

THE CULT OF ARTEMIS AT KLAROS
IN RELATION WITH THE WORSHIP OF THE GODDESS
IN WESTERN ANATOLIA AND GREECE

by
Gülşah Günata

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences & Humanities
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in
Archaeology and History of Art

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To my husband...



ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the worship of Artemis in western Anatolia with a specific focus on the religious sanctuary at Klaros. In order to understand the characteristics of the cult of Artemis at Klaros, the whole corpus of the material from the areas related to Artemis that have been uncovered during three consecutive periods of excavations in the sanctuary have been analyzed. Although four phases of excavations have been conducted at Klaros since 1904, the subject material of this study was uncovered during the last three periods: 1950 – 1961, Louis Robert and Roland Martin; 1988 – 1997, Juliette de La Genière; 2001 – 2006, Nuran Şahin.

By bringing together the whole corpus that is related to Artemis, and examining the material with its archaeological, iconographic, and cultic aspects, this dissertation discusses the characteristics of the cult of Artemis at Klaros and its chronological development. Determining the distinctive features of the cult of the goddess by examining this unstudied original material is the major prospective of this dissertation, which is comprehensively completed in the descriptive chapter, and the extensive set of information is collected in the catalogue.

Although the outcome of this dissertation is tightly connected to the subject material, the early history and personality of Artemis in the Greek religion, her connections with other parts of the ancient world, and specifics of her cults are crucial to reinvestigate. It is essential to understand who was Artemis in the Greek religion in

general to reconstruct the cult of Artemis Klaria. Therefore, the second chapter of this dissertation is dedicated to the goddess' general history and characteristics.

The earliest evidence for worship of Artemis at Klaros dates to the Archaic period, although there is evidence for possible ritual activity at Klaros dating back to the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. Possible worship of a female nature goddess by the natives (the Karians) of the Kolophonian land extends back to the Late Bronze Age in the sanctuary area. In the Archaic period, a temple and altar were constructed for the goddess Artemis to the north of the sacred space of Apollo. An Archaic *kore* (statue of a maiden) consecrated to Artemis, which reveals the name of the goddess, is a significant indication for the worship of Artemis in the northern part of the sanctuary. Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence clearly points to the importance of Artemis beside Apollo at Klaros. The goddess was worshipped both as Klaria and Pythia sharing her brother's epithets, and the Klarian festival. Artemis of Klaros must have been carried both Greek and Anatolian characteristics in her persona. She was the beautiful virgin huntress, and the *kourotrophos*, who probably was syncretized with the Ephesian Artemis in the Roman period as the Kolophonian coins indicate.

Keywords: Artemis, Klaros, western Anatolia, ancient religion, ritual, cult, sanctuary, oracle, temple, altar, votive, offering, sacrifice, festival.

ÖZET

Bu doktora tezinde, batı Anadolu'da Artemis tapımı özellikle Klaros'da bulunan kutsal alan merkezinde incelenmektedir. Klaros'da Artemis kültürünün yapısını ve özelliklerini anlamak amacıyla kutsal alanda Artemis ile ilişkili olduğu tespit edilen alanlarda bulunmuş olan malzemenin tamamı bir araya getirilerek değerlendirilmiştir. Klaros kazıları dört ayrı döneme ayrılıyor olsa da, bu çalışmanın konusu kapsamında yer alan Artemis sektörü kazıları son üç dönemde gerçekleştirilmiştir: 1950 – 1961, Louis Robert ve Roland Martin; 1988 – 1997, Juliette de La Genière; 2001 – 2006, Nuran Şahin.

Bu çalışma, kutsal alanda Artemis ile ilişkili tüm malzemeyi arkeolojik, ikonografik, ve kült bakımından ele alarak, Klaros'da Artemis kültürünün özelliklerini ve tarihsel gelişimini ortaya koymaktadır. Büyük kısmı daha önce çalışılmamış orijinal malzemenin incelenmesiyle tanrıçanın kültürünün belirgin özelliklerinin saptanması, bu doktora tezinin temel hedefidir. Söz konusu materyalin analizi tezin tanımlayıcı bölümünde yapılmış ve geniş çaplı bilgi katalogda sunulmuştur.

Çalışmadan çıkarılacak sonuç asıl olarak ilişkili malzemeye dayalıysa da, Artemis'in Yunan dinindeki yeri, kökeni ve karakteristik yapısı, antik dünyanın diğer bölgeleriyle ilişkileri, ve kültürünün özelliklerinin araştırılması gerekli olmuştur. Artemis Klaria kültürünü anlayabilmek için tanrıçanın Yunan dinindeki kimliğini

irdelemek kaçınılmazdır. Bu nedenle, çalışmanın ikinci bölümü Artemis'in genel özellikleri ve kökenlerine ayrılmıştır.

Klaros'da muhtemel dinsel aktivite Geç Bronze ve Erken Demir çağlarına kadar uzansa da, kesin olarak Artemis tapımına ilişkin en erken veriler Arkaik döneme aittir. Kolophon Ülkesinin yerel halkı Karlar'ın Geç Bronz çağda çok büyük olasılıkla bir doğa tanrıçasına taptıkları söylenebilir. Kutsal alanda Apollon'a ayrılmış olan tapım alanının kuzeyinde, arkaik dönemde Artemis için bir tapınak ve sunak inşa edildiği kesin verilerle kanıtlanmıştır. Üzerindeki yazıttan anlaşıldığı gibi Artemis'e adanmış Arkaik bir *kore* (bakire genç kız heykeli) tanrıçanın kutsal alanın kuzeyinde tapım gördüğünün en belirgin kanıtıdır. Edebi, epigrafik, ve arkeolojik veriler Artemis'in Apollon'un yanındaki önemli pozisyonunu açıkça göstermektedir. Tanrıça Klaros'da Klaria ve Pythia olarak tapım görmüş, Apollon ile hem epitetlerini hem de Klaria festivalini paylaşmıştır. Klaros Artemis'i kişiliğinde hem Yunanlı hem de Anadolu özellikleri barındırmış olmalıdır. Hem bakire güzel avcı, hem de bebek ve çocuklardan sorumlu *kourotrophos* olan Artemis Klaria, Kolophon sikkelerinde görüldüğü üzere Roma döneminde Efes Artemisi ile ortak özellikler taşımaya başlamış olmalıdır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Artemis, Klaros, batı Anadolu, antik din, ritüel, kült, kutsal alan, kehanet, tapınak, sunak, sunu, kurban, festival.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJA* American Journal of Archaeology
AJN American Journal of Numismatics
AM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AnatSt Anatolian Studies
ASCSA American School of Classical Studies at Athens
BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BSA Annual of the British School at Athens
CRAI Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)
FdD Fouilles de Delphes
GA Greek Anthology
IG Inscriptiones Graecae
IstMitt Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
KST Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı
LCL Loeb Classical Library
LSJ Liddell and Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon*
ÖJh Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien
RA Revue archéologique
RE Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
REA Revue des études anciennes
RPC Roman Provincial Coinage Project
TUBA-KED Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi – Kültür Envanteri Dergisi
TürkArkDerg Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1. Prelude

Artemis is a goddess whose cults are numerous and widespread in the Greek world. She was the goddess of wild animals, hunting and archery, and also the protector of children, especially young girls, but the characteristics and worship of Artemis varied widely among different regions. Although Artemis was a Hellenic goddess, her close relations with Anatolia often appear in the ancient sources (Kallimachos; Pausanias; Ksenophon), and archaeological evidence supports this link. In addition to her mother Leto's Anatolian identity, the combination of Artemis with local goddesses is an important aspect of her cult within Anatolia.

This dissertation examines the worship of the goddess Artemis at the religious sanctuary at Klaros. The site is situated 13 km southeast of the ancient city of Kolophon and 1.6 km north of the ancient city of Notion, in the district of Izmir on the western coast of Anatolia. This study documents the evidence for different components of the cult of Artemis at Klaros including the festivals, ritual practices and material evidence – the temples and altars, pottery, figurines, cultic images, small objects and inscriptions – and compares them to other cults of the goddess in western Anatolia and Greece.

