

**Paths and Places:
The Landscape Identity of Colophon 1300-302BC**

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Foreword

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The intention in this study is to investigate the landscape of the ancient polis of Colophon, applying Julian Thomas' (1996) phenomenological concept *landscape identity*. Colophon, located a dozen kilometers from the coast in Western Asia Minor by Degirmenderes, 40 kilometers south of Izmir and 20 kilometers west of Torbali (Map 1), receives little attention by scholars today. It is mostly mentioned in a section or a phrase in works considering ancient urbanism (Demand 1990: 32; Hansen 2006: 54). Colophon was, however, once a power to be reckoned with and amongst the twelve Ionian cities of the *Dodekapolis* (Roebuck 1979: 62). In its territory, the oracle of Apollo Clarios and the port city of Notion are the most famous sites. Places such as Claros received mention by famous authors like Hesiod (*Malempodeia* 1) who notes the unhappy meeting between Chalcas and Mopsus to have taken place there.

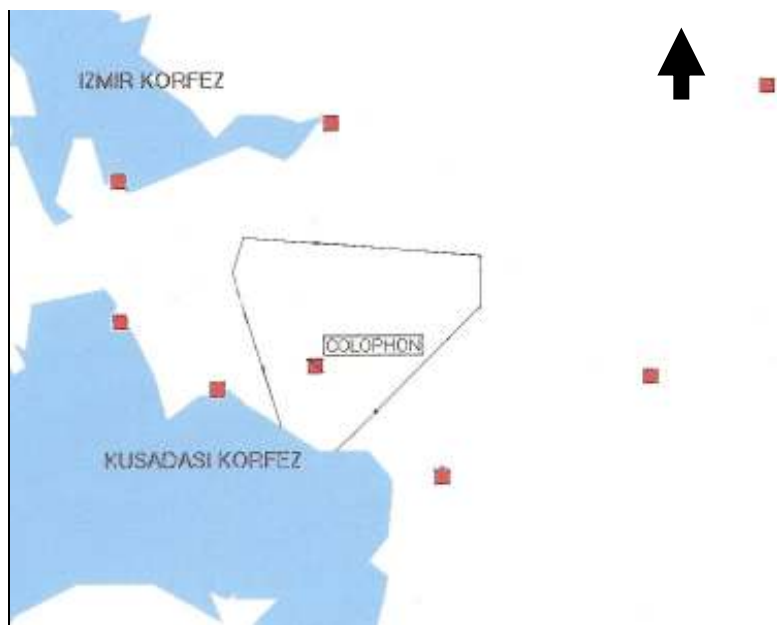


Map 1: Overview of ancient and modern cities

In regards to the historical situation of Colophon, Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.1303 B) makes an observation that will remain a central throughout this study: The constant strife between Colophon and its port city Notion has its cause in the geography. The landscape is such that it cannot provide for two cities to peacefully coexist. There are three agents in this relationship: The Colophonians, the Notians and *the geography*. The notion of the landscape's role in the social relations is underlined, thus providing a good vantage point for a landscape analysis. The local dynamics between these agents must also be seen in a wider perspective: The

impact of the changing power relations in the rest of the region are also to be assessed. To conceptualize this I apply the interdependent global satellite- and local microscope perspective (Meyer 2006). In regards to Colophon's relationship with the greater regional powers, the Colonization of Siris in Magna Graecia becomes relevant. Was this a large scale polis relocation of Colophon in the 7th century BC in face of a growing Lydian (Hansen 2006: 54) or a colonial enterprise driven by other causes? The period 1300-302 BC is the scope of this study, from the Mycenaean Age with Colophon's famous tholos tomb (Alden Bridges Jr. 1974: 264) until Lysimachus' conquest (Holland 1944: 93). I will briefly survey the period after 302 BC as a background to strengthen my final conclusions, while the main focus rests on the Archaic and Classical period. To understand the interplay between the satellite and the microscope perspectives from an historical angle of a thousand years, the parallel concepts of long term public time and the immediate human experience of lived time is to be employed.

The sources on Colophon are both historical (ch.2) and archaeological (ch.3). In addition I looked at place names (ch.5) and conducted a visual landscape survey and brief registration of ancient remains with GPS (ch.4) in what I considered the territory of Colophon between 9th and 21st of September 2006. The extent of the chora is not known, except that it bordered to Clazomenaea and Teos, and hosted the Clarian Oracle and Notion (Rubenstein 2004: 1078). Thiessen Polygons were applied to determine the boundaries of Colophon further (Map 2). Chapter 6 provides a theoretical and methodological "tool kit" of concepts that are employed in the final analysis (ch.7).



Map2:Thiessen Polygons based on the distance between Colophon and the Dodekapolis and Lydian cities.

Before starting, some phrases needs to be explained: “New Colophon” is the Colophon of the 4th century while “Old Colophon” is the Archaic polis. “Colophon by the sea” would then be Notion. These terms have been discussed (Milne 1941: 8), but this topic is not relevant to my study. I use “Ionian” as an ethnic term. The references to ancient Greek and Latin authors follow *Liddle & Scott Greek-English Lexicon* (1973) *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968).

Chapter 2: Historical Sources

1: Introduction

This chapter mainly presents a summary of Colophon's history. Milne (1941) has produced an excellent study of the written sources, but I intend to change the focus slightly. This chapter also provides a set of data that can be correlated with the material sources. Some themes recur in the texts and in the archaeological material, providing different angles on similar topics (Morris 2000: 28). A theme is a common denominator that joins archaeology with the narratives of the past. Whether the texts are biased or not, become less importance as they still express a contemporary author's view on a situation, for example that of Aristotle's (*Pol.* 5.1303 B) who contends that the reason for the endless strife between Colophon and Notion is to be found in the landscape. When treating the neighbors of Colophon, for example the Lydians, it is necessary to mention some archaeological sources as well to present their culture in a broader light.

2: Mycenaens and Hittites

If one looks at the written sources, it may seem that the Mycenaean and Hittite civilizations did not always have a friendly relationship when they met in Asia Minor. It has become increasingly accepted that the Ahhiyawa of the Hittite scripts were the Mycenaens and the Ahhiyawa often seems to have been in conflict with Hattusha (Bryce 1998: 60-61). In *the Tawagalawa letter*, to which the addressee is unfortunately unknown, but now assumed to be Mycenaean, it seems that the Hittites chased an outlaw, Piamaradu, inside the territory of Millawanda. Piamaradu escaped by sea and the Hittites either wanted Piamaradu to be handed over, or that he stayed in the lands of the Ahhiyawa (Hooker 1976: 124, text 1). That Millawanda, identified as Miletus, which at the time may have been a base for the Mycenaens (Bryce 1998: 61), was a safe haven for the enemies of the Hittites, reveal tensions in the relationship between the two powers although in a polite tone. At a later stage, just before the Hittites and the Egyptians fought at Kadesh, the rulers of Hatti issued a list of neighbors and allies in which the Ahhiyawa were not mentioned (Hooker 1976: 122; Bryce 1989: 16). The Attack by the Hittites upon the kingdom of Arzawan, located in the southern part of the Izmir Province by Seldjuk, may be yet another evidence of these tensions as it seems that this country was under the Mycenaean influence. The war took place in the close vicinity of Colophon as well. Bademgedigi, identified as the Arzawan city of Puranda, was destroyed and never to fully recovered in the late 14th century by king Mursili II (Greaves and

Helwing 2001: 466). Puranda (map1, ch.1) was located between the hammer and the anvil at the front by the Hittites and Arzawan kingdom with its capital Apasas, the later Ephesus, just south of Colophon (Spier 1983: 24-25). The Mycenaean and Hittites declined simultaneously in the 13th century BC (Dunbabin and Boardman 1979: 17), and thus there were no political force in Colophon to prevent settlers from the west in the 11th century BC.

3: Colonization

Little is known of the 11th century, but in the 8th century BC the Greek world enters was an age of rapid development: The alphabet was adopted from the trading power of Phoenicia and the first Olympic Games were held in 776 BC. Vase painting and art takes a leap with the new Corinthian style and one sees the emergence of the first hoplites, perhaps heralding an essential change not only in warfare but also in terms of the larger society. Fighting in closed ranks with shields and spears was not a new invention, but the citizen soldiery was. This is the Archaic Age, thriving with progress (Gates 2003: 194; Meyer 2006; Snodgrass 2000: 421). How is Colophon's role in this world described, and how is Colophon treated in a contemporary setting?

According to Strabo (14.1.3) the sons of king Codrus founded the Ionian cities in Asia Minor. Colophon was founded by Andraemon of Pylus. In the mythology of Troy, Colophon is amongst the many cities taken by Achilles (*Appolod.* 3.33). Colophon was allegedly the home of brave warriors: Smyrna was according to myth originally Aiolic until it was conquered by the Colophonians (*Paus.* 7.5.11). This must have been before 688 BC when Smyrna had a *Ionian* Olympic champion (Rubenstein 2004: 1099). According to Herodotus (1.150), there had been *stasis* in Colophon and the losing side went into refuge to Smyrna, which they captured from the Aeolians. Strabo (14.1.4), on his side, is of the opinion that Smyrna was a Leleg city captured by the Aeolians. The fleeing Leleges took refuge in Colophon which then took action on their behalf, defeating Smyrna. Herodotus (Sahin 1998: 13) also mention that Notion was an Aeolian city conquered by Colophon in an undatable past. On warfare, Strabo (14.1.28) notes the powerful Colophonian Cavalry. The expression *Colophona epitithenai*, "to add a Colophonian", or "to finish off", may have been a reference to the skills of the Colophonians on the battlefield. Plato, on his side, relates this to the double vote Colophon held at the Panionion for having taken Smyrna from the Aeolians (Peck 2007).

In the literature of the Archaic period, Colophon features in well known sources. The Colophonian conquest is the topic in some of the earliest written sources (*Mimn.* 9). Claros is mentioned in *Homerica Margarites* (1) and in *the Homeric Hymns* as “gleaming Claros” passed by sad Leto (3.40) and it is to where Artemisia meets Apollo (12.4). In the Greek literature of the Archaic Age Colophon and Claros are treated as the home of brave warriors and “gleaming Claros”. Other sources, like the third fragment of the late Archaic poet Xenophanes, focus on *eastern hubris*, which is a suited starting point for looking further at Colophon’s contact with its non-Greek neighbors.

The Eastern Greeks had mighty neighbors although they defeated the local Carians, Mygdonians and Lelegs (*Ael.* 8.5). Close to Ionia, two great empires were located, that of Phrygia and Lydia. Phrygia collapsed around 700 BC by the hands of the Cimmerians, but had established a lasting legacy. Phrygia had taken over as leaders of Anatolia from the Hittites. Most remains of the Phrygians come from the period when the Lydians were the new masters of Anatolia, after Midas, their last and only well known king, had lost Gordion. The great mounds at Gordion are dated to the 7-6th century BC while the city’s expanse was at a peak in the period 700-300 BC. Lydia ruled Asia Minor until 546 BC, when they were defeated by the Persians. The Lydians were known for their extravagance and riches. They had rich metal ores and donated large sums to Greek sanctuaries as well as inventing coinage (Boardman 1980: 88 ; Gates M-H 1997: 272; Foss and Hanfmann 1983: 8-11). It is probable that the Greeks coming in the 11th century BC to for example Smyrna and Claros soon had contact with the civilizations of the East. The Caysteros delta that stretches from Tire to Ephesus is described in Arrian’s *The Anabasis of Alexander* (5.6.4) in the 2nd century AD as a Lydian plain. The cities Ephesus, Phocaea, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae and Colophon were all at one point included in the Lydian Empire, and shared linguistic traits according to Herodotus (1.142.1).

The plains of Lydia are the site of numerous mounds, mostly dating from the 7th to the 4th century BC. Gigantic mounds are found as far away as 36 kilometers to the north-east and 20 km east of Sardis. Of smaller mounds there are countless that lies along the gentle chalkstone ridges stretching along the Hermos valley of Sardis (map1, ch.1). The mounds are so many that the area where they are located is called Bin Tepe, literally “the thousand mounds”! Andrew and Nancy Ramage (1971: 159-160; Foss and Hanfmann 1983: 13) has seen them in connection with roads and social organization as they tend to lay in groups 14 km from

Sardis, perhaps being the final resting places of the dead members of the elite demarking ownership of lands to family lines. The burial mounds are also present around another Lydian city, Tire. That Arrian's *the Anabasis of Alexander* (5.6.4) refers to the plains as Lydian is in such a context logical not only because they once had belonged to Lydia, but as they probably were distinct from other plains with their many mounds.

The strong cavalry of Colophon was defeated by the Lydians under Gyges, who not only waged war on the Greeks, but also sometimes cultivated their friendship with gifts to Delphi (*Hdt.* 1.14.1 and 1.15.1). Xenophanes (*frag.*3), a native of Colophon perhaps borne as early as 620 BC accused his fellow citizens of having grown decadent after they had met with the Lydians. "The thousands" clad in purple (line 4), whether an elite or a reference to the many rich, as Aristotle later thought (*Pol.* 4.1290B), were criticized for hubris (Leshner 1992: 64-65). Hunt (1947: 75) contends that Colophon was a city ruled by rich "knights". When they faced conquest, they were no longer soldiers, but soft purple clad weaklings wearing golden jewels and made themselves friends and allies with the Lydians according to Athenaeus (12.426).

Athenaeus (12.5.23) tells that Colophon's colony Siris in Magna Graecia was as decadent as its mother city. The Colophonians had so many feasts that they neither saw the sun go up or down (*Ath.*12.426), and that they taught the Milesians their hubris-like habits (*Ath.* 12.524). Eastern decadence and purple robes like those of the Lydians had been prime causes to loss in war. This destiny also fell upon Sybaris for similar reasons (*Ael.* 1.19). Dionysos of Halicarnassus (4.25.3) agrees with Athenaeus and describes the Ionians as weak and an easy match for the barbarians.

The Colophonians were different from most other Ionian cities in that they according to Herodotus (1.147) together with the Ephesians did not celebrate Apaturia, something which is taken up in Plutarch's *Moralia* when discussing the flaws of Herodotus. Plutarch, in his *Moralia* (11.860 F), deems that Herodotus in this way deprives the Colophonians and Ephesians of a valid claim to have a royal lineage established by the sons of Codrus. The Apaturia is in fact something the Ionians had in common with the mainland Greeks. That Colophon was *not* founded by a son of Codrus is disputed by Aelian (8.5) who states that Neleus son of Codrus founded Colophon after having defeated the Carians, Mygdonians and Lelegs in the area. Stories of violence in the age of colonization are common; according to Herodotus (1.146) the Ionians killed the native men in the area where they founded their city.

They then married the surviving women, which still in the days of Herodotus took vows to never eat with or call their husbands by their name.

In Aristotle's *Politics* (4.1290 B) Colophon was an oligarchy, but one where the rich were in majority! Colophon had a harbor called Notion, and due to the geographic circumstances, they were not permitted to live in peace as the landscape did not allow for two cities to live in harmony (*Arist.Pol.* 5.1303 B). Of course we must see this in relation with the contentious near past of Colophon in Aristotle's days, when during the Peloponnesian War (*Thuc.* 3.34-35) the Colophonians in Notion were aided by the Persians while a pro-Athenian party in Notion had gained support of the Athenian admiral Paches, who settled the matter in favor of the Notians and established a garrison. He instituted democratic laws and settled colonists. Such internal relations in the near past of Colophon must have made it easy for Aristotle to employ Colophon and Notion as examples of bad neighbors.

It is in the fifth century that Notion is mentioned in the texts for the first (Sahin 1998: 13). In the first tribute list of Athens in 429 BC, Colophon was assessed for 3 talents, but in the third list, the sum was halved. Milne (1941: 5 and 8) observes that Colophon was assessed separately from Notion, indicating perhaps that the political split between the port and the main city had grown deep. In 409 BC Thrasyllus marches on Colophon after landing in Notion, but he did not manage to capture the city from the Persians permanently, who had arrived on invitation from some of the Colophonians. Thrasyllus exacted allegiance from the Colophonians and raided Lydia from there, but he was driven off by the Persian Cavalry. In this note by Xenophon in his *Hellenica* (1.2.5-10) the short distance to Lydia and the use of Cavalry is emphasized. That Colophon did not support Thrasyllus may reflect pro-Persian sentiments going back to early times. Colophon did, for example, not participate in the Ionian rebellion (Emelyn-Jones 1980: 17). By the Kings Peace in 386 BC the Greeks of Asia Minor was practically once again under Persia until the age of Alexander.

4: Hellenism and the Roman Empire

In 302, Lysimachus invaded Colophon, and in 294 Prepelaos deported the inhabitants to populate the re-founded Ephesus, Arsinöe (*Paus* 1.9.7). Milne (1941: 6) connects this to Lysimachus' political focus on the Aegean. Much later Dio Chrysostom in his *Discourses* (5.47) wonders why such an unknown city like Colophon should house Apollo. Colophon also claimed to be the home of Homer in the 2nd century AD. From now on, Colophon was

often referred to in relation to Claros, which fame attracted characters like Alexander (*Paus.* 7.5.1-4) and Germanicus (*Tac. Annals* 2.54). Aelius Aristides (*Oration* 49.38 LB) describes a bustling and lively oracular site. In Statius's *Thebaid* (8.199) Claros and Branchidae are mentioned in the same breath in a context where their largess is emphasized.

Notion flourished and became an independent polis in 188 BC by the Aphamean peace, and Claros also experienced a height and became an international oracular site. Perhaps it had been on the rise from the 300's BC, as Alexander sought out Apollo Clarios rather than the oracle of Apollo Branchidae after his sleep at Mount Pagos (La Geniere 2003: 205; Sahin 1998: 15) In the Roman period, the "superstars" of the time continue to visit Claros; it is here Germanicus receives word of his own death (*Tac. Annals* 2.54). But Claros was still reckoned as being of Colophon in the literary sources (*Luc. Jup. trag.* 30). Lucian (*Alex.* 8) mentions the Colophon's Apollo Clarios together with Branchidae and Delphi indicating its importance, and Iamblicus (*De Myst. Aeg.* 3.11) describes to some detail the rituals conducted by the priest of Apollo. According to this 4th century AD source, Apollo gave his visions to a priest through a holy water source inside the *cavea* of Apollo. However, before moving to the archaeological sources, a few inferences may be derived from the texts.

