Indigenous Responses to Encounters with the Greeks in Northern Anatolia: The Reception of Architectural Terracottas in the Iron Age Settlements of the Halys Basin

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Introduction

During the 7th century BC, Ionian settlers crossed the Bosporos to seek their fortunes on the shores of the Black Sea. Out of this effort came the foundation of a number of *poleis* and with this foundation changes and new challenges for both the newcomers and the indigenous people inhabiting this region.

The narrative of Greek-indigenous encounters is filtered through the writings of later Greek authors. Thus, our understanding of the impact of the Greek *poleis* on indigenous tribes and indigenous responses to the Greek colonies is one-dimensional. Therefore, modern scholarship usually defines the colonial encounter between the Greek settlers and the indigenous people in dichotomous terms of domination and resistance. In this article I seek to transcend this traditional conceptualisation of the Greek-indigenous encounter by recognising mimicry, hybridity, and dynamic cultural creations that were the results of central aspects of the encounter between the Ionian settlers and the native inhabitants. I employ the archaeological data, mostly architectural terracottas, available from the Iron Age settlements in the hinterland of Amisos on the southern coast of the Black Sea in order to understand both the strategies used by the Greeks settlers to indigenise themselves and the dynamics of the cultural consciousness of the indigenous people in the late Archaic period.[1]

Written Sources

The Greek authors name the authochthonous residents on the Sinop Promontory and in the coastal zone between the rivers Halys and Iris as Assyrians or Syrians, who were driven away in order to make way for the foundation of Greek colonies.[2] Herodotos informs us that these people were called Syrians by the Greeks, but Kappadokians by the Persians.[3] Strabon confirms

this, but also uses the name "Leukosyrians" in order to distinguish ethnically this group from those Syrians in Mesopotamia and in the Levant.[4] The origin of the indigenous Syrians in the Black Sea area is unclear. It had been assumed that their name was derived from the Old Assyrian trade colony Zalpa, which was founded in the early Bronze Age, but there is no clear evidence either in the historical or archaeological sources to support this hypothesis.[5] The local Syrians encountered by the Ionians on the Southern shores of the Black Sea seem not to have been politically organized in strong kingdoms such as Lydia and Phrygia, but instead in loosely confederated, internally hierarchical chiefdoms. During the 7th century BC they were apparently living a politically independent existence, since they were able to give asylum to Daskylos, the father of the later Lydian king Gyges.[6] Yet, they must have suffered under the Kimmerian raids as did all the other peoples of Anatolia. Herodotos even remarks that the Kimmerians founded settlements on the Sinop Promontory.[7]

The first Ionian settlers came from Miletos and gradually explored the southern shoreline of the Black Sea during the 7th century BC. They first occupied the strategically advantageous promontory of Sinope which then afforded them easy access to other shores of the Black Sea.[8]

Any written source material regarding encounters between Greeks and the indigenous population derives mostly from mythic accounts which are hardly reliable for historical reconstructions. They generally oscillate between two extremes of indigenous response to Greek colonization on the southern shores of the Black Sea: enthusiastic reception and violent revolt which was inevitably crushed. In Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonauts* when Herakles and his companions arrive at the place where Herakleia was later founded in the homelands of the Mariandynoi, their native king Lykos welcomes the Greek heroes in a friendly way and promises to give them fertile lands.[9] As noted above, however, in the case of Sinope the Greeks seized the city from the indigenous Syrians by force.[10] Later the Sinopians did the same when they founded their own sub-colonies of Kotyora, Kerasos and Trapezous in the lands of Tiberenoi and Mossynoikoi.[11]

The coastline between the rivers Halys and Iris likewise inhabited by the indigenous Syrians offered no good harbours to the Greek settlers, but was easily accessible from the interior, while the rest of the Black Sea coastline was cut off from the hinterlands by the Pontic mountain range. The natural route along the Halys Basin was probably discovered by the Ionians during the proto-colonial contact.

It is possible that Ionian traders first established an *emporion* at the site that later became Amisos. At any rate settlers from Miletos and/or Phokaia founded Amisos about 600 BC.[12] In the case of Amisos the ancient authors do not mention any indigenous opposition to the foundation of a Greek colony within their territory. Ps.-Skymnos however, clearly indicates that Amisos was situated in the middle of Syrian territory.[13] Some of the indigenous Syr-

ian settlements such as Chadisia, Teiria and Pteiria are even mentioned by name, unfortunately without any clear indication as to their location.[14]

The only concrete evidence on the substance of the Greek-indigenous relationship is transmitted by Strabon: An indigenous leader possibly named Timades, who was the *archon* of the Kappadokians, enlarged Amisos some time after its foundation.[15] Since there is no other further information available we do not know why and how an indigenous leader was involved in such urban activities.

This brief overview demonstrates that the stereotypical accounts of the subdued, but originally wild natives might rather reflect the intentions of the Greco-Roman authors to create glorious colonial pasts for the heroic *apoikiai* rather than any desire on their part to document the historical reality. Therefore, we should seek to uncover primary sources to reorient our perspectives on the relationships between the Ionian settlers and the indigenous inhabitants.

Archaeological evidence

The effort to trace the Greek-indigenous relationship from the indigenous point of view requires an undertaking of archaeological studies. Unfortunately, none of the classical sites on the southern Black Sea coast have been systematically excavated. The available archaeological material comes from the poorly documented, early excavations of the first half of the 20th century widely ignored by scholars due to the lack of scientific publications. Since the ancient Greek cities are largely covered by modern towns no further archaeological investigations are possible. Material remains from the indigenous sites surrounding these Greek cities are the only means of providing primary data for the interpretation of the responses of the indigenous inhabitants to the changed circumstances of their environment.