The cult of Artemis at Klaros extends back to the Archaic period, and maybe earlier, and continued until the abandonment of the sanctuary in the fourth century

C.E. She was worshipped in the sanctuary as *Artemis Klaria*¹, *Artemis Pythia*² and *Artemis Klaria Kolophonion*³. However, the material related to Artemis had not been studied or published comprehensively, and it was not known when and how the cult of Artemis at Klaros was founded or how it developed over time. The aim of the dissertation is to determine the foundation and characteristics of the cult of Artemis Klaria by examining this unstudied original material, both in-situ remains and finds from the Ege University excavations with which I have been involved, and also the earlier excavations that took place at the sanctuary. This study also examines the changes and additions to the iconography and worship of the Hellenic Artemis due to influences from the Anatolian deities as a result of the interconnections between Greece and Anatolia. My intention is to understand the cult of Artemis at Klaros in all its facets including the material evidence, cult practice, similarities and differences with other places, and the characteristics of the goddess.

I.2. Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this dissertation can be divided into three main categories as follows:

- To bring together the literary sources, archaeological and written material from Klaros, and undertake a comprehensive study to understand the characteristics of the cult of Artemis at Klaros.
- To assess and evaluate the material related to both archaeological and cultic aspects to explain the ritual practices.

¹ Şahin 1998.

² Fontenrose 1988; Şahin 1998.

³ Gates 1997; Şahin 1998.

- To examine the changes and additions to the iconography and worship of the Hellenic Artemis due to influences from Anatolian deities as a result of the interconnections between Greece and Anatolia, or vice versa.

The first major aim of this dissertation is to bring together the whole corpus of the Artemis-related material from Klaros. This includes a survey, detailed description, and documentation of the architectural remains, literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence, ceramics, and small finds, and animal bones that were found in the sector dedicated to Artemis at Klaros. This extensive set of information, including descriptive and visual records of the artifacts, is collected in a comprehensive catalogue.

The second aim of this study is to examine the entire corpus archaeologically, evaluate the cultic aspects of the artifacts, and put the material into the broader ritual and social framework. The subject material included in this study is categorized based on chronology, material, and typology.

The third aim is to synthesize the broader issues of religious practices and developments in the areas of western Anatolia, Crete, the Near East, and mainland Greece regarding the cults of Artemis. Differences in the Anatolian form of Artemis when compared to other areas, her position in regards to other deities in the region, and characteristic features of the cults of the goddess will be discussed in the light of both ancient and modern literary sources.

I.3. Source Material

The outcome of this dissertation is tightly connected to the material from the Artemis sector at Klaros. Therefore, bringing different types of materials together, and categorizing them chronologically and typologically are the main requirements to understand the cult of the goddess at Klaros. Therefore, detailed documentation of the

architectural remains and artifacts including descriptive and visual records comprises the foundation of this study. The first set of evidence that will be examined is the literary, epigraphic and numismatic material from Klaros, and following are the architectural remains. The structures that will be discussed in this dissertation have previously been interpreted and labeled as temples or altars. In this study, I apply the earlier labeling system developed by the excavators in order to prevent any confusion. The earlier interpretations related to the architectural remains will be reinvestigated in the discussion chapter.

The material examined in this study is mainly from the 1988-1997 and 2001–2006 excavations in the Artemis sector. Only two marble statues in the catalogue were found in the 1950's by Louis Robert. The material from the French excavations (1988-1997) comprises one third of the total of the objects included in the catalogue. Two thirds of the material are from the 2001-2006 seasons.

Although the source material is the foundation of this dissertation, to examine both the ancient and modern literary sources focusing on Artemis is crucial to understand the cult of Artemis at Klaros. Therefore, an entire chapter covering the characteristic features, cults of Artemis, and her links with Crete, the Near East, and Anatolia is included in this study. Interconnections between different cultures must have had enormous effects on social and religious life. It should also be noted that political and socio-economic developments had impact on the cults. Understanding the cult of Artemis in the Greek world has been a challenging task given her complexity. Conflicting and complicated features in the cults of Artemis must have resulted from a strong syncretism when people from different cultures met. Investigating the changes and additions in the iconography and worship of Artemis, especially in Anatolia, will lead to a better understanding of the characteristics and cult of Artemis at Klaros.

I.4. Chapter Breakdown

This dissertation is composed of seven chapters. This first chapter provides an introduction to the purposes and objectives of the study, and gives a brief background and literary information. Chapter II presents an overview of the myths related to Artemis, and her cults in the Greek world. By combining the ancient literary sources and their interpretations by modern scholars, this chapter also provides the general consensus and conflicts in the scholarship considering the early history of Artemis, her Hellenic character, and her links with Crete, the Near East, and Anatolia. In order to understand the sense of the complex character of Artemis, this chapter also focuses on the different aspects of her cults, ritual practices, votive offerings, and her relation with humans. Chapter III summarizes the topographical information, and the research history of the sanctuary at Klaros. Foundation legends related to the oracular sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros, and the historical development of the sanctuary with the guidance of ancient literary sources will also be covered in the third chapter of the dissertation. The final section of the chapter provides brief information about the phases and chronology of Klaros in accordance with coins, ceramics and certain stylistic chronology of small finds. Chapter IV features a descriptive analysis of the literary and epigraphic evidence, architecture, stratigraphy, and artifacts related to Artemis at Klaros. The chapter is divided into three main sections:

- Literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence,
- Architectural remains and stratigraphy,
- Related material

A brief introduction with an overview of the previous excavation history, description of the structures, some basic discussion of interpretation, especially controversies about chronology or phasing, analysis of the material by types and classification form

the structure of the chapter. The final section of the fourth chapter provides a brief discussion of the archaeological and literary evidence related to Artemis of Klaros. Chapter V presents a final discussion in accordance with the entire corpus from Klaros and the provided information about the cults, ritual practices, and characteristic features of Artemis in the ancient world. Chapter VI sets out the conclusions. The final chapter of this dissertation is the comprehensive catalogue providing an extensive set of information including descriptive, comparative, and visual records of the material related to the cult of Artemis at Klaros.



CHAPTER II

ARTEMIS

II.1 Introduction

Artemis was accepted as one of the most individual and oldest deities of the ancient world,⁴ and her cults were numerous and widespread.⁵ The borders of her cults stretched from Iberia in the west to Bactria (modern-day Afghanistan) in the east.⁶ The goddess is known as one of the most popular deities of ancient Greece and the number of her epithets is equaled only by Zeus.⁷ In classical tradition, Artemis is the goddess of wild animals, hunting, and archery; as well as the protector of children, especially young girls.⁸ The goddess is associated with mountains, woods, hunting and dancing, nymphs, children and young animals, and also wild animals.⁹ She was also a virgin in Greek mythology, an aspect she was very proud of.¹⁰ Kallimachos' *Hymn 3 to Artemis* is the source that gives more information about the goddess than any other ancient author.¹¹ According to this poem, Artemis was the goddess of bow (hunting), shooting of hares, dancing and sport in the mountains. However, this classical depiction of Artemis does not explain her complete character. She had complicated and conflicting

⁴ Burkert 2007, 149.

⁵ For general information on the goddess Artemis, see: *RE* II 1336–1440; Farnell 1896, vol. II, 425–617; Çelgin 1986; Budin 2016. For the range of the cults of Artemis, see: Farnell 1896, 426; Burkert 2007, 149; Budin 2016, 1. Farnell states that the cult of Artemis was more widespread than any other Greek goddess. Burkert agrees with him on this.

⁶ Budin 2016, 1.

⁷ Brulotte 2002, 179.

⁸ Nardo 2002, 76.

⁹ Nosch 2009, 23.

¹⁰ Nilsson 1949, 28; Nardo 2002, 76.