5: Conclusion

From the sources of Mycenaean Age, it seems that the Colophon Plain was a geographical and cultural meeting place between Arzawans, Hittites and Mycenaeans. The destruction of Puranda in the late 14th century made it an easy prey for the later Greek colonists that settled at Colophon as none could stop them. Later, in the early Archaic sources, Xenophanes and Mimnermos contend the Colophonians at some point to have been great warriors, conquering Smyrna before 688 BC. Xenophanes (*frag.* 3) implicates the strength of the Colophonians by blaming them to have grown weak after the Lydian influence (...after having been strong). The later classical sources, most notable, of Herodotus and Aristotle, treat Colophon as a once mighty city, but by time the township of Notion appears as well in the sources. Strife and warfare between Colophon and Notion are the focus of Aristotle and Herodotus, and interestingly Aristotle ties this up to the geographical locations of the two cities; the sites do not allow happy co-existence. Later Notion becomes an independent city in the Hellenistic Age. Claros is mentioned in as early sources as the works of Hesiod, and in the Hellenistic and Roman period it has become one of the greatest oracles in the world, mentioned together with Delphi and Branchidae. Topics raised by Xenophanes and Dio Chrysostom's time are

Colophon's decline and the "corrupting" Lydian cultural connection. But even in the Roman Age, Claros is mentioned as the oracle of Colophon. *Eastern influence* and *strife* are two themes that kept in mind when looking at the archaeological material and the landscape data. Regarding the Colophon Plain, it seems to have been a meeting ground between east and west from the Mycenaean times till the age when the Colophonians came under Lydian influence.

Chapter 3: Archaeology

1: Introduction

To understand the why Colophon is not more frequently studied, the objectives and results of the projects at Colophon in the period 1885-2006 must be viewed as interlaced.

“Archaeology” is not practiced inside an ivory tower or a natural science laboratory, but is undertaken by social agents (archaeologist) in a socio-political setting of permits, grants and relations with locals, peers and officials. The social context is largely determining what material that has been made accessible from Colophon and the presentation of the archaeological finds will thus also be a history of research. The aims are to summarize the material from Colophon, Claros and Notion and to explain why Colophon is understudied by looking at the excavations’ historical contexts.

2: The Archaeology of Colophon’s Territory and a History of Archaeological Practice

1) *The First Period, 1885-1920: Discovery and Archaeology in the Ales Valley*

When traveling in Turkey, one will find vast amounts of ancient monuments just by looking across the nearest field and indeed much of Turkey’s treasures in the 19th century were studied by adventurers traveling in Asia Minor. Until the mid 19th century, Classics was not integrated in the Ottoman education system (Gates 1996: 1-2). In Claros, Arundel noted the presence of marble columns near Cile already in 1826 (La Geniere 1992: 11), but even earlier, Colophon had appeared on maps, most often placed in the wrong spot (Map 3, below p.12). Colophon, Notion and Claros were well known from ancient sources and appeared on Ptolomaic maps long before their ruins were explored.

In 1886 Colophon was correctly identified by Carl Schuchardt, Paul Wolters and Heinrich Kiepert. Earlier, Kiepert had located two ancient towers near Devliköy after a trip from Ephesus via Gölva. The team heard of larger ruins in the area by the Van Lenneps, the local landowners. Taking as a vantage point the ruins of Notion, Colophon’s port city which survived far into the Byzantine era as a bishopric, Schuchardt was able to locate several ruins and fortifications in the vicinity of Degirmenderes which on the basis of inscriptions were determined to be Colophon (map1, ch.1). By locals, the acropolis of Colophon was called *Gören* “the city”, and the area to the east of the acropolis between two hilltops were referred to as *KapI* – “the Gate” (Schuchardt 1885: 403, 412). South of the acropolis he found a necropolis. Schuchardt dated the city walls, built in three phases, to the 4th century, the

Roman and the Byzantine Age based on building techniques. His plotting of the city wall was later recognized as correct (Holland 1944: 100). In the Ales Valley two large burial mounds were discovered and identified as those of the fallen soldiers in the war against Lysimachus (Paus 7.3.4) (Schuchardt 1886: 401, 403-408, 415).



Map 3: Ptolemeian Map anno 1689

The city walls, which the German team surveyed closely had the remains of 12 towers, semicircular of shape, and the median broadness of the wall was 2,25 m. The building materials were of the same kind as that of the walls of Ephesus and the polygonal masonry was identified as Hellenistic. Semicircular towers may well be of a late Classical or Hellenistic date as a rounded wall surface could be an adaptation to the new catapult technology as it deflects projectiles better than flat surfaces. Schuchardt also found that the

acropolis was built on three terraces. In addition to finding ruins and inscriptions, he bought a Colophonian coin in Degirmenderes (1885: 402-403; Winter 1971: 194).

Schuchardt continued surveying Notion, and located a theatre, city walls, a temple, the possible location of a harbor, stoa, a second smaller theatre, a necropolis on the opposite hill of the acropolis outside the city walls which on the top had a tumulus with ashlar crepis (11m in diameter) and rock cut stairways up to the necropolis. Schuchardt connected well with the local villagers in Ghiaurköy (today Ahmetbeyli) and met the orthodox priest Papa Dimitri Hadschi Photiu, who had opened several graves and stored the grave markers in a house in the village. They were dated to the 2nd century BC and the Roman period (Schuchardt 1886: 421, 428). The city walls of Notion have a similar date as those of Colophon and were also rebuilt in the Roman era (Akurgal 1970: 135).

By the necropolis of Notion, Schuchardt retrieved the grave marker of a priest of Apollo Clarios. Through written sources Claros was known to have been located in the chora of Colophon. Arundel had discovered scattered columns in the vicinity of Notion and Schuchardt also found architectural fragments there. Interestingly the German team located seven towers of similar date as the city walls of Colophon (based on similar building techniques). Four of the towers were located along the coast, while two of the remaining towers were placed up the Ales valley and one was also found past Gölva, a village in the Gallesion Mountains by Claros (Schuchardt 1886: 432-433).

The sites discovered by Schuchardt caught the interest of Theodore Macridy and Charles Picard. They undertook fieldworks by Notion and in 1905 Macridy published the first results of their excavation of a Byzantine church near Ghiaorköy, a Christian village. The villagers were constructing a new church and the priest Papa Dimitri suggested that they could use stones from *Kastro* ("the fort"), which was the name of Notion's ruins. The stones found 500 m North West were especially suitable (Macridy 1905: 156). The construction of the church was halted by the government, which later allowed the Imperial Ottoman Museum to excavate Claros. When the villagers realized where their building material came from, they preserved the neatly cut stones for the archaeologists. The ancient church contained Byzantine sculpture and was thought to have been a bishopric. Several inscriptions from Apollo Clarios were retrieved, both from the church and the walls of the houses of Ghiaorköy. From these Macridy and Picard made a list of which cities that had dedicated the inscriptions in 2nd century AD

Claros: Laodicea, Iconion, Sagalassos, Afrodiasias, Neocaesarea and Amisos (Macridy 1905: 171-172).

In 1912 and 1915 two reports were published as well as a book in 1922 from the excavations of Claros by Picard and Macridy. A collection of architectural fragments were found, amongst them a Cybele relief. The Necropolis of Notion was explored, where clay figurines, funeral stelai, Colophonian 4th century coins and pottery. A cave was discovered in the Gallesion Mountains behind Claros believed to be where the priest of Apollo Clarios gave his prophesies. The cave was divided into several chambers naturally created in the chalk stone and stalagmites and stalactites shot from the floor and ceiling. Interestingly, the cave contained masses of painted pottery from the 3rd millennium BC, Hellenistic lamps and Roman coarse ware (Macridy and Picard 1915: 39-41).

Some of the finds from the excavations of Picard and Macridy in the early 20th century are exhibited in the Izmir Museum, although the excavation house was plundered by angry villagers as the First World War commenced and France occupied Istanbul with Britain subsequently after the war. Because the French archaeologists co-operated with the Greek army in 1921 during the occupation of Western Turkey, they became a target for the resistance (La Redaction 1921: 561-562; Özdoğan 1996: 115). The Greek loss in the Turkish War of Liberation made it hard for the Frenchmen to stay in Notion after 1922, but the French team uncovered many finds in and around Notion before their expulsion: A series of Hellenistic figurines, a Hellenistic necropolis to the north, large Classical Athena sculptures, Roman statues and a Hadrianic Athena temple. A funerary stele was found in Tcakaltepe near Colophon, in Kesserli an inscription was retrieved at a place known as *Megalakastro* and a pre-Hellenic site by Maladjik with a dromos-roofed tomb (Demangel and Laumonier 1925: 322-330, 335 and 341 ; Demangel and Laumonier 1923: 373, 381 and 383 ; La Redaction. 1921: 561).

To catch the European sentiment towards Turkey in the period 1880-1918 it may be instructive to look at Germany, which financed several large excavations in the Ottoman Empire such as Miletus, Priene, Pergamon and Babylon. The first wave of German scholars working in Turkey received lavish means from the emperor's own budget, philanthropists and private companies as well as state coffers. To pick an example, Theodore Wiegand had family ties with owners of *Siemens* and his good connections yielded large research funds (Marchand

1996: 314). Antiquities found their way to Germany through bribes, gift exchange (an excellent example was the Pergamon altar, traded for a fountain) and complete disregard for laws and agreements. Schlieman's theft of Troy's treasures was largely hailed as a saving operation in the name of science from the "backward" Turks (Marchand 1996: 305-306, 308, 311 ; Özdoğan 1998: 115). Carl Schuchardt's expedition was contemporary with Germany's *penetration pacifictique* of Turkey, a scheme to gain decisive influence in the haltering Ottoman Empire. His work at Colophon was however not a large excavation, but a survey which did not provide any treasures to German museums, which wanted to compete with the Louvre and the British Museum (Marchand 1996: 301). On the other side, Schuchardt was part of a wave of German archaeologists investigating Asia Minor, deeply rooted in philology; after all, Schuchardt *read* his way to Colophon. The surveying Schuchardt was markedly different from Picard, who excavated. Shuchardt was not caught by the spirit of the time which was signified by disregard for the Ottoman Turks. But Picard and his team did not hesitate to work with the Greek colonial regime.

2: The Second Period, 1922-1939: The Excavation of Colophon

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA), in collaboration with Harvard's Fogg Art Museum, excavated from April 1922 for two months at Colophon and discovered a series of structures on the acropolis. The initial budget was 10 000 dollars per annum for five years, but after the first season this yearly sum was increased to 20 000 dollars (La Redaction 1921: 489; La Redaction 1924: 506). The scientific aims were according to Holland (1944: 93) "exploratory", and the site was directed Hetty Goldman and Carl Blegen. For the Fogg Art Museum, the aim of supporting the excavation was to expand their collections in order to compete with the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Davis 2002: 150). The expansion of museal collections was a legitimate goal, and the expedition's aims were contemporary with German initiatives of similar intentions (above, ch.3.2.1). But despite all optimism, after only one season the Colophon campaign ended.

Holland (1944: 93-94) emphasizes the following results: A hoard published by Milne (1941) mainly consisting of coins dated to the 4th century BC and a Colophonian mint, cemeteries of Mycenaean, Geometric and late Classical/Hellenistic date and a Metroon in use until the 3rd century BC. A large amount of ruined buildings were found and some inscriptions that were published by Meritt (1936).

To the northeast of the acropolis, the team located a 115m long unidentified building containing geometric, red figure and black glazed pottery with a 4th century date. Further to the north a 20x10 m building with a stone drain and a pithos were found. Near the northern corner of the fortifications, a 26m long wall was found, although an outline of the building was not obtained. These buildings are interpreted as public buildings due to their size, identified as Greek due to their masonry; one of them has a possible 4th century date (Holland 1944: 96-98).

There are some amounts of Mycenaean remains in the area, most notable a tholos tomb north of Colophon, containing Late Minoan III or Mycenaean IIIB/C pottery. The tholos tomb is not only a rare example in Asia Minor, but also as Robert Alden-Bridges JR (1974: 264-266) notes, its proportions are rather odd compared to other tholoi in mainland Greece being more similar to those of Crete. The entrance was 1,90m long, 1,50m wide and the preserved height was 1,30m. The diameter of the tomb was 3,87m, and the height was 1,70m. The building material was not worked, and the slabs were not lined. No burial pits or sarcophagi were discovered inside. Of other Mycenaean discoveries a cut out stone spike on the acropolis may according to Holland (1944: 112) be part of a Cyclopean wall. If so it would indicate a settlement of a larger size.

A Geometric period was identified as Geometric shards were retrieved close to Tratcha (today Camunu). North of Colophon near Koroudere, the American team located several Geometric graves. Near Degirmenderes, on a hillock, the American team found reused Greek stone blocks and not far away, a Roman bath (Holland 1944: 95; La Redaction 1922: 550). On the acropolis, in the corner of one of the western houses, a test pit was dug in order to understand the stratigraphy of the house. Between 3,50 and 2,30m below surface, that is the 1st and 2nd floor of the several times rebuilt house, Lydian pottery dating to the 7th and 6th century as well as a shard with Geometric patterns and others with angular lines and dots were found. Between the 2nd and 3rd floor the American team located pottery dating the stratigraphic sequence to 390 BC. The rest of the sequences were of later date (Holland 1944: 140). Holland draws the conclusion that the Lydian pottery was from the period when Gyges conquered Colophon (*Hdt* 1.15.1) and later occupations on the acropolis in the Archaic Age, after the Persian conquest of Lydia in 546 BC, were attempts to safeguard the newly won freedom which again disappeared with Harpagos' conquest of the city (Holland 1944: 142-143).



Picture 1 (top): The American Team excavating a grave. Picture 2 (bottom): An opened grave with a skeleton. (Picture 1 and 2 are printed with the courtesy of ASCSA)

The acropolis, resting on its terraces, was the main area excavated by the Goldman and Blegen's team. The walls Schuchardt plotted also showed that the acropolis had a wall encirclement of its own, and that it would have been strategically independent of the rest of the city (Holland 1944: 100). At the acropolis, several private houses were located antedating a stoa and an open plateia south of the stoa. The some of rooms of the stoa seem to have had a storage functions while others may have been shops. In the stoa, coins dating from the first half of the 4th century were found, but there were also structures beneath the stoa. The excavators could not determine if it was the stoa or the postdating structures that were dated by the coins. One room in the stoa is interpreted as a treasury, either public or belonging to

the Metroon; four low internal walls could support five rows of pithoi. Beneath the stoa, a drain runs, and to the west on the Plateia a statue base was found. Terracotta drains were found beneath the streets, and it seems as if the city crouched up the hill (Holland 1944: 95, 109-111).

On the acropolis the American team identified the unique Colophonian house type with a *pyrgos* (tower) in the corner of the courtyard. Was this a tower with an andron in the first storey and a gynaikonites in the second as described in Lysias? In house IV, wall plasters were discovered in a *pyrgos*. In many houses, a well was located in the courtyard which may have functioned as an altar of Zeus Herkeios. Pottery and figurines of horsemen and women were found in them. The houses also have prostas such as in Priene (Holland 1944: 127-130), a general pattern with East Greek houses (Nevett 1999: 170-171).

In one trench on the acropolis, a small structure built with cut stones of excellent workmanship was identified as a small shrine or aedicule due to its lonely position amongst the other buildings. In another trench, a large building was uncovered, containing jugs, pottery and two plaques with a horseman armed with a spear riding to the left attacking a snake. This building also contained coins of late fourth and third century date (Holland 1944: 153, 165, 169-170). Holland compares the Colophonian house more to the country house than the city house, as it is more loosely organized and does not form a single structure. From this he adduces that Colophon was “a roomy, non-commercial city, free from the extreme condensation necessary in a city crowded within walls as at Priene, while the complexity of paved courts, colonnades and reduplicated cambers elaborated to display the wealth of the owner, as at Delos, had not been reached” (Holland 1944: 129). McNicoll (1997: 70) describes Colophon as a “*Landschaftstadt*” in that the city plan is adapted to the terrain rather than to a pre-given Hippodamian layout. The first Greek city plans were invented in the 7th century BC in the west, while their breakthrough in the Aegean was in the 6th century BC (Shipley 2005: 336-337). Colophon was however ill located in respect to city planning as the acropolis, where many houses were discovered by Goldman and Blegen, is small and steep.

Of the inscriptions published by Meritt (1936), the ones that accord for the building of the city walls are amongst the most interesting. Meritt suggests a tax rate of 20% on pasture, horse breeding and fishing. Foreign money was to be raised as well. The sum of thirty talents was kept aside for the construction of the fortifications. The loans for the construction of city

walls were to be repaid with landed properties and a third of the taxes derived over a certain period. An appointed board of ten was to administer the construction of the walls. Other interesting pieces of information relates to the name of the months, tribal names and personal nomens. Colophon and Notion apparently shared the month of *Kronion* (Meritt 1936: 376-377). Of tribal names, we have the Gelontes, present in other cities like Teos, Kyzikos and Perinthos as well as Athens, and a tribe named after Seleukos (ibid: 381). Of personal names, Prometheios reflects the name of Colophons mythical founder, a son of Codrus (Pierart 1985: 176). There is also a proclamation of freedom bestowed by Alexander. A certain Pyrrias was granted citizenship trough a vote (Meritt 1936: 379). The total number of citizens are estimated by Migoette (1992: 223) to somewhere between 900 and 1300 based on the epigraphic record.

An interesting inscription decrees the inauguration of the Hellenistic city walls. It states that there are both an old and a new city, and that the walls should enclose both. The priests are thus to go down to the “ancient” marketplace and sacrifice to Apollo Clarios, Zeus Soter, Mother Antaia, Athena Polias and Poseidon Asphaleios together with other Gods (Meritt 1936: 361-362). Thus one can ask; where was the “ancient” city? Holland thinks it was to the north beside a mountain ledge (Holland 1944: 171).

Milne published the coin hoard in 1941 presenting a wealth of coins with different stamps, and noted that the material could be divided stylistically into seven periods. *The first period* (525-490 BC) comprises the Archaic coinage of Colophon. The weight standard was the same as the Persian siglos. Notable denominations were the half and quarter stater, the latter similar to contemporary Greek obloi. The artistic traits of the early Colophonian coins were similar to those of Teos (Milne 1941: 31-32). Around year 500 BC, the first drachma was struck at the Colophonian mint. In *the second period* (490-400 BC) there was an upsurge in smaller fractions and around 460 BC the archaic traits on the coins disappeared. In this period Colophon was on the Athenian tribute list. There was an increase in the amount of silver coins, still at the weight standard of the siglos. There was a lacuna in the series between 460 and 430 BC, while the Colophonian coins reappeared in 430 to 410 BC. From then until 400 BC, few Colophonian coins were struck (Milne 1941: 44-48). In *the third period* (400-350 BC) the stylistic traits were again archaizing, and the Asiatic and Greek weight standards were close to each other. From 360 BC, there was a drop in the weight of Colophonian coins (Milne 1941: 56-59). In *the fourth period* (350-330 BC) new denominations came about,

mainly the half Drachma and bronze coins. In *the fifth period* (330-285 BC), the silver coins disappeared, while there was an increase in bronze coins. In this period, new motives on the reverse side of the coins appeared: A horse and a horse with a rider (Milne 1941: 62-63, 70-72). In *the sixth period* (285-190BC), there was new denominations, a specter of stylistic difference, lower weight standards and smaller coins (Milne 1941: 74-75). By the spread of Roman influence in Asia Minor, the final *seventh period* of the Colophonian coinage begins. In 190 BC, a series of tetradrachms is issued, maybe celebratory. By the establishment of the Roman Empire there was a rejuvenation of the mints and except for small fluctuations, there was a generally broad representation of different denominations until Gordian. From then until Gallienus there was a decline in the coin issues (Milne 1941: 80-81 and 105-106).

