

## Chasing Hygassos (Anatolia): Settlement under epigraphic evidence

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**Abstract.** *Although the epigraphic records do not attest an exact toponymy to confirm where exactly Hygassos is but rather announce an ethnic, this paper aims to suggest further by chasing the inter-relatability of some selected inscriptions. The supplementary data is also presented to find out and assess the question of settlement and chronology in a variety of contexts. The data repository attained from the close catchment of the Acropolis (in Kızılköy) give a lucid picture of a densely occupied “urban” zone and represents a flashback to the Hellenistic links of the deme, however it is quite a painful job to trace the earlier features that are highly disturbed or misrepresented in the khorai. Even though land use seems to be quite determined by the interplay of environmental and habitational dynamics (the settlement patterns hardly appear to be forcefully driven) in both, the inland deme of Hygassos and coastal/quasi-coastal Phoinix were the two diverse implantations in the Rhodian Peraia, in respect of attraction in the Hellenistic period. Changes within the spatio-temporal context are not that easy to explore, however, when architectural data and micro-plans are reviewed, mobility and/or seasonality could have been there, beyond the smooth layouts, particularly near the coastal hilly terrains of Hygassos. Still, crumbles of ceramic evidence which hint at Hygassos’ potential to offer links with the late Bronze Age and; cultic figures or linguistic rules that manifest her tendency toward a stronger Anatolian, hence Karian character in the Peraia, make her a lot more distinguished than the neighbouring demoi.*

**Rezumat.** *Izvoarele epigrafice nu atestă o toponimie exactă pentru a confirma exact unde este situată cetatea Hygassos, ci sugerează mai degrabă o etnie. Autorii își propun să ofere și alte ipoteze, urmărind relațiile dintre unele texte analizate. Datele arheologice sunt de asemenea prezentate pentru a evalua și cronologia așezării. Vestigiile de pe Acropole (în Kızılköy) oferă o imagine a unei zone „urbane” intens ocupate.*

**Keywords:** Karian Hygassos, Hellenistic Rhodes, Kızılköy, settlement, inscriptions.

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## 1. Introduction

Despite many gaps that still await to be filled, particularly in the pre-Hellenistic origins of the region, much has been written about the historical trajectory of the Rhodian Peraia/Peraia.<sup>3</sup> Here is a fragmented peninsula (modern Bozburun Peninsula) where many high hills form the backbone of definitely not a small size territory. It soon lies on the opposite coast of the Island of Rhodes. Considering the physical extensions on the northern mainland, toward the Island of Kedraei and the territories reaching Daedala<sup>4</sup> in the southeast, it gets bigger than a normally expected large size territory.<sup>5</sup>

We shall neither try to fill in the blanks concerning the Classical era or earlier than that, nor establish an overall silhouette of the mainland of the Hellenistic epoch. This paper aims to peer into an unnoticeable piece of the mainland about which not very much has been transmitted. It is an endeavor to plunge into the backyards of one of the rural entities of the Rhodian Peraia, literally known as Hygassos (Figure 1) and often confined to a broad span of time between the Classical and Roman periods.<sup>6</sup> It was a moderate size land and administrative unit (almost physically equivalent to the other *demoi* on the mainland territory of Hellenistic Rhodes<sup>7</sup>), operating under the governance of the Island. Presumably, the Classical village of Hygassos survived under the same name (owing to her Karian origins) in the upcoming Hellenistic period. Over and above this, we intend to seek an inter-relatability, if any and although difficult to explore, of the fragmentary evidence with the settlement and livelihood patterns which mostly come from the inner *khora* character suburbs of the *deme*. Hygassos, from our viewpoint, appears to have the requisite qualifications to be treated as one of the hotspots of a terracewise economy and caravan routes of trade<sup>8</sup> in the Rhodian Peraia. Economy centric matters, demographic estimates or a potentiality of self-sufficiency shall be raised in a future paper, however we hereby and pre-emptively introduce a selection of coordinates (including the newly documented ones) which are supposed to hide economically valuable archaeological sites in the region. The illustration of the incoming on-site data is the reselected, refined and re-evaluated versions of the yet unpublished parts of the recent surveys<sup>9</sup> in the questioned Peraia.

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<sup>3</sup> Referable to BEAN's (2000) expositions on the Subject and Incorporated Peraia which relate to the physical and political framework of the land articulated herein.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo 14.2.

<sup>5</sup> See HANSEN 2004, 71–72 for the categorization of ancient estates.

<sup>6</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c *passim*; OĞUZ-KIRCA, LIRITZIS 2017.

<sup>7</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2015a, 37, 41–42, 62.

<sup>8</sup> For the sea routes and maritime traffic in the Classical world, see TALBERT 1985: 53.

<sup>9</sup> Selective data has been retrieved and refined from the 2012 surveys carried out in the region. We take this opportunity to offer sincere thanks and gratitude to the Republic of Turkey, General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Many thanks are also offered to the Rhodes Archaeology Museum

## 2. Search into the epigraphical *corpus*

The inscriptions matter. Asia Minor, especially in the Roman period, was prone to reserve the tomb of the deceased with her/his descendants. The phraseology appears as μνήμης χάριν or ἐνεκα. In the *tituli sepulcrales* category, epitaphs vary to a considerable scale in the Hellenistic age while verse epitaphs were common at earlier times. A most common monument used to be “small cylindrical markers (*columella*) not more than two feet high; the rectangular *cippus* or the plain stele with little or no ornaments”.<sup>10</sup>

The testimony of inscriptions is often a great way of interpreting the topography and ownership as well as the burial practices of a community, in many instances. Hygassos is not the kind of site that reveals itself at once, thereby an instant connection to its commemoration in literature, material record or elsewhere yet unveiled, is not an easy touch. The situation might be owed to the relative insignificance of the rural character Peraia in the aggregate, vis-a-vis urban settings that flourished along with the working out of elegant edifices or precincts that melted within the sophisticated layouts, in the Aegean world. Another causation may be sought in the unrecognized or passivated status, of the site itself, perhaps down to and during the Hellenistic-Roman epoch. Notwithstanding, we are to be contented with few readable fragments, although being scanty, and mostly mirroring the site's toponomical expression and rarely holding the porch to the residents' social realm.

### 2.1. Hygassos in the inscriptions

Despite its Karian origins, the bulk of onomastic evidence attained through the *corpus* of inscriptions (which were collected within the borders of modern Selimiye) is highly attributable to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>11</sup> Aside from the earlier relations provoked or self-containment for any other reason in the back stage, before or even short after the synoecism of the Island in 408 BC,<sup>12</sup> the Rhodians became powerful to subdue the indigenous populations on the mainland for more than two centuries. That few epigraphical material dated to the late Classical era takes the *deme* back to the Maoussolian rule at the same time, hence leaves little room for doubt with regard to her Karian attachments in the political framework.<sup>13</sup> Regardless of chronologywise evidence and periodwise discussions from this

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for the cordial welcoming during the visits. This work is an output of the postdoctoral research program, at the University of the Aegean, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Rhodes.

<sup>10</sup> WOODHEAD 1967, 43–45.

<sup>11</sup> See the compilations of the Peraian inscriptions by BRESSON 1991.

<sup>12</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954.

<sup>13</sup> We take it for granted that 323 BC is the “official” *terminus ad quem* for Hygassos' being an integral part of the Karian Khersonesos, hence a shareholder of the entire Karian territory within the political and administrative system. However, Hellenization movements which began much before and acculturation of the indigenous

point onwards, there is a need to also mention that the Hellenistic *corpus*, in particular, leads us the way to pinpoint a “catchment” area of a community which presumably related to the Hygassians. The matter in question and the rationale behind identifying the subject territory as Hygassos and designing the borders in the ways illustrated in the previous works<sup>14</sup> shall not be reawakened to avoid some recurring debates. However, it is deemed beneficial to remake a mark to how Meyer’s notes and display of the ethnic divisions on his map<sup>15</sup> could have inspired some colleagues to include the environs of modern Selimiye to the *territorium* of the neighbouring *deme* of Tymnos (modern Bozburun District).<sup>16</sup> The ethnic of Hygassians is also found in the work of Papachristodoulou, however no attachment to either *polis* is given.<sup>17</sup> Carter thought on it but his ideas prove little for our arguments.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, a controversial case to tackle in respect of both the interrelation of the provenance and owners of the inscriptions and their association with the immediate *territoria* has been a no less important preoccupation under the research.

A way to start from the scratch involves the recognition of the dearth of a toponym on the epitaphs which were overwhelmingly reported from the coastal band of Selimiye, with the exceptions<sup>19</sup> where a possible relation with Tymnos is subject to question. It is equally possible that the occurrence of similar names on the inscriptions reported from Tymnos may be attributable to the genealogical links between the ancient residents of Selimiye and Bozburun. Designing the western/southwestern territories of “our” Hygassos to Tymnos is not a slender chance, though. But, what if some of the inscriptions mentioning Tymnos, any Tymnians, associated motto, etc. were also found in Gemecit location which falls into the borders of Selimiye (neighboring the northern/northeastern frontiers of Tymnos), at the same time? We would possibly tackle a surmountable situation in respect of our problematic proposition.

The exceptions stressed above, bear the names with patronyms and place of origin which is a normal way of expressing oneself on the funerary stones. It is highly possible that some scholars dwell on these exceptions and take them as the reference material in order to over-

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population all around the Rhodian Peraia and other Karian lands thereafter does not apply to the date mentioned, hence is off the table.

<sup>14</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c; OĞUZ-KIRCA, LIRITZIS 2017.

<sup>15</sup> MEYER 1925, 50–51, Blatt I.

