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Rhodes, Cyprus and Southern Anatolia During the Archaic and Achaemenid Periods: The Ionian Question[1]

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The Classical Greek ethnic *Iônes* is the result of Homeric *Iaones* (*Iliad* 13.685) which comes from the form **Iawones*. **Iawones* is the hellenization of Assyrian *Yâw(a)naya* (Babyonian *Yâm(a)naya*) which designates the inhabitants of the *Yâwan* country we find in the *Bible*, and it corresponds to the ethnical and regional name *Yauna* in the Royal Achaemenid inscriptions. *Yâw(a)naya* could derive from the Semitic root *'yi/'î* "island, coast" or *yâm/yôm* "sea" (+ ethnical suffix *-aya*), and designate a sea-people. I do not agree with Carruba who has proposed, for the etymology of Greek *Iônes*, a derivation from the name Akhkhiyawa wich designates in Hittite texts the country of the Achaeans. Carruba proposes the fall, firstly, of the initial vowel, then of the guttural, and the addition of the ethnical suffix *-wanni*: Akhkhiyawa > *Akhkhiya(wa)-wanni > *Khiyawanni[2] > *(A)iya(wa)unni > Greek *Iaones/Iônes*[3]. This evolution seems to me linguistically impossible: if the initial vowel A- could eventually fall from Akhkhiyawa, the Hittite and Luwian voiced laryngal -kh- stays fair in an antevocalic position (Isebaert 2001).

Assyrian texts attest that, since the third quarter of the 8th century B.C., the kings Tiglath-Pileser III, then above all, Sargon II, Sennacherib and Essarhaddon fight Ionians on the Cilician and Phoenician coasts as in Cyprus (Brinkman 1987, Parker 2000). It is sure that among the Ionians are

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1 This text is a modified version of a study published in French in Casabonne 2004: 77-89. See also forthcoming Casabonne-DeVos 2004 (with Egyptian documents). I would like to thank the *Institutum Turcicum Scientiae Antiquitatis* and its President -my friend - Prof. Dr. Ali Dinçol which have invited me to give a conference in Istanbul on the 10th of March 2004.

2 Khiyawa is the name of Smooth Cilicia in the bilingual (Luwian/Phoenician) inscription found at Çineköy, between Adana and Karataş. See Tekoğlu-Lemaire 2000, Casabonne 2004: 74-77.

3 Carruba 1964: 278-284; Carruba 1995. For the etymology of *Ionia/Ionian(s)*, see Chadwick 1977, Brinkman 1987: 67-68.

listed the Cypriots; but it is quite surprising to observe that many specialists translate the Assyrian ethnic by "Greeks" as if "Greek" and "Cypriot" were equivalent[4]. We well know that Cyprus was inhabited by Greeks as Phoenicians and the so-called "Eteocypriots", an autochthonous population.

The capture of some Ionians by the Assyrian kings takes sometimes place in Cilicia. Some specialists consider that this fact testifies to a Greek colonisation of the region as archaeology and Classical texts should attest.

Among the pottery dated to the 9th and 8th cent. B.C. found in Cilicia, the so-called *White Painted* and *Black-on-Red* are very frequent. For a long time, these types have been considered as Cypriot. Their presence in Cilicia should testify to a Greek Cypriot invasion; but the quite recent discovery at Kinet Höyük (ancient Issus) of potters' workshops and kilns has lead to considerably modify the traditional vision. It is now sure that the *White Painted* and the *Blach-on-Red* were also made in Cilicia, and specialists evoke today a *Cypro-Cilician milieu* (Hodos 2000).

The relations between Cilicia and Cyprus are very important. For the 7th and 6th cent. B.C., we find in Southern Anatolia and in the island the same funerary architecture[5]. Mythological Classical texts testify to cultural links. According to Apollodorus (III.14.3), Sandokos, founder of Kelenderis in Rough Cilicia (act. Aydıncık), marry the daughter of the king of Hyria (probably Ura, located at or near Seleukeia-on-Kalykadnos, act. Silifke (Lemaire 1993, Casabonne 1999: 74-81). Sandokos begets Kinyras who goes to Cyprus where he founds Paphos and maybe Amathus (Baurain 1980, 1981 and 1984a). Kinyras also introduces in Cyprus the divinatory practice (also Tacitus, *Hist.* II.3). We have also to keep in mind the existence of a Teukrid dynasty in Olba, in Rough Cilicia, as in the Cypriot Salamis (Trampedach 1999). There is a city named Soli in Cilicia as in Cyprus. This toponym could come from Hittite *sulai-* meaning "lead" or another metal. Neumann has proposed a Hittito-Luwian etymology for the Cypriot priests named *Tamirades*, and for some Greek names of metals as *sôru* and *misu* often peculiar to Cyprus (Neumann 1961 and 1995). The proper noun "the Cilician" (Cypriot syllabic *Kilikase*, Phoenician *Kilkî*, Greek *Kilikâs*) is well known in Cyprus (Guzzo-Amadasi 1978, Masson 1958 and 1974), as *Syennesis* which was a doctor in the island (Aristotle, *HA* 511b). *Syennesis* is, during the

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4 See *e.g.* Bing 1969, Elayi-Cavigneaux 1979, Jasink 1989, Desideri-Jasink 1990, Tuplin 1996: 9 *sqq.*, Baurain 1997: VIII, Lanfranchi 2000.

5 Karageorghis 1978, Laroche-Traunecker 1993: 16-17, Traunecker-Laroche–Traunecker-Hermary 1998.

Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, the title of the Cilician dynasts. It could come from Luwian **Suwanassis* meaning "(son) of the dog, canine". It is possible that the reference to the dog is a metaphor of a warrior (Casabonne 2004: 61-63). In the end of the 5th cent. B.C., Evagoras, dynast of Salamis in Cyprus, takes refuge in Cilician Soli (Isocrates, *Evagoras* 27); and in the first quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. a certain Philokypros strikes coin in Anemourion in Rough Cilicia[6]. We could multiply the examples – terracottas, sculptures... – to stress on the strong links between Cilicia and Cyprus.

