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In Search of Ancient Antalya (Attaleia): A First Approach

In memory of Stephen Mitchell

NOAH KAYE*

Abstract

Antalya is one of the youngest major port cities of the Mediterranean, but its origins are among the most poorly understood. A pair of misconceptions hinders study and perhaps even documentation of Hellenistic and early Roman Attaleia. First, contrary to scholarly pessimism, there is much to learn about the early city's history and archaeology, both in the Old Town (Kaleiçi) and in the hinterland. We consider here afresh most of the old evidence: Strabo on the foundation of the city by Attalos II Philadelphos and the migration of Trojan Cilicians into western Pamphylia, early bronze coinage featuring Poseidon (it is argued) holding a dolphin, and pre-Roman remains at Ören Tepe and the upper site of Döşeme Boğazı. We gather together the fragments of the earliest public architecture found in Kaleiçi – aspects of the city's presentation to the sea, namely, von Lanckoroński's location *i* and the façade of the Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane. These are highlighted and preliminarily described in an effort to join old evidence to new, including the results of the many salvage excavations undertaken in Kaleiçi since the turn of the millennium. Second, the scholarly cliché that extols the virtues of the city's location is not only misleading, but it also mischaracterizes the nature of Attalid and Roman imperial intervention here. Large-scale urbanism in this ecology

Öz

Antalya, Akdeniz'in en genç büyük liman kentlerinden biri olmasına rağmen kökenleri en az anlaşılanlardan biridir. Bir çift yanlış anlama, Hellenistik ve erken Roma Attaleia'sının incelenmesini ve hatta belgelenmesini engellemektedir. Bunların birincisi, bilimsel kötümserliğin aksine, hem Eski Kent'te (Kaleiçi) hem de iç kesimlerde erken dönem kentinin tarihi ve arkeolojisi hakkında öğrenilecek çok şey vardır. Burada eski kanıtların çoğunu yeniden ele almaktayız: Strabon 14.4.1, şehrin II. Attalos Philadelphos tarafından kurulması ve Troyalı Kilikyalıların Batı Pamfilya'ya göçü; iddiaya göre Poseidon'un bir yunus tutarken tasvir edildiği erken bronz sikke ve Ören Tepe ve Döşeme Boğazı'nın üst yerleşmedeki Roma Dönemi öncesi kalıntıları. Kaleiçi'nde bulunan en eski kamu mimarisine ait parçaları, şehrin denize sunumuna ait parçaları, yani von Lanckoroński'nin konum *i*'sini ve Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane'nin cephesini bir araya getiriyoruz. Bunlar, milenyumun başlangıcından bu yana Kaleiçi'nde gerçekleştirilen birçok kurtarma kazısının sonuçları da dahil olmak üzere, eski kanıtları yenileriyle birleştirmek amacıyla vurgulanmış ve öncül olarak açıklanmıştır. İkincisi, şehrin konumunun erdemlerini öven akademik klişe sadece yanıltıcı olmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda Attalid ve Roma emperyalizm müdahalesinin doğasını da yanlış

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required an injection of resources and a reconfiguration of settlement and mobility, both of which, it is argued, have left their mark.

Keywords: Kaleiçi, Antalya, Attaleia, hellenistic urbanization, Mediterranean port cities, Roman Pamphylia

tanımlamaktadır. Bu ekolojide büyük ölçekli şehircilik, kaynakların dahil edilmesini ve hem yerleşimin hem de hareketliliğin yeniden yapılandırılmasını gerektirmekteydi; her ikisinin de iz bıraktığı, kolaylıkla görülebilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kaleiçi, Antalya, Attaleia, Hellenistik Dönem şehirleşmesi, Akdeniz liman kentleri, Roma Dönemi Pamphylia'sı

Introduction

In 48 BC one of the most powerful men in the world was on the run. Defeated by Caesar's forces at the Battle of Pharsalus, Pompey fled East. The Roman general, who had so recently remade the map and even the calendars of Anatolia and Syria, sought the support of his many friends and allies in the eastern Mediterranean. Having crossed the Aegean, Pompey docked at faithful Mytilene on the island of Lesbos. Plutarch writes, "After taking on board his wife and his friends [at Mytilene], Pompey went on his way, putting in at harbors only when he was compelled to get food or water there. The first city that he entered was Attaleia in Pamphylia; there some triremes from Cilicia met him, soldiers were assembled for him, and he was surrounded by senators, sixty of them."¹ It was in Attaleia (Antalya), we see, that the partisans of Pompey held a high-level summit on how to proceed with global war.² It was in Attaleia, evidently, that Pompey felt safe. Why?

In just a century, the young city had become a magnet and a base of operations for powerful people. How? Part of the answer is clearly to be found in the long reach of empire, the original Attalid investment, and then the activities of the early Romano-Italian migrants. Yet were local actors any less important to the story? And to what extent did Attalos II set the city on the path of Mediterranean megacity? Two recent books on Pergamon and Asia Minor / Anatolia scarcely treat the subject.³ However, this is not just a problem of evidence. In 2004, ahead of the publication of the relevant volume of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, Hansgerd Hellenkemper produced a synthesis of a few pages on the subject.⁴ At that time, little had changed in our knowledge beyond what Karol von Lanckoroński had described in his *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (1890-1892), save for the confirmation that the Roman – and likely Hellenistic – agora lay under the Kesik Minare / Korkut Cami / Cumanın Cami, with the Roman city's cardo passing hard by along the route of Hesapçı Sokağı in a northeast-southwest direction from Hadrian's Gate to Hıdırlık Kulesi. Yet in the past two decades, beginning already with Gamze Kaymak's 2009 publication of the Cumanın Cami (hereafter "Kesik"), and continuing to the present moment, many new clues have appeared.⁵ This article collects those clues and argues that the Attalids did indeed play a significant role in charting the city's path. We may now at least begin to write a sorely missing chapter in the urban history of Turkey's southern coast.⁶

¹ Plut., *Pomp.* 76.1; Perrin 1917, 313.

² Vell. Pat. 53.1.

³ Thonemann 2013, 73, 187; Kaye 2022, 123, 190, 233.

⁴ Hellenkemper 2004; *TIB* 8.1:317-25; von Lanckoroński 1890-1892, 1:7-32.

⁵ Kaymak 2009.

⁶ *RE* Suppl. 12 s.v. "Attaleia," contains just a few conjectures about Hellenistic cults or institutions. See also, Grainger 2009, 131, n. 47, apologizing, "This is not a definitive description [of Attaleia], but in the absence of a serious investigation which can get below the modern city and its medieval remains, this will have to do." For Bean 1979, 21, "[N]othing remains of the original city..."

In fact, the logic of Antalya's continual reincarnation as a Mediterranean megacity after intervening centuries of slumber makes this story one of urgent concern.

Strabo

Difficulties with the text of Strabo 14.4.1 on Attaleia can threaten to derail or at least misdirect any investigation of the city's origins. The geographer writes as follows:

εἶτα πόλις Ἀττάλεια, ἐπόνυμος τοῦ κτίσαντος Φιλαδέλφου καὶ οἰκίσαντος εἰς Κώρυκον, πολίχγιον ὄμορον, ἄλλην κατοικίαν καὶ μείζω περίβολον περιθέντος.

It is possible that the text of Strabo is corrupt, in light of the manuscript tradition.⁷ Consider, for example, the adjective ὄμορον, “bordering:” It appears in Strabo 11 times, and in all but one (an emendation of Meineke, in fact), the word collocates with a dative (i.e., “bordering on such-and-such a place”). Here, we lack the dative. A further textual problem is how to deal with the apposition. Meineke's punctuation leads most translators to put πολίχγιον ὄμορον in apposition with Κώρυκον – “Korykos, a neighboring settlement.” This makes ἄλλην κατοικίαν the object of the verb, “another colony which Philadelphos settled in Korykos, placing a greater wall around (them both).” Why “another?” The text does seem corrupt, and we are clearly missing something, though perhaps the first *katoikia* is the community of / at Korykos, since the word may account for both the injection of population and the local one. Translators have often elided the problem. Indeed, ἄλλην is not truly accounted for in the translation that accompanied Duane Roller's recent commentary:

Then there is the city of Attaleia, named after its founder [Attalos II] Philadelphos, who also settled Korykos, a small neighboring town, surrounding the settlement with a larger circuit wall.⁸

It is telling that ancient sources were *also* confused about the location of Pamphylian Korykos.⁹ In the case of nearby Lycian Korykos, the debate rages on. This all seems to be the result of the ambiguity of the term κώρυκος (“leather bag”). As a toponym, it refers to a mountainous or craggy coast with steep reefs and many caves, but as Κώρυκος, it is the name of a settlement / political community in such a location. As Hüseyin Sami Öztürk and Ögül Emre Öncü have shown for the Çıralı coast of Lycia, it is the toponym that shines through strongest.¹⁰ What dominates the sources is an outsider's view of a dangerous maritime landscape, a pirate's nest – or a place of “informers,” that is, those who would call in pirates. The ethnonym from the place is exiguously rare. Only Κώρυκος in Cilicia manages to emerge as a durable locus of communal identity by the Roman and late Roman period, probably because of rare features such as its natural harbor that, tucked between perilous blocks, was worth boasting about on coins, and its famous sacred cave, both of which attracted state power from the Seleukids onward.¹¹ It may then be futile to hope for evidence of a settlement / political

⁷ Radt 2005, 96. As Radt notes in the apparatus, “ὄμορον post κατοικίαν praebeant codd.; transposuit Kramer duce Groskurd.” Perhaps this is not surprising, since mistakes are typically reproduced in all medieval manuscripts of Strabo, but the modern emendation must be noted. Further, there is another textual problem in this sentence, μείζω; again Radt: “BF: μείζω μικρόν C, μικρόν D.”

