in the exports of some centres or the introduction of new production centres. As a matter of fact, the harbour of Tarsus was one of the most important ports of call for commercial ships sailing to the Eastern Mediterranean during the Roman Imperial Period and Late Antiquity<sup>98</sup>. In this context, the amphorae found in Tarsus reveal that commercial activity in the city intensified between the 5th and 7th centuries AD. Most common production centres are Cilicia, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean and the Black Sea. Especially Proto LR 1, LR 4, LR 5 and LR 6 amphorae are in higher quantities. This can be explained by the fact that wines exported in these types of amphorae were the most preferred products in the Eastern Mediterranean trade and the geographical proximity of the production centres of these amphorae to Tarsus.

The Arab (Umayyad) conquest of Tarsus (636/637 AD and 647 - 652 AD) changed the political balance and social structure of the city<sup>99</sup>. This transformation is clearly reflected in the excavation contexts<sup>100</sup>. The latest examples of LR 2, LR 3, LR 4, LR 4, LR 5-6 and North African amphora finds in Tarsus should be dated to the middle of the 7th century AD in connection with the Arab-Eastern Roman Wars.

The finds prove that Tarsus was an important port of call for Mediterranean trade during the Roman Imperial Period and Late Antiquity. The city established commercial ties with a wide geographical area covering the Mediterranean, the Aegean and the Black Sea. The commercial relations of Tarsus over a long period of time were positively or negatively affected by certain events of Antiquity.

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97 Bess 2015, 36.

98 Durukan 2015b, 247.

99 Bamyacı – Güçlüay 2018, 281; Ostrogorsky 1995, 103; Gökhan 2010, 197; Hellenkemper – Hild 1990, 429.

100 Adak-Adibelli 2017, 1-3.



**Map:** Roman Imperial and Late Antique Amphora Centres in Tarsus.

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