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AD KARIA TRAKHEIA: AN ARCHAEO TOPOGRAPHIC ENQUIRY ON TWO RURALSCAPES OF PHOINIX AND SYRNA IN THE MARGINAL ENVIRONMENT OF BOZBURUN PENINSULA (SW TURKEY) BASED ON FIELD DATA AND GEOPROCESSING

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ABSTRACT

The paper at hand aims to highlight the power of the *khora*, as either a conscious preference or an alternative route (occasionally being the runaway or “development” corridors), by demonstrating separate cases and evidence linked to archaeotopography. Under such an objective, it introduces two diverse ancient settlement *milieu*, within two different spatio-temporal frameworks, in the rural landscapes of the Bozburun Peninsula (Khersonesos Trakheia, Karia), referring to their spatial commonalities and architectural variations, as addressed by the past patterns.

The sample sites of Gökçalça and Yokuşbaşı picked up from Taşlıca (Phoinix) and Bayır (Syrna) villages pertain to remote temporalities; the first case dating presumably the Archaic period and representing a compact site while the *terminus ad quem* for the other involves the post Roman/ early Medieval era, identifiable with a mini chapel. It appears, by cruising an average areal radius of ca. 3 km in the countryside of the two villages and testing their visibility (within max.1 km of the sample sites) via remote sensing, that a major reason behind the expansion of the ruralscapes in the comparatively hard to access but surmountable to manipulate inland sites and create mini *khora*i arises from the motives for direct survival since the Archaic period or; upon the empowerment of the city/ demands of the *metropoleis* like Rhodes and Constantinopolis, in Late Antiquity; yet a traditional Mycenaean past can be supportive. A common interpretation is that the stimuli behind the positioning of the sites could also be similar, often in need and surveillance of the sense of camouflage, concomitant with the choice of place which looks safer to stay off (at least not traverse) the adjacently passing active faults and, the political or religious pressures (if not, the full conjecture) of the period in subject.

KEYWORDS: Landscape, Geomorphology, Bozburun, Phoinix, Syrna, Visibility, Fault, Khora

"Just as history is geography in time, geography is nothing but history in space".¹

1. INTRODUCTION

The term "marginal environment" posits the landscape rhetoric and anthropocentric approach both in the agrarian terms (but rarely in the agro-pastoral framework) and spatio-temporal practices within the context of settlement. Having a potential to both enquiries, the "desolate" parts of southwestern Anatolia are well suited to in-depth researches in ruralscapes, to trace up the transformation in the usage of space and degree of human impact on the land. Bozburun Peninsula, lying in southwest Anatolia, is just one of them.

The Bozburun Peninsula (Karia Trakheia-Karian Khersonesos/ Rhodian Peraia/ Daraçya according to period and context, Fig.1) does not offer a vivid account of the earliest evidence for sedentism in the Neolithic. The Bronze Age also remains far from well-understood, with rare exceptions reported from e.g. Hydas (Turgut).² Some scholars' referral to the iron ores and slags in Hydas might be owed to the LBA metal work experiences in Karia.³ The wide spectrum of knowledge is owed to the late Classical and Hellenistic period while the Archaic and early Classical age pose difficulties to comprehend the situation (while the lost can well be hidden in the cultural repertoire) even though there is record about the Karian thalassocracy and supremacy in southwest Asia Minor. The region has received little scholarly attention, probably because of its *terra-incognita* character, hence is acknowledged as the Trakheia Khersonesos in Karia. Despite the "rural" empowerment of the region as one single body, almost a block *polis* (formed by both polynuclear and dispersed settlements) since the Classical period, it did not flourish faster than those who paid remarkable tributes to the Athenian Empire.

Bozburun never experienced polisification at the individual level but rather formed a community with

the gathering of *demes*, making themselves equivalent to a *polis* (so-called "Karian Khersonesos"⁴) at the regional scale. The *demes* of the Classical Khersonesos must also have revolved around a *συστημα* with the accompaniment of Zeus Karios and Khrysaoris (as the two well-known epithets adopted by the founder of Karians near Mylasa), in the outset of Hellenistic Karia.⁵ The mythical forerunners are yet unknown. Having a rigorous Anatolian background, the *demes*, could well go back to the Mycenaean times when the Mycenaean could not have taken the possession of the southern shores without stepping on the Peninsula. The region fluoresced, as induced by an amalgam of factors which comprised the religious and political conditions since the Classical period. Normally, we do not seek speed of developments in the ruralscapes. But a good indicator may be the patterns of change which might have concerned any associated *polis* or core/ mother environment and, the role of agriculture. Surely, agriculture must have become a powerful tool for the flourishing of the entire *polis* by its own resources.

There are testimonies attesting to the history of contact between Karia and metropolis Rhodes. Karia, in fact, had won acclaim, as a navy supplier to the Persian army in the 5th century B.C. The situation, across the same shores, seems to have turned into reverse with Rhodes' rising to economic power in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. In the meanwhile, the threatening actions of the seaborne attackers flying from anywhere to dock over the mainland was one reality. In the Hellenistic period, Rhodes became an heir to the Classical naval power, Athens.⁶ It was a golden age when full of speculators and bankers were acting along with the rigid or flexible routines of the Rhodian State.⁷ The Rhodians, who then had a strong foothold on the mainland, left plentiful evidence with regard to their presence in the Peninsula and over a wider island zone in the Mediterranean. The Island was a persistent strategist in retaining their hold over certain parts of Karia until the decision of Rome in 166 B.C.

¹ Elisee Reclus. 1905-1908. *L'Homme et la Terre* (Tome Premier Livre 1). *İnsan ve Dünya*. (2 Cilt). Paris: Librarie Universelle.

² Benter 2010: 670.

³ Herda 2013: 446. For Hydas and associated assemblages, see Benter 2009: 483. One can accept it as a great possibility and anticipate supportive evidence from the neighbouring localities.

⁴ Given that there was a league of *demes* in the Karian Khersonesos composed of self-governing and politically independent communities.

⁵ Strabo.14.2.25 for Chrysaoris.

⁶ Gabrielsen 2013: 76.

⁷ Known from a variety of sources (e.g. 2nd-1st century B.C. *ostraca* reported from the *necropolis* of Rhodes; Zenon's *papyri* archives of 258 B.C.; relevant *epistolai* and the network of business associates, as attested in the scripts of Demosthenes (against Dionysodorus.56.10), etc.); all of the lands and agricultural establishments worked out by the "serfs" or locals; all the ships captained in the name of merchants; all the direct or indirect taxes paid by the "dispatchers, redistributors and recipients" of the agricultural products or any other commodity or the *kyrtoi* (masters, landlords) were the agents of a huge network of regional accomplishments (Gabrielsen 2013: 78-79).

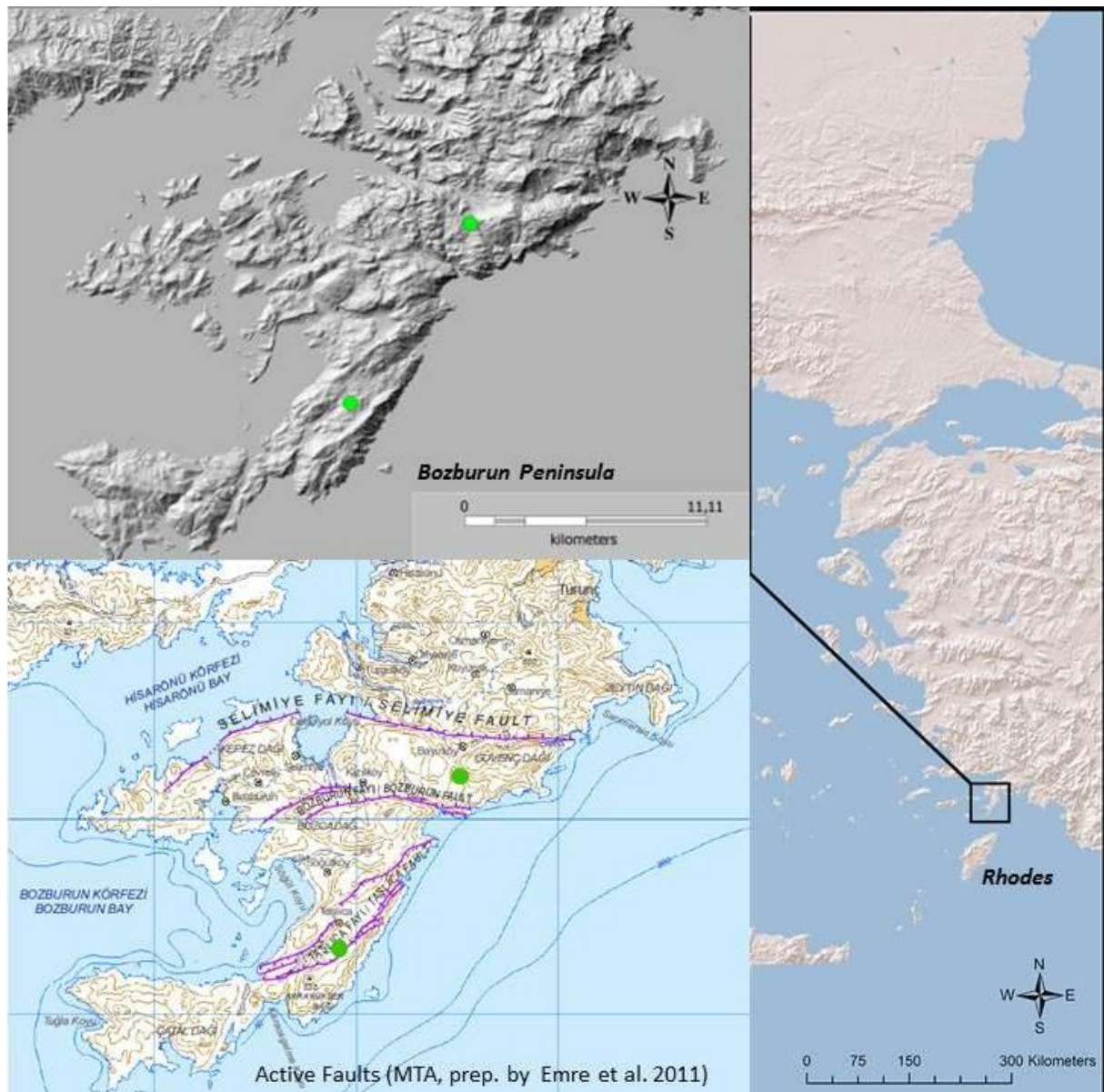


Figure 1. Hillshade and Fault Map of the Bozburun Peninsula (Sample Sites Marked Green)

The interpretation of the repository material is not an easy touch. The ongoing survey, as a continuation of the first one conducted some few years ago⁸ has produced a wealth of information about the inland sites and their littoral and insular environments. A densification of settlements shows evidence of increasing human impact through time, both in the coastal and mountainous parts of the *demes*/ all around the region. These all date back to the “Classical” times, greatly covered by the Hellenistic period. The extreme use of the agricultural land correlates with the population booms, as also known from various aspects articulated previously. In light of the

information gleaned from the studies conducted in the last decade and accompanying contributions, it has now become more evident that the *deme* pattern evolved into dispersed forms in extent but to compact villages and farmsteads in terms of planning.

Karians⁹ differed from the Greeks in life styles, land use, settlement patterns and material culture even though there is evidence that they also adopted or imitated the Ionian or Greek pottery. That they were often settled on the mountainous zones seem¹⁰ to fall short in the arguments with regard to their relative engagement in animal husbandry.¹¹ Agriculture, hand in hand with pastoralism, has been a way

⁸ By Dr. V. Demirciler and Dr. E.D.Oğuz-Kırca.

⁹ For a linguistic debate on the connection of Karians to “Kar”s (counter arguing the Karkisa/ Karkiya case) in LBA transition, Simon 2011: 791-804.

¹⁰ Lohmann 2012: 32-33, 35.

¹¹ A good many historians and poets mention the Karians; Vergilius, too, was probably amongst those who regarded them as a nomadic folk (Vergilius. Aeneas 8.725)

of living for the Karians since the Archaic period. The demographic situation seems to have changed down to the late Classical era. Highlighted by a good many inscriptions¹², the ancient sites of Bozburun demonstrate frequentation by the hybrid groups which seem to have emerged with the melting of the local inhabitants with the islanders and that this continued into the Roman period.