For some historians, the Ionians catched by the Assyrians in Cilicia are Greeks coming from Eastern Greece, Rhodes and Samos, in the end of the 8th cent. and during the 7th, as pottery found in Cilicia and Classical texts attest. Nagidos and Kelenderis are so-called Samian foundations (Pomponius Mela I.77), Soli and Tarsus are Rhodian, from Lindos[7]. The excavations at Kinet Höyük have revealed too that, for example, the *Wave-line Ware*, often considered as an Aegean pottery, was produced in Cilicia (Gates 1999: 263). Concerning the Classical texts, they date back to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Their ideological role is sure: by inventing a Greek ancestry, the Cilician cities want to be in favour with the new central powers. The race for the hellenization is very effective in the 2nd century A.D. with the creation by the Roman Emperor, at Athens, of the Panhellenion (Oliver 1970: 92 sqq., Casabonne-Marcinkowski 2004). In Archaic and Achaemenid periods, the anthroponomy attests that the Cilicians are Luwian, with important Hurrian elements, and that there was never an effective Greek colonisation. I do not want to mean that Greeks do not know Cilicia. They are in Cyprus, and probably in the region, but the traces are rare. It is important to keep in mind that ceramics do not testify to migrations but only commercial or cultural relations where the role of mediators is important but difficult to identify. Among the mediators are probably the Cilicians. It is wrong to think that the so-called Greek imported pottery is the fact of the only Greeks. It is also wrong to consider that the relations between Greece and Cilicia are unilateral. It appears today that Cilicia played an important role, during the 8th cent. B.C., in the transmission of cultural facts, such as alphabetic writing or mythological figures, from the Near East to the Greeks (Casabonne-Egetmeyer 2002, Casabonne 2003).

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6 Russell 1999: 203-204, Russell-Weir 2000, Casabonne 2004: 110-112.

7 Strabo XIV.5.8, Pomponius Mela I.13, Titus Livy XXXVII.56, Polybus XXI.24.10. See Bing 1971.

Now, let's come back to the Ionians. In 696 B.C., Illubru, Tarsus, Ingira and the Khilakku country (probably a part of Rough Cilicia) rebel against the Assyrian power. Illubru is traditionally located at Çamlıyayla, formely called Lampron and Namrun. I have recently proposed to identify Ingira with Anchiale and to locate it at Yumuktepe, near Mersin (Casabonne-Forlanini-Lemaire 2001). Sennacherib subdues the rebellious coalition. In the Assyrian text, there is a link between the Assyrian victory in Cilicia and the capture of Ionians as if the latters were the rebel themselves (Lanfranchi 2000: 22 sq). Could the Cilicians be considered as Ionians by the oriental power? As I have previously specified, it is sure that the Cypriots are called Ionians by the Mesopotamian chancellery. Are they the only ones?

In a list of the employees in the Babylonian palace of Nabuchodonosor II (604-562), four Ionians are mentioned: Kunzumpiya, [Kalb/Lab]bunu, Azoyak and Patam (Weidner 1939: 932-933):

- Kuzumpiya ([II]*ku-un-zu-um-pi-ia* ^{amêl}*EDIN-ú-šá* ^{mât}*ia-man-na*): from Luwian *ku(ua[n])za/kuwanzu-* to be linked with a divine name *Kuwanša* (Laroche 1959: 59, Houwink Ten Cate 1961: 138-139) + Luwian *piya* "to give, given".
- [Lab/Kal]bunu ([I]*[lab-kal]-bu-nu* ^{amêl}*EDIN-ú-šá* ^{mât}*ia-man-na*): Luwian suffix *-puna?*
- Aziyak ([I]*a-zi-ia-ak* ^{amêl}*nangaru* ^{mât}*ia-man-na-a-a*): see Hurrian Uriyak and Az(z)iya. *Az(z)-* appears in Hurrian female names (Goetze 1962: 54, n. 6, Laroche 1952: 87).
- Patam ([I]*pa-ta-am*, just mentioned after Kuzumpiya): "Compare Pa-a-ta KUB XXVI 62 IV 40 (in Luwian environment), Pád-da-ti-iš-šu (king of Kizzuwatna [Smooth Cilicia]) KUB XXXIV" (Goetze 1962: 54). Luwian/Hittite *pata-* > Lycian *pede-* (Laroche 1959: 81).

Kuzumpiya, [Lab/Kal]bunu and Patam are Luwian names. Aziyak is Hurrian. The mixture of Luwian names with Hurrian elements remind the Iron Age population of Cilicia (Goetze 1962). So, it is possible that the Cilicians are considered as Ionians by the Babylonian power. Nevertheless, in other Babylonian documents, the iron from Khume (Smooth Cilicia) is distinguished from the Ionian one, and it is worth a lot still more than the latter (Joannès 1991: 264). But the Khumean iron should be a part of the Ionian if we consider the Ionian country as a large space extending from the Cypro-Cilician area to the Aegean world. Some passages of the *Old Testament* could confirm this hypothesis.

In *Genesis* 10.4 (also 1 *Chronicles* 1.7) are listed the four sons of *Yâwân*, "the Ionian": *'Elishâ*, *Tarshîsh*, the *Kittîm* and the *Dôdanîm*. Lemaire (Lemaire 2000. See also Lebrun 1987: 27-28, n. 18-19) has perfectly proved that *Tarshîsh* cannot correspond to Tartessus in Southern Spain but to the region around Tarsus. We have to correct the ethnic *Dôdanîm* into *Rôdanîm*, "the Rhodians", according to *Ezekiel* 27.15 and 20 and the text of the *Septuagint* (LXX) where the confusion between D and R is clear. In Aramaic as in Hebrew D and R have quite the same form. There is still to identify *'Elishâ* and the *Kittîm*.

'Elishâ is clearly the Hebraic transcription of Alashiya which is probably the name given to Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. According to Baurain, there is no place for two major political entities in Cyprus in the second millennium (Baurain 1984b: 25, against Yon 1987: 362). So, with the toponym *'Elishâ* we find memories of an area considered in its entirety.