¹¹ Kallimachos lived in the third century B.C.E.

features in her cults. According to Bell “*Artemis was the most complex of the Olympian deities, paradoxically compassionate and vengeful, nurturing and destructive, pacific and bloody.*”¹² Her role in children transforming into adults – both girls and boys – is one of the core characteristics of Artemis.¹³ But, her role as a goddess of transition is not limited to young girls and boys. As a huntress, she also mediates between the wild and the civilized.¹⁴

As it will be discussed in the following pages, Artemis has a special character with her wide range in time, region, and cultic functions. Budin explains her marginal persona with “*syncretism*” in ancient religion.¹⁵ Two basic categories of syncretism appear in the persona of Artemis.¹⁶ In the first category, the Olympian Artemis was combined with similar Greek or pre-Greek goddesses, as in Artemis’ merge with Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, which will be discussed in a following section. In the second category, foreign deities came into the scene, such as the syncretism between Artemis and Anatolian Hekate, which also will be discussed further. Syncretism between the Olympian Artemis and earlier, and/or foreign deities can be one explanation of the inconsistencies in her persona.

It is important to understand the origin, identity, and worship of Artemis in the Greek world when analyzing the cult of the Klarian Artemis. Therefore, this chapter will be a brief summary of myths, epithets, roots, cultic aspects, and rituals related to Artemis.

¹² Bell 1993, 71.

¹³ Budin 2016, 2.

¹⁴ Budin 2016, 3.

¹⁵ Budin 2016, 3. “Syncretism” can be explained as a combination of different identities by deities. This is the result of interaction between people and cultures. See Budin 2016, 3–6 for a detailed explanation of “syncretism” in the cult of Artemis.

¹⁶ Budin 2016, 4.

II.2 Literature Review

As a goddess whose cults were widespread all over the ancient Greek world, writers frequently mention Artemis and different aspects of her character, her functions as a goddess, her role in Greek mythology and places where she was worshipped.

In the *Iliad* Hera calls her “a lion to women” indicating that the goddess brings death to any woman she wishes.¹⁷ Hesiod is the earliest source for the birth of Artemis.¹⁸ According to Hesiod, Artemis is the daughter of Zeus and Leto, and the twin sister of Apollo. Her birthplace is subject to debates. Ancient sources seem not to agree on the birthplace of the goddess and modern scholars join the argument. In the ‘*Hymn to Apollo*,’ Leto gives birth to the twins at different places;

"Hail, blessed Leto with your shining children:

Lordly Apollo, Artemis arrow-pourer,

One in Ortygia, one in rocky Delos

Was born (you leaned on the long Cynthian ridge,

Beside the palm tree and Inopus waters).”¹⁹

Delos and Ortygia, the birthplaces of Apollo and Artemis according to this hymn seem to be two separate places. However, some scholars argue that Ortygia and Delos are the same, and Ortygia is one of the old names of Delos. Strabo also mentions two different names as Artemis’ birthplace: Delos, and Ortygia near Ephesos.²⁰ Strabo is a very useful source for the cult centers and sanctuaries of the goddess in Anatolia and Greece. Besides, also Kallimachos is a principal source for Artemis.²¹ His *Hymn*

¹⁷ Hom. *Il.* 21.483

¹⁸ Hes. *Theog.* 917–920.

¹⁹ Hom. *Hymn 3 to Delian Apollo* 14–16.

²⁰ Strabo 10.5.2, 14.1.20.

²¹ Kallim. *Hymn 3.*

to Artemis is rich in information on her functions as a goddess and the places that Artemis was worshipped, such as Miletos, Samos, Ephesos, Sardes, and Perge.

Artemis is also a major subject in modern studies on Greek religion and mythology. The studies of scholars, such as W. H. Roscher (1884-1937), P. Decharme (1884), L. Preller and C. Robert (1894), are the earliest researchers on Greek mythology. Artemis can be found as one of the Olympian deities in these studies. Another early but important scholar, who examined Artemis as an Olympian goddess with her characteristic features, is L.R. Farnell (1896-1909). His comprehensive study on Greek mythology analyzes all the Olympian gods in detail and provides constructive information.

More recently, J. Larson (2007) examined the goddess in general and analyzes her different epithets and functions in different regions of the Greek world. According to this author, the Mother Goddess of Anatolia is accepted as one of the antecedents of Artemis. The Mother Goddess of Anatolia was worshipped under different local names, such as Great Goddess, Mistress of the Animals, Kybele, Matar, and Magna Mater, but she is best known as Kybele or Great Goddess, according to another scholar, L. Roller (1999), who has a detailed study on the local goddess of Anatolia. L. Roller also clarifies the connection of Artemis with the local goddess of Anatolia, by noting that Kybele and Artemis were both the goddesses of mountains and mistresses of animals. It is very likely that the Greeks and people from Anatolian cultures combined their Artemis with the Anatolian goddess Kybele when they saw the similarities between these two goddesses.

The sacred places of Kybele and Artemis express their identity and origin. Sanctuaries or sacred places of Kybele or Mater on the west coast of Anatolia are mostly located outside the cities and appear on rocky hills. This geographic framework

gives a clue about Kybele's relation with wild nature and her identity as being a goddess of mountains and mistress of animals. The placement of Artemis' sanctuaries in rural areas, especially near rivers or wetlands also expresses her identity as the mistress of wild animals and nature. S. G. Cole also examines the functions, epithets (2004) and especially landscapes of Artemis (2000). The location of sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis changes, such as on the frontier, on roads between two cities or at the borders between two territories, at the water's edge, at or near the entrance to a harbor and sometimes in the heart of the city.

There have been carried out limited studies on the worship of Artemis in Anatolia. The doctoral thesis of Y. Albayrak on the cult of Artemis in Anatolia (2008, Ankara Üniversitesi) and the master thesis of E. Küçükefe on the cult and temples of Artemis (1998, Atatürk Üniversitesi) give limited information on the mythology and epithets of Artemis and focus on listing archaeological evidence, which indicates that Artemis had been worshipped in the area. The only two studies, directly related to Artemis, are G. Çelgin's *Eski Yunan Dininde ve Mitolojisinde Artemis* (1986) and E. T. Tulunay's doctoral dissertation *Darstellungen der Artemis als Jägerin aus Kleinasien* (1980). G. Çelgin's short publication provides a brief introduction to Artemis in Greek religion. A comprehensive study of H. Bumke on the Artemis sanctuaries in western Anatolia is probably the broadest research has been conducted on the topic (2007). The cult of Artemis at specific sites is more commonly subject to researches. The sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos is the most investigated cult places of the goddess. The Ephesian Artemis was the main god of the ancient city of Ephesos and the temple, which was dedicated to the goddess, was one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Excavation reports and specific studies on architectural structures and votive offerings reveal the material aspect of the cult of Artemis of

Ephesos. W. Seipel (2008), A. Bammer and U. Muss (2010), and A. Bammer (1990) provide materialistic information on the Artemision at Ephesos that will be useful for comparing with the source material that comes from Klaros. In addition, some scholars, such as I. R. Arnold (1972) and G. M. Rogers (2012) have examined the festivals and mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos. Ephesos, of course, is not the only center, which I will be comparing to Klaros. Sites from different parts of western Anatolia and Greece will be included in this research, such as Didyma, Sardes, Delphi, and Brauron. L. Kahil (1981), R. F. Rhodes and J. J. Dobbins (1979), J. Fontenrose (1988) and H. Bumke (2006) will be some of the useful sources for this research.

The sanctuary is also extremely rich in inscriptions. Although Louis Robert (1989; 1992) studied and published part of the inscriptions from the sanctuary, I believe that studying them with a new perspective will reveal some new information in light of the material evidence.