How come that the Colophon excavation has not yielded more publications, why was for example never the Metroon published? The answer for this lies in the circumstances around the excavation. In the beginning ASCSA and Fog had several sites were in view and the first choice fell on the Heraion. This site was already taken by the Germans and for some time, the Fogg Art Museum and ASCSA had problems finding a site fitting their grand intentions of beating the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection. In the end they settled on Colophon. After the First World War, a new Aegean World had emerged. Western Anatolia was divided between the winners and to the great benefit of ASCSA, Greece got the Izmir province. Jack Davies (2000: 77) has remarked the connection between conquest and archaeology; when the Greeks captured Thessaloniki in 1915 from the crumbling Ottoman Empire just before Bulgaria mobilized, it took 15 days to initiate an excavation. Kossina's *Seidelungsarchäologie* was dominating the Greek archaeological milieu. When the Albanian Epirus was conquered, the Greeks used the expertise of the archaeologists to eliminate the *Barbaronymia* and replace them with Greek place names as well as to provide studies of the Greek monuments to prove that the area inhabited a Greek *Volkgeist*. In the early 1900's Greece pursued an active expansionistic policy aimed at re-conquering the lands of the Byzantine Empire, the *Megala Idea*. The archaeologists applauded this politics and thus Venizelo's government provided excavation permits, while the Greek and foreign archaeologists gave legitimacy to the expansionistic Greek foreign policy (Davis 2000: 77, 81-82).

It was no problem to get an excavation started at Colophon. Archaeology was endorsed by the colonial government and the Greek military authorities assisted excavations by forcing

farmers to work on excavations and providing transport. The American team at Colophon left before the Greek army retreated and they planned another season with a doubled budget when Izmir fell to Atatürk the 9th of September 1922 and the Greeks were expelled (Davis 2000: 87).

Upon their departure, the American Archaeologists took some of their finds with them, and left others in a pharmacy in Degirmenderes (Blegen 5.03.1923: Papers). Today, illegal export of antiquities from war zones is considered a criminal activity, but in the light of “Western” attitudes of 1922 and the mission of the Colophon expedition, it is not surprising that Goldman expressed in a letter to Blegen “...I am glad we lavied off the coins...” (Blegen 14.09.22). After the Greek expulsion in 1922, neither Blegen nor Holland was ready to continue although Goldman seemed eager. Blegen undertook a journey to Turkey already in 1923 and could report to Goldman that leading officials like Mustafa Abdul Halik in Smyrna were positive to the Colophon excavation, and Mr. Aziz, the inspector of antiquities, showed a keen interest in Colophon. According to Blegen, the attitude towards Americans was not as bad as that towards the British and French, which unlike them had recently fought the Turks. According to Blegen there were hardly any Christians left in Western Asia Minor, not unlikely in the times of the Lausanne Treaty. The main problems for the Americans regarding a return to Colophon, were that they cooperated with the Greeks and stole a large coin hoard (Davies 2002: 158; Blegen 5.03.1923; Blegen 1922; Blegen 17.05.1923).

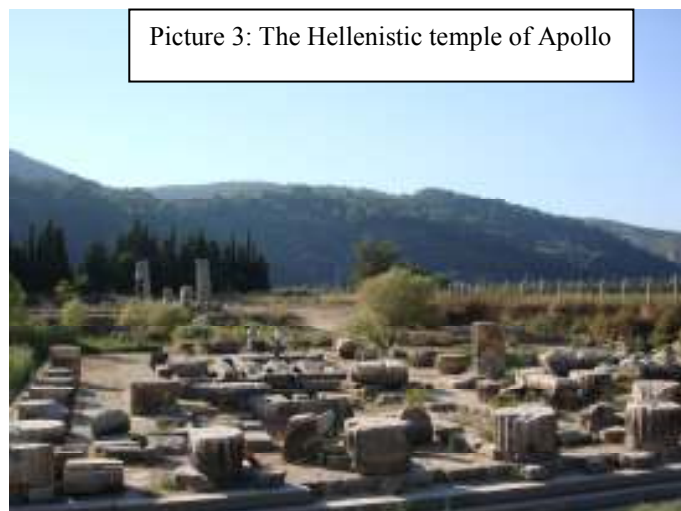
The French and the British had tried to get permission to excavate Colophon in 1923, but in the end the Americans were given admission to continue their work in Degirmenderes. In 1925, after returning the stolen coins to Turkey, Goldman returned to finish her work at Colophon in 1925 (Davies 2002: 159). However, she never published her work. A short series of articles was started in 1936 by Meritt, followed by Milne (1941) and Holland (1944). Of key monuments never published were the necropoleis and the Metroon. Later, Robert Alden Bridges JR. (1974) published the Mycenaean grave of Colophon, and Lehmann-Hartleben (1939) wrote a short note on the bronze plaques which he interpreted as the late remains of Cretan cults. Why did Colophon receive so little attention after so much effort? Colophon may have become a *black sheep* amongst other American projects, and after 1926 ASCSA never operated together with other institutions on regular basis, but rather provided “a helping hand” for American institutions (Davis 2002: 164). Goldman and Blegen got involved in

more “clean” projects like Tarsus and Troy, and it is my assumption that these projects would be more interesting for them than the problematic site of Colophon.

3: *The Third Period, Colophon and Claros after the Second World War*

Despite the closing of the American Colophon project, the Claros excavation was continued by Luis and Jeanne Robert in 1946 and lasted with some interruptions until 1961. In 12 seasons the French team uncovered several monuments in the sacred precinct. Between 1961 and 1988 no archaeological activity took place. The goals of the excavations at Claros were to date monuments and explore problems connected with the *cavea* of Claros (La Geniere 1992: 13-14)? These goals were again pursued in 1988 by a French and Turkish team under the auspices of Juliette de la Geniere and Nuran Sahin (La Geniere 1992: 14). The question regarding the *cavea* is highly interesting: Was this a Cybele sanctuary in the mountains similar to that of Ephesus? The French team rather sought to investigate the sacred precinct as they had to limit their scope and did not include a study of the cave in their project. Although there are material indicating a Cybele cult at Claros, for example the tympanon relief depicting Cybele from Notion (La Geniere 1992: 15-16), I contend to see the cave behind Claros a holy place connected with cult activity.

The most interesting finds after the two expeditions were the 2nd century AD gigantic statues of Artemisia, Apollo and Leto (Marcade 1994: 454), an Archaic circular altar of Apollo below the large square one built in the 2nd half of the 6th century BC and a smaller square alter of Artemisia contemporary to the altar of Apollo (La Geniere 1998: 400). A temple of



Picture 3: The Hellenistic temple of Apollo

Apollo was built in the 6th century BC and sees its last building phase in the 2nd century AD (picture 3). Other finds include 6th century BC kuoroi and kore, an Archaic Artemisia temple, Archaic surrounding walls, structures overlaying the Archaic altar of Artemisia, walls and a hall of Archaic date. Hellenistic monumental altars, a Hellenistic gate with an exedra facing Notion and Roman statue bases with inscriptions were also discovered (LaGeniere 2003: 203-208).

The round altar, dating from the second part of the 7th century, was placed along the axis of the 6th century temple, measuring 6,20-630 m. It is surrounded with plenty of votive gifts and lie 30 m from the water source in the adyton (La Geniere 2003: 200). A similar structure was found at the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Erythrea and almost contemporary with the round altar at Claros is the “*Rundbau*” of Apollo Branchidae in Didyma. La Geniere proposes that the round altar may be an understudied stage in the development of the Greek altar. The cultic practice connected with the altar was different from other contemporary ones: There was a lack of orientalizing pottery, the terra cotta figures did not have a deadalic style and the style of the figurines do not change analogous with contemporary stylistic development (La Geniere 2003: 202-203).

The finds from Claros dates as far back in time as the late Mycenaean period, represented with two bronze plaques and two decorated knives of LHIIIb-c (Verger 2003: 173-174), but the first clues the nature of any cultic practice dates from the early geometric period. There are indeed no certain traces of any definable activities in Claros before 10th century BC. In the Geometric period, La Geniere proposes that the votive practices changes from personal to converted offerings (La Geniere 2003: 199). It is clear from the finds that by the advent of the Geometric period, people began to deposit items made specifically for a deity rather than personal belongings. There are also two figurines of the Egyptian god Sobek from the 7th and 6th century. A mass of vessels shards that was found may perhaps indicate libations (La Geniere 2003: 199-200).

By beginning of the 6th century, the amount of small finds decreases, yet this does not mean that Apollo Clarios’ popularity declined. In the 6th century, there was much building activity. A temple of Apollo was constructed over a 7th century temple (Grave and Kealhofer 2006a), the round altar was replaced by a large square one and several kore and kouros were found. The deposition of kouroi was apparently a durable tradition as some have roman inscriptions. While the 5th century is silent, there is neither signs of destruction nor of any development, the 6th century seems to be a dynamic period. La Geniere classifies the Archaic sanctuary of Apollo Clarios as an extraurban cult. By the Hellenistic Age it became international simultaneous with Colophon’s demise and Notion’s rise (La Geniere 2003: 204-205).

Several honorific monuments, a new altar and an exedra were constructed. In the Roman period, a new altar of Artemisia was built. The Roman Era Claros also see much activity,

dedications and an increasingly good reputation for the oracle. Importantly, the “holy road” to the oracle no longer went only from Colophon but also from Notion. From the 4th century BC, the votive figurines were sparse, and they disappeared by the 2nd century AD. The cultic practice must have changed yet again, but the understanding of this change is limited (La Geniere 203-204, 207).

There was also a bronze hoard at Claros consisting of 164 coins minted in Colophon in the period 320-294 BC, which corresponds with the bronze upsurge of Milne’s 5th period. Both Colophon and other cities in Asia Minor struck masses of bronze coins in this period for unknown reasons, perhaps as Amandry (1992: 97) states: “Seul l’oracle clarien pourrait nous répondre”!

The campaigns that started at Claros in 1988 were sponsored by Peugeot and les Societes Accor, thus representing cooperation not only between different universities from different countries (Lille and Ege University), but also between private and public institutions (La Geniere 1992: 9). The excavators at Claros were assisted by geologist Ilhan Kayan, connecting Claros to the broader development in Turkish archaeology towards transgressions of the borders between Humanities and Science (Gourney 2002: 2-3). Other discoveries have been done in the vicinity of Colophon: Nearby at Baklatepe 5 km north of Colophon a Bronze Age burial has been located. At the also close hill of Kocabastepe, finds of the Late Bronze Age date and Protogeometric pottery have been discovered, attesting the wide pre-Greek activities at Colophon. To the north, between Colophon and Teos, a small settlement has been identified as Oraoanna, Hellenized time-wise outside the scope of this study (La Geniere 2003: 197-198; Rubenstein 2004: 1061).

3: Questions Arising

The problems attacked by the different archaeologists were in the first period exploratory. Schuchardt surveyed for Colophon to discover a new site and later excavations followed at Notion. In the second period, large excavations took place at Colophon with the aim of expanding the collection of the Fogg Art Museum, something that was fully acceptable at the time. This led to conflicts with the Turkish state that had emerged and eventually there was an abandonment of Colophon as well as a temporary halt at Claros and Notion. In the third period Claros becomes a large multi-national project which to my knowledge still continues. The aim of the Claros excavation is to understand and date the architecture as well as aspects

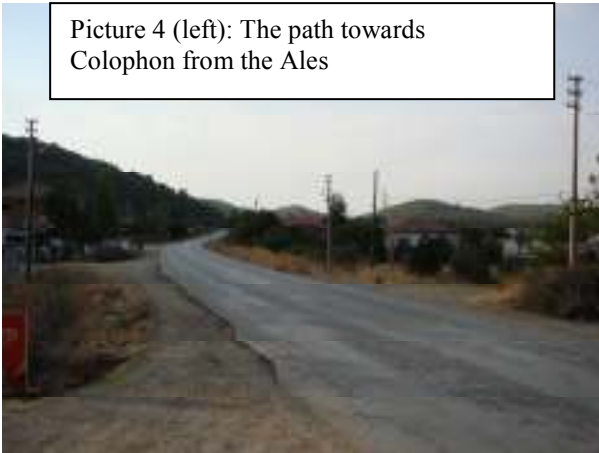
of the cultic practice. The topic touched by previous researchers that I find most interesting are those clearly explicated by La Geniere (2003: 205) who sees that while Colophon was destroyed in 294 BC, Notion is on the rise and becomes the new centre. Claros goes from being the oracle of one city, to being regional, and in the end with the Roman Age, it has become international. The larger development of Colophon's rise and demise was identified by La Geniere, but have also been noted by Schuchardt, Holland (1944: 91-44) and Milne (1941: 13) as well. Schuchardt's (1886: 419) remark that the "*Hafenstadt*" Notion took Colophon role as main centre. Colophon was now a sleepy "*Landstadt*". Schuchardt sets inland and coastal up against each other. Such trends can serve as a backbone in a further study of Colophon's landscape and compliments the written sources.

Chapter 4: Landscapes and Monuments

1: Introduction

The landscape framed in the Thiessen polygons (map 2, ch.1), can be divided into two areas based on landscape features: “The Ales Valley” towards the south by the sea (map 5, ch.3.4) and “the Colophon Plain” north of Degirmenderes (map 6, ch. 3.2). These very different landscapes meet just by the hills of Degirmenderes. One may follow the plain down the valley without many barriers either past Degirmenderes or Karaköyu which lay on the other side of the hills that face Degirmenderes to the east (map 5 ch.3.4, Picture 4 and 5 below). When surveying, the distances between the locations were also noticed, as they appeared very short.

Picture 4 (left): The path towards Colophon from the Ales



Picture 5: The path towards the Colophon Plain past Karaköyu

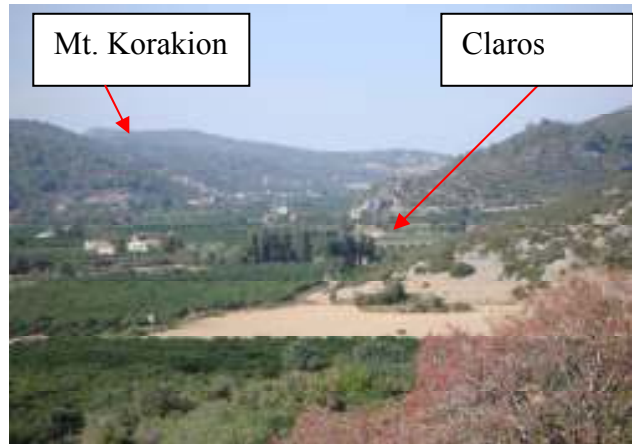


2: The Landscape of the Ales Valley

The 16 kilometer long Ales valley is considered to be part of Colophons territory in the Archaic period as it houses one of the most important oracles of its time, Apollon Clarios. The Ales valley (picture 7, 8, p.27), measuring in breadth between 900m to 1,5 km, is defined by both mountains and more gentle hills: to the east by Mount Gallesion (picture 9, p.27) and west by Mount Korakion (picture 8, p.27). The sea to the south creates a natural boundary (picture 6). The river Ales, noted by Pausanias (8.33.4) for its’ fresh coldness, ran from Colophon to the sea and would have narrowed the valley even further. To the north by Ataköy, the terrain becomes hillier before it meets the plains where one could pass further by either Colophon or Karaköyu. On the map from 1951 (map 4, below), one may notice a marsh blocking the path to the north east away from Colophon. Whether this was the case in antiquity is impossible to determine, but Kiepert’s map from 1886 (reproduced in Schuchardt 1886: 398) does not indicate any marsh implying that the marsh is posterior to this.



Picture 6: The Ales Valley towards the sea and Notion



Picture 7: The Ales Valley Towards Colophon



Picture 8: Slightly more hilly parts north in the Ales Valley



Picture 9: Mount Galesion

By Notion, the landscape's character is marked by the valley's hill sides and the shores whereas it further north is defined by the slopes and hills forming visual obstacles. The mountain slopes enclosing the Ales Valley to the east and west are not impregnable, but demanding to move through. The hills of the narrow Ales valley are packed with needle trees and thorny bushes. In antiquity, it is not unthinkable that there were wild animals roaming these hillsides. The name of the village Kaplancak to the north may attest this as the Turkish noun kaplan- means tiger. The valley must anyhow have been the preferred path as the hillsides are rough.

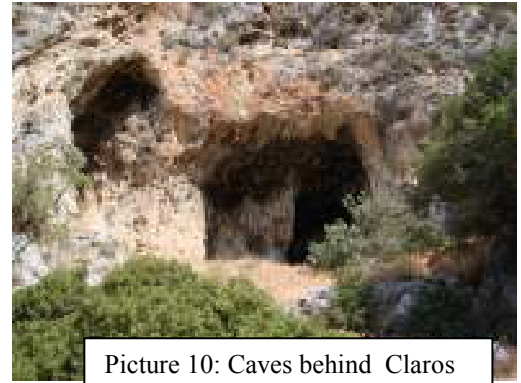


Map 4: Ales Plain á 1951



Map 5: The Ales Valley with monuments

The hills around Claros have numerous caves and the site of the oracle is somewhat pitched in a bowl of hills (picture 11, 12), enclosed by hills. Almost directly behind the oracle is a cleft dotted with caves (picture 10). These caves are of various sizes, and some are impossible to reach as they are cut right into the tall rocks of the cleft. From the oracular site one can glimpse to the Aegean Sea to the south.



Picture 10: Caves behind Claros



Picture 11: Claros surrounded by hills to the north



Picture 12: Cleft Behind Claros

Traveling by the seaside would have been difficult, as there are no gentle beaches running towards Kusadasi to the east or Özdere to the west, but only steep cliffs. Further up by Gölva, the terrain is leaner and although still rough, one would here have been able to cross from the Ales Valley to the bay by Ephesus. Schuchardt's (1886: 432-433) tower by Gölva would have controlled this path.

The archaeological legibility, the degree to which the archaeologist can understand qualities of the past landscapes, (Keller et al. 1997: 24) of the Ales Valley is determined by several factors. The ancient Ales River is drained, the valley is heavily cultivated by farmers, and silting from the slopes of the hillsides makes it in some respects difficult to imagine the ancient landscape. Many ruins must have been lost due to both developers and nature. The hillsides are however the same, and the seaside, even if the delta has been replaced by a beach, would have defined the natural boundaries the Ales Valley. With no modern autostradas to the east or west, the easiest path would have been to the north along the Ales River, as the cleft behind the oracle of Claros only leads to the Gallesion Mountains.