The ethnic *Kittîm* is written in various ways in the *Old Testament*:

- *Genesis* 10.4: Hebraic KiTTÎM; LXX *Kêtioi*
- 1 *Chronicles* 1.7: same Hebraic ethnic; LXX *Kitioi*
- *Numbers* 24.24: same Hebraic ethnic; LXX *Kitiaioi*
- *Isaiah* 23.1: same Hebraic ethnic; LXX *Kitiaioi*
- *Isaiah* 23.12: same Hebraic ethnic; LXX *Kitieis*
- *Jeremiah* 2.10: Hebraic KiTTiYÎM; LXX *Khettieim* (initial Greek X)
- *Ezekiel* 27.6: Hebraic KiTTÎÎM; LXX *Khettiin* (initial Greek X)

N. B.: *Daniel* 11.30: Kittîm = Romans; *Maccabeans* 8.5: Kittîm = Greece.

If the Hebraic form *Kittîm* and Greek *Kitioi* and *Kitieis* could reflect the Cypriot Kition, it seems to me impossible for the other writings, against the traditional opinion[8]. We know that Kition is written KTY in Phoenician, more rarely KT (Gibson 1982: no. 33, line 4). We must add the suffix -YM to indicate the ethnic in the plural. So, we could find KTTYYM with a double *yôd*. But, some inscriptions confirm the writing *Kittîm*, with a single *yôd*, to designate the inhabitants of Kition (Aharoni 1956: 1-4, Aharoni 1968: 13-14). Concerning the *Septuagint* (LXX), the writings *Khettieim* and *Khettiim*, with an initial Greek X, are very strange. Against a great part of the commentators, I do not think we have to follow Flavius Josephus (*Jud. Ant.*

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[8] Yon 1987: 361-363. Moreover, it is quite surprising to observe that some specialists, who consider the Kittîm as the inhabitants of Kition, continue to translate *Yâwân* by "Greek(s)" (Tuplin 1996: 23, n. 38). We all know that Kition is a Phoenician city!

I.128) who gives the equivalence *Khetima*/Cyprus/Kition. For *'Elisha*, written *Halisa* in his text, he specifies that, at his time, the toponym corresponds to Aeolia; and he does not list the Rhodians among the sons of *Yâwân*. It is clear that Flavius Josephus has used second-hand late documents to establish his "Table of Nations" (Lamour 2000: 52 sq). So, if the *Kittîm*, or *Kittîîm*, mentioned in the *Old Testament*, are not the Kitians, who are they?

The ethnic *Kittîm* could be a derivative from the toponym Qedi (or Qode) which designates a Luwian Southern Anatolian region in Egyptian texts dating to the second millennium. De Vos has recently demonstrated that, as the case may be, it corresponds to the Luwian population in Northern Syria, to the whole Cilicia, to the Tarkhuntassa kingdom or to Rough Cilicia (DeVos 2002). Qedi/Qode could survive in the name given to Rough Cilicia in the Roman period, Ketis/Kietis[9]. This region corresponds to the Pirindu kingdom known from Babylonian documents[10]. The toponyms Qedi/Qode and Ketis could be a variant of the name Khatti, and indicate the Southern Anatolians who use the hieroglyphic Luwian writing.

The hypothesis of insertion the Southern Anatolian populations and the Cypriots among the Ionian Oriental ethnical notion seems to be confirmed by an Aramaic document dating to the Achaemenid period (Xerxes or Artaxerxes I's reign). In a custom register from Elephantine in Egypt, studied by Briant and Descat (Briant-Descat 1998), are mentioned some boats from Phaselis. The Lyco-Pamphylian city is qualified as Ionian. The names of the captains are also very interesting: we can observe Greek anthroponomy as Lycian and Carian. Two names hold our attention: a captain is simply named "the Ionian". This ethnic-proper name indicates that the family is not of Greek origin. Another captain is called Mursilis, a totally Anatolian name. So, it is clear that in Oriental documents dated to the Archaic and Achaemenid periods, the ethnic "Ionian" does not necessarily refer to the Greeks, even if Phaselis is taken for a Rhodian foundation. We must keep in mind that Rhodians are among the sons of *Yâwân* in the *Old Testament* and that the relations between Rhodes and Cilicia could be very important[11].

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9 Ptolemy, *Geo.* V.7.3 and 6: Anemourion, Arsinoe, Kelenderis, Aphrodias, Olbasa, the Sarpedon and Zephyrion capes, the Orymagdos and Kalykadnos mouthes are located in Ketis. Koropissos, metropolis of Kietis: Dittenberger 1960, vol. II: 264-265, no. 574.

10 The name Pirindu could derive from Luwian **Peruwanda* which means "country full of rocks, rocky country". It is exactly the same meaning of modern Turkish *Taşeli* which designates the heart of Rough Cilicia: Casabonne 2004: 143.

11 According to Salmeri 2003, the Cilician Soli is recorded in the Lindos Chronicle.

For example, the so famous Cilician Lyre-Player group of seals, dated to the second half of the 8th century B.C., is very in fashion in Rhodes (as in Italian Ischia, anyway)[12].

It is now possible to include Cyprus and coastal Anatolian populations among the Ionians and the maritime peoples mentioned in the Royal Achaemenid inscriptions. We find different groups[13]:

Darius I

- DB § 6: "(...) the Egyptian, those of the sea, the Lydian, the Ionian, the Median, the Armenian, the Cappadocian (...)".
- DNa § 3: "(...) the Egyptian, the Armenian, the Cappadocian, the Lydian, the Ionian, the overseas Scythians, the Thracian, the Ionians-wearing-the-petasus (...)".
- DNe §§ 19-26: "(...) an Egyptian, an Armenian, a Cappadocian, the Lydian, a Ionian, an overseas Scythian, a Thrace, the overseas Ionians, the Carians (...)".
- DPe § 2: "(...) the Egyptians, the Armenian, the Cappadocian, the Lydian, the Ionians-who-are-on-the-land and those-who-are-on-the-sea and the overseas nations (...)".
- DSe § 3: "(...) the Egyptian, the Armenian, the Cappadocian, the Lydian, the Ionians-who-are-on-the sea, the overseas Scythians, the Thracian, the overseas Ionians, the Carians (...)".
- DSf § 9: only generic ethnic "Ionians" or "Ionia" among the nations.
- DSm § 2: "(...) the Egyptian, the Lydian, the Ionian, the Median, the Armenian, the Cappadocian (...), the Thracian, the Ionians-wearing-the-petasus (...)".
- Dsaa § 4: "(...) Egypt, the country of the sea, Lydia, Ionia, Urartu [= Armenia], Cappadocia (...)".

Xerxes

- XPh § 3: "(...) the Lydian, the Egyptian, the Ionians-who-are-on-the-sea and the-overseas-ones (...)".

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12 See Poncy *et alii* 2001: 11 (with references).

13 The inscriptions are designated by the abbreviations used in Lecoq 1997.

Artaxerxes II

- A^2Pa §§ 19-26: "(...) an Egyptian, an Armenian, a Cappadocian, a Lydian, a Ionian, an overseas Scythian, a Thracian, a Ionian-wearing-the-petasus (...)".