⁸ Roller 2014, 629; cf. Radt 2005, 97: “eine weitere Siedlung.”

⁹ Arslan and Önen 2011, 198.

¹⁰ Öztürk and Öncü 2020, 265.

¹¹ Rubinstein 2004, 1080; Aşkın 2010; Öztürk and Öncü 2020, 264, n. 67.

community named Κώρυκος to emerge on the Bay of Antalya. On the other hand, Attaleia was clearly founded on a craggy κώρυκος. Thus, the statement of the *Suda* that the city was positioned on a promontory (*akrôtêrion*) is no longer embarrassing.¹² The Mermerli district and the adjoining southern bay, which contain the earliest remains in Antalya, may indeed fit the bill. On the other hand, we should imagine that at least one nearby settlement / political community – Strabo’s bordering *polichnion*? – was in fact folded into the polis of Attaleia through a process of synoikism.¹³ In recent years, firm archaeological evidence of the existence of the earlier community has emerged in the form of burials of the third and earlier second centuries in the Doğu Garajı necropolis.¹⁴ Its name is likely to remain a source of scholarly controversy.¹⁵ But we can now say that Attaleia was not a *de novo* foundation. It was another royal refoundation, which evidently did not involve the kind of massive, forced migration that Seleukos I had implemented to populate Seleuceia-on-the-Calycadnus.¹⁶

Landscape and Seascape

Students of Antalya’s long-term and recent history know well the ecological limits of large-scale urbanism here, but ancient historians tend to overestimate the salubriousness of the place. Esther Hansen once wrote, hyperbolically, “Attaleia could rival even the capital of the kingdom in beauty and favorableness of location,” while more recent scholarship still tends to praise this landscape and the port.¹⁷ In the case of the harbor, such praise rings false given what we already know from archival research and simple observation (fig. 1) – in the absence of a much-needed systematic archaeological investigation. In *Turkey’s Southern Shore*, George Bean claims, “Here, for the last two thousand years has been the principal south-coast port.”¹⁸ Yet even in the Roman period, the superior natural harbor of Magydos, artificially improved, was available and in use just 12 km to the southeast at Karpuzkaldıran in Lara. This pre-Hellenistic settlement, seemingly indigenous according to its Anatolian name, was not subsumed by Attaleia, but flourished symbiotically alongside it. Roman elites such as Julia Sancta, who restored a tower of Hadrian’s Gate, were active in both places, and the links between issues of Magydos and the earliest Hellenistic coinage of Attaleia show us that a cooperative arrangement had always existed.¹⁹ This must have been because of the inadequacy of Attaleia’s own harbor, both in terms of its size and its depth. Preliminary underwater explorations show a

¹² Cohen 1995, 338: “This is embarrassing because while Cilician Korykos – according to Strabo (14.5.5) – was built on a promontory, Attaleia in Pamphylia was not.”

¹³ The term *katoikia* in Strabo, *if* it refers to the settlement added by Philadelphos, does not give us meaningful information about its institutions or political status within the kingdom. See further Kaye 2022, 193–203.

¹⁴ Yener 2016; Akman and Tosun 2011; Akman and Tosun 2012; Toprak 2016.

¹⁵ Adak 2006, 7–12, locates Olbia 50 km from Attaleia on the Çalıışdağı Tepesi above Kemer, the key site on the border between Lycia and Pamphylia in earlier periods. Yet the appearance of *SEG* 56, no. 1710, a fourth-century proxeny decree of Olbia, at Mermerli Banyo Sk. no. 5 in Kaleiçi is suspicious, and the remains at Arapsuyu, just about 4 km west of Attaleia have resurfaced as a candidate. On the location of Olbia, see now Onur 2023, 30–37, with n. 36 on Arapsuyu.

¹⁶ Strabo 14.5.4. For Ma 2013, 73, the Attalids, unusually, founded Attaleia as a “new city;” Willet 2020, 54, also singles Attaleia out as the rare *de novo* foundation in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor.

¹⁷ Hansen 1971, 178; Levick and Jameson 1964: “The site is a pleasant one, here is a good harbor...;” Cohen 1995, 337: “Attaleia, which possessed the best harbor on the coast...;” Meadows 2013, 187: “...an attractive harbor site...”

¹⁸ Bean 1979, 21. The first edition of the book was published in 1968, five years before the opening of the modern cargo port in Konyaaltı in 1973. During his travels then, Bean would have seen low-intensity commercial traffic in the harbor of Kaleiçi (today Yat Limanı) that disappeared half a century ago.

¹⁹ Adak and Atvur 1999, esp. 59–64 and 56, for plan of significant Roman settlement at the site, since destroyed.

significant expansion of the harbor of Magydos through the construction of breakwaters in ashlar, presumably those of the very harbor that Paul used to enter Pamphylia in the first century CE.²⁰ It is possible that in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period, Attaleia relied on the capacity of the harbor of Magydos, its own harbor being quite shallow.²¹ Today, it is approximately 6-7 m in depth. In antiquity, it could very well have received artificial breakwaters such as those seen by Evliya Çelebi in 1671-1672.²² To accommodate Attalid and Roman warships and to support the trade on which the city subsisted, major intervention was necessary, on the scale of what Ptolemaic architects pursued at Amathus on Cyprus – or similar to the famous Attalid harbor works at Ephesos.²³ Historically, as Evren Dayar has shown, without improvement and expansion of its port, Antalya has tended to retreat from Mediterranean exchange networks, even before its ultimate obsolescence in the age of railroads and modern ports.²⁴

As for the city's rural territory, Attaleia is situated on the Antalya Tufa Plateau (often called, less accurately, a travertine plateau), which is watered by groundwater, rivers, and karstic springs.²⁵ Waterfalls, fluvial channels and local pools characterize its hydrology. Tectonics and discharge of fresh groundwater into the sea have produced many caves and rocks shelters throughout the microregion. At the edge of the Taurus in the Döşemealtı Plain, the Karain Cave was occupied from Palaeolithic times, as were many caves in the highlands of the Katran Mountain. Agriculturally, however, the choicest alluvial land sits on the periphery of the modest territory of approximately 150 km² usually assigned to Attaleia. When we fold the red tufa of the Döşemealtı Plain into the "Pamphylian Plain," as classicists tend to do, we obscure the ecological challenge of urbanism in the western corner of this region.²⁶ On its east, the tufa plateau is bordered by the thick alluvium of the Aksu (Kestros), which nurtured Perge. Continuing east, the alluvium of the Köprüçay (Eurymedon) appears, the chora of Aspendos. Both of these wealthy Pamphylian cities were located upriver from the Mediterranean within the broad plain. Only on the west did Attaleia have direct access to alluvium, a thinner strip between the tufa and the point where the mountains come crashing down to the sea near the modern port of Antalya at the southern end of the Konyaaltı district. This was land that the Romans confiscated in 76 BC and perhaps then forfeited to Termessos.²⁷ The economic power of the Romano-Italians of Attaleia must always have been based elsewhere – in the highlands of southern Anatolia – and, of course, in trade.

²⁰ Wilson 2016, 236-38.

²¹ Shallowness of the harbor: *RE* Suppl. 12 s.v. "Attaleia," 110.

²² Current depth: <https://antalya.com.tr/tr/kesfet/aktiviteler/mutlaka-gorun/kaleici-yat-limani> The coastline here is generally understood to have been .50 m higher in antiquity (Beşaltı 2018, 87). For Çelebi on the artificial harbor, see Crane 1993, 160. On medieval sources for harbor works, see *TIB* 8.1:318.

²³ Attalid Ephesos: Strabo 14.1.24. Amathus is a fascinating case study in both harborside quarrying and ambitious, pre-cement engineering, which involved rapid quarrying and precise placement of blocks in the water by means of cranes. See, Empereur et al. 2017, esp. 91-110. Future research on the harbor of Attaleia will require study of quarry cuttings on Mermerli Plajı, as well an investigation of the "cranes (*machanai*)" mentioned in a Hellenistic inscription found at Kesik (Knibbe *apud* Kaymak 2009, 109). Knibbe, Gökalp 2008, 178, and I have all read τῶς μηχανῶς from the stone, a reading accepted by Onur 2023, 30, n. 41.

²⁴ Dayar 2022, esp. 278, on how shallow waters prevented large ships from entering the port in the early modern period; Dayar 2023, esp. 365, attributing the demotion of Antalya to second-order status in the 19th century to the fact that the longstanding goal of modernizing the port was not achieved.

²⁵ Koşun et al. 2019.

²⁶ For example, Bean 1979, 21, writes, misleadingly, "[T]he motorist...emerges into the plain of Pamphylia near the old Seljuk caravanserai known as Kırkgöz Hanı."

²⁷ Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1.5; *TIB* 8.1:318; Onur 2023, 36-37. Current excavations of a Roman village in the Domuzağlı Mevkii, Konyaaltı, may shed light on the history of the *ager Attalensium*.

