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GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN AND JANE C. WALDBAUM

PLATES 25-26

In September 1964 G. M. A. and I. Hanfmann visited the small museum of local antiquities at Eski Hisar, Ancient Stratonikeia, ca. 5 miles west of the district center of Yatağan. At that time they noticed a Mycenaean false-necked jar and an inscribed tablet but it was not until July 1966 that they were able to return, accompanied by Stephen E. Myers, photographer of the Sardis Expedition. Local informants were agreed that the objects came from graves, as indeed, their condition seems to indicate, but beyond a tentative suggestion that the vases may have come from a grave in the vicinity of the theater, nothing definite was ascertained concerning their find spot. It is certain, however, that only objects from the immediate neighborhood of the village have come to the museum.

I

There are two Submycenaean vases in the museum, but owing to very heavy incrustation the bowl was not recognized until the very end of the 1966 visit and thus not photographed. It is shown here in a drawing made after a dimensioned sketch by G. M. A. Hanfmann. Both vases are made of the same hard, dark red, coarse clay with thin beige-gray slip. Both are heavily encrusted with a very tenacious hard mud. One suspects that both came from the same grave.

1 Of the two authors, J. C. Waldbaum has not seen the pieces and is responsible chiefly for research on typology, ornament, and topographical sources. The drawings of the top of the jar and of the bowl pl. 25, fig. 2a, b, were made by Theresa G. Eliot after sketches by G. M. A. Hanfmann. Their overall dimensions are correct, as is the general arrangement of the ornament, but they are not to be taken as precise renderings of the originals.

2 In 1964 Ali Galip Kapubaghi, Ilkokuul Müdürü, Eski Hisar, and in 1966 Işmet Orhan, İlkogretim Müdürü, Yatağan, as well as Orhan Türcüçü, Yatağan Kaymakam, extended helpful assistance after due notice of the visit had been given through the Commissioner of the Sardis Expedition and the Directorate of the Bodrum Museum. It is much to be hoped that the admirable example set by the unpretentious but valuable assembly of local antiquities in the Eski Hisar Museum will be followed at other sites. G. M. A. Hanfmann has alluded to the discovery and commented on some of the recent Mycenaean finds in Asia Minor in The Antioch Review 25:1 (1969) 424, 48L. and J. Robert visited the museum in 1946 and 1948 and published a Carian inscription on marble, since lost, and a number of gladiatorial and other reliefs and inscriptions. Hellenica 5 (1948) 80f, nos. 317, 318, pls. 7:3, 13:2 (gladiatorial); 8 (1950) 16, 19, 22, pl. 6:1 (Carian inrs.); 13 (1965) 224f; Villes d'Asie Mineure 2 (1962) 49, and index 491; Mélanges Isidore Lévy (1953) 553-568 (AnnInstPhilOrBruxelles 13); AJA 39 (1935) 333f; Études Anatoliennes 2 (1937) 516-516. Cf. also A. Laumonier, Les Cultes Indigènes en Carie (1958) 193-220; W. Ruge, RE 7 (1931) 322ff.

strokes on rim, two bands on external lip, wavy line in reserved band, covering lower body and foot. Interior painted, blackened by fire.

Shape: close to Sinda, Period 2, A. Furumark, *Opus Ath* 6 (1965) 106, 114, pl. 1, which Furumark describes as his shape 295 (MP 636) but dates to III C:1b; and *Opus Arch* 3 (1944) 221. Cf. also E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (1949) fig. 18, Submycenaean types 1 and 2. The general type and similar decoration is well represented by earlier examples in Miletus: C. Weikert, *Ist Mitt* 7 (1956) pl. 31; *Ist Mitt* 9-10 (1959-60) 49, pl. 42:2 (III A). Lion Gate, Stratium X, Mycenae: A. Wace, *BSA* 25 (1921-23) 33f, fig. 9:c (LH III C:1 of “Granary Class”). Popular at Tarsus, with similar banded decoration, cf. H. Goldman, *Tarsus* 2 (1956) 207ff, fig. 332, nos. 1267-68, fig. 391, no. 1266, perhaps 12th century B.C., and the comments by G. M. A. Hanffmann, *Tarsus* 3 (1963) 92f, 98ff, on the relation of these “carinated bowls” to “standard bowls” and “wavy line” bowls of the Cilician Iron Age.