As suggested above, this thesis aims to straddle both Artemis in general and the Klarian Artemis in particular, including a comprehensive study of the original material from the sacred site of Klaros. Although there have been some studies done on the worship of Artemis in general and at some specific sites, there have been none on the cult and worship of Artemis at Klaros except excavation reports and some preliminary reports, such as J. de La Genière (1991; 1999), J. de La Genière et al. (1992), N. Şahin et al. (2002; 2003; 2004; 2007), Y. Sezgin (2008), and M. Dewailly (2007; 2014). Most of the material related to the cult of *Artemis Klaria* has not been studied intensively and has been published only in these preliminary reports. This dissertation will be a new contribution to scholarship by providing new insights concerning the Anatolian Artemis.

II.3 Birth Myths and Youth of Artemis in Greek Mythology

Hesiod is the earliest source that names Artemis and Apollo as the children of Zeus and Leto in the eighth century B.C.E.,²² as generally accepted in Greek mythology.²³ However, the author gives no information about how and where the birth took place. Although different ancient writers record Zeus and Leto as the parents of Artemis,²⁴ the birth story of the goddess can be found in different versions.²⁵ Kallimachos narrates Leto's search for a place to give birth to the twins in his *Hymn to Delos*. According to this hymn, Eileithyia – the goddess of childbirth – helped Leto during the labor.²⁶ However, Apollodorus²⁷ tells that Artemis was born first and then helped her mother as a midwife for the birth of her brother Apollo.²⁸ The birthplace of the goddess changes from source to source as well. While she was – like her brother – born on Delos in Kallimachos,²⁹ Ortygia appears as her birthplace in the *Homeric Hymn 3 to Delian Apollo*.³⁰ Strabo mentions the myth of Leto giving birth to the twins on Delos,³¹ while elsewhere also giving the name of Ortygia in relation with the birth myth.³² This “*magnificent grove of all kinds of trees*” is the place when Leto took a rest after the birth, according to the author. In Strabo, Ortygia appears as the mythical

²² Hes. *Theog.* 918–920. Hesiod is known from his *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, and it is generally accepted that he lived around the eighth or seventh century B.C.E.

²³ Nardo 2002, 76; Buxton 2004; 50.

²⁴ Hes. *Theog.* 918–920; *Hom. Hymn 3*; Eur., *Hipp.* 58–65; Kallim. *Hymn 3*; Paus. 1.31.1; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.1.

²⁵ More information and comparison between ancient records on the birth of Artemis and Apollo can be found in Matthews 1996, 259–262.

²⁶ Kallim. *Hymn 4* 255–259.

²⁷ Apollodorus, also known as Pseudo-Apollodorus, lived in the second century B.C.E.

²⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.1.

²⁹ *Hymn 4*.

³⁰ 14–16. According to this hymn, Artemis was born on Ortygia, and Apollo on Delos.

³¹ Strabo, a Greek geographer, philosopher and historian, lived in 64/63 BC–24 AD. He wrote his 17 volume *Geographica* around 18/17 C.E. For detailed information about the life of Strabo; Lightfoot 2000, 272–273 and *LCL 49 – Strabo, Geography: Books 1–2*, translation by H. L. Jones, xii–xxx. For the birth on Delos see Strabo 10.5.2.

³² Strabo mentions two different places with the name Ortygia in his book. He tells that an island named Rhenea near Delos was called Ortygia in earlier times (10.5.5). The other Ortygia is near Ephesos, and the Ephesians claim that the birth took place there (14.1.20). Laidlaw states that some authors associate Delos with Ortygia and say that these are the same island, while others separate these two islands (1933, 3). For detailed information on Delos and Ortygia, see Laidlaw 1933, 1–5.

scene where Leto gave birth to Artemis and Apollo.³³ Tacitus also mentions that the Ephesians claimed that the birthplace of the twins was not Delos, but Ortygia near Ephesos.³⁴

Herodotus names Dionysos and Isis as the parents of Apollo and Artemis while he explains an Egyptian story of a floating island.³⁵ He elucidates that a temple of Apollo and three altars were on this island with lots of palm trees. Dionysos and Isis appear as the father and mother of the twins in the Egyptian version of the myth, and Leto takes the role as a nurse and protector. Herodotus also gives the Egyptian names of the deities – Apollo is Horus, Demeter is Isis, and Artemis is Bubastis.³⁶ This story of Herodotus actually resembles some parts of the Greek myth of the birth of Artemis and Apollo.³⁷ There are a floating island, palm trees and protection from an evil power in both myths. Delos was the island with palm trees, and Hera was the evil character in the Greek myth related to the twins.³⁸ Pausanias recalls a story told by Aeschylus,³⁹ while he was describing the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Arcadia.⁴⁰ According to his description, the temple of Artemis came first in this sanctuary, and a statue of Artemis stands by the side of Demeter.⁴¹ Artemis is wrapped in the skin of deer, and carries a quiver on her shoulders, while she holds a torch in one hand and two serpents

³³ Strabo 14.1.20.

³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 3.61 (Tacitus lived in the first century C.E.).

³⁵ Herodotus was a Greek historian who lived in the fifth century B.C.E. For the story of a floating island see Hdt. 2.156. Herodotus tells a story about an island called Khemmis, which was floating according to the Egyptians. Although he clarifies that he did not actually believe the story, he tries to find a reason for it.

³⁶ Hdt. 2.156.

³⁷ It is known in the scholarship that we cannot accept everything Herodotus said without suspicion. There is a possibility that he made up this story while he was trying to make a connection between Greece and Egypt. See Armayor 1978, 59–73 for a discussion on Herodotus and Egypt.

³⁸ For the detailed myth of the birth of Artemis and Apollo, see *Hom. Hymn 3 to Delos*; Kallim. *Hymn 4*.

³⁹ Greek tragedian who lived between 525/524–456/455 B.C.E.

⁴⁰ Paus. 8.37.1–6. Pausanias was a Greek traveler and geographer of the second century C.E. For the work of Pausanias: Lightfoot 2000, 272–273; *LCL 93 – Pausanias, Description of Greece: Books 1–2*, translation by W. H. S. Jones, x–xv.

⁴¹ Paus. 8.37.1, 4.

in the other. Pausanias tells that the Arcadians consider Artemis as the daughter of Demeter and not of Leto according to the story told by Aeschylus, which was an Egyptian account.⁴²

The information on the childhood of Artemis comes from Kallimachos.⁴³ It seems that this is the only source about the youth of Artemis. According to this hymn, Artemis asked for specific attributes and privileges from her father – keeping her maidenhood forever, different names, arrows and bow, to be the “Bringer of the light” (*Phaesphoria*), a saffron hunting tunic reaching to her knees, sixty daughters of Okeanos as her choir members, nymphs as her companions, mountains to live, cities to visit, and the function as helper in childbirth. She asks all this sitting on her father’s knee as a small girl, and Zeus accepts all her wishes and gives even more – being the watcher over streets and harbors (**fig. 1**).⁴⁴ In this myth, it seems that all later powers of Artemis go back to her childhood. Her requests from Zeus indicate Artemis’ Greek character as the virgin goddess of hunting, nature and childbirth, and her association with mountains, wild animals, nymphs, singing and dancing, and her role as protector of the cities and harbors.⁴⁵ The hymn of Kallimachos legitimates the characteristic feature of the traditional Greek Artemis, and was apparently written exactly with this purpose.

II.4 Relation of Artemis with Older and Foreign Deities

Artemis has two very different characters in her cults. She is the Hellenic goddess of chastity and the hunt, and the twin sister of Apollo on the one hand, and she has a primitive character of a nature goddess including many minor cults on the

⁴² Paus. 8.37.6.

⁴³ *Hymn 3 to Artemis*.

⁴⁴ A relief found at Hierapolis depicts the scene described by Kallimachos.

⁴⁵ Kallim. *Hymn 3* 1–27.

other.⁴⁶ The origin of Artemis and her introduction to Greece has been subject to debate and discussion.⁴⁷ Some scholars see her as an original prehistoric hunting goddess; some suggest that she originated from Crete or Anatolia,⁴⁸ and others relate her to the Near East.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it is certain that tracing her origins is difficult.⁵⁰ The cults, characteristics, and depictions of Artemis differ from place to place. The cults of Artemis incorporate different aspects and features of various deities. As Budin suggests, perhaps it is much more logical to search for her *antecedents*, rather than her *origins*.⁵¹ When we say antecedents, we mean Greek, pre-Greek, or foreign deities who share similar characteristics and aspects in their persona, or their cults, both in iconography and in the textual evidence.