Much of the ancient and medieval city wall was torn down in 1914 by request of the population for reasons of public health. The question of the negative effects of a malarial ecology on agricultural production and population is vexed. Dayar has suggested that it was a product of the 16th century Little Ice Age and modern deforestation, while others have seen the malarial landscape of Antalya as less severe, a modernizing construction of the early Turkish Republic.²⁸

Whether malarial by ancient standards or not, large-scale urbanism here is not possible without what geographers call a “discontinuous hinterland.” In fact, at least two leading Romano-Italian families of Attaleia, the Calpurnii and Creperii, were active in the province of Galatia.²⁹ Urbanism here also depended on the city’s inclusion in a supra-regional maritime trade network. Even under the Attalids, it was probably a commercial harbor, not just a royal naval station. The appearance of anchor and Helios countermarks on the early bronze coinage points in this direction, since it means that Attaleia was privileged to be included in Pamphylia’s trade with the Seleukid Levant.³⁰

Hinterland

At its foundation, Attaleia was an exclave (fig. 2). The city did not border other Pergamene territories. This fact once loomed large over study of the city’s hinterland. In an earlier age, European and American scholars were quick to identify Attalid forts at strategic points, especially passes, along the approaches to Pamphylia.³¹ In our post-colonial age, the local context of most fortifications is emphasized, and many have been reassigned to Pisidian cities or moved out of the Hellenistic period altogether.³² As we shall see, on archaeological grounds, the redating of two key sites is especially problematic. Indeed, if there was a flurry of fort building in the passes to the northwest during the later Hellenistic period, a sign that any number of actors desired control of movement between the Maeander Corridor and the Pamphylian Plain, it was because the foundation of Attaleia had fundamentally changed patterns of mobility.

In 1999 the preliminary report of the survey of Döşeme Boğazı, led by Stephen Mitchell, described Hellenistic occupation, specifically, evidence of surveillance of the narrowest point of the defile by means of the fortress atop Aşar Tepe. However, the final report of 2021 revised that view.³³ It should be noted that the focus of that study is the spectacularly well-preserved late Roman settlements at Upper and Lower Döşeme, along with the transhumant economy that helps us make sense of them in the authors’ theory of the site. Neither the early Roman period, which saw the construction by Augustus of the Via Sebaste and Vespasian’s renovations – evidenced by Vespasian’s monument from the northern limit of the site, at the bridge to the Ortaova plain – nor even a hypothetical pre-Roman phase are much discussed in a book that is also devoted to documenting a regional chain of late Roman and Ottoman cisterns.³⁴ Yet the upper site exhibits several indications of earlier, that is, Hellenistic occupation.

²⁸ Dayar 2018; cf. Evered and Evered 2011.

²⁹ Levick and Jameson 1964, 103; *RE* Suppl. 12 s.v. “Attaleia,” 118. As Pichler 2024, 563, writes, “Attaleia may never have had a significant territory...”

³⁰ Baydur 1975, nos. 37, 43 (anchor); nos. 47, 52 (Helios); Bresson 2018.

³¹ E.g., Paribeni and Romanelli 1914, 273. For synthesis, see McNicoll and Milner 1997, 118-56.

³² Talloen 2013, 31, n. 129; Laufer 2021, 55-57.

³³ Mitchell et al. 2021, 49.

³⁴ Adak and Wilson 2012.

The impressive Late Roman House 6 bears a large block placed upside down on its south-western corner that derives from a possible late Hellenistic context (fig. 3).³⁵ It is over 2 m long, close to .75 m high, and around .25 m thick. A boss on the west end of the block remains. In shallow relief, arms are presented: what appears to be a large, rimless shield in front of a pommel sword and a smaller, rimless shield next to a spear. It has been suggested that it is a lintel from a funerary heroon with a triangular pediment. If so, it may have belonged to the same necropolis as a sarcophagus on the west side of the road that bears a hoplite shield with offset rim.³⁶ We could begin to see here a rather impressive necropolis, in which leading Pisidian civic leaders were buried. Was this a portion of the elite of nearby Ariassos, charged with guarding or governing the pass? Perhaps, we should also consider the possibility that the weaponry relief belongs to an (unfinished) public monument – of the sort that Veli Köse has argued was a signal feature of civic architecture in late Hellenistic Pisidia.³⁷ Weaponry friezes adorned gates at Hellenistic Side, Perge, and Sagalassos.³⁸ We find many shields on the tombs of the early Roman necropolis of Ariassos, but the practice goes back to the Hellenistic period.³⁹

Finally, we now learn about a feature named the “northern boundary wall,” one of two walls at the northern pinch point of the defile, the other being the thicker “barrier wall,” approximately 18-20 m to the south. The “barrier wall” is a Late Roman construction, built of spoliated ashlar from the early Roman heroon. What then of the “northern boundary wall” (figs. 4-6)? Mitchell rightly cautions against using masonry style as a foolproof dating criterion. Yet the meager description of the wall as “polygonal” and “virtually continuous” do not suffice. The wall is interpreted as “not so much for defence as to prevent animals from straying, or simply to establish a clear division between the built-up village, and the open hill side which was still dotted with earlier sarcophagi and tombs.”⁴⁰

Several problems arise. It is difficult to understand why the Late Roman inhabitants of the village should need both a “barrier wall” and this second curtain about 18-20 m away to mark the limits of their settlement. If animals were penned in here, what was to stop them from skirting off to the west? In fact, the “northern boundary wall” is *not* “virtually continuous,” and therefore, hardly a boundary. It seems to stop at the Via Sebaste. On the west side of the road, it has either been robbed out to build the large terrace that supports an early Roman heroon – or it reflects a different route for an earlier road at this narrowest part of the pass. Further, it was constructed with care. It has two faces, separated by an approximately 0.75 m-wide rubble core – a rather sturdy wall for an animal pen! Many blocks are at least 1 m wide and close to 1 m high. Importantly, the exterior face presents a more finely finished surface to outsiders; the interior surface is rough by comparison. The “polygonal masonry” of the exterior might be considered trapezoidal with occasional headers. It appears to have been hammer-finished, even tool-faced. We can look to, for example, sites in Caria (Tekekale) or Lycia (Ision) for comparable masonry in Hellenistic fortifications.⁴¹

³⁵ Mitchell 1999, 173.

³⁶ Mitchell et al. 2021, 48.

³⁷ Köse 2017, 65-66, lists Pisidian public buildings with friezes featuring weapons, including a temple at Ariassos, an assemblage of buildings dated to the second half of the second century the first century BC; see further, Giese 2021.

³⁸ Side: Mansel 1978, 60-65; Sagalassos: Jacobs 2007, 459; Perge: reused shield monument in the Late Roman gate.

³⁹ Ariassos: Cormack 1996; Hellenistic date: Köse 2017, 102. Köse points out (pers. comm.) that the frieze is unfinished. My conclusion follows Mitchell et al. 2021, 52.

⁴⁰ Mitchell et al. 2021, 47.

⁴¹ Gençer and Hamamcıoğlu-Turan 2022, especially fig. 8; Iseion: McNicoll and Milner 1997, 171-73.

The date and function of the “northern boundary wall” are linked to those of the fortifications above. First, a simple lookout tower is perched about 5 m in elevation above the uppermost insula of late Roman houses uphill from the two walls (figs. 7-8). It commands a view of the line of the Via Sebaste (and presumably, its Hellenistic predecessor) northward out of the pass. It is a thick platform around 1.5 m high and 10 m wide, built from unworked stones, and juts out precipitously from the slope. While its masonry is primitive, the evenness of its southern face shows that this lookout was constructed with care. It appeared already on the site plan in 1999 but has never been discussed. What has been discussed as the key indicator of Hellenistic activity at Döşeme Boğazı is the fortress much higher up atop Aşar Tepe. Its masonry has been likened to that of the “northern boundary wall.” Topographically, the fortress seems entirely disconnected from the late Roman village below. Its large cistern implies a permanent garrison force. Yet despite the similarity of the Aşar Tepe site to Pisidian forts linked to the Attalids, Mitchell preferred to leave it undated because of its similarity to the nearby fort at Ören Tepe which, in the argument, has now traded a Hellenistic date for a Late Roman one.⁴²

Archaeologically, however, a conjectural pre-Roman first phase for the fort at Ören Tepe, opposite the unwallied Panemoteichos II, should not be easily dismissed either. First, there was clearly an earlier monumental building on that site, which was spoliated to build the church. The disturbed context is acknowledged in the report of the Pisidia Survey and in Thurstan Robinson’s thesis.⁴³ The earlier building is also indicated in Sabri Aydal’s plan (fig. 9), but this point fell out of the analysis in Stephen Mitchell’s most recent discussion. In fact, Mitchell suggested that the church and the fortifications were built together, in Justinianic fashion, as a single-period site of perhaps the sixth century CE.⁴⁴ Yet at the northeast corner of the church, the impressive foundations of this earlier building remain to be explicated. Still visible are the foundation course, as well as a neatly rectangular corner stone and part of the returning, Northeast-Southwest Wall, preserved several courses high (figs. 10-11). Presumably, the earlier monumental building was not a church. There is no trace of an apse to match, for example, and no obvious reason why sixth-century builders would need to rebuild their church with a different orientation. It is this building that is the more likely to date to the time of the initial construction of the fortress, without which it makes little sense all alone on this high point. From the apse of the church, one has a commanding view of the narrowest part of the pass to the southeast, a sightline that helps explicate the earlier building.

Second, the original report described the building technique of the fortifications as roughly-shaped blocks (up to 70 cm. long) that are “uniform throughout, implying that the wall was built at one period, and the absence of mortar points clearly to a pre-Roman date.”⁴⁵ Robinson

⁴² On Pisidian forts linked by some scholars to the Attalids, see Waelkens 2004, 446-47 (Insuyu and Yarıköy, in the territory of Sagalassos); Laufer 2021, 55-57, for Ekşili, which overlooks the eastern entrance to the Döşeme Boğazı, and Kızılı between the territories of Pednelissos, Kremna, and Adada.