There could be an equivalence between the peoples named "those of the sea", "the country of the sea" and "the Ionians-who-are-on-the-sea" (*i.e.* living in islands and on coasts). The "Ionians-wearing-the-petasus" as the "overseas-Ionians" are surely the Greeks. The single appellation "Ionian/Ionia" could be a generic one. It is difficult to identify the "Ionians-who-are-on-the-land", but we can propose to see in this expression the coastal Anatolian populations. So, the "Ionians-who-are-on-the-sea" should correspond to Cyprus and the Aegean islands. The position of "those of the sea", between Egypt and Lydia, in DB § 6, allows to understand the ethnic as a designation of Cyprus and the Southern Anatolian coasts.

Whatever it may be, I think we do not have to include only the Greeks and Classical Ionia, in Western Asia Minor, in the oriental ethnical notion of Ionians/Ionia. Concerning Classical Ionia, around Ephesus, it is also wrong to identify it as totally Greek. We well know today that in the Late Bronze Age, Ephesus, named Apasa in Hittite texts, is the capital (or one of the capitals) of the Arzawa kingdom (Hawkins 1998). This kingdom is Luwian[14]. We well know also that the Athenians created *ex nihilo* the Ion's myth in order to legitimate their possessions in Western Asia Minor after the Persian wars in the 5th century (Barron 1964, Loraux 1990: 197-253).

It seems to me that the Ionian oriental notion progressively develops and includes more and more Western maritime populations according to the political and imperialist situation. During the Assyrian and Babylonian periods, only Cyprus and Southern Anatolia are considered as Ionian. In Achaemenid times, the notion stretches as far as Greece. The Ionians are, for the Persian power, the populations who make up the Mediterranean front of the Achaemenid Empire. Among them appear Anatolian Luwians as Greeks. The Macedonian conquest hellenized the notion. Some Babylonian documents, dated to the end of the 4th century and the the 3rd show us that henceforth the ethnic "Ionian(s)" refers to the country of Alexander the Great, *i.e.* Greece (Joannès 1997). In the *Bible* too (*supra*): in the *Maccabeans* Book (8.5), the *Kittîm*, sons of *Yâwân*, are the Greeks, and in *Daniel* 11.30,

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[14] For Gérard 2003, the name *Lydia* could come from *Luwiya* : Hittite *Luwiya* (designating the Arzawa kingdom) > **Lûya* > Lydian *Lûda* > Greek *Ludos/Ludia* > *Lydia*.

they correspond to the Romans. The "westernization" of the Ionian notion continues, probably because of the hellenization of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds.

To conclude, I shall present a hopeful note. Concerning the Anatolian studies, I hope that more and more classicists will more and more fight the classical hellenocentrism and will more and more look at the oriental documentation. The time of the Trojan and Persian Wars is over!

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Colloquium Anatolicum III 2004 215-223

Tarsos ve Mallos; Nehirlerin Suladığı Zengin Çukurova Topraklarını Paylaşamayan Düşman Komşular

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Tarsa adıyla bilinen ve Kilikya´nın en eski antik kentlerinden biri olan Tarsos, M.Ö. 1. bin boyunca bölgenin en önemli siyasi, ekonomik ve dini merkezi olmayı sürdürmüştür[1]. M.Ö. 1. yy'ın ilk yarısında Roma eyaleti haline getirilen Kilikya'nın başkenti olan Tarsos'un[2], Toros Dağları ile Amanos Dağları arasındaki ovada, Anadolu'yu Mezopotamya'ya bağlayan kara yolu üzerinde olması, Tarsus Çayı'nın (=Kydnos) gemilerin girmesine olanak tanıması nedeniyle, Doğu Akdeniz'in önemli bir limanı olarak ulaştığı stratejik konumu bakımından, ticari amaçlı mal nakli ve askeri amaçlı mühimmat ve askeri birliklerin sevkedilmesi için lojistik yönden çok önemli rol oynamaktaydı. Bu konumu dolayısıyla, Tarsos'ta çağlar boyunca çok önemli tarihi olaylar meydana gelmiştir. Ancak Tarsos sadece burada meydana gelen tarihi olaylarla değil, aynı zamanda Tarsoslular'ın komşu antik kentlerle olan anlaşmazlıklarıyla da, antik devir tarih yazarlarının dikkatini çekmiştir. Bu anlaşmazlıkların bazıları Dion Chrysostomos'un Tarsos'ta yaptığı iki ünlü

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1 Tarsus adı etimolojik yönden şu makalede incelenmektedir; J. Tischler, *Der Ortsname Tarsos und Verwandtes*, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft 100, 1987, 339-350; Tarsus'un kuruluşu ile ilgili mitolojik öyküler için, bkz. T. S. Scheer, *Mythische Vorväter zur Bedeutung Griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte*, München 1993, 273 vdd.; Tarsos´ta Gözlükule höyüğünde yapılan kazılar hakkında bkz. H. Goldmann, *Excavations Gözlü Kule, Tarsus II* Princeton 1963; Tarsos'un kolonizasyon dönemi buluntuları ve kronolojik değerlendirmeleri hakkında bkz. J. Boardman, "Tarsus, Al Mina and Greek Chronology", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 85, 1965, 5-15. Tarsos´ta son yıllarda yapılan arkeolojik çalışmalar ve kent tarihi hakkında bkz. L. Zoroğlu, *Tarsus Tarihi ve Tarihsel Anıtları*, Adana 1995.

2 Tarsus'un stratejik konumu hakkında bkz. Xenophon I, II, 23 vdd.; W. Ruge, *RE* IV A (1932) 2413-2439. *Tarsus* maddesi; A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende Perserherrschaft*, Leipzig 1940, 73 vdd. M. Gough, Princeton *Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton 1976, 883-884 Tarsus maddesi; Sennacherib Dönemi'nde Tarsos'un Asur ile ilişkileri hakkında bkz. St. Dalley, "Sennacherib and Tarsus", *Anatolian Studies* 49, 1999, 73-80. Tarsus´un Hellenistik Devir'deki politik ve kültürel tarihi hakkında, bkz. C. B. Welles, *Hellenistic Tarsus*, Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph 38, 1962, 43 vdd.; P. Desideri, "Culture and Politics in Hellenistic Tarsus", *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (5 - 9 Eylül 1990) Ankara, Cilt I (1994) 309-319. Tarsus'un Roma İmparatorluk Devri sikkeleri hakkında, bkz. A. Barb, *Die kaiserlichen Münzen der Stadt Tarsos in Kilikien* (basılmamış doktora tezi) Diss. Wien 1924; Tarsos sikkelerinde görülen tanrı ve tanrıça kültleri hakkında bkz. R. Ziegler, *Aspekte der Entwicklung tarsischer Kulte in hellenisticher und römischer Zeit,*