The general shape and wavy line in this position are typical for several Anatolian regions during the early Iron Age, as e.g. in Lydia where they are well attested by numerous recent finds from Sardis, as yet unpublished.

The vases from Stratonikiea come late in the stylistic phase known technically as LH III C. The exact dating of the “Submycenaean” III C:2 is still somewhat controversial. A. Furumark originally assigned the dates 1125-1100 B.C. but later revised them considerably downward, an opinion which he apparently still holds. W. Kraiker dates the “Submycenaean” to “two or three decades after c. 1150 B.C. to c. 1100 or soon after”; V. Desborough has proposed ca. 1200 to 1050 B.C. for the duration of all of LH III C, and ca. 1150 to 1075/50 B.C. for the “Submycenaean” phase. E. Milburn, who has had much experience with Mycenaean material, dated the Stratonikiea examples, on the basis of photographs to “late twelfth or eleventh century.” 1150 to 1075 B.C. is probably putting as close a date as can be done. This would mean that the Stratonikiea vases could not be directly dependent on Mycenaean Miletus, which was destroyed ca. 1200 B.C. if not earlier. But Miletus had some Submycenaean pottery, even if it may have been ruled by Carions at the time; and the pottery sequence indicates the possibility that there may have taken place a development from Submycenaean to Protogeometric comparable to that at Athens; such a development reaching from latest Submycenaean into Geometric is attested by considerable material found in 1966 at Sardis.

In a general way such vases as those of Stratonikiea may be regarded as fringe phenomena of Furumark’s “Simple Style,” their poor technique showing that they did not come from any of the known major Mycenaean centers. It may be best to call them “local” in the sense that they were made in some semi-barbarian settlement along the coast of Asia Minor. Such “local” or “regional” pottery was found at Tarsus, outnumbered the imports five to one in Troy VII a and b, and, according to G. F. Swift, Jr., formed the majority among the Submycenaean and Protogeometric sherds found at Sardis.

Mycenaean pottery finds in coastal areas of Asia Minor continue to increase. The fine (imported?) lot from a grave recently found at Ephesus is dated by H. Gültekin and M. Baran to Mycenaean III A. The Mycenaean jar found in a native pithos burial at Çerkes Sultanıye at the northern edge of the Hermus plain in the vicinity of Manisa is III B and possibly Rhodian. We have already referred to the considerable finds at Miletus, where the destruction of the fortified Mycenaean settlement around 1200 B.C. did not end the appearance of sherds in Mycenaean tradition.

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4 *Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery* (1941) 115 (1125-1100 B.C.); *Opus Arch* 3 (1944) 262 (1075-1025 B.C.); *Opus Ath* 6 (1965) 115 (1075 on) as of a 1957 agreement with Dikaios.

5 *Kenemos 1* (1939) 163.

6 *The Last Mycenaeans* (1964) 239, 241. He also suggests that Attic “Submycenaean” (III C:2) may be contemporary with III C:1c in the Argolid.

7 Supra, n. 3.

8 *Chronology* (1941) 116ff.


10 C. Blögen, *Troy* 4 (1958) 53 (250 to 60 for VII a), 156 (125 to 27 for VII b), “considerable proportion belong to III C.”

11 The finds of 1966 will be published by Swift; only a small number were Submycenaean.

12 *Türk Arch* 13:2 (1964) 125ff, with ill.

13 K. Z. Polatkin and G. M. A. Hanffmann made a trip to Çerkes Sultanıye and interviewed the finder, who stated that the vase, together with a local monochrome vase, was found in a large local monochrome jar which he had let into his concrete porch. Çerkes Sultanıye is ca. 35 miles from the sea if one follows the Hermus valley inland. The type of the jar is that of V. Desborough, *Last Mycenaean* pl. 1b.