⁴³ Aydal et al. 1997, 165; cf. Robinson 2002, 134: “As far as dating is concerned, the Ören Tepe church was clearly constructed on top of another building, so is almost certainly later than the original fortifications.”

⁴⁴ Mitchell et al. 2021, 17, n. 71. There, the Late Roman dating is attributed to Robinson. However, Robinson 2002, 129, assigns a date in the late third century AD to the fortifications of Ören Tepe, as well as those of Ovacık in the Plain of Elmalı as well as those on the southwest hill at Oinoanda at the time of the revolt of Lydius. Robinson’s view is that Ovacık is “a late antique construction comparable in every way with the late antique fort” of Ören Tepe. He attributes them both to an initiative of the Roman state to combat banditry in the wake of the revolt (90, n. 485). First, this requires a downdating of the inscriptions from Ovacık on the suppression of banditry. Second, this requires us to disregard the view of R. M. Harrison 1980, 112, following von Luschan, that the Ovacık structure was unimposing enough to have been identified (even mistakenly) as a monastery. Third, the Ovacık site lacks the towers found at Ören Tepe. For Ovacık, see the description of Harrison 2001, 56-60, with fig. 98.

⁴⁵ Aydal et al. 1997, 165.

has since pointed out that friable plaster or cement appears on patches of the fort's walls and emphasized that the absence of mortar is not a dating criterion in this region.⁴⁶ Most if not all of the pottery from surface collection, reported as Hellenistic, may in fact be late Roman.⁴⁷

We are left with the perilous criterion of building technique.⁴⁸ What we can say, however, is that the fortifications are not “uniform throughout” or, as Eric Laufer puts it, all made with “große Schichttechnik.”⁴⁹ On the western side, the side illustrated in the report, and elsewhere along the circuit, “roughly shaped blocks,” is a fair description (fig. 12). However, the wall of one of the “garrison chambers” leading to the south tower is altogether different (figs. 13-14). It exhibits pseudo-isodomic masonry preserved up to five courses. Evidently, skilled masons built this section with care. It is a hint of pre-Roman presence that has yet not been considered. It is worth nothing that the adjacent south tower is the largest of the fort's three, non-uniform towers. Like the building under the church, this tower looks southeast to the pass. Indeed, much late Roman / early Byzantine building, including the construction of a church, has greatly obscured earlier periods of occupation. An apt comparison is the nearby site of Trebenna that, with its Anatolian name, can be presumed to have had pre-Roman occupation. Yet on the acropolis of Trebenna, where excavators have searched in vain, early Byzantine houses and a church have completely obliterated the earlier settlement.⁵⁰

Supporting evidence for a late Hellenistic trend of stopping up the passes into Pamphylia from the northwest can be found nearby in the Yenice Boğazi, site of Kapıkaya Gediği (fig. 15). Termessos, just 6 km away, was obviously the key actor in the construction of the Kapıkaya wall in the second century. In fact, most scholars have now turned away from an earlier historiography of grand strategy that assumed an Attalid role.⁵¹ An Attalid partnership, however, is not out of the question. An architectural signature for “Pergamene” fortifications was probably always lacking. However, we do find royal sponsorship, a collaborative fort building arrangement, at Kardakon Kome, a village likely on the very road that connected Attaleia to its sister exclave, Telmessos, via the Yenice Boğazi.⁵² In the end, what matters is just the existence of this impressive barrier and its agreed-upon function as a *Sperrmauer*. From a poliocratic standpoint, the Kapıkaya wall has puzzlingly little value.⁵³ It is a break on movement, perhaps a customs barrier that protected revenues, maybe even those that appear to be threatened in the treaty between Termessos and Adada.⁵⁴ These local communities – Termessos, Ariassos, and Panemoteichos – may have been the main movers in this regard, but the fortification of the adjacent passes can certainly be related to the Attalid intervention in Pamphylia, which had intensified traffic with the Maeander Corridor and ultimately with the Aegean.

⁴⁶ Robinson 2002, 129.

⁴⁷ Aydal et al. 1997, pl. 20 (b).

⁴⁸ We cannot use “typology” as the dating criterion for the Ören Tepe fort if the earlier phase of the site is ignored.

⁴⁹ Laufer 2021, 55.

⁵⁰ Çevik et al. 2005.

⁵¹ Adak 2010, 174; Laufer 2021, 55-57; cf. Kaye 2022, 121. Royal participation in the building of the wall would not imply that the Yenice Boğazi belonged to the territory of Attaleia.

⁵² Kardakon Kome: *SEG* 19, no. 867, ll. 17-20; cf. the mason sent by Eumenes II to Apollonioucharax, *SEG* 57, no. 1150, Face A, line 25. On the associations of builders (“bauhütten”) in the kingdom, see Laufer 2021, 267-69.

⁵³ Winter 1966, 1971; McNicoll and Milner 1997, 119-20; Waelkens 2004, 445; Grainger 2009, 130.

⁵⁴ *TAM* 3(1), no. 2, ll. 13-15; Talloen 2013, 31, n. 129, understands the wall as a customs barrier.

Aiolianism in Western Pamphylia

The narrow strip of habitable coast between Phaselis and Attaleia has generally been seen as possessing few if any identifiable pre-Hellenistic settlements (fig. 16).⁵⁵ In several studies, Adak has challenged that view and sought to locate, in a single territorial bloc between Kemer and Antalya, an archaic Tenedos, Lyrnessos, Thebe, and possibly also a Kyme-in-Pamphylia.⁵⁶ This raft of Aiolian toponyms, all of which only appear in later sources, would reflect a now-forgotten mass migration of the eighth century BC. Each of these small settlements is then to be understood as the *apoikia* of an Aiolian polis. This argument that Hellenistic literature reflects archaic reality leans heavily on the presence of Aiolian dialectical features in the broader corpus of Pamphylian Greek, drawing support from two inscriptions naming Tenedos, one dated to the second or first century BC and another to the Roman period.⁵⁷ None of the other toponyms has turned up in an inscription. Consequently, the topographical exercise has become one of matching ruins to Aiolian place names: Beldibi, specifically Hayıtlıgöl, and the adjacent Sıçan Adası (Lyrnessos-Lyrnas-Lyrnateia-Lirnuteia); Rezburnu Tepesi (Thebe); Arapsuyu or Hayıtlıgöl (Tenedos). And while the explanatory model of an archaic migration still requires further testing, the Hellenistic political and cultural context for Aiolianism in western Pamphylia has yet to be explored.

If we zoom out, the late appearance of Aiolian toponyms in Pamphylia does not look like an accident of preservation. Rather, as C. Brian Rose has shown, Aiolian migration traditions first appear in Classical sources in the specific political context of the Aegean after the Persian Wars.⁵⁸ Yet we find few mentions of the Aiolian toponyms in Classical sources.⁵⁹ Hellenistic politics and literary culture seem to have either conjured them up or greatly amplified an earlier migration narrative. Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 F 32 = Strabo 14.4.1) apparently would be our earliest source for a Thebe and a Lyrnessos in southern Anatolia, doublets for places that loom large in the literary record because of their Homeric associations.⁶⁰ Tellingly, Strabo, who jumps directly from the royal foundation of Attaleia to this topic, does not quite confirm the existence of these settlements:

φασὶ δ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Φασήλιδος καὶ Ἀτταλείας δείκνυσθαι Θήβην τε καὶ Λυρνησόν,
ἐκπεσόντων ἐκ τοῦ Θήβης πεδίου τῶν Τρωικῶν Κιλικῶν εἰς τὴν Παμφυλίαν ἐκ μέρους,
ὡς εἶρηκε Καλλισθένης.

“They say that both Thebe and Lyrnessos can be seen between Phaselis and Attaleia, a part of the Trojan Cilicians who had been driven out of the Plain of Thebe, as Callisthenes states.”

⁵⁵ Keen and Fisher-Hansen 2004, 1212.

⁵⁶ Adak and Güzelyürek 2005, 42-57; Adak 2006; 2007; 2010, 170.

⁵⁷ For the *editio princeps* of the treaty between Tenedos and Phaselis (ca. second-first century BC), see Onur 2023, esp. 34, on the Doric dialect of the inscription. See also the Roman epitaph of the “Phaselitan from the polis of Tenedos,” Ormerod and Robinson 1914, 32 no. 48, with Onur 2023, 28, n. 29. Onur locates Tenedos at Hayıtlıgöl. See also *TIB* 8.2:877.

⁵⁸ Rose 2008, 420-22.

⁵⁹ For sources, see Onur 2023, 17, table 1. Ps.-Skylax 100 knows of a νῆσος Λύρναταια but does not know of a Lyrnessos. His knowledge of this small island, of Olbia, and of Magydos (conjecture of MSS Μάσηδος) makes his ostensible ignorance of the Aiolian bloc in western Pamphylia suspicious. It is not entirely clear how to relate to this tradition a certain place Lirnuteia, from the notice of Hecataeus of Miletus (Steph. Byz. 418.11-12), Λιρνύταια, πόλις Παμφυλίας. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λιρνυταιεύς. See *TIB* 2:698.

⁶⁰ See Rubinstein 2004, 1037, 1050. The location of Lyrnessos was disputed in antiquity. Thebe, for its part, is *only* mentioned in archaic and Classical sources connected to the Homeric tradition.