konuşmaya da ayrıntılı olarak yansımıştır[3]. M.S. 45 yılında Bithynia'nın Prusa (=Bursa) kentinde doğan ve ünlü bir hatip ve filosof olan Dion Chrysostomos, M.S. 2. yy'ın hemen başında yaptığı sanılan 1. Tarsos nutkunda Tarsos' luların Aigeai (=Yumurtalık) ve Adana kentleri ile olan anlaşmazlıklarına değinerek, bunun hem onlara, hem de kendilerine büyük zararlar verdiğine değinmektedir. Tarsos ile Aigeai arasındaki anlaşmazlığın köklerinin en azından M.Ö. 2. yy'da mevcut olduğu ve bu sorunun giderilmesi amacıyla her iki kent arasında uyum ve işbirliğini her alanda güçlendirmek amacıyla bir anlaşma yapıldığı 2001 yılında, Aigeai'ın batısında bulunan ve Aigeai ile Tarsos arasındaki bir yazıt sayesinde belgelenmektedir[4].

M.S. 112 ya da 113 yılında gerçekleştiği sanılan 2. Tarsos nutkunda ise[5] Dion Aigeai halkı ile Tarsoslular arasında meydana gelen ve artık geçmişte kalmış olan çekişmeyi tekrar hatırlatarak bu kez de aynı türden olayların Mallos (= Kızıltahta, Karataş) halkı ile meydana geldiğine değinerek, bu durumun devam etmesi halinde imparator Trajan'ın kendilerine karşı askeri bir harekat yapılması emrini verebileceği uyarısında bulunmuştur[6]. Aynı söylevi kapsamında Dion, Tarsoslular'ı Soloi (= Mezitli, Mersin), Mallos Adana ve Aigeai kentlerinin sakinleri ile olan sorunlarını çözmemelerinin kendileri hakkında çok olumsuz düşüncelerin oluşmasına neden olacağı uyarısını da yapar. Tarsos ile komşuları arasındaki gerginliğin, o sırada Parth seferinde bulunan Roma İmparatoru Trajan komutasındaki ordunun ikmâl yollarını tehlikeye düşürmesi nedeniyle, Trajan bir an evvel bu konunun çözüme kavuşmasını istiyordu.

Dion'un her iki Tarsos konuşmasına tüm ayrıntılarıyla yansıyan Tarsos ile komşu kentler arasındaki gerginliğin sadece M.S. 1. yy sonu ya da 2. yy başlarında ortaya çıkmadığını, bu sorunun daha önceki yüzyıllarda da var

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in: Brückenland Anatolien? ed. H. Blum, B. Faist, P. Pflanzer, A-M. Wittke, Tübingen 2002, 363,377. Tarsus'ta Roma İmparatorluk Devri'nde oynanan oyunlar hakkında bkz. R. Ziegler, *Stadtisches Prestige und kaiserliche Politik*, Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. Düsseldorf 1985, 21-32. Tarsus'un Augustus devrindeki kültürel yaşamı hakkında bkz. H. Böhlig, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos im augusteischen Zeitalter*, Göttingen 1913; Tarsos'un Erken Hristiyanlık Dönemi tarihinde oynadığı rol hakkında bkz. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul, Their influence on his life and thought*, Londan 1907, 85-235; Tarsos'un Geç Antik ve Ortaçağ Dönemi tarihi ve anıtları hakkında bkz. F. Hild - H. Hellenkemper, "Kilikien und Isaurien", *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5, Viyana 1990, 428-437.

3 Bkz. Dion Chrysostomos, 1. Tarsos nutku 33, 51.

4 Bu yazıtın buluntu haberi hakkında bkz. M. H. Sayar, "Kilikya'da Epigrafi ve Tarih-Coğrafya Araştırmaları 2001", 20. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 27-31 Mayıs 2002 Ankara, 2. Cilt. Ankara 2003, 60. Söz konusu yazıt bu makalenin yazarı tarafından Hellenistik ve Roma Devirlerinde Aigeai ve Tarsos ilişkilerinin incelendiği bir makale kapsamında yayınlanacaktır.

5 Dion'un 2. Tarsos nutkunun tarihlenmesi hakkında bkz. D. Kienast, "Ein vernachlässigtes Zeugnis für die Reichspolitik Trajans: Die zweite Tarsische Rede des Dion von Prusa", *Historia* 20, 1971, 75.

6 Bkz. Dion Chrysostomos, 2. Tarsos nutku 34, 10-11; 34, 14 ve 34, 43-46.

olduğunu, Mallos'un kutsal alanı konumunda olan Magarsos'ta (=Karataş, Dörtdirek) bulunan ve M.Ö. 160 yılına tarihlenen bir yazıttan öğrenmekteyiz. Söz konusu yazıt İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Helmut Theodor Bossert başkanlığındaki bir heyetin, 1949 yılında Adana'nın Karataş ilçe merkezi ve çevre köylerinde yaptığı çalışmalar sırasında Karataş ilçe merkezinde bir evde bulunmuştu[7]. İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'ne nakledilmiş olan[8] ve beyaz mermerden üst kısmı kırık bir stel üzerinde bulunan 41 satırlık yazıt, birçok kere yayınlanmıştır (Resim 1)[9].

Yazıtın metni şöyledir;

['Αγαθῆι Τύχηι καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι]
τοῦ τε ἡμετέρου δήμου καὶ τ[οῦ 'Αντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῶι]
Κύδνωι καὶ τῶν συναυξησάντων τὰ τῆ[ς φιλανθρω]πίας καὶ
φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας δίκαια· δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι·
συντελεσθῆναι τὰ προδεδηλωμένα καθ' ἃ ἐφάνη τῶι πλήθει, τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τοῦ βωμοῦ προνοηθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις· ἐν ᾗι δ' ἂν ἡμέραι [κ]αθιδρύθῃ ὁ βωμός πεμφθῆναι πομπὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας τῆς βο υλαίας ὡς καλλίστην καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτην διὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ τῶν πρυτάνεων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς τῆς Μαγαρσίας· θυθῆναι δὲ
τῆι τε 'Αθηνᾶι καὶ 'Ομονοίαι ἑκατέραι δάμαλιν χρυσόκερω, συμπομπεῦσαι δὲ τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ τὴν συναρχίαν καὶ τούς νενικηκότα[ς] τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας καὶ τὸν γυμνασίαρχον μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων καὶ τὸν παιδονόμον μετὰ τῶν παίδων. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ στέφανηφορίαν καὶ ἔργων καὶ δεσμῶν ἀφεῖσ θαι
πάντας· συναχθῆναι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς στεφανίτας ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς τῆς Μαγαρσίας, τούς δὲ πολίτας κατὰ φυλάς.
τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν εὐκοσμίας προνοηθῆναι τόν τε ἱερομνήμονα
καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους· ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κατὰ μῆνα τῆι νουμηνίαι ἱερεῖον, κατὰ δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον

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7 Bu çalışmalar hakkındaki ön rapor için bkz. H. Th. Bossert, Karataş'taki Arkeolojik Araştırmalar ile ilgili kısa ön-rapor. Belleten 14, 1950, 661-666.