In the following I will first briefly present the finds of local pottery at both Sinope and Amisos and then the evidence of early Greek vases in the Iron Age settlements in the hinterland. Later I will examine in more detail samples of the locally made architectural terracottas from Iron Age settlements in the hinterland in order to assess the active role of indigenous creativity in the reception of new roofing technology and its foreign decoration.

Local pottery in Sinope and Amisos

Small-scale excavations at Sinope by E. Akurgal and L. Budde between 1953 and 1955 brought to light some examples of local Anatolian Iron Age pottery. These vessels are mostly jugs with beaked mouths, the so-called *Schnabelkannen*, which represent a typical pottery shape in the Iron Age sites of the Halys Basin.[16] Interestingly, at Sinope they came to light in a context together with east Greek and Attic vases dating to the first half of the 6th century BC.[17]

Painted jugs with beaked mouths and other local pottery were also found at Amisos during the excavations in 1908 by T. Macridy.[18]

The available material sources from Sinope and Amisos are scattered, but limited as the evidence is, the presence of local pottery indicates either a certain degree of cohabitation or the adoption of local pottery by the Greek settlers. Thus, it can be assumed that there was an immediate and direct impact by the Greek settlers on the indigenous surroundings in both cities.

Greek pottery from the indigenous settlements

Early Greek pottery is attested at a number of indigenous sites in the hinterland of Amisos in the Halys Basin (Fig. 1). For instance at Akalan, a strongly fortified Iron Age settlement 18 km inland from Amisos, fragments of two Milesian jugs of the Middle Wild Goat Style II dateable to the end of the 7th century BC have been excavated.[19]

Another example of Ionian pottery is attested some distance from the coastline; this is a very well preserved bird bowl found by chance in a village near Mecitözü and now kept in the Amasya Museum.[20] It is a product of a North Ionian workshop of the third quarter of the 7th century BC.[21]

Further southwards at Boğazköy, the former capital of the Hittite Empire, some East Greek and Corinthian pottery of the mid-7th century have been excavated.[22] Another fragment of East Greek pottery has come to light at Alişar.[23]

Fig. 1. Map with indigenous sites in the hinterland of Amisos.

Fig. 2. Terracotta revetment plaque from Akalan.

At Kaman-Kalehöyük in the upper Halys Valley a fragment of an Attic crater datable to the second half of the 6th century BC has recently been found.[24] This site also yielded fragments of protogeometric pottery, which came to light in the stratified trench II d corresponding, according to the excavator, to the period between 1200 and 800 BC.[25] This is the earliest Greek pottery known to have been found in the Halys region so far.[26]

The evidence of early Greek pottery is poor, but its distribution shows tentatively that early contact between the Greeks and indigenous peoples was concentrated mainly in the Halys Basin. Surely the reason for this lies in the geographical setting since the settlements in the river basin were not cut off by the mountains from the colonised Black Sea shores. From its advantageous position Amisos was able to establish close relations with the indigenous settlements inland.

Architectural terracottas from the Iron Age settlements

Akalan

At Akalan a huge number of clay roof tiles, *sima-* and revetment plaques dateable to the second half of the 6th century BC were excavated in 1906.[27] The revetment plaques with guilloche meander and lotus-palmette patterns have their identical counterparts in Amisos (Fig. 2).[28] Therefore, it is obvious, that the moulds for these clay reliefs were introduced to Akalan by the neighbouring Greek city.[29]

Fig. 3. Terracotta revetment plaques from Amios.

Interestingly, plaques with ovolo mouldings with an egg-and-dart or bead-and-reel, which characterize the architectural terracottas from Western Asia Minor as well as those from Sinope, are absent at Akalan. Rather a flat *fascia* occurs as the crowning moulding of all lateral *simas* and revetment plaques

Fig. 4. Sima woth water spout from Akalan.

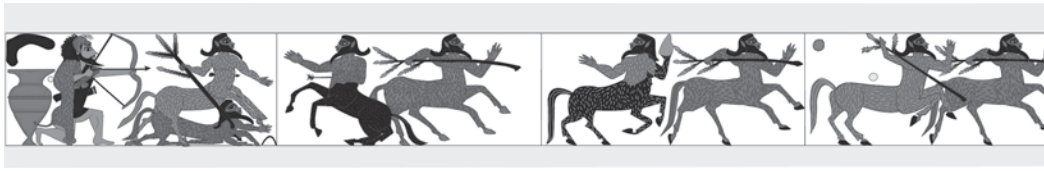

Fig. 5. Terracotta revetment plaques from Akalan.

(Fig. 4). The lateral *simas* are decorated with rampant lions on either side of a waterspout facing away from the spout, one forepaw raised with the head turned back towards the spout. Lateral *simas* of the same type but of a smaller size show an identical lion and a panther with upraised paw both turned towards the spout, the lion head facing away from the spout, the panther facing the viewer (Fig. 4). Parallels for the lions are found on several simas from Miletos and on the Fikellura vases dated to the second half of the 6th century BC.[30] Compared with the Milesian lion *simas*, the Akalan lions have a more unrefined appearance. Further south in Köyici Tepesi lion *simas* also occur, even though their style is even more raw than those from Akalan.