<sup>16</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, 62; BRESSON 1991, nos 66–83 (pp.94–101). The reason of the authors’ assignment of the inscriptions to Tymnos must be the commemoration of some Tymnians and some similar occurrences of the names reported from Tymnos (especially see BRESSON 1991, nos 73,81). Note that the funerary inscription (no 81) is dated to the Roman period in which the social habitat and definition of space could have intermingled under the new administrative system.

<sup>17</sup> PAPACHRISTODOULOU 1989, 69, 70, 194.

<sup>18</sup> CARTER 1982, 192–193.

<sup>19</sup> Refer to BRESSON 1991, nos 73 (I.3), 77 (I.5), 78 (I.5), 81 (I.3).



identify the deceased with the toponym spelled, here in favor of Tymnos.<sup>20</sup> We choose to avoid adopting similar approaches insofar as possible, however also admit that we could have been apt to fall into errancy while chasing further about the *territoria* based on the recent, “open to dispute” postulates.<sup>21</sup> We, anyway, take it for granted that the social and physical borders of Hygassos<sup>22</sup> complement each other. Notwithstanding, the inscriptions concerning Hygassos or the ethnic all rest outside the region, today.

Another means for ransacking involves the off-site reportings. The commemoration of the ethnicon of Hygassians in the neighboring areas/regions<sup>23</sup> (none of these address a precise location of the *deme*) does not back up a definite localization, either. Inferably; an endeavor for an expected correlation may remain misleading for a decision in favor of one of the *demoi*.

Turning to the main body of evidence, quite a handful of inscriptions<sup>24</sup>, which corroborate the presence of a public (whether they actually belonged to this or that), have been reported from Selimiye.

Anyone who makes a cross-border check (in the northward Peraia) for the verse epitaphs may find that Syrna (modern Bayırköy)<sup>25</sup> and Kastabos (modern Pazarlık)<sup>26</sup> housed the inscribed material on which the name of Hygassians were evidently spelled. The former one appears to be Roman (ca. 101/300 BC) while the latter is safely dated to ca. 320/280 BC.

The epitaph, commemorating a Hygassian couple (Menandros and his wife Artemis- date is subject to question)<sup>27</sup> found in Syrna and possibly not being a phenomenon of any kind of appraisal within the social context, was quoted above.<sup>28</sup> Although this was not the fair sample to make an allegation about the indigenoussness or social profile of the inhabitant(s), it is the one of the few specimens about which we are acquainted with the presence of the ethnic.

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<sup>20</sup> Especially see how BRESSON (1991, nos 66–84) groups the inscriptions and toponymies upon place of finding.

<sup>21</sup> See footnote 14.

<sup>22</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA, LIRITZIS 2017. The social *territorium* is more likely explainable with the *loci* of inscriptions and archaeological remains.

<sup>23</sup> Footnotes 25–26.

<sup>24</sup> BRESSON 1991, nos 66–83 (94–101).

<sup>25</sup> BRESSON 1991, no 61 (I.2, I.3) (101/300 BC).

<sup>26</sup> Modern Pazarlık. Philion Philonda of Hygassos was one of the contributors involved in the dedication of a *naos* to the goddess Hemitheia on a limestone block. (COOK, PLOMMER 1966, no 1; BRESSON 199, no 38 (I.1–2); *Rhodian Peraia*.18; *IK Rhod.Peraia* 451). Donations to the public edifices or euergetism was not confined to the Rhodian citizens residing or taking interests in the Peraia. An *ex-voto* (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) of the benefactor, Ktesiphon, presumably a Khersonessian/ Peraian, was commemorated amongst many others, by the *koinon*, for his contributions to purchase a plot for the burial of the members of this society (SEG 39: 737).

<sup>27</sup> HULA, SZANTO 1895: 33; *Rhodian Peraia*.199 (no date); *IK Rhod.Peraia* 305 (Roman Imperial period). Footnote 25.

<sup>28</sup> See footnote 25.

There are also those uncovered outside the Peraia. The base of a cylindrical funerary altar (of Stasion, with his patronym)<sup>29</sup>, which was found in the *necropolis* of Rhodes, is on display in the Island's Archaeology Museum. This piece of evidence made of Lartian stone (richly ornamented with a bull head and garland with flowers and ribbons<sup>30</sup>) dates back to the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Many other fragments were found on the island and the mainland, with the readings e.g. 'Υγασσέως<sup>31</sup>, 'Υγασέως<sup>32</sup>, 'Υγασίς<sup>33</sup>/'Υγασίς<sup>34</sup>, 'Υγασεῦς<sup>35</sup>/'Υγασσεύς<sup>36</sup>, 'Υγασίδος<sup>37</sup>, 'Υγασῆ<sup>38</sup>, 'Υγασέ[ων].<sup>39</sup> There is one example (bearing the "'Υγασ'" abbreviation) of a grave marker<sup>40</sup> with aperture (*cippi*) (label no 86) showing the type of a mortuary practice in the same museum (Figure 2/A).<sup>41</sup> Another one found in Rhodes but undated quotes a Hygassian man who was married to a woman of Erine origin.<sup>42</sup>

The information incised on these stones basically contribute to our knowledge about the Hellenized groups in the region or the Rhodian citizens, however, we are sometimes left with new questions along with these evidences. For instance, one of them appears to bear an interesting name "Χαρμωκλέους".<sup>43</sup> We have no idea whether it could have had any implication for a Karian appellation in the root. Another way of interrogation relates to the usage of "s" (e.g. geminate spellings) in the names of Anatolian origin.<sup>44</sup> In view of the phonological and orthographic rules, it seems that at least part of the sample inscriptions

<sup>29</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes, *Maiuri*, NSER 89 (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC).

<sup>30</sup> A similar altar (IG XII,1: Rhodes, *Maiuri*, NSER 88) in footnote 35), also readable with the name of Hygassos at the base, is visible in an interior chamber housing the Roman period sculptures, in the Rhodes Archaeology Museum.

<sup>31</sup> See IG XII,1: Rhodes, *IK Rhod.Peraia*.305 (interchangeably given as 'Υγασέως in *Rhodian Peraia*.199); *MDAI(A)* 30 (1905) 149,8 (fragment undated); *AD* 23 B2 (1968) 447,1 (undated); 448,2 (undated); *Maiuri*, NSER 91 (undated); 300 (undated)

<sup>32</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes, *Rhodian Peraia*.199; *Maiuri*, NSER 89 (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC); 197 (undated); 297 (undated).

<sup>33</sup> *MDAI(A)* 30 (1905) 148,3 (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC); *Maiuri*, NSER 90 (undated)

<sup>34</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes, *ASAA* 2 (1916) 162,90 (undated); 295 (undated); 296 (undated, this fragment seems highly related with no 295 on which the spouse of the Hygassian could be of Tymnos origin); 298 (undated).

<sup>35</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes, *Maiuri*, NSER 88 (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC). Some conveyed as 'Υγασεῦς (*Rhodian Peraia*.18; *IK Rhod.Peraia* 451).

<sup>36</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes, 294 (undated).

<sup>37</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes, 297 (undated); 299 (undated, any relation to the same family of Stasionos/Ygasidos given in footnote 29 (NSER 89) is questionable).

\*Some conveyed as 'Υγασίδος (*IK Rhod.Peraia*.305).

<sup>38</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes, *JÖAI* 9 (1906) 85–88 ("provenance unknown [İzmir]", 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC).

<sup>39</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodes-Lindos, 950 (undated).

<sup>40</sup> SEG 43:530.

<sup>41</sup> These were common in the Roman period (1<sup>st</sup> BC–3<sup>rd</sup> AD) and were often placed in subterranean tombs and used for pouring libations through perforated covers.

<sup>42</sup> VON GAERTRINGEN 1926, 63–66; IG.XII.1.197.

<sup>43</sup> Footnote 40 (continued with 'Υγασ[σέως](?)).

<sup>44</sup> See the foreword of Erhat and Kadir in Homer (ERHAT, KADİR, transl., 2007, 26); KLOEKHORST 2008, 127. Also refer to MELCHERT 1993, on the phonology of Anatolian.

addressing/implying Hygassos or associated ethnic (e.g. Stasion of Hygassos origin<sup>45</sup>, Figure 2/B; the Hygassian couple on the funerary block, in Syrna<sup>46</sup>) reveal or at least hide a possible Karian character. As to be normally anticipated, we definitely leave the space to the connoisseurs.

The provenience as well as the characteristics of an inscription or a monument takes the reader to many aspects. Secure dating from the ancient sources or through any other material may prove a connection with a known historical theme, figure, event or prosopographic indication. The frequent commemoration of spouses comes from the Rhodian Peraia. The vast majority of the inscribed stones uncovered in Selimiye, as mentioned, involves many funerary stelae (from the LC, H and R era<sup>47</sup>). A few of them reported from the inland coordinates articulate cultic figures, as well. Two pieces (attributable to the H-R periods) found in Kızılköy mention Lato and Aphrodite, separately.<sup>48</sup> The votive block mentioning Aphrodite<sup>49</sup> was found in the Hellenistic terrace located in the skirts of the *Acropolis* which has been postulated to be the *deme* center of Hygassos.<sup>50</sup> Seemingly, the funerary block of the Deinokles heros (on an altar)<sup>51</sup> found near the ramparts on the *Acropolis* had relation to the stele dedicated to Lato, regarding the locational context. A block of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, although difficult to judge whether it was dedicated to Artemis<sup>52</sup>, was found in Selimiye where the presence of her mother, Lato cult, in the environs is not surprising. Artemis, on this fragment, was probably not a person's name, hence we can barely establish a link with onomastic data, e.g. the Hygassian Artemis (wife of Menandros) reported from Bayır.<sup>53</sup> If correct for a moment, then the chronology given for both, by Bresson, are in contradiction, except for the date stated as unknown in PHI.<sup>54</sup> Also, there is a possible reading of the cult of Artemis on a rather early (440/420 BC) Lindian decree found in Selimiye.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See footnote 29.