The coast line was one meter higher in the Roman period than today and it would have been located one kilometer further north. River deposits have covered the sanctuary with 3,5m of alluvial soils. According to the bio-facts located above the virgin soil during the last excavation, the area near Claros was lagoon with dense vegetation. The water level is shallow in the valley even today and not far from the surface, water began to trickle into the trench (Delaterre, Sahin and La Geniere 2003: 13,16, 23). In addition there is a natural source at Claros. The lagoon would have had an animal life different from the rest of Colophon territory as lagoons tend to create distinct biotopes. The effect of fresh water meeting the salty sea would also have been stunning. Today, the Ales River is overgrown, but in ancient times it was much appreciated. In antiquity the Ales River was the coldest in all Ionia, which had a nice climate, and maybe it watered the ash groves of Apollo at Claros (*Paus.* 7.5.10). Today the groves are replaced by agricultural land, but in antiquity it must have been a sight. Notion, on the top of its hill would have commanded the view not only towards the sea but also it commanded the entrance to the Ales Valley. Of other geo-facts, one may note that the water rose from the 10th century BC (Bammer 1986: 10). A rising coast line at notion would have created a shallow bay, perfect as a natural harbor.

3: The Ales Valley – registration and dating of ancient structures

When traveling along the Ales Valley (map 4 and 5, above ch. 3.2), I located ancient structures, some discovered by others while some had been passed unnoticed. Of the two mounds in the valley discovered by Schuchardt, only one has survived, with a road cutting through. In the Ales Valley I surveyed the following areas:

- Behind the Clarian Oracle to the West as there is a mountain cleft with several caves.
- Along the Ales valley.
- The area between Gölva and the plains west of Ephesus.
- The area where the valley and the Colophon Plain meets

1) The Caves behind Claros (picture 10, 12)

Furthest south, I surveyed the area around the Clarian oracle and the slopes of Notion. There are countless of smaller and larger caves surrounding the oracle, which is enclosed in a bowl between the steep hills and rocks. There are especially some larger caves (picture 10, ch.4.2), and I examined one cave closer, which was located in the cleft (picture 12, ch.4.2). It had been used as a shelter by sheep herders, perhaps for some time, but there were no remains of

ancient structures. The area has been subject to erosion as the cave is filled with earth. Wandering around examining the cleft I noticed that there was a terrace 200m west of the cave. The structure might well be new as the building technique was similar to the modern terraces which I had the chance to study earlier by Metropolis. In 2005 I ventured further to the west with my colleague Jone Kile and we noticed several terraces lying in a gentle slope tucked in between steeper hills. The terraces are most likely to be connected to modern agriculture, as the ones located both in 2005 and 2006 are connected by tracks to the farms next to Claros. The area behind the oracle is today a cultivated landscape, but there were no signs of activities dating from ancient times. Although the oracle according to Iamblicus (*De Myst. Aeg* 3.11) was supposed to have entered a cave before connecting with a divine power, this was probably the temple cellar as the archaeological results propose (Akurgal 1970: 137). In Iamblicus' *De Mysteris* (*Aeg* 3.11), Claros is after all mentioned as an oracle that received prophesies through a source located in the cellar of Apollos temple.

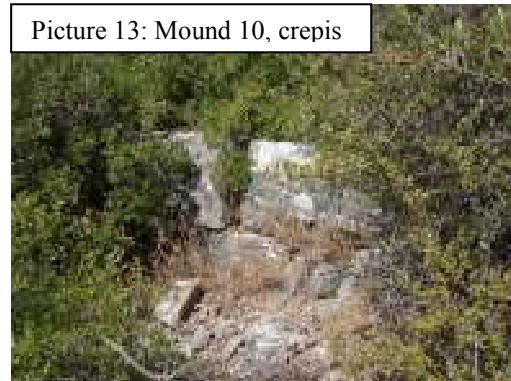
2) Mound 10 (map 5, picture 13-16)

Behind the drive-by *corba* place (soup cafe) on the road between Cile and Ahmetbeyli, a heavily overgrown hill towers above the cultivated plain. Needle trees and bushes are densely packed, and the hill is only penetrated by tractor tracks. On the west slope, there are piles of garbage deposited by locals, some houses and the road connecting Menderes and Kusadasi. Across the road, the landscape is rolling until meeting the Korakion Mountains. To the east, there are farmlands and Mount Galesion's hill sides. According to Kiepert's map (reproduced in Schuchardt 1886: 398) the Ales River ran between the hill and the flat fields. The mound at this location is 50m directly behind the *corba* place to the east and approximately 500 m south east of the drive off to Cile lays mound 10 on top of the hill.

The mound is largely overgrown and hard to see unless one moves close to it. It is placed on a tall rock and measure ca.6x12m. The shape of mound 10 is oval and on the south- eastern part of the mound is a 60-80 cm tall. The crepis consists of neatly cut square stones of irregular size. The mound's fill consists of both earth and stone. The tallness is about 1,5m. The rough irregular, yet cut, stone work is hard to date, but judging from size and shape of the stones, an archaic date would be reasonable. Classical stonework would be more regular.

On top of mound 10 there are three trenches laying in a row from north to south in east/west direction. This area has reportedly not been excavated, but two stone cists have been

uncovered in the two northernmost trench. Cist 1 is 2,30x0,76m. Cist 2 is 0,82x0,77m. Cist 2 has largely been refilled with rubble. It is at the most partially dug, and thus only 0,77m long. The depth stone cist 1 and 2 is about 40 and 50cm. There are lined slab walls with stones irregular size and shape in both cists. In the southernmost part there is a third shaft which has no structures, but which shows the fill of the mound.



The rock that mound 10 lays on springs to the west. It may be said that the monument projects itself in this direction. If the hill had been free of bushes and trees, it would have been visible from the road. From the plains to the east it would have been less visible as it is placed on an edge to the west.



3) Mound 8 (map 5, picture 17)

On the southern tip of the hill on which mound 10 is placed there is a mound of which not much is left if it was a mound at all. It has a conical shape and is 7x6m. It is placed just 50 m south of mound 10, but there are no visible traces of a crepis. It is partially dug away from the middle along the north/south axis and by the southern end leaving a visible profile. It is about 1,5m tall and 3m from the south end of the north/south axis.



Mound 8 is placed on the tip of the hills southern tip and would have been visible for anyone coming from the south. The mound thus has the best location on the small hill, but as with mound 10, its degree of visibility depend an absence of dense shrubberies.

4) Mound 9 (map 5, picture 18)

Placed on top of a hill, mound 9 lie approximately 2 km south of the junction to Cakaltepe on the road between Kusadasi and Menderes, and on the same road 1,5 km north of Cile. The modern road cuts a bit of it as it crosses to the left of the mound, and as it is placed in a relative flat landscape, surrounded by some hills but also fields, it is easily visible from all directions. Mound 9 is between 3-4 m tall, and it has a diameter of 20 m. It is perfectly circular, and some trees grow on top of it as well as bushes. Where the road cuts away a good piece of the mound, one can see that the mound largely consist of earth masses and some stones.

Mound 9 was discovered by Carl Schuchardt (1886: 415), and interpreted as a monument of those who died defending Colophon against Lysimachus in 302 B.C. In the late 1800's, at the time of Schuchardt's survey, there were another mound adjacent to mound 9, but this mound has been destroyed. The adjacent mound was to be the last resting place of the Smyrnians who died aiding the Colophonians. The interpretation of Schuchardt is based on Herodotus (7.3.4) and allegory; he sees a resemblance between the Colophonian monuments and the Athenian mounds at Platea and Marathon.



5) The area where the Ales Valley meets the Colophon Plain (map 5, picture5)

I also surveyed the hills north of the Ales Valley and the plainscape between Cakaltepe and Karaköyü without results. The hills are steep and not particularly suited for activities such as cultivation of olive trees as the ground is rocky.

4: The landscape of the Colophon Plain

The south-western end of the Colophon Plain (picture 19) is defined by hills, thick forest and thorny bushes. Mount Sivirdag to the west creates not only a visual barrier, but also a formidable obstacle. To the north-west, the mountains cut into cliffs. In the slopes of Mount Sivirdag, the villages of Degirmendere, Ataköy and Camunlu are located. The landscape is open to the north, where one today can see Lake Bulgurca (picture 20). The lake narrows in and run through the Stena pass towards Lebedos (picture 21). Degirmenderes, ancient Colophon, cannot be seen from the Ales valley to the south, but is clearly visible from the north, and is thus visually projecting itself in this direction. The hills and forests block the view from the Ales Valley.

Picture 19: The Colophon Plain



Picture 20: Lake Bulgurca



Picture 21: The Stena Pass seen from Lebedus



By Karaköyü the Ales Valley opens up to the Colophon Plain. The easiest way to the plains would be to travel from Karaköyü towards Cakaltepe (picture 5, ch.4.3). To the south towards Claros, a modern road runs in a straight line to Ahmetli. This must have been the main route in ancient times as it is today. It is both the shortest and the most convenient way. The plain is defined to the east and south-east by the hills splitting the Ales Valley between Degirmenderes and mount Gallasion. The entry to this path would have been controlled by Colophon, which must have been projected to the north overlooking its plains.

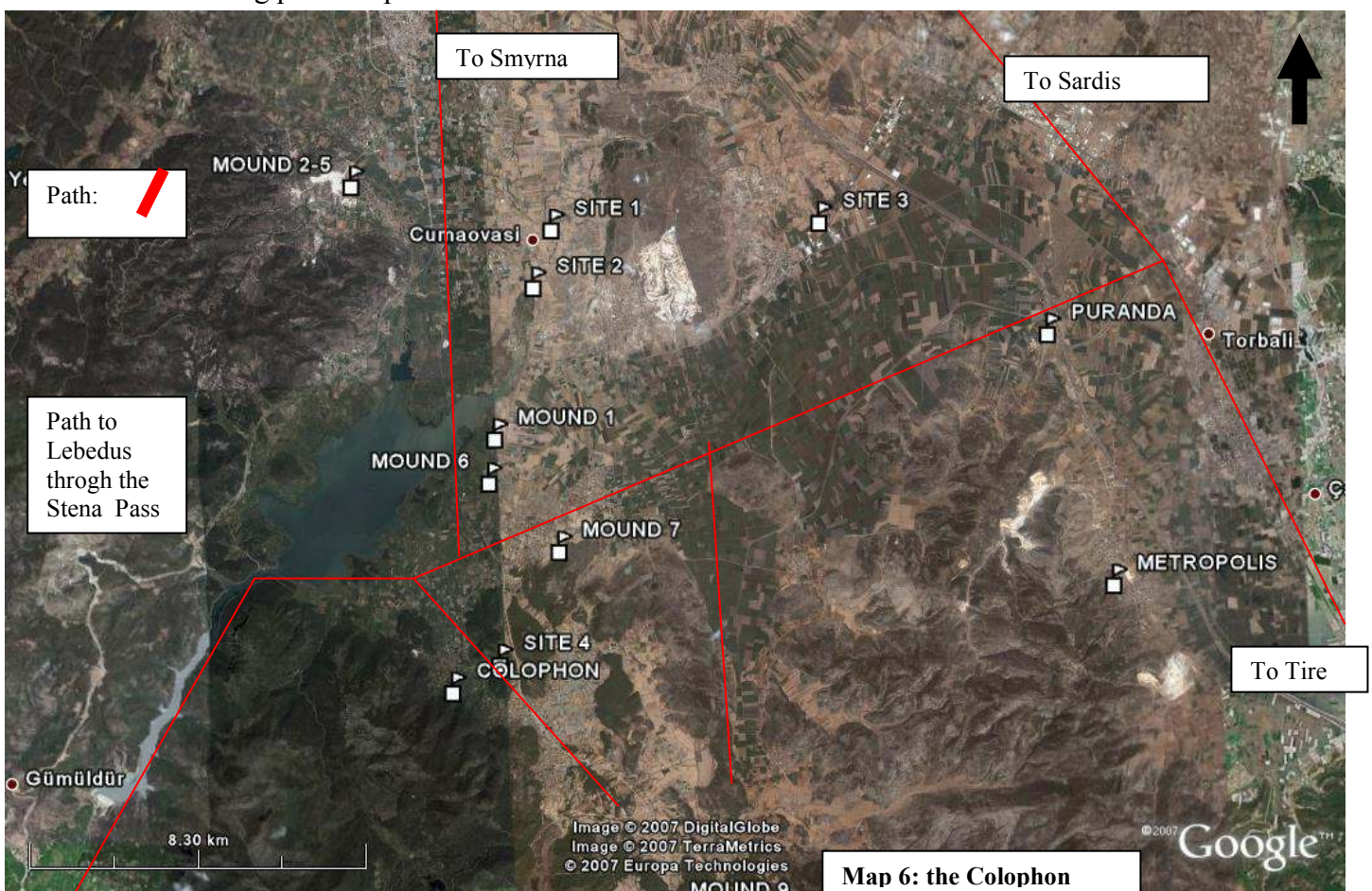
The Colophon Plain is today a rich agricultural area and driving through the villages, one will note new cars and tractors, as well as satellite dishes on the roofs of several homes. The water

level today is at 10-12m below ground level according to locals and the farmers grow cotton, tomatoes, watermelon, grains and maize. The soil in the area is dark and there are several rivers which further make these large tracts of land very fertile. The water level is especially beneficial to the farmers as the clay in the soil sucks the water towards the surface, and makes the fields less dependent on the sometimes sparse rainfall. The Ales Valley was likely well exploited, but the Colophon Plain would have been the most important agricultural zone due to its size. In the landscape, there are several low hills, sloping gently out on the plains. At several of these there are olive grows.

5: Survey on the Colophon Plain

The locations I chose to survey on the Colophon Plain, were selected by the following criteria:

- The fringes of Colophons hinterland and by the far ends of the modern fields
- Where locals had observed ancient things
- Along possible paths



1) Monuments to the north of Colophon: Mound 1 (map 6, picture 24-27)

About 500 m north-west from the junction to Cilme, and 1 km south of the junction to Tekli, both off the Kusadasi-Menderes road, lie a gentle hill, perhaps 15 m high on which mound 1 is placed. Mound 1 is oval of shape and measures 10x12 m, and 1,5 m tall. It has a plunderers shaft, and is quite overgrown by thorny bushes. It is most visible from the east, but it is hard to note from any direction, as it is too overgrown. It is surrounded by fields, and the hilltop on which it is placed would have been situated just north of Colophon in the middle of the hinterland closest to the city.



2) Mound 6 (map 6, picture 23)

Driving on the Menderes-Kusadasi road, one will notice an outcrop in the hillscape just 1,5km north of the junction to Sankali, and about 700m south-west of the junction to Cilme. It is doubtful whether this is a mound or not. It lay on a heavily overgrown ridge measuring perhaps some 70x30m. However it appears conical to the north-east and it seems to consist of stone and earth rather than bedrock. The diameter measures 6m. It is located just south-west of mound 7 just in the territory of Colophon, surrounded by fields.



3) Mound 7 (map 6, picture 24)

In the slopes of the gentle hills surrounding Sankali, towering up from the fields, one can notice several large boulders in a circle measuring 10x8m. This stone constellation is located 2km east of the junction to Sankali on the Menderes-Kusadasi road and 1,5 km south-west of the entry road to Cilme driving from Sankali. The stone circle cuts a circular slightly raised earthen circle, perhaps only a few centimeters, encircling a hollow 30cm deep. When I



registered, I thought the stones to have been the remains of a structure or a mound that someone had tried to dig away, but in retrospect, I denounce this.

4) Mounds north on the Colophon Plain, Mound 2, 3, 4 and 5 (map6, picture 24-27)

Between the village of Künerlik and the Pancar Mines just some kilometers to the north, lie four mounds on a row. They are located on a gentle hill running north/south on the eastern slopes towards the plains. The site is 2 kilometers north-west of the junction to Künerlik off the Menderes-Kusadasi road and approximately 3 kilometers south of the junction off to Akcaköy. The immediate surroundings are used by sheep herders; there is hardly any vegetation except for some trees. On the western side of the hill, there is a cultivated valley facing compact mountains. The gentle hills are marked by deep furrows piercing the sides of the mounds from water streams. As there is little vegetation around the mounds, the erosion is likely from rainfall. I surveyed the landscape behind the gentle hills where the mounds are located, but there were no positive results in this area.

Furthest to the south lie *Mound 2* (picture 24), which is circular of shape, has a diameter of 15m, it is 1,5m tall. It is made of both of earth and natural stones, and is covered with vegetation. A trench has been dug entirely through the mound, it zigzagging to the north-east. The mound is facing to the eastern plain, which would have been the exit zone of Colophon's hinterland.



Mound 3 (picture 25) is circular and has a diameter of 10m, and is about 1,5m tall. It is just some 50m north-west of Mound 2. It has a circular depression on its top 1m in diameter. The fill consist of both earth and rocks.



Mound 4 (picture 26) is number 3 to the north-west and has a diameter of 12m. It is about 2m tall, and its' masses consists of both earth and stones. There top of the mound is partially dug away.

Mound 5 (picture 27) has a diameter of 13m and is about 2m tall. The top of the mound is also here dug away. The mound faces the east. Its fill consist of earth and rocks.



Picture 26: Mound 4



Picture 27: Mound 5

5) Finds north east towards Bademgedigigi: Devliköy, Site 1 (map 6 and 7, picture 28-30)

Site 1 is located about 700m north-east of the railroad crossing in Devliköy, just across the dried-out riverbed of Derebogan running north-west/south-east by the village, 30m from where there the tracks are crossing. The large still standing structure 1, with two gigantic rusty pipes appears, is 15 m long and 2,5-4m wide, standing in a north-west/south-east direction almost parallel to the dried out riverbed. In front (south-east) of the large structure, there are ruins of a large room, 10x4m. Scattered by Structure 1 (picture 28), several stones with profiles were found.



Picture 28: Structure 1

The area around Devliköy was chosen as it lays by the edge of the Colophon Plain to the north-east. The long gentle hill creating a visual barrier would have been located alongside the route from Smyrna to the south. The fields of Devliköy were the most accessible, and were thus chosen to be surveyed also for this.

Site 1 - Stone 1

Located just some 15m to the north-east of structure on, a cut stone lays on the grain fields, across the trench separating the road to the other side and the fields. It is square and measure 43x36, 27 cm tall. The sides are regular and it appears to be of local sand stone.

Site 1 – Stone 2 (picture 30)

Stone 2 is placed 5 meter down in a shallow trench running towards south-east from the middle of the outer wall of Structure 1. It has joints on the left side, but is largely worn. It appears to be a local stone and measures 72x52cm, 36cm tall.



Picture 29: Site 1 – Stone 2

Site 1 – Stone 3 (picture 31)

Stone 3 is located in the ruined south-eastern part of structure 1. It seems to be a door threshold measuring 79x121, 33cm tall, and appears to be a local stone type. It has two square carved holes, one small clamp mark on the topmost part of the stone measuring. The fragment is broken completely off on two sides. Judging from the size, it appears to be part of a larger structure. The cut marks on the raised area is probably for joining the threshold to the block next by as well as for supporting a wooden doorframe, while the cut mark on the lower area may be a wooden doorpost. It has no traces of mortar, but it may still have been reused in the later structure 1.

