

THE 2ND MILLENNIUM BC IN THE BAKIRÇAY (KAYKOS) VALLEY. AN OVERVIEW

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Özet

Bergama bölgesi ve Bakırçay Vadisi'nden elde edilen Geç Tunç Çağı kanıtlarının bir araya getirilmesi, Batı Anadolu kıyısı boyunca uzanan diğer bölgeler ile karşılaştırıldığı zaman bu mikro bölge hakkında bilgilerimizin hala daha ne kadar az olduğunu bize açıkça göstermektedir. İncelenen 12 buluntu yeri, farklı yerel karakterlere sahip olan birçok buluntuya sahiptir. Kazılan yerlerin eksikliğinden dolayı, her bir buluntu yerinin planı, boyutları ve işlevi tanımlanamamaktadır. Üzengi kulplu testi ve kılıç gibi birkaç seçkin buluntu, en azından bazı belirgin noktalardan, Bakırçay vadisi ile daha güneydeki bölgeler arasındaki ilişkiyi yansıtmaktadır. Bu buluntuların, ithal ürünlerin izole taklitleri olup olmadıkları ya da bunların uzun süreli ilişkileri temsil edip etmedikleri sorusu cevapsız kalmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bilinmeyen bir bölgeden elde edilen taş kabza başı her ne kadar Anadolu kültür konteksine uysa da bunun işlevi ve tam tarihi tanımlanamamıştır.

Introduction

New investigations conducted over the past decades on the Western Anatolian coast have shed light on the central Aegean region of Turkey during the Bronze Age and in particular its latter centuries. Besides excavation projects such as those carried out in Panaztepe, Bakla Tepe, Liman Tepe, Çeşme Bağlararası, Ayasuluk/Selçuk, Bademgediği Tepe/Metropolis, Tepeçik/Aydın, Milet, Müskebi and Tavşan Adası/Didyma¹ (Fig. 1), summaries and treatises about cultural questions in relation to the 2nd millennium BC have been published by various scholars. The main focus of these

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¹ Bertemes and Hornung-Bertemes 2009; Boysal 1969a; 1969b; Büyükkolancı 2007; Erkanal 1987; 1988; 1999; 2002; Erkanal 2008a; 2008b; Erkanal and Keskin 2009; Günel 1999; 2006; 2008; Horejs 2008; Meriç and Mountjoy 2002; Meriç 2003; 2007; Niemeier 2007a; Şahoğlu 2007.

overviews was placed upon the role of the Aegean Anatolian coast between the two major Late Bronze Age forces in the region, the Hittites and the Mycenaeans or Minoans.² According to these essential studies, the Western Anatolian coast can be divided into different sub-regions based on the intensity of the perceivable cultural influences and on diverse external influences mirrored in the archaeological material.

As P. Mountjoy argued,³ various degrees of Minoan or Mycenaean influence can be identified along the Western Anatolian coast, and she differentiated between various geographical “interfaces”. While the “southern interface” from Rhodes to Miletus was strongly and in many ways influenced by Mycenaeans,⁴ the zone directly to the north of this area showed less Mycenaean influence and exhibited much more local Anatolian characteristics.⁵ However, this “local Anatolian” specification is by no means equivalent to “Hittite” aspects, since the region was situated outside the Hittite core area and was merely politically and contractually linked with it.⁶ These links are barely noticeable in terms of the material and according to J. Seeher⁷ only a small number of elements point to an exchange of goods between the coastal regions and Central Anatolia. He associates these with possible contacts among the political élite. W.-D. Niemeier⁸ also identified Mount Mycale as being located on a cultural borderline which existed in the 14th and 13th centuries BC on the Western Anatolian Coast. While he located “Mycenaean colonies” in the southern zone, the adjacent area to the north would have been inhabited mainly by indigenous settlers who, however, maintained trade contact with the Mycenaean world; some of these Niemeier identified as “community colonies”.⁹ While Niemeier¹⁰ saw an actual Mycenaean presence in the zone to the south of Mount Mycale, Mountjoy rather presumed a strong Mycenaean influence in this area. According to these studies, the area between Miletus and Rhodes was either strongly Mycenized or influenced by Mycenaeans or even inhabited by Mycenaean settlers. It is no coincidence that the same area has also yielded earlier Minoan elements which have been interpreted as part of a network of Cretan origin.¹¹ One of these elements is the site Tavsan Adası, interpreted by F. Bertemes as a Minoan port colony, which besides imported luxury artefacts also yielded a Minoan seal.¹² The coastal strip to the north of the River Büyük Menderes, on the other hand, appears to have been of a much more local character. This is supported by the material studies of A. Schachner and R. Meriç,¹³ who have attempted to define this local cultural horizon against the background of political and chronological events. Based on the

2 See for example Akdeniz 2004; Akyurt 1998; Bammer 1994; Basedow 2000; Erkanal and Keskin 2009; Erkanal-Öktü 2008; Genz 2011; Mountjoy 1998; Niemeier 1998a; 1998b; 1999; Schachner and Meriç 2000; Starke 2001a; Niemeier 1998a; 1998b; 1999; 2007a; 2007b; Herda 2009; Özgünel 1996; Schachner 1994/95; Seeher 2005.

3 Mountjoy 1998; Meriç and Mountjoy 2001.

4 Cf. Niemeier 2007a for an in-depth study including earlier references.

5 Mountjoy (1998) was able to identify different ranges of finds from the Early stages of the Late Bronze Age onwards and attributed this fact to a strong Minoan influence in the southern interface starting in LM I.