<sup>46</sup> See footnote 27.

<sup>47</sup> BRESSON 199, nos 63–83 (94–101).

<sup>48</sup> *IK Rhod.Peraia*. 291 (250/1 BC); *Rhodian Peraia*.63; *IK Rhod.Peraia*.292; *Rhodian Peraia*.36; BRESSON 1991, nos 62–65.

<sup>49</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, no 39 (43); ROBERT, ROBERT 1955, no 211 (265); OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 38, fig. 9B. The block mentions Aphrodite, on the twentieth of the month Karneios a sheep or a goat, *inter alia* on the sixth of month Agrianios a cattle and two goats (BRESSON 1991, no 65 (94)).

<sup>50</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 37–39, figs. 7–9, map 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Rhodian Peraia*.168; *IK Rhod.Peraia*.293; BRESSON 1991, no 64 (possibly Hellenistic). Similar names are known from Rhodes-Lindos (referable to *Rhodes and S. Dodecanese* (IG XII.1)).

<sup>52</sup> *IK Rhod.Peraia*.254 (Hellenistic?); BRESSON 1991, no 76 (190/180 BC).

<sup>53</sup> See Footnote 27; BRESSON 1991, no 61.

<sup>54</sup> *Rhodian Peraia*.199.

<sup>55</sup> *Rhodian Peraia*.1; *IK Rhod.Peraia*.251

The votive inscription mentioning the cult of Aphrodite gives a clue that the *Acropolis* (embodying a *damos*<sup>56</sup>) was inhabited during the successive periods, in all likelihood. As Bean pins out, both the terrace where an ancient structure was located and the possible temenos wall reveal strong Hellenistic traces in respect of the construction technique whereas the letters inscribed on the votive block over the same terrace were Roman.<sup>57</sup> The sherds documented from the site highly affirm the case. Further to that, the styles of masonry appear to be earlier, in patches while boulder walls are also traceable.<sup>58</sup>

## 2.2. Selective approach taken on other fragmentary material: An attempt to seek interrelatability

The inscribed material might be tantalizing in the case of burdening the risk of bumping into the social profile of a community. In this short part, we choose to take a few steps, directly or indirectly, toward acquainting ourselves with the general composition of a selection of inscriptions of e.g. pasturage, grazing, agriculture and cult.

Apart from some well-known inscriptions uncovered in Amos to the north, we hold a view (in light of the fragments documented in Rhodes) about regulating the way in which people did agriculture or were involved in grazing or both, in the neighborhoods. An informative evidence is the small rectangular plaque (Lartian stone, 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC.) now resting in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum; it prohibits grazing cattle and sheep, possibly in the temenos space of a tomb<sup>59</sup>:

“βόεα μηδὲ  
βοτέα  
μὴ ποτάγειν”.<sup>60</sup>

Not being in the same category, however, the enforcement of decrees are known to the Peraia; e.g. “Lex Sacra of Tymnos”.<sup>61</sup>

Three fragments, describing the specifications for land leasing in Amos<sup>62</sup>, are still among the best enlightening evidence for agricultural practice in the Peraia. Despite the lack of supplementary material for our area in question, we implicitly admit that similar decrees must have prevailed for Hygassos as well as her neighbors.

<sup>56</sup> The presence of a *damos* is also emphasized in BRESSON 1991, no 63.

<sup>57</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, no 39 (43).

<sup>58</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 37–38, fig. 3; 2015a, 43.

<sup>59</sup> Label no 53.

<sup>60</sup> IG XII,1: Rhodos, *Maiuri*, NSER 17.

<sup>61</sup> *Rhodian Peraia*.9; *IK Rhod.Peraia*.201; SOKOLOWSKI 1956, 47–50; BRESSON 1991, no 102; OĞUZ-KIRCA 2016, 233, 238–241.

<sup>62</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, 6–20.

A gray limestone stele (220/200 BC) found in Amos (Hisarburnu-Turunç) and dedicated in the name of a temple (in monetary amounts) brings forward the issue of inventory holding of the public.<sup>63</sup> It is one of the venerable pieces directly addressing the possession rule of a temple-inventory, possibly operated under the imposed principles of Rhodes. Another group (of fragments of three stelae; all are contemporaneous, ca. 220/200 BC.) announces the strict regulations and procedures for leasing and cultivating the land by the tenants.<sup>64</sup> The inscribed stones stipulating the terms and conditions of leasing are well known from Attica<sup>65</sup>. Those emphasizing the leased property that were at the ownership of the temples also survived in Amorgos, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>66</sup> What may be of interest from our point of view is that many issues were handled within the Amian texts; e.g. about the leasing terms (reaching 50 years), sheds and buildings to be installed/banned or graves (where) to be dug/not dug, status of guarantee, fines for delay, commencement of the lease date in the month of Karneios, etc. We are unsure whether the month of Karneios was enforced normatively in Amos but there is also the likelihood that land leasing practices were peculiar to the Peraia (the deterministic role of Rhodes and right of initiative on the agrarian practices is argumentative<sup>67</sup>) and that this may not have been an incidental situation. There seems no reason why we should not pose a question at this point: In view of the votive block (dedicated to Aphrodite<sup>68</sup>; see previous part) on which the month of Karneios was articulated, could this month, in certain circumstances, be a temporal reference for Hygassos or surroundings? A milestone for the commencement or date of successful fulfilment of a lease? The possibility that, the Hellenistic terrace housed a public structure/*naos* and the said votive block, provokes us to raise, although hard to prove, ideas on the status of the potential leasing authorities within a *territorium*. The property could have been publicly owned, as in the case of Amos. Should this alternative be correct (even associable with the Roman era), an inferential approach can lean on a possibility that the block was a kind of dedication or offering (in the months of Karneios and Agrianios, with the sacrificial cattle/sheep and goat)<sup>69</sup> for the land which was perhaps a property of the *naos* of Aphrodite and run by a magistrate. If not, then solely comes the valuable presence of the city cults of a community. Actually, the votive's relation to the sacrificial act of a magistrate sounds much more convincing to us (given in the following part) although we deem there are reasons to also step on the possibilities on the matter of leasing and agrarian activities in the ancient world.

<sup>63</sup> Found at the terrace in Hisarburnu. FRASER, BEAN 1954, no 11 (20–22); *Rhodian Peraia*.16; BRESSON 1991, no 48.

<sup>64</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, 8–10 (6–20); *IK Rhod. Peraia*.352, 354; *Rhodian Peraia*.24; BRESSON 1991, nos 49–51.

<sup>65</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>.2492. More on the land leases, also refer to MORENO 2007.

<sup>66</sup> IG XII,7 62.

<sup>67</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, 20.

<sup>68</sup> See footnote 49.

<sup>69</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, 39; *Rhodian Peraia*.36; *IK Rhod. Peraia*.292 (toponym given as Hydass?); BRESSON 1991, no 65; J.PAUL GETTY MUSEUM 2004, 69.

Traditionally, as early as the Mycenaean times, Karneios and Agrianios were common in the Doric world. In parallel to how Larson conveys for a standard worshipping process, a commemoration could also have been performed collectively and started with a procession route from over the gate, perhaps climbed up the *Acropolis* and ended at the sanctuary of a deity.<sup>70</sup> If so, it is equally possible that the harvest and vintage corresponded to the month, hence the festival of Karneios, associable with an epithet of Apollo. Perhaps the situation was completely different and an unproductive harvest was taking place.

Karneios approximates the month of November while Agrianios matches (if not June) July-August in the Rhodian calendar.<sup>71</sup> Although the sequence of these months change from place to place and time to time,<sup>72</sup> even for Rhodes, the mighty Rhodian-Roman effect (along with the masonry workings) is arguable, on this wise.

An interesting piece of evidence has recently been reported through a small pediment-like stone<sup>73</sup> but probably the lid of a cinerary casket (osteothèque), found at the backyard of the mentioned *naos*. It was detected near a well which is still in-use by the herdsmen. This looks like a ligature where the oblique “P” (form is aslope) is attached to “A”. Both were inscribed in majuscule. (Figure 2/C).<sup>74</sup> The exact date is obscure, however the lettering also addresses the Roman era just like the case of the votive block lying a few minutes’ walk from this second one. Although, it is difficult to interpret its relation to a building, perhaps to the *naos*, we may further ask whether the ligature connotated the epithet of (Karneios) Apollo<sup>75</sup>, presumably characterizing the deity’s role in the agrarian background, at the same time. We have reasons to deliberate that this can hardly be coincidental, hence consider another possibility relating it to the *naos*’ spiritual owner, being Apollo. Rightfully, no scholar has identified a structure with Aphrodite or any other deity before.

Should our suggestions prove null and void for Apollo, a second alternative, in view of the Latin abbreviations used on the inscriptions, could be to give an eye to “*a(edilicia) p(otestate)*”<sup>76</sup>. In this case, we would be ruminating about an authority, often indicating the presence of an official/religious post, magistracy, etc. at the place where the *naos* stood. Noted short above, considerations about a magistrate are already given in the next part.

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<sup>70</sup> LARSON 2007, 6.

<sup>71</sup> STODDART 1847, 38, 40, 43; PRITCHETT 1946, 358. For Kos, these correspond to February and January, respectively (*ibid.*).

<sup>72</sup> See SAMUEL 1972. Also referable to BADOUD 2015.

<sup>73</sup> The full names were usually inscribed on the lids of cinerary caskets or repeated on one side of the ossuary. In this case, we only have a ligature. The lid was partly destroyed from the middle of the long side, probably by the looters.

