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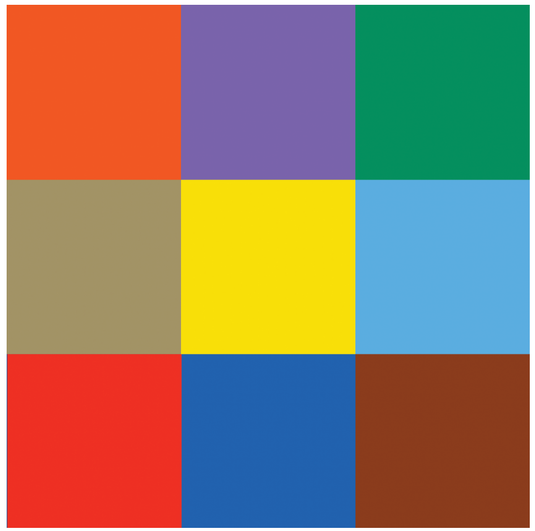
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KÜLTÜRLERİN BAĞLANTISI

Başlangıcından Roma Dönemi Sonuna Kadar Eski Yakın Doğuda Ticaret ve Bölgelerarası İlişkiler

CONNECTING CULTURES

Trade and Interconnections in the Ancient Near East from the Beginning until the End of the Roman Period



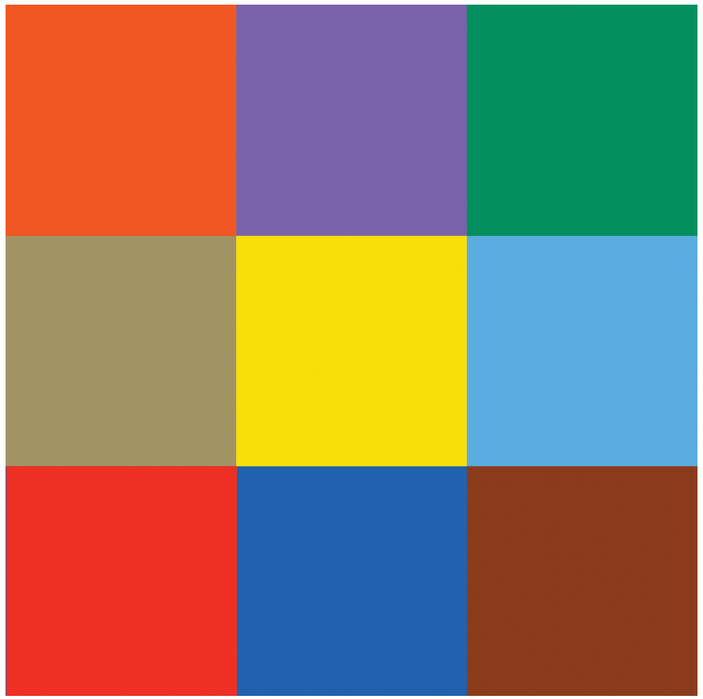
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NORTHEASTERN HARBORS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA ON THE CILICIAN COAST AND GULF OF ISSIKOS

Füsun Tülek

Özet

Kilikya, Anadolu'nun güneyinde, Akdeniz kıyısı boyunca denize uzanan yarım ada ve koylar ile bezeli bir bölgedir. Kilikya bölgesinin batısı hemen kıyıdan dik yükselen kayalıklara sahip dağlık ve doğusu ise büyük nehirler ile sulanan geniş ve büyük ovası ile düzlüktür. Bölge, Dağlık Kilikya'da genelde dar bir kıyı şeridine sahipken Ovalık Kilikya'da kıyı şeridi deniz seviyesinde ve geniştir. Bölgenin doğusunda kıyı, kuzey yönünde derin bir yay çizen Issikos/İskenderun Körfezi boyunca uzanır ve Misis Kireç Sırtları eteklerinde yükselerek daralmaya başlar. Bölge kıyı şeridi, kuzeydoğuda Deli Halil Bazalt Formasyonu eteklerinde en daraldığı noktada güneye dönerek Issos/Erzin ovası ile buluşur. Issos/Erzin ovası Akdeniz ve Amanos Dağları arasına sıkışmış dar ve küçük bir ovadır, ama kıyı şeridi alçak ve düzlüktür. Issikos Körfezi ve Issos ovasında tarihöncesi çağlardan itibaren birçok irili ufaklı yerleşim kurulmuş ve bu yerleşimler tüm tarihsel dönemlerde bereketli art ülkesinin artı değerini limanları aracılığı ile deniz ticaretine katılarak pazarlamış ve Akdeniz deniz ticaretinde etkin rol oynamışlardır.