6 Cf. e.g. Genz and Mielke 2011, esp. 19; Klengel 2002; Starke 2001a, 34-35.; Starke 2002, 302-307; Schachner and Meriç 2000; Seeher 2005, esp. 39-42.

7 Seeher 2005.

8 Niemeier 2007b, esp. 53-60; for a discussion concerning the territorial boundaries see also Herda 2009.

9 Niemeier 2007b, 58-59. Unlike A. Herda (2009), who noted problems with the territorial expanse of Miletus (Millawanda) along the southern coast. In his opinion, the current state of research does not allow Iasos and Müskebi (Boysal 1969a; Boysal 1969b) to be included in the territory of Millawanda (Herda 2009).

10 See also Herda 2009.

11 Niemeier 1998b.

12 Bertemes and Hornung-Bertemes 2009.

13 Schachner and Meriç 2000; Meriç 2007.

analysis of local ceramic wares, they were able to identify similar cultural boundaries to those proposed on the basis of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery.¹⁴ The material reflects a local Late Bronze Age culture with distinct links to the interior including Beycesultan.¹⁵ Recent studies carried out in the area of Arzawa or Mira¹⁶ have unearthed various finds which prove contact with the Aegean,¹⁷ such as seals from Liman Tepe, Bakla Tepe and Panaztepe.¹⁸ A site of particular importance in this context is the port settlement of Çeşme Bağlararası, identified by V. Şahoğlu as exhibiting Western Anatolian characteristics and distinct references to Central Anatolian and Minoan aspects in its architecture and material culture.¹⁹ Therefore, the material culture in the coastal region between the Rivers Küçük Menderes (Kaystros) and Gediz (Hermos) was largely characterised by local Western Anatolian aspects, while maintaining contacts mainly with the Aegean cultural sphere as attested by certain finds and influences.

We know distinctly less about the Late Bronze Age north of the River Gediz up to the Troad. In the political geography of Western Anatolia reconstructed mainly via Hittite texts the Seha Land would have been located somewhere between the Rivers Gediz and Bakırçay (Kaykos).²⁰ From an archaeological point of view relatively little is known about this area compared to other regions along the Central Aegean coast. As part of an ongoing survey project launched in the Bakırçay Valley in 2008 in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul and the excavation in Pergamon (F. Pirson), the area west of Pergamon is being surveyed also in terms of the prehistoric periods.²¹ Funded by the Austrian Science Fund,²² the project aims to examine various research questions with a particular focus on the Early Bronze Age and possibly earlier periods.²³ As part of the study, all the surveys carried out previously by W. Dörpfeld (1908), K. Bittel (1940's) and J. Driehaus (1955), the results of which were already published,²⁴ have been re-evaluated.

This contribution attempts to provide an overview of the archaeological evidence from the Late Bronze Age and to summarise some possible characteristics. It must be stressed that all the sites yielded surface finds only, with the exception of the material from the Pergamon acropolis itself, which came from contexts with mixed stratigraphy and from Çandarlı without published documentation. They nevertheless allow us to tentatively assess the cultural position of the Bakırçay Valley during the Late Bronze Age, a brief outline of which will be given at the end of this article.

Sites, Finds and Contexts from the 2nd Millennium BC in the Bakırçay Valley

Twelve sites with Late Bronze Age finds have to date been identified (Fig. 2), eight of which were already localised by J. Driehaus and described in a preliminary report.²⁵

14 Schachner and Meriç 2000, esp. 93-102 with fig. 4; Mountjoy 1998.

15 Günel 1999; Schachner and Meriç 2000, 97 with footnote 32; Seeher 2005, 40; Horejs 2008.

16 Heinhold-Kramer 1977; Hawkins 1998.

17 Şahoğlu 2006.

18 Erkanal-Öktü 2000; Schachner and Meriç 2000; Erkanal-Öktü 2008; Bertemes and Hornung-Bertemes 2009, pl. 5,1.

19 Şahoğlu 2007; Erkanal and Keskin 2009.

20 Starke 2001a; 2001b; 2002; Seeher 2005, 34, fig. 1; Breyer 2010, 40-45.

21 For the whole survey program s. Pirson 2007; 2008; 2009.

22 FWF Project no. P 19859-G02; Y 528-G19.

23 For a description of the intensive survey and the results regarding the Early Bronze Age see Horejs 2010.

24 Bittel 1950; Driehaus 1957.

25 Driehaus 1957.

Atarneus

The natural hill of Atarneus in the western Kaykos Valley is located on the northern edge of the alluvial plain, today some 25 km north of where the river Kaykos empties into the Aegean. The remarkably large area of the ancient town has yielded a number of earlier sherds dating to the Late Bronze Age.²⁶ No surface features have to date been associated with the period in question.²⁷ It must remain open for the time being whether a (Late) Bronze Age settlement might be proposed here.²⁸

Ayazköy

This site is situated outside of the area examined, which is why Driehaus's description²⁹ is used; the finds were available for examination. The site is located on a low mountain range on the edge of the river plain and consists of a 2 m high mound of approximately 100 x 100 m in size.

Başantepe

The finds were available for examination. The site is situated on a plain, today just under 2 km from the coast. The site was described in 1955 as a 1.5 m high mound extending over an area of approximately 70 x 70 m;³⁰ the elevation is still clearly visible today.

Çakran

This site is situated outside of the area examined, which is why Driehaus's description³¹ is used; the finds were available for examination. The site is located in the coastal plain on the Gulf of Çandarlı south of Elaia.

Çandarlı (Pitane, also known as Kocabağlar)

A necropolis partially excavated in 19th century and in 1960's (E. Akurgal), but mainly unpublished;³² supposed to be dated from Early Bronze Age until antique periods.³³ A Mycenaean vessel has been known since the late 19th century and will be discussed in the final part.³⁴

26 Preliminary reports on the surveys carried out in Atarneus by Zimmermann 2007; 2008; 2009. G. Ateş is conducting the analysis of the finds.