<sup>74</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 38 (fig. 9c). Reading of only the “A” sign-Alpha (*ibid.*) is corrected with this opportunity.

<sup>75</sup> Sometimes depicted with a ramshorn. For the title of Karneios, see Herodotus 7, 206, Thucydides 5, 75. For the discussions on etymology (“karnos” meaning “ram”), see HALL 1997, 39.

<sup>76</sup> Referable to [www.asggle.org](http://www.asggle.org), for the abbreviations in Latin inscriptions.

Continuing with Aphrodite helps seek possible interrelations within the Peraia where this deity was also welcome in Physcus.<sup>77</sup> Also, the presence of Aphrodite priestesshood was deciphered in the *deme* of Phoinix.<sup>78</sup> The occurrence of Lato and Aphrodite (through the list of priests thereof) catches the eye in Kedreai (near modern Akyaka), a Karian origin *damos*.<sup>79</sup> Both of these cultic figures were found on the inscriptions, within the borders of Hygassos. But they were probably amongst the other deities about which we have limited knowledge and were honored at different kinds of occasions. All of the views above remain open-ended unless we are challenged with new evidence.

Our final endeavor relates to the potential connectivity of the Hygassian ethnic and the Karian code, regarding the same period shared by two inscriptions found in the same site. The first one bears the name of a Hygassian with the patronym (Philion Philonda), along with a dedication (last quarter of 4<sup>th</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) made to the sanctuary of Hemithea in Kastabos, in the north Peraia.<sup>80</sup> Another stone, reported from the same *locus*, unveiled the two architects of the sanctuary. The reading indicates that they came from the same origin-Halicarnassus; one was inscribed as Letodoros of Halicarnassus while the other name (Ph....) is unreadable<sup>81</sup> (probably not Pythius of Priene). What may require attention here involves the provenance of the architects and the concomitant time periods (320/280 BC), which motivates us to mull over the patriarchal links of the real Peraian/Hygassian citizens with the Karian recognizance and operations in the “suburbs” of Halicarnassus.

We are not in a position to state further, concerning the degree of acculturation around those dates, however, consider the possibility that it was different than to be normally expected or more or less the same as it happened in Lycia.<sup>82</sup> As a matter of course, the pace of acculturations differed in antiquity. Peraia was obviously closer to Rhodes than Halicarnassus, at least in the physical extent.

### 3. On-site data

Apart from the previously reported epigraphical material, the main character of the surveyed data is clear; we are oriented with architectural and ceramic evidence. An overall

<sup>77</sup> For Aphrodite see *IK Rhod.Peraia.504* (Hellenistic?); *Rhodian Peraia.35*; BRESSON 1991, no 19 (5<sup>th</sup> century BC/3<sup>rd</sup> century AD). For Leto in Physcus, *IK Rhod.Peraia.502* (350–300 BC); *Rhodian Peraia.62*; BRESSON 1991, no 20 (mid 4<sup>th</sup>–mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC).

<sup>78</sup> *IK Rhod.Peraia.104* (3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century BC); *Rhodian Peraia.34*; Bresson 1991, no 147 (1.2); *IK Rhod.Peraia.103* (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), BRESSON 1991, no 148 (1.8).

<sup>79</sup> *Rhodian Peraia.77*, 78.

<sup>80</sup> See footnote 26.

<sup>81</sup> COOK, PLOMMER 1966, no 2; *Rhodian Peraia. 17*; BRESSON 1991, no 37 (1.1–2).

<sup>82</sup> See AKŞİT 1971, 49.

view of the settlement maps was already provided in the previous works<sup>83</sup>; this section concentrates on a selection of images from the sites of occupation (regardless of size and pattern of (nucleated or isolated) settlements). Expectedly, the structures scattered over the countryside and *deme* center of Hygassos may not present similar profiles, mostly arising from the discrepancies of period. All we can say is that the *khora* which is interrupted in the stream (Çaykuyudere) front, is a lot more interwoven with the ruins of a settlement situated around the hillslopes of the *Acropolis*. The western side, on the contrary, seems quite comparable with some of the earlier looking dispersed settlements approaching the *deme center* of Tymnos. Such a view is totally dependent on the morphological appearance of the archaeological ruins (with the exception of copiously found Roman artifact profiles over the certain *loci*) but a final review leads us to take an action to incorporate this zone to the ruling domain of immediate Losta which greatly revealed evidence for the late Hellenistic/Roman era. This is completely a separate topic of discussion, and also has value from the point of territorial designation.<sup>84</sup> We shall not turn back to the issue, hence let it be left here.

### 3.1. Settlement and components under graphoscope

The funerary inscriptions reported from Selimiye address a long interval of habitation in the environs of coastal Losta but the fragments dated to a time span between 5<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. are the most affinitative evidence for substantiating a pre-Roman occupation within the *territorium* of Hygassos. Almost nothing (particularly the stelae and fragmentary pieces found in the vicinity of a Byzantine church, modern school building, private domiciles and courtyards<sup>85</sup> and; a podium type? tomb<sup>86</sup> looking rather early in Kızılköy, Figure 3/A) has remained today but some of them still appear in the form of reused blocks on the facades of the ancient chapel and houses (Figure 3/B–C) or boulder blocks which possibly demarcated the terraces of dwellings or were used for the αλώνι (Figure 3/D). Equivalents of many later works in terms of architecture and masonry prove parallels with the ruins known from the Gulf of Mandalya<sup>87</sup> and especially those of Fenaket, *khora* of Syrna and Tymnos in the Peraia.

Approximately 3 km far from the downtown of Selimiye is Kızılköy which is accessible by a road running parallel to the streambed of Çaykuyu. Çaykuyudere stretches across an alluvial terrain in the east, where it also enables access to highly small and fragmented inland topographies. The density of the isolated pocket plains increases around the foothills and back side of Karatepe which rises in the north-northeast of the said streambed.

<sup>83</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c; OĞUZ-KIRCA, LIRITZIS 2017.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* Already stressed in Part 2.1.

<sup>85</sup> BRESSON 1991. E.g. nos 67, 69.

<sup>86</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 37 (refer to footnote 13 on the same page).

<sup>87</sup> SERİN 2013, 197 (fig. 6).



The ancient site scattered over the hillslopes of Asarcık in the NE of Kızılköy has already been identified with an *Acropolis*<sup>88</sup> lying at the top and localized with the *deme center* of Hygassos.<sup>89</sup> The *Acropolis* (situated in the west of Güncebaşı hill) is hardly accessible from the seaward direction. The ramparts (Figure 4/A–C), mostly worked in coursed, irregular ashlar masonry, are quite untouched.<sup>90</sup> They are reminiscent of late Classical walls of Neandria.<sup>91</sup> The mixed character of the stone works is conspicuous, as well (Figure 4/D–F). The development of the site probably occurred in the Roman period but the heydays could be before that; during which the *deme* probably became an agricultural nexus between the *chorai* and “urbanized” areas. We have no idea about the level of its participation in the economy of the Peraia but a research is on the way to explore the potential of the *deme*’s terraces through a retrograde extrapolation.

Of the earliest reference (if not any more other) confined to the modern area of Kızılköy is a funerary inscription, datable to as back as the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>92</sup> while various attributes of the architectural features and building remains and the masonry types (Figure 5/C) address a broad chronology around the *Acropolis*. At the foot of the eastern slope of the *Acropolis* lie numerous structures, now mostly collapsed. Hence, nothing has remained intact except a few fragments (e.g. the votive inscription dedicated to Aphrodite, noted above). A general framework on the archaeological evidence relating to the *Acropolis* was drawn before.<sup>93</sup> What is intended here also applies to some additional primary data (Figure 5) and the contextual relation to the former evidence.

Recognizable in the north is the growing number of dwelling ruins which are densely occupied by the vegetation cover, on both sides of a clearing. This kind of positioning backs up the view that they formed the core of the lower city. Many stone slabs and elegant blocks also give the impression that they were part of some distinguished quarters of the settlement. To the north, a highly ruined cylindrical altar with a garlanded bucrania? relief (Figure 2/D) (as well as another which is a plain roundish work) near the natural gateway to the *Acropolis* evidences the Hellenistic texture of the site. The public character structure (associated with Aphrodite, Figure 5/D)) lies at the end of the clearing, in the south.

Although evidence is never strong to understand the definite function of the building, we contemplate that a religious ritual in the honour of Aphrodite could have been performed here. Therefore, it might have represented the “codification of architecture” as a symbol

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<sup>88</sup> FRASER, BEAN 1954, 43.

<sup>89</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c.

<sup>90</sup> More particularly, we checked for the usage of a swallow-tale technique at the *Acropolis*, however came up empty-handed. For the swallow tail applied in Beçin, referable to BARAN 2010, Plate 125.

<sup>91</sup> AKARCA 1977, 32–35, plate 39.

<sup>92</sup> BRESSON 1991, no 62.

<sup>93</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c.

(traceable as back as the Archaic period<sup>94</sup>) at the lower city. Another possibility relates to the erection of the votive (on its terrace) upon the fulfilment of a certain occasion. It might well be a *naos* (marked with low *peribolos* walls), right below the fortress/*phrourion* at the hilltop, perhaps the residence of a magistrate where the act of sacrificing cattle/sheep or oxen and rams could have taken place, as the genus was attested on the same inscription. There is knowledge that Aphrodite could be the “guardian of Greek magistrates<sup>95</sup>” so the magistrates could make a dedication to her. Also, similar regulatory texts pertinent to sacrificial acts were, without doubt, religious character documents well known from 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Kamiros.<sup>96</sup> Preserved on a rocky surface nearby a niche is a row of grooves in which nail holes were perhaps set, to be used for holding the retaining walls or tethering (Figure 5/E) e.g. the rams, other sacrificable beasts (though this may sound a bit fictitious, for the moment) or for any other function.