Except for the religious structures in the city, the desertification of the urban centres and negligence of fortifications began to occur in the early Byzantine period, all across Anatolia. There was an upscaling of the countryside hence ascend in ruralization, howsoever, it does not always demonstrate a general decline and retreat in the *centrum*. Probably it was a kind of a setback in the *polis* life and expansion of ruralization in the periphery that occurred between the termination of the Arab raids and conquests of the Turks.¹³ In view of that, the Byzantine period, tough, has received inadequate attention in the Peninsula.

In the New Age, Bozburun must have had a place, too, even though no extra outstanding evidence is left regarding the Ottoman period (apart from the censuses and land statistics and, a number of ramparts in various localities). Kritovoulos notes, Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror sent out a navy to Rhodes and Naxos. He must be hinting at the mainland as the *Hersonisos*¹⁴ when he makes a remark that Rhodes damaged the coasts of Sultan.¹⁵ But something is point-blank that neither a Venetian colony nor a Genoese was venturing in the rural coasts. Probably, the Venetian trading colonies never stopped by the southwestern coasts of Asia Minor, with certain exceptions such as e.g. Balat in the Selçuk period Miletus (ruled by Mentешеoğulları) or the late Byzantine settlement that has come out recently.¹⁶ The memoirs of a 15th century traveler, Pero Tafur, is also worthwhile to fathom the conjuncture of metropolis Rhodes and surrounding

region- e.g. an approximate picture can be deduced from the epistle consigned to Tafur that the Cypriots called the Rhodians for aid against the Mameluk threats¹⁷ around those dates. Also, a metallurgically precious thing was the salt. Given that the Hospitaller surveilled the Island (which was politically withheld within the Armenian province) for some of the salt mines in Meis (Kastellorizo)¹⁸, in part, such a situation probably did not cause a deceleration in the interests of Rhodians taken on the mainland (basically for the labor force potential that the Island must have looked out for, since the Hellenistic era).

2. APPROACH

Following this brief introduction and historical trajectory of the Peninsula, a particular concern will be taken at two coordinates. Hence, the text below flows as cantered on the spatial patterns of the two, chronologically remote sites recorded in the *khora* of modern Taşlıca village (quasi-coastal ancient Phoinix) and of Bayır (ancient Greek Syrna). The first one lies in the northeast of Phoinix and the other¹⁹ in the mountainous landscape of southern Syrna (Figs.1-2 (marked green)). As a matter of fact, there is no sufficient ground, in terms of the Classical and Hellenistic settlement ruins, in the immediate area of modern Bayır. Nor lies the trace of the Archaic and EIA period²⁰ but terrace relics are easily recognized over the steep slopes. The sites are briefly examined from the point of geographical positioning in a wider rural network of ancient villages- the *demes*. The two cases presented below show totally separate and independent patterns of occupation and use of space (specifically cultic purpose for the latter), though with varying levels of intensification while a commonality can be the "harder" to access geography as well as other minor regional parallels.

¹² On the corpus of inscriptions with explanatory notes, Bresson 1991.

¹³ Niewöhner 2016: 70-72.

¹⁴ See Tafur 2016: 132-133.

¹⁵ Kritovoulos.2.3.5 (111)

¹⁶ Niewöhner 2016: 66-67.

¹⁷ Tafur 2016: 132-133. Also enlightening is a recent article of Badoud (2019: 36-50) about the early archaeological travels made to Rhodes in 14th-19th centuries.

¹⁸ Tafur 2016: 132.

¹⁹ Yet insufficiently surveyed.

²⁰ Plenty of rock-cut monuments are known from EIA sites of Anatolia where a typical case can be southern Pisidia, falling to between Eğirdir and Beyşehir Lakes. The region seems to have imported several elements from the Phrygian culture while the reverse also holds true. Talloen *et al.* 2006: 176.



Figure 2. Sacred Space of Apollo (A); A Remaining Original Element (B); Position Close by the Acropolis at Phoinix on 1:5000 Plot (C) (Photographs and Map by Author)

The sample sites are presented as part of the data obtained from the field surveying taken as a methodological imperative. Nothing is calibrated via this study; however, particular patterning is tracked according to the function of the sites and contextual structures. The early site of Phoinix is primarily interpreted in light of the architectural features whereas the late one in Bayır, which was likely served by a late Roman/ Medieval chapel, is rather discussed on a comparative approach.

3. TWO SECLUDED SITES AT TWO DISCRETE DEMES

Nowhere in the ancient narratives were the *demes* of the Bozburun Peninsula suggested as the thriving localities. To be realistic, it is nearly impossible to come across a luxurious amenity and elegant structure, apart from some rarities in the public

monuments (basically the sanctuary-theatre in Kastabos (Pazarlık/ Gavur Pazarı in Hisarönü); the *naos*/ sacred area (rebuilt as a late basilica in and around which original elements are scattered) dedicated to Apollo at Phoinix (on Fig.2, A-B); the pyramidal²¹ heroon in Hydas, Turgut; the Amos theatre with its spectacular view in Turunç). Moderate size sites, sturdy ramparts, agricultural enclaves and terraces make up the “usable” backbone of the surrounding geography. What basically colors the history of the region is the agrarian competency and management of the rural landscape, approximately over 300 km² in total, extending from the modern Hisarönü-Datça junction to the tip of the fragmented southern territories, facing the northern shores of Rhodes. Agriculturally oriented satellite settlements override in the countryside.²² The density of ruins date back to the Hellenistic and Roman periods while few spots

²¹ There is also another one, in similar shape, in Saranda coast (Thyssanos) which dates to Late Antiquity or much later.

²² A recent study involves the agricultural landscape of Hygassos, situated in Selimiye (Marmaris), and discusses and speculates the potential of a terrace-wise economy and a correlated population. Oğuz-Kırca *et al.* used a blend of data (first rooted in the ATL) and methods but primarily on the expected strength of GIS tools and, ancient and historical accounts. Archaeologically, the agrocentric evidence (majorly indexed to the benchmark year of 1909 Mufassal

censuses) helped the configuration of the land as the core research questions highly concerned the anthroposized terraces which turned out to be a norm through the ages, either in the *centrum* or the *khora*. With the extrapolated counts, also regarding the minimum productivity figures, Hygassos must have survived, far matching autarky, a considerable degree of an agricultural export potential in the Hellenistic and upcoming epoch if it used the available marginal land to the maximum, without any interruption on the wheels of the economy (Oğuz-Kırca *et al.* 2019).

support the Classical Age and earlier dates. Some typical tombs, oval structures or massive constructions as well as walls without mortar often address the Archaic era.

In the late Classical/ early Hellenistic, the multi-habitation patterns emerged as a matrix of Greek *demes* and, densified in a dendritic behavior down to the Roman period. The small scale/ occasionally intermediate sites did not exceed 10-20 households in the *khora* of these *demes* which flourished in more egalitarian terms within the political context. Characteristic of southwest Anatolia, particular sites

corroborate the ordinary Karian elements and represent the community who were in possession of the highest hilltops. Some fine instances for such positioning come from Kaletepe (Losta, Selimiye southeast), Asartepe (Kızılköy, Selimiye east), Kaledağ (Phoinix east), Kaletepe/ Korsan Kale (Söğüt east)²³, Kaletepe (Hydas, Turgut)²⁴, Hisartepe (Loryma, Bozruk)²⁵. All of them maintain clear visibility and/or inter-visibility. Notwithstanding, few of them signal that they survived into the later periods, just as Korsan Kale in Söğüt (Thyssanos) (Fig.3).

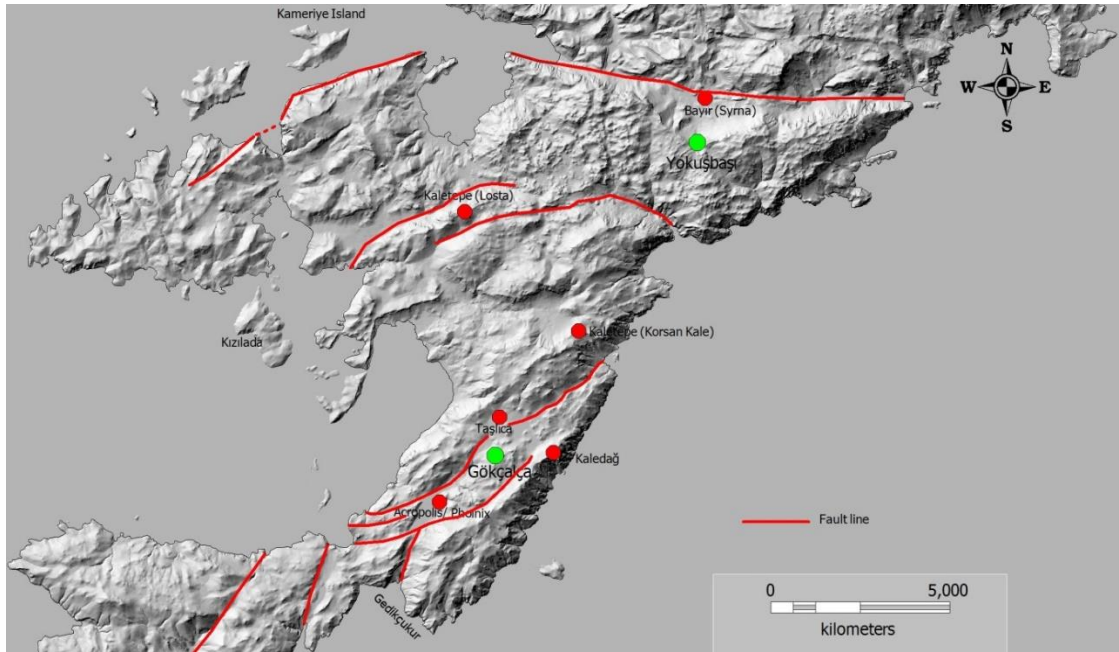


Figure 3. Some Basic Locations Mentioned in the Text (Map by Author; (Fault Lines: After MTA 2002, 2011))

This typical stationary structure, distinguishable with the masonry worked with mortar, has an outstanding master of the view extending to 7,5-25 km, toward Bozburun town, in the NW direction²⁶; coasts of Bayır and beyond in the NE and; the northern shores of the Rhodes city in the S/SE. The edifice reposes on a higher rocky mass which forms a natural rampart in the south. With a landward gate of double lentos (height: 2,20m, width: 1,7m; lateral: 1,9 m) facing east and three seaward watchposts (with a bastion clearly appearing midmost, close by the main gate) on its top, it was more than just a fortification²⁷ because

of its robust nature and defensive background (Fig.4). The peak where it was built can anytime welcome the harsh winds, even in the summer mornings. A distinctive spot close by the main gate and the northern ramparts is the wind shelter (at an elevation of 415-420 m.), evidencing a plastered inner layer. It was carved into the ground. The whole enclosure of Korsankale was a well preserved base, a stronghold, perhaps a post to the Karian pirates around the early stages of the community's history, probably in the late Archaic period or around 4th century B.C.

²³ On the mentioned 4 (four) forts, see Oğuz-Kırca 2015a: 129, 131-135, fig.2.

²⁴ Benter 2010.

²⁵ Saner and Kuban 1999: 278-289; Held 2002: 294-295. For a fine example of the Cyclopean system (late Helladic and later reuse) elliptical fortification in Delphi Phokis, see Liritzis *et.al* 2016: 246.

²⁶ Also meaning the intervisibility of Tymnos and Thyssanos-Phoinix border, from the top of Kepez Tepe in Bozburun town (Fig.3).

On Kaletepe/ Korsan Kale, Oğuz-Kırca 2015a: 134, 136, fig.10.

²⁷ I reframe the fortifications of the Peninsula from a techno-artistic perspective, paralleling the idea proposed by Anabolu that the ramparts are to be regarded as having a "monument" value, in the context of Classical and Hellenistic Anatolian architecture (Anabolu 2001: 10).