Cilicia encompassing the south coast of Anatolia stretches along the Mediterranean Sea with numerous pendant bays and promontories like a necklace. West half of the Cilicia region leans on high rising Taurus Mountain range forming a rough terrain with cliff-lined coasts, whereas the east half of the region has a smooth land with spacious low-lying coasts laced with deltas of major rivers that irrigate the fertile plain. The spacious coastline of Plain Cilicia narrows at east towards the skirts of Misis Massif and encircles a deep sinus of the Issikos Gulf. The northeast coast of the Gulf gets slimmer where Basalt Formation of the Deli Halil volcano stretches to east reaching to the first heights of Amanus Mountain range. The narrow coastline bends southwards where on the east side of the Gulf a coastal plain, plain of Issos is squeezed between the coast and the Amanus Mountains.

Access of the East Plain Cilicia to the Mediterranean Sea is blocked by the Misis Massif and the Deli Halil Basalts. Inland settlements of the east Plain Cilicia commute to the sea either via riverine transport on River Pyramus/Ceyhan or via Kısık Pass, situated on north-south direction between the Deli Halil Basalts and the Amanus Mountains, through which runs the only land route of the East Plain Cilicia via Issos Plain to the Sea.

Numerous ancient settlements of Rough Cilicia are situated along the cliff-lined narrow coasts or on tops of high promontories. Most of these ancient settlements are inaccessible from land due to the rough terrain, thus inhabitants can only commute via seafaring. Maritime connectivity is the only means of interaction of such seaside settlements with the outer world, with the settlements of the Mediterranean basin. Small and infamous Rough Cilician harbors without hinterlands did not have a strong supply and demand to play

an active role in maritime trade; they were only good hides for pirates having topographically well-secluded harbors. Almost all of the harbor towns of the Cilician coast are mentioned as naval bases for the Cilician pirates in ancient literature of the fourth and the first century BC[1]. Ancient settlement of Coracessium, situated on top of a high promontory, at the very west end of the Cilicia region is a well-known base of the Cilician pirates; most of the ancient coastal settlements of Rough Cilicia successively from west to east had the same fate of being pirate harbor towns such as, Syedra, Selinus, Antiochus ad Cragum, Anemurium, Celenderis, and Seleuceia ad Calycadnos[2].

Several coastal and estuarine harbor settlements adorned the low-lying spacious coast of Plain Cilicia, having deltas of major rivers Syrus/ Seyhan and Pyramus/ Ceyhan, with inlets and bays of various sizes. These harbor settlements of Plain Cilicia had a geographically convenient setting with a vast productive and fertile hinterland and natural resources. Harbor settlements of the Plain Cilicia coast had a high supply and demand rate that made them active in maritime trade being busy trading hubs for maritime traders and for inland settlements[3]. The coastal settlements of the region must have been in a hierarchy-based on size, demography, political and economic power[4]. These settlements had harbors or mooring bays coextensive with the scale of the settlement proper. Some big harbors must have been busy commercial ports where interregional and or regional large-scale trade took place, whereas, the rest, smaller in size with lesser facility and capacity must have had regional and or local commercial activities contributing little to the overall maritime trade at the East Mediterranean Sea. It is possible that there were more seaside ancient small settlements along the East Cilician coast than today known, which had mooring bays and inlets only good for fishing and seafaring.