27 Pers. comm. A. Matthaei and G. Ateş.

28 Cp. Bittel 1950, 20-21.

29 Driehaus 1957, 83.

30 Driehaus 1957, 89.

31 Driehaus 1957, 83.

32 Akurgal 1987; Loeschke 1912, 404-5; Bittel 1950, 21.

33 Akyurt 1998, 19.

34 Perrot and Chipiez 1894; Bittel 1950, 21.

Çiftlik

The site was localised following the description given by Driehaus,³⁵ the finds were available for examination. The mound was probably around 1 m high originally and extended over an area of 150 x 150 m; today the elevation is hardly visible in the terrain.

Değirmen-tepe (Fig. 3,1–3)

The large geological knoll (c. 300 x 150 m)³⁶ is situated on the edge of the flood plain and the associated finds were available for examination. The concrete extension of the site is not clear; the deposits on the knoll itself have largely eroded today, but still a lot of sherds are visible at the surface.

Elaia

During intensive survey carried out by F. Pirson and G. Ateş in the ancient city and port area, a small number of ceramic sherds were found, which can be dated tentatively to the Early and Late Bronze Age based on comparisons with other sites in the Kaykos Valley.³⁷ The site is located on the coast of the Gulf of Çandarlı.

Gryneion

This site is situated outside of the area examined, which is why J. Driehaus's description³⁸ is used. No finds have been preserved. Like Elaia and Çakran this site is located on the coast of the Gulf of Çandarlı.

Gümüşova Tepe I (also known as Bağlıtepe)

This site is also situated outside of the area examined, which is why J. Driehaus's description³⁹ is used. The finds were available for examination. The site is located on a geological knoll on the edge of the river plain at the valley entrance. The surface finds appear to have been dispersed over quite a large area extending from the knoll to the adjacent ridge of the hill.

Gümüşova, Tepe II (also known as Üveciktepe)

Like Tepe I, this site is also situated outside of the area examined, which is why J. Driehaus's description⁴⁰ is used. The finds were available for examination. Again the site is located on a geological knoll of approximately 30 x 30 m on the edge of the river plain at the entrance to the valley.

35 Driehaus 1957, 87.

36 Driehaus 1957, 92 f.

37 For the results of the surveys see the preliminary reports by Pirson 2007; 2008; 2009.

38 Driehaus 1957, 91.

39 Driehaus 1957, 77-79.

40 Driehaus 1957, 77-9.

Pergamon Acropolis

No closed contexts or clear features dating from prehistoric times have to date been excavated at the citadel. Individual finds, however, attest to at least a temporary use of the hill in epochs before antiquity. These also include unstratified stone axes from various excavated sectors published by K. Bittel, who interpreted them as evidence of an earlier settlement.⁴¹ During his excavations of Pergamons' archaic fortification walls, W. Radt also found a number of earlier potsherds in infill layers⁴² at the foot of the wall where they were deposited after having fallen down from the top.⁴³ A chronological positioning of this phase is possible only to a limited extent. While the pottery published points to the 2nd millennium BC,⁴⁴ the axes cannot be dated more precisely. A reconstructed beak-spouted jar dating from this period, on the other hand, is an unambiguous piece of evidence⁴⁵ (Fig. 3, 4).⁴⁶

The pottery from the surface of these sites can be generally characterised as Western Anatolian local style. The main group of sherds collected by Driehaus⁴⁷ is represented by wheelmade bowls (Fig. 3, 1-3) that could be related to Pavuk's Anatolian Grey Ware types in Troy VI.⁴⁸ Further fabrics are red slipped and different kind of brown or beige wares observed in the depot's collection⁴⁹ as well as on the surface of Değirmentepe. Altogether the spectrum of Late Bronze Age pottery is at present too small for further typological and cultural interpretations.⁵⁰ The previously collected Late Bronze Age ensemble can be summarised as presumably locally produced in different fabrics without distinct imports from other regions.

Special Individual Finds

Three artefacts which have been known for a long time will now be discussed individually, since they may be relevant for the evaluation of the Bakırçay Valley in the 2nd millennium BC. They are a Mycenaean stirrup jar from Çandarlı (Pitane), mentioned earlier, a sword of uncertain origin and a stone macehead, which probably came from the Pergamon acropolis. As the latter has not yet attracted much attention, it will be dealt with first and in detail.

A Stone Macehead (Fig. 4, 4)

Together with various stone axes, a macehead made of light grey to greenish stone was recorded by K. Bittel⁵¹ in the depots of the excavation. As in the case of the axes, he assumed that this artefact came from the acropolis; however, he

41 Bittel 1950, 17–18; Korfmann 1973/74, 42.

42 Radt 1994, 397.

43 Radt 1992, 169; 1994; Schachner and Meriç 2000, 311.

44 Further analyses of these finds have been done by D. Hertel; his results might shed light in this discussion in the near future.

45 Schachner and Meriç 2000, 311.

46 Another vessel fragment dating from the Early Bronze Age was published by J. Driehaus, who maintained that it may have come from the acropolis. (Driehaus 1957, 88, fig. 6, 26. 94).

47 Driehaus 1957, 96.

48 Blegen et al. 1953; Pavuk 2002; 2007; in press.

49 A few sherds of different fabrics have been published by J. Driehaus (1957, 78 fig. 1, 2882, fig. 3, 19; 88 fig. 6, 27; 90 fig. 7).