Figure 4. Kaletepe/ Korsan Kale Visible from Kepez Tepe, Bozburun Town (A); Entrance of the Stronghold (B-C) (Photographs by Author)

There are instances that fortification plans developed out of the general trend and tradition at different periods. The Byzantine Mycale and, Mylasa²⁸ being the original seat of the Karian dynasty, and the way they were worked (exhibiting close parallels in the building technology), can shed light on what is tried to be described. The later walls, traced greatly in the coastal region of the Peninsula, contain fills of rubble and sometimes mud, but in the overall appearance with pounded adobe, rather than of solely stone. Considering architecture, the late Roman and early Byzantine constructions were distinct in every other respect while they normally evidenced the use of local material. Some early Byzantine ruins lie on the islet of Yeşilada (Müsgebi) in Bozburun town (ancient Tymnos), fortified by a wall (built of small size stones which could have been imported from the long time used dwelling quarters) along its perimeter, with the seaward gates. The nature and workmanship (sophistication) of the walls may need a mention at the point we are tracking the change process from the late Roman to the early Byzantine.

As it seems, there was no remarkable distinction between the marine lands or the inland sites, in terms of historical topography (archaeotopography). However, topography matters. As an analogy, just as how the Greeks avoided conflict on land but fought the Persians on sea, the Karians or any other folk could have chosen to survive their relations upon their strengths, one of which, as thought, was the agricultural competency of this “barren” and topographically harsh region with few tilled areas having sufficient soil cover. Further, running a land on the undulated environments greatly needed labour over the centuries. Some fortifications (Medieval ones included) and watchposts (matching e.g. the watchtowers in Lycia, cf. Cilicia²⁹) could have functioned for the smooth operation of the arable land, hence must have been erected to ensure agricultural safety rather than defensive purposes. One of the multi-functional forts must be Kaletepe facing the Losta Bay in Selimiye. However, the towered farmsteads, as in Lycia³⁰, are almost lacking, with the exclusion of the late round quasi-tower buildings found (probably a Medieval work nearby the *Acropolis*) in Phoinix at

²⁸ Akarca 1972: 113, 196; Lohmann 2012: 33-34.

²⁹ Aydınoglu 2010: 272.

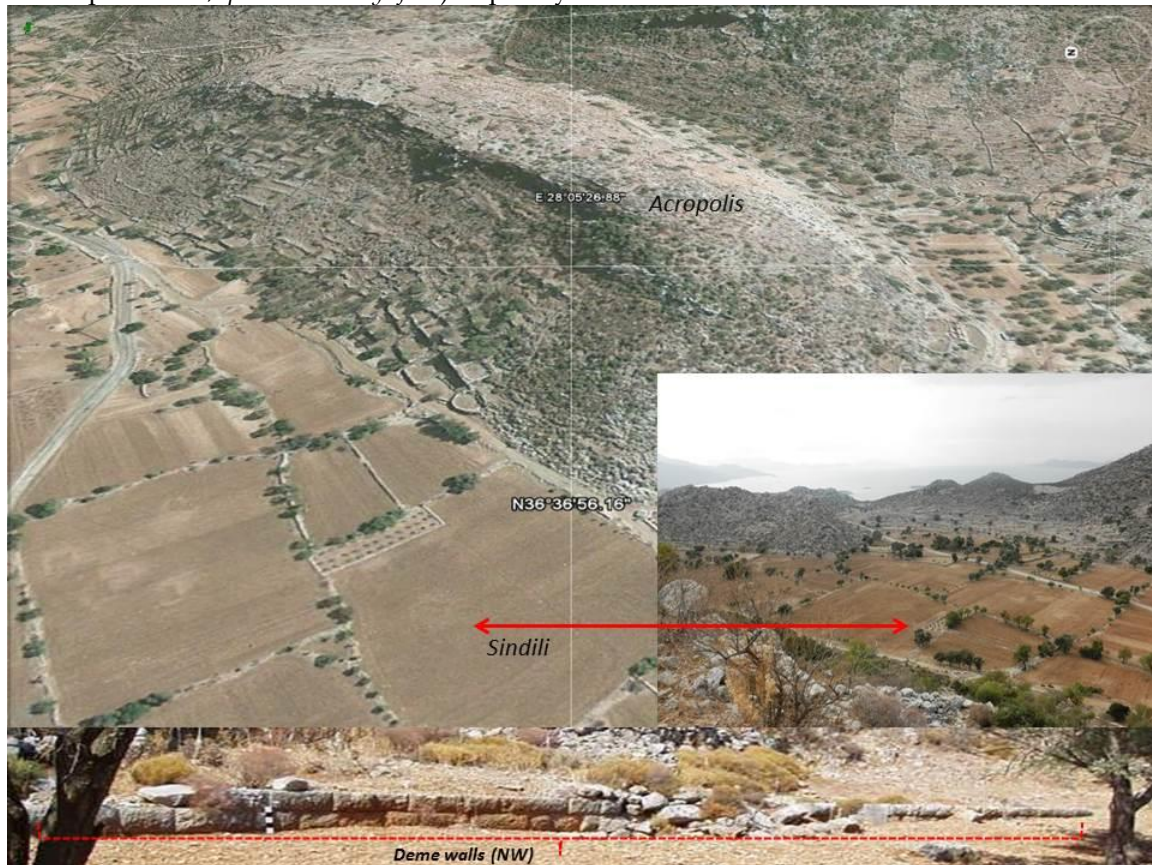
³⁰ Bulut 2018: 681.

Karayüksedağ³¹; a few enigma cases in Thyssanos and Hygassos; or the Late Antique? watch posts (typical Sulukale) constructed on the shallow hills of Taşlıca, which probably served for the surveillance of the cultivable areas.³² Parallel to theory, the collapse of the Roman Empire can be marked as the upper temporal limit³³ for such structures. The traces, however, do not suffice to indicate that they had relation to a farmstead.³⁴

3.1. Phoinix

A look at the ground in Phoinix³⁵ (phonetic derivative of the palm tree, *phoenix dactylifera*)³⁶ quickly

shows the silent but enduring wisdom of the Karian ancestors and drops of sweat from the farmers' forehead and energy of life subtly stirring under the feet. This is a land rich in livestock tradition, extensive grazing by goats and herding economy, and barren nature where no forests grow but the openness of any scene gives the audience tranquility arising from the crystal waters (at a fair distance to the residential quarter), green maquis and a variety of organisms, including donkeys, jades and goats. As a non-contaminated environment, there is great possibility that it survived the legend of the Pan of the ruralscapes for centuries.



³¹ Oğuz-Kırca 2015: 61 (fig.7, top right).

³² Oğuz-Kırca 2014: 304.

³³ Konency 1997: 80-81.

³⁴ See Lohmann 1992: 59.

³⁵ On Phoinix, Oğuz-Kırca 2014.*passim*. On etymology, Umar 1993: 266-267, 662.

By this opportunity, I have reservation against the etymology suggested for the *demos* of "Phoinix" by Herda. It is hardly likely that the name of the settlement (Herda 2013: 463, footnote 235) could have had roots in the practice of purple-dye production, in the Bozburun Peninsula. There is no evidence for that while, at the same time, we do not get information from any ancient source. The opinion sounds a bit over predictive in comparison to the palm tree idea or the Phoenician effect.

One might also contemplate on the influences of Phoenicia on some typical Karian cities, e.g. the clear case of Euromos which is alleged to have inherited its name from a Phoenician princess called Europos (Herda 2013: 467, footnote 236). The Greeks' importation of the alphabet (least it be the certain letters) from the Karians are being outspoken in the scholarly world (*Ibid.*467). Then it also becomes arguable that the word Phoinix derives from a "better remote" foreign language, perhaps Phoenician).

³⁶ Ethnobotany has contributed to get across the ancient flora of the Knidos region, stretching far as the Peninsula. On a visualization of the distribution of some critical fauna and flora species including the endemic Datça Dates (Anatolian *Phoenix theophrasti* groves), Kemeç 2018: 146.

Figure 5. Aerial View of the Acropolis (Google Earth) and Sindili Plain; Walls Marking Up the NW Core of Phoinix (Below (Photographs by Author)

In the heart of the modern village breathes a living soil- Sindili Plain (Fig.5; aerial view from west- at 350 m. and east) that comes in varying shades. This level area is traversed by the NE-SW orientation faults (Part 4). The hillslopes were continuously renewed with the motion of herds, beasts and any other livestock and creates the perfect conditions for growing the best figs on stony land, which only requires a host of nutrients. Another highlight of the region's agricultural treasury is the vine (and almond trees in part), which grow on sunny terraced lands of the Mediterranean.

Phoinix is a characteristic example of the Hellenistic city design and layout, with the unequal divisions of zones reserved to the (i) *Acropolis* (acknowledged with a precinct dedicated to Dionysos through the epigraphic evidence) on the summit, (ii) private dwellings that form a chess-board system of districts and (iii) the lowest level forming the suitable area for an agora and, the sacred space of the Apollo sanctuary (at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C) which was modified as a chapel in the later period. At first sight, the *deme* captures the visitors' gaze with the *Acropolis* (Fig 2,C; Fig.5) having a spectacular view of the Aegean and the lower settlement of megaron dwellings (as if careful hands built a lego land), which was occupied until the 1950s. Attached to the *polis* of Kamiros in the Hellenistic period, the orderly arrangement of the dwellings (particularly on the western sector of Sindili) situated near the modern road running down to Serçelimanı Bay quite recall the Kamiran districts designed in the grid system. These *megara*, dating the broad span between the C/H/R eras and surrendering Sindili are the most well preserved structure groups in the midst of the depression area of Sindili. Presumably, the region did not experience any as out-migration as it occurred in the early 20th century. Then comes the giant, trapezoidal plan fortification in the northeast of the *Acropolis* (east of Taşlıca), namely Kaledağ.³⁷ Kaledağ (Fig.3) nicely fits with the way it

was first described as a *phourion*³⁸ but mislocated by Strabo or most likely the early travelers³⁹, given the robust character of the boulder ramparts. There is now little doubt that it was a Karian stationary.⁴⁰ The valley between the *Acropolis* and Kaledağ hosts small-scale settlement clusters embraced with a variety of maquis. In addition to a couple of pyramidal monoliths (diagnosed as the altars and/or tomb elements) which are typical of the region and can be encountered at special localities of the other *demes*, the stepped blocks, often used as gateposts or occasionally lock-on blocks, form the basic repertoire of Phoinix' architectural elements.

An ill-documented period is the Iron Age. The Karian imagery in the Iron Age is weak, almost absent. Rarely seen depictions of soldiers are on pottery, especially the Brazen Men who fought for Psammetichus I in the 7th century B.C.⁴¹ At the other extreme of the time scale is the Archaic era as pottery is barely available. However, a normal expectation can involve the group characterized as the "Karian Archaic Pottery"⁴² which are generically identified with the ceramic attributes reported from the environs of Mylasa and Stratonikeia in which case the origin of influence was Miletus. Many oriental style painted plates, bowls, embossed pithoi and trade amphorae retrieved from the coastal Karian sites and tombs revealed the Eastern Doric fashion. Diagnostically, this group corresponds with the wares produced under (often limited to the *milieu* of) the Doric influence and are, on a wide scale, dated to the 7th-6th centuries B.C.⁴³ A site of excellence, considering camouflage is Gökçalça (Fig.6, pale polygon), in the immediate south of Taşlıca (physical borders seen from Söğüt, Fig.6, below) center (5 km north of the *Acropolis*) where neither pottery nor a diagnostic piece turned up. Theoretically, this site may back up the counterpart assemblages proving the above-mentioned period if dug out. In the absence of surface material, no further idea can be mooted or a reason be submitted.

³⁷ On Kaledağ, Oğuz-Kırca 2014. Footnote 23 in this text.

³⁸ Oğuz-Kırca 2014: 285. On a similar matter, one can refer to the Archaic town of Melia, in the Mycale, see Lohmann 2012: 37-39.

³⁹ Strabo 14.2 A nuance relates to the spatial positioning as Strabo addressed the peak of Karayüksek (Phoinix) Mountain (behind the *Acropolis*). It was re-restored by Oğuz-Kırca 2014: 285. In order not to give Strabo a raw deal, it should also be taken into consideration that the early travelers and writers about the Bozburun Peninsula and Phoinix misconceived the name and exact *locus* of Karayüksek and/or Phoinix Mountain.