Some revetment plaques from Akalan are decorated with mythological scenes (Fig. 5). Although the plaques are very fragmentary, we are able to restore them as a continuous frieze due to their corresponding motifs depicting the Pholos adventure of Herakles. The hero is shown kneeling in front of the half arch shaped cave of Pholos with a *pithos* below it. He is depicted shooting the escaping centaurs with his arrows. One of them has fallen down, injured or already dead, an arrow still in his breast. His half open eye and his slightly open mouth admirably describe the pain suffered by the centaur. A second centaur is tripping over the fallen one. All the other centaurs are fleeing at a gallop with their arms extended towards the right. They are shown carrying tree branches and stones as weapons. On the surviving fragments we are able to identify five centaurs. The complete length of these fragments and their centaurs presumes a long frieze of at least 2.40 m. It is technically impossible to produce such a long and narrow clay fries in one piece. Consequently, it must have consisted of at least four plaques. According to the reconstruction proposed here, the first plaque on the left comprised Herakles and the *pithos* as well as both tumbling centaurs since in the representations of this theme

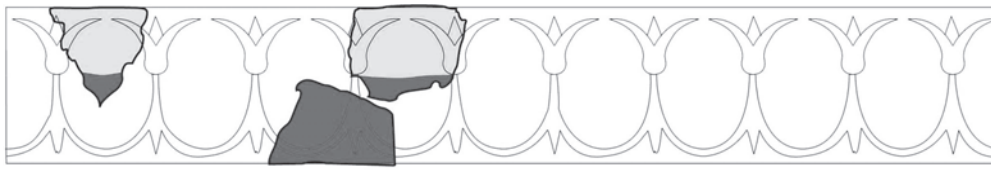

Fig. 6. Terracotta revetment plaques from Köyiçi Tepesi.

in vase painting the falling centaurs are always placed immediately in front of the shooting hero.[31] All the other plaques must have been decorated by two galloping centaurs only, but the motif varies on each plaque.

Such a detailed narrative representation of the Pholos myth including the cave and *pithos* is quite unusual in architectural terracottas.[32] Continuous clay friezes normally repeat the same motif. Indeed, the production of a continuous frieze employing different matrices is against the economy of the moulded architectural terracottas. Therefore, we may assume, the Akalan frieze did not derive from other architectural terracottas, but from images in other minor arts.[33] Since the detailed mythological depictions are normally to be found on the vases, it seems likely that the composition is borrowed from imported Greek pottery.

The choice of a Greek myth for the exterior decoration of the building may allude to the desire of the owner to differentiate himself from his surroundings and assert a special familiarity with Greek culture.

Köyiçi Tepesi

Another Iron Age settlement providing rich, Greek-style architectural terracottas has been discovered recently at Köyici Tepesi on the northwestern shore of Lake Ladik (Greek *Stephane Limne*) situated some 80 km inland from the Black Sea.[34] Dozens of roof tiles, *simas* and painted relief plaques surfaced after the flooding of the site by a hydroelectric power plant a few years ago. The site shares the aforementioned lion *simas* with Akalan.[35] Also triple guilloches and lotus motives decorated revetment plaques are represented in several examples, even though the modelling and painting is poor (Fig. 6). It seems the local tile-maker adopted decorative elements without knowing the appropriate moulding and painting techniques.

In addition a square plaque type with an un-Greek subject comes from this site (Fig. 7). A large fragment from the left side of the plaque allows restoration of the entire motif: It is a symmetrical composition with two goats flanking the so-called "tree of life". In Near Eastern art this subject has a very old tradition of religious significance.[36]

In Iron Age Anatolia goats flanking the tree of life are represented on late Hittite orthostate reliefs in Karatepe-Karataş and on so-called Phrygian pottery.[37] This image is not, however, entirely unknown in Greek art.[38] On animal friezes of East Greek vases symmetrical goats flanking a vegetal motif occasionally occur, but the vegetal motif customarily resembles a volute or a rosette rather than an Oriental tree of life.[39]

Interestingly, in architectural friezes this theme is only employed at inland Anatolian sites, while it is completely absent in the colonised coastal region.[40] Besides the new discovery from Köyiçi Tepesi, revetment plaques decorated with wild goats are known also from Gordion and Pazarlı.[41]

If one compares the three versions of this theme on the plaques from

Fig. 7. Terracotta revetment plaque from Köyiçi Tepesi.

Köyiçi Tepesi, Pazarlı and Gordion, it becomes clear that they cannot did not derive from the same model.[42] The goats from Köyiçi Tepesi and Gordion are rendered similarly resting on two legs with diagonally erect bodies. The goats from Pazarlı are shown standing on one hind leg in an almost upright position touching the tree of life with their three remaining legs. Alongside this compositional difference the figures of the goats are also divergent. The Gordian goat has a relatively short, thick horn. The horns of the goats from Pazarlı are thick and smooth, but a little longer than those of the goats on the Pazarlı and Gordion plaques. The goat from Köyiçi Tepesi has a huge saber-like curved horn with small knobs. Such a rendering of goat's horns has no parallels in the art of Iron Age Anatolia.[43]

On the other hand, the long curved goat's horn with small knobs is typical for the Middle Wild Goat Style of East Greek pottery.[44] Apart from the horn shape, the proportions and the outline of the animal's body are also comparable. One notes the raising counter between the back and the neck as well as the convex outline between the breast and the muzzle corresponding to the East Greek goats, as demonstrated by a comparison with a figure on an *oinochoe* from Temir Gora (Crimea) in the State Hermitage Museum.[45] This comparison, however, also makes clear that the goat on the clay plaque has been simplified.

The head consists of a long muzzle, while no indication of the goat's beard is discernable. The relief is flat; no details of the goat's body are accentuated by molding. Together with tool traces at the edges of the relief, this indicates that the plaque is not moulded, but that the figures were cut out and applied to the plaque before firing. This application technique is well-known in relief pottery, but quite unusual in Greek architectural terracottas.[46]

The use of this unusual technique suggests that the goat from Köyiçi Tepesi was inspired by animal friezes on East Greek vases and transformed freehand onto the clay plaque for an oriental subject matter.