The identification of Stone 3 as a threshold rests on analogy to similar blocks from Isthmia, the Athenian agora and Corinth. The stoa in Isthmia has a similar threshold with square markings, measuring 1,676m (Broneer 1973:17). At the block from Isthmia, a square cutting was in centre of the threshold, which the excavators proposed to have been a stopper for a double door. I would likewise say this may be the case of the threshold at site 1 as well. The square pivot holes are not unique and have been found in Corinth at a door to a shop although it differs in that it has a raised area in the middle of the block instead of at either one end. In Corinth too, the square cutting in centre of the block is interpreted as for a wooden pole used as a stopper (Broneer 1954:48-49). If in my case the square cutting in centre of the block is for a stopper, I would assume that the raised area would point to the outside of the building, as a stopper would not be put in place from the outside. A threshold found at the Athenian agora belonging to a mud brick building from the early 2. century BC, probably with a commercial

function, shares the features with a bolt hole in the centre of the block, a raised area with two square holes for a door jamb, and two square cuttings for door hinges (Townsend 1995: 108-110). Dating the doorjamb would be difficult, but the examples from Corinth, Isthmia and Athens are all of the Hellenistic period.



Site 1 – Stone 4

Stone 4 is partly dug down and measures 84x44, 35cm tall. It appears cut and lays exactly 6m south-east of stone 3, in a small hole by the outer wall of structure 1.

Site 1 – Stone 5

Stone 5 is placed in the trench crossing south-east of structure 1's outer wall by stone 2. It has a regular shape, measuring 34x93, 30cm tall. It is buried half way down, so any markings were hard to detect.

The stones surrounding structure 1 might not be ancient, but the cut stones are rarely used in the construction of dry stone walls, common in rural Turkey. In modern country side buildings, ancient reuse are frequent and if one have a walk in modern Yeniköy (by Metropolis), one can see many houses built partly with marble from ancient Metropolis. Stone 3 is most likely ancient of date and so may the other stones be as they form a small scatter.



6) Site 2 - dried out riverbed near Devliköy (map 6, picture 31, 32)

After having discovered site 1, I decided to survey a small area between the bridges on the Devliköy-Tekeli and the Menderes-Kusadasi road crossing the dried out river bed of the Derebogan. The area was chosen because it was easily accessible and close to another site. I walked 1 km down the river as I presumed the remains from several epochs would be present and visible, having been washed down the river. Smaller artifacts were not likely to be found, but I rather hoped to register larger stones with profiles. The river was dammed in the 1990's, and the surrounding by fertile fields provides the dispossessed farmers with agricultural riches. 10 m north-east of the bridge on the Menderes-Kusadasi road, close by the southern bank of the dried out riverbed, I located four large slabs, of which one had a clear profile with cut markings.

Site 2 - Stone 1 (picture 31)

Stone 1 is a slab measuring 80x109 cm, 70 cm tall. On the side pointing up, there is one marking and a three centimeter long cut line.

Site 2 - Stone 2 (picture 32)

Stone 2 is measuring 52x36, 22cm tall. On the side pointing in a south-western direction is a marking.



Site 2 and Site 1 are approximately one and a half a kilometer from each other, and are thus likely related to each other. In the landscape they are located on the fringes of the territory of Colophon, and are thus related to the gentle hillscape dividing the Colophon Plain from Menderes delta.

7) Site 3 – Dry hilltop near the Dr.Oetker industrial facility

Following the dry hilltops opposite to the northern reaches of the Galesion ridge and Puranda, I surveyed the crossroad by the Colophon Plain and the Menderes delta. The site is not far from the prehistoric site of Puranda. I managed to locate the foundations of a small structure and a cut stone on a field on top of a low hill. Site 3 is located 1,5km north-east of the junction by Pancar on the road to Ayrancilar, and 1,5 km south-west of where the Izmir-Aydin superhighway crosses over the Pancar-Ayrancilar road. Site 3 is just some 300m north-west of the Dr.Oetker facility by the Pancar-Ayrancilar road.

Site 3 - Stone 1

Stone 1 is 80x21, 29cm tall. It is white porous sandstone and appears cut.

Site 3 – structure 1

A very low ridge, 10cm high, runs in a square measuring 14x4m, the short side in eastern direction. The earth ridge is also running between some larger rocks and the mass consists of both stones and earth.

The remains of the structure and the cut stone may very well be related and pre-date other buildings in the area, but a closer date is impossible to determine.

8) Site 4, Degirmenderes, just outside Colophon's city walls (picture 33)

Directly west of the acropolis in ancient Colophon, 1,3 km south-south-west of the junction off to Degirmenderes on the Menderes-Kusadasi road, site 4 is located. It is just 1 kilometer north-west from the junction off to the village of Camonu on the Degirmenderes-Kusadasi road. The surrounding landscape is signified by two steep hills on which the remains of the city walls of Colophon is to be found, inside the dense needle tree forest. The site would be just outside these fortifications in front of the hills blocking Degirmenderes both visually and physically from the east. In the end I discovered a cluster of holes and a significant amount of cut stones. Of these I registered the ones with profiles. Site 4 is just outside the walls of Colophon, and thus in the fringes of the scope of my study. There are 20 cut stones spread around on each side a gentle hillside. Two of these are clearly worked, especially stone 1. The main purpose of surveying this area was to re-investigate the city walls of Colophon and search the area close to *KapI*, “the gate”.

Site 4 - Stone 1 (picture 33)

The stone is 124x73, 17cm tall, and is oval of form with straight sides. On the side facing up, the stone is worked like a small letter θ with deep lines cut into the stone, approximately 5 cm.



Picture 33: Site 4 – stone 2

Site 4 – Stone 2

The stone is perfectly square, although it has cracks and worn off pieces. It measures 55x55, 56cm tall.

There is a good possibility that the site is of ancient date. All 20 stones appear cut, but only one, stone 1 has a profile. The site is just outside the walls plotted by Schuchardt (1885) and could be the remains of a larger structure or the fortifications.

9) Survey across the Gallesion Mountains

I also surveyed the area between Gölva and Zeytinköy. First I followed the track from Zeytinköy to Gölva as far as possible. Along this path there were no ancient remains. Then I started from Gölva and followed the 100m cote towards Zeytinköy, but the area contained no archaeological remains. This would have been the shortest path to Ephesus, but there were no signs of human activity in the landscape. In antiquity, there would still have been the gulf of Ephesus to cross once beyond the Gallesion Mountains. From the Hellenistic period, Schuchardt noted a tower in this region, indicating that there was a need to defend this area, so one could argue that this may have become a backdoor to the Ales Valley.

10) North of Colophon

I surveyed the area north of Colophon by Mount Cubuklu and Mount Dikmen, but this area got a lower priority when I discovered that the Stena pass was inaccessible because of the Özdere dam. Lake Bulgurca was fenced off, and I was unable to obtain access from the guards as the lake was the local drinking water source.

6: Distances

When traveling in Ionia, one will notice the short distances between the different sites from Colophon (p.44, below). The immediate places to move were Smyrna, Tire, Metropolis, Ephesus, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai and Claros. Of these places Claros was the nearest main religious site while Metropolis and Notion were the nearest small towns. Smyrna was a larger city not far off and Ephesus, Teos, Lebedos and Klazomenai were the adjacent cities of the Dodekapolis. Tire and Sardis were the nearest larger known Lydian cities. The distances, following the shortest route along the leanest terrain (below the 100m cote), are as follows:

Claros/Notion	Religion/small town	13 km
Lebedos	Dodekapolis	19 km
Metropolis	Small town	25 km
Teos	Dodekapolis	38 km
Smyrna	Large town	39 km
Ephesus	Dodekapolis	51 km
Tire	Lydia	56 km
Klazomenai	Dodekapolis	57 km
Sardis	Lydia	100 km

Table 1: Distance from Colophon

7: The Landscape in Sum

The landscape from Küner down to the shores of Notion is extensively cultivated, but I was able to register some monuments as well as obtaining an understanding of the landscape. Of paths in the area, the landscape is a determinant factor and the Ales Valley is the path from Colophon to the sea, but still, this does not mean that the distances to Colophon's neighbors were long; the distance to Lydia was merely 56 km while Lebedus was only 19 km away. There is only one obvious path between the Colophon Plain and the Ales Valley, and that is past Colophon. From Colophon, one can move through the Stena Pass towards Lebedos and Teos, which is the shortest way. Another path is straight to the north towards Menderes and Smyrna (Bayrakli). A third path is towards Lydia to the east past the Galesion Mountains by Puranda, and further east following the Kucuk Menderes to Tire. If one cuts to the south-west before Belevi, one will come to Seldjuk, the site of Pre-Hellenistic Ephesus, and further down one would come to Arsinöe. Ephesus could also be reached by crossing the Galesion Mountains by Gölva, although this is a rough path: a backdoor. It would have been easiest to travel along the plains around the Galesion Mountains by Puranda. Where the Colophon Plain turned towards Smyrna and the Kucuk Menderes I found several sites and mounds, testifying a large human activity area. In the Ales valley, mounds lie along the road from Colophon to the shores of Notion. The Mounds would thus have been passed by people venturing to Claros.

The character of the Colophon Plain is that of being *a hub* between many different cities, as well as providing excellent conditions for agriculture. On gentle hills centrally positioned in the landscape, mounds are found. Placing the mounds on such spots gives them maximum

visibility and as they are projected in a specific direction, they relate to the landscape may be meant to be passed. They are thus connected to paths. If it would be random in which direction the mounds project themselves, why are none of them built at the centre of the gentle hills (a place where mounds of such sizes would be almost invisible)?

The landscape of the Ales Valley lacks the grand size of the Colophon Plain and is less accessible from Colophon both visually and in regards to movement. The Colophon plain was probably extensively used as there are sites (site 1, 2 and 3) at its far end. The Ales Valley ends by the sea near by the Clarian Oracle, which goes from being a local oracular site to becoming one of the most important oracles in the Hellenistic/Roman Age. The Ales Valley is Colophons only connection to the sea, but there was no harbor here until the dawn of the classical age.

Chapter 5: Place Names, Myths and Meanings

A location's different meanings to people are "unfolded in myths, stories, rituals and the naming of places" (Tilley 1999: 177). Place names and mythology are embedded in the location of Colophon Claros and Notion, thus giving access to *mental* landscape formations that are tied to the natural configuration of the landscape discussed in chapter 6.

The name "Colophon" has many meanings, amongst them a top, finishing and end (Schuchardt 1886: 433-434). When looking at mount Korakion, which shoots 800 meters towards the sky ending in a steep cliff both towards the sea to the south and the plains of Colophon to the north, Colophon is indeed at an end and close to a top. The Acropolis lay to the north by the end of the valley on a small hilltop, and if entering the plain from the north-east, Colophon would have been projected towards Lydia, bare and open just as Degirmenderes today. Korakion may be derived from *Korax* or *Korakos*. *Korax* means raven or crow, or something bent like the beak of the crow. Could it be the crow's mountain? The steep cliffs are covered with forest and surrounded by hills. To the west lies the Stena pass, was Colophon's connection to Lebedos and Teos. Stena may be derived from *stenos*, narrow or strait, or the Ionian *steinos* which in addition means difficulty or trouble. The pass is indeed narrow, and the place names may well simply be connected with the natural formations, and Colophon may denote its location at the end of mount. Perhaps the place names were at first mere descriptions, and by time they became nomens. Place names are durable, and are a way of creating a meaningful landscape.

If we travel to the south and towards the sea we find Notion and Claros in a rich mythological landscape. Claros was one of the main oracles in the Greek world in the Hellenistic and Roman period and was said to have been founded by the priestess Manto upon the orders of Apollo (Guirand 1997: 113). Claros is most likely not the name of a village, but rather the name of the cult. Yet Apollo's oracle of Colophon, often referred to in ancient sources, is shrouded in myth. The temple precinct is pitched in between surrounding hills and Mount Galesion nearby, thus enclosed in a bowl. Apollo's dwelling is located in Claros (*Hom. Hymn. 9.5*). Hesiod tells in *Malempodeia* (1) that Chalkas and Mopsus meets up in Claros and compete in the art of divinity by guessing the number of figs on the trees. Chalkas misses and dies. At a late stage Strabo (1.14.29) notes that there is an island sacred to Artemisia off the coast towards Lebedus. These brief notes place Claros at the mythological map of the ancient

Greek sources. The site of Apollo Clarios, pinched between the sea, the river and the hillsides, must have formed a distinctive place in itself. When outside the bowl, the Gallesion Mountains behind Claros does not look very conspicuous, but when entering the bowl, a cleft dotted with caves appears behind the oracular site and the cleft is abrupt enough to dominate the site. Accordingly at least one cave was in use continually from the 3rd millennium BC to the Roman Era. For the ancient Greek mind, the concept of cave cult is not unknown as Apollo's oracle at Delphi also had the Corycian cave (Scully 1962: 109). To speculate, there have been found depictions of Cybele with a dog in Notion; perhaps it was a Cybele cave cult similar to the one near Metropolis (Meric: Forthcoming). There was also a water source, just where the cavea of the Apollo temple was built. This source may have had a mystical aura, as Iamblicus (de Myst. Aeg 3.11) later reports the source as the spring of divine inspiration.

Notion may be connected to the Greek noun *notios*, which means damp, wet or rainy, but also southern or southerly. This fits well as Notion was south of Colophon near a lagoon, a river and the sea: It was both wet and southerly. In the written sources Notion comes to mention in the 5th century, and was referred to as *Notion teichos*, the "walled Notion", *Notion oppidum*, the small town of Notion, and *frouion*, the fortification (Schuchardt 1886: 428, 433; Glotz 1928: 16) which may indicate that it once was a small outpost controlling the entrance to the chora of Colophon from the sea. This fits well with the archaeological evidence as there are no Archaic finds until this day from Notion. Notion is not a notable place in Mythology, but is near Claros on a hill towering over the Lagoon.

The place names near the site of Colophon and Notion have few connections with myth in stark opposition to Claros. The place names are mostly geographically descriptive arising from continual habitation, dwelling (ch. 6). The main are narratives of the earliest days of Colophon (*Mimn.frag.* 9; *Xenoph.frag* 3) bring conquest and decadence into the picture, but such stories are not helpful in reconstructing a mythological landscape. Claros receives a visible position in Archaic poetry (*Hes. Malempodeia* 1) and the Mythological landscape.

Chapter 6: Theory and Methods

1: Selection of a Theory

There are three theoretical positions in philosophy of science: positivist, constructivist or realist (Gosden 1994: 10). I choose a realist framework because it provides a theory that enhances the social sides of the material that evidently surrounds it (ch.3). The landscape and the things have both mental and economical sides. In positivist New Archaeology one contends that space was the scene for human adaptation to the dynamics of a natural landscape. The focus tends to be “objective” and economical (Wheatly and Gillings 2002: 8). The constructivists in the post-processual ranks focus on the landscape as symbolically layered and mental. Thought systems are often a primary objective and relativism (to a varying degree) is a key concept (Trigger 1996: 252-253). Håkan Karlsson (2000: 74-75) terms both positivist processual and constructivist post-processual archaeology as *anthropocentric* in that they both operate with a dichotomy between subject (in this case the archaeologist) and object (the scattered remains of the past), whether the thingly landscape, buildings and objects can be grasped by the objective methods of an exterior rational subject or if it is a construct the mind. The multitude of use and meanings of the landscape imply a relationship more intimate and varied, inherently *multifunctional* in Theano Terkenli’s words (2001: 198), than a subject-object dichotomy can give. This is a call for a *third stance* that can deal with a mental and economical landscape where both geography, Colophonians and Notians are agents (ch.1).

2: Theory and Landscape

The realist position has its roots in phenomenology. Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty have been of great inspiration in recent landscape archaeology through the works of for example Thomas (1996), Tilley (1994, 1999, 2004) and Gosden (1994) as well as Denis Cosgrove (1988) and Tim Ingold (2000). In the realist position “space” is neither a mind construct or a container of people and things, but it becomes *a lived experience*; the phenomenologists seek to understand the space that people experience in their daily life (Wollan 2003: 36). It is a tangible, immediately experienced and emotionally laden world. Thomas’ (1996) concept of *Landscape identity* is to be employed since it gives a lens to study the landscape through which accounts for the view that the landscape is *an experience*.

By looking at not only how people live but also *the life of the things and landscapes*, the material collected above (ch.2-5) can be fully exploited. Not only “the Indian behind the artifact”, but the things take part in social relations according to Bjørnar Olsen (2003: 90 and 100). Yet again Aristotle’s notion (*Pol.* 5.1303B) that the landscape of Colophon does not permit them peace with the Notians comes to mind. How the material world relates to the social world is studied by Boyd (2002: 23 and 27), who sees how movement in the landscape is influenced by architecture. Boyd’s view serves to exemplify Olsen’s ideas (2003) of the things social role and points to another important aspect in the relation between people and the material world: namely movement.

In the following sections key concepts in regards to space and phenomenology are explored to work out a suitable theoretical framework. In section 1) Thomas’ understanding of Heidegger’s *Dasein* (2005) and its relation to time and identity is reviewed. In the following section 2), I show that the concept of *dwelling* provides an applicable theory of how *Dasein* relates to the world. In 3) the idea of a landscape identity further emerges, while in 4) relevant critique is assessed. In section 5) other methods which provide interesting approaches are explored and in 6) a “tool kit” of concepts to build an analysis on is assembled. Historical data, archaeological material, landscape analysis, place names and mythology have been assembled so far in this study of Colophon. *Dasein*’s *dwelling* ties these categories together and allows for a study of the experience of a landscape. Paths and movements between places are significant concepts further can be assessed as they shape how a landscape is conceived. I view Colophon both in the *satellite* and *microscope perspective* as well as in *public* and *lived time*.

1: Dasein, Time and Identity

Heidegger’s ontological concept *Dasein* (in English being-there), a self-reflecting subject (human) primordially marked as a *being-in-the-world*, has been picked up by Ingold (2000) and Thomas (1996: 90), who with *Dasein* as a background works out an operational concept of landscape identity and a theoretical corner stone in the archaeological theory of science .

Dasein provides the basis for a realist position and integrates the researcher and the object of study. The past leaves marks in the landscape that survive in the present, thus the ancient remains are part of *Dasein*’s a priori world. *Dasein* is thrown, *Geworft*, into a social and material a world with a past and present, which constantly is experienced as not fully

explored. The world *discloses* itself to *Dasein*: there is always something beyond, for example the past for the archaeologist. *Dasein* senses other *Daseins* and itself. The latter notion is referred to as *Dasein's facticity*: *Dasein* is both an object body and a subject mind. In a world that is in constant motion, *being-in-the-world* becomes a process in which many beings participate. Since *Dasein* can recognize other *Daseins*, sensing that they experience the same world, one may say that the world is intersubjectively constituted (Thomas 1996: 40, 64). This is the basis for the abovementioned (ch.6.1) third stance, neither relativist nor positivist.