50 Cp. Schachner and Meriç 1994, fig. 4.

51 Bittel 1950, 17 and footnote 6.

was not able to provide any information with regard to its exact provenance. Judging by Bittel's drawing it was 5.6 cm high and had a round and slightly squat form with a maximum circumference of 6.8 cm. The perforation had a diameter of 1.2 cm widening to 1.8 cm at the lower end of the handle and ended in a slightly offset and moulded ridge (Fig. 4, 4). The workmanship on this stone artefact appears to have been of a good quality, the object exhibits no rough traces of wear and the skilful moulding around the shaft hole suggests that it was not used as a tool like hammer head, but rather as a mace. The fact that the context of the find is unknown means that its use cannot be dated directly but only deduced in theory and indirectly via parallel finds. Stone maceheads were known in Anatolia as early as the 10th millennium BC (PPNA)⁵² and continued to be used in the following periods of the ceramic Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age.⁵³ The manufacture of cast metal versions began early-on, as is demonstrated by the copper macehead from Can Hasan dating from the 6th millennium BC.⁵⁴ Stone maceheads were used not only in Anatolia but also further afield,⁵⁵ for instance in the Baden Culture of Central and Southeastern Europe⁵⁶ and in the Catacomb Grave Culture of the Ukrainian steppes,⁵⁷ where they are found in special contexts and usually interpreted as status symbols or prestige items. The idea that their importance was very long-lived is supported by similar stone sceptres in the Early Scythian graves of horse-riding warriors between the Caucasus Mountains and the Carpathian Basin dated to the 9th to 7th centuries BC.⁵⁸ Such widely distributed parallels clearly show that while the chronological positioning of our artefact by itself is difficult, its functional interpretation as a weapon, a prestigious object or a status symbol appears indeed plausible. As already demonstrated in detail elsewhere,⁵⁹ the area around Pergamon has to date yielded no definite traces which could be dated to a period before the Early Bronze Age. The earliest pottery can be dated absolutely via comparisons with parallel finds from Troy I and Çukuriçi Höyük IV–III, which have yielded radiocarbon sequences between 3000 and 2600 cal BC and from 2900 to 2750 cal BC respectively.⁶⁰ Therefore, it appears unlikely that the Pergamenian macehead would have dated from earlier periods that have not yet been found, which is why the focus will now be placed on the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC.

Back to the region of Western Anatolia, where a special parallel find was unearthed in Early Bronze Age Troy III. The faience macehead from Troy has been interpreted as an import from Egypt,⁶¹ where similar objects are known to have been used as early as the 1st Dynasty, as the famous palette and ceremonial macehead of Narmer demonstrate,⁶² and continued to be used as rulers' insignia in later dynasties.⁶³ Simple stone maceheads, which in an Anatolian Early Bronze Age context are indeed sometimes interpreted as weapons,⁶⁴ have also been found in early Troy.⁶⁵ While I am not aware

52 E.g. Hallan Çemi and Körtik Tepe (Karlsruhe 2007, 310–311. kat. Nr. 182–186).

53 E.g. Late Neolithic: Çatal Höyük VI; Early Chalcolithic: Tepeçik Çiftlik (Karlsruhe 2007, 336 kat. Nr. 278–281); Early Bronze Age: Demircihüyük (Seher 2000, 52–53).

54 Yalçın 1998.

55 On maces from Bronze Age Mesopotamia see e.g. Buchholz 1980, 327–329; Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2006, 60–61.

56 Sachsße 2010, 69, pl. 101, A4 (grave of Náměšť na Hané in the Czech Republic).

57 Kaiser 2003, 192–194.

58 Metzner-Nebelsick 2009, esp. 207–210, 214, fig. 2, 10. 217 fig. 5, 2.

59 Horejs 2010.

60 Korfmann and Kromer 1993; Horejs and Weninger, in press.

61 Müller 2001, 53 fig. 54; the same interpretation is suggested by Breyer 2010, 97, fig. 18.

62 Altenmüller 2005, 59; Wilkinson 1999, 68–69.

63 For example Sesostri I (Lange-Hirmer 1955, pl. 93–4).

64 Cf. Seher 2000, 52–3 for a discussion of functions and parallels.

65 Schmidt 1902, 276, nr. 7295–7342.

of maceheads from the 2nd millennium BC having been unearthed in Western Anatolia proper, they are known to have been in use in neighbouring regions. Stone maces were known in the Hittite world mainly in religious and ceremonial contexts.⁶⁶ This included a special ritual of animal sacrifice during which the animal was killed using a stone mace.⁶⁷ Sceptres with macehead-like ends can be seen on the rock-cut reliefs in Yazilikaya from the 13th century BC,⁶⁸ where they are depicted as attributes of various gods and goddesses, among them Teshub the weather god and one of the most important deities.⁶⁹ Sceptres with maceheads probably acting as symbols of religious authority also occur in other Hittite depictions, for instance on contemporaneous seal impressions of King Ini-Tešub of Karkamiš with a cuneiform text from Ugarit.⁷⁰ Occasional discoveries of stone maceheads in Boğazköy, finally, attest to their continued use at least into the Late Bronze Age. Within his group of maces and hammers, R. Boehmer recognised distinct differences in the manufacture and traces of wear,⁷¹ which in most cases allowed him to identify their use as tools. Four maceheads from Boğazköy with rounded shapes and ridges around the shaft holes similar to the Pergamenian artefact bore carefully polished or decorated surfaces,⁷² which might point to their use in a ritual context. Written sources concerning stone maces being used in sacrificial rites, depictions of maces as items attributed to deities, and the finds themselves attest to their use in the Hittite region well into the Late Bronze Age.