Pazarlı

The last example of architectural terracottas showing Greeks iconographic affinities comes from Pazarlı situated 150 km inland from the Black Sea in the immediate vicinity of the well known Hittite site Alaca Höyük. In 1938 significant quantities of terracotta roof tiles, painted antefixes and revetment plaques were excavated at Pazarlı.[47] Although this material has yet to be adequately published, it has long been the subject of a controversial discussion. Scholars still disagree on the dating of these finds. Contrary to the excavators' very early date in the 8th or 7th century BC,[48] several scholars have argued for a much later date at the end of the 6th century,[49] and some have gone even further, suggesting a date of the first half of the 5th century BC.[50] F. Işık has recently revived the claims for the earlier date for at least some of the plaques basing his arguments on style.[51] As the author of the present article has argued elsewhere in detail, however, the architectural terracottas from Pazarlı cannot be any earlier than the second half the 6th century BC for iconographic and stylistic reasons.[52] Furthermore, the archaeological evidence at Pazarlı argues against an earlier date. In the published material there are no other finds datable to the mid-7th century BC.[53]

Fig. 8. Terracotta revetment plaque from Pazarlı.

Unlike the controversial opinions on the date, scholars seem to agree on the ethnic style of the Pazarlı plaques since they are usually labelled as *exempla* of Phrygian art.[54] Yet, as it will be argued below concerning the example of the so-called "warrior plaques", the relief style is heavily influenced by Ionian art.

In Pazarlı there are two different types of revetment plaques decorated with warrior figures, which differ in size and in composition: The so-called "great warrior plaques" are larger (Figs. 8-9). They consist of two warriors facing each other (Figs. 10-11). The smaller "small warrior plaques" are decorated with two warriors marching one behind the other. The small warriors are shown carrying round shields and brandishing spears above either their

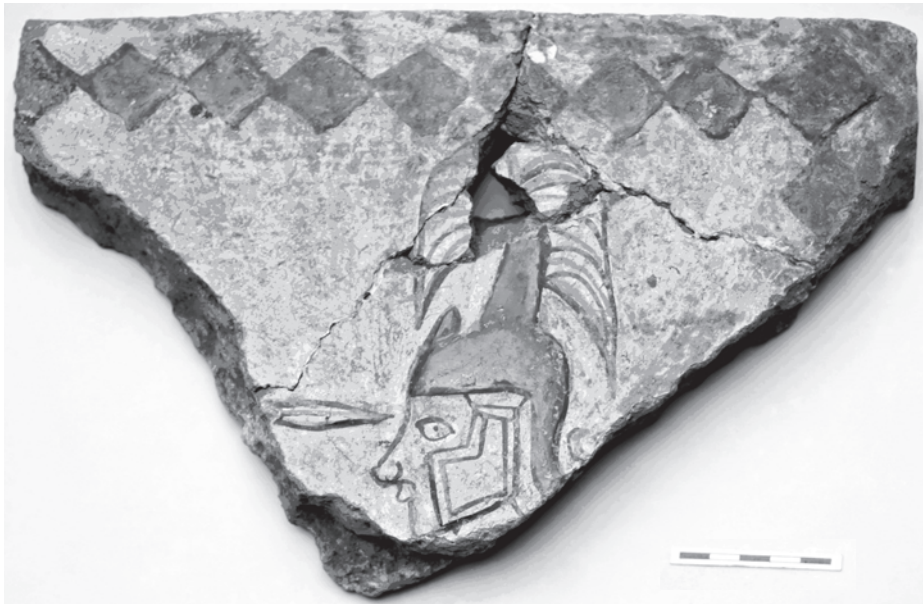

Fig. 9. Terracotta revetment plaque from Pazarlı.

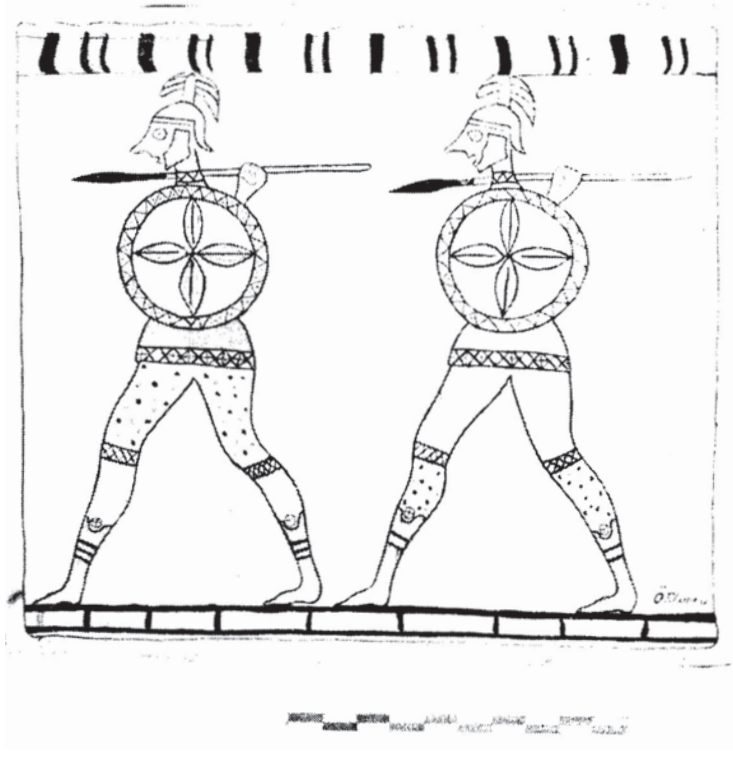

Fig. 10. Terracotta revetment plaque from Pazarlı.

shoulders or their heads. They wear sleeveless *chitons* and short "skirts". On some plaques the greaves and knee-length boots are indicated by painting (Fig. 10). Depicted with elongated legs and bird-like profiles the small warriors show an odd appearance, but this in itself is not a secure indication of an early date. Disproportionate bodies and unarticulated faces might have been caused by the difficulties for local craftsmen in transferring foreign models into local visual sources and artistic conceptions. Regarding the human figures on the Iron Age pottery from this region, the lack of interest in the body is evident.[55]

Even though the "small warrior plaques" give a "primitive" artistic impression (Fig. 11), it is clear that they depend closely on the more elaborate "great warrior plaques" as demonstrated by the use of the same helmet type. Comparing the helmets of the individual "small warrior plaques," the efforts of individual local craftsmen to imitate the Ionian model are clearly visible (Fig. 9).