To the backside of the *naos*, carved in the rock, is a square socket for an altar object, possibly a statue (Figure 5/G). Near the osteotheque, on a pedestal, is another statue base<sup>97</sup>, similar to those visible in e.g. Cnidus and Lindos (Figure 2/E). A few feet away lies a stepped pyramidal block, pretty similar to the samples reported from Losta and the southern Peraia.<sup>98</sup> Being amongst the typical architectural components of the Peraia, these monolithic blocks/pedestals? could have relevancy to sepulchral architecture as Bean once suggested<sup>99</sup> (Figure 2/F–G). We can hardly put forward that all of them were used for the same purpose; they could have served the differently employed material. There is evidence that rather plain looking ones (not cut sharply) were installed as supporting blocks in the corner lines of the *naos* dedicated to Aphrodite,<sup>100</sup> above.

No relic of another documentable public space is traceable in this part of the lower settlement. The center is adorned with some other remains, too. Preserved in few numbers are the water works, mainly the cisterns. A small size oblong basin (Figure 5/F), now earthed with thin soil appears to have been used for consecration (presumptively for baptism<sup>101</sup>). Up on the *Acropolis* lie the largest size cisterns.

Hardly can anyone assert a grid plan due to the contextual disturbance of this nucleated site but all of the ruins scattered around the clearing appear to be orderly arranged along a sloping skirt, engirdling the plain area. Although nothing has remained unaltered, the initial

<sup>94</sup> On the matter of architecture and symbolism, see LANG 2005, 32.

<sup>95</sup> SOKOLOWSKI 1964; ROBERT, ROBERT 1964, no 82 (p.144). Also see CROISSANT, SALVIAT 1966, 460–471.

<sup>96</sup> BLINKENBERG 1939, no 251; ROBERT, ROBERT 1955, no 211 (265). See *Tit.Cam.*148–156.

<sup>97</sup> See OĞUZ-KIRCA 2015a, 60, fig. 5.

<sup>98</sup> For the stepped pyramidal blocks, see BENT 1888: 82–83; KUBAN, SANER 2001, 164; CARTER 1982, 184–195; OĞUZ-KIRCA 2015a, 50, 60 (see fig. 5).

<sup>99</sup> BEAN 2000, 168; ATAÜZ 1997, Illustration 2.

<sup>100</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 38 (see fig. 9A).

<sup>101</sup> Similar to the large basin used for baptism in Alahan Monastery.

founding of the *deme* (with the *Acropolis*) probably matched here. Takable as a further indicator for the pervasion of the lower town in a larger domain, there lie the scant remains dispersed around another archaeological space down below the lower town (Figure 5/I).<sup>102</sup> The space prompts us to generate an idea of an *agora*. This part, as was priorly expressed by Oğuz-Kırca<sup>103</sup>, is accessible via an ancient trackway from lower town (Figure 5/H). The general impression is that the site reached maturity during the late Hellenistic/early Roman period when the Rhodians were still allowed for their landholdings on the mainland. We have no exact idea about the date of abandonment of the whole site but a possible *terminus ante quem* is the end of the late Roman period. The inhabitants could have installed themselves in a neighboring area through a natural runaway corridor running from the N/NE and turning to immediate SE until Kayalı Bay, at times they felt insecure. A vital communication between the coast and the interior via the ancient routes also entails physical connectivity.

A general mention of the evidence from the findspots associable with the *khora* was also made<sup>104</sup>, except for some recent pictures, e. g. of the natural corridor between Tülütepe and Kayalı Bay. What has not been mentioned in the previous works (and relevant to the settlement data)<sup>105</sup> is given hereby as the supportive evidence, also to concretize the ideas about the manner of settlement and its relation to the agricultural context. A common aspect for all of the new data is that they highly address the interwoven character of the terrace and settlement formations whereas cases like Kaletepe and Karatepe may still need further questioning on the earlier textures.

Before continuing with additional assessments in some of the major sites given below, there is a need to restress the significance of Kaletepe (Figure 6) which rises like a coastal and terrestrial guardian with a stellate layout<sup>106</sup>, in the borderline of Hygassos–Tymnos–Thyssanos (Figure 7/A).<sup>107</sup> As piracy was a hazard on land as well as the sea,<sup>108</sup> this robust fortification could be one of the bases of the Peraian pirates.<sup>109</sup> Kaletepe, on the other hand, appears to share many aspects with those reported from northern Caria.<sup>110</sup> The masonry style in particular, the stronghold's high elevation and visibility values (when compared to many

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<sup>102</sup> The lower part of the *Acropolis* in the N appears to be delimited by a gateway (visible on the ground is part of an epistyle) where the natural stairs climbing from the lowest area to the lower city terminate. Some colonnaded structures were probably standing in this part of the city. Without this part, it is hard to guess the original size of the residential areas. All we can say is that a level area that fits to the size of a small *agora* can be accessed by following the sloping grounds toward the lowest code.

<sup>103</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 39.

<sup>104</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, *passim*.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*; OĞUZ-KIRCA, LIRITZIS 2017, fig. 6.

<sup>106</sup> Visible on the black-white aerial photographs, dated 1971.

<sup>107</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2015b, 131, 133.

<sup>108</sup> ABULAFIA 2003, 57.

<sup>109</sup> For Karian piracy, Herodotus 2, 152; Thucydides 1, 8, 1.

<sup>110</sup> Especially see BEAN 2000; MARCHESE 1989; ROCCA 1992; OĞUZ-KIRCA 2016a, 133–134.

other fortresses in the Peraia), occasional usage of ashlar, the dearth of any tower and few sheds signal an early workmanship (Figure 7/B). In light of such morphological traits, we designate it to a pre-Hellenistic date, perhaps as far back as the Geometric period. Although some of the boulder works in the Cyclopean workmanship recall some Mycenaean traits, this does not seem likely.

The total length of the ramparts reach ca. 400 m; the possible space of usage was about 2 ha. A future study shall assess many more aspects of this fortified area, hence we choose to bring it to an end here.

#### a. Environs of Tülütepe

The valley running from the south of Tülütepe to Kayalı Bay is rich with small scale rural households and, enclosures possibly used as simple barns. Here is quite a steep terrace system built in the skirts of a deep valley running toward the end of Kayalı Bay (Figure 8/A-B).

The steepest terraces fall to the west of Tülütepe (Sakızlıtepe), where the modern highway makes a sharp turn. Down the same terraces lie the recognizable terrace walls and private boundaries of an ancient structure which is squeezed amongst numerous olive trees forming another band of inactive terraces. Although a pathway heads down to this spot (densely occupied with maquis and olive trees), it seems that the terraces at the opposite side (Karapınartepe N) were preferably exploited till the modern times. Two more structures, possibly farmsteads, are recognizable toward the valley floor (Tülütepe S). An open-structure at the foothill of Tülütepe (Figure 8/C) is recognizable via aerial views but the other, closed one, is hardly accessible due to the very harsh and rugged nature of the terrain. The open type farmstead appears to be a controlling base or similar, which was missioned to collect the products coming from the deployed nearby terraces.

The terraces (designed in steep parallel strips) scattered along the northern skirts of Karapınartepe (facing Tülütepe) can be reached from Hayıtlık location, by traversing an ancient trackway. Many small scale ruins are clustered around the spot called Sürtekçeşme (Figure 8/D). This is a watering hole, a pasture spring and fountain which is still in use for the livestock. The structures (used for grazing in the upcoming periods) echo back to the post-Hellenistic architecture, at the same time. Although rarely found in the vicinity, two highly disturbed press beds were documented. Besides, a cistern network (as well as few wells) can be observed at the beginning point of the valley (Figure 8/E-F).

#### b. Karatepe

The close environs of Karatepe in the immediate N, NE and E hide small rural agricultural enclaves (Figure 9/A-C) where the abundance of sherds (mostly downslopes) and

overexploited terraces also support an active *khora*. The morphology of the agricultural character terraces, mainly the masonry technique in respect of the arrangement of stones (also revealing high abrasion) hint at ancient cultivation practices, perhaps since the Classical era. We can never be sure without a deep search into the ceramic assemblages.

Regarding the pocket plains which fall to the rugged terrain between Karatepe and Büyüktepe<sup>111</sup>, there is a need to mention a wide appeal to the inland terrace agriculture. Some ruins are squeezed into a series of modern fields. An ancient installation appears with the traces of a double-chambered and *in-situ* rock-cut pressing bed (Roman or later?) at the point where the boundaries of the modern fields begin. In front of it lies the remains of a barn or a simple plan shed/dwelling that looks like a late work. The press stone could have had relation with a clearly identifiable farmstead/housing unit whose natural boundaries and base walls (at the back, S) address a lavish landholding. Not that far, a late well is observable with reused ashlar blocks on the exterior surface. Presumably, they were transported from the close surroundings. Also worth stressing is an enclave, falling slightly to the north. The ruins of a cluster of simple plan *domūs* integrated with terraces are conspicuous, at the foot of a shallow rocky hill. The spot deserves a mention with possible threshing floors around and that it, together with the sherd scatters, makes this part of land of attraction within the archaeological context. The enclave also evidences the level of agricultural practice around the area.