The publications of Kaledağ Taşlıca and Kaletepe Selimiye are in progress.

⁴⁰ Oğuz-Kırca 2014: 294-295, 307-308; Oğuz-Kırca 2015a: 132-136.

⁴¹ Herodotus 2.152; Herda 2013: 444-445.

⁴² Özer attests that the bowls, being the most common coastal Karian type ceramic group, are represented by two main types which survived to be manufactured to the end of the Classical period. From the early Archaic onwards, the Peninsula was amongst the possible provenances where the bowls had two typical characteristics, with bands (in fabric color) and fully furnished texture (Özer 2017: 64-65). Their presence does not seem to have ended all of a sudden.

⁴³ Özer 2015: 332-334.

With its invisible positioning, situated in the midst of Gökçalça and Somakkaya peaks, the site, which hosts ca. 50⁴⁴ (maybe more than that) rock-cut units, rests between two shallow east-west facing hillslopes.⁴⁵ This part of Taşlıca is immune to aeolian dust, too.

Surprisingly though, there is architecture. The tightly aligned dwelling quarters are quite out of the view where the ruins are frozen in respectful silence. So the problem is limited to the style of architecture and masonry details, as for now.

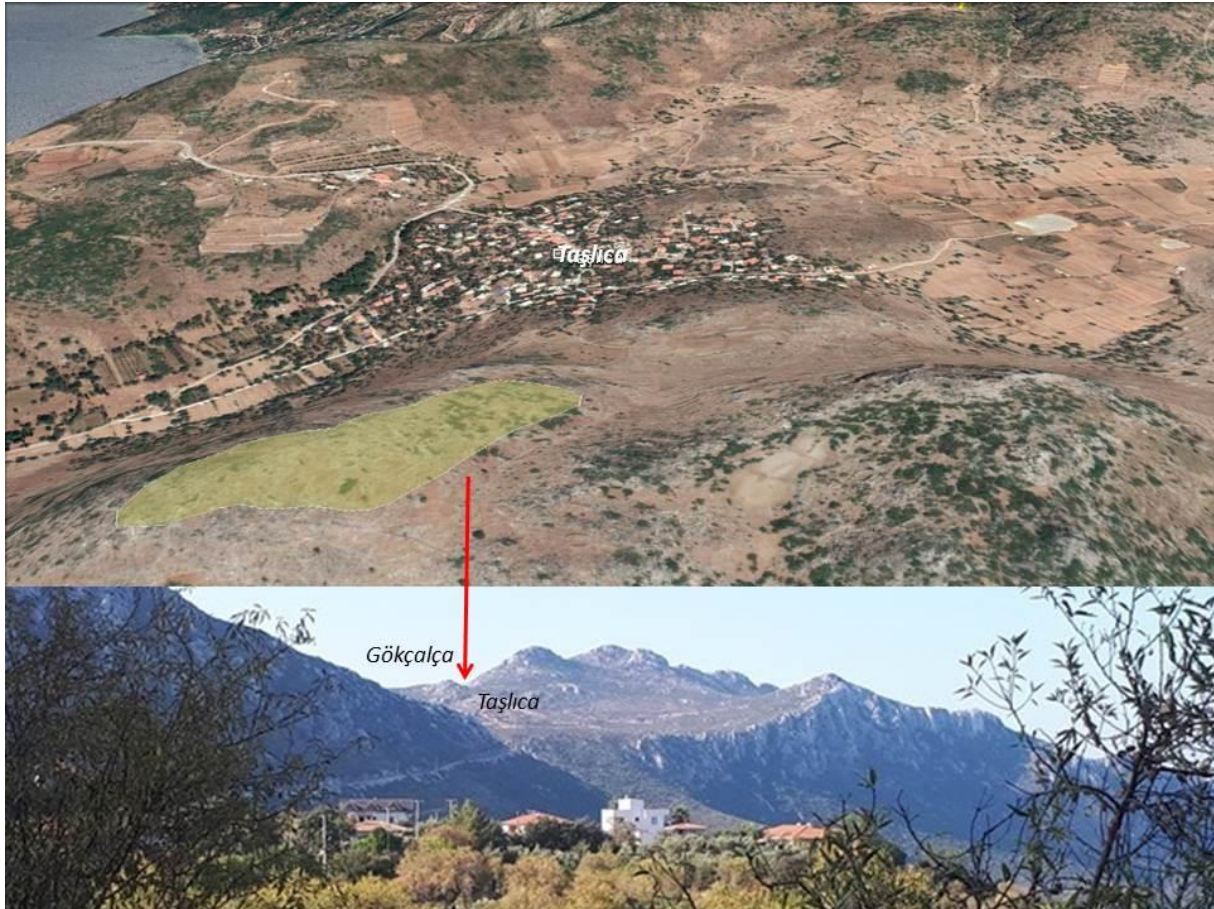


Figure 6. The Site of Gökçalça in South of Taşlıca (Above); Frontiers Visible from Söğüt (Below, Photograph by Author)

The boundaries segmenting the *insulae* of dwellings built of cut-stone (Figs.7-8; Fig.9D) remained while many terrace walls nearly collapsed. The manner of construction concerns an early style and workmanship. The walls were built in the usual manner with boulder blocks lacking mortar and unworked regarding the final finish (Fig.8).⁴⁶ Taken as it is and even it may sound hyperbolic, the site scattered over

an extremely rocky terrain, recalls the context where the upright Kumlubük stele (in Amos)⁴⁷, which still remains an enigma for the historical trajectory of the Peninsula, was found. Anyone can conceive the stele as a litho work of a *horos* function or a tomb marker (probably as the most widely agreed), however may become empty handed in the absence of persuading evidence for the early times.

⁴⁴ With the potentially skipped ones, 35 counts and measurements could be made at the initial stage of the survey.

⁴⁵ Oğuz-Kırca 2014: 290, 295, 302, 307.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ See Özdemir *et.al.* 2013, Özcan 2019: 73-77. The only menhir type stele found in the Peninsula.



Figure 7. Rock-Cut Dwellings of Gökçalça (Photographs by Author)



Figure 8. Masonry From Three Different Angles of Sample Dwelling Unit (A-C); Unworked Space/ Quarry? (Photographs by Author)

The boulder blocks are the most spectacular parts of a single dwelling Fig.8, A-C). Comparative evidence of Gökçalça dwellings (for the interior and outer wall evidence suggests the 8th-7th centuries B.C.⁴⁸ Also, as a

⁴⁸ e.g. Loryma (Held 2002: 294).

rule, the rectangular early Archaic constructions in Oropus⁴⁹ can help establish some minimum parallels in terms of planning. More commonly, massive sizes make the difference. These are probably the ruins and accompanying faint terraces of the germinating Classical Khersonesos or far earlier. The ancient wall series may appear (Fig.9,A) as discrete lines all over the mini rural habitational landscape. It is barely possible that some other walls vanished without trace or diagnostic ruins in relation to an ordinary dwelling. The site is half disturbed but what makes the situation hard to interpret is the likely tectonic impact which eradicated the plots and expected daily materials that belonged to these dwellings. The topography of the

hill (to which the dwellings lean) enjoys the advantage of a steep cliff on the western side. As stressed, diagnostic *terra-cota* assemblages could have been buried under the mass of alluvium and debris of ruins which could point to displacements over long intervals. Yet, the case is inconclusive without supporting or additional evidence. In the level area between the site and Taşlıca village, there lie the fields and boundaries where promising traces (i.e. the hydro work, Fig.9,B) were bulldozed away.⁵⁰ For the later period usage, the pocket plain down below, in the southeast of Somakkaya is a convenient area for a farmstead character building. There is available space for the potential sheep pens over all sides.



Figure 9. Terrace Wall (A); Hydro Work (B); Agricultural Terrace in the Skirts of Somakkaya (C); Well Visible Boundaries of A Dwelling Unit (D) (Photographs by Author)

3.2. Syrna

Syrna (Bayır village) is squeezed between high hills, situated right near the active fault line running across the belly of the Peninsula. It is a place surrounded with dense forests, caves⁵¹ and peaks with cooler temperatures. Tall trees (especially the *platanus orientalis* and *cupressus*) which could have survived nearly since the Roman period (in light of dendro-chronological marks) make the village a lot more interesting. The junction where the land immediately meets the sea at Çiftlik Bay is home to various scenes

during dawn and dusk. Sculpted by the winds and iodines of the eastern-western coasts, Çiftlik and its extensions boast a splendid view of the Aegean occupied by the islets.

Syrna is rather acknowledged with the inscription having a contextual relation to the *Asclepius* cult.⁵² A suspected sanctuary was hosted there, now in the village center, located nearby a water source (namely

⁴⁹ Ainian 2001: 154.

⁵⁰ There used to be a basin in the midst of these orchards. The area could have served for an undefined function.

⁵¹ On the caves of the Bozburun Peninsula, Günhan *et al.* 2018: 1289-1304.

⁵² Bresson 1991: no.58 (a.2)-59 (I.8.I.11-12) (87-93).

Kızlarçeşmesi).⁵³ The *Acropolis* lies above Yancağz-tepe. A mention of the sanctuary's presence in the epigraphic repository markedly offsets the scarcity of the ancient finds from the field even though some terracotta revetments may cross our text but this is rather hard to interpret in the lack of intensive surveying.

There is a real and physically isolated *khora* (owing to the boundary created by tectonism) in the lower

section of the abovementioned fault; here is Yokuşbaşı and vicinity. With its sheltered outlook, the landscape is much like a mother's bosom. It appears that a few settlement units occupied the small crater at the beginning point of Yokuşbaşı (extending toward the south of the fan shape depression marked (red arrow) in Fig.10). This is the place which is reached via an ascending trail from the modern highway (Fig.11,C).



Figure 10. The Site of Yokuşbaşı (Starting From the Fan Shaped Depression Watching Over Bayır Village)

To the end of the sharply taken sector of the trail (which continues as forking to the SE and SW on the starting points of the *khora* at Yokuşbaşı south), there appears the giant domed cistern (with the oblong ground plan measuring 510x350 cm.) at a code of 342/375 m, situated on the east. The height from the ground point to the tip of the dome is 150 cm; without dome it measures 120 cm. It looks as if it was restored or had add-ons in the later periods. Built with the limestone slabs, it invokes the Ottoman period precedents reported from the environs of Mandalya⁵⁴ and some other building types. The sides of the cistern protrude from the outer surface. A few finished

blocks are observed at the entrance of the site where the late cistern has a good view of the surrounding area, directly facing Bayır village (Fig.11). The co-existence of the blocks and late cistern is interesting. The function of the perfect holes (marked red in Fig.11,B) carved into the rock (visible on the lateral surface) is yet undefined (maybe a socket for a wooden or iron crossbar). The sides are more worn than the opposing ones. On this evidence alone, it can be hypothesized that they could have supported the hinge posts of the "site" gates indicating somehow their guardianship, which later could have had relation to the agrarian mode or mission of the site in the background area.

⁵³ On the relationship of Syrna (Swa-(a)rna) and water, refer to Umar 1993: 756.

Homerus tells of e.g. a sanctuary where the Achaeans made sacrifices nearby a water source and the respective plane trees (Homerus. VI.305-306 (p.100)). Syrna was also founded in a similar place.

⁵⁴ Serin 2013: 200. As the author notes, equivalents are come across in Karia. Presumably, they began to be built toward the end of the 13th century, matching Menteşeoğulları (the Beylik of Menteshe) period (1291) or thereafter (*ibid.*).