Dasein is *being-towards-death*, the experience of life as linear, much like language; every sentence has a beginning and an end. *Public time* is exterior time, that is the tides of the larger world, measured with clocks (the passing of day to night), but such a time could only be sensed if one also *live* time. Thomas (1996: 40) thus states that *Dasein is time*. *Dasein* is locked into language, a medium communication, exploring the world and identifying things as well as *Dasein's* past. Language has a narrative structure in that it is organized in interconnected categories of past, present and future. Identity, the notion of who *Dasein* is, arises from an understanding of *Dasein's* past. The past deals *Dasein's* cards from which a future is played out. This is not determinism, only a statement that the past influence the present (Thomas 1996: 40-41, 44-45).

2: How *Dasein* Relates to Things and the World: Dwelling

Tim Ingold (2000: 189) explores further how *Dasein* makes the world temporal by coping with it in a mode of *habit* rather than after having read a manual. This is a process of dwelling which archaeology itself is part of, it is a way of *being-in-the world*. Dwelling is derived from Heidegger (1978a) and refers to the way that people reside in the world. Dwelling is a process in that it is an aspect of *being-in-the-world* and an important side of it is *building*, which is how *Dasein* explicates its intentions, its goals in the world, either through *nurturing* (...agriculture) or *constructing* (...a bridge). The former mode of *building* is the way of the natural and habitual *being-in-the-world*. To build is to *spare*, to be at peace with the elements of the world (Heidegger 1978a: 326-327): the forester can extract his produce because he works the forest while paying heed to it, if he ravages his forest, it will die and the farmer will have no timber. In such a way, the world's *fourfold* is brought forth, that is the mortals, divinities, earth and sky. *The fourfold* is conceptually interdependent and each being and thing has relations to it; in fact, it represents the connection between the elements in the material world that signifies a place, thing or being.

Through *sparing*, *Dasein* embody *the fourfold* in that when residing in the world with the earth and skies, awaiting the divinities and as mortal striving towards death: *Dasein* is constituted by these elements. Essentially we dwell together with things and while doing so, Heidegger states that we also bring together *the fourfold* in them (1978a: 328). If the building of a construction is to set in motion the assembling a Heideggerian *fourfold*, it may be understood as a way of collecting together the material and social elements of a landscape into a building. Later I will not operate with *the fourfold* through direct application, but rather I will see how buildings are related to caves, mountains, sea view and rivers as well as the social; how a location in the landscape is brought together. A temple may be structured together with landscape elements as such and then bring them together in the landscape in a new way. The bringing together of *the fourfold* is how dwelling takes place, the performance of being-in-the-world.

Building a bridge connects two shores and a bridge is a bridge in essence of crossing a river. In altering the landscape, *Dasein* negotiates from its pool of given options and partake in the creation of a landscape under the skies. The bridge connects people wandering around in their daily doings before the divine, whether they are superhuman beings or only constructions of the mind. The bridge as a thing is a site for the gathered *fourfold* (Heidegger 1978a: 331). If the bridge defines a location (or place/locale) with a specific form, we may say that space is something that is made for. Space is opened by and for dwelling (resulting in bridges), an interval with physical extension but depending on *building* to be a location. When we think of a space, we do so because *it is there for us* and opened to dwell in; it gains significance for dwellers (Heidegger 1978a: 332-335, 338). A place's identity, what sets it apart from other spaces, arise from a historical dimension of geographical elements and the human activities taking place there. For Ingold (2000: 194) a landscape is task-structured, a "taskscape".

Man, which is *being-towards-death*, makes the world temporal as his life rhythms from birth to death ultimately structure his conception of the time of the world. But the temporalized world never stops like the life of one person, but continues as man is also thrown into a social world. When we are at our tasks together with people we find a large web of interconnected things we habitually do and thus get a temporal taskscape. The tasks, which are everything one do, are always within the world and are an outcome of the relation between humans and environment: the taskscape and landscape blends, and thus the time of the world and *Dasein's*

temporality merge (Ingold 2000:194-196). Oliver Klein's (2004: 247) brief definition of pre-industrial task-structured time is interesting in this context. Tasks can structure time; for example when the sun goes up, one has to leave for the plain to herd horses. This exemplifies how necessarily time ("*...I awake when the sun goes up*") blends with tasks ("*...breed horses*") and locations in the landscape ("*...the plain*") forming a taskscape. When the term "landscape" is used in the final analysis (Ch.7), the tasks are kept in mind, for the change of landscape identity is tied to a change of tasks taking place at locations in the dwelling process.

Ingold (2000: 201-207) exemplifies the temporalized landscape with a Brühgel painting and sees how valleys and mountains, paths, corn, people, a large tree and a church works together to constitute a landscape. The mountains and the valleys are vital in the topography of the landscape, but the perception of them is rooted in the body's faculties as the sight follows the lines of the forms of the land and then produces a moving landscape. Paths are seen as the imprints of people traveling between different locations, nexuses with meanings, they are the sedimented movements of a culture. The corn is linked to the task of surviving; economy is never to be underscored. Ingold points to how Heidegger's thoughts of the fourfold further can be operationalized systematically; he sees a landscape with interrelating categories. I will pick up the relations between people and nature, paths and economy, as well as buildings. Ingold also makes a point that the landscape has features that changes so slowly that the form may be perceived similarly by both ancient Greeks and contemporary people which shares the same bodily faculties and functions.

The world is not only filled with monuments and people but also things. Heidegger's definition in "the origin of the Work of Art" (1978b) of a thing, which is used by Thomas (1996), can be applied in relation to a landscape study. When dwelling, things around *Dasein* are employed in the performance of tasks and finds a place within a myriad of material interdependent relations when they go from being *present-at-hand* to becoming *ready-at-hand*. The things form an *equipmental totality* in which they have a multifunctional weblike character as they can be used in so many ways (Thomas 1996: 61). People have to adapt to things and the world. The techniques of how to use a tool are not learnt through text books, but in a social setting and through habitual use. A hammer stroke is never contemplated unless it fails, but the goal, the intention is what the mind focus on. The things are integrated in a dynamic temporal world and have biographies: from being set forth until material degradation, like places and beings. The movement of things and their becoming is a study of

its own, but different person-thing relations and things on the move (trade) can be studied in relation to landscapes they are part of together with people. Both things and locations in the landscapes gain their *meaning* through use in Heidegger's philosophy. Different locations of varied uses, natural elements and things form a *landscape matrix*, a totality of places.

3: *Memory and Landscape Identity*

Dasein has a personal history interlinked with a public history which can be brought forth through *remembrance*. Memory may be viewed as organized like a text, being reworked constantly as it is engendered by the practice of being-in-the-world (Thomas 1996: 53). The past is in disclosure as we move away from it in life, but can be recalled through its remnants. The past is a priori to the present man: material fragments of the past are amongst us always. Archaeology is described as "a textual practice, which is performed in the present upon materials which speak to us of the past" (Thomas 1996: 64). If people inhabit memory, so must places and objects. When dwelling in the world amongst other people, things and monuments, landscapes are constantly configured in specific ways which give them particular identities. Locations have a priori a historical horizon of meaning from where a landscape identity arise which people recall. "Natural places" (Bradley 2000: 34-36) may acquire meaning such processes: captivating sceneries may gain special significance for people even as an unmodified location. Through, for example, deposits in caves behind oracular sites like Claros, natural places can be grasped by archaeologists. We may be said to sense "*a human spirit in the cultural object*" (Merleau-Ponty 2006: 405-406)...and locations.

Whereas I intend to operate with Claros as a Bradlyan natural place, I do so without Eliade's essentialist concept of "Hierophanies", places which due to their experiential value inherently are meeting places between cosmic forces, although Bradley do so (2000: 29). I rather apply Thomas (1996) and Ingold's (2000) "dwelling perspective", which views man as thrown into a moving context rather than in a static essentialist one. The strength of such a model is that it allows for the development of sites more readily. Could essentialist concepts explain how the caves of Claros went from being a sacred place and became a shelter for sheep today?

That objects and locations can evoke memories has been actively used for example amongst the Romans; Bettina Bergmann (1994: 226) has shown how frescoes with mythological themes arranged in order in Roman houses may have functioned as "memory theatres", mnemonic devices (objects to evoke memory). Landscape studies have focused on power and

memory as those of Michael Given (2004) and Susan Alcock (2002). Alcock demonstrates how the material world arising from the past and mediation of the material setting may be a source of power dominance and resistance. Monuments commemorating the Persian war, emphasizing military prowess, in the face of Roman conquest can be a way of mediating a desired identity (Alcock 2002: 177). Parallel to the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (2006: 405-406), Alcock (2002: 30) sees that monuments house horizons from the past in them, they tell a story of how the world is. When versions of truth are communicated in the landscape, power enters a scene socially accessible. Phenomenology is accused of not being able to grasp categories as class and gender (Wollan 2003: 38), but following Thomas (1996: 91) I disagree to any such notions in that the landscape is where social relations are played out and can then be studied in a power discourse. Landscape identity is tied to such relations: a landscape inhibits a set of specific material configurations, with past horizons, which can be altered to fit the goals of some as shown by Alcock. Memory could be said to be a part of the landscape identity in that the elements of a location evokes the past, selectively received and remembered by people. How people remember the past of a place, partly determines how the place is perceived.

4: Critique and other Theories of Importance

Phenomenology is not undisputed and has been subject to critique for being deterministic (53), essentialist (p.56) and unable to fathom social relations (p.57). Previously chapter 6 these questions have been dealt with and the purpose of this section is to review critique relating to the phenomenological view of space and memory to deepen these concepts.

The third space: A critique notice is Heidegger's deficiency to address, in Bhabha's terminology (1990), the hybrid "third space", the many contact points between "the familiar" and the "other" where different influences merge into a distinct entity (Falck 2003: 109). Tori Falck (2003: 106) emphasize that movements between places create contact surfaces that become palimpsests of experiences, or third space meeting grounds. According to Thomas (1996: 91) "hybridity" is the mixing of different intentions in things and landscapes, so varied that they have the ability to be part of infinitely many context of use by different subjects.

Memory: The thoughts of Alcock (2002) exemplify how power relations are constituted by monuments and in locations as these are manipulated to inhibit or displace collective memory. How can a people "remember" when this is an individual act? Do people become the pawns

of a singular amorphous *Volksgeist*? Alcock (2002: 15) avoids such critique by focusing on the existence of several competing memory communities, both dominant and subversive, in which the subject can have multiple membership. Similar critics can be directed towards my conception of the intersubjective constitution of the world. Where are the people? Since people are thrown in an a priori world, are they mere dupes of exterior conditions? I oppose ideas of pre-determined fate as our destiny is shaped by dwelling towards an unknown future; the a priori is simply a deck of cards with which we play a game with an unknown outcome. But as we function in a meaningful world conceived together with others we dwell alongside with, it has to be intersubjective and collective memory *has to be!*

5: Methods

“Method” is derived from the ancient Greek words *meta odos*, or along the road, it refers to motion. My possibility to reach back to the past lies in dwelling and the historical horizon within the thingly, having been part of differing contexts in the past. New thoughts appear when strolling along with an analysis. When I conducted the archaeological registration, I chose an area I called the Colophon Plain and looked for monuments from the Ancient Greeks in relation to three sites, Colophon, Notion and Claros as well as geographical formations. I realized on the road that nothing in the landscape was as expected, and that flexibility was the key to finishing my task. This study have however been influenced by Norwegian landscape archaeology and the Annales School

For my purpose, I found that the more rigorous methodologies of Christian Keller, Gro Jerpåsen and Terje Gansum (1997), inspired by Kevin Lynch’ (1960) urban studies did not work. The share size of the Colophon Plain would have made it necessary to create an endless obscuring mass of minor landscape rooms even if I only addressed two *major rooms* in Keller, Jerpåsen and Gansum’s terminology (1997: 13) (the Ales Valley and the Colophon Plain). This method is perhaps well suited for smaller spaces like the Ales Valley, but on a larger scale it excelles more as an inspiration. I have thus kept in mind the emphasis on how monuments project themselves in certain directions, paths, and also concepts as “archaeological legibility” (Keller et.al.1997: 14-16, 23), the degree to which an archaeologist can grasp the past of a landscape. The notion of how monuments are placed in the landscape in accordance with human cultural schemes is in accordance with my own thoughts derived from phenomenology; through building we express our intentions.

Phenomenology is not the only direction claiming to introduce a theoretical *third stance*; the Annales School blends historical narrative methods with “objective” statistics (Peebles 1991: 111). Archaeology and Annales history have much in common in sharing a broad methodological focus, applying geography, history, biology, history and archaeology. A recurring problem is that the Annales School is not a school *per se*, it is the journal in which various researchers, employing similar methods, are published. The most famous Annalist is Fernand Braudel, who introduced the three rhythms of time *événement*, *conjunctures* and *longue durée*. The *longue durée*, “the long run”, is signified by the rhythms of changing political, religious and intellectual systems at the two other levels of time. The *longue durée* is also the rhythms of nature (Morris 2000: 4-5; Barker 1995: 1-2).

How the time systems have been applied is at the best inconsistent, especially if we account for the Annales archaeology: for Stone Age archaeologists the *longue durée* will span for 10 000 years, while for a Classical archaeologist the Classical period is merely a 150 years. The time of *événement* and *conjunctures* will inevitably lapse into a *longue durée* as, for example, the *événement* is mere *surface disturbances*. This means that the subject may disappear in the longer spans according to Gosden (1994: 134-135). Such a position would leave little room for the lived time experience of for example Colophon’s burial mounds, an important part of ch.7.

Lived time is the basis for understanding the time of all other subjects: the span between life and death is lived time, and it is in this span that the world is emotionally experienced. The lived time is rooted in the landscape, which tides are measured in the public time of the rising sun. The Annales School’s strength is that it connects social and natural geography (Knapp 1992: 10), but the annalists have little consistency when applying their terminology of time and further I find that the opening for emphasizing the human experience in phenomenology is preferable in a landscape study where much of the focus rest on how locations are felt. Further, no person feels like *a surface disturbance*. However, the *longue durée* and the concept of *mentalité* are inspiring. *Mentalité* is a spirit of the time consisting of political, social and religious ideas that may be part of shaping a landscape identity (Knapp 1992: 8).

6: Summary and the Methodological Choices

In the final analysis, the landscape is to be viewed on one level in a regional satellite perspective and the larger span of public time which sees the rise and demise of empires and

systems, thus power relations. This is related to the local microscope perspective and lived time, rooted in the experience of *being-in-the-world* in an inherently intersubjective and in a meaningful reality. The process of dwelling constantly leaves behind traces giving the world a historical horizon. Things and landscapes constitute a relational whole, a totality, which is in change and survives one *dasein*/subject. In its new context the thingly takes on new meanings, but even if never fully grasped, we can understand the past horizon of the thing since it has a contemporary meaning for us. The past can be fathomed because it is carried in memory, the recalling of past societies and contexts embedded in present societies, landscapes and things. The realist position of phenomenology rests on intersubjectivity rather than subjectivity or objectivity. In the world, we dwell together with others with which we share meanings.

In trying to discover how the people dwelt around Colophon between 1300 and 302 BC, I apply the concept of landscape identity as constituted by a history of building and tasks. Regarding the individual constructions I will look at its relations to the surrounding elements, partly invariant, which opens for a study of an experience of the landscape. This is again a social enterprise and landscape experience may be seen in satellite perspective as a series of many connected locations. It is then important to look at paths and movement between locations in the landscape. Movement is what there is *between* locations and things. The landscape identity is on one level tied to the relations between the larger regional changes felt at a local level, the constants of geography and in the end how people negotiated their life in such a world. When moving around in the landscape along paths to fulfill tasks at locations, constantly in making by natural and human forces, the landscape is vested with names and ideas (Tilley 1999: 178). Landscapes become webs of locations, each with meanings constantly changing. The locations gains a biography, and it is this biography of changing identities I explore by looking at the relations between place names, myths, stories, webs of tasks (agriculture, worship etc...), geography, movement and paths. These concepts comprise a tool box to think with. I use “communication” simply in terms of exchange regarding people, ideas and things. A path a line of communication as any message or thing has to travel from one place to another in what emerges as a landscape matrix of location.

Chapter 7: Analysis

1: Introduction

Chapter 5 starts with the earliest times and move forward while employing the abovementioned concepts (ch.6.2.6), of which the most important are satellite perspective/public time, microscope perspective/lived time, dwelling and landscape identity. The narrative structure of this chapter is much like a walk along a path towards a final conclusion. A concept I discovered along the road was *speed* which I make a final remark by the end of the chapter (4). Until then, I divide the chapter into broad sections covering the periods of the (1) Mycenaean, (2) the colonization and the Archaic Age, (3) the Classical and the Hellenistic period, while picking up the theoretical concepts *meta odos*.

2: The Mycenaean Age and Decline

What kind of place was Colophon in the period 1300-1000 BC? The main settlement in the Bronze Age was Puranda whereas the Colophon was likely a secondary site of less significance. Colophon was however nearby a contact point between the Arzawan kingdom, Mycenaean culture (materializing in a tholos tomb and the very scant remains of what may have been a cyclopic wall), and the Hittites, and in fact the Hittite king Mursili II conquered Puranda in the 14th century BC (Greaves and Helwing 2001: 466). Colophon was thus placed by valleys stretching to the north towards Smyrna, to the interior Hittite Empire and to the Arzawan south. That Colophon appeared Mycenaean site in some respects must, have created a ruined landscape that resembled that of mainland Greece in terms of landscape identity. Whether the site of Colophon thrived in the absence of Puranda, controlling a vast agricultural plain, is impossible to determine due to the lack of evidence, but the pre-Greek inhabitants of Colophon were not able to expel colonists coming perhaps as early as the 10th century BC, the period from which the first Proto-Geometric pottery is derived. Perhaps the blow dealt by Mursili II to the Arzawan kingdom affected smaller sites as well as the cities of Puranda and Apasas to an extent that the landscape identity of Colophon between 1300-1000 was that of an abandoned place.

3: Colonization and the Archaic Age

For the colonists of the 10th century, Mycenaean monuments were a familiar part of the landscape. The geography of Greece and Western Turkey is not much different; windblown bush clad hills reaches inland. In mainland Greece, there was a general pattern that

Mycenaean sites were re-inhabited. Colonization near Mycenaean sites in Asia Minor accounts not only for Colophon, but also for other Ionians like the Clazomenaeans (Grave and Kealhofer 2006b). In Colophon we do not know if the exact place of the first settlement in the area at Colophon or in the surroundings, but it was clearly a “Greek” presence in the area by the 10th century.

The Korakion Mountain’s steep cliff rests above Colophon and the Stena Pass in a dramatic manner and would have given Colophon an imposing look when approached from the plain. Unlike the other Ionian cities located by the sea, looking towards the homelands across the Aegean and seaborne routes of transport and escape, Colophon was detached from the sea and looked to the east. Colophon was founded on a plain surrounded by mountains next to the sometimes hostile native tribes and further away foreign powers such as Phrygia. Yet perhaps the landscape felt familiar; the Greek settlers did not plunge into the unknown, but recognized traits in the new world of Asia Minor from homelands and structured the Colophon Plain in familiar ways by resettling a Mycenaean site. The Colophon Plain was thus not a complete variation of the unknown “other”.