14 *Ist Mitt* 7 (1956) 113ff, pls. 31ff; 9-10 (1959-60) 15, 24, pls. 41ff. Desborough, *Last Mycenaean* (1964) 162, 269, also
As to Caria proper, more than one hundred vases ranging from III A to III C are reported from the cemetery of Mısketi on the road from Halicarnassus to the western tip of the Bodrum peninsula at Myndus, and Submycenaean wares from the cemetery of Termara (Assarlik) opposite Kos. Farther west along the coast, a vase was recorded by A. Furtwängler and G. Loeschcke as having come from Lycian Termessos (Fethiye). Going inland on the road from Halicarnassus one comes to Mylasa, where at least one Mycenaean vase is known to have been found. This is but twenty miles west of Stratonikeia on the important east-west road which then, at Yatağan, joins a north-south road coming over the mountains from Tralles (Aydin). The interest of the vases found at Stratonikeia is that they constitute the deepest penetration of Aegean-Mycenaean wares into the interior of Caria known so far. As the example of Çerkes-Sultaniye shows, isolated pots found along major inland roads need not prove more than some contact between natives and people using Mycenaean type pottery. Still, the Stratonikeia pots were produced in a time when extensive trade in Mycenaean wares with the eastern Mediterranean was disrupted by the “Sea Peoples” and other related movements of Aegean warrior bands. One wonders particularly whether the wanderings of Submycenaean warriors might not account for the curious relations between Carian local cults and Greek legends: did the Greeks first learn in Submycenaean times of a “hero” Chrysaor, whom they later made a son of the Gorgon and a brother of Pegasus? The pre-Hellenistic name of Stratonikeia was probably Chrysaorides and the cult epithet of “Goldsword” (Chrysaoreus) appears in the cult of the local Zeus Chrysaoreus, later to become protector of all Caria.

II

The inscribed tablet is roughly triangular in shape with rounded corners. Pl. 26, fig. 3 (drawing by Mrs. S. Rockwell after G. M. A. Hanfmann); fig. 4 (Side A); fig. 5 (Side B).

Red-brown baked clay, incised before firing; unevenly fashioned. Apparently complete except for surface damage. Side A much rubbed; side B, upper left and lower part broken on surface. Side A rather large deep strokes; side B somewhat smaller and lighter. Side A leaves much space on the left, little on the right. It is not certain whether any writing or how much of it may be lost in the break on the left side of B. H. 0.085 m. W. at top (A) 0.075 m., at bottom, 0.028. Varying thickness, around 0.015 m. Dimensions of signs in pl. 26, fig. 3.

A detailed treatment by O. Masson is to appear. From Sardis, in July 1966, copies were made available to R. Gusmani, G. Neumann, and F. Stein- herr. Gusmani and Otküpçikov, (by letter) have questioned whether the tablet is written in Carian.

Pending further comment by specialists and using the system of transliteration proposed for Carian by N. Otküpçikov, Kariyskiye nadpisi Afriki (1966) 2, G. M. A. Hanfmann offers the following, wholly tentative transliteration: Side A, left to right: sosu? c. (dot as divider) to/kıp, i.e. sosug to kipu. Side B, right to left: cizu...?/elo...?/co./k, i.e. gizu... elo... go.k. Question marks refer to the number of signs possibly but not certainly lost.

Writing on clay was a continuous tradition in the Near East and was the medium for Aegean scripts of the Bronze Age, Linear A and B, Cypro-Minoan, and most recently, the Tell Deir 'Alla tablets from the Jordan valley, thought to be in the Philistine language. It was known in Urartu and

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21 Mykenische Vasen (1886) 33, a false-necked jar brought to the British Museum by W. Ramsay. CVA Great Britain 7 (1930) 11, pl. 10:24, BM A 1030.

22 F. Winter, AM 12 (1887) 230, fig. 10. Mention was made by A. W. Persson of Mycenaean pottery found at Mylasa, AJA 52 (1948) 140. Professor G. Sahljö informs us, however (letter December 1966), that he has “tried in vain for many years to trace the supposed Mycenaean sherds from Mylasa.”

23 The distance to the coast at Kılıkk is ca. 30 miles, the road distance to Bodrum ca. 60 miles.

24 L. Robert, Mélanges Isidore Lévy (1953) 566 n. 1, says the native name is uncertain and cites Chrysaor, Idris, and Hirakos as possibilities.

25 Laumont, Les Cultes Indigènes (1958) 201, 206ff., argues that Zeus Chrysaor-Theta-Chrysaor is Carian both in essence and in name. He suggests that the entire cycle of Gorgon-Pegasus-Chrysaor was Anatolian and became known to the Greeks in Mycenaean times.

in areas of eastern Asia Minor occupied by the Assyrians, and recently, evidence has been growing for the use of clay tablets in western Asia Minor. Five fragments were found by Swedish excavators in the precinct of Zeus at Labranda, at least two of which seem to have a triangular shape similar to that of the tablet from Stratonikeia. One may surmise that the latter too, came from a sanctuary. G. Säflund has refrained from delimiting the date of the Labranda tablets but it is difficult to believe that they could be much later than the sixth century B.C. The writing is alphabetical, affiliated with either Greek or Semitic alphabetic scripts, certainly not with the cuneiform.