Figure 11. Domed Cistern at the Start of Yokuşbaşı (A); Perfect Holes Carved into Rock (B); The Ascending Trail Toward Yokuşbaşı (C); Position of the Cistern Overlooking the Highway (Photographs by Author)

Over the *khora*, the architectural style is represented by the small size *opus incertum* dry masonry. The SW branch of the trail (which heads down to the Apicadere and Kirpi) passes by the modern fields and a small, single nave chapel (Fig.12) and travels in the southward direction. In fact, the basilica plan chapel is situated very close by the entrance/ gate of the *khora*, approximately 500 m to the south (at 395-400 m), as naturally sheltered by a *pinus brutia*. Considerable destruction on the western walls is visible. The fields surrendering the building create a modern temenos whose boundaries, looking at the silhouette-but of course very speculatively, might not have been interrupted on a large scale. The orientation of the chapel (regarding the apsidal window) is due east, with the entrance facing south. To the right of the entrance appears the apse of the now roofless chapel (in the E-W axis). The masonry technique is unpretentious; the walls are bonded with brick and rubble stone (Fig.12,B). Presumably, the daily ware, oil lamps and liturgical objects were placed in the small niches carved into the apsidal and northern walls. To the north of the building lies a cistern (9.5-10 feet wide), at a lower code.

The immediate insula of the apsidal chapel produces no direct evidence of settlement but the occupational pattern is somehow supported with the late

Roman terra-cotta pieces in the close vicinity.⁵⁵ The chapel must have been serving a *kome*, mini township or cluster of rural dwellings (Fig.10, pale polygon representing an estimated quarter of the few farmsteads) connotating the Byzantine period as a general chronology.⁵⁶ Some of the visible ruins jibe with those given in literature, typologically. Masses of pottery scattered in the western side of the apsidal section and the piles found on top of the collapsed walls partitioning the nave can help date the building or the time of destruction. Another broad dating is backed up with the Hellenistic/ late Hellenistic sherd scatters. Also, the technique of construction and pieces of the late Roman ware also allows us a dating of this small structure and its temenos area.

The emergence of the churches of Mandalya, which corroborate the 5th-6th centuries A.D statistically, is owed to the wealthy atmosphere of the period between the 4th-6th centuries.⁵⁷ Based on a relative chronology, we can, too, assume the said interval by proposing a commencement or spread of these implantations at least with the late Roman period. Analogous plans, more precisely, an apsidal 5th-6th century “basilica” plan *khora* church built in the east-west direction were documented in Alagün Harbor, near the Mandalya Gulf.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ For the late Roman amphorae uncovered in the Bozburun Peninsula, indicatively Royal 2008: 90-91.

⁵⁶ For the *exempla* in Mandalya, see Serin 2013: 197-198. Also Ruggieri 2009, for the inhabitants of Byzantine Karia.

⁵⁷ See Serin 2013: 198. Iasos and Bargylia are highlighted as some typical cases (*ibid.*). Also refer to Sevchenko and Patterson Sevchenko (1984) for the increasing number of chapels in the *khora* during the Byzantine period.

⁵⁸ Serin 2013: 197.



Figure 12. Close-Up Position of the Church (A); Detail of Masonry (B); View From the Corner of Northern Wall (C); View From Opus Incertum (D) (Photographs by Author)

The dimensions of the cisterns (as well as contextual basins) found between Yokuşbaşı-Maşatalanı are remarkably large and mostly in current use. The average diameter is 300 cm/ 9-10 feet. On the east of the trail (Yokuşbaşı SE) where a pocket plain appears, a cistern, which is carved into the top of a rocky area, can be found at an elevation of 380 m. On its west is found another one at an interesting location.

4. SITE ANATOMY

This paper has no intention of fully providing a site analysis for the sample cases above but aims to demonstrate some of the morphological attributes of both sites with the help of remote sensing and some other commonalities under the current geographical attributes. The reason is overt; invisibility and positioning in a particular area did matter, as often being the pioneering criteria in the ancient periods.

The approach in the study is observational in the first step (as a result of the site walking method applied in the surveys), to propose an environmental determinism in the subject topography. However, it is largely empirical in consideration of the geomorphological analysis realized with a remote sensing tool. The in-place observations (by cruising an average areal radius of 3 km, limited to this single work

only) and evaluations regarding the likely invisibility of the two “hidden” sites are tested with ArcGIS software and MapInfo 10.5 (based on a DEM digitized from 1:25.000 topographical maps; colored orthophotography) (see also Oguz-Kirca & Liritzis, 2017a).

Supposedly, the inland, safely situated sites of Gökçalça (where the pre-defined settled environment of ca.50 dwellings is appointed to the core) and Yokuşbaşı (where the chapel is appointed to the same) have the physical command of ca. 72 and 95 hectares of land, respectively. The catchment, so to speak, the sphere of influence (Fig.13) of the first case is based on the physical limitation caused from the west by the peak of Gökçalça, ridges of Kaledağ on the east, lowlands of Toptepe in the south and Taşlıca in the north while that of the second one is set according to the geographical limitations caused by Oyuk Tepe on the west, western skirts of Güvençdağ on the east, start point of an ascending trail above the highway on the north and the spot locally known as Maşatalanı⁵⁹, lying to the south (right before Kirpiyeri where a strait lead to the undulated territory finally meeting Kayalı Bay). The given values come out spherically on average, also regarding the limits of the dwellings and easy access from their expected nuclear zones to the surroundings, marked in Fig.13. The

⁵⁹ Meaning the burial place. Falling to the southern direction of the settlement units at Yokuşbaşı, the site of Maşatalanı was probably a funerary landscape. Beyond Yokuşbaşı,

around Maşatalanı lie, occasionally, the reused tomb elements.

catchment areas suggest a strong advantage of invisibility from different sectors. The elevation of both sites from the lowest to the highest grounds range

335-395 m and 360-450 m., resp., in which case the base mean measurements are above 300 m.

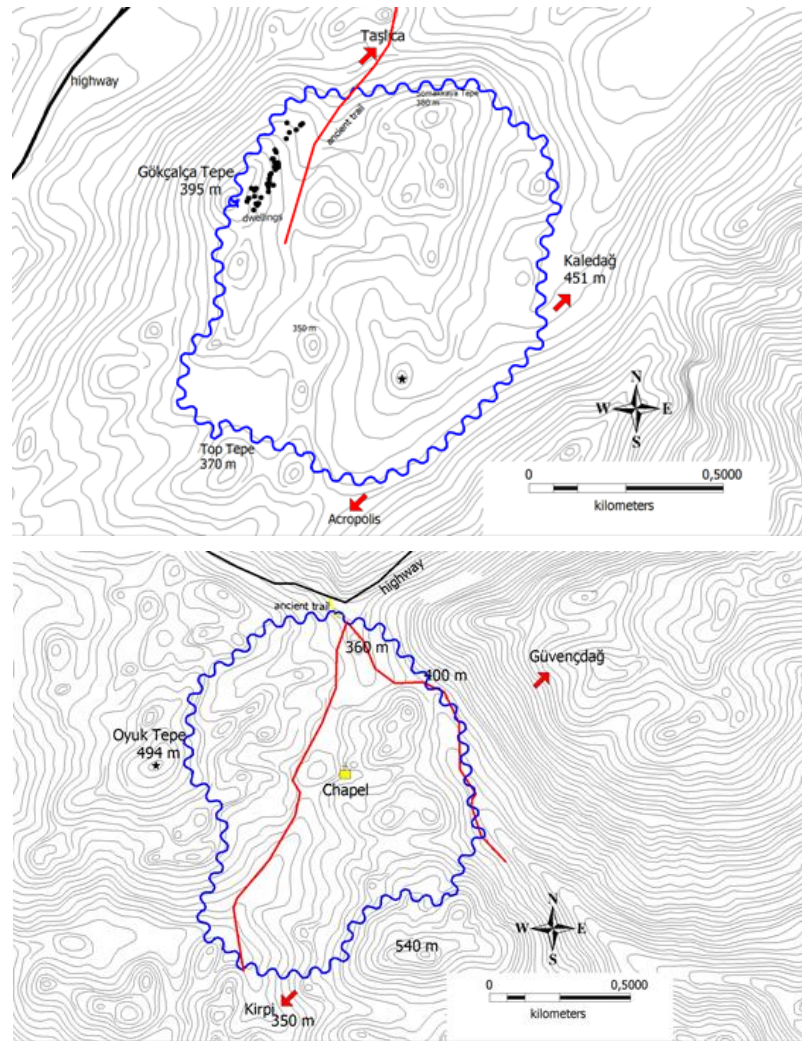


Figure 13. Catchment Area of Gökçalça (Above) and Yokuşbaşı (Below) (Maps by Author)

Broadly retracing tectonism (without paying regard to evidence of seismic damage herein) depicted in the geological maps of the General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration (MTA), it is apparent that Bozburun Peninsula is a seismically active territory. The recent morphology is defined by three active (unless otherwise remarkable given), normal type faults (shown in purple lines, Fig.1), with ID numbers 64 (Selimiye Fault, total length= 21 km), 65 (Bozburun Fault, l= 11 km), 66 (Taşlica Fault, l= 11 km) where slope degrees (min.60, max. 65) are identical. The magnitude (M_w) of an earthquake that Selimiye Fault can generate is 6.61 while it rates 6.23 for Bozburun and Taşlica Faults⁶⁰. Depending on Figs.1,3, Yokuşbaşı clearly appertains to the Selimiye Fault ID: 64 (whose western edge, drawing an arc,

bends down to Bozburun north), crossing the region between Delikyol-Selimiye and Güvenç Dağ & Çiftlik Bay-Bayır, as oriented W-E. Primarily owing to the length (nearly double) and other parameters not mentioned here (for a *ceteris paribus* case), M_w value to affect Yokuşbaşı and environs might be higher than that of Taşlica Fault. Despite their equivalency in the slope value, 11 km long Taşlica Fault ID: 66 varies with its orientation in NE-SW. This fault is definable in a few segments beginning from Hisardibi and ending at the eastern coasts that are clearly watched by Korsan Kale.

A strict point to note is the sites' positioning in proportion to the given faults (at the Peninsula scale) which are trajected by the modern roads. Both sites have adequate proximity (1,3 km from Yokuşbaşı, 500

⁶⁰ MTA (Emre *et al.* 2011); See the report of Sözbilir *et al.* 2017: 3-4.

m. from Gökçalça) to the crack line but far enough to stay away or fled the area reflexively, through the available corridors shaped by the landforms. However, it cannot be put forward, with the input given in this study, that, on a pair wise comparison, the location of Gökçalça becomes more vulnerable to the possible effects of the Taşlıca Fault.

In order to test the invisibility of the two sites, a viewshed analysis – a function of the surface spatial analysis tool, was made through successive map operations. This process was realized to determine the raster surface locations which are visible to a set of observer points set around our sites in question. The criteria for the selection of the observer points was linked to positioning on the highest and/or higher grounds (as possible).

Four (4) observer points were chosen for the site of Gökçalça whereas this occurred as five (5) for Yokuşbaşı arising from the relative proximity to the *Acropolis* of Syrna and the major fault line running down and along the north of the site itself. It was deemed unnecessary to put an extra observer vector on top of Kaledağ which had a profound master of a wider geography all over Phoinix, far as the *Acropolis*⁶¹ and Gökçalça, too. The second criteria- in direct proportion to the first one, was to design these observer points (circled green) to the nearest borderlines of the “natural” catchment areas given in Fig.14. Therefore, the highest near peaks surrendering the sites from four directions (N, S, E, W) were set as the possible risky spots for any threat. An exception regarding Yokuşbaşı involved the gigantic mass of Güvençdağ to ignore an observing feature on its top. A natural watch point in the skirts of this mountain was preferred to be used as an input for the viewshed test.

As per the results of the viewshed run, the two sites where the range of dwellings of Gökçalça and the chapel (with the adjacent settlement areas) were set to the core, fall to the invisible (coded pink, Fig.14) zones appertaining to each appointed observing feature. A careful note should be that part of the land at

Yokuşbaşı, where traces of a few settlement units appear in a limited extent, is slightly visible (coded in green) from the lowlands of Güvençdağ which is an expected case in cognizance of the increased elevations in comparison with the neighboring terrain.