Strabo's notice is an echo of a debate, which seems to have been especially fierce around 150 BC. As Mary Bachvarova points out, it is very possible that Strabo is not transmitting Callisthenes here, but rather the second-century work of Demetrios of Skepsis, the *Trojan Catalogue*, written within the intellectual context of the Library of Pergamon.⁶¹ In any case, we find here a complex of key issues in Demetrios' thought, namely, post-Trojan-War migration from places like "Cilician Thebe" and the problem of homonymy in place-naming. As we see in the new fragment *P. Oxy.* 5094, homonymy, a potential result of migration, was indeed an organizing issue for the entirety of the *Catalogue*.⁶² These elusive Trojan Cilicians, a people from the core of Priam's kingdom – perhaps inhabitants of Teuthrania, cradle of the Attalid dynasty – were felt in Demetrios' day to have been oddly left out of Homer's original list of allies.⁶³ This second-century debate, which, as Strabo implies, included varying views on the authenticity of the Pamphylian homonyms, left its mark on local toponymical tradition, in part one suspects, on account of the international notoriety of the Homeric problems involved. As genuine topography, however, the same tradition has rightly been viewed with skepticism.⁶⁴ However, it is possible that we are also hearing echoes, or at least fodder for this debate, in the late Hellenistic attestation of a real Tenedos, the inscription from Hayıtlıgöl in which a political community represents itself as a Troadic-Aiolian *apoikia*. This could not have escaped the notice of courtier intellectuals in the entourage of Attalos II. After all, just then Pergamene art historians and philologists were both busy with the task of authenticating archaic Aeolian statues and poems.⁶⁵ The Attalids may not have been responsible for the tradition of an Aeolis in western Pamphylia, but they could very well have lent it weight and welcomed local self-fashioning.⁶⁶

The City

Hellenkemper's sketch of Attaleia's original city plan in the upper / new city (Barbaros + Kılınçarslan Mah.) seems to have been confirmed by two decades of published and unpublished excavations (fig. 17).⁶⁷ He conjectured an extant grid plan of insulae approximately 35 x 70 m, astride an axial street (Hesapçı Sokağı) running northeast-southwest. This street ran from the Hellenistic predecessor to Hadrian's Gate all the way to the seafront wall at the later Roman mausoleum known as the Hıdırlık Kulesi, passing hard by the Roman agora at Kesik Minare. Since then, Kaymak has been able to further define the Roman agora, particularly to

⁶¹ Bachvarova 2023, 142-43. Note that Strabo (8.5.3) also expounds upon and transmits Hellenistic commentary on the *non*-existence of places mentioned in Homer's *Catalogue of Ships*, specifically, a Messê said to be in Laconia: "They say that the of the places catalogued by Homer [*Iliad* 2.581-85], Messe is nowhere to be seen (δείκνυσθαι)..." (trans. Roller 2014). On Demetrios of Skepsis and the cultural politics of the Attalids, see Kaye 2022, 292-97. On Strabo and Homeric geography, see Lightfoot 2019.

⁶² Trachsel 2014.

⁶³ Strabo 13.3.1-2, with mention of Trojan Cilicians under Eurypolus (son of Telephos) in the Kaikos Valley. See further on Cilicians in Teuthrania, 13.1.69-70.

⁶⁴ For doubts about the existence of Lyrnessos, see Zgusta 1984, nos. 732-34.

⁶⁵ Polański 2019, esp. 431.

⁶⁶ The Attalids were skilled practitioners of kinship diplomacy (*syngeneia*), as we see, for example, in 167-166 BC, when Eumenes II reminded the Milesians of his descent from a Cyzicene; see Welles 1934, no. 52, l. 65.

⁶⁷ A volume covering various salvage excavations in Kaleiçi is planned, organized by Aynur Tosun and the Antalya Museum. It is interesting to note that, in at least two cases, the grid of the modern street plan actually connects from the "new city" to the "old" (*contra* Grainger 2009, 132). From Barbaros Mah. to Tuzcular Mah., Hadi Efendi Sk. connects to Attalus Sk., and Kocatepe Sk. seems to connect to Karanlık Sk.; see Kaymak 2009, fig. 273.

the north of the mosque, and the grid of the Roman city may also have been confirmed by digging along Hesapçı Sokağı in 2013, the uncovering of some impressive Roman houses in the excavation of the so-called “AKMED Hotel,” now RuinAdalia.⁶⁸ Kaymak has also strengthened the case for a Hellenistic agora at Kesik by publishing many spoliated blocks and by sinking a sondage of approximately 300-350 cm to bedrock. There she found Hellenistic pottery and a coin on or near the bedrock itself, as well as the remains of a Hellenistic road surface at 308 cm.⁶⁹ As a further indication of the start date for occupation in this district, we can note the recent salvage excavation of parcel 109 / 19 (Zeytin Çıkmazı), the northwest quadrant of an insula bounded by Hesapçı Sokağı itself on its southeast, said to have produced Hellenistic unguentaria recovered from the northern end of the lot.⁷⁰

Until now, one has been able to say little about the rest of the early city, that is, all its various harbor quarters that stretch north-northwest from the steep drop along Hıdırlık Sokağı, which tracks the line of the southern of the two interior fortification walls of the Selçuk period (Tuzcular + Selçuk Mah.). The northern medieval barrier tracks an important axis along Uzun Çarşı from near a gate (von Lanckoroński III) close to Saat Kulesi (the northern boundary of modern Tuzcular Mah.). The modern Selçuk Mahallesi includes both a patch of neighborhood below the cliff and the rim of the tufa plateau itself at the settlement’s northern edge – the area of Tophane, the premodern kale, and the important medieval Selçuk monuments of the Yivli Minare, Alaeddin Camisi, and Imaret Medresesi.⁷¹ The general idea has been that the “old town,” or Korykos (?), was near the harbor; and that Attalos built a circuit wall along a line that has essentially remained fixed, enclosing about 30.5 ha.⁷² No further definition of space has been possible, though we still await a systematic study of the city walls.⁷³

Notably, Antalya lacks a natural acropolis.⁷⁴ This may make it hazardous to assume continuity. Or it could lead us to look for ways that builders economized on labor and materials by continually renovating the same seat of power. Interestingly, a salvage excavation of a site close to the kale and the ancient Tophane gate – inside this great complex of medieval and early modern officialdom that included the Paşa Sarayı noted by Evliya Çelebi in 1671-1672 – has now turned up signs of an elite Roman residence in the form of marble architectural

⁶⁸ Kaymak 2009, 13-14; Çınar and Toprak 2014.

⁶⁹ Kaymak 2009, 197, n. 342.

⁷⁰ Pers. comm. Onur Kara. In print, Kara 2014, 73, has signaled the detection of Hellenistic levels in “recent (son yıllarda)” excavations in Kaleiçi.

⁷¹ Okatan 2004, 7.

⁷² For the erroneous doubling of the city’s surface area in previous scholarship, see Adak 2010, 171.

⁷³ Varkıvaç and Atıla 2021, 250. Aytaç Dönmez is currently carrying out a study of the city walls. Pessimism about the possibility of knowledge of the wall of Attalos may be misplaced, (for which, see Hellenkemper 2004, 334; *TIB* 8.1:319). First, Varkıvaç and Atıla 2021, 251 with fig. 4, illustrate a gate (Pace 1921), no longer extant, on the city’s south side, which they argue is Hellenistic. Further, an architectural survey of the largely inaccessible interior Selçuk fortifications is urgently needed and could turn up more information. Grainger, 2009, 131, for example, assumes, on the basis of the extant Selçuk walls, that the ancient city was divided into three parts! Much of the southern interior wall is encased within modern buildings or lying unprotected in open lots in Insula 56, stretching northeast from the tower at Balık Pazarı between Paşa Cami Sk. and Mescit Sk. (Barbaros Mah.). Monumental blocks of Roman date are ubiquitous here and Hellenistic spolia may also be lurking. Finally, it is worth noting that in both the Pergamene naval harbor at Elaia and the one at Aigina (Kolonna), the existence of an interior fortification wall (*diateichisma*) is confirmed; see Laufer 2021, 277-79, 285. In a manner reminiscent of Pergamene Elaia, the harbor of Antalya was still essentially bifurcated in 1890 between the northern Gümrük Limanı (customs harbor) and the southern Merdivenli / Karantina İskelesi (staircase and quarantine dock); see Dayar 2022, 282, fig. 1.

⁷⁴ Grainger 2009, 131.

decoration.⁷⁵ If there had been a Hellenistic royal palace or a Roman governor's house here, it would be very difficult to detect now in the Tophane district, given the focus of building here over the ages. For this northern curtain wall contained the city's main entry and exit point(s) after antiquity, and so much was demolished during the first decades of the Turkish Republic.⁷⁶ Yet, perhaps it is worth considering the challenges of building an artificial acropolis on such terrain (fig. 18). What kind of investment of resources and technical prowess would have been required? The travertine cover here is porous and full of voids, prone to breaks along the cliff face, an effect exacerbated by wastewater runoff. It is a risky place for rulers to build, but, fascinatingly, geophysical study has shown anthropogenic terraces as well as natural ones.⁷⁷ For someone, the view was worth the risk.