Besides those from Caria there is a Phrygian clay tablet from Persepolis and the enigmatic tablets which are evidently Anatolian, recently discussed by Meriggi. The origin and dating of this usage in Anatolia poses an interesting problem: should one consider the possibility of survival of Aegaean practice of the Bronze Age or was this practice of writing on clay the result of the wanderings of Carian mercenaries who had to traverse the Levant to get to Egypt where they are so abundantly attested? On the other hand, the find of a Phrygian tablet and a Phrygian seal in Persepolis, the latter adorned with a typically Achaemenid motif, suggests that it may have been the Achaemenian administration which helped to make known the writing on clay tablets in the west. The official language of the Persian government in the west was Aramaic, written in an alphabetic script.

The scribes probably often came from Mesopotamia and other regions where writing on clay was practiced. An Achaemenid date might also fit better the tablets found at Labranda.

III

Lying high in a little plain from which a wide pass leads eastward to the plain of Yatağan some five miles (8-10 km.) away, the village of Eski Hisar benefits from a beautiful spring of clear water which rises under the mosque. Tobacco, corn, and wine are the modern products, and fine timber still grows in the mountains between Stratonikeia and Mylasa.

The name of Stratonikeia goes back to Antiochus I, who founded a city here after 276 B.C. and named it after his wife. The Hellenistic-Roman city is not deeply buried and it is quite possible that some of the village streets still follow the original rectangular grid plan. Thus the Roman "Serapeion" in the city is practically at modern street level, and so is the colonnaded street of which the stylobate is still partly in place and the large Ionic column bases are scattered nearby. This street leads northward to the theater, which lies on a fairly steep slope of the hills that border the plain on the north. The Hellenistic stage building has been destroyed. The lower part of the theater is now cleared; the upper part, much overgrown with thistles, may be a Roman addition. A temple of the Emperor has been located on a terraced platform above (north-east) of the theater. The Serapeion is a very beauti-
fully built temple precinct which still has a field inside, ca. 2 m. above street level, while the outside of the antique level coincides with the cobbled village street. Probably belonging to the western precinct wall, an ornate entrance gate of the late second or early third century A.D. stands almost complete in the field west of the extant part of the precinct. Cuttings for joins on the north side of the entablature make it virtually certain that the gate was set against such a wall.

Most of what is known about Stratonikeia and its Carian forerunner Chrysaoros has been summarized by A. Laumonier after the research of L. Robert and others. We shall note here some additional material in the museum of Stratonikeia, which provides further guideposts for the prehistory and early history of the Carian settlement hitherto known chiefly from literary sources.

At least one certain Prehistoric vase, a red-burnished spouted jug (Schnabelkanne) of the Early Bronze Age indicates that the beginnings of the settlement may go back to the third millennium. A hemispherical bowl of brown ware may also be prehistoric. It is worth recalling that an Early Bronze Age cemetery from the neighboring center of Yatagan has just been reported by M. Melink. The Submycenaean vases discussed above argue that the settlement persisted from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age.

The next step is represented by two vases published by F. Winter. They were found at Stratonikeia in a “clay pithos which otherwise contained only ashes,” presumably from a cremation burial, and were in the 1880’s in a private collection at Mylasa. Winter’s sketch, pl. 25, fig. 6, is not distinct enough to be sure whether the decoration of the bowl was only geometric or contained a bird; either way, shape and decorative system show it to be an Eastern Greek bowl contemporary with the Rhodian Bird Bowls and hence of the seventh century B.C.

The second was a jug, pl. 25, figs. 7-8, of which Winter also gave a detail in color but unfortunately no description. Neck and handle are lost but it was probably a jug with thin tall neck and high handle. A rude lion inhabits the shoulder. Color scheme, shape, and decoration show the vessel to be either Phrygian or “Phrygianizing”; it could well have been made in the second half of the seventh century.

The inscribed tablet brings the story down to archaic or Persian times. It would be tempting to speculate that it came from an important sanctuary of the local Zeus Chrysaoreus, the location of which is not certainly known.

The object next in point of age is a very curious helmeted marble head. Its style is so barbarous that one cannot imagine a sculptor in Hellenistic Stratonikeia making it.