By looking at the positioning of the enclaves and a structure at the peak point, we can note, the hillslopes of Karatepe could have been used in the earlier periods. It was priorly accentuated that the structure, whose terrace walls are clearly visible, highlights the Karian way of settling, however we do not necessarily confine it to a single era. It is also because some solid Hellenistic/Roman ruins (circled in red) (Figure 9/D–F) at the foot of Karatepe, situated near the streambed of Çaykuyudere, address the effective utilization of the *terra-rosa* groundcovers all around this hill, with more distinguished farmsteads and architectural works, probably of the ruling elites in the agricultural-commercial background. If we turn back to the structure at the peak of Karatepe, it is also a man's work where the remnants of a water complex<sup>112</sup>/part of a supporting installation for a pressing activity/perhaps a sacred pool/sort of an altar segment, attract attention. Moving downwards, a group of broken vessels mostly including mushroom rim amphorae, probably some olpe fragments and numerous Hellenistic/late Hellenistic sherds, which were illegally unearthed by the looters, were documented.

<sup>111</sup> Embraced with two small depression areas, supposedly suitable for cereal products.

<sup>112</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014c, 37 (fig. 6).

## c. Gemecitdüzü

A recent study suggests that an arc of enclaves, also encompassing the physical and social environs of Gemecitdüzü maintained the status of an inner *khora* in the Peninsula.<sup>113</sup> Although some modern constructions and fields are active on this hilltop setting (Figure 10/A–C), this area (ca. 50 hectares) used to be a rural cluster of households with densely deployed terraces in antiquity. The two main sub-sectors of Gemecitdüzü attract attention in this respect. The area in the SW (facing Kelmusa hill on which a long range of walls<sup>114</sup> (Figure 7/C–D) seem to form a demarcation line? between Tymnos and this part of Hygassos) is fruitful with ancient settlement units (Figures 10/E; 11/A–D). Visible in the ground is part of the stone basements of dwellings, arguably of an early date (as well as some post-Roman works) if we disregard the co-presence of post-Classical sherds. Some of the closed or ovoid plans (which can be traced over the small site in the NE sector of Gemecitdüzü (Figure 10/F), at the same time) remind the *tyrokomi* (Figure 9/C) widespread in Yalı (the island between Cos and Nisyros).<sup>115</sup> These type structures could be multi-purpose (sometimes tri-partite) buildings or one-chambered vaulted storage spaces or could burden the function of a small farmstead, pen, cheese making platform, etc.<sup>116</sup> Ethnoarchaeologically, the style of architecture (typical lentos and vaulted masonry) encourages us to establish, at least, the minimum links with some Nisyrian houses most of which are definable as seasonal structures/farmsteads.<sup>117</sup> Anyone can find similar, late bodies of constructions in Fenaket (Phoinix) and coastal Losta (e.g. the chapel in Figure 3/B).

In addition to the Hellenistic and Roman structures, another group having half open, sometimes imperfect rectangular or ovoid plans (S,SW) partly evoke the masonry and building design given by Sampson from the *khora* of Nisyros<sup>118</sup> but the plans and contexts of the dwellings are so disturbed that substantive suggestions cannot be posed.

Rather early looking walls under the earth fills, stone basements, quite a different type masonry applied with strip form stones on the facades of some dwellings (echoing Lelegian masonry?), irregular-polygonal wall series; some perforated rocky surfaces (aperture on the left is a perfect hole (Figure 10/D), at the foot of Kepezdağ) reminding the menhirs?<sup>119</sup> make this level enclave of interest than ever thought.

<sup>113</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA *et al.* 2017.

<sup>114</sup> We take the long wall range in the north of Xanthos (see COURTILS, MARKSTEINER 1999, fig. 5, 99–100) as a good comparative criterion in terms of its strategic importance but regardless of the type of masonry.

<sup>115</sup> For the *tyrokomi* and Yalı see SAMPSON 1997, 158 (τυροκόμι VIII 1).

<sup>116</sup> SAMPSON 1997, 267–269.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.* 208.

<sup>118</sup> SAMPSON 1997, 144 (see κτήριο VII 29).

<sup>119</sup> See the sample given by GIOVANOPULOS, SAKELI 2006, 226. No scale is given.

### 3.2. Sherds cast light on chronology

The artefacts are miscellaneous, from Hellenistic *pithoi* to the Roman plates. The real problem is rooted in the poorly represented profiles and highly disturbed contexts of the ceramic assemblages. The situation gets blurred arising from the severe effects of erosion which could have accelerated downslope displacements of the surface material, and also due to the lack of systematic excavations or reports in the subject *territorium*. Numerous too are the vessels of everyday use and amphorae scatters, particularly for transport or exchange. Lids, body fragments of the utensils (especially the cooking ware) as well as transport amphorae handles and bases are widely found, both in the *deme* centre and the countryside.

Our interpretations demand strong feet on the ground. Hence, we initially attempted to attach priority to the amphora samples which were well presented from the Hellenistic city of Rhodes. They still make up the most inspiring group of ceramics for many scholars operating within the Hellenistic context. The evidence from Hygassos (Figure 12) proves many parallels, especially in respect of the base forms<sup>120</sup> which also are attributable to the Cnidian products.<sup>121</sup> The bases of daily ware/assemblages, especially the *comvio* (κομβίο) form<sup>122</sup> and the banded rim<sup>123</sup> are quite comparable with the samples photographed in the *khora* of Hygassos (Figure 12/A-B); e.g. the *comvio* forms as well as the cylindrical necks<sup>124</sup> observed in Karatepe draw attention in this respect. Also commonly found and almost identical to those reported from the Cnidian Peninsula is the base style (of the amphorae) which is a precursor of the end of 4<sup>th</sup>–beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>125</sup> (Figure 12/C). In Gemecitdüzü, numerous Hellenistic sherds (overwhelmingly toward the first quarter of/mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) show persistence; revealing canonical amphorae bases, tapering bodies, embossed red paste body pieces, yellowish pale-brown uneven surfaces to a high degree.<sup>126</sup> Many of them were documented on a debris cone, in the southwestern part (Figure 12/D). Some of those appearing in stone tempered fabric in the near environs of Tülütepe probably address a place of local manufacture. A button type stamped handle (bearing a central dot)

<sup>120</sup> STODDART, 1847, 7 (see the bottom of the page for the leading forms of pointed *diotae*); FILIMONOS-TSOPOTOU 2004, ΠΙΝΑΞ 20–21, 24–25, 60 (η).

<sup>121</sup> GRACE 1934, 202. Many of the early Hellenistic amphorae assemblages found in Ephesos are attributable to the Rhodian, Peraian and Koan origins (LAWALL 2007, 29).

<sup>122</sup> Traceable in FILIMONOS-TSOPOTOU 2004, ΠΙΝΑΞ 64 (ε).

<sup>123</sup> FILIMONOS-TSOPOTOU 2004, ΠΙΝΑΞ 59 (γ).

<sup>124</sup> The variants are almost identical to the long-necked Rhodian amphorae (Type 1 that emerged at the close of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and became widespread toward the end of the first quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) documented at the Black Sea deposits (MONACHOV 2005, 71–86), on a broad scale.

<sup>125</sup> See the styles from Muhaltepe workshop given by TUNA, EMPEREUR 1988, 345, Fig 4 (g–h).

<sup>126</sup> The base forms (plaster banded ring additions) are quite reminiscent of the discards reported from Karaca-Naltaş DOĞER 1994; DOĞER, ŞENOL 1996, 69–71; TUNA, EMPEREUR 1988, 345 (fig. 4g).

was perhaps a product of the potter, Hieroteles (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) or his successors<sup>127</sup> (Figure 12/E). We are not sure.

Some sherds also show parallels with the specimen reported from Karpathos by Melas.<sup>128</sup> Of the widely encountered are the Roman ones, especially the *terra-sigillata*, some pseudo double-handles<sup>129</sup>, twisted forms (occasionally appearing as the *lagynoi*)<sup>130</sup>, round decorations on the rims, combed ware<sup>131</sup> and the Hellenistic pieces that rarely have black glaze.<sup>132</sup> That Tuna and Empereur point at the similar forms of the Rhodian/its mainland type amphorae in Hisarönü and of Nisyros and Karpathos<sup>133</sup> make us reconsider the specimen encountered in Hygassos.

Rhodes and Cyprus were in the active orbit of the Mycenaean. Mycenaean implanted a settlement in Rhodes as is much evident from the pottery finds in the tombs.<sup>134</sup> We have no systematic evidence to come up with a possibility that Hygassos was vulnerable to regular intrusions and habitational attempts of the Minoan or Mycenaean culture, except the *terra-cota* profile which could have belonged to a scuttle<sup>135</sup> of which we are also informed through the reports on Iasos.<sup>136</sup> The piece, found in the *khora*, in the lowlands of Tülütepe (Figure 12/F), urges us to fictionalize the late Bronze Age Peraia and question a possible link therewith.

A positive report would certainly enlighten us about the distant trajectory of the *deme*, however nothing (apart from the Geometric and Archaic finds of e.g. nearby Hydas and Bybassos),<sup>137</sup> has been uncovered in favor of the Aegean Late Bronze Age in this part of the Peraia. Hygassos might be a challenge in this respect.

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<sup>127</sup> TUNA, EMPEREUR 1989, 286–287, 293–298; DOĞER 1994, 201–202. For the typical button form stamps of Hieroteles and successive fabricants, also see CANKARDAŞ-ŞENOL, CANOĞLU 2009.

<sup>128</sup> See the samples presented by MELAS 2006, 6–7.

<sup>129</sup> The dating of the double-handles sometimes reveal nuances, e.g. see the handle found in Labraunda and dated to the Hellenistic era [HENRY *et al.* 2013, 283 (fig. 45)].

<sup>130</sup> The sharply twisted handles are also much like the Hellenistic character one-handled *lagynoi* (also paralleling the Cypriot samples) that are occasionally dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> –mid-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC [see THOMPSON 1934, 450; also referable to ATAÜZ 1997, 30–33 (fig. 23)].

<sup>131</sup> MELAS 2006, 33–36, figs. 44–48.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* 32–33, figs. 41–43.