8 Bu yazıtlı stel İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'ne 5124 envanter numarası ile kayıtlı bulunmaktadır.

9 S. und R. Werner, "Eine griechische Inschrift aus Karataş", *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung 1*, 1951, 325-327; J. und L. Robert, Bull. Ép. 1951, 224; L. Robert CRAI 1951, 256-259; J. und L. Robert, Bull. Ép. 1952, 157; SEG XII, 511; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955, 183 f. Nr. 81. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* IV 121; aynı yazar *Opera Minora Selecta* VI 290 dipnot 42; BCH Supplement I, 1973, 446 no. 68; SEG XIV 900; O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques*, Cenevre 1995, 207-208 (sadece 22 ile 25. satırlar arası).

τήν τε πομπὴν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τἆλλα πάντα γίνεσθαι ἀκολούθως
τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις. τὰ δὲ προδεδηλωμένα
ἑτοιμάζεσθαι διὰ τῶν ταμιῶν ἀπὸ τῶν
δημοσίων. ὅπως δὲ ἐκφανὴς πᾶσιν ὑπάρχη(ι) ἡ τοῦ δήμου
πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀληθινὴ καὶ οἰκεία διάθεσις, καλεῖσθαι
[ὑ]πὸ τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος εἰς προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἀγωσ[ιν]
Ἀντιοχεῖς τοὺς πρὸς τῶι Κύδνωι τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους.
καὶ ἐπειδὰν συντελῶνται αἱ νενομισμέναι κατευχαὶ καὶ σπον-
δοποιαὶ ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν,
κατεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια γίνεσθαι καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν τοῖς
πρὸς τῶι Κύδνωι τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα, ὅσαπερ ἂν καὶ τῶι ἡμετέρωι δήμωι
κατεύχηται. τὸν δὲ γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
Λύσιν Μνασέου ἀναγράψαντα τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήληι Παρίου
λίθου ὡς χρηστοτάτου παραστῆσαι τῶι δήμωι. τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν κατα-
σκευὴν καὶ ἀναγραφὴν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς
ταμίας ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων. τὸν δὲ δημιουργὸν Δημήτριον
Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἀναξίππου καὶ ἄλλους πρεσβευτὰς δύο, οὓς ἂν ἡ
ἐκκλησία ἕληται, ἀποδημήσαντας πρὸς Ἀντιοχεῖς καὶ ἀποδόντας
τὸ ψήφισμα ἀσπάσασθαί τε αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐμφαν[ί]-
σαντας τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν εὔνοιαν διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν σ[υ]μ-
φερόντων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν. ἡιρέθησαν Διονύσιος
Ἀλεξάνδρου Μουσαῖος Νικολάου.

Yazıtın çevirisi şöyledir:

[Uğurlu olsun hem halkımızın ve hem de Kydnos çayı kıyısındaki Antiocheia' nın kurtuluşu için] insan sevgisinin, arkadaşlığının, uyumun destekçisi şehir ve halk meclisi tarafından kararlaştırıldı. Çoğunluğun lehine görülenler kamuoyuna açıklanmalıdır. Sunağın diktirileceği yeri prytanie meclisi üyeleri belirlemeliler. Sunağın gönderildiği gün şehir meclisinin ocağından olabildiğince güzel ve görkemli bir tören alayı belediye başkanları ve Prytanie meclisi üyeleri tarafından Athena Magarsia kutsal alanına gönderilmeli. Athena'ya ve Uyum tanrıçasına boynuzları altın kaplı birer genç inek kurban edilmeli. Tören alayında rahipler ve memur temsilcileri ve çelenk yarışmalarında zafer kazananlar ve gymnasiumun yöneticisi genç erkekler ile çocuklar ve eğitmenleri ile katılmalılar. Bunların tümü bayram barışı nedeniyle çelenk taşımalılar ve işgücü olarak kullanılmaktan ve buna bağlı sorumluluktan muaf tutulmalılar. Archonlar ve çelenk taşıyanlar Athena Magarsia tapınağında vatandaşlar ise mahalle düzenine göre toplanmalılar. Hieromnemon memurları ve mahalle muhtarları bayramın düzenli geçmesi için önlemler almalılar. Bundan sonra bir kurban hayvanı yeni ay doğarken sunakta kurban

edilmeli ve her yıl bu tören alayı ve kurbanlar ve tüm yukarıda anlatılanlara göre düzenlenmeli. Yukarıda belirtilen hazine yöneticisi tarafından kamu gelirlerinden ödenmeli. Böylece herkesin aynı kökenden gelen akrabalarına karşı dürüst ve arkadaşça yaklaşım içinde olmaları için tapınak tellalı tarafından Kydnos kıyısındaki Antiocheia şehri sakinlerinin müzik yarışmalarında şeref koltuklarında oturmalılar. Eğer tanrılar ve krallar için öngörülen dualar ve kurbanlar tiyatroda sunulursa tellal yerel geleneğe göre tapınım yapmalı ve bu Kydnos nehri kenarındaki Antiocheialılar'ın da katılımı sağlanmalı. Tüm bunlar halkımız için dua edecekler. Şehir ve halk meclisinin yazıcısı Mnaseas oğlu Lysis bu kararı paros mermerinden bir stel üzerine yazdırarak halkın görmesini sağlamalı. Stelin yapılması, yazdırılması ve diktirilmesi için gerekli parayı hazine yöneticisi kamu gelirlerinden ödemeli. Belediye Başkanı Anaxippos oğlu Demetrios oğlu Demetrios ve halk meclisi tarafından seçilecek diğer iki elçi Antiocheia'lılara gitmeli ve onlara bu kararı iletmeli ve halkın selamını iletmeli vatandaşlarımızın kendilerine karşı iyi duygular beslediklerini bildirmeleri ve onlarla her iki kentin ilgi alanlarının neler olduğunu görüşmeli. Alexander oğlu Dionysios ve Nikolaos oğlu Musaios elçi olarak seçildiler.