We can now more confidently recognize monumental building in the harbor's "old town." Kaymak tentatively linked two blocks from a Doric frieze decorating the Selçuk tower at the Kirkmerdiven steps (fig. 19; parcel 156 / 7) to an early (second half of the second century BC) building in the agora, 500 m away.⁷⁸ Yet the frieze is modestly sized, probably too small to go with the 12 + Doric columns, about 75 cm in diameter, found at Kesik, along with *that* building's long, thick ashlar wall blocks (ca. 89 cm thick and 53-63 x 120-140 cm).⁷⁹ Further, the frieze blocks by Kirkmerdiven each contain three triglyphs and three metopes, representing a longer frieze that need not have been removed wholesale from the agora. Rather, the frieze blocks, and likewise the ornate door built into the same tower, may not have wandered very far. This is one implication of the discovery nearby in 2011 of a Roman auditorium, probably a theater, in insula 148 in Uzun Çarşı.⁸⁰ We know the basic shape of the building: at its bottom, 11 m below the surface, a very well-preserved, narrow vaulted passage was excavated, possibly a *hyposkênion*. At just 3 m below in the adjacent lot to the east, rows of seats terminate in the west where, despite the fill, one can see the gradient of the *koilon*. At the building's other end, the pier of an entranceway was found in Lot 15. Further study and excavation could establish whether the theater has a Hellenistic phase, which its steep, natural *koilon* implies. One can imagine theatergoers enjoying a view not only of the sea, but perhaps visual communication with a palace across the harbor at Tophane.

Indeed, the notion of a Hellenistic palace set atop the cliff at Tophane, or perhaps on a series of still extant terraces encompassing an entire royal district (*basileia*) in the north, is perhaps not so fanciful. What is clear is that the entire urban plan emphasized the visual drama of the maritime façade. The pre-Attalid settlement was also probably perched on the tufa plateau and made use of staircases to access the harbor below – such as the disused one, sealed off but still visible today in the southeast corner of the harbor directly below Mermerli Sk. It also buried its dead in the necropolis of Doğu Garajı. This earlier settlement may also have possessed a civic center somewhere along the sloping terrain between Balık Pazarı and the

⁷⁵ Büyükyörük 2016, 323; Crane 1993, 157.

⁷⁶ For the ancient Tophane gate, see Varkıvaç and Atila 2021, 251 with fig. 3; on demolition, n. 11. For more on the complicated issue of northern gate(s), see Okatan 2004, 51-93. For Çelebi's elaborate description of the "Varoş Kapısı," see Crane 1993, 158.

⁷⁷ Ercan et al. 1985.

⁷⁸ Kaymak 2009, 77, 198-200; Laufer 2021, 189, n. 1834, prefers a later Hellenistic / early Roman date for Kaymak's "I. Bina: Hellenistik Yapı," likening its Doric capitals to those of a fountain house in Sagalassos (<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/6051>).

⁷⁹ On these ashlar, see Kaymak 2009, 74.

⁸⁰ Ulutaş et al. 2012.

Mermerli Plajı – perhaps the discovery of a fourth-century decree of Olbia at Mermerli Banyo Sk. no. 5 is a clue.⁸¹ With the discovery of the Roman auditorium, we now know that this slope remained a second civic center, the old town, as it were, after the birth of the new city with its gridded insulae and agora, on the flat terrain above and to the south. This is evidenced by the profusion of Hellenistic and early Roman architectural elements still visible today. The hypothesis of a different or earlier theater built lower down along the moon-shaped slope of Mermerli Sk. remains to be explored.⁸² Hints of Hellenistic activity in precisely this area can be glimpsed in two pieces of a Doric half column. First, a half column of porous limestone is preserved (32 cm l.) in a later wall adjacent to the steps descending north from Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane (fig. 20). It is faceted, with its nearly 10 preserved facets implying the Doric order's 20. The half column's widest diameter is a modest 34.5 cm (x 14.5 cm). Approximately 70 m away and lower down at the east entrance of Mermerli Parkı at the northwest corner of the intersection of Mermerli Sk. and Mermerli Banyo Sk., a very weathered Doric half-column capital sits on a pillar (fig. 21). The technique of faceting was widespread in Pisidia and Pamphylia and has been considered a plausible mark of Pergamene influence in this very region. Double half-column pillars appear on many buildings associated with the Attalids such as gift stoas at Athens and at nearby Termessos.⁸³

What does seem to have changed after around 150 BC was the visual profile of the city as perceived from the sea. Intensive terracing is visible for blocks between Uzun Çarşı and Mermerli Sk. For example, a line of cut bedrock – close to a meter deep in places – is visible in an empty lot on the south side of Mermerli Banyo Sk., within parcel 117 / 4. Moreover, parts of the monumental architecture that shaped the city's presentation to the sea are lying in plain sight. To the south of Mermerli Plajı, there is a rocky cove known as Kipronoz Yüzme Yeri.⁸⁴ From here, one can climb up the slope to within a few meters of the 30 m-high cliff face. Anywhere else in Kaleiçi's Yat Limanı district, in the absence of a staircase (or now, an elevator), this is impossible. On this slope, ancient blocks abound, and it appears that rows of ashlar have pinned a vast amount of earth up against the travertine. Many blocks are in secondary context, such as a marble impost lying upside down. However, at the very top, just a few meters beneath the railing of Keçili Park's "viewpoint," where today one takes Antalya's most iconic scenic photo – that of the seascape and the mountains of western Pamphylia – here parts of three courses of handsome ashlar remain in situ (figs. 22-24). The uniformity of these blocks – hammer-finished, reddish porous limestone blocks with drafted margins – is striking. The ashlar are approximately 1.4 x .5 m (their width could not be safely measured). The placement of a veritable second skin for the cliff face, close to 30 m asl, one set in place so precisely, must have required the rarest architectural competence. It also represents a curious investment in modeling the city's seaside profile, since the highwire act of building them does not seem to serve any harbor function. Certainly it remains to be seen whether the ashlar facing here can be compared to, for example, the Lower Terrace of the Great Gymnasium of Pergamon with its double half-column architecture.⁸⁵ Yet we can now say that an architectural

⁸¹ See Hellenkemper 2004, 333, who locates classical Korykos on the outcrop between Kirkmerdiven and İskele Caddesi. Adak 2006, 2, 7, argues adamantly that the stone has wandered into Attaleia from Olbia, which he again locates above Kemer on Çalışdağı Tepesi. Onur 2023, 31, notes that "still the inscription could actually be from a closer vicinity or even perhaps from the area of today's Kaleiçi."

⁸² *TIB* 8.1:320; cf. Ulutaş et al. 2012, 221.

⁸³ Laufer 2021, 186, 223-27.

⁸⁴ Argın 2012, 149; <https://www.kaleicioldtown.com/tr/tarihi-yerler/kipronoz-yuzme-yeri/4>

⁸⁵ For that terrace and its associated architecture, see Laufer 2021, 71-72; Rumscheid 1994, cat. 217.

intervention of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period helped place the grand platforms of the Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane and the Mermerli Parkı at the center of the cognitive map of residents and visitors alike. In fact, oral histories show the centrality of Yanık Hastane as a meeting place, especially in the hot season. This set of platforms formed the point at which many people – men, women, and children – remember interacting with the sea and with the coastline, seeing and being seen, both by those on the beaches below and those out on the water in boats.⁸⁶

Early on, the city's southern maritime façade was also sculpted into spectacular form. But how early on? This showcasing effect is intrinsic to the design of the early Roman mausoleum of Hıdırlık Kulesi at the southeastern corner of the city and always visible from the sea.⁸⁷ Yet it may be an even older feature of urbanism at Attaleia. In this regard, we must consider a still unstudied early public building, which was encased within the late Roman fortification wall along the western half of the city's southern curtain.

A Selçuk tower was later tacked on to the interior of this bastion. Precisely here, at a location marked on his plan as *i*, von Lanckoroński noted, “Vielen Säulentrommeln sind in der Mauer gelegt...”⁸⁸ Today, to the west of the wooden pedestrian bridge of the current Rum Sk., in other words, west of the cadastral space between parcels 105 / 64 and 105 / 2, the columns noted by von Lanckoroński are still visible (figs. 25-27). At least seven faceted Doric columns have been laid down perpendicular to a foundation that may represent an *in situ* stylobate continuing east underneath the bridge. A mason's mark is legible on the bottom of one column. A diameter of .68 m was recorded for another.⁸⁹ Several meters north, one can see several courses of *in situ* (?) wall blocks, seemingly also belonging to this building. About 20 m to the south, on a patch of grass at the corner of Rum Sk. and Park Sk. just opposite Karaalioğlu Parkı, one finds a Doric capital very similar in type to those from Kesik (fig. 28).⁹⁰ Above the facets, a band of shallow fluting on the neck creates small moon shapes beneath the echinus. The moons separate the vertical lines of the flutes from the echinus, making this capital, like those from Kesik, a case of one of several variants of Rumscheid Group 5. This Hellenistic Doric type is found in Pergamon and indeed all across Asia Minor.⁹¹ Interestingly, the closest parallels for the full moons of this Group 5 variant are from nearby Pisidia and Lykia – a pattern that just may point to influence from Hellenistic Pergamon.⁹²

⁸⁶ Argin 2012, 120-21, 146-49.

⁸⁷ This is the plausible contention of Sönmez 2008, 32 (plan of walls of Attaleia in various periods). The area of Hıdırlık Kulesi has seen intensive excavation and restoration work in recent years, which should clarify the context of the mausoleum.

⁸⁸ von Lanckoroński 1890-1892, 1:11.

⁸⁹ See Kaynak 2009, 198, for faceting on at least some of the 17 Doric column drums (.63-75 m in dia.) recovered at Kesik.

⁹⁰ Kaynak 2009, 198; figs. 135-36, 306.