Unfortunately, the plaque type of the "great warriors" has only survived in small fragments, so that its original size can only be approximately estimated. Most likely it had a nearly square shape each side measuring 54 cm (Fig. 8).[56] The rims of such plaques are decorated with a rhomboid motif.[57] On the relief the remains of a combat scene between two warriors is still recognizable. The fragments with intact right side edges show the head of a warrior facing left. He is portrayed wearing a helmet with a high crest, a slightly offset neck guard at the back, a vertical projection above the forehead and separately hinged cheek pieces.[58] Two short vertical wavy lines beneath the neck guard indicate the ends of the warrior's long hair. The cap is painted entirely black, while the cheek pieces and their hinge-joints are rendered with the reserve technique, and the rims are outlined twice. Possibly, this mixed painting technique was used to distinguish between the different materials of the helmet. So it can be supposed that the helmet was made of bronze, while the cheek pieces were made of leather.[59] On one of the three head fragments, however, the inner part of the cheek piece is also covered by black paint. Probably this is meant to depict a sheet of metal on the leather cheek piece. Obviously, the painters followed their model with varying attention to detail.

The crest of the helmet is painted with curly lines alternating between red, black and brown respectively. Such an elaborate helmet representation is to be found neither in Anatolia nor in Near Eastern art.[60] This is instead an Ionian helmet type which occurs in eastern Greek art in this developed form already in the last quarter of the 7th century BC.[61] The earliest examples come from Samos: The heads of Geryoneus on a bronze pectoral, the warrior on an ivory relief and the heads on the well known *kernos* all bear this type of helmet.[62] Besides these *aryballoi* in the shape of helmeted heads are common in Ionia (mainly in Rhodos) in the period between 620-520 BC (Fig. 12).[63] Further representations of such a helmet type are to be found on vases, coins and in sculpture.[64]

Fig. 11. Terracotta revetment plaque from Pazarlı, detail.

The helmet of the great warriors from Pazarlı finds its closest parallel on a clay flacon from Rhodos dateable to around 600 BC. Especially the similar rendering of the shape of the cheek pieces and their rims surrounded with double lines is striking. On the Rhodian *aryballos,* however, the cheek pieces are larger and cover most of the face. In comparison to the Pazarlı helmet, the neck-guard is much more extended and sharply off-set. Surely these differences arise from the early date of the *aryballos*. The imposing helmets of the Pazarlı warriors are comparable with the above-mentioned bronze pectoral and ivory relief from Samos, and also with the helmet of a warrior on a Chian chalice from Pitane.[65] On one of the fragments the upper part of a round-shaped shield with crescent décor is preserved. Such a shield is well attested in eastern Greek art.[66]

Fig. 12. Aryballos *in the shape of a helmeted warrior from Rhodos.*

Behind the head of the great warrior (Fig. 9), his right hand on the pommel of a sword is still visible, apparently shown raised against an opponent. The point of a spear in front of his eye shows that he was in the process of being attacked by his opponent.

Unfortunately, only a few fragments from the left side of the plaque have survived on which only the legs and body of the opponent is visible, while the head is completely lacking. The opponent is also equipped with a round shield. The vertical line and the zigzag pattern on his legs indicate that this warrior is wearing trousers. The border of his short *chiton* is painted with a net-dot-pattern. Over his *chiton* the warrior seems to wear another cloth which is differentiated by horizontal lines. On the two other fragments only the lower legs of both warriors are preserved.[67] Remarkably, there is no indication of trousers painted on their legs. Instead, both warriors are wearing black greaves and red shoes.[68]

With regard to the helmet, round shield, sword and spear, there can be no doubt that the Pazarlı-warriors go back to common hoplite types of eastern Greek art. The composition of the combat group, however, consists of an oddity which finds no parallels in the Greek representations of *monomachiai*. A close comparison with the combat scenes on eastern Greek vases makes the difference clear.[69] On the Pazarlı plaque, the shields of both warriors are rendered in the foreground. Consequently, the warrior on the left side must have carried his shield on his right arm. On the Greek representations of this scene the shield of the left warrior is always rendered from the inner side, because the warrior carries it on his left arm, while he lifts up his right arm with his weapon to attack. This perceptively correct rendering can be found in all the Greek combat scenes.[70]

The representations of the antithetical warrior group covered by their shields, however, seem to be a convention of the strictly symmetrical compositions of Near Eastern art. Such a rendering finds counterparts in the late Hittite orthostate reliefs in Karatepe-Aslantaş.[71] Later examples of pairs of warriors with similarly crested helmets and round shields were shown flanking the door of the Yılan Taş tomb in the Phrygian highlands and in the wood painting from the tumulus grave in Tatarlı (Phrygia) both datable to around the middle of the 5th century BC.[72]

There is no doubt that the Pazarlı-warriors were created using eastern Greek hoplite models. The particular composition of these pieces with the two shields shown in the foreground follows, however, a convention of local Anatolian art.