Linear B tablets from Pylos, dating back to the 14th and 13th centuries BC, provide the first written evidence concerning the names of Greek gods and goddesses.⁵² Although not all later Olympian deities' names appear on the Linear B tablets, we should keep in mind that the information recorded in these documents was limited to the interests of the ruling class, and not the entire population.⁵³ Therefore, the absence of one deity from the tablets should not be interpreted as the absence from the pantheon. Artemis is one of the deities whose name was found in the Linear B tablets.⁵⁴ The name of the goddess appears in the texts as “*a-ti-mi-te*” in the dative

⁴⁶ Thompson 1909, 307; Burkert 2007, 149. According to Thompson, the primitiveness of the goddess is based on her aniconic statues. He argues that her primitive character as a nature goddess with many minor cults does not have any relation with Apollo. The Hellenic character of Artemis as the twin sister of Apollo and a chaste huntress is a later aspect of the goddess.

⁴⁷ One of the earlier studies on Artemis' origin is a part of a comprehensive research study on Greek cult and religion by L.R. Farnell in 1896–1909.

⁴⁸ Nosch 2009, 23.

⁴⁹ Burkert 1995, 20; West 1995, 59; Lopez-Ruiz 2010, 207–208.

⁵⁰ Budin 2016, 9.

⁵¹ Budin 2016, 9.

⁵² For detailed information on Linear B tablets, see Duhoux and Davies 2011, and for the appearance of the name of Artemis on the tablets, see Nosch 2009, 23–29.

⁵³ Schachter 1992, 3.

⁵⁴ Nosch 2009, 24–26; Budin 2016, 10–11. See Nosch 2009, 22–23 for names of some other deities appearing in the tablets.

form “to Artemis” and “*a-te-mi-to*” in the genitive form “of Artemis”.⁵⁵ Some other possible references to Artemis appearing in Linear B texts are “*po-ti-ni-ja*” – Potnia, and “*i-je-re-u a-ti*[” – probably with the meaning “the priest of Artemis”.⁵⁶ The appearance of the name of Artemis on the Linear B tablets brings textual evidence into the arguments about the worship of the goddess in the Bronze Age.⁵⁷

II.4.a Bronze Age Aegean – Crete and the Cyclades

In addition to the Linear B tablets, iconographic data suggests that an Artemis-like nature deity was worshipped in the Bronze Age Aegean. One of the earliest iconographic depictions (1700 B.C.E.) can be found on a fresco in the Building Xeste

⁵⁵ Nosch 2009, 24–26; Budin 2016, 10–11. Although the debate about whether these words refer to Artemis is still going on, it is now generally accepted in the scholarship that the Linear B tablets provide the name of Artemis as a goddess.

⁵⁶ For explanation of these words, see Budin 2016, 10–11.

⁵⁷ Although these tablets were deciphered in 1952, the discussion about connecting Artemis to an earlier deity or deities started as early as 1800s in the scholarship. L. R. Farnell’s *The Cults of the Greek States* in 1896–1909; M. S. Thompson’s “The Asiatic or Winged Artemis” in 1909; M. P. Nilsson’s *A History of Greek Religion* in 1949 are some of the early works that connected Artemis to earlier deities. L. R. Farnell suggests that the roots of her cult go back to prehistory. According to this author, Artemis of earlier periods might not have been a virgin, and a goddess of chastity, nor the twin sister of Apollo, but an independent deity, who was connected to wild nature and animals, water and vegetation (1896, 427–430). According to Farnell, the representation of Artemis in Homer as a chaste huntress and the sister of Apollo is the final shape of her character. The later literature only follows Homer’s footprints in the representation of the goddess. The author relates this possible different character of the primitive Artemis with the life of her worshippers who were still in a pre-agricultural phase. Farnell argues that Artemis’ connection with the waters, wild vegetation and beasts is the reflection of her early worshippers who were still living in a pre-agricultural, savage-like life. He also claims that her character was still savagery even in the later civilized periods, and he sees this as another clue for her primitiveness. Although his work is fairly old, it is still valuable in the scholarship, and is still being cited in recent publications, such as F. Graf, *Apollo*, Oxon: Routledge, 2009, and J. N. Bremmer and A. Erskine (eds.), *The Gods of Ancient Greece*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010. Farnell’s study of Greek deities provides a classical reference with his focus primarily on myth and cult. However, he does not analyze the myths but rather attaches them to one another and creates a collection of phenomenological evidence. Some of his arguments seem to be followed and accepted by more recent scholars. Guthrie argues that Artemis’ character shows a change from non-Hellenic to Hellenic, and she was worshipped by the inhabitants of pre-Greek Greece, Anatolia, and Crete (1954, 99). According to L. Séchan and P. Lévêque, the Greek goddess Artemis was assimilated to a primitive Aegean and Anatolian deity that was associated with a pre-Hellenic ‘mistress of wild animals and nature’ (1966, 359). D. R. West brings out similar interpretations and suggests that the cult of Artemis reflects ancient and primitive levels of Greek religion (1995, 59). Burkert also searches for the roots of the huntress Artemis in the Paleolithic era (2007, 149).

3 (Room 3a, north wall) at Akrotiri on Thera.⁵⁸ A woman who sits on a Minoan type shrine represents a Nature Goddess considering the entire scene with animal and vegetal imagery. In this depiction, young girls of various ages are offering gifts to the goddess who has been adorned with necklaces depicting ducks and dragonflies, and surrounded by animals and plants. Depictions of nature deities in wild environments also appear on Cretan seals.⁵⁹ The Cretan Nature Goddess appears as a familiar figure in Bronze Age Aegean iconography. She seems always associated with wild nature and animals, women and girls in ritual scenes on frescoes or seals. These are the characteristics of the later Greek Artemis.⁶⁰ Therefore, a Cretan Nature Goddess – or several Nature Goddesses – might be accepted as a forerunner of Greek Artemis.

Another aspect connects Artemis to the Bronze Age nature deities is her title as the Mistress of Animals (*Potnia Theron*).⁶¹ The first usage of *Potnia Theron* as the title of Artemis in ancient Greek texts appears in Homer in the eighth century B.C.E.⁶² Afterwards, it became one of the main characteristics of her persona.⁶³ According to Antoniou, Artemis is connected to Minoan goddesses, and the *Potnia Theron* of Crete is a forerunner for Artemis.⁶⁴ The Mistress of Animals of the Bronze Age Aegean appears in the iconography of both the Minoan and Mycenaean world.⁶⁵ Although the Minoan model is more Aegeanized – wearing standard Minoan dress, sometimes

⁵⁸ Budin 2016, 12–13, fig. 1.1. Another scene depicting a Nature Goddess is from Haghia Triadha in southern Crete (1600–1500 B.C.E.). Also see Vlachopoulos 2016, 375–385, pls. CXIV–CXVIII for a detailed analysis on the iconography of the Building Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera.

⁵⁹ Budin 2016, 14.

⁶⁰ Rehak 2004, 92–93.

⁶¹ See Kopaka 2001, 15–27, and Barclay 2001, 373–386 for detailed information on *Potnia Theron*.

⁶² Hom. *Il.* 21.470–471.

⁶³ Burkert 2007, 149. *Potnia Theron* as a title was not special to Artemis, and was used for different deities, such as Rhea, Hestia, Hera, Aphrodite, and Demeter (Kopaka 2001, 18). Even so, Artemis is the goddess whose characteristics fits *Potnia Theron* (Nosch 2009, 23–24). The term has been applied to an iconographic composition depicting a female deity who holds, or stands by one or two animals since an early work of E. Studniczka in 1890 (Barclay 2001, 373, n.1; Budin 2016, 14).