Why settle at Colophon? With the disappearance of Puranda as a major site in the Bronze Age and destruction of the Arzawan kingdom, a rich plain was politically open in the larger satellite perspective as Phrygia was far away, beyond even the Hermos Valley of Sardis. Greek colonies tended to be founded on defensive hilltops where control over agricultural lands could be obtained and indeed, the common Archaic fortress was often a steep rock (Winter 1971: 54). Communication was also a factor when choosing a site to settle, as Alan Greaves (2000: 57) states. In Ionia all the great cities in the Dodekapolis were placed by the sea as it presented the fastest way of transporting goods and functioned as a “hub” between the cities. The sea, in Greek known as *Pontos* or the “the path” (Crow 1970: 4) and being Antiquity’s fastest lane, would have bound together rather than divided the Greeks in Asia and on the mainland. A travel to Athens from Notion by sea would have been faster than the land-route to the Hellespont. Sea access was not a factor in the when Colophon was founded. In regards to the identity of the place, the site commanded a defensive position and controlled a plain that connected the nearby polieis of Lebedus, Smyrna, Ephesus, Metropolis, Lydian Tire and Smyrna in a satellite perspective. In terms of lived time and the microscope perspective the site of Colophon brings together of the plains and the mountains and is

bounded with good possibilities of land transport. Blended with the descriptive place names Colophon's landscape identity seems largely profane and inland.

Vincent Scully (1962: 130-131) investigated the relationship between landscape formations and temples opposing the view that the Archaic Age did not see planned landscapes. He noted that, as is usual with temples of Apollo, the temple by Claros was placed in front of a gorge with two flanking horns sticking up to the east and a conical hill to the west. These traits are accordingly common for the locations of Apollo Temples. Apollo Clarios' Temple is placed at one end of a "hairpin" shaped valley opposite of Colophon's Metroon, as Scully insinuates perhaps an expression of being in the borderland between an ancient Goddess and the new Olympic Gods. The difference, *the strife*, between the southern Ales Valley and the upper Colophon Plain is underlined.

That the landscape of Claros inhibited meanings connected with the mythology of Apollo and religious actions for a very long time seem reasonable. The prehistoric use of the caves in the Gallesion Mountains are unlikely to be connected to the Greek Apollo, but this illustrates that different people may have found different meanings in a place which brings together many elements; the sea, the gorge, the Ales River meeting the sea, the lagoon, the mountains and a narrow valley up towards Colophon. The location of Claros brings together the fourfold differently than at Colophon then. These striking features caught the minds of people residing in the area and may have produced a Bradleyan (2004: 6-7) natural place, an unaltered part of the landscape that through dwelling may have developed meanings since early ages. The practice of cave offerings may be seen as a "non-modifying" practice and did not require people to fill the landscape with monuments until the Archaic Age. From the earliest times then, Claros had the landscape identity of a mystical religious location, opposed to the profane agricultural settlement area up the valley by Colophon

The plains near Claros are marginal as opposed to the enormous river plains of Colophon. The first main settlement of the Archaic Age in the area appears at Colophon and only by the dawn of the Classical Age does Notion become prominent enough to receive mention; it was an outpost. Claros, as mentioned, is the oracle of *just* Colophon and *not* Notion. It is furthermore considered by La Geniere (2003: 204-205) to be a local oracle in the Archaic Age and it becomes an international oracle later. It seems that the main settlement was located to the north by the plain, while the main religious site was placed to the south by the sea. To go

there, one had to walk down a valley for more than 10 kilometers. By the sea, in a completely different landscape, one entered an enclosed bowl with ancient religious practices taken up by the Greek immigrants, perhaps familiar with caves and similar landscape formations from home, considering their relationship with caves from an early age. To set Claros and Colophon in a dichotomous relationship based on sacred-profane and plain-sea would be too easy, but the site of Claros may have been a place strongly related to cultic practice and meanings even from the farthest past while Colophon undeniably has the best agricultural tracts and fewer connections with the myths. Claros has a very different landscape from the plains to the north; in a *lived time* perspective a traveler would experience this on his journey down the Ales Valley. The scenery may have strengthened the dynamics between people and landscape that would have resulted in a natural place and eventually an international cultic centre.

In the 7th Colophon had become the main centre in the area as the settlement at Puranda had declined and never really caught up after the destruction in the 14th century. The 7th century has few buildings to show of, but then again the excavation of Colophon was very brief due to the political circumstances. There has been found some quantities of geometric and Lydian pottery, but the buildings are mainly of late Classical-Hellenistic date. The Lydian ware may reflect the economical side of Lydia's influence in Colophon hinted by Xenophanes, who condemns his countrymen's luxurious habits. According to later sources (*Ael.* 8.5; *Ath.* 12.524) the Lydians had a profound influence in Colophon in terms of habits. Their colony Siris shared this (*Ath.* 12.5.23). The focus on excess bordering to hubris in both these cases may serve as an explanation for the Colophonian downfall (Bowra 1941: 124). To any extent Colophon had economical contacts with Lydia evident in that Lydian pottery has been found in Colophon. Lydian sites, only 50-60 km away, has also produced Greek pottery of all periods. Sardis is even the only place in Asia Minor to show continuity between the Sub-Mycenaean and the Proto-Geometric period (Spier 1983: 24). As the coastal zone of Ionia has few ore resources, it is not impossible that Colophon traded for metals of all kinds with their neighbors the Lydians although this may never be more than speculations.

In terms of an "eastern connection", the mounds and landscape structure must be brought forth. Although the mounds of my survey cannot be dated closely, they can be connected to a Lydio-Persian mound builder tradition. There are mounds in the vicinity of Ephesus and Smyrna, which were also under Lydian reign, but these are not accounted for in the work of

Andrew and Nancy Ramage who surveyed for mounds on the plains of Lydia. By Tire, they noted four mounds (Ramage and Ramage 1971: 155), some of which I myself also saw, being very prominent in the landscape. The mounds of Lydia were of conical shape and placed at rock outcrops and at other highly visible places in groups, sited along roads (Ramage and Ramage 1971:145-146). The mounds of Bintepe are the most numerous and they are placed on a long rolling hills stretching along the Hermos valley by the Gygean Lake past Sardis. The hills are located by a “crossroad”; from the north, a valley towards Phrygia cuts down towards the Hermos Valley, Sardis and Bin Tepe. The dates of the mounds termed Lydio-Persian are mostly between the 7th to the 4th century. As the belt of mounds stretches to Karabel (in the Hermos Valley near Smyrna) with its 2-4 mounds (Ramage and Ramage 1971: 142, 153), they are approximately 40 kilometers from the plains of Colophon and its mounds.

The mounds (1-7) I located on the plains of Colophon also lie along rolling lean hills spread out in the landscape. The mounds on the plain are built in three areas; one by the hills near Colophon, one on the plain North-East of Colophon and one to the North. The mounds of the Ales Valley lay squeezed in along what would have been the Ales River. Two of them (mound 10, 8) are close to each other, while one further up the Valley is cut by the road. According to Schuchardt there was another one nearby, but it has been removed. Mound 10 was built with a crepis of neatly cut stones of irregular size, perhaps like the one noted by Schuchardt (ch.3.2.1) on a hill by Notion. From the irregular rough cut stonework I would assume it to be an archaic mound, but this is by no means certain. The Lydian tombs of the Hermos Valley are mostly without crepis like the mounds of the Colophon Plain. Technical difference may however reflect a conscious choice and not necessarily a different date. Other tumuli with crepis are found by Belevi, which is hard to date as there have been found pottery of both the 6th and 4th century BC in the fill. Furthermore, in Lydia by Karniyarik Tepe there is a tumulus with isometric crepis from the 6th century date (Greenwalt Jr., Ratté and Rautman 1995: 30-31 ; Alzinger 1979: 171), and they thus fall into the same scope of time as the Lydian mounds without crepis. How the mounds are experienced when moving in their landscape setting should perhaps be the main focus rather than the dates since they are impossible to determine.

The groups of mounds catch the eye and form a focus when moving around on the Colophon Plain. They project themselves towards the open and would have been clearly visible from

most distances. Each of the groups focuses the eye in one central location instead of creating a linear view as if lying on a long unbroken row along a path (which they are too few to do). It also seems that the mounds in the Ales Valley collect the focus of the landscape in a similar way although the mountains are tightly packed around. I would suggest that the mounds of Lydia and the mounds of the plain of Colophon can be seen in a similar context. If the landscape of Lydia and Colophon share such a feature, it may have been experienced in a quite similar way. The *lived time* experience of the mounds provides similarity between Colophon and Lydia, further tying them together. When a traveler journeyed from Lydia, it would have been through a familiar landscape. One passed mounds before meeting the Archaic necropolis and the city itself, where the Greek wore familiar cloths (*Xenoph. frag.3*) and used some of the same merchandizes (Lydian pottery was found at Colophon).

Neolithic mounds have also been located in the Izmir region. They are often placed near water streams (French 1965: 18). This pattern would to my knowledge fit the mounds in the Ales Valley, but the crepis of mound 10 and the historic reference to mound 9 would indicate differently. In regards to Stone Age sites, Recep Meric (1993: 144) notes that several lie along the Buyuk Menderes and towards Manisa, showing the old age of this communication route. It is common for mounds to lay along communication routes, but the network of mounds familiar to the Colophonian still connects with Lydia and the east as much as other Greek areas.

The Colophonians were conquered by the Lydians in the second half of the 700's. Did this lead to decay and a desperate *én masse* colonization of Siris in a state of fear (Demand 1990: 32)? It seems rather that the Colophonians did not have extensive problems of the economical kind, but population pressure or *stasis* could have forced some Colophonians away, if not on large scale. The first altar at Claros, a round one, was built and there was a series of offerings of personal items such as Egyptian bronze figurines. By the course of the 7th century BC, the votives change to converted offerings, items made for the God (ch. 3.2.2). There is thus a dynamic activity at Claros during the Lydian reign and excess still blossoms until the time of the Persians according to Xenophanes (*frag. 3*). In the Persian period though, there are also no signs of destruction or notable poverty in Claros (La Geniere 2003: 204).

In the satellite/public time perspective it may seem that Colophon does quite well although other Greek cities in Asia Minor experienced trouble with the Lydians. Miletos, for example,

was attacked on several occasions (Foss and Hanfmann 1983: 5), but Colophon and Ephesus seems to have had both good and bad experiences with Lydia. Artemiseion received gifts and Colophon seems to have had cultural connections with Lydia although they also experienced war and conquest. Colophon's cultural connection with Lydia is not a unique one: in that the art of Ionia in general seems to be a fusion of Anatolian and Greek influences (Boardman 1993: 358). The importance of the Ales valley for the Lydians was stressed early by Buckler (1926: 41), who sees Colophon as Lydia's Danzig, a narrow strip of land connecting Lydia to the sea. This statement is built on historical assumptions and a Lydian disc on which it reads *valves*. Buckler assumes that *valves* and Ales is the same word, but this is disputed as Buckler lacks analogies. Wallace disproves Buckler's hypothesis in a note in *The Journal of Historical Studies* (1988: 204) as a mistranslation. But whether Buckler is right or not, he draws attention that Colophon was linked by fertile plains to Lydia, and to the sea by a 15km valley. To the Lydians, Colophon was a large city that controlled a connection point of paths to the sea as well as a plain. This may have been very important for an interior Lydia.

Lydia emerged as a power in the 8th century, filling the vacuum left by the Phrygians, and ruled Western Anatolia until the Persian conquest in 546 BC. Their lavish capital Sardis was located about 100 kilometers away from Colophon while Tire was a mere 50-60 kilometers. In this period, the emerging Greek poleis of the mainland were dispersed and warring. The location of Colophon close to the civilizations of the east and away from the sea may signify a priority. Being close to the other Greek cities in terms of land contact was perhaps important, but the proximity to a regional power on the rise, is both dangerous and advantageous in terms of trade and cultural exchange. In a perspective of public time, the Colophonians were placed in the heart of action. In terms of lived time as well as public time moving between the landscape of Lydia and Colophon would have created a singular experience as the landscapes merged. We could say that the landscape of Colophon and Lydia had a shared landscape identity. The practice of dwelling in Lydia and Colophon may not have differed much. Further the Lydians lived a stratified society (Ramage and Ramage 1971: 159) and it seems like the Colophonians did so as well (*Xenoph.frag.3*). Was Colophon a society with feudal traits like Lydia (Hunt 1947: 75)? Much recommends for this: the monumental graves scattered around the plain, the celebration of Colophon's horsemen, Xenophanes' accusations of hubris and Aristotle's note that Colophon was an oligarchy (*Pol.* 4.1290B).

Was Colophon Greek, Lydian or a cocktail of both? When we think of dwelling and identity, we think of static entities, but this is wrong. If identity is lived as Merleau-Ponty proposed (2006: 421-422), it is knit to the landscape. It will be necessarily *fluid* in that who we are is a constant negotiation between a priori social and material interlinked networks. A central aspect of dwelling is *moving* (Falck 2003: 106). To undertake tasks, we can not rest at point zero, we move. This notion opposes cultural essentialism, which sees cultures as something with a solid core. In a perspective with “mobile dwelling” the core would always change because people would move around and experience many more social and material relations than those in the immediate proximity. A series of colonial foundations at the coast of Asia Minor would lead to a hybrid landscape of experiences drawn both from home and abroad...to a somewhat similar landscape in terms of Mycenaean remains and nature’s scenery. Tori Falck (2003: 108) states that travel increases the scale of hybridization, the mixing of experiences. In regards to traveling hybridization accelerates with the speed of movement; interaction between different people and landscapes intensifies. “Hybrid space” is that space which is between the “familiar” and “the other”; it is *the third space* according to Falck (2003: 109) resting her argument on Bhabha (1990). A third space could be Ionia, between Lydia and Greece.

Hybridization also reflects back on archaeology as dwelling, or as Shanks and Pearson (2001: 50) refers to it by: heterogeneous engineering. This is also the constant assembling of different elements into a hybrid entity called archaeology: a collection of the tasks of American Archaeologists from Harvard, ASCSA and Turkish workmen, exchange of cultural (archaeology) and political capital (permits from the Greek colonial government), intentions of archaeologist (knowledge), the Fogg Art Museum (a large museum collection) and the Greek government (establish an area as inherently Greek through archaeology). Landscapes are constantly revisited and encountered, something that is evident in the Ales Valley and the Plain of Colophon; they are places where the Greek settlers meets cave rituals, Lydians in purple robes and yet familiar Aegean landscapes (Falck 2003: 110). Out of the constant meeting between strangers, the landscape of Colophon arose, a place Lydians and Colophonians felt familiar. In vesting a Colophonian-Lydian human culture in the material culture of the mounds, the mounds and the landscape become hybrids at a fundamental level. Dwelling is hybridization; a process that is continuous since the remains of Colophon is part of new contexts today in collections, the discipline of archaeology and in being next to a vivid village.

In the late Archaic Age, if one would borrow the terminology of l'Ecole des Annales, one would say that the Lydian defeat in 546 was an *événement*. A happening of grandiose scale as it signals the end of one empire and the coming of a new. When seen in satellite perspective, the shifts of landscape identities can resemble centre/periphery thinking in that the identity of one place is linked to another place beyond. At the dawn of colonization in the 10th century Claros remained a mystical location while the area further north perhaps was the main habitation area and receives its identity through being a residential location. In the period before and under the Lydians, Claros' identity as a mystical location goes from being mediated as an almost untouched natural place into being modified extensively by architecture. Colophon as a residential zone blossoms under Lydia, but was Persia's coming devastatingly for Colophon's wealth? Although Persia may have favored Ephesus, the Colophonians had the economic strength to continue to develop Claros.

Even after the Persian invasion of Colophon, there are large building programs in Claros (La Geniere 2003: 203). It seems as if Colophon did not suffer much destruction, but rather that it had resources to build new religious complexes. That there is no pottery from this period at Colophon, this is not synonymous with a downfall. The American team which excavated Colophon may have failed to retrieve remains from this period due to their so brief stay. By the 525 BC Colophon struck coins at the same weight standard as the Persian siglos whereas their half and quarter stater was close to the Greek obloi. Around 500 the first drachme is struck and Milne interprets this as a change in the trading connections, from east to west and Greece, as this was a period of revolution and violence in Ionia. By 490, the Persian weight standard was still in use, and a large series of silver coins are struck.

4: The Classical and Hellenistic Age

In the 5th century, the landscape of Colophon and Claros changed. From 479 BC the Aegean emerges as a new setting with Athens in the lead. This epoch has rendered no ceramics at Colophon, but there was hectic activity at Claros. Silver coins were rarely used at the agora, and indicates an active foreign trade, and probably close relations with the new Masters of Anatolia, the Persians. Here it may well be added that Colophon did not participate in the Ionian rebellion (Emelyn-Jones 1980: 17). By the dawn of the 5th century Notion is to an increasing degree mentioned in texts. While Colophon seems to have been pro-Persian, the Notians were Pro-Athenians. According to Aristotle (*pol.* 5.1303B), there was much strife

between the cities, and he connects the *stasis* to the fact that the landscape could not hold two cities like Athens and Piraeus. Strife is also taken up by Herodotus who tells us that Colophon conquered Notion (Sahin 1998: 13). The political strife was at its climax by the late 5th century BC when Paches entered Notion with the Athenian fleet and defeated the Colophonian party which had split the city with a wall. Then Athenian laws were instituted, and a garrison was left (Rubenstein 2004: 1078). “Strife” is not mentioned much in the Archaic sources but it becomes a recurring topic in the Classical Age, clearly expressed in Aristotle’s focus on the geography as the cause. That the interior Colophon Plain and the coastal Ales Valley had different landscape identity from the earliest days of the Archaic Age may be established, but with the growth of Notion one may bring the differences to another level as there are now two population centers connected to two different worlds: Colophon to the inland and Notion to the Aegean.

To fully grasp the geographic and political contentions implied we must take a brief look at trade, warfare and movement. The nature of trade and economy in antiquity is an ongoing debate, where traditionally there have been four stances: The primitivists who see the antique economic system as different from ours versus the modernists who see the ancient system as similar to the modern economy and the formalists, cost/benefit oriented agents versus substantivists who regard economy as culturally context bound. However, in economy flexibility is the key; Hall (2007: 235-237) brings forth a position that antiquity, one had both a peasant (focused on subsistence) and farmer economy (also aiming at export). In Colophon the economic system is unknown, but agriculture would most probably be bountiful enough for export, and Colophon’s elite mentioned in Xenophanes (*frag.* 3) must have been able to export to Lydia or other places. Colophon did not join in the establishment of Naukratis (Milne 1941: 3), nor are there much produce known from other places stemming from Colophon from any age. Most likely, trade before the establishment of Notion was directed towards Lydia. The Lydian pottery that has been found at Colophon supports this position. Coinage was early developed in Colophon and the Archaic issues of silver coin witness more extensive trade than local bartering, yet there are few signs of Colophonian overseas engagement (Milne 1941: 2-4), which is not stunning since Colophon was connected to a system of land communication along the valleys rather than to the *pontus*, the domain of Notion, the pro-Athenians that accessed the seaborne opposed to Colophons landed communication.