Conclusion

From this brief survey it is clear that the reception of Greek type decorated clay plaques in the Iron Age settlements of the Halys Basin can be directly linked with the Greek city of Amisos.[73] The terracotta plaques from the indigenous sites represent a variety of contemporary types and imagery used in western Asia Minor during the Archaic period. Furthermore, revetment plaques with Anatolian décor were also employed. By showing the variety of choices represented in relation to the local visual sources, it becomes clear how the foreign roofing technology and with it its décor, imagery and myths were adopted. Each settlement seems to have had its own scale of reception. The narrative continuous frieze from Akalan was produced using different matrices, which find no other parallels among architectural terracottas. Imported building technologies and architectural decorations probably gave the rich and powerful elite new means to distinguish themselves.

In Köyiçi Tepesi animal friezes of the eastern Greek figure style are adopted using an unusual appliqué technique in order to create a composition for the traditional subject "goats at the tree of life". The warriors with Ionian helmet types from Pazarlı demonstrate how the eastern Greek hoplite model is integrated into the symmetrical conception of local art.

The tradition of architectural reliefs is very old in Anatolia.[74] The orthostate sculptures from Karatepe-Aslantaş and the recent finds of fragmentary human reliefs in Kerkenes Dağ show that this tradition continued through the Iron Age.[75] However, the origins of the clay architectural reliefs are still open for discussion.[76] Attempts to consider central Anatolia as the birth place of the revetment plaques are not convincing due to the absence of well dated evidence.[77]

Independently of the question of whether the use of clay architectural reliefs was known in Anatolia before contact with the Ionians, we may conclude that the figural scenes on the earlier clay friezes from the Halys region were adopted from eastern Greek art. The archaeological terracottas examined here

provide evidence for the indigenous perception and adoption of Ionian imagery. They allow an alternative insight into the ways in which indigenous people responded to the contact with their culturally dissimilar Ionian neighbours.

Notes

1 According to Possidov 1996, 416 the "barbarization of the Greeks" was natural and inevitable as was the "Hellenization of the Barbarians".
2 For example in the case of the foundation of Sinope: Matthews 1978, 107-108; Langella 1997, 20-23.
3 Hdt. 1.72.
4 The ancient name of the Syrians inhabiting Pontic Kappadokia, by which they were distinguished from the southern Syrians, who were of darker complexion (Strab. 16.737; Plin. *N.H*. 6.3; Eustath, ad Dionys. 772, 970).
5 For the localiziation of Zalpa, see Haas 1977, 18; Czichon in press. A research project at Oymaağaç Höyük on the eastern shore of the Halys River initiated in and conducted by R.M. Czichon since 2006 is expected to provide new archaeological evidence on this question.
6 Langella 1997, 21.
7 Hdt 4.12; Ivantschik 1998, 312.
8 For a discussion of the date of Sinope's foundation, see Ivantschik 1998, 326-330; Langella 1997, 125-132.
9 Schol. *Ap. Rhod*. 184 ad 2.724; 185-186 ad 2.752. Cf. Saprykin 1997, 29-30.
10 Ps.-Scym. 986.
11 Xen. *Anab*. 5.5. On the Mossynoikoi, see Lipka 1995, 69-71.
12 For the Milesian foundation of Amisos, there is only Strabon's evidence (12.3.4), which conflicts with the information of Ps.-Skymnos (1016-1917) on the Phokaian foundation of the city. For detailed discussion of this topic, see Summerer 2005, 129-159.
13 Ps.-Skymnos 956-959.
14 The names Chadisia and Teiria are preserved in a fragment of Hekataios from Miletos (*FGrH* 1 F 200, 1 F 201). Plinius (*N.H.* 6.9) describes a town near the river Chadisia at modern Karabahce, 20 km east of Amisos. It has been suggested that Teiria is identical with Soteiria which is mentioned by Plinius among the five cities in Themiskyra (Olshausen & Biller 1984, 170-171). The Syro-Kappadokian city Pteria was mentioned by Herodotos. Herodotos'description of the location of Pteria, in a line with Sinope beyond Halys, fits with the area around Amisos (Hdt 1, 74-76).
15 Strabon 12.3,4.
16 Akurgal & Budde 1956, pl. 3. This type of pottery from Boğazköy: Bossert 2000, 77, N. 237; from the region of Çorum: Polat 1993, fig. 5-7.9.11.13.
17 Akurgal & Budde 1956, pl. 2; Akurgal 1955, pl. 33.
18 The huge amount of excavated materials now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul is currently entirely unknown to scholars. The excavation material consists mostly of Hellenistic pottery, while the total of the Archaic finds is not numerous. Among them the high proportion of local pottery is striking (Summerer 2005, 142-145, fig. 8-10).
19 Macridy 1907, pl. 10; Cummer 1976, pl. 7, 53-57.