The modern pedological characteristics back up the domination of the *terra-rosa* soil cover in both sites, directly matching the catchment areas. The second concomitance points to the insufficient soil levels (also due to excess land use over the ages) and/or properties and, damage effect caused by slope and, erosion events, which are left out of scope under this text. Theoretically (referring to the results obtained from a broad array of proxy data used for climate modeling by i.e. McCormick *et.al.*2010; Reale and Shukla 2000 and), the past climatic conditions of the Peninsula, as an integral part of the Mediterranean zone, were slightly different than today; however it must have been wetter during the 2th-3rd centuries while a reconversion occurred in the 4-5th centuries (which lasted for about 200 years).⁶²

A typical commonality is sought regarding their proximity to the associated *Acropolis* as the *centrum*. It has come out that Gökçalça lies at a fair distance to the center, amidst Kaledağ (as a sortie/ runaway route) and the *Acropolis* whereas Yokuşbaşı could have experienced a runaway through the narrow corridor opening to both the eastern coasts and Kayalı Bay in the south. It seems that normal walking took about 30 minutes at the maximum, which also illuminates us about the favorable limits of doing agriculture comfortably (either as landowners or lessees but a disadvantageous situation could have prevailed for the dwellers, if any, at Yokuşbaşı in the absence of property ownership under the shadow of a religious institution). Both of the sites were at fairly remote distances to save time for escape. Except for the interroad connections, the optimum routes to reach out the nearest bays and “arteries” (considering the advantages provided by the sea routes; southward for Yokuşbaşı and eastward for Gökçalça), rounds to/ does not exceed ca. 2.5 km.

⁶¹ The bing map and/or aerial view of the *Acropolis* of Phoinix is produced from the open source Google Earth and relevant 1:5000 scale map.

⁶² McCormick *et.al.*2010: 180-207; Reale and Shukla 2000: 185-214.

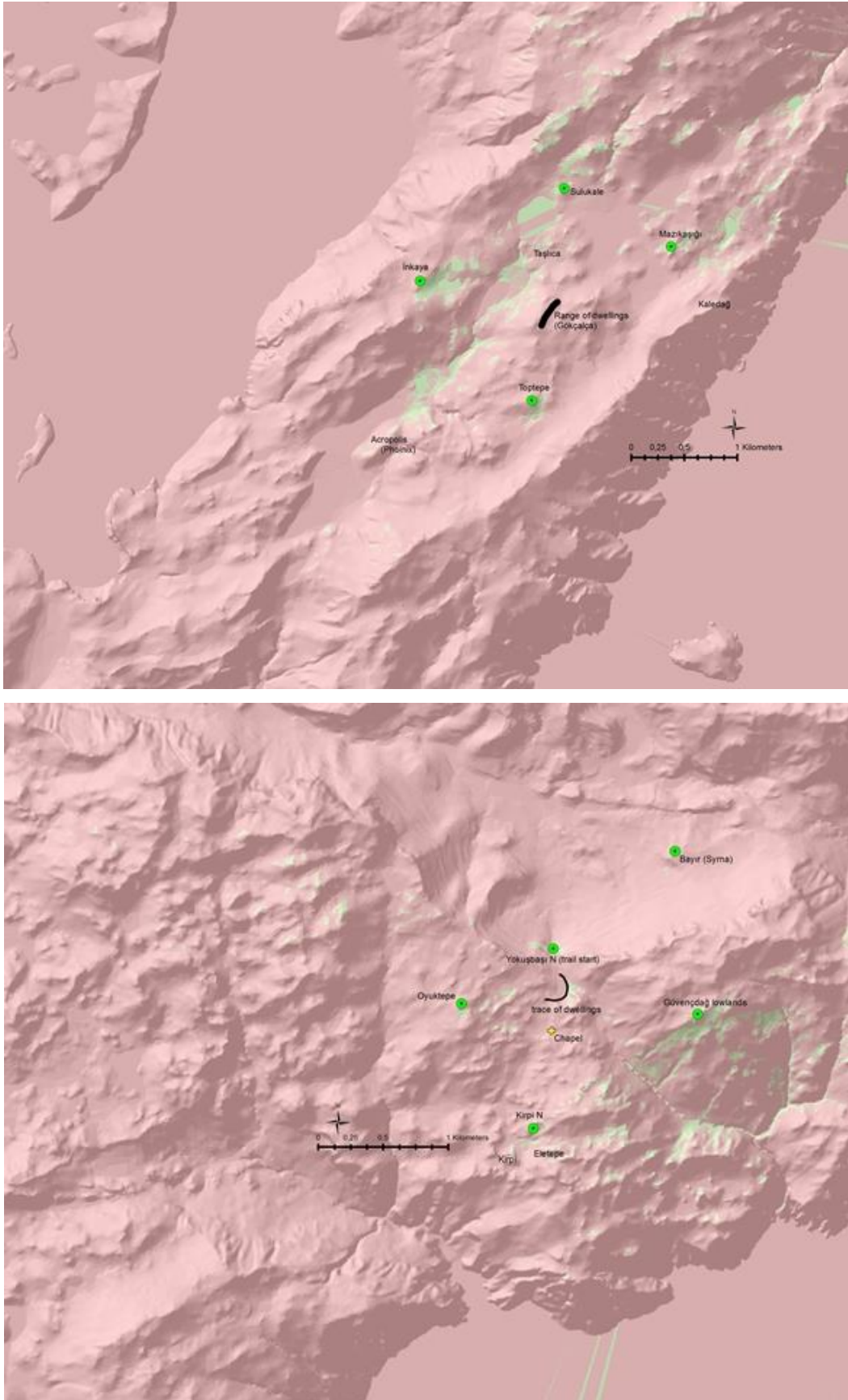


Figure 14. Viewshed of Gökçalça (Above) and Yokuşbaşı (Below) (Maps by Author)

5. DISCUSSION

The landscape theory relates to both physical and cultural components.⁶³ Hence, we seek a certain degree of interaction between them. Also, artifact and site-based approaches are favored to the degree that they are also supportable and explainable with the geological and morphological features of a piece of land. Palynology, historical studies based on census records or radiometry of downstream sediments take some widely applied seats⁶⁴ while searching deeper. The pollen record shows that vegetation changed beginning with the later prehistory and became more akin to the present conditions, due to aridification (climatic shifts) in the Middle Holocene but slightly due to human intervention. These had more impact in Spain and Greece whereas the Middle Mediterranean was less affected.⁶⁵ Obviously, the area we are overflying exhibits the quaternary alluvium environments. The opening of the quaternary period in the Mediterranean basin was defined on the basis of the stratigraphic record at e.g. Vrica, Calabria, in southern Italy.⁶⁶ What is storable (although not directly testable or applicable) for the Peninsula is that alluviation remains clear either along the fault cracks or the coastal zone, except for the dense limestone concentrations. The case that many terraces are covered with (sometimes the silty texture) *terra-rosas* can be explained with limestone, enriched with satisfactory levels of nutrients. This inevitably stimulates settlement around such geographies.

The variances in settlement types can be, too, owed to perceptions and ideological preferences vis-a-vis the environmental conditions, availability of certain resources or geological/ soil formations. Hence, they may be the frequent representations of social relations⁶⁷ in specific periods. The effect of geography on the particular domains of the Peninsula (specifically in Phoinix and Hygassos) was stressed in the studies released to date. However, the changing political and religious atmosphere and conditions seem to have prompted the Peninsulars to the usage of distinctive spaces over the similar lands.

Even though the extent of the ethno-cultural trajectories⁶⁸ cannot be interpreted with satisfactory levels

of confidence, a series of thresholds can be deemed with the impact of physical geography on the option for a settlement space. However, the distinction between the residential, ritual and agro-space is hard to specify as they may be interwoven physically. Also, the debris under high plough disturbance can be misleading; anything may appear as an off-site. Likewise, a Classical farm may be non-residential and residential at the same time, i.e. the "hidden landscapes" are often a discussion in the prehistoric context.⁶⁹

Iron Age was another time of interaction when patterns of exchange at any level might have been there. The Archaic period is full of questions in terms of the occupational patterns in various parts of Karia. But as to our knowledge, the agricultural farmsteads survived since Archaic period⁷⁰, much the same as those deployed around the Mandalya Gulf.⁷¹ In this case, it is acceptable, theoretically that the inhabitants of Phoinix, specifically Gökçalça (see Fig.9,C), were active in the Archaic period, as well. Architecture, at times, can be powerful enough to assign a temporal span to a site. The Archaic period is proposed in the first place, in view of the character of the walls and topography of the site as a parallel instance is well attested by Akarca for Neandrea, a city situated in the northern Aegean.⁷² In the dearth of pottery, on the other hand, the appearance of masonry used is also suggestive of the polygonal Cyclopean architecture (even Lelegian? style at the same time), which is a building technique associated with Mycenaean structures, often acknowledged from the Greek mainland Bronze Age ruins of *i.e.* Tiryns.

The size of the housing material, simply the stone carved from the local ground, evoke something common with some of the oppositely situated Bronze Age Dodecanesian territories- again, a possible Mycenaean influence⁷³ can be considered omnipresent. We remain uncertain whether these even belonged to the assimilated Karians by the early 3rd century B.C. Given that the 6th century roughly matches the "vanishing" of the Karian presence in western Anatolia, particularly near Miletos and Mycale⁷⁴, this can never be put forward as a reference for the rest of Karia and western Anatolia. But the possibilities are all the time there. The initial assessment, however, is that they

⁶³ Wilkinson 2003: 8, 10.

⁶⁴ See Asins-Velis 2006: 25.

⁶⁵ Rackham 2008: 42-43.

⁶⁶ Mannion 2008: 19. This information can change so there is no insistence on a particular area.

⁶⁷ Souvatzi 2013: 25, 28, 40.

⁶⁸ On a sample case, e.g. Lohmann 2012 (The Archaic Panionion (where a temple was erected by the Ionian League around the end of the 7th century B.C) resting over the Karian fortress settlement at Çatallar Tepe (as also corroborated by the discovery of the ruins of the Karian town of

Melia) has been a sort of an expression for an alleged ethno genesis of the Ionians (2012: 49).

⁶⁹ Bintliff *et al.* 1999: 146-147.

⁷⁰ Lohmann 1992: 59.

⁷¹ Serin 2013: 200.

⁷² Akarca 1977: 18-25; Başgelen 2012: 30.

⁷³ Boardman 1999: 26-27; Mee 1982: 82-83.

⁷⁴ Lohmann 2012: 49. Due to the special position of Miletos and its demographic breakdown and colonized status of the *polis*, as well as to the ancient accounts.

could have been shaped by the early Karian communities, as influenced by the Mycenaean contact from the nearby islands. An assertive idea would be to deem masonry as older than the Archaic period, hence pay attention to the possibility of a Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age. We need to uncover pottery.

The late Classical period saw an upsurge with the self-discovery and reorientation of the cities (or they had it done) and continued as accompanied with the sense of sinking into oblivion rather than collapse after the fall of Rome, until the mid-Byzantine period.⁷⁵ Besides, the *koina*, as the representative of the “nucleated settlement model”, constituted the rural focus in the Byzantine era.⁷⁶ The boom began in the post 4th century B.C here, with the expansion of the countryside of the *demes* and large operation farmsteads. We lack the farmsteads⁷⁷ with towers vis-a-vis the round plan buildings of quite a later period, perhaps the late Roman/ early Byzantine, in i.e. the short *khora* of the *Acropolis* of Phoinix (especially the one in the skirts of Karayüksekdağ, having the most airy half-summits). But they are sparse. Turning back to the heartbeat of the rural economy of the Hellenistic period- the farmsteads, a proxy case is given, disregarding the importance of period again, just to demonstrate the complementarity of the positioning of a site called Gedikçukur, to the dynamic socio-political atmosphere audited by Rhodes. With a wide angle of sight high above a valley (crossed by a small fault connected to Taşlıca Fault (Figs.1, 3) and enough far off the coast, in the moderate distant *khora* (SW) of Phoinix⁷⁸, it has a profound master of the agricultural plantations. In our previous survey, an *in-situ* partly disturbed chamber? tomb⁷⁹ with a vaulted stone block (~70x210 cm) at an elevation of 145 m. was recorded within the borders of a rustic quadrilateral structure whose terrace and base walls were clearly visible.⁸⁰ It is highly possible that this is the site where Chaviaras brothers introduced one inscription in 1913. As they describe,

it was a dedication made by Heracles to Demopheides⁸¹ and was discovered at the midpoint of a rectangular cavity⁸², which probably matches the coordinates we reported. The appellation, Demopheides, is known from the Kamiran inscriptions dated to late 4th century B.C/ early 3rd century B.C. (300-290 B.C). An interpretation of the inscription touches on the distinguished status of a military person or an administrator, in cognizance of the Kamiran epigraphical inventory⁸³ while the plot, obviously, was not occupied by an ordinary building. Presumably, it was a base for auditing the agricultural production of the Peninsulars. In the case of any connection or chronological conjunction to this name (it could have been erected by the name of the son? Philetos⁸⁴), then it can be suggestive of the active presence of a local magistrate, in the early Hellenistic, as well.