<sup>133</sup> TUNA, EMPEREUR 1989, 290. For the Rhodian effect in Nisyros, also see FRASER, BEAN 1954; THOMPSON 1971, 616.

<sup>134</sup> TAYLOUR 1995, 148.

<sup>135</sup> OÇUZ-KIRCA *et al.* 2017.

<sup>136</sup> MOMIGLIANO 2009, 133, fig. 20.

<sup>137</sup> For the sites orderly mentioned, see BENTER 2010, 669 (We certainly take it into consideration that Hydas revealed the late Bronze and early Iron Age evidence (2010, 667–670), however also await for testification and verification by the author and those involved in the background); ÖZER 2015, 198–203.



#### 4. Discussion and conclusion

Any archaeological endeavour to explore and chase rurality requires both fine and coarse screening of the available evidence. It may even become a drudgery while tackling the data that remain in the air, particularly within the scope of regional searches. The unexplored sites (mostly physically) of the modern Bozburun region encourages us to go far off the distant *khora*, as well as referring to the comparative evidence through an ethno/archaeological glance in the coastal Asia Minor-Dodecanese arc.

Although Hygassos is poor of surface water or permanent streams, the availability of (also modern use) cisterns and wells which were documented all over the site (Figure 13/A–B) could have dismantled the barriers to settlement. They were mostly constructed in the eastern sector (and partly northeast) of the *deme*; a higher density of distribution in quantity applies to the isolated enclaves lying in the pocket plains. Except the near catchment area encircling the *Acropolis* and Çaykuyudere; the desolate and highly fragmented small zone between Kumatepe and the scarps neighboring Bayırköy, the small area falling to the west of Hayıtlık location and the adjacent plain in the immediate east of Tülütepe near the main road (Figure 13/D), etc. reveal a concentration of the water features. For the western sector, where the elevation values are comparatively lower, one can argue for the availability of the water spouts (although being small). These springs or ponds (Figure 13/C, E–F) have proximity to the ruins of buildings, insomuch that the ponds they formed in the background host mini ecosystems because there is a good chance to see turtles and mud crabs in and around these wetlands. It seems that the underground waters spout from the natural cracks in a fault zone that still await to be studied, in this middle part of the Peraia.<sup>138</sup>

The SE sector, a marginal area between Tülütepe and Kayalı Bay, is affluent with household economies positioned on both sides of a natural corridor.

Seasonal movements are postulated in the Aegean Islands since Neolithic times so it was a common thought to have existed in the Peraia with nearby islands<sup>139</sup>. When we attempt to seek certain parallels with the alternative regions, the island of Yalı, lying between Kos and Nisyros, might be a comparative case. The two sectors of Yalı were exploited in different ways. The SW is fruitful with the Neolithic remains while the NE was extensively occupied throughout history.<sup>140</sup> Obviously, we are not interested in the directions but rather in the dispersals in our sample. Hence, sharp discrepancies and preferential settlements arising

<sup>138</sup> For the vicinity of the Peraia, see DSI. The research for the ground water activity map shows 9×10.6m<sup>3</sup> ground water reserves in the northern part of the Peraia (approximately falling to the direct west of Marmaris (between Hisarönü–Marmaris; marked as Selimiye–Tekfuran Barajı, Karaova–Varvil), dated to 1970) (DSI, Böl 12, 42).

<sup>139</sup> TARTARON 2013; NOWICKI 2014.

<sup>140</sup> SAMPSON 1997, 267–268. The SW was exposed to volcanic eruptions and turned green with pine trees whereas the NE is characterizable with perlite, obsidian and rare vegetation.

from e.g. pedology, availability of permanent water, advantages or disadvantages created by the fault zones could have prevailed in Hygassos, as well. Also, the agricultural regime and practice and the plants raised could have changed accordingly. An analogous picture is attributable to Nisyros; what Sampson introduces highly involves an ethnoarchaeological prospect. Many structures on the island are in accord with those of the Asia Minor and Dodecanesian island zone. As understood, the seasonal round trips made for providing the livestock with pasture, fresh grass and water (especially in winter time) between Nisyros and Yalı, must have developed out of the historical practices. The cisterns were probably active during the seasonal movements.<sup>141</sup> Although Hygassos has a non-insular identity, we might argue for (even for pasturage activity) an appeal of a community to the seasonal summer houses.

Furthermore, the nuances in the masonry technique and architectural design might occasionally remain as the perplexing evidence. However, the pre-Maousolian plans and construction techniques introduced by Diler from e.g. Karadağ, Oyuklutepe, in the Halicarnassian Peninsula<sup>142</sup> seem to match up or share similarity with some of our samples particularly recorded around Gemecitdüzü and Karatepe, in patches. Still, there are many objectionable aspects of the site in question. New research is awaited to unveil the mysteries behind.

Harpasa Fortress (an integral part of the Hecatomnid policy) and its perfect visibility<sup>143</sup> was amongst the *sine qua non* in the northern Karian world. Kaletepe possesses some comparable attributes with the said stronghold and the *peripolion* in Kelbessos.<sup>144</sup> Its usage since the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. is quite likely. About the security phenomena, it could also have (along with some others, e. g. Kuletepe)<sup>145</sup> functioned to audit those who were banned for encroaching on the public or private possessions across the frontiers.

Rural landmarks of the *khora* are quite determined by the topographical constraints. Hence, the multi-*khora*i make the way for highly fragmented settlements all over the *deme*, especially in the eastern half. In this manner, we can safely note, that the inland type *deme* of Hygassos hosts numerous, perhaps the majority of the inner *khora*i in the Rhodian Peraia, also taking into account her smallest territorial size (27,23 km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>146</sup> amongst the counterparts. The highly dispersed pattern of the whole *khora* and the inner *khora*i do not seem to have created significant barriers to maritime commerce or access to the harbors or inlets.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>141</sup> SAMPSON 1997, 269–270 (see the hardcover with the photograph of the livestock transported via boats).

<sup>142</sup> MV-KAUM 2013, 1009, 1011. Also see DILER *et al.* 2012, 191.

<sup>143</sup> ÇÖRTÜK 2010, 94.

<sup>144</sup> ÇEVİK, PİMOUGUET-PEDARROS 2005, 445.

<sup>145</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA, LIRITZIS 2017.

<sup>146</sup> OĞUZ-KIRCA, LIRITZIS 2017.

<sup>147</sup> Maps showing the position of this ancient *deme* are miscellaneous. Delikyol Bay in the northern frontiers of Losta is marked as Hygassos (coded 2169, DE GRAAUW 2016: 304).

Many small scale structures evoke the *tyrokomi* (prevails for Sürtekçeşme, SE of Hayıtlık, Gemecit and Karatepe), hinting at the co-existence of pasturage and agriculture in the inner *khora*i. The parcels lying at the peaks or the critical spots of a valley could have been owned by a controlling authority. On the other hand, the potentiality of the subterranean structures in the close and distant surroundings of the *Acropolis* lights the way to further research in the area.

### *In conclusion*

To our knowledge, the name of Hygassos highly pinpoints her Karian origin on account of the orthographic rules. The onomastic material does not provide any clues for the exact *locus* of the *deme*. But the characteristic Karian/Anatolian roots in the reading, even recognized during the Hellenistic era and; the occurrence of some cultic figures on the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC inscriptions help change our impression of the *deme*. The sources and evidence do not fully allow us to reconstruct the historical development of Hygassos, however the strong presence of small settlements around an *Acropolis* (as far as the distant *khora*i) and a lively occupational *territorium* can be corroborated through supplementary evidence. The *Acropolis* that identifies a possible *centrum* appears to have survived into the post-Hellenistic period. The settlement grew at the foot of the *Acropolis* and expanded far as the coastal plains and inner *khora*i in dispersed forms, similar to the dendritic pattern that Phoinix<sup>148</sup> developed in the south of the Peraia. Apart from the Rhodian expansionism which admittedly must have ruled the territories of Hygassos without waging war against a community, an acceptable idea involves the continuity of the *deme*'s specialization in the agrarian activity over the ages. On the other hand, although we need solid evidence, there is no reason why we should not put forward, for the first time, an idea about her possible attachment to the *polis* of Kamiros<sup>149</sup> in the Hellenistic era (as nothing has been indicated so far), reconsidering some common exercises on sacred laws, Aphrodite cult, etc.

With the current data, we are never in a position to exhibit, a rigid, even a possible conclusive attempt about the persistence of settlements over the same sites as back as the Bronze Age or earlier, as is the case with e.g. a remarkable number of Parthian sites that are mostly positioned in the plain agricultural areas to benefit from the natural sources.<sup>150</sup> The settlement patterns suggestible for Hygassos basically attest to the sites' resilience to any type terrain (hardly appears to have been forcefully driven but purposely designed at the outset) as long as the needs for constructing agrarian units, mostly in the form of terraces, are satisfied. The formation of patterns also seem to have been dependent on the cultivation

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<sup>148</sup> See OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014b.

<sup>149</sup> See OĞUZ-KIRCA 2014a, 274.

<sup>150</sup> MOHAMMADIFAR, NIKNAMI 2013, 11.

capability of the inhabitants. What is almost certain is that it was in the Hellenistic and Roman periods that Hygassos, along with her multi-*khorai*, experienced a perceptible florescence just like Phoinix. We can, at the same time, expect a link with the Mycenaean world in light of some rare but solid utensils of the late Bronze Age which could also be found in the distant *khora*. If so, any priority attached to settling in the close environs of a *centrum* would not make a great sense to an archaeologist, similar to the sporadic habitat patterns dependent on agriculture and pasturage. Also, the dispersed clusterings in the *khorai* and the stellate nucleations around the *Acropolis* appear to have left enough space for caravan routes between two main coastal areas in the north and southeast of the *deme*, respectively. Something that makes this inland type *deme* a lot more distinguished from the other *demoi* appears to be that Hygassos might have been more apt to seasonal movements, in reconsideration of the neighbouring regions (e.g. Nisyrian landscapes and *khorai*) and owing to the changing conditions (e. g. foreign intrusions) despite her much sheltered position in the midst of the Peraia.