20 Amasya Museum Inv. A.75.26.1 The bird bowl was found in the village Dalsaray near Mecitözü by a farmer. Judging from its fine state of preservation it must have been found in a grave.
21 The dissertation of Michael Kerschner on the Ionian bird-bowls is to be published. I am grateful to Michael Kerschner for the classification of the sample in the Amasya Museum.
22 Bossert 2000, pl. 143, 1351, 1350a-c. On one of the eastern Greek sherds the fragmentary representation of a running dog under a chariot is preserved. Contrary to Walter-Karydi 1970, 6 note 14; 9, who classifies this sherd as Aiolian, Bossert 2000, 148 considers it, following Metzger 1967, 350, a work of "Camiros style".
23 von der Osten 1937, pl. 3,9; Metzger 1967, 350-351, fig. 2.
24 Matsumara 2000, fig. 30.
25 Matsumara 2000, fig. 28. On the dating of IId see Omura 2001, 328.
26 Sherds decorated with concentric half circles are also found in Porsuk in Southern Kappadokia (Dupré 1983, 68 Cat. 42.74. 47 pl. 50) and at Tarsos in Kilikia (Goldman 1963, 305). For further protogeometric pottery found in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Lemos 2002, 228, who does not consider the finds from Tharsos, Porsuk and Kaman-Kalehöyük.
27 The architectural terracottas from Akalan are only partially published (Macridy 1907; Åkerström 1966, 121-194). The author of the present article is preparing a full publication of this material (Summerer 2005).
28 The architectural terracottas from Amisos (Summerer 2005, fig. 4-6).
29 Contrary to this Summers 2006, 684-688 attempts to connect Akalan with Phrygian tile manufacture.
30 *Simas* from Miletos: von Graeve 1987, 29 cat. 77 pl. 19, 77; von Graeve 1991, pl. 24, 1. Fikellura vases: von Greave 1987, pl. 14; von Graeve 1991, pl. 15, 37.40.
31 Schiffler 1976, 216 note 355.
32 Some fragmentary terracotta plaques with moulded crestings showing painted centaurs galloping and carrying tree braches in their hands of unknown origin are kept at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen: Christiansen 1985, 142-143, figs. 7-8. They are supposed to be from Etruria, but based on the style and the colour scheme used, they may have come from Anatolia, possibly from Euromos.
33 The representations of the Pholos myth are very rare on the East Greek vases, as are mythological representations in general. There are no clear indications that the centaur carrying branches on a fragmentary Chian ring vase from Naukratis depicts the Pholos myth (Lemos 1991, 108. 321 no. 1440; Tempesta 1998, 55, pl. 28, 1). If the interpretation is correct, the scene with the three injured centaurs on the fragmentary Fikelurian amphora from Histria represents the only surviving example (Tempesta 1998, 59 pl. 34, 3). Indeed, the best parallel for the composition of the Akalan frieze with centaurs running away from Herakles is a Middle Corinthian *skyphos* in Paris (Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 104 fig. 183).
34 Strabon 12.3.3: describes a stronghold called Kizari at the *Stephane Limne* with the ruins of a royal palace. Since no other ancient sites are known at the Lake Ladik, it is likely that the site at Köyiçi Tepesi is Strabon's Kizari.
35 This material is going to be published in a detailed study by the present author (Summerer 2005).

36 According to Schmöckel 1957/1958, 374-378 this theme was the symbol of the eternity of the life. See also Bossert 2000, 50 with note 85. Contrarily, Åkerström 1966, 226 believes it derives from the oriental hunting scene.
37 Karatepe relief: Çambel & Özyar 2003, 82 cat. NKr 10 pl. 80-81; pottery: Prayon 1987, pl. 39a; Bossert 2000, fig. 3 f.
38 The affirmation of Akurgal 1943, 36; Akurgal 1955, 79 and Prayon 1987, 178, that this motif has no precedent in Greek art, is incorrect. The wild goats flanking the "tree of life" antithetically are first attested in Greece in late Geometric art (*CVA* Copenhagen 2, 67, 4). A *kothon* of unknown provenience carrying a depiction of this subject was originally classified as "Boiotian". Ruckert 1976, 38, however, excludes its Boiotian origin, and attributes it to Attica due to shape of the vase. Another example for the use of the motif "goats at the life tree" in early Greek pottery is a Geometric *kantharos* which was found on Cyprus, now in the Museum of Larnaca (Buchholz 2000, 216 note 1 pl. 31 (not shown; on the back side of the vase)). "Goats flanking the tree of life" is also found on a Mycenean *skyphos* from Lefkandi (Popham & Milburn 1971, 340 pl. 54,1).
39 In eastern Greek vase painting the antithetical mounting goats are found on a Rhodian *oinochoe* (*CVA* Italia. Rodi, no. 4 pl. 7-8) and on two Aiolian jugs (Iren 2003, pl. 14 cat. 75).
40 A comparable composition is found on a clay *sima* from Western Asia Minor in Boston, which shows a tree like motif between two antithetical griffons (Åkerström 1966, 42 pl. 16). It was thought that a "tree of life" was also placed between antithetical *pegasoi* on the lateral *simas* from Gordion although the traces of such a tree are hardly visible (Hosstetter 1994, 13).
41 Åkerström 1966, pl. 84, 4; 85; 3; 88, 1-4. There is a new discovery of a fragmentary bronze with antithetical goats from Kerkenes Dağ which Summers & Summers 2002 consider to have been used in an architectural context.
42 Åkerström 1966, pl. 85,3; 88,1-4.
43 Prayon 1987, pl. 39a-c. Representations of the wild goats on the so called Phrygian vases (Akurgal 1955, pl. 19, a; 21, b; 22 middle; 28 b; 29, a above; Bossert 2000, 83 fig. 34, b; 84; 24, a). The goats on the ivory relief excavated at Kerkenes Dağ in 1996 are classified unconvincingly as "Median" by Dusinberre 2003, fig. 6. They have bulky bodies and short thick horns. Assyrian, Urartian and late Hittite goats are rendered also with short thick horns. See, for example, the strongly stylized goats at the "tree of life" on the Karatepe reliefs of the late Hittite period (Çambel & Özyar 2003, pl. 80).
44 According to Tietz 2001, 188 such a horn with knobs depicts a certain goat species: *Capra aegagrus aegagrus*.
45 Schiering 1957, 11 pl. 12, 2; Walter 1968, 63-66 pl. 94, 503; Cook & Dupont 1998, 36-38 figs. 8.5.
46 This technique is attested only in Gordion (Åkerström 1966, 150-151 pl. 75). The suggestion of Åkerström 1966, 151 note 14, that this technique was also used for Archaic architectural terracottas from Rome, seems to be an error, since they are reported to be moulded by matrices (Downey 1995, 19).
47 Koşay 1941; Åkerström 1966, 161-189.
48 Koşay 1941.
49 Bittel 1939, 143 excludes a date before the end of 7th century BC, considers rather a date within the 6th century BC. Akurgal 1943, 27-31; Akurgal 1955, 80 proposes a date in the mid-6th century BC. Boardman 1999, 92 fig. 103.