Foundation date of the coastal Plain Cilicia settlements ranges from the pre-Classical to the Classical periods. Some of the Classical settlements survived into the medieval period. Some of the prehistoric settlements in the region have been archaeologically examined such as, Soli-Pompeiopolis[5], Mersin-Yumuktepe[6], Kazanlı[7], Tarsus-Gözlukule[8], Domuztepe[9],

1 Strabon XIV. 5.
2 Vann 1997, 308.
3 Mellink 1991, 167.
4 Gates 2011, 389.
5 Yağcı 2011; Brandon 2010.
6 Garstang et al. 1939; Caneva – Sevin 2004.
7 Garstang et al. 1939; Seton – Williams 1954; Brandon 2010.
8 Goldman 1956; Özyar 2005.
9 Seton-Williams 1954.

Sirkeli[10], Menetler[11], Kinet[12], Misis[13] and Tatarlı[14] mounds. Most of these mounds were situated by a river, except Domuztepe and Kinet mounds, and most of them must have been paired with a harbor settlement along the coast. Mersin - Yumuktepe mound is by a small river named Soğuk Çay and presumably facilitated Kazanlı mound as its harbor. Tarsus-Gözlukule is by the river Cydnos, and presumably facilitated Rhegma as its classical harbor, due to later silting-up the river delta with alluvial deposits. Sirkeli mound is situated on east bank of the river Pyramus and probably had an estuarine harbor. Tatarlı and Menetler mounds at the east of the Sirkeli mound are very close to the River Pyramos and must have been inland settlements that facilitated both harbors of the Domuztepe and Sirkeli mounds. Domuztepe mound was on the coast by the Misis Massif. Above mentioned prehistoric settlements were active in interregional maritime trade in the 2nd millennium BC, and most probably they might have been under control of the Hittite Empire. All of these ancient settlements are situated on the west of the sinus of the Issikos Gulf.

Bronze Age Plain Cilicia harbors were busy in maritime trade with the Levant such as Ugarit and Cyprus. Ugaritic texts recount that Ugarit was active in maritime trade with Cilician towns, particularly, with the Cilician harbor of Ura[15]. Localization of the Bronze Age settlement of Ura is still controversial whether it was situated by the mouth of the river Calycadnos or at the site of the Classical town of Soli[16]. Ancient settlement of Soli was known as a Classical settlement in origin founded by the Achaeans and Rhodesians who migrated from the city of Lindos[17]. However, recent archaeological excavations uncovered that the Greek colony was founded on site of a previous Bronze Age settlement, probably named Ellipra, which was a major harbor under the control of the Hittite Empire[18]. Archaeological excavations uncovered that the hill on which the Classical theatre leans is, in fact, a prehistoric mound. Trenches on the mound yielded numerous Bronze Age and Iron Age potsherds such as Cypriot milk vessels, Cypriot red lustrous wheel made pottery of the 2nd Millennium BC and Mycenaean pottery of the Late Bronze Age proving that the settlement was engaged in interregional maritime trade[19]. The mighty General Pompeius of Rome, after subduing the Cilician pirates, had the pirates to rebuild the city and named the Classical city of Soli after his name as Pompeiopolis. Finely built harbor of the city denote that the ancient settlement continued playing an active role in maritime trade of the East Mediterranean in the Roman imperial period.

10 Garstang et al. 1939; Novak – Kozal 2011.
11 Tülek 2011.
12 Özgen – Gates 1993, Steadman 1994.
13 Salmeri – D'Agata 2007.
14 Girginer et al. 2015, 491
15 Vidal 2006, 270.
16 Alparslan 2011, 48.
17 Strabon, XIV. V.8.
18 Yağcı 2001, 161.
19 Yağcı 2001, 163; Yağcı 2011, 56.