⁶⁴ Antoniou 1980, 227. Also see Budin 2016, 14–18 for Artemis as *Potnia Theron*. Artemis' association with wild nature, mountains and woods, groves and meadows, hunting and dancing, and nymphs links the goddess with the Cretan Mistress (Nilsson 1949, 28).

⁶⁵ Larson 2007, 102.

flanked by animals,⁶⁶ the Mycenaean Mistress of Animals shows a closer model to the original Near Eastern depiction – standing between paired animals, and sometimes holding them.⁶⁷

Ancient nature goddesses of Minoan Crete, Britomartis and Diktyнна are also associated with Artemis in Classical literature.⁶⁸ Eileithyia is another Cretan goddess who is associated with Artemis.⁶⁹ She is the goddess who assists women in childbirth and appears as Artemis herself. The midwife function of Artemis as a helper to women in childbirth is the relation between the two goddesses.⁷⁰ Artemis and Eileithyia appear together in many cases and Eileithyia becomes one of her epithets in Greek religion.⁷¹ While the association between the two deities is certain in the first millennium, it cannot be determined in the second millennium.⁷²

II.4.b Bronze Age Near East (Mesopotamia, Egypt) and Anatolia

Interconnections between the Mycenaean Greeks and the Near East – Egypt and Mesopotamia – started as early as the Bronze Age.⁷³ Massive imports of goods,

⁶⁶ Budin 2016, 15.

⁶⁷ Budin 2016, 15.

⁶⁸ Fifth century B.C.E. Athenian tragedian Euripides calls Diktyнна as the daughter of Leto (*IT* 126). This reference can be interpreted to mean either that the assimilation of Diktyнна to Artemis can be traced back in literature to the time of Euripides, or that, in Athens, as compared with Crete, Diktyнна has apparently been associated with Artemis by the 5th century B.C.E (Willets 1962, 183). Third century B.C.E. poet Kallimachos tells the story of Britomartis becoming Diktyнна after leaping off a cliff named *Diktaion* (*Hymn* 3, 183–205), and Hesychios of the 4th century C.E. identifies Britomartis with Artemis (1.29). For Britomartis and Diktyнна, and their association with Artemis see Nilsson 1950, 438–439; Guthrie 1954, 105; Willets 1962, 179–193; and West 1995, 84–95.

⁶⁹ Willets 1962, 168. The name of the goddess appears in different forms: in Crete, Eleuthyia; in Laconia and Messenia, Eleuthia or Elusa (Nosch 2009, 27). Nilsson 1950 provides a list of all forms and places for the name of the goddess, 447. For the origin, names in different forms, and cults of Eileithyia see Price 1978, 81–89. On Mycenaean tablets the honey receiving goddess Eleuthia was the Cretan Eileithyia, and was identical with Greek midwife Eileithyia.

⁷⁰ Nilsson 1949, 30; Willets 1962, 168. According to Nilsson, it is clear and certain that Artemis can be traced back to Minoan age. He explains this relation as; “*Ilithyia (Eileithyia) was the name of a Nature Goddess in Minoan age and her function was protecting the birth of men and animals. She survived in the Greek religion as only a divine midwife.*” (1949, 30). This statement of Nilsson points to his thoughts that Artemis took over the earlier functions of Eileithyia in Greek religion.

⁷¹ Nosch 2009, 27

⁷² Nosch 2009, 34.

⁷³ Noegel 2007, 23–24.

metal work, but also the transfer of manual craft skills into Greece during the period of the “Orientalizing revolution” provides a significant material evidence for the cultural exchange between the Greeks and the Near East.⁷⁴

Although many aspects of Artemis can be found in Bronze Age Aegean iconography, some aspects of the goddess seem to have been transferred from eastern deities.⁷⁵ Some scholars suggest that transition from Near Eastern to Greek religion in the cult of Artemis was strong and traceable.⁷⁶ Artemis is often associated with the Anatolian Kybele, or Mother Goddess, and the Near Eastern Ishtar, or Persian Anahita / Anaitis.⁷⁷ According to Larson, when Greek settlers came to Anatolia around the tenth century B.C.E., they met local deities of the region.⁷⁸ The Mother Goddess of Anatolia, who was worshipped under different local names best known as Kybele or the Great Goddess, was the Mistress of Animals and also the goddess of mountains, and wild nature. The author claims that the Greeks merged the local mother of Anatolia with their virgin huntress. On the other hand some scholars reject direct roots but accept influence and connections, and explain the resemblances between cults with syncretism.⁷⁹

Burkert finds close connections with Asia Minor.⁸⁰ The name of the goddess appears among the Lydian, and Lycian deities, as Ertemis and Artimus.⁸¹ He also suggests that the idea of a standing naked goddess of the Near East made her way to

⁷⁴ Burkert 1995, 128.

⁷⁵ Budin 2016, 20.

⁷⁶ Burkert 1995, 20; Larson 2007, 101. Budin suggests that the Greeks adopted ancient Near Eastern goddesses and combined their many aspects with their Artemis (2016, 20).

⁷⁷ Larson 2007, 101; Hjerrild 2009, 42–49. Artemis has been associated with the deities of Anatolia; Kybele, Phrygian Matar, Ma, and Kubaba in a recent study (Cross 2010, 1).

⁷⁸ Larson 2007, 109.

⁷⁹ Roller 1999, 127, n.36; Budin 2016, 21–31.

⁸⁰ Burkert 2007, 149.

⁸¹ Burkert 2007, 149. Lydia was a geopolitical region in western Anatolia, and Lycia was in southern Anatolia. For the Lydian and Lycian names of Artemis, see Burkert 2007, 149, 407 n.4, and Hjerrild 2009, 42.

Greece, but with a dress.⁸² According to the author, the standing goddess of Ephesos, with the rectangular division of her dress, the fillet at the back of her headdress, and the woolen ribbons in her hands, was a clear imitation of eastern luxury.⁸³

As stated earlier, Artemis was identified as the Mistress of Animals in the Greek religion starting from with Homer in the eighth century B.C.E. Although versions of this deity can be found in the Bronze Age Aegean (the Cretan Mistress of Animals), it has mostly been accepted as a Near Eastern motif, and *Potnia Theron* aspects in the persona of Artemis have been widely interpreted as resulting from Near Eastern influence.⁸⁴ The Mistress of Animals, sometimes winged, particularly appears in artwork during the Orientalizing Archaic periods.⁸⁵ As Isler-Kerenyi states, Artemis was associated with the mistress of the wild animals in Archaic art.⁸⁶ One of the most well known, though later, images of Artemis showing her close relation with animals is the depiction of Artemis Ephesia, which represents the goddess with lions at her each side, and on her dress (**fig. 2**).⁸⁷

The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta provides evidence for the Near Eastern relation of the goddess in mainland Greece.⁸⁸ Ivory plaques and lead figurines from the eighth century B.C.E. among the votive offerings display winged goddess type images, and might be accepted as Near Eastern influence in Greece.⁸⁹ The Spartan

⁸² Burkert 1995, 20.

⁸³ Burkert 1995, 20.

⁸⁴ Barclay 2001, 373; Marinatos 2005, 71; Larson 2007, 102; Burkert 2007, 149; Budin 2016, 15. The Mistress of Animals in depiction of a female between paired animals first appears in Babylon and Anatolia in the early second millennium, and spreads in the Near East in the following centuries (Marinatos 2000, 1–27).

⁸⁵ Marinatos 2005, 71.

⁸⁶ Isler-Kerenyi 2006, 11.

⁸⁷ *LIMC II*, Artemis Ephesia figs. 3–133.

⁸⁸ West 1995, 62–64.