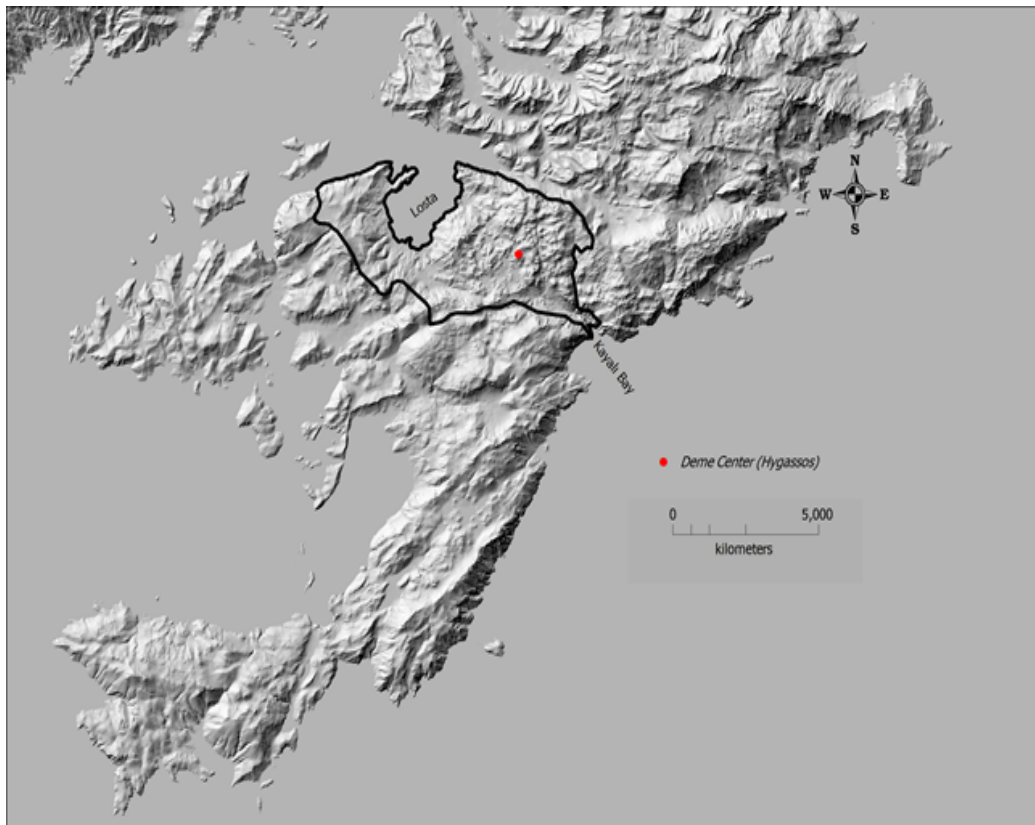


Figure 1. *Territorium* and *centrum* of the Karian Hygassos in the Rhodian Peraia on the shaded relief map of Bozburun Peninsula (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca and I. Liritzis).



Figure 2. Group of photographs from Rhodes Town and Kızılköy (*Cippus* with reading Ὑγᾶς in part (A) and funerary altar dedicated to “Stasion of Hygassesis” (B) (Rhodes Archaeology Museum); “AP” ligature inscribed in majuscule on the lid of an osteotheque (C); cylindrical altar with a garlanded bucrania (D); socket for a statue base on a pedestal (E); stepped monolithic blocks (F–G)) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca and I. Liritzis).





Figure 3. Group of photographs from Kızılköy and Selimiye (Pedest tomb (A); reused ashlar on the chapel and a dwelling (B–C); terrace walls of a dwelling or αλώνι (D)) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).



Figure 4. Group of photographs from the Acropolis and lower settlement (Ramparts (A–C) and mixed stonework (D–F) at the Acropolis and lower settlement) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).



Figure 5. Group of photographs from the lower settlement (Architectural elements (A–B); late roundish building (C); public structure associated with Aphrodite cult (D); row of grooves on a rocky facade (E); basin for consecration? (F); rock-cut socket for a statue (G); view of the ancient trackway running through the lower town (H); pervasion of the lower settlement to an adjacent domain (I) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).



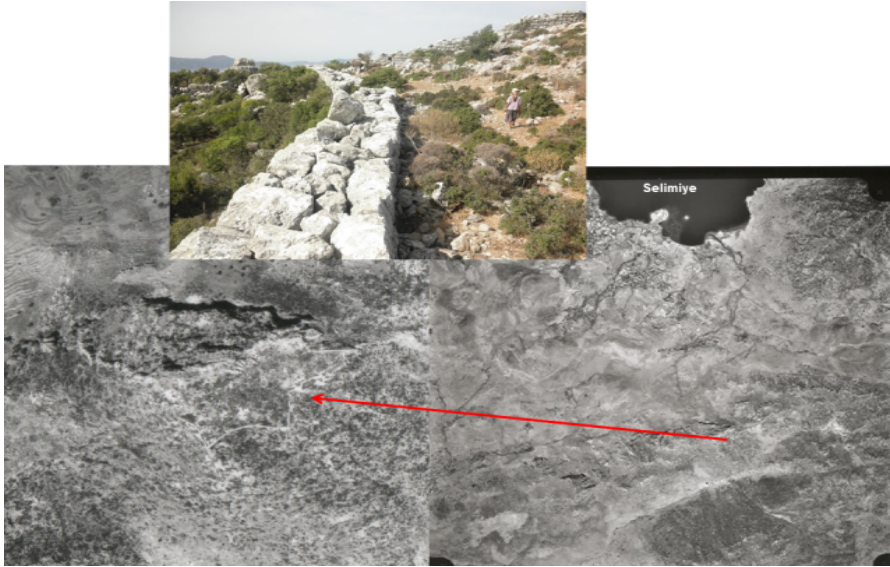


Figure 6. The ramparts (above, E.D.Öğüz-Kırca) and stellate layout (below) of Kaletepe on black-white aerial photographs (dated 1971) (The Rep. of Turkey, General Command of Mapping).



Figure 7. Group of photographs from Kaletepe and Kelmusa (General view of Kaletepe (A); an image of the masonry style (B); wall range (demarcating line?) on Kelmusa Hill situated between Tymnos and Hygassos (C–D)) (E.D. Öğüz-Kırca).





Figure 8. Group of photographs from the vicinity of Hayıtlık and Tülütepe (Network of terraces facing Tülütepe (A); small scale ruin (B); aerial view of an open structure (C); Sürtekçeşme (D); press bed and cistern (E-F)) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca, (C) excluded).



Figure 9. Group of photographs from Karatepe and environs (Small enclaves, housing borders and dwellings/*tyrokomi*? (A–C); Hellenistic/Roman ruins (site encircled on the left, single elements on the bottom right/right) (D–F)) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).



Figure 10. Group of photographs from Gemecitdüzü and environs (Enclaves revealing evidence of ancient and modern constructions (A–C); perforated structure? (D); part of an inner wall of a dwelling (E); small scale settlement (F) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).





Figure 11. Group of photographs from Gemecitdüzü SW  
(Ancient settlement with details of the basements (A–D)) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).



Figure 12. Group of photographs on on ceramic (mostly early Hellenistic and Roman) evidence (κομβίο form sherd (A); banded rim (B); amphora bases (C–D); button type handle with a central dot (E); profile of a scuttle? (late Bronze/early Iron?) (F) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).

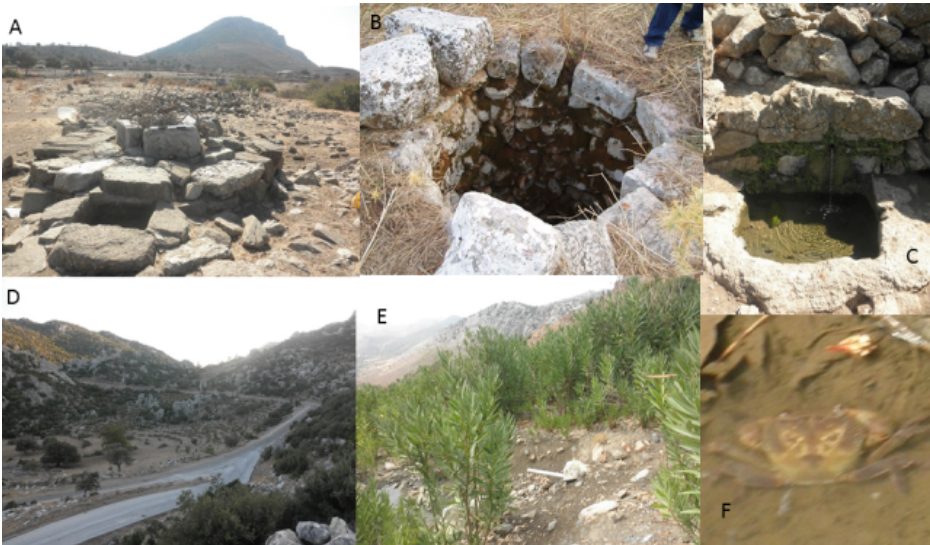


Figure 13. Group of photographs addressing hydraulic features (A cistern, well and spring (A–C); a pocket plain abundant in water features (D); natural pond (E) and mud crab on the western hills (F) (E.D. Oğuz-Kırca).

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