Tarsus - Gözlukule mound yielded artifacts demonstrating the existence of maritime relations with Cyprus as early as the Neolithic period trading Anatolian obsidian[20] and potsherds, which have evidenced a continuous relation with Cyprus in the Late Chalcolithic period, and the inhabitants prospered in Bronze Age trading with distant settlements[21]. The Tarsus-Gözlukule settlement was under the control of the Hittite Empire during the Late Bronze Age together with entire land of Kizzuwatna[22].

Domuztepe is another prehistoric mound at south skirts of the Misis Massif, present day ±10 km distant from the sea situated inland due to alluvial silt up, whereas original topographic setting is presumed to be on the shore, or, possibly was an estuarine harbor on the River Pyramus[23]close to the coast. The Domuztepe mound was archaeologically examined and excavated in 1954 yielding settlement layers dated from the Chalcolithic to the medieval times[24]. Late Mycenaean potsherds of the mound are parallel with those of the Menetler mound, which has been recently recorded in Archaeological Survey of the Osmaniye Province[25]. The Menetler mound potsherds are similar to those of the Sirkeli Mound, as well, which is ±10 km west of the Menetler. It is plausible that harbor of the Domuztepe mound was a commercial port in the 2nd millennium BC facilitated both by the Misis, Sirkeli, Menetler, further east by the Tatarlı and other mounds. These mounds of the pre-Classical Plain Cilicia, situated along the river Pyramus, as the hinterland of the Domuztepe mound harbor must have provided goods to the Mediterranean Basin for interregional maritime trade.

Kinet mound, on the east coast of the Issikos Gulf, is the only archaeologically excavated mound of the Issos Plain yielding material culture of the late Neolithic and early Chalcolithic periods through the Hellenistic period, as well as, after a long hiatus, the material culture of the medieval period. It has been asserted that the Kinet mound had a harbor as early as the 2nd Millennium BC active until the early Hellenistic period[26]. Kinet mound excavations[27] yielded Middle and Late Iron Age potsherds which were brought from Cyprus, Phoenicia and Greece, thus, presumed to be an active harbor in maritime trade on the east Mediterranean coast[28].

It seems that prehistoric shoreline of the East Plain Cilicia was changed due to possible various activities of earth such as, alluvial deposit silt up of the river deltas, accumulation

20 Özyar 2005, 3.
21 Mellink 1991, 170.
22 Goldman 1956, 349-350.
23 Taffet 2001, 132.
24 Seton – Williams 1954, 124, 154.
25 Tülek 2011, 495, 502, Fig. 10.
26 Gates 1999, 305; 2003, 17.
27 Gates 2013, 223.
28 Hodos et al. 2005: 65.

of sand dunes, and tectonic activities.[29] Palaeo-environmental studies on the coast of the East Mediterranean demonstrate that during the Late Holocene period there were many earthquakes in the region which destabilized the soil accelerated erosion causing alluvial deposits silting-up the river deltas[30]. Thus, the growth of the deltas must have landlocked harbors of the pre-Classical period. The Classical settlement pattern of the region, based on ancient literature and archaeological examinations, presents existence of more ancient settlements with harbors on the shores of Issikos Gulf, which dated to the Classical, Late Roman or medieval periods of which some were *de novo* and some were *ex novo* foundations. The Classical landscape of the northeastern shores of the Plain Cilicia, namely Gulf of Issikos, frequent with harbors in various size such as Rhegma, Magarsos, Aigaie, Catabolo and or Burnaz, Baiae, Myriandros/ Alexandreia kat'Isson and Rhossos[31].

Gulf of Issikos, mentioned in Strabon's Geography as Issikos Kolpos[32] is a big and deep sinus, which begins at Cape Karataş on west side stretches 75 km towards the northeast. Domuz Burnu promontory defines the south end of the east side of the Gulf where the final skirts of the Amanus Mountains are washed by the Mediterranean Sea. The Gulf is ±35 km in width. Present day, it is called Gulf of Iskenderun after the modern town of İskenderun on the east coast, which is also the ancient settlement of Myriandros/Alexandreia kat'Isson.