Yazıtta adı geçen Kydnos bugün Berdan Çayı olarak ta bilinen Tarsus Çayı' dır. Kydnos kıyısındaki Antiocheia şehri ise, Seleukos kralı IV. Antiochos (M.Ö. 175-164) tarafından adı diğer Kilikya şehirleri gibi değiştirilen Tarsos şehridir. IV. Antiochos döneminde basılan sikkeler sayesinde, şehrin adının *Kydnos* kıyısındaki Antiocheialılar'ın şehri anlamına gelen 'Αντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Κύδνῳ olarak değiştirilmiş olduğu bilinmektedir[10].

Yazıtın bulunduğu yer olan Magarsos ise, IV. Antiochos Epiphanes'in adını değiştirdiği diğer bir şehir olan *Mallos*'un (Harita) arazisinde bulunmaktaydı. Adana'nın güneyinde bulunan Karataş ilçesinin köylerinde ortaya çıkan antik yazıtlar sayesinde, bu kentin adının da Pyramos (=Ceyhan) kıyısındaki Antiocheialar'ın şehri anlamına gelen 'Αντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Πύραμῳ olarak değiştirilmiş olduğu belgelenmektedir[11].

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10 V. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit*, Leipzig 1927, 40; Tarsus'ta IV. Antiochos Dönemi'nde basılan sikkeler için bkz. R. Ziegler, *Münzen Kilikiens aus kleineren deutschen Sammlungen*, Vestigia 42 Münih 1988, 620; E. Levante, SNG, Switzerland I Bern 1986, 909 - 914; ay. yaz. SNG, Switzerland I Cilicia, Supplement 1 Zürih 1993, 249; ay. yaz. SNG, France 2 Cilicie, Paris 1993, 1270 - 1281.

11 Tscherikower 1927 (bkz. yuk. dip not 9) 40; Mallos sikkelerinde isim değişikliğini saptamak mümkün olamamakta, ancak Kızıltahta Köyü civarında bulunan bazı yazıtlarda, kentin adının Antiocheia olarak geçmesi nedeniyle, bu isim değişikliği epigrafik olarak belgelenmektedir. Bu yazıtlar için bkz. R. Heberdey, A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Wien 1896, 7 vd. No. 14 - 17; G. Dagron, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris 1987, 112 Nr. 68.

Yazıtın metninden anlaşıldığına göre Kydnos kıyısındaki Antiocheia (=Tarsos) kenti Mallos'a bağlı bir kutsal alan olan Magarsos'ta bulunan Athena Magarsia tapınağına[12] konulmak üzere bir sunak göndermektedir. Bu sunağın gönderilmesinin asıl nedeni iki kent arasında uyumun sağlanmasıdır. Bu nedenle yazıtta belirtildiği gibi kurban kesilecek olan sadece Mallos ve Magarsos'un tanrıçası Athena Magarsia değil, onunla birlikte aynı zamanda Homonoia (Uyum) Tanrıçası'dır. Uyum Tanrıçası'na da sunuda bulunulması Tarsos ile Mallos arasında bir Homonoia antlaşması yapılmasını gerektirecek bir gerginliğin oluştuğu izlenimini vermektedir. Yazıtın diğer satırlarında yapılması öngörülenler ise iki kentin tüm kurumları ve memurları ile kaynaşmasını ve düzenli olarak karşılıklı ziyaretler yapılarak, iki kent arasında bir yakınlık oluşturulmasının sağlanmasına olanak tanıyan önlemler niteliğindedir.

Hem Karataş'ta ve hem de birkaç yıl önce Aigeai'da bulunan yazıtlar sayesinde, Kilikya kentleri arasında Hellenistik Devir'de Homonia Tanrıçası'na sunuda bulunulduğu, tüm sorunlara rağmen bir consensus ve işbirliği zemini arandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Şüphesiz aynı durum Roma İmparatorluk Devri'nde de söz konusuydu. Dikkati çeken ise, Kilikya kentlerinin Anadolu'nun diğer antik kentlerinin ve özellikle Batı Anadolu'daki birçok kentin aksine, Homonia sikkeleri basmamış olmalarıydı[13].

Mallos ve Aigeai'da Tarsos ile birlikte Homonoia Tanrıçası'na sunuda bulunulmasından, Dion'un Tarsos nutuklarından yaklaşık 250 yıl önce de Mallos ile Tarsos arasında sorunlar yaşandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu gerginliğin nedeni büyük bir olasılıkla, Kydnos ve Pyramos nehirlerinin taşıdıkları toprak sonucunda yatak değiştirerek ovalık arazide tarım yapan Tarsos ya da Mallos kenti aleyhine sınırların değişmesi ve bunun komşu kent tarafından kabul edilmek istenmemesiydi.

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12 Mallos'un Magarsos ile ilişkisi ve Magarsos'taki Athena Magarsia tapınağı hakkında bkz. Arrian, Anabasis II 5.9; Strabon XIV 5, 16 (675-676); Stephanos Byz. Magarsos maddesi. R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, Leiden 1973, 260-263; M. Gough, *Princton Encyclopedia of Ancient Sites*, Princeton 1979, 547, Mallos maddesi; L. Boffo, *I re ellenistici e i centri religiosi dell'Asia Minore*, Firenze 1985, 63; F. Hild-H. Hellenkemper, "Kilikien und Isaurien", *Tabula Imperii Byzanthi* 5. Viyana 1990, 335 vdd. Magarsos ve Mallos maddeleri; M. Zimmermann, *Lukian zu drei kleinasiatischen Orakeln in Mallos, Patara und Pergamon, Lykia*, I. 1994, 103-109; M. H. Sayar, *Der Neue Pauly* 7, 1999, 779. Mallos maddesi.

13 Kilikya kentlerinde hiçbir Homonoia sikkesi basılmamış olması hakkında bkz. P. R. Franke - M. K. Nollé, *Die Homonoia - Münzen Kleinasiens*, Saarbrücken 1997, VII.