⁹¹ For Group 5, in which the vertical lines of the flutes on either side of the halfmoons *do* meet the echinus, see, for example, the Stoa of Attalos II in Athens; cf. Rumscheid 1994, cat. 363.2. For Rumscheid 1994, 303, Group 5 and its variants Groups 6-10 are all manifestly under the influence of Pergamene architects who had invented this entire species of Doric capital as early as the gift of the stoa of Attalos I at Delphi in the third century. Laufer 2021, 188-90, on the other hand, is more cautious about direct influence and disputes Rumscheid's claim of Pergamene origins, but still places a capital at Kesik [2108952] in Rumscheid Groups 6-10.

⁹² See Laufer 2021, 189, n. 1834, for the plausibility of Pergamene influence. Laufer argues that while the moons lend these capitals a metropolitan flair, their style is best understood as regional, if not actually *sui generis*. Again, he has suggested a late Hellenistic or early Roman date for them in place of Kaymak's date of around 150-100 BC.

Further research is needed to place the columns at von Lanckoroński's location *i* in an architectural context. Yet we can be confident that this capital (widest dia. .80 m) belongs to the same building as the nearby columns. Using the Vitruvian ratios to guess, we might expect a building here supported by columns of 5-6 m in height. If the late Roman fortification contracted the circuit, then the original position of the building was just inside the south curtain. But if the city wall was pushed out to accommodate a refugee population in late antiquity, the original building was extramural. Perhaps in Hellenistic times, the building was entered directly by those passing through the arched South Gate, long since destroyed but photographed by Biagio Pace in the early 20th century.⁹³

Coinage

One final way that we can try and recover more information about the early city is through revisiting its coins. Traditionally, the numismatic approach has been to search for the Attalids on the earliest coins of Attaleia. These small bronze coins were classified by Nezahat Baydur in her 1975 catalogue and die study as Group I.⁹⁴ More or less according to style, she dated her Group I around 150-100 BC.⁹⁵ The presence of one or the other of two Seleukid countermarks, the anchor or Helios, on four specimens in the study (nos. 37, 43, 47, and 52; Groups ID + IE) tells us that at least some issues in this group should be dated at the upper end of that range, to the very beginning of the city's history under the Attalids. The precise date of the foundation has never been determined.⁹⁶ Alain Bresson, who has recently analyzed the hoard evidence for the Seleukid countermarks on second-century silver Pamphylian silver, calls for further study to clarify whether the phenomenon indeed terminates as late as about 150.⁹⁷ The appearance of the countermarks here seems to support his suggestion. However, the countermarking on the earliest coins of Attaleia could also be used to date the city's foundation closer to about 160.⁹⁸

Baydur argues forcefully that the head of Poseidon on the obverse recalls the head of Asklepios on Pergamene coinage, an idea put forward already in 1910 by Hans von Fritze in *Die Münzen von Pergamon*. Yet it is not easy to distinguish the bearded Poseidon with his laurel wreath at Attaleia from any other such image of the god. A bearded Poseidon can be found on many an obverse type, and on several mid- to late-Hellenistic series, such as those of Corinth and Corcyra, the god also wears the laurel wreath.⁹⁹ A fresh approach is needed

⁹³ For the South Gate (= K37 in Sönmez 2008) and its environs, see Varkivanç and Atila 2021, 251 with fig. 4 (Pace 1921) and n. 17 on a Hellenistic date. Varkivanç and Atila offer their analysis as a correction of Pace and of *TIB* 8.1:320, a notice of a double-arched public building between Yeni Kapı and Hıdırlık Kulesi. On the contrary, at point *i* on the plan of von Lanckoroński, probably just to the west, we *should* see an early public building. Note though that Pace reported a second arch not visible in his photograph. A hypothetical Doric stoa with an arched gate might be considered here, on the model of the Hellenistic stoa at Sillyon; see von Lanckoroński 1890-1892, 1:82-83, building O; Laufer 2021, 186, 189, 207. Note, also the Doric columns in the Gate of Eumenes at Pergamon (<https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/10189>).

⁹⁴ Baydur 1975. The typology has been incorporated into IRIS, according to the standards of nomisma.org. See https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_ia; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_ib; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_ic; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/attaleia_baydur_1975_id

⁹⁵ See further the 1968 Burdur hoard (*IGCH* 1420, with online notes): <http://coinhoards.org/id/igch1420> It is dated 100-1 BC.

⁹⁶ Hopp 1977, 104-6; Meadows 2013, 187.

⁹⁷ Bresson 2018, 122.

⁹⁸ Compare Meadows 2013, 186-87.

⁹⁹ See *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. "Poseidon," 454. Corinth and its colonies seem to have produced the bulk of coin images of Poseidon. For the two series referred to here, see, for example, https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/corinth.price_1968.class_g; https://greekcoinage.org/iris/id/corcyra.bmc_thessaly.549-556

that tries as much as possible to analyze the iconography without any presumption of influence from the metropole. This may be possible if we turn to the reverse of Baydur Group IC (fig. 29), which shows a standing Poseidon, facing right, clad in a himation (“Mantel”), and gripping a trident with his left hand. The catalogue description, reproduced by Erika Simon in *LMC* (s.v. “Poseidon,” no. 76) pictures an outstretched left hand poised above a dolphin. The dolphin, so it seems, is suspended in the left field of the image, vertically inverted – floating in space.¹⁰⁰ The dolphin though is not a control mark, but an attribute of the god and must be analyzed accordingly.¹⁰¹ Unlike the dolphin + trident on Group IA, this dolphin is not standing in for Poseidon, but is part of the same scene to which he himself belongs.

That scene, in fact, already had a well-established iconography in Greek art. The trident, it is important to remember, is an implement of fishing. We find Poseidon using his trident to get his hand on a fish – or a dolphin – in classical vase painting.¹⁰² Archaic representations from Corinth and Lakonia also exist.¹⁰³ Crucially, there is a statue type of the image of Poseidon with dolphin in hand that is contemporary with these coins. It is represented in a large bronze statuette usually dated to the second half of the second century BC, the Poseidon Loeb in Munich.¹⁰⁴ Remarkably, despite the popularity of the Lysippan, so-called Lateran type, this Poseidon-with-dolphin type, albeit naked, managed to disseminate broadly across the late Hellenistic and early Roman imagescape.¹⁰⁵ Specifically Hellenistic prototypes seem to have strongly influenced Roman depictions of Poseidon / Neptune in the round.¹⁰⁶

Is it possible that early Attaleia contained a temple of Poseidon that housed a cult statue, a statue depicted on this coin type – or to speculate even further – a work of Pergamene art? There is good reason to speculate, since Albrecht Matthaei has shown that in full-figure depictions of gods on Hellenistic *civic* coinage, an attribute in hand can point to the realia of cult.¹⁰⁷ Further, the image of Poseidon here does not allude to naval victory, a trope of earlier royal coinage, or ethnic identity, as in contemporary pseudo-autonomous issues of the Macedonians.¹⁰⁸ Rather, the image is, as it were, a reflection in bronze of what Andrew Meadows has called, for Attic-weight silver, the Great Transformation in coin design, a shift around 175-140 BC that saw cities place vivid portraits of their own cult statues on coins, replete with local meaning, including echoes of epiphany.¹⁰⁹ The cult statue may not have been a Pergamene masterwork, but it and the temple were central components of the new city’s identity.¹¹⁰ Was the cult altogether new? It appears so. There is no axiom that a coastal city

¹⁰⁰ Baydur 1975, 47: “links im Felde abwärts gerichteter Delphin.”

¹⁰¹ Compare Grainger 2009, 132, for the description of Poseidon “backed” by a dolphin.

¹⁰² *LMC* 7.1 s.v. “Poseidon,” 460-61, with nos. 140-46. Simon’s typology of “Poseidon allein” is therefore a bit of a misnomer. Oftentimes, this is “Poseidon with fish / dolphin.”

¹⁰³ *LMC* 7.1 s.v. “Poseidon,” nos. 107 and 119.

¹⁰⁴ Walter-Karydi 1991, esp. 245-46, specifically, on the iconography of the dolphin *in* Poseidon’s hand; *LMC* 7.1 s.v. “Poseidon,” no. 25* with p. 477 for the same type in *naiskos*.

¹⁰⁵ *LMC* 7.1 s.v. “Neptunus,” 483-86, nos. 1-26; see also Poseidon with dolphin in hand on the reverse of bronze coinage of Laodicea ad Mare (168-164 BC): <http://numismatics.org/sco/id/sc.1.1430>

¹⁰⁶ *LMC* 7.1. s.v. “Poseidon,” 451.

¹⁰⁷ Matthaei 2013, 114-20.

¹⁰⁸ *LMC* 7.1 s.v. “Poseidon,” 479 with no. 55, a pseudo-autonomous bronze of the Macedonians (*BMC* Macedonia 16, 67-68; *SNG* Cop. 1294).

¹⁰⁹ Meadows 2018.