The distance of voyage depending on wind force between harbor towns of the East Mediterranean was recorded in the ancient anonym text *Stadiasmus maris magni* dated to the middle of the 1st century AD[33]. Precious information provided from the anonymous ancient text which noted distances from the Gates to the town of Alas and from Myriandros (to Alas), then from Alas to the harbor of Aigaie, from Aigaie to Seretila and from Rhossos to Seretila. The text even recorded the distance between the river mouth of Pyramos to the harbor of Soli[34]. Some mentioned harbor towns are yet not localized and nothing is known about them such as Alas and Seretila.

Localization and identification of some of the Classical East Cilician harbors are controversial such as the case with the identification of harbors of the ancient cities Mallos and Magarsos[35]. Mallos is recorded as a Classical harbor town on the east of the Issikos Gulf in the 4th century BC as noted by Pseudo-Scylax that one needs to sail to north within the river Pyramos to proceed to the harbor of Mallos.[36] A recent archaeological study localizes

29 Dusar et al. 2011.
30 Beach, Luzzader – Beach 2008, 426.
31 Hild – Hellenkemper 1990.
32 Strabon XII.1.3.
33 Uggeri 1996, 285. I agree with Uggeri on the dating of the text than with Müller and others. Uggeri asserts that the foundation of Casearea Stratoni by King Herod provides a terminus post quem. Dating proposed by Uggeri explains the missing ports mentioned in the text.
34 Arnaud 2014, 51.
35 Strabon XIV.5.8-10.
36 Pseudo-Skylax 251.

Magarsos on the coast at Cape Karataş placing Mallos on the river Pyramus to the northeast of Magarsos close to the west bank of the Issikos Gulf[37]. Strabon places Mallos inland on a hill not far away from the river Pyramus, as well[38]. A fifth - century Late Roman map, *Tabula Petungeriana*[39], illustrated Soli, Zephyros, Mallos and Aigaia as the coastal settlements situated along the east coast omitting Rhegma and Ankhiale[40].

The ancient city of Aigai, present-day Yumurtalık town was known as a Phoenician harbor town mentioned by Stephanos Byzantios[41] that endured the Hellenistic period as a Seleucids harbor town. The harbor town of Aigai prospered during the Hellenistic period and became an important naval base during the Roman Empire[42]. Strabon noted that harbor was also the major commercial port where an annual fair took place for forty days at which the nauclarii - the maritime merchants made good business. Port of Aegae continued to function as an important marine station in the Middle Ages and that the Venetians changed the name Aigai to Aiazzo-Lajazzo.

On the north corner of the Issikos Gulf, Muttalip mound is situated on the coast rising in a conical shape. Muttalip Mound has been archaeologically surveyed yielding potsherds dating back as early as the Neolithic period[43]. Its top is surmounted by fortification walls. The Muttalip mound has been suggestively identified with Catabolo, which is a harbor with a Roman road station of the cursus publicus. *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* mentions Catabolo or καταβολος as a harbor at the northeast corner of the Issikos Gulf[44]. The mound has been also identified as Mutlubake mentioned in the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus in 431 as well as identified as al-Muthaqqab which was mentioned in Arab sources[45].

On the east bank of the Issikos Gulf, besides the prehistoric mound Kinet, further south on the coast is the Iron Age harbor settlement of Myriandros[46]. Myriandros was one of the two Phoenician harbor settlements on each bank of the Issikos Kolpos, the Aigai harbor on the west bank and the Myriandros harbor on the east bank of the Gulf. However, there is no archaeological record of the harbor of the Myriandros, except ruins of a Roman villa rustica excavated in the 1930's[47]. Phoenician inscriptions of Karatepe - at the late Hittite palace provide evidence to the interaction between the locals and Phoenicians - the competent seafaring people of the Levant. The Phoenician settlement of Myriandros seems