⁸⁹ For the ivory and bone objects from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, see Dawkins 1910. West (1995, 62–64) compares the winged female image to Hittite examples and suggests their similarity.

representations of the winged female (probably depictions of Artemis) show her grasping animals, which is a common image of the Mistress of Animals.⁹⁰

II.5 Characteristics of Artemis in the Greek World

II.5.a Wild Nature and Hunting

One of the core characteristics of the Greek Artemis is her role as the goddess of the wilds and hunting.⁹¹ She is the protector of wild animals, and also the patron goddess of hunters.⁹² Nosch suggests that Artemis' role as the protector of wildlife is closely related to her domesticated function as the protector of young life.⁹³ She was not only protecting the young animals, but young human beings as well. The irony in Artemis' being the huntress and the protector might be explained with the concept of sustainability.⁹⁴ She was protecting the younglings of the wild animals to mature and reproduce. Therefore, hunting would be able to continue. Ksenophon notes that the young animals were left to Artemis by the hunters.⁹⁵ Aeschylus also mentions her love for the young animals in *Agamemnon*.⁹⁶ In both Ksenophon's and Aeschylus' works the animal under her protection appears as a hare.⁹⁷ Iconographical evidence supports her role as the protector of the younglings of the wild, but also her hunting aspect. In iconography, she appears sometimes as the huntress – with bow and arrows – in scenes of shooting, and sometimes holding, or feeding animals.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ See above for the description of the Mistress of Animals type. Also see *LIMC II*, figs. 11–66 for the *Potnia Theron* type images, with or without wings, identified with Artemis.

⁹¹ Nardo 2002, 76.

⁹² Guthrie 1954, 100.

⁹³ Nosch 2009, 23.

⁹⁴ Budin 2016, 52.

⁹⁵ Xen. *Cyn.* 5.14.

⁹⁶ Aesch. *Ag.* 140–143.

⁹⁷ The hare is one of the animals that is consecrated to Artemis, together with the wolf, hind, wild boar, and bear (Farnell 1896, 431). In one myth that Pausanias narrates the hare appears as a representative of Artemis (3.22.12).

⁹⁸ *LIMC II*, nos. 642–648, 882, 969, 1063.

Hunting also can be seen as a part of her role in transition. According to Budin, hunting designates a midway point between animal and human, raw and cooked.⁹⁹ In her approach, Artemis stands in the middle of two edges of raw and cooked as “*the huntress, the being who uses human tools and skills to kill wild animals in the wild.*”¹⁰⁰ She appears as the huntress in numerous ancient sources, as early as in *Odyssey*.¹⁰¹

Besides wild animals, Artemis has a close connection with wild spaces.¹⁰² The location of her sanctuaries has been accepted as an indication of her living in the wilds. Cole explains that “*...she was expected to be available in border areas and was often to be found close to the mountain passes that divided one territory from another.*”¹⁰³ Many of her sanctuaries were located on mountainsides, in wooded areas, near harbors, or in borderlands.¹⁰⁴ Water is also an important feature in the cults and sanctuaries of Artemis.¹⁰⁵ Many of her sanctuaries were founded near or on springs, wetlands, rivers, and wells, such as at Brauron, Amarynthos, Ephesos, Miletos, or Klaros.

II.5.b Children

Artemis is one of the deities who was respected for protecting and taking care of children in Greek religion.¹⁰⁶ As it is the fact for all Greek gods and goddesses, this

⁹⁹ Budin 2016, 48.

¹⁰⁰ Budin 2016, 48.

¹⁰¹ Hom. *Ody.* 6.102–108. She is *Elaphebolos* (deer-shooter), and *Iokheira* (arrow-pourer) in the *Homeric Hymn* 27. Some other epithets that reveal her relation with the wild are *Agrotera* (of the wild): Paus. 8.32.4; *Elaphia* (of deer): Strabo 8.3.12; *Daphnia* (of laurel): Strabo 8.3.12.

¹⁰² In Kallimachos’ *Hymn* 3, Artemis asks for the mountains to live (19–23)..

¹⁰³ Cole 2000, 473.

¹⁰⁴ Cole 2004, 181. Some of her epithets describe the environment of her sanctuaries, such as *Koryphaia* (of the peak), *Kedreatis* (of the cedar tree), *Karyatis* (of the walnut tree), and *Kyparissia* (of the cypress tree).

¹⁰⁵ Budin 2016, 56–57. Some of her epithets reveal her relation with water, such as *Limnaia* (of the lake), *Heleia* (of the marsh), *Alpheia* (of the river Alpheios). See also Bumke 2006, 215–237 for the place of water in Artemis cult.

¹⁰⁶ Some of her epithets in relation with nurturing and protecting children are *Kourotrophos* (caretaker, nurturer): Diod. Sic. 5.73.5; *Philomeirax* (friend of young girls): Paus. 6.23.8; *Paidotrophos* (child-nurturer): Paus. 4.34.6, and *Korythalia* (blooming youth): Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 4.139a (Athenaios wrote in the third century C.E.).

was only one of her many aspects.¹⁰⁷ Artemis was one of the deities named “*κουροτρόφος*” (*kourotrophos*) in the ancient Greek religion together with Hekate, Demeter, Aphrodite, and Gaia.¹⁰⁸ It is important to clarify that the relationship of a *kourotrophos* and a child was not that of a mother and her child. The role of a *kourotrophos* was rather to take care, nurture, heal, feed, and nurse.¹⁰⁹ The image of the *kourotrophos* does not directly suggest the perception of a “mother.” This can be best seen in the case of Artemis, Hekate, and Kybele.¹¹⁰ While Kybele is “the Mother Goddess” in Anatolia, she was never depicted as the *kourotrophos* in ancient literary sources or in visual art.¹¹¹ Artemis and Hekate appear as the virgin *kourotrophoi* in the ancient Greek pantheon, and both can be considered as the most respected of all kourotrophic deities.¹¹² Thus, the suggestion of kourotrophic aspect not being related to female sexuality or fertility, and maternity seems possible. Diodorus Siculus explains that Artemis was called *kourotrophos* because of discovering effective ways in healing children and food that was suitable for the nature of babies.¹¹³ Helping

¹⁰⁷ In Greek religion, every single deity had many aspects in their cults. For instance, Artemis was not only the goddess of the hunt, likewise Zeus was not only the god of thunderbolt. While one deity had many manifestations in her/his cult, one aspect would have been shared by several deities. In the case of nursing and child-caring, different deities shared this aspect as one of their functions. As T. H. Price states in her work on *kourotrophos*, one of the complications of Greek religion is the interchange of monism and plurality, which is the result of the mixture of local pre-Greek, Oriental, and Indo-European cults. Therefore, it is really difficult to understand every aspect of one deity (Price 1978, 3).

¹⁰⁸ Hekate: Hesiod 450–452; Demeter: *IG* 5131, 5152–5153; Aphrodite: *GA* VI, 318; Gaia: Paus. 1.22.3 The ancient Greek word *kourotrophos* (*κουροτρόφος*) – nurturer of children – comes from the Greek *kouros* (boy, or child) and *trophos* (feeder, nurturer, or nurse) (*LSJ*, see s.v. “*κουροτρόφος*”). This term is especially associated with deities who had a role in helping children to reach adulthood. In iconography, the term *kourotrophos* refers to an image of an adult, in majority a female, depicted with a child (Budin 2011, 1, 25, 29–32; 2016, 70).

¹⁰⁹ Although fertility and reproduction is in the female sphere in modern perception, the ancient literature attributes fertility also to males. It is even possible for male figures to get pregnant, and it not only appears in the Greek world but in the myths of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Anatolia (Budin 2011, 13–17, 147–148). Beside female deities, several gods were also associated with child-care and protection, such as Apollo, Zeus, Hermes and Poseidon. For male *kourotrophoi* see Price 1978, 70–72.

¹¹⁰ Budin 2011, 31–33.

¹¹¹ The iconography and characteristic features of Anatolian Kybele can be found in Roller 1999.

¹¹² Budin 2011, 31.