In the Aegean, on the other hand, stone maces did not play any significant role⁷³ during this period and only a small number of finds are known.⁷⁴ These include a seal impression from Mallia showing a person wearing a long robe and holding a staff in their right hand with an oblong oval object in its upper third, which might be interpreted as a flat disk-shaped macehead.⁷⁵ A less conclusive scene is depicted on a Late Helladic III C sherd from Mycenae showing a warrior holding in his left hand a staff with a thickened end (possibly a macehead?).⁷⁶ Actual maceheads from the 2nd millennium BC are quite rarely found. Stone maceheads were discovered at the citadel of Midea and on the shipwrecks of Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya.⁷⁷ However, they also appear to have been rather rare in the Aegean Early Bronze Age world,⁷⁸ and neither have Neolithic contexts yielded maceheads in great numbers.⁷⁹ In comparison with other regions one might state that maceheads overall were quite rare in the Aegean and played no particular role in the periods of the Bronze Age dealt with here.

66 I am particularly grateful to J. Seeher for invaluable information on the subject.

67 Haas 1994, 619, 653.

68 Seeher 2006, 137-55; Haas 1994, 632-639.

69 Seeher 2006, 143-144, 149, fig. 147, 42.

70 Klengel 2002, 166, fig. 3.

71 Boehmer 1972, 218-219, pl. 88-90.

72 Boehmer 1972, Cat. Nos. 2231, 2236, 2253, 2255.

73 Cf. Buchholz 1980, 333-334.

74 For a compilation of possible Minoan 'badges of honour' see Otto 2000.

75 Otto 2000, 84, fig. 1. - I am grateful to F. Blakolmer for the information.

76 Buchholz 1980, 334, fig. 85. - For a list of other artefacts from Mycenaean Greece that could be interpreted as sceptres see Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2006, 65.

77 Walberg 1998, pl. 118, L51-52; Persson 1942, 9-10 fig. 7,1; Bass 1986, 274, fig. 4; Yalçın et al. 2005, 624, fig. 174.

78 Neither Alram-Stern 2004 nor Maran 1998 deal with this category of finds; J. Rambach's list of all the Early Bronze Age graves in the Cyclades only contains a single macehead from Chalandriani/Syros (grave 423), and a half-finished product at that (Rambach 2000, pl. 61,1 and 157,7); other finds are known e.g. from Thermi and Poliochni (Lamb and Hutchinson 1928-30, 44-45, fig. 16,d-f; Kouka 2002, tab. 10).

79 E.g. Dimini and Knossos (Müller-Karpe 1968, pl. 134, 27-29; 139, 5; 140, 22-23).

In conclusion the situation concerning stone maceheads may be summarised as follows: the Pergamenian artefact discussed here fits well into the Anatolian context, where it finds parallels both from the 3rd and the 2nd millennia BC. Provided it did indeed come from the acropolis, a Late Bronze Age date – at least of its last use – appears more plausible. While evidence of earlier periods has not yet been found at the citadel, the macehead could indeed have been made during the Early Bronze Age and brought to its eventual findspot (perhaps together with the axes?) at a later date.⁸⁰

Mycenaean Jar and Bronze Sword (Fig. 4, 1-3)

As opposed to the macehead, this chapter deals with two artefacts of definite Mycenaean or at least Mycenized provenance.

The stirrup jar (Fig. 4, 1-2), published as early as the late 19th century, has since been repeatedly mentioned.⁸¹ It came from an otherwise little-known cemetery in Çandarlı excavated by Hamdi Bey.⁸² S. Loeschke published an Early Bronze Age assemblage composed of vessels, lids and a spindle whorl,⁸³ which probably also came from a grave near the site.⁸⁴ Finally, E. Akurgal⁸⁵ mounted excavations at a cemetery which appears to have yielded mainly archaic burials. It is practically impossible to ascertain whether these individual graves may be attributed to the same site and thus belonged to the same cemetery. A continuous occupation of the same cemetery from the 3rd millennium BC to antiquity would be astonishing to say the least. C. Özgünel⁸⁶ assumed that the Mycenaean jar dating from Late Helladic IIIC Middle had originally come from the Dodecanese, where it finds convincing parallels.⁸⁷ Furthermore, a Cycladic provenance may be considered since similar vessels have also been found there.⁸⁸ While the detailed discussion is best left to the specialists, it appears plausible, not least against the cultural background, that the vessel was imported.⁸⁹ As mentioned at the outset, P. Mountjoy⁹⁰ proposed a link with the Eastern Aegean islands (*East Aegean – West Anatolian Interface*) in relation to the few Late Helladic IIIC pictorial style sherds from the Western Anatolian coast, which would have extended as far as the region around Torbalı in the north. While the stirrup jar from Pitane was located outside of this zone, its presence can be explained by links along the coastline or directly to the islands. Its presence in the Bakırçay estuary attests to contacts having existed at least during this short period of time between the Pergamon area and the East Aegean – West Anatolian Interface.

80 Cf. Korfmann 1973/74.

81 Perrot and Chipiez 1894; Bittel 1950, 21; Özgünel 1996, 2.136-137; pl. 20.

82 Loeschke 1912, 344-346.

83 Loeschke 1912, 404-405, fig. 11.

84 The finds were given to him at the site by a farmer who maintained that they had come from a grave (Loeschke 1912, 404).

85 Akurgal 1987.

86 Özgünel 1996, 136-137.

87 Mountjoy 1999, 1132-33 fig. 464-465.

88 E.g. Naxos: Kardara 1977, fig. 1-4; 7. – I would like to thank R. Jung for this information. For possible places of manufacture see Mountjoy 1999, 951-955.