37 Rosenbauer – Sayar 2011, 157, Fig. 1.
38 Strabon XIV. V. 16.
39 Weber 1976.
40 Lemaire 1991, 267; Brandon 2010, 390.
41 Röllig 1992, 101.
42 Ramsay 1890, 385.
43 Özgen – Gates 1993.
44 Pathey – Pinder 1858.
45 Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 361.
46 Newell 1919, 12.
47 Chammas 1931, 11.

to have been replaced by the Hellenistic settlement of Alexandreia kat'Isson named after Alexander the Great. Alexandreia kat'Isson, was a small Hellenistic town situated along the east coast of the Issikos Gulf close to the Belen Pass of the Amanus mountain range on the road leading to Antioch and North Syria. The ancient settlement endured Roman Imperial and Late Antique periods under the bishopric of Antioch having played no important role in maritime trade and seafaring history of the Issos plain and the Gulf until the medieval periods. In 1098 it became a naval base for the Stephan von Blois against Emperor Alexios I of the Byzantine Empire[48]. The harbor of Alexandreia kat'Isson began to be shown on sea maps of the Late Medieval period. Emperor Alexios I sailed from the harbor to Cyprus[49]. Half a century later, in 1137, Emperor Johannes Comnenos II renovated the harbor.

Strabon recounts harbor settlements Myriandros/ Alexandreia kat'Isson, Rhossos and Nikopolis as settlements situated along the east coast of the Issikos Gulf, as well. The fifth century map Peutingeriana illustrates Catabolon, Issos, Alexandreia kat'Isson and Rhossos as harbor settlements along the Issikos Kolpos of which most are situated on the east coast of the Gulf. However, the map omits small harbor town of Baiae, Payas present-day. The town of Baiae/Payas is situated between Catabolon and Alexandreia kat'Isson mentioned in records of Late Antiquity as a *mansio* and later in Arab sources as a small harbor village[50].

The ancient harbor of Rhossos, as the final known harbor along the east coast of the Issikos Gulf, is situated 31 km south of the harbor of Alexandreia kat'Isson and 15km north of Cape Domuz where foothills of the Amanus mountain terrain are washed by the Mediterranean Sea[51]. However, it is not clear how significant the role of the harbor of Rhossos was in maritime trade and seafaring of the Issikos Gulf, and at present, it has no role in seafaring of the region.

On the other hand, recent archaeological surveys recorded a couple of more ancient harbors on east bank of the Issikos Gulf of which ruins are numbered 11 and 25[52]. Harbor settlement numbered 11 is the ruins at Burnaz village, which is presumably a harbor of the ancient settlement of Epiphaneia (Issos-Oinoanda)[53].

The seashore at northeast corner of the Issikos Gulf where Burnaz is situated during the Late Hellenistic Early Imperial period seems to be lace-like with small bays convenient for anchorage and mooring. At present Ruins of the harbor settlement and its vicinity are covered with sand dunes. Geological examinations surmised that in the Holocene period, particularly during the last one thousand year the sea stopped rising, which let the river

48 Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 171.
49 Honigmann 1935, 124.
50 Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 206.
51 Hild – Hellenkemper 1990, 392.
52 Özgen – Gates 1993, 389.
53 Bell 1906, 3, 4; Tülek 2012, 180.

deltas silt up with alluvial deposits and the regressed sea left sand along the lace-like shore with bays as natural harbors and mooring places[54]. The sand dunes are observed 2-3 km inland close to the ruins of the ancient city of Epiphaneia and the Tell Araklı.