In the early Hellenistic period (when Rhodes began to put hands on the Peninsula, formally and unlike the Attalid foundations such as the quasi-colonial settlements- *katoikiai* which linked the center to the *khorai*)⁸⁵, the dominions of Rhodes connected the periphery to the state, over the Island and mainland circle. The countryside was powerful when rethought with the sources it managed for centuries. For the later period, although very slightly stable, some rare cases can be put to consideration; e.g. the Julio-Claudian wreck I evidences that Rhodes was not delinked to the mainland regarding maritime trade.⁸⁶ None of us can prove a direct organic relation in terms of the Island’s territorial, hence political domain. But, something must have been rather influential; socio-economic systems played a key role in accounting for changes in the abandonment of the region and poverty in settlement.

The Peninsulars were the townspeople and did not care much, entirely, about the aesthetic urban elements. Regarding the Byzantine period⁸⁷, hilltop settlements were almost none. A few forts seem to have

⁷⁵ On the Late Antique rural settlements and ecclesiastics in Anatolia, referable to epigraphical and hagiographical sources e.g. Vita Theodori Syceotae (Festugière 1970); Vita Nicolai Sionitae (Sevcenko and Patterson Sevcenko 1984: 53-57). On the Late Antique Lycian rural settlements, Foss 1991: 305-339.

⁷⁶ Serin 2013: 194

⁷⁷ The *koina* often dated with the beginning of the 4th century B.C. in Karia (Lohmann 2012: 36).

⁷⁸ Regarding the physical limits of the *khora*, the rural sites situated between the small strait facing the Arap Island in the NE and Gedikçukur neighbouring the coastal Kasarae, outline the entire territorium of Phoinix.

⁷⁹ A few ground level *khamosorion* burials were recorded in the vicinity of Gedikçukur. For two fine collateral samples reported from the northern *khora* of Phoinix, see Oğuz-Kırca 2015b: 40, 61 (right-below in fig.8).

⁸⁰ Oğuz-Kırca 2013: 258, 387.

⁸¹ This name could have appeared as an eponym (Dapheides/ Damopheides?) on the round stamped amphorae (ALEX ABC 0117.10 (MGR P. 23699). Given the dating of the stamp to 85-40 B.C. (VIIa period), its relationship with Gedikçukur can be a slim chance.

⁸² Chaviaras and Chaviaras 1913, no. 88 (I.1-2) (3-4).

⁸³ Bresson 1991: no.158 (152), see also Oğuz-Kırca & Liritzis 2017b.

⁸⁴ Tit.Cam.9 (I.3)

⁸⁵ Thonemann 2013: 29.

⁸⁶ Royal 2008: 92-93.

⁸⁷ Refer to Ostrogorsky 1991, particularly check the Kibyrrhaeot Theme Kybirraiaton (Thema Kibyraiōtōn) covering the Anatolian coasts and nearest islands- following the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

been occupied for simply guarding (not solely defensive) purposes. There is not knowledge whether any elevated ground served as a refuge shelter in the Peninsula as regards, e.g. the Byzantine Mycale.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the defensive structures, along with the militarization of the hilltop landscapes in specific periods, outnumbered the coastal forts.⁸⁹ Indeed, Rhodes and the Dodecanesian environment did not take a strategic place, both physically and psychologically, in the eye of the Byzantines, possibly because links with the Greeks' ancestral ties were perceived different than expected. At any rate, evidence shows that during the early Christian period, Rhodes belonged to the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine period lasted on and off for almost 1,000 years. During this time, Rhodes was an important Byzantine trading port and a crossroads for ships sailing between Constantinople and Alexandria. Beginning in 600 AD, Rhodians began to develop a codified collection of maritime laws (*Nomos Rhodion Nautikos*) which have influenced admiralty law up to the present. It was a Byzantine military base. The Byzantine fortified walls of Rhodes (7th c. -13th c.) divided the town into two sections:

1) The Acropolis (later the Grand-Masters' Palace) and the Upper Town which is the surrounding area of the Acropolis (later the Collachio).

2) The Lower Town (later the Burgum). Today, parts of this fortification survive mostly in the Collachio, incorporated into later structures. Rhodes city had a great number of churches, among them are some basilicas of impressive dimensions (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020). Opposing views consider that it is equally hard to propose a great development in favour of the economy or demography of Rhodes in the Early Byzantine. It continued to be the transporter and stopover point for wheat but lost the central role for the larger geography on its own.⁹⁰ As an extension to this subject, there is an absolute need for further interpretation about the relationship of the religious structures to the agricultural produce and profit-making in the Peninsula.

⁸⁸ See Lohmann 2012: 33.

⁸⁹ A case point relates to that of Miletus where robust, high and thicker grand blocks were worked as fort masonry (Niewöhner 2016: 70)

⁹⁰ See Katsioti 2015: 180, 183. During the Byzantine period, the islands and Rhodes were geographically and psychologically removed from the perception of the Byzantines also because they never "inherited the Greek ancestors' drive for overseas travelling and adventure" (*Ibid.*183).

⁹¹ Katsioti 2015: 181-182, 185-187.

⁹² On *klasma* land, possessions of monasteries and isolated ἀγρίδια which were often entangled and conflicted with those of the peasant populations around Chalkidiki and Mount Athos during 10-11th centuries, Kaplan 2019: 71-77.

The provenance of material matters in architecture. In the early Byzantine period, Rhodes provided the local material, mainly the bricks employed in the construction of the dome of Hagia Sophia, around 532-527 A.D. There is evidence that the transaction of some material culture items travelled from Rhodes to Constantinople (i.e. the lamps excavated in Saraçhane and double sided icons). These have comparative value in respect of the import relations between the two cities. There also occurred a migration movement from Constantinople to Rhodes in the 5th-6th centuries. For the second time in history, Rhodes regained power and glory based on trade with its seizure by the Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and the port took its modern form. The cosmopolite structure of Rhodes continued into the later periods, especially following the fall of Constantinople in the 15th century when the artists also set themselves to migrate.⁹¹

Some colleagues make a mention of a tendency toward the rural as well as the increases in the agricultural lands⁹² between the 4th and 6th-7th centuries.⁹³ That the escalation of production in the *khora* of the Lycian cities arose from the Roman authority (especially the economic turnaround in the 3rd century) rather than the regional circumstances⁹⁴ is a notable claim as well as a growing poverty that took place in the periphery following the mentioned period. The site inquired in Syrna, could, too, have stayed on with the experience of an outbreak and expansion in the Roman period.

The rural settlements that underwent expansion in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (along with those planned in the early Byzantine period, as well) around the region of Mandalya Gulf, survived into the Late Antiquity. The *koinon* type settlements which continued to be inhabited during the Byzantine period corresponds with the Hellenistic model. The difference is; they were the religious-political units which paid tribute as generally attached to a *polis* whereas they were designed as the core settlements in the fiscal system of the Byzantines.⁹⁵ Serin brings

⁹³ Chavarria and Lewitt 2004: 3-52; Serin 2013: 196. There is a need to ask whether the alleged increase and growth in settlement and population during the 5th-6th centuries A.D. countryside can be copied to an Anatolia wide situation (particularly see Niewöhner 2016: 75)? Is it all agreed that the way of living changed in the rural lands because the correlation between the rural expansion and urban decline appears to be positively high? Did perception about urbanism (even the tastes) change by simply transferring itself to the rural land? According to the author of this paper, the degree and character of rurality is the matter to be discussed.

⁹⁴ Bulut 2018: 694-695.

⁹⁵ Serin 2013: 194.

forward the presence of the churches surrounded with the rustic buildings (probably of the ancient villages) as well as she makes a mention of the individual churches in the *khora* around Mandalya.⁹⁶ The chapel in Yokuşbaşı⁹⁷ supports the church typology recorded over the region, including the vicinity of Kıran, Kumalanı⁹⁸ and Alagelması where single nave Byzantine churches with narthexes were reported. They were erected with the reused ancient blocks of probably the Hellenistic and Roman materials.⁹⁹

St. Kerykos could be another example that deserves a discussion. Likely as it seems, the 1800 years old Bozukkilise (Bozuk Church) at Kameriye Island in Selimiye Village was appointed for aiding and abetting the spread and diffusion of the St Kerykos cult that began to be worshipped before the 6th century over the Dodecanesian and Aegean islands and mainland Bozburun.¹⁰⁰ The church which is a typical Christianity building with the impressive basement mosaic, has a convenient place and service peculiarity in respect of the landscape. Exclusively, a vast majority of such bodies are positioned in the littoral sector of the Peninsula: the satellite churches situated in Kiseliada and Mercimek Cove (Bozburun); coastal Söğüt; Gebekilise/ Gebe Church, Gebekse Cove (Osmaniye); Church of St. Mary and the spring nearby in the ruins of Aziziye Village/ Karamaka facing Symi Island and another chapel on the inner west (Bozuk, Loryma), etc. must have been the principal subsidiary servers (a series of rural sanctuaries were probably begun to be built later on, following the full establishment of Christianity) within the process. If the chapel in Yokuşbaşı is an instance of the satellite type/hamlet¹⁰¹, then we might owe a different

explanation about its historical trajectory, due to the late Hellenistic sherd scatters or, such a situation can hint at a continuation in the choice of cult areas. Obviously, diverse divine figures (inherited from the early times) were present in the *khora* of the Bozburun Peninsula (e.g. Apollo Samnaios, Zeus Atabyrios, Zeus Kataibatas).¹⁰² Given that there was a sanctuary dedicated to Hemithea in Kastabos in the north; a hekatompedos¹⁰³ at Kıran Lake in the southernmost tip of the isthmus as well as the Apollo and Dionysos¹⁰⁴ sanctuaries in the neighbouring area of Phoinix where oracling¹⁰⁵ and agriculture probably had strong links and; some other later structures in the western and eastern coasts (see above- Kiseliada; Bozukkilise-Kameriye Island), the hinterland of Syrna (which is associated with the *Asclepius* cult and sanctuary) must be another place for local worshipping, with the possibility of e.g. the existence of an extra-urban asylum¹⁰⁶ in the mid north of the region. Nowhere is quoted as a religious site bounded up with the inland territories of Bayır. It is plausible to assume the chapel as a prototype of the alongshore planned cases, also in contemplation of the peaceful and safer political conditions of the middle Byzantine period.

Deurbanization is a key to come closer to the inactive usage and building activity in the cities of Anatolia during the middle Byzantine period. Within this scope, an argument for another silence phase in the urban areas of Anatolia has been brought for the 10-11th centuries A.D., e.g. the very case of Miletus where there was a gap between the settlement the Byzantines left (the so-called Palatia situated above the Lion Harbor) and the site Seljuks founded (Balat serving as the harbor in Menteşe Province). The area also had

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*193-194. Alagün and Zindaf Fortresses seem to be typical. However, the method of dating with an appeal to e.g. the mortarium, litus, pres bed, etc. is somehow thought-provoking. Despite the broad interval of the 1st B.C.- 5th A.D, it can be assumed that chronological sequencing was made in light of the ceramic study (195). Further refer to Pierobon Benoit 2012; Serin 2013: 193, for the relationship between the *polis-khoro* in the Mandalya region.

⁹⁷ It seems to be better preserved in comparison to the images provided for the immediate area of Kıran.

⁹⁸ In the further south of the Peninsula.

⁹⁹ Kuban and Saner 2006: 395, 400-401.

¹⁰⁰ On a short examination, Katsioti and Mastrochristos 2018.

¹⁰¹ On a different purpose satellite hamlet which has recently been proposed as a taxing area for the caravans, the seminar paper of Tholbecq 2015.