89 Scientific analyses of the vessel would assist in answering this question, particularly given that the local clays from the Gulf of Çandarlı are well known thanks to a comprehensive research programme run by S. Japp, H. Mommsen and G. Schneider (Japp 2009; Mommsen and Japp 2009; Schneider and Japp 2009).

90 Meriç and Mountjoy 2001, 140-141.

A similar conclusion can be drawn in relation to the horned sword, provided the uncertain provenance from the Pergamon area is accepted.⁹¹ According to the typological and chronological analysis of Mycenaean swords carried out by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, the Pergamenian specimen dates from the late Palace and Post-Palace periods (Late Helladic IIIB–IIIC)⁹² or in other words the 13th–12th centuries BC. Based on their wide distribution and varied designs Kilian-Dirlmeier⁹³ assumed that horned swords were made at several regional places of manufacture including the Dodecanese Islands. The links with this region already discussed in relation to the stirrup jar might also explain the discovery of the horned sword despite the fact that unfortunately no information is available with regard to its context. The idea that the presence of a Mycenaean sword in this area of the Western Anatolian coast is not completely impossible is supported by another horned sword found at the site of Thermi on the island of Lesbos directly opposite.⁹⁴

91 Bittel 1950, 21; Sandars 1961, 140–142, pl. 27, 52.

92 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 48–49, 51–53, pl. 18, 98.

93 Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 54–56, pl. 62.

94 Lamb 1936, pl. 25.32–63; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, 45.

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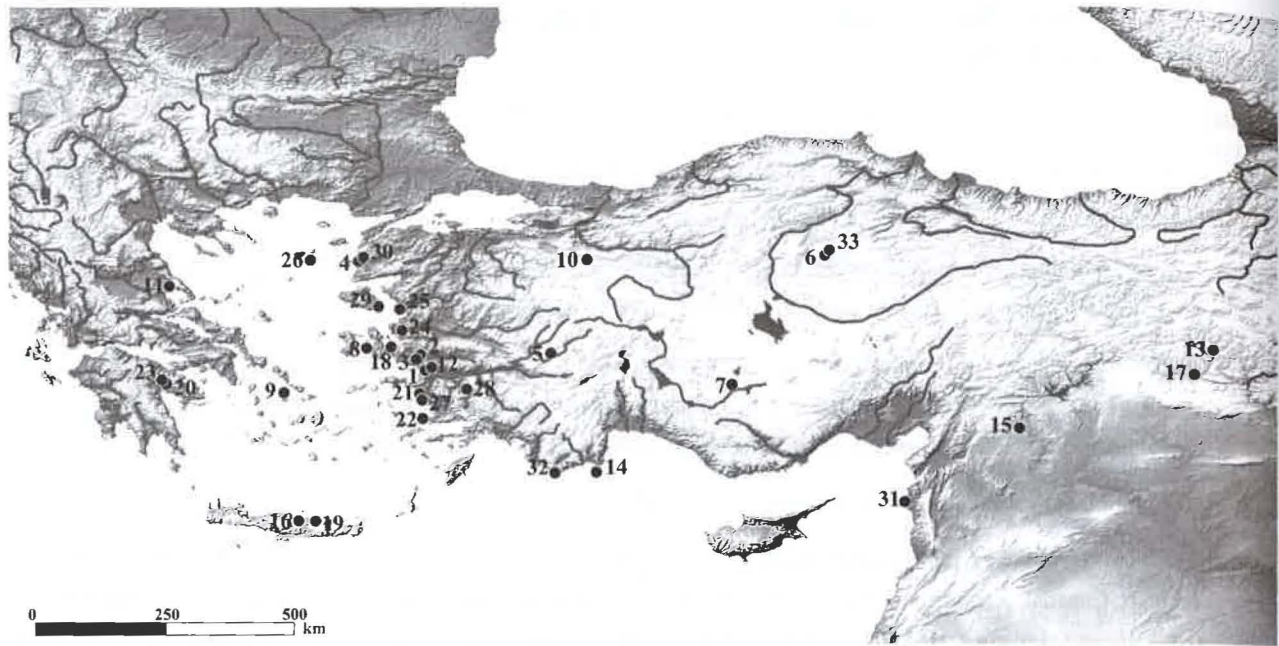


Fig. 1: Sites mentioned in the text:

1. Ayasoluk/Selçuk, 2. Bademgediği Tepe/Metropolis, 3. Bakla Tepe, 4. Beşik-Tepe 5. Beycesultan 6. Boğazköy 7. Çatal Höyük 8. Çeşme Bağlararası 9. Chalandriani/Syros 10. Demircihüyük 11. Dimini 12. Halkapınar 13. Hallan Çemi 14. Cape Gelidonya 15. Karkamiş 16. Knossos 17. Körtik Tepe 18. Liman Tepe 19. Mallia 20. Midea 21. Milet 22. Müskebi 23. Mykene 24. Panaztepe 25. Pitane (Çandarlı) 26. Poliochni 27. Tavşan Adası/Didyma 28. Tepeçik/Aydın 29. Thermi 30. Troy 31. Ugarit 32. Uluburun 33. Yazılıkaya