The site of Burnaz harbor is situated in between the two prehistoric mounds Muttalip and Tell Araklı - Kara mound; former to the northwest latter to the southeast is more or less in equal distance. Today, most of the remains of the ancient Burnaz harbor are under sand dunes, which yield a well-planned settlement with monumental structures and bath buildings placed by major intersecting streets as *decumanus* and *cardo*. The Site of the ancient harbor yielded potsherds dated the earliest to the Early Roman Imperial period[55]. The harbor at Burnaz might have been facilitated by the ancient settlement of Epiphaneia situated on the southeast skirts of the volcanic land and ±3 km northeast of the Tell Araklı mound, as a colonnaded street was observed at the city stretching towards the sea by a twentieth - century traveler[56]. The site of Burnaz harbor, being on the route of Roman Imperial road network - the *cursus publicus* must have been a mansio, as well. During the Late Antique period with the rise of exportation of the produced olive oil the Burnaz harbor might have become one of the significant harbors at the northeast corner of the Issikos Gulf.

Evidence collected at archaeological surveys conducted in the region since the 1990s indicates an increase in the number of settlements mostly dated to the Late Antique period. A settlement pattern based on agricultural economy is observed in the region where fertile alluvial fans at skirts of the Amanus Mountains constitute of good soil for olive groves. Olive oil press stones are recorded superfluous in number together with fragments of *dolia* as containers of olive oil and fragments of fine tableware of the Late Antique Period Red Slip ware types of Africa, Cyprus and Phocaea productions.

Numerous Late Antique settlements at the narrow coastal plain of Issos provide a productive hinterland and a market for the maritime trade conducted via Burnaz harbor. The Burnaz harbor might have been active in local maritime trade between the harbor settlements of the Issikos Gulf, as well as active in regional trade with a network of harbors both along the coast more to south of the Amanus mountains and at western part of the Issikos Gulf such as, harbor of Seleuceia Pieria and Magarsos at northwest on Cape Karataş during the Late Antique Period.

The Burnaz harbor might have been even active in interregional maritime trade, at the eastern Mediterranean during the fourth to the end of the sixth centuries based on the evidence collected at the Deli Halil settlement. The Deli Halil settlement situated on the south slope of an extinct volcano overlooks the Issos Plain very close to the major ancient city of the Issos Plain - Epiphaneia and close to the Burnaz harbor and the Muttalip mound,

54 Ozaner et al. 1993, 358; Dusar et al. 2011, 150.
55 Tobin 2004.
56 Bell 1906.

from where a Roman road recorded stretching to the northeast, 3 km in length, to the Deli Halil direction[57]. The Deli Halil settlement yielded material culture uniformly belong to one period, the earliest potsherd is dated to the beginning of the fourth century CE and the latest dated to the end of the sixth century CE. The plethora of potsherds constitutes of import fine and coarse ware including examples produced in West Anatolia and North Africa. North African amphorae fragments found at the site constitute 1/6th of the fine ware fragments.

Fine ware fragments are identified as Phocaean, African and Cypriot Red Slip types dated to the Late Antique period. Cypriot and African Red Slip ware are represented with few fragments. The earliest Phocaean shard is in Form 3-C.7 type dated to the end of the 5th century and the latest Phocaean shard is of Form 10 and dated to the end of the 6th century AD[58].

Remarkably, almost all of the identifiable amphorae fragments belong to the North African types. North African amphorae fragments are distinguished by fabric, by forms of rim and handles. They fall into types Keay 35B, 61A, and 62A. The Deli Halil amphorae fragments bear characteristics of the Late Antique North Africa productions, which is not common in the ceramic repertoire of the excavated sites in Cilicia.

North African amphorae are not observed in Antioch and Tarsus excavations. If any fragments of the North African amphorae are found at the Cilician sites, the ratio is very low compared to other finds. The dating of the import fine ware of the Deli Halil settlement is consistent with the dating of transport amphorae. Evidently, these two types of vessels were imported contemporaneously, possibly with the same shipment they were brought by the tramping seafaring trade. Evidence points to a busy maritime trade run regionally and inter-regionally between the ports of Gulf of Issikos, West coast of Anatolia, and North Africa during the Late Antique Period.

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57 Özgen – Gates 1993.
58 Hayes 1972, 337-338

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