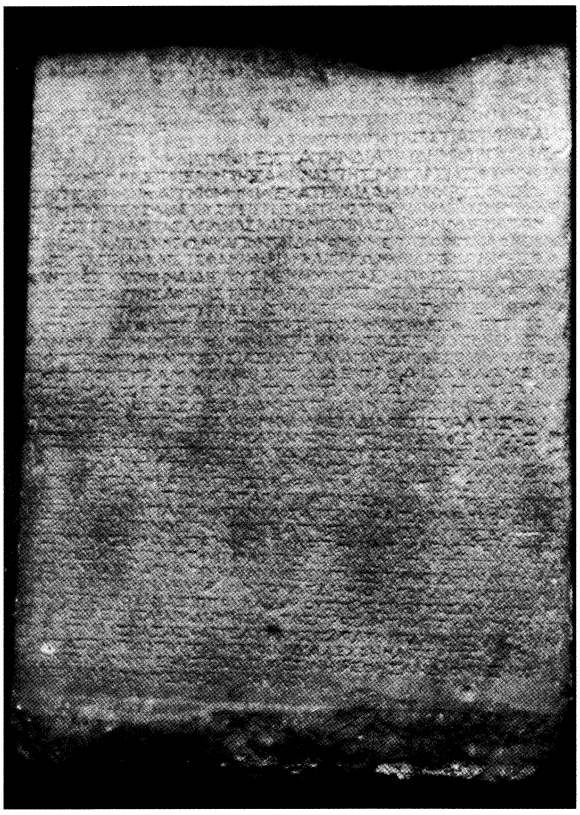
Tarsos und Mallos

Verfeindete Nachbarn auf dem Einzugsgebiet zweier Flüße im Ebenen Kilikien

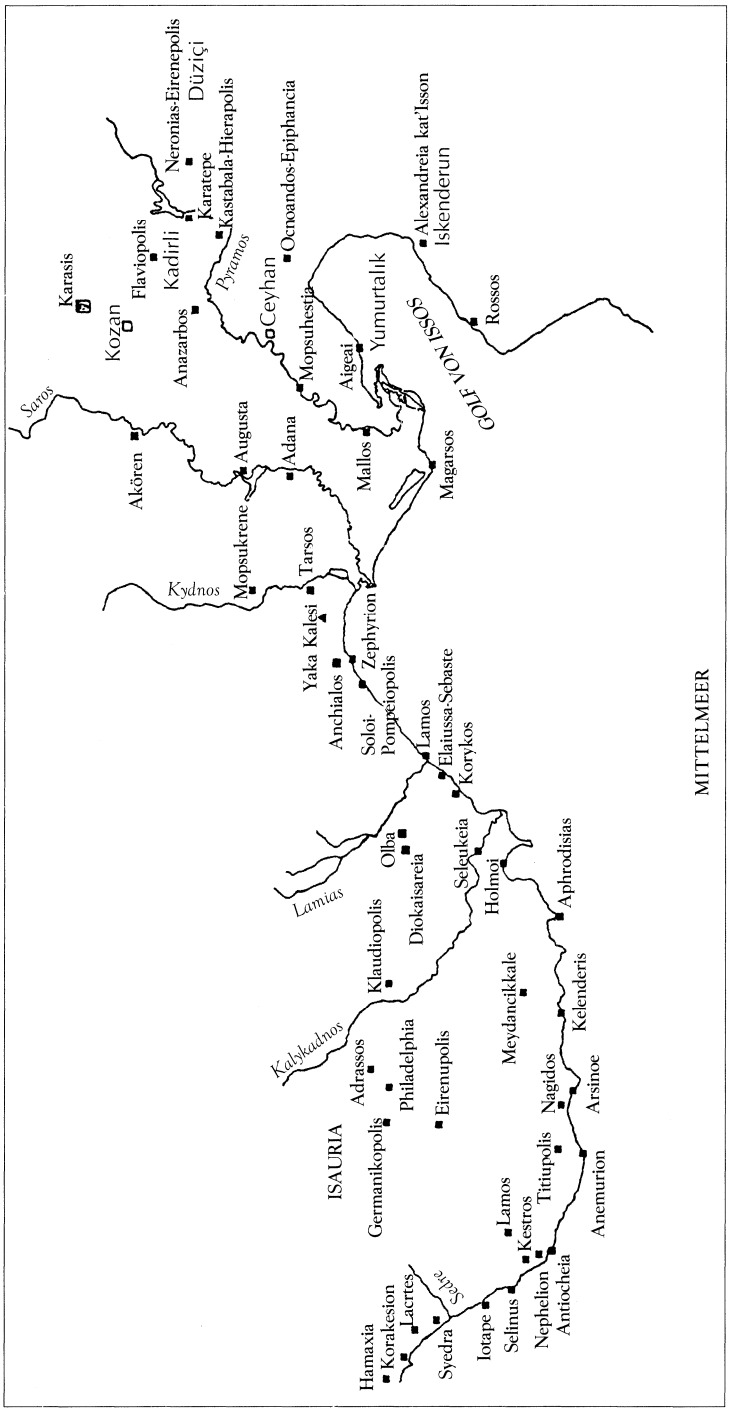
Tarsos, eine der ältesten Städte Kilikiens und Hauptstadt der römischen Provinz Kilikien war berühmt und berüchtigt für die Auseinandersetzungen ihrer Einwohner mit der Bevölkerung der benachbarten Städten. Diese Auseinandersetzungen fanden ihren Niederschlag in den beiden tarsischen Reden des Dion von Prusa. Die tarsischen Reden Dions sind in den Anfang des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. datiert. Die von Dion als Streitparteien erwähnten Städte sind neben Tarsos, Adana, Aigeai, Mallos und Soloi. Aufgrund einer Inschrift, die 1949 in Karatas, südlich von Adana, gefunden wurde, kann festgestellt werden, daß schon um die Mitte des 2 Jhs. v. Chr. Maßnahmen für den Erhaltung des Friedens zwischen Mallos und Tarsos notwendig waren. Hauptgrund für die Streitigkeiten scheint ständige Änderungen der Flußbetten von Kydnos und Pyramos gewesen zu sein, die durch starke Gesteinsanschwemmungen verursacht wurden. Dies hatte zur Folge, daß sich die Territorien der benachbarten Poleis permanent veränderten. Trotz den jahrhundertelangen Auseindersetzungen scheinen, im Gegensatz zu anderen Teilen Kilikien, keine Homonoia-Münzen geprägt worden sind. Die Existenz der Homonoia-Verträge, die zwischen Tarsos und Mallos und zwischen Tarsos und Aigeai unterzeicnet worden waren, kennen wir nur durch zwei Inschriften, die Weihungen, an die Göttin Homonoia durch beide Vertragsparteien dokumetieren.

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Resim 1



Harita Antik Devir'de Çukurova kentlerini ve Çukurova'yı sulayan nehirler