¹¹⁰ There is a precedent for Poseidon with dolphin in hand from the Attalid orbit: an electrum coin of Cyzicus, *BMC* Mysia 26, 62, pl. 6.8.

worships Poseidon. Greeks were much more likely to propitiate this god about earthquakes than sea travel, especially in seismic Asia Minor.¹¹¹ Hellenistic or even Roman cults of Poseidon are otherwise absent from coastal Pamphylia and Lycia.¹¹²

Conclusion

The broader of the two basic arguments advanced here is that there is more to learn about early Attaleia. This is no parting pleasantry. The pessimism of past investigators was misplaced. The goal was to gather the evidence, while also surveying for new clues around the modern city, its environs, and in the bibliography on its longer-term history. This collection and probing of evidence old and new, the presentation of many questions and a few hypotheses, it is hoped, will spur future research. Among historians of antiquity, one detects a certain presumption of Pergamene colonial likeness at Attaleia. The *Attaleis*, writes Joachim Hopp who was perhaps the last one to grant the topic even a few pages, “were recruited for the most part as colonists from the capital.... This is confirmed by striking parallels in pantheon and cults.”¹¹³ However, a fresh consideration of just one early coin type – bronzes bearing an image of a cult statue of Poseidon holding a dolphin – highlights instead the complexities of interaction with the metropole. Similarly, a reconsideration of Strabo’s (corrupt?) text emphasizes the participation of the local population and local actors – even the harbormasters of Magydos – in the launch of one of the last major ports to emerge anywhere around the Mediterranean littoral. Recent studies on the Attalids have assumed that little could be known about the dynasty’s efforts to urbanize this least urbanized part of Pamphylia. Therefore, an inclusive approach was chosen: whatever might recall the impact of the Attalids was considered. This may appear to unfairly weigh the evidence in favor of imperial intervention. Perhaps the Attalids are ghosts in Antalya for good reason. Was their investment and influence in the end just minimal? No. The more narrowly focused claim of this study was a contradiction of that argument from silence, which reconstructed an intellectual context for local Aiolian toponyms and retraced probable Hellenistic phases of the fortifications at Döşeme Boğazı and Ören Tepe. The scholarly cliché that idealizes the landscape and the seascape of the city blinds us to the intervention that must have been necessary to sustain large-scale urbanism in this ecology. It can be expected that with the publication of recent salvage excavations in Kaleiçi and the full publication of the Doğu Garajı necropolis, the early urban history of Antalya will come into focus. Meanwhile, some of those very monuments that welcomed Pompey in 48 BC – the architectural façade of Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane above Kipronoz Yüzme Yeri as well as von Lanckoroński’s location *i* – require attention now.

¹¹¹ Fenet 2004, 412; Güney 2015; cf. the claim of Grainger 2009, 132, that the city’s coins “powerfully emphasized the sea-connection.”

¹¹² From the Roman provinces that encompassed Pamphylia and Lycia, only Prostanna, historically part of Pisidia, evidences a cult of Poseidon; see Güney 2015, 306.

¹¹³ Hopp 1977, 103 with n. 244: “Ihre Bewohner nannten sich Ἀτταλείς und rekrutierten sich zum größten Teil aus Kolonisten aus der Hauptstadt Pergamon... Das bestätigen die auffälligen Parallelen zur Hauptstadt hinsichtlich des Pantheons und des Kults.”

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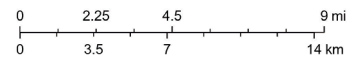
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FIG. 1 Harbor of Attaleia (Yat Limani in foreground; Mermerli Plajı in background).
View from north.



1:235,645



Esri, TomTom, Garmin, Foursquare, METINASA, USGS, Esri, CGIAR, USGS

Noah Kaye

FIG. 2 Attaleia and its hinterland (N. Kaye).



FIG. 3
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
Shield monument
built into Late
Roman House 6.



FIG. 4
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
“Northern boundary wall.”
View from west.



FIG. 5
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site. "Northern
boundary wall."
Exterior face.
View from north.



FIG. 6
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
"Northern boundary wall."
Interior face.
View from south.



FIG. 7
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
Lookout tower.
View from northwest.

FIG. 8
Döşeme Boğazı.
Upper site.
View northwest
from lookout tower.
Toward line of the
Via Sebaste traversing
the Ortaova plain.



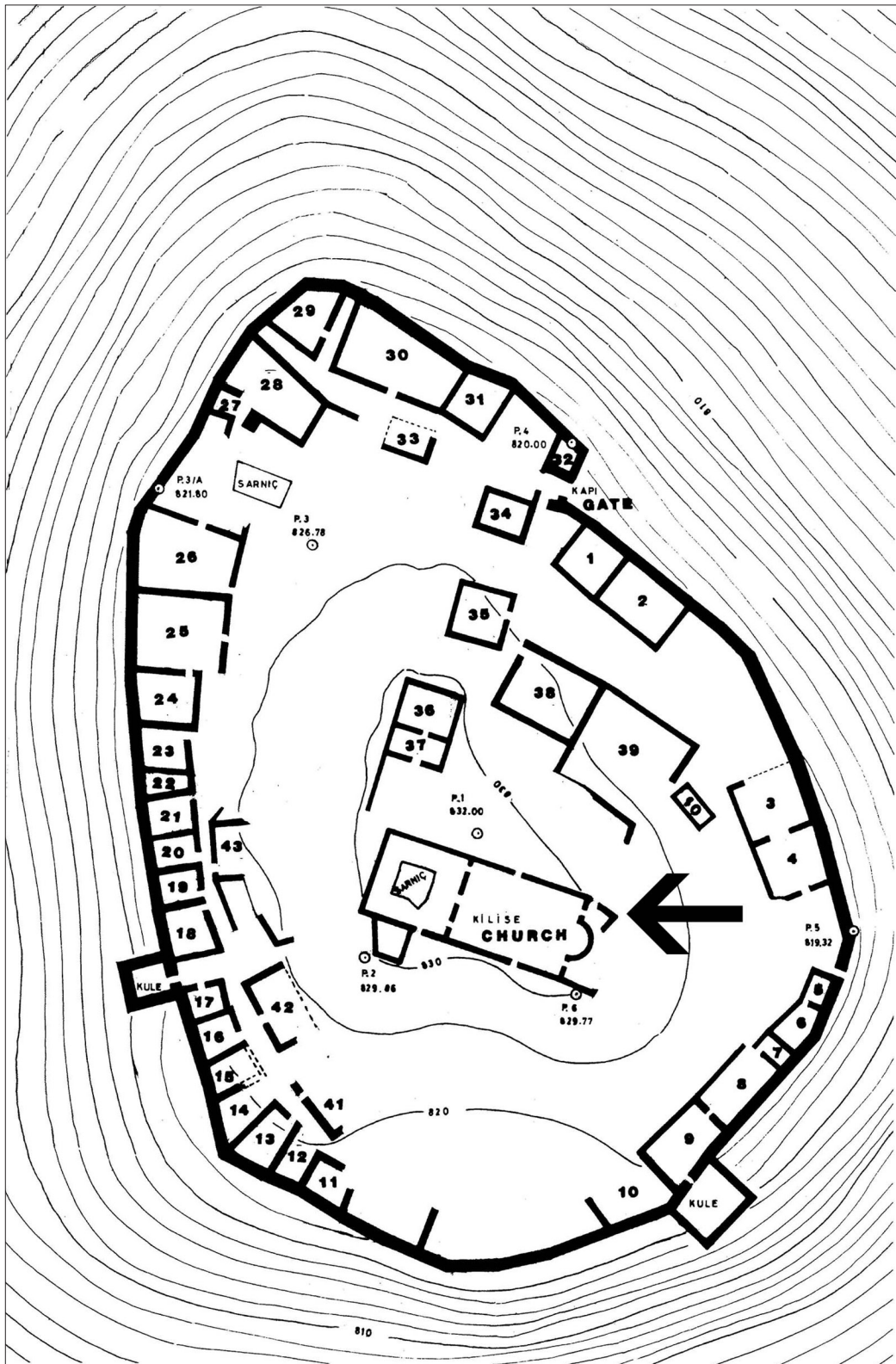


FIG. 9 Ören Tepe site plan modified with arrow to indicate building under church (Aydalet al. 1997, fig. 8).



FIG. 10
Ören Tepe.
Northeast corner of
building under church.



FIG. 11
Ören Tepe.
Northeast-southwest wall of
building under church.



FIG. 12
Ören Tepe.
Irregular, large-stone
masonry on west of circuit.

FIG. 13
Ören Tepe.
Pseudo-isodomic masonry
on approach to south tower.
View from north.



FIG. 14
Ören Tepe.
Pseudo-isodomic masonry
on approach to south tower.
View from west.



FIG. 15
Yenice Boğazi.
Kapıkaya Gediği.
Restored fortifications.
View from west.





FIG. 17 Attaleia (Kaleiçi) and environs (N. Kaye).



FIG. 18
Attaleia.
Tophane district.
Selçuk remains.
Now served
by elevator.
View from south.



FIG. 19
Attaleia.
Doric frieze in
Selçuk Tower at
Kırkmerdiven steps.
Southwest corner
of tower.



FIG. 20 Attaleia. Keçili Parkı / Yanık Hastane.
Doric half-column.



FIG. 21 Attaleia. Mermerli Parkı.
Doric half-column capital.



FIG. 22
Attaleia. Ashlar
masonry of sea-cliff
face of Keçili Parkı /
Yanık Hastane.



FIG. 23
Attaleia. Detail of
ashlar masonry of
sea cliff face of Keçili
Parkı / Yanık Hastane;
“scenic viewpoint.”



FIG. 24
Attaleia. Interior detail
of ashlar masonry of
sea cliff face of Keçili
Parkı / Yanık Hastane.



FIG. 25
Attaleia.
von Lanckoroński's
"location i."
View from south.
Doric columns in
late Roman fortification
wall. View from south.



FIG. 26
Attaleia.
von Lanckoroński's
"location i."
Detail of Doric
columns in late Roman
fortification wall.
View from east.



FIG. 27
Attaleia. von
Lanckoroński's
"location i."
in situ foundations.
View from west.



FIG. 28 Attaleia. von Lanckoroński's "location i."
Doric column capital.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

FIG. 29 Bronze coin of Attaleia.
Baydur Group IC, reverse,
depicting Poseidon. Dolphin indicated
in red. Paris. Fonds général 166. Courtesy
of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