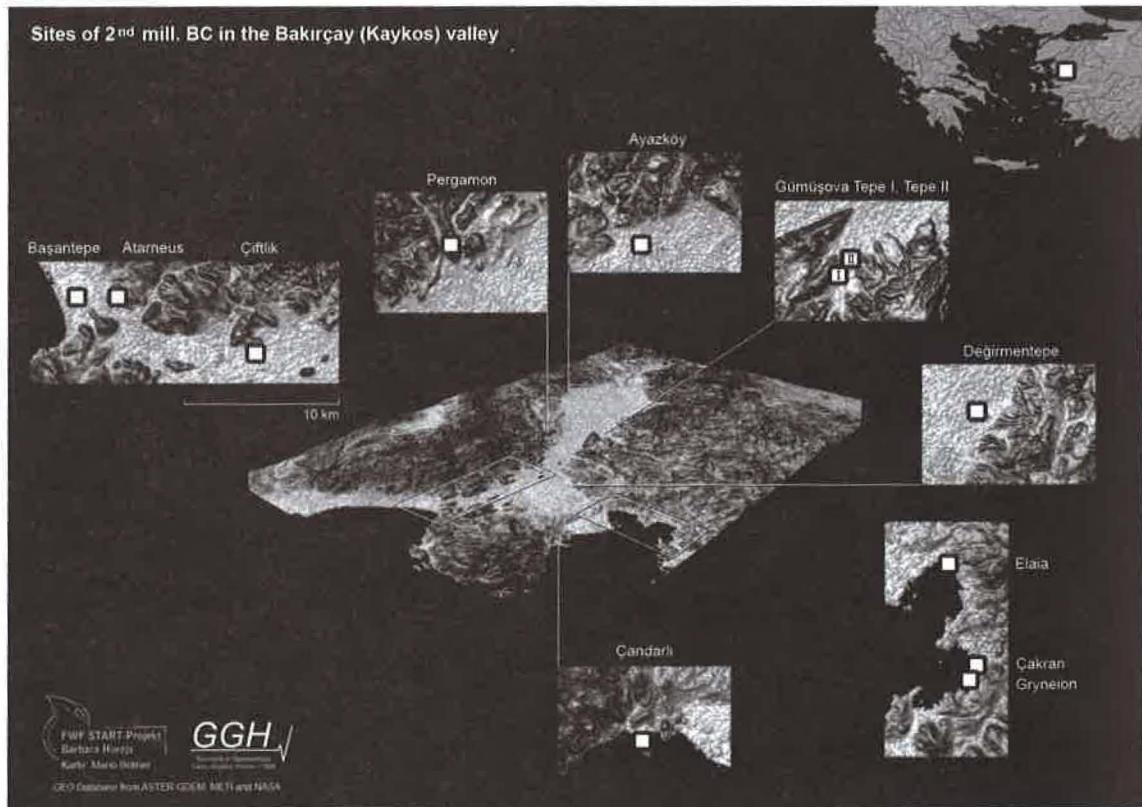


Fig. 2: Sites of second Millennium BC in the Bakırçay Valley (after Horejs 2010 with modification)