Communication is thus becomes a key concept. A way of increasing the efficiency of communication, for example trade, is simply to decrease the distance between the target and the starting point; thus one decreases the time a merchandise needs to travel to its destination. The essence of decreasing the time of travel through a space is *speed* which has the quality of extinguishing space; space is passed in less time. The importance of speed is best seen in warfare; to control speed is to gain the ability to transport force to a desired point in the landscape before the enemy, it is the key to control space (Virilio 2006a: 149-150).

This is this is the essence of the French architect Paul Virilio's thoughts (2006b: 49, 114, 117), who sees the endless development of military technologies as the ultimate extinction of space: in the 1980's the nuclear missiles of the USA and the USSR could reach anywhere within 10 minutes and in the case of an attack, the defenders would have a system of Automated Response that would fire back nuclear rockets in faster than a human could react. Curiously, this deprived man of control over the war machine although control of space, the idea behind military technology, was the aim; the idea with the automated response system was to "punch back" as fast as possible so to stop the enemy (Virilio and Lotringer 2002: 34). Virilio (2006b: 41) sees cavalry as an early step in the technological endless race towards greater speed; a horse is *a vector* that increase speed (Virilio 2006b: 49). The Colophonians and the Lydians were amongst great cavaliers in the Archaic Age, when the main vector in Anatolia was the horse. The speed of transportation is what reduces space in time (Virilio 2006a: 149), but even if the distance between the Lydian markets and Colophon was only 50-60 kilometers, land transport in antiquity was comparatively slow: by mule about 6 km an hour, and half the speed with ox carts (Laurence 1998: 133). The walking pace of a man is estimated to 30 kilometers a day (Ohler 1989: 98). Still this means that Lydia was two days away, much closer than many Greek cities (see table 1 above, ch. 4.6)

The world drastically changed by the beginning of the 5th century BC. Athens became an empire upon the Persian defeat in 479 BC and the coastal Aegean world rises in importance as the landed Persian Empire declines. In this period the port of Notion also begins to be noted, perhaps because of the possibilities offered by participation in the dynamic Aegean world. *Speed towards the Aegean* becomes more important as it is here the most dynamic development takes place. The speed vector of the trireme becomes more important than that of the horse. The coinage of Colophon in the 5th century BC is interestingly struck with Persian standard until 460 BC, when the standard once again comes closer to the Athenian

one. From about 400 BC and down to 350 BC, the issues again resemble the Persian standard. That Colophon diverted from the Persian standard at the same time as the Athenian Empire reached its peak, may show that the sea became gradually more important than the land connections during the 5th century, but upon the comeback of Persia in 386 BC the situation changed once again; Colophon gets a renaissance.

In the satellite perspective we may see the outline of something that may resemble the Braudel relation highland vs. lowland, but the relation between inland (Colophon) and coast (Notion) is not necessarily dichotomous. We may note that Notion in the classical age would command an excellent harbor and became a competing population centre to Colophon. 1,5 km of what in present time are fields would have been shallow waters in the antiquity; Notion thus would have commanded a shallow bay. The Ales Valley is narrow and would have been even more so in the 5th century with the river taking up quite some space in the landscape. Notion was restricted to the plateau on its acropolis (ch. 4.1, picture 6), but it would have held an important strategic position as Colophon's access to the sea could be blocked by the Notians. However, the Notians would be economically vulnerable as Colophon would command most of the farmland.

Perhaps this is the point of contention between Colophon and Notion; great differences yet mutual dependence. Notion seems to have been under the Athenian influence rather than Persian like Colophon. In a military perspective this may be connected to the fact that Colophon was in reach of Persian cavalry, as their headquarter Sardis was only a few days ride away, whereas Notion was, as shown by the incident with Paches (*Thuk. pol.* 3.34), in reach of the Athenian triremes. Tension between Colophonian Pro-Persians and the Notian Pro-Athenians functions at one level in terms of being connected to different systems of communication in addition to having fundamentally different landscape identities: Colophon, inland and profane, Claros and Notion, sacral and coastal. In terms of communication, Notion was connected with the sea and the Aegean world and Colophon was connected with the inland and the Eastern world. The dependence between the two cities is perhaps seen in the inscriptions of Colophon where both fish and horse breeding finances the city walls of 4th century Colophon (above, ch 3.2.2).

When touching communication, the concept of paths becomes once again important. Paths are very durable and the different valleys in Turkey determine the possibilities for where to move.

The ancient routes of communication largely correspond with modern roads and railway lines. This underlines some of Heidegger's points of the habitual dwelling (Ingold 2000: 204; Meric 1993: 144). We mostly repeat ourselves day after day and we follow the same path over generations. The path is what we move along when undertaking our tasks. People tend to choose the straightest route between different locations (Brandt 2005: 14). If one is to harvest the fields, one chose the shortest way so one can use the day at the fields better. The direction of a path is thus shortest towards a goal being rational within a system of logics (there are many, what is rational for me is not rational for a Greek necessarily) and a path is used out of habit. Signs of the use of a path may be monuments sited along it or merchandize from one place found at another.

The mounds, both with and without crepis, seem to be organized along the line between Colophon and Notion. To date a crepis wall may be difficult or impossible and it may well be that the mounds which today have none, in fact could have had the finest crepis in antiquity withered away by time. Regardless of date or architectural form the mounds are built along the path and are thus meant to be seen by as many travelers as possible passing by between Colophon and the sacred Claros, and later also to Notion and the sea port. They promote the use of a path as they underline it with their presence; they represent a certain density of monuments along a path and thus the mounds facilitate speed in one direction as a technology of movement. It is interesting that the Archaic necropolis is placed to the north towards the plain where the majority of the mounds are located and where Lydia lies beyond. The later cemeteries are placed towards the Ales valley on the other side of the town. Perhaps this is because the path towards Notion and the sea became increasingly important. The main traffic was no longer landed, but rather sea bound. When the sea as a vein of communication became more important through time with the advent of the Athenians, Notion increased its significance and the paths between Colophon and Notion were emphasized instead of the land routes towards Sardis and the inland.

The larger events of public time was made felt in the lived experience of the landscape; people saw new monuments when traveling to Notion and Claros, while they only saw the old ones when moving on the plains. Tilley (1999: 178-179) emphasizes that when following paths in historical landscapes, we fill them with our experiences and blend them with those of the past. A travel down the valley to Claros was first a journey to a "natural place", while in the Archaic Age, the path would lead to a temple precinct and in the Classical period to the

harbor, a residential zone and a market. Traveling thus mean to experience the tides of public time with the body in lived time as the landscape connects these two modes of time. When traveling to the east, fewer new monuments were visible and it would thus have been there to have been experienced. It may be that it was experienced as less dynamic, reflecting the change of focus from Persia to Athens. From this point we may return to Aristotle's notion of a "geography of strife". Herodotus (Sahin 1997: 13) mentions the strife between a supposedly Aeolic Notion and a Ionic Colophon. Even if Herodotus is not right, he may see a tendency of his own time in the 5th century. Perhaps these two grumblingly interdependent cities (one the source of agriculture, the other seaborne trade; neither site could have both functions) represented a mediation of differing modes of speed, one directed towards the sea, the other towards land.

With the downfall of Athens after the Peloponnesian war and the return of the Persians in 386 BC with the King's Peace, the rhythms of public time once again turn in favor of Colophon. The currently inexplicable occurrence of large Bronze coin issues in Colophon follows a larger trend and may anyhow be a trace of prosperous local trade as small denominations are used at the marketplace. There is a hectic building activity in Colophon. Both Colophon and Notion are fortified in the late 4th century, and the fortifications along the coast, across the Gallesion Mountains and up the Ales Valley are dated to the same period as the walls. Perhaps also the towers noted at the far end of the Colophon Plain by Tekeli and Devli noted by Kiepert are part of this defensive system. The stone scatters located by Devli (site 1 and 2, ch.4.5.6-7), although undated, stem from large buildings judging by the size of the stones, and shows that this part of the landscape was inhabited and used. The towers, overlooking the plain, show that it was subject to control. The row of towers up the Ales valley underlined the Colophon Notion path providing security. The 4th century necropolis of Colophon was also projected to the south towards the Ales Valley. The path between Colophon and Notion, the two interdependent population centers was thus of the highest importance. In addition, the path across the Gallesion ridge was militarized. Control of the space towards the neighboring city of Ephesus became important. Perhaps the comeback of Persia was economically good for Colophon and gave the possibility for new building programs. There is a large amount of finds in Notion of 4th century date simultaneously with Colophon's renaissance; there is a brief equilibrium between Colophon and Notion.

The tower as a building per se may scare off bandits, provide safe haven for herders, a lookout point and be an obstacle for a small invading army, but do anyhow herald times of trouble, even if they are used for storage (Osborne 1987: 66; Hall 2007: 241). If the city walls and the towers are built roughly at the same time, they may be signs of a troublesome time with war by the advent of the 4th century and a new type of warfare aimed at city centers rather than the country side. A pattern all over the Greek world in the 4th century is the fortification of strong points and city cores (Osborne 1987: 162). The towers are built on several locations and would have been placed on visible spots on high ground reminding local people moving around that they are being watched and may be subject to violence at any place. The spreading of towers across a wide area speeds up the ability to strike at enemies and radiate a visible military presence. The landscape identity becomes militarized from Notion to Devli. This would have created a feeling of being besieged, the feeling that there is an enemy nearby that can attack: a landscape identity of emergency. Public time trends in warfare are felt in lived time through the militarization of space.

Soon after the walls of Colophon had been finished, Lysimachus dealt his blow to the city. In the Milne's 5th period (330-285 BC) of Colophon's coinage the motive of the coins reverse becomes a horse rider, perhaps commemorating Colophon's great past as a warrior nation in face of the volatile agendas of the Hellenistic rulers. From now on Notion and Claros, soon connected with a holy road, are on the rise while Colophon goes into demise (La Geniere 2003: 205) and we may recall Dio Chrysostome's *disocourse* (47.5) where he wonders why insignificant places claimed greatness of the kind such as being the home of Apollo. Still Claros was "Colophon's oracle", maybe because its former glory had a "trade mark" effect.

5: Speed and Location

The concept of speed came to hand above and may give insight in the network of paths and movement from a new angle. Speed is increased with *vectors* like technology, production and location: production system in terms of supplying an expedition, technological inventions like the chariot and the ship aides the traveler to cross a plain or a sea, for example the Aegean versus the Colophon Plain and the distance between the start and stopping place determines how much space one has to journey to reach a desired location. 'Speed's' side in territorial control lie in the degree to which one can penetrate enemy territory from "a launching point" (Virilio 2006a: 161) for example the stables in Colophon. If the city of Colophon was the primary launching point until the Hellenistic towers were built, given that they were more

than storage facilities, tells us of a priority to minimize the time-space distance to exercise military control. If we recall table 1 (ch. 4.6), we may note that Lydian Tire and thus the eastern empires, were only 56 km away while seven Greek cities were within two days marching from Colophon if one consider that a grown person can walk 30 kilometers a day. Colophon was thus well connected in a system of land communication. *The possibility of the location* is the most fundamental speed technology in the case of Colophon and Notion, connecting Colophon to the interior Anatolian civilizations and Notion to the Aegean.

In satellite perspective, the dominant speed systems changed with time; the Lydian and Persian power mark the heydays of landed speed, while the interruption of Athens' rise to power marks the coming of seaborne speed systems in the period 479-389 BC. Regardless if true or not, Thucydides (1.14) in dates the coming of Athens as a navel power only to the time of the Persian War. The sea gains prominence again when Rome rises to control a Mediterranean World, relatively safe after Pompey's campaign against pirates in 69 BC (Ward, Heichelheim and Yeo 2003: 190). It is noteworthy that Colophon is on the rise when the inland empires of Anatolia are on the rise, while in decline when Athens and Rome rules the Aegean. An interesting idea is that the Archaic Age, which was the period when philosophy and coinage were invented in Asia Minor, in fact was a period when Greek settlements, just having grown into poleis, and a powerful Lydia in which information could travel fast, as the distances are very small (table 1, ch. 4.6). Development tend to come when the speed of exchange is increased (Graham 2006: 56), and *the fastest periods* for Colophon in terms of growth are the periods when Lydia and Persia dominated Ionia. For Colophon a dynamic interior east would provide a ripe market for impulses of all kinds; the close proximity to Lydia would be Colophons primary speed vector in this sense.

In agent-based network theory the conception of space is that of a series of connected places between which commodities and people, thus also ideas, travel. Graham has explored the Roman conception of space through land based Antonine itinerary systems and one he shows how the places best connected in the system of intercity communication also were the most Romanized. The *connectivity* of a place within a larger matrix, that is how fast a message could be transmitted to and from the place, is the critical point (Graham 2006: 47-49, 56 and 58). In my opinion the degree of connectivity is not only distance, but must also be measured by which speed systems available for traveling in what direction. Notion would be closer to Lydia than to Athens, yet Athens was more connected to Notion by means of the fast triremes.

In this light, Colophon was located on the plain instead of by the sea to be more efficiently interwoven, that is *faster*, with Anatolia in addition of commanding agricultural resources. The hybridization towards a common landscape identity with interior Anatolia shows Colophons increasing exchange speed with Lydia and Persia. Such notions may in a satellite perspective explain eastern stylistic the influx in Ionian art (Boardman 1993: 364-368), being a hybrid.

Chapter 8: Concluding Remarks

The Classical writers Aristotle and Herodotus focus on *stasis* when addressing Colophon and Notion. In fact, Aristotle thinks that geography prohibits peaceful coexistence. This is an ideal opening for a phenomenological study of the landscape as *a matrix of locations* as Aristotle provides a picture of social contentions between people rooted in places. The differences between Colophon and Notion are expressed on two interconnected levels: firstly in regards to regional contact networks and secondly in regards to landscape identity.

In regards to the first level, an interesting observation is that the periods of Colophons rise and demise correlates with the different phases of Notion's development. In the long run of public time at a local level, Colophon had optimistic building programs and showed signs of growing wealth in the periods from the first colonization until end of the 6th century BC and in the 4th century until Lysimachus conquest in 302 BC, while Notion emerges in the 5th century BC and seems to become the central site in the 3rd century BC while Claros goes from being a local oracle into becoming one of the most important oracles in the world in the Hellenistic and Roman period.

If the geographic scope is widened to a satellite perspective, one may notice that the wealthiest periods of Colophon are when Lydian and Persian Empires are in strong positions, while Notion is on the rise simultaneous with the peaks of Athens and Rome. The key concepts in understanding Colophon's development are communication, paths and speed. The communication network Colophon is attached to, is land based and directed towards the eastern empires. When Lydia and Persia are thriving, Colophon has the opportunity of joining their progress. Colophon would in these periods communicate with the important centers of the world, unlike Notion, which connected to the outside world by sea. The two communication networks rests on the possibilities offered by an inland site and a coastal site and on different technological systems of speed. Colophon and Notion mutually excludes each other from access to both the seaborne and the landed communication network. The speed of transport between the connected locations within the landscape matrixes that Colophon and Notion are of essence; increase of the speed of exchange leads to more development as ideas and merchandizes travel faster, while speed is the essence of warfare as well since it is what enables an army to choose battlefield, control space and penetrate enemy ground striking at the enemy's weak points.

The communication systems, in which the regional influences float, are felt and negotiated at a local level. The Mycenaean influence materialized into a tomb at a possible settlement near Colophon while the “mystical location” by Claros in the most remote times had been subject for cave cults. The locations at the Colophon Plain and in the Ales Valley are *brought together* in different ways as the fascinating nature of Claros becomes mediated by cultic activity while Colophon never is more sacred than other Greek cities. The scatters of Mycenaean remains and the similarities of the scenery would have been compellingly familiar to the settlers, and Asia Minor may have felt closer than mainland places like Macedon due to the possibility of faster travels by sea ways. By the Archaic Age, when Lydian influence is at a peak, Colophon’s territory was filled with mounds and Claros is monumentalized. The landscape identity of Colophon is now a Lydio-Greek hybrid while Claros remains distinct religious even if there may have been an outpost at Notion. In the 5th century BC Notion rises and becomes a centre as Colophon begins to dwindle, and after a renaissance in the 4th century, becomes a backwater looking towards a landscape filled with ancient ruins after having experienced a renaissance in the 4th century that in 302 BC.

In the 4th century, there was a development in military tactics to which Colophon and Notion had to adapt (Osborne 1989: 162). The towers and fortifications control the entry to the Colophon plain, the path between Colophon and Notion, the path across Gallesion to Ephesus and the coast, thus decreasing the time a counterattack would take when the enemy entered the lands to attack the city cores. With the expectation and constant reminder of war the identity of the Ales Valley and the Colophon Plain becomes that of emergency. The towers in the Ales Valley and the 4th century necropolis underline the path between Colophon and Notion together with the mounds, while the northern reaches towards the inland becomes less important. Communication between Colophon and Notion, thriving at the same time become essential. They both show signs of growth and would benefit from each other for a short span.

In regards to the landscape as a matrix, Colophon is bound to the eastern Lydio-Persian part of it, something that leads me to disagreement with Demand (1990:33) and Hansen’s (2006: 54) theory of massive polis relocation in the Archaic period upon Lydian conquest. Rather I would in the light of the evidence see the colonization of Siris as a normal colonization whether undertaken by one side in a *stasis*, displaced people from the war with Lydia or simply individuals seeking new lands. Further, I disagree with Milne (1941: 4) when he states

that the Colophonians suffered devastatingly by the hands of Lydia, although I agree with his emphasis on the opportunities offered by Persia. If one has to view Colophon's relationship with the eastern empires either as positive or negative, I would largely emphasize the positive sides although events such as being conquered never are happy moments. Colophon and its landscape connect with the east and becomes a hybrid of the east and west. If we further fuse Colophon's development with that of Lydian-influenced luxury artwork in Ionia and the strong exchange between Lydian kings and Greek oracles, Colophon's case can be placed within a pattern of different eastern connections.

Colophon's development relates to several wider processes: it was a re-settled Mycenaean site although inland unlike the other coastal cities in the *Dodekapolis*, Colophon's wealth was tied to the fate of the rulers of Anatolia, Persians as Lydians, Colophon took part in the booming intellectual climate in Asia minor with poets such as Mimnermos and Xenophanes, the *purple clad* Colophonians were like other Ionians culturally influenced by the east, it had a large bronze hoard and its *chora* was militarized in the 4th century, and Colophon was founded by a son of Codrus. Colophon has yielded a large silver hoard, was a mighty Archaic city and controlled Claros. Yet because of the contentious circumstances around Colophon's excavation, it was doomed to a life amongst footnotes in the literature. With a landscape analysis however, I hope to have contributed to the knowledge production regarding Colophon. The methodology can be applied on a larger parcel, perhaps an entire region like Ionia, of the landscape matrix, which extends infinitely. By seeing how Colophon develops within the dynamics of the landscape, I hope to have shed light on some aspects of Colophon's *biography*.

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