Warrior Head, Stratonikeia: pl. 25, fig. 9.
Description: Yellow marble. H. 0.31 m. Rude workmanship. Eyes given by incised outlines. Wears Attic helmet, front broken off. Would seem to imitate Greek sculpture of the fifth or fourth century B.C. It is perhaps best explained as an attempt by a native Carian sculptor to master an unfamiliar medium.

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31 Laumonier, Les Cultes Indigènes (1958) 201ff. On p. 193 he refers to a plan of Stratonikeia in P. Trémaux, Exploration Archéologique de l’Asie Mineure pl. 1, which the authors were unable to consult. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittorese de la Grèce I (1782) 134-140, pls. 76-82, has some sketches of the ruins. C. Fellows, Discoveries in Lydia (1840) 86-84, describes the town, the Serapeion, and publishes some Greek inscriptions. Cf. also supra, n. 2, for some recent descriptions.

32 Stephanus Byz., s.v. Chrysaoros; Pausanias 5.21.10; Strabo, 14.660 c, all cited by Laumonier.

33 AJA 70 (1966) 149, in Bodrum Museum.


36 Parallels for hatched panel, checkerboard, and “meander-tree,” here planted on a square, all come from Akurgal’s “Mature Style,” which he dates 730-660 B.C., Phrygische Kunst (1955) pls. 22, 294; so also the line of half-circles below the mid-body, pl. 10. The lion is not immediately related to those previously known but rather to a relief fragment from Ankara, pl. 28; but in truth, just as the hatched panels may be derived from Eastern Greek Subgeometric (700-650 B.C.) as e.g. K. Friis-Johansen, “Exoichi,” Acta A 28 (1957) figs. 201f, so the lion may be a distortion of some unfortunate Greek model of ca. 650 B.C. Such barbarizations could descend well into the sixth century as on the terracottas of Pazarli, or, in Caria, on the horsemens crater from Sinuri, cf. Akurgal, pls. 54f, lions. Akurgal in Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grecque et Romaine (8ème Congrès d’Anthropologie Classique, 1963 [1965] 470f) dates the height of the mature style to 725-675 B.C.

37 Laumonier, Les Cultes Indigènes (1958) 200 and BCH 60 (1936) 32f, had suggested a site with unidentified ruins some 4 km. south of the modern village.
A marble statue of a lion (museum number: 2) late classical in style, might also still belong to the pre-Hellenistic settlement. A terracotta alabastron of yellow clay may belong to the fifth or fourth century B.C. as well. It displays curious reliefs, dancers in the middle zone, stars above and below. At least one of the terracotta figurines looks classical. It shows a draped woman bearing a vase on her head and holding a dog in her crooked left arm—one thinks of Hekate, whose great cult place at Lagina is but a few miles away and who is attested for Hellenistic Stratonekeia.²⁸

²⁸ Launonier, *Les Cultes Indigènes* (1958) 196 and 344ff; *BCH* 60 (1936) 321, fig. 33, base with Hekate at Stratonekeia, which G. M. A. Hanfmann noted as being “Persian looking, possibly 4th century B.C.” There is also the top of a Hekateion of the usual triple type in the museum.

Inscriptions, gladiatorial reliefs, a relief base, and two architectural fragments have been published by L. and J. Robert and A. Launonier.²⁹ Others yet unpublished will make a helpful contribution to the history and cults of Graeco-Roman Stratonekeia. Local informants told us that some graves have been opened by clandestine diggers along the Yatağan highway but so far Stratonekeia has not suffered the wholesale depredations of many other sites in Asia Minor. It would repay a thorough survey and judicious excavation.

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²⁹ Ionic epistyle with bull protome, from the theater, *BCH* 60 (1936) 320, fig. 31: piece of frieze with chariot, fig. 32. Gladiatorial reliefs and inscriptions, L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 (1948) 80ff.
Fig. 1. Submycenaean false-necked jar

Fig. 2a. Jar, sketch of design on top

Fig. 2b. Submycenaean bowl, sketch of shape and decoration

Fig. 6. East Greek Geometric bowl, Stratonikeia

Fig. 7. Phrygianizing jug, Stratonikeia

Fig. 8. Jug, detail of shoulder design (figs. 6-8) after Winter, *AM* 12 [1887] figs. 3, 4, pl. 6

Fig. 9. Warrior head, Stratonikeia