50 Schefold 1950, 145-146; Åkerström 1966, 234.
51 With this early date Işık 1991, 64-76 tries to prove that the revetment plaques had their origin in Central Anatolia. This theory is accepted by Greco 2000, 236 but rejected by Glendinning 1996, 103 note 17.
52 Summerer 2005.
53 Summerer 2005.
54 Akurgal 1955, 69-80; Woolley 1961, 162-166; Edrich 1969, 78-83; Prayon 1987, 172-182; Held 1999, 154 fig. 14; Boardman 1999, 92 fig. 103
55 See for example the so-called warrior *dinos* from Boğazköy: Bossert 2000, 53 no. 265 colour pl. C
56 According to the estimate of Åkerström 1966, 167-170 fig. 50 the plaque was 54 cm high and 50 cm wide. However, the preserved relief motif indicates a plaque form of equal sides.
57 Such a decoration of the rims of the clay plaque finds its parallel in Pergamon, Midas City and Gordion (Åkerström 1966, 22 figs. 6.82 pl. 9, 1-3; Glendinning 1996, pl. 32, 1; Glendinning 2002, 34 fig. above right).
58 The affirmation of Held 1999, 154, fig. 154 that the helmets from Pazarlı had no vertical protection, is incorrect.
59 Edrich 1969, 78 also agrees that such a rendering differentiates the varying material pieces of the helmet (bronze sheet black; reserved cheek pieces of felt or leather).
60 Dezsö 2001, 125-126 cat. 264-267 lists the Pazarlı plaques in his catalogue of the Near Eastern helmet types as an isolated group and dates them to the first half of the 7th century BC without any supporting argument.
61 Snodgrass 1964, 32. According to Held 1999, 141-157 the Ionian helmet with separate cheek pieces originally derived from the Urartian helmet, but developed in Ionia. Held 1999, 154 seems to consider the Pazarlı helmets somehow as a connecting link between Urartu and Ionia, but he has no precise arguments for this. Since the "warrior plaques" from Pazarlı are of a much later date than the first representations of Ionian helmets from Samos, they can hardly have served as mediators between Urartu and Ionia.
62 The Samian bronze pectoral (Brize 1985, pl. 16; Held 1999, fig. 7.8).
63 Snodgrass 1964, 31-34, fig. 17; Edrich 1969, 76-84.
64 Sculpture of a warrior from Samos (Held 1999, fig. 12). Klazomenian amphora (Held 1999, fig. 11). Fikellura amphora (Walter-Karydi 1973, 133 no. 555 pl. 71). Ionian amphora from Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, no. 2618 pl. 126-127; Born & Hansen 1994, 74 fig. 65). Klazomenian sarcophagus (Cook 1981, pl. 6, 1-2). Phokaian coins (Langlotz 1975, pl. 2, 2).
65 Lemos 1991, cat. 800, fig. 58.
66 Lemos 1991, colour pl. 2 no. 732.
67 Åkerström 1966, pl. 95, 4; 96, 2.3.
68 Åkerström 1966, 168 pl. 95, 4 describes erroneously the warrior's feet as naked.
69 See, for example, the well known Euphorbos plate (Cook & Dupont 1998, fig. 290). Another example is an eastern Greek fragment from Berezan' (Kryzhytskyy 2003, 501 fig. 3, 1).
70 Combat *schemata* with two warriors both covered by their shields appear occasionally in early vase painting: An example for this is the well-known combat scene on the so-called Aristonothos *crater* (Boardman 1998, fig. 282. 1,2). In the 6th century BC, however, the shields are always rendered correctly, see for example

the combat scenes on the Klazomenian sarcophagi and Ionian vases (Cook 1981, 46 fig. 31, pl. 15; Lemos 1991, colour pl. 3, no. 740). The correct rendering is to be found in a combat scene on an architectural terracotta in Zurich, which comes probably from northwestern Asia Minor. This fragmentary plaque was acquired on the antiquities market by the Zurich museum (*Kunst der Antike 1982*, 23 fig. 48 a; Buzzi 2000, 7-9, pl. 3, 3).

71 Çambel & Özyar 2003, 69-70.105 pl. 36-37.148-149.

72 Yılan Taş (Ramsay 1883, pl. 18; von Gall 1999, 149-160). Tatarlı (Summerer 2007, fig. 10).

73 Contrary to this Summers 2006, 684-688 sees the tiles in Akalan as a northern extension of a Central Anatolian tile making industry". Summers makes no argument for this suggestion but refers only to Cummer and "others". Since to my knowledge there are no such proposals, Summers seems to have misunderstood Cummer's comment.

74 Özyar 2003, 107-115.

75 Çambel & Özyar 2003; Summers & Summers 2004.

76 On the Greek mainland clay revetment plaques were unknown. Relief clay plaques were in use in Etruria already in the 7th century BC (Greco 2000, 232) while the earliest examples in Anatolia are attested at Sardes and Larisa in the first half of the 6th century BC (Winter 1993, 29-33).

77 Işık 1991, 64-86 argues that the Phrygian rock monuments with relief façades attest to the use of clay revetment plaques already at the end of the 8th century BC. Indeed, the dating of these rock façades is open to discussion. For the latest discussion, see Berndt 2002, 11-14; 18-20 with literature.

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