¹⁰² Cults and changing epithets generally call to the regional variations. Zeus can be traced back to the Luwian God of Tarhunt in Pisidia (particularly see Talloen *et al.* 2006, on the foreign cultic, mainly the Phrygian influences in southwest Anatolia (175-183)) and elsewhere in Hittite Anatolia. Lato, for example, was also popular in Lycia. Her counterpart,

Hemithea or Eileithyia (Oğuz-Kırca 2016: 240; Oğuz-Kırca 2018: 284-285), is expressibly associated with the women in labour in the Peninsula while she is more affiliated with agriculture and natural environment in Lycia. Hence, her function can be at odds with i.e. that of the Phrygian Matar (i.e. Talloen *et al.* 2006: 178) or a settled *khoro*.

¹⁰³ Saner and Kuban 1999: 278.

¹⁰⁴ According to the epigraphical record I. Peraia, 101; Bresson 1991: no. 149 (I. 1) (144-149).

¹⁰⁵ On the original plan and estimated period of the sacred area dedicated to Apollo at Phoinix (specifically regarding a possible altar and column base oriented to the NE and, the *peribolos* area), a reconsideration can be given to the neighbouring temples of the late Classical period. If built in the same manner and concordant with the mentality of the 4th/late 4th century B.C, one would normally expect fortune telling stones (on such votives, Büyüközer 2018: 17-22) and related worshipping practice in Phoinix, owing to the presence of the Apollo cult associated with oracling. For a nearby geography, the Doric temple dedicated to Apollo found at Kamiros (Caliò 2011: 348).

¹⁰⁶ Marinatos 1993: 232.

welcome a church and a chapel used by the Venetian trading colony. Interestingly, the middle Byzantine, at least to date, provided no evidence in urban Miletus (in the *hiatus* in the above sentence) vis-a-vis the rural part of it.¹⁰⁷ As it seems, fortifications and masonry set the tone during the late Roman period.

In sum, it is possible to bespeak of an expansion in the countryside which continued in the Late Antique and following periods¹⁰⁸ even though there are some widely accepted problems with the historical (between 16-18th centuries) and pre-modern (starting from 1830-1927) census¹⁰⁹ records of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁰ But, there is knowledge that the proportion of the islanders and Greek population on the mainland changed dramatically down to the end of the 20th century.¹¹¹ Based on the discussions, the reference interval for a temporary interpretation for the sample sites seem to be the early Archaic (signaling the germination phase/ maturation of culture of probably the

early inhabitants of Phoinix) and the early Byzantine (signaling the upcoming expansion phase in the post-Hellenistic Syrna), respectively. Earlier, prior to the 5th c BC in the island of Rhodes, a significant Mycenaean and later presence is verified with a rather complex system of the society existed (Benzi 1988). For example, in Ialysos (Rhodes) its interaction with some other centres in the Aegean during the early stages of the Bronze Age and throughout the periods of the Minoan and Mycenaean expansion has been verified, attributing its long history with Mycenaean inhabitants, which continued later in the Iron age or Geometrical and Archaic/Classical to Byzantine and today eras. It preserved a long history of tradition in cultural, agricultural, trade customs (Benzi 1988; Marketou et al., 2006).

6. CONCLUSION

¹⁰⁷ Niewöhner 2016: 66-69, 76. The hilltop late Byzantine settlement of Palatia had no real relation to the ancient layout which was dominated by the Hippodamian principle with orthogonal streets and *insulae*. It developed out of brick, awaited a *hiatus* (probably between late 11-7th centuries) and vanished. On the contrary and expectedly, it looked like the ancient one in the early Byzantine when the walls were renewed. It is the *hiatus* that one should better look at, to understand the gap in relation to planning (*Ibid.*68-69). One can often find the continuation of settlement at a particular place in Karia where Miletus is only a good point for the country wise situation; following the Arab raids into Anatolia and their beating back during the 9th century (*Ibid.*71-72).

¹⁰⁸ Chavarria and Lewitt 2004: 3-52.

¹⁰⁹ When referred to the early 20th century Mufassals (agricultural production and taxation records), we can get no clear share of Marmaris in Muğla region, hence are empty handed whether it accords with the extracted total figure of 1500 hectares of agricultural land stated for the entire Peninsula (Taşlıgil 2008: 78).

¹¹⁰ Behar 2011: XVII-XVIII.

¹¹¹ A serious question about the Peninsula arises from the designation of the whole population to the Muslim category in the format. There is information on the total number of the Reaya group in the Menteşe region (2432 men where 52 is foreign (in which terms?) but we can get no idea about their breakdown in the districts as a whole (as well as those who could have adopted Muslim in the era mentioned. This is not a great problem for our inquiry, either) (Karal 1997: 204-205. For a good example for the presentation of various categories, see Tarsus district, including the Yörük populations indicated separately (*Ibid.*175-177)). A final figure can be introduced relating to the calculable ratio of the Muslim men and Reaya for Menteşe Province, where the Reaya/probably the Greeks with an overwhelming majority makes only ca. 5.6 % of the regional population, according to 1831 census. The percentage approximates that of Aydın (6.5%) (Behar 2011: 23. Calculable through the counts; Muslim: 46.613, Reaya: 2781, sum: 49394/ total: 49.590 (given value

for Menteşe Province (*Ibid.*). Specific to this matter, the census based on the number of "men" has no effect in view of the general proportion of women-men: ca. ½, all over the globe). The ratio of Muslim to Greek people is ca. 5 % for Aydın, in light of 1905-1906 censuses (See the counts provided by Behar 2011: 55. Although our comparative criteria may not be applicable or may be incorrect due to multi variants according to regions and sub-regions, but represents an average reflection of the smallest units in the universal set at the same time, the ratio of ca.5:1 (Muslim/ Greek Orthodox (see the two first lines of counts given by Behar 2011: 46. The category we address is a selective criteria for the Greek world vis-a-vis other sectarians of Christianity) sectarian is extractable from 1885 (same for 1897 and 1906 censuses but the ratio becomes ca.8:1 in 1914) statistics) does not dramatically depart from the rule. On the contrary and more specifically, the direct percentage of the Greeks (not provided for Menteşe but for Aydın) within the religious/ethnic breakdown of Aydın (See Behar 2011: 39. The attribution of the censuses to an interval is owed to the execution and completion of the censuses at different dates which were submitted to the Sultan as a report (*Ibid.*41, note 1)) corresponds to ca. 14%. It shows something different (Muslim/ Greek ratio= 1:5.5/6), according to 1881-1893 censuses. Obvious is the gap between the two percentages for Aydın in which case İzmir could have been incorporated into the same or unstated sub-regions. So, we can get no interpretation. But, a fair representation can be found for the same percentage (ca. 14%) through the refined numbers pertinent to 1897 statistics. Consequently, the population of Greeks in the west overwhelmingly contribute to the summation of 14% at the provincial and empire scale. For the entire Empire (according to 1897 and 1905-1906 statistics), the ratio of Muslims to Greeks (ca.5 % and ca. 5.6/6 %, respectively) verifies the general and specific cases on a great deal, too (See Behar 2011: 50,55). Another interpretation is that the percentage of the foreigners attributable to 1897 (Greeks are accepted to have the greatest portion within the foreign category) is ca. 4% in Aydın, (Check figures given by Behar 2011: 47, 52)).

As a general mark, the vast majority of the structures of the Bozburun Peninsula (particularly the Hellenistic samples) have parallels with respect to their recurring architectural technique and schema. Those which relatively are the best preserved with some characteristic attributes and subject to softer definitions are picked up from among a set of data. Also out of this data, the two cases nowhere reported or documented before and, examined above highlight the distinguishing features of the typical structures and hold the torch to the varying periods in the region.

Hellenistic remains (following the socio-cultural tornado in post-323 B.C, as the products of cultural infusion with the Karian elements) are commonly found in the Peninsula. The cultural hybridization and receptivity, which is a two-way street concerning an intertwined nature, continued into the Byzantine era, as reflected through the Rhodio-Karian connection with the new Constantinople. But, the spatial patterns and memory hint at something unusual in the absence of organic material or script or comparative counterparts vis-a-vis e.g. the identified churches: the physical implantations of the Karians as in the case of some typically conceived spaces dating the pre-Classical period, can be found in the long-skipped but well preserved *khora*i. Be that as it may, we are enlightened by the genesis/ re-genesis of the Karians, back to the Archaic era, in this southwestern tip of Anatolia.

Both of the rural sites recorded at Gökçalça (Phoinix) and Yokuşbaşı (Syrna) represent locational commonalities though having diverse functions. Another intersecting item was their dependency on the rural means of living, greatly the agriculture (i.e. Fig.9C). The two totally different masonry technique applied on the walls of the structures assist the enquiry on the problem of period.

Nuances in the perception of landscape help the identification of sites in the spatial context and ascribe declared meanings to them. Presumably, Gökçalça, as a compact, perhaps a seasonal¹¹² design in a rocky environment (given the robust positions and features of the nearby edifices such as Korsan Kale in neighbouring Söğüt, another question comes along whether it points to the pirates' nests widely acting in the 5th century B.C ¹¹³?), shows an impetus to hide, simply for safety, in a physically concealed landscape, perhaps in the course of making a local culture, under the guardian eyes of Kaledağ, even with close support of Korsan Kale whereas; invisibility catalysed the

emergence of the church as a new actor in the rural landscapes of Late Antiquity or the rural empowerment of the region (as accelerated by the changing political conditions of the era) rather than the stimuli for camouflage in the remoter landscapes (due to maturity of Christianity in the late Roman period), as in the case of Yokuşbaşı. Alongside the coastal churches which propagated by the late Roman period, some exceptional cases can be witnessed, at the same time. Anyone can see how the worshipping function can address the reason of positioning in such a rural, invisible border landscape as the locational preferences may also have been changed by the servitude of the building, in the *khora* of Syrna. The chapel in Yokuşbaşı might then be a case point for the attempts of spreading Christianity (could be a clandestine operation? in the first phase) all around the region. It offers a *terminus ad quem* in favor of the late Roman/early Byzantine period. It may well be the expression of the rural development of the region, led by a pioneer larger building stationed nearby a nexus, on an island or an easily accessible site. In the early stages, the site, even though remains an enigma regarding fresh evidence, accounts for the apparent changes in the geo-cultural sequence. For the later periods, it can be proposed that the incorporation of Karia to the religious system of the Byzantine Empire and immigration from Constantinopolis to Rhodes played a no less important role for the revival of the region, causing a decline in the former cultic habits of the rural population.

The final evaluation is that, the geographical determinism appears to be supported with the anthropogenic behavior and design of the built environment. Hence, the assumption based on the field observations turns from the sole determinism of the topography to a smartly cogitated combination of the blessings of the natural setting (under more favourable "milder and wetter" atmospheric conditions) and human mentality. Despite the similarities in the way the sites were decided to be settled (primarily for invisibility from all directions, as supported by the GIS results, Fig. 14) and the physical landscape was shaped and manipulated (perhaps in cognizance of the two active faults of the Peninsula, passing by Gökçalça in NW and Yokuşbaşı in N, even though the mankind insisted to resettle over the same land after the hazardous events for ages, (i.e. relodged Ephesus following the earthquakes, primarily due to lack of geological knowledge in scientific terms), the motives for

¹¹² For an idea about seasonal usage in early settlements in the far lands, see e.g. the rectangular wintertime pithouses of the Lapland Subneolithic (ca. 2900-2300 B.C), with entrances along the longitudinal axes of the dwellings (Pesonen 2006: 199-214).

¹¹³ The activities of the Mediterranean pirates (since the 2nd millennium B.C.) were supported by the hostile powers of the ancient world (indicatively see Öztürk 2006: 28-31).

invisibility had nuances in their perceived worlds. In the first case, the naturally sheltered *khora* and associated media (on the wings of a small valley mastered by a rocky watchpoint with high visibility) long slept by way of auto and imposed protection and then realized itself (if not a short lived/ seasonal site) as it bushed out and spread from a cluster of dwellings and the related community whereas; the second

epitome of the mini-inland *khora* oriented itself to self-protection through ecclesiastic perceptions, as also a result of the political atmosphere of the period. It then must have transformed itself into a religious function domain. We are all on journeys to uncover the gifts of history. Who finds an alternative answer to the yet unknown is the luckiest.

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