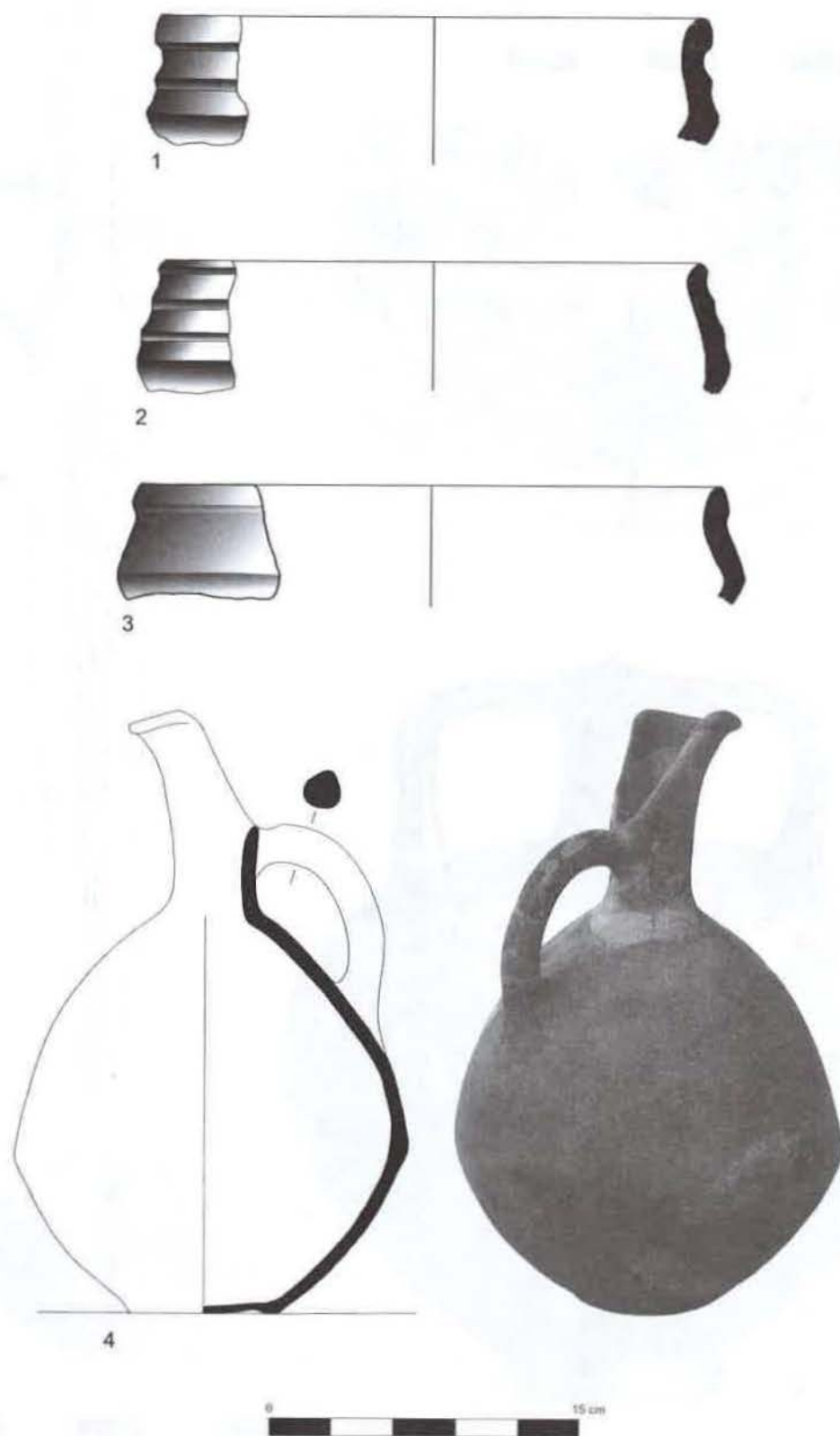


Fig. 3: Pottery of second Millennium BC: 1-3. Değirmentepe 4. Pergamon Acropolis (after Driehaus 1957, 90 fig. 7,6.9.11; Radt 1992, 227 fig. 7, 4; pl. 30)

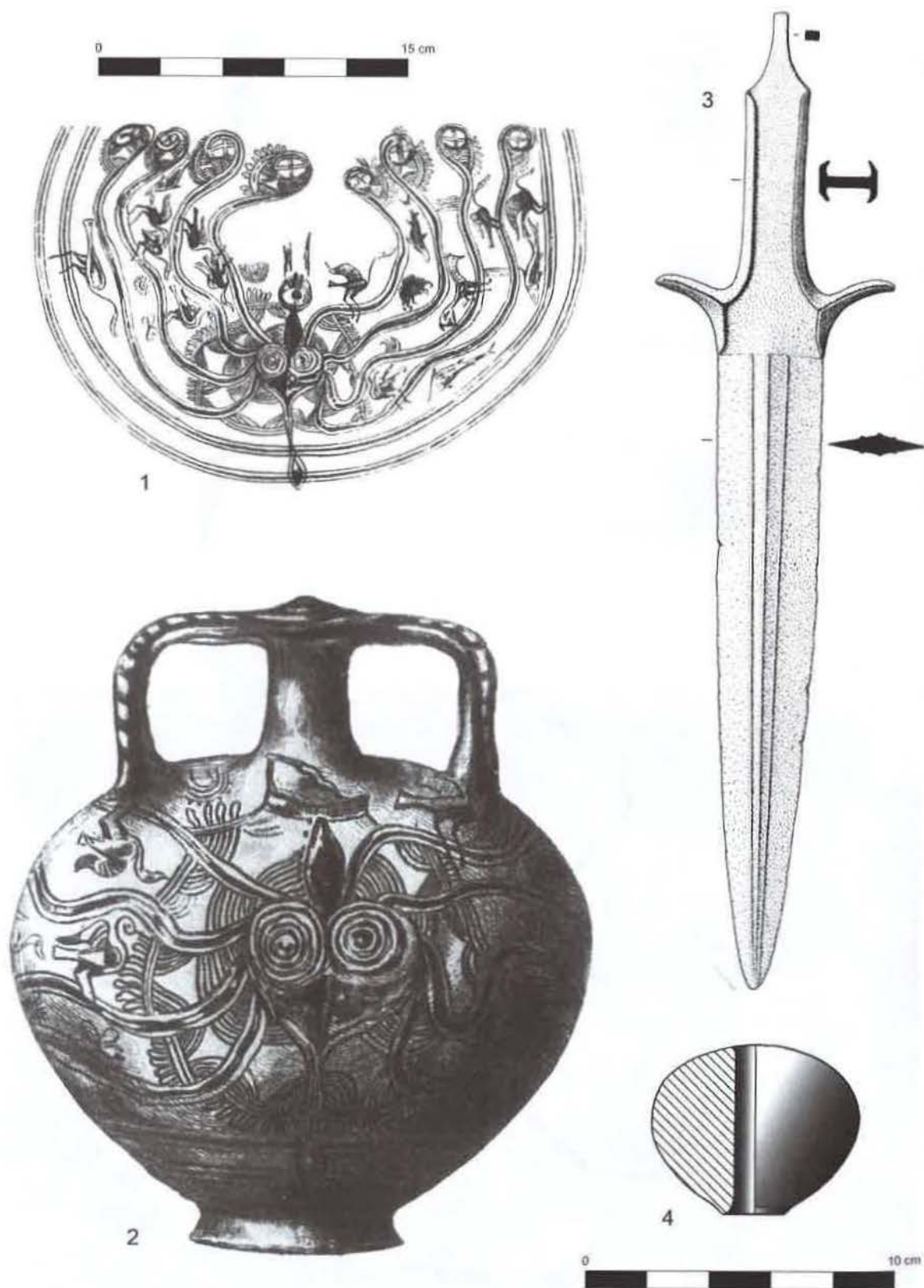


Fig. 4: Singular finds: 1-2 Stirrup jar from Çandarlı (Pitane) 3 Sword from the region of Pergamon (?) 4 Macehead (after Bittel 1950, 17 fig. 6; pl. 5; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1993, pl. 18, 98)

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Kapak Fotoğrafi (Tasarım Zülfikar Akyüz) / *Front Cover Photo (Design Zülfikar Akyüz)*

Armağan Erkanal, Panaztepe, 1995 (Photo by Bora Uysal)

Panaztepe, 1992 - AV tholos mezarından Levant silindir mühür baskısı (Çizim, Derya Yalçıklı)

Panaztepe 1992 - Levant cylinder seal impression from tholos AV (Drawn by Derya Yalçıklı)

Tasarım / *Book Design by*

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