¹¹³ Diod. Sic. 5.73.5. Diodorus Siculus was a Greek historian of the first century B.C.E. He is also known as Diodorus of Sicily.

infants to survive and reach a certain age was one of the aspects of her function as the protector of children (infant deaths were exceedingly high in the ancient world).¹¹⁴

Artemis' connection with babies and young children can also be traced through the material from her sanctuaries. The main votive offerings to a goddess who is *kourotrophos* are figurines carrying babies. Many of the sanctuaries of Artemis reveal this type of figurines, and Klaros is one of them. Terracotta votive offerings – statuettes of standing and crouching children, seated women figurines holding babies, female protomes – indicate the kourotrophic aspect of Artemis.¹¹⁵

Beside her relation to babies and young children, Artemis was watching the process of transition from childhood to adulthood.¹¹⁶ Although the goddess had a role in both genders' life cycle, it should be carefully noted that Artemis was more dominant in the transition from girlhood to womanhood than in the transition from boyhood to manhood.¹¹⁷ Young girls played an important role in some of her cults, especially in Attica, such as in Brauron and Mounykchia.¹¹⁸ The rituals that took place in these sanctuaries were marking the transition from childhood to pre-adolescence, and from adolescence to young adulthood.¹¹⁹ Girls who were called “*bears*” danced and raced in saffron-colored garments in a ritual (*Arkteia*) at Brauron on the eastern coast of Attica.¹²⁰ Even though the debate about the nature of these rituals is going on,

¹¹⁴ Budin 2016, 75. Miller Ammerman 2007, 131–132 and Becker 2007, 281–285 for high infant mortality in the ancient world.

¹¹⁵ Price 1978, 121.

¹¹⁶ Budin 2016, 88–89.

¹¹⁷ Budin 2016, 88.

¹¹⁸ Marinatos 2002, 30; Budin 2016, 77. The age group of the girls who participated in the ritual at Brauron has been subject to debate. Sourvinou-Inwood (1988, 15) asserts that the age group of the “*bears*” was five to ten. For a detailed analysis of Sourvinou-Inwood on the age of the girls, see 1988, 15–67. She discusses the age of these girls at Brauron and Mounykchia in detail by examining iconography, and textual evidence. However, Marinatos (2002, 29–42) opposes her, and suggests that the participants should have been sexually mature, thus the *arktoi* would have been 12 to 15. For more about the *arktoi*, see Kahil 1983, 231–244; Hamilton 1989, 449–472, pls. 83–86.

¹¹⁹ Marinatos 2002, 30.

¹²⁰ The earliest literary evidence for “playing the bear” comes from Aristophanes' play *Lysistrata* (645–646. Aristophanes was a fifth–fourth century B.C.E. comic playwright in Athens.). The author refers to little bears for Brauronian Artemis, and their yellow dresses. This Brauronian ritual has been interpreted

there is a consensus in the scholarship on their relation with transition from childhood to young adulthood in girls' life.

II.5.c Women

Artemis has a major role in women's life as much as she has in children's. As the goddess of transition, turning girls into women is one important aspect of Artemis. Budin explains her relation with women clearly, and describes Artemis as a goddess "*who helped girls to make the transformation from maiden to bride to mother.*"¹²¹

Artemis' contradictory character becomes prominent in her relation with women. The goddess needs to be placated before marriage, which is one of the most important milestones in women's lives.¹²² Dedications by maidens to be brides to Artemis can be accepted as manifestations of calming the goddess' anger for them losing their virginity, and trying to prevent her deadly wrath. Offering a lock of hair to Artemis before marriage was one of the most common rituals of transforming from girlhood to womanhood.¹²³ Items representing childhood were among the offerings to Artemis before marriage.¹²⁴ These items include toys such as dolls, and childhood clothes. The general Greek word for these pre-marriage rituals is "*προτέλεια*" (previous

as an initiation, or a transition ritual by some scholars (Kahil 1983, 231–244; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988. See Faraone 2003, 62 n.1 for the references to initiatory interpretations). However, Marinatos states that the votive offerings (statuettes of children, and reliefs depicting families) indicate more of a family cult rather than a cult related to initiation rites in the sanctuary (Marinatos 2002, 29). Some earlier discussions also try to explain the rituals without initiatory meaning as a "select service to the goddess" (Dillon 1999, 74–75). Also see Parke 1977, 139–140). Budin suggests two separate rituals in Attica where girls "played the bear" for Artemis (2016, 80). In one of the rituals, girls aged five to ten "played the bear" in saffron-colored dresses, possibly dancing and pretending to be bears. In the second ritual, older girls (probably 12 to 15), on the edge of marriage, who were also called "bears" wore saffron-colored robes and sacrificed to Artemis, possibly serving for some time in her sanctuary (Budin 2016, 80).

¹²¹ Budin 2016, 92.

¹²² Faraone 2003, 62; Budin 2016, 80.

¹²³ Budin 2016, 93. Dedication of a lock of hair was not exclusive to Artemis though. Some other deities, such as Apollo and Zeus were the recipients of this type of offering as well.

¹²⁴ Budin 2016, 93. In the poem of Antipater, a girl offers her toy dice (knuckle-bones) to Artemis before her marriage (*GA* 6.276).

payment).¹²⁵ Maidens bringing a basket “*kaneon*” stuffed with special sacrificial implements to Artemis is another pre-marriage ritual that young girls participated in.¹²⁶ Especially the last mentioned ritual can be seen as a kind of bribe to sooth the anger of the goddess. As Budin clarifies based on an inscription from Cyrene, a girl must pay a penalty to Artemis before losing her virginity.¹²⁷ She also should make dedications after losing that virginity. Before the birth of the first child an animal sacrifice is another obligation. So we can say that Artemis is always in the life of a woman; puberty, getting ready for marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth.¹²⁸

Artemis’ role in pregnancy, and especially in childbirth has a significant place in women’s life cycles.¹²⁹ Aeschylus’ *Suppliants* (performed c. 465 BC) is the earliest literary source that depicts Artemis as a goddess who watches over women during childbirth.¹³⁰ She has the name “Artemis–Hekate” as the watcher over women’s travail in this work. Budin states that there is no literary, epigraphic, or archaeological evidence available for Artemis playing a role in childbirth earlier than the fifth century BC.¹³¹ The next literary source for her being the goddess of childbirth is Euripides in the late fifth century BC. She is “Artemis *Lokhia*” (Artemis of good parturition) in *Hippolytos*, *Suppliants*, and *Iphigeneia Amongst the Tauroi* of Euripides.¹³²

¹²⁵ Budin 2016, 94. See *LSJ* s.v. “*προτέλεια*.”

¹²⁶ Budin 2016, 94.

¹²⁷ Budin 2016, 95–96.

¹²⁸ Cole 2004, 209–213.

¹²⁹ Artemis was called with different epithets in different places as a goddess of childbirth and protector of children. The names of her related to childbirth are *Eileithyia* (who brings relief in labor): Pingiatoglou 1981, 164–169 E70, E73–E82, E86–E105, E108; *Lochia/Orsilokhia* (helper of childbirth): Pingiatoglou 1981, 163–169 E66–E69, E91, E106, E107; *Soodina* (who saves during labor): Pingiatoglou 1981, 166 E83; *Thermia* (who heals fever): Pingiatoglou 1981, 164 E72; *Praiai* (tamed): Pingiatoglou 1981, 166 E85; Cole 2004, 212; *Hemera* (the mild): Kallim. 3.236; Paus. 8.18.8; Stephens 2015, 121, 152.

¹³⁰ Aesch. *Supp.* 675. Aeschylus was an ancient Greek tragedian who lived in 525/524–456/455 BC.

¹³¹ Budin 2016, 97.

¹³² Eur. *Hipp.* 161–168; *Supp.* 955–960; *IT.* 1093–1102.

Eileithyia as one of the epithets of Artemis relates the goddess with childbirth, starting from the fifth century B.C.E.¹³³ Although *Eileithyia* was an earlier independent Cretan goddess, she later became associated with Artemis in especially Boiotia and Thessaly (north of Attika).¹³⁴ The function of Artemis as a helper of women in childbirth is the relation of two goddesses. However, Artemis' role in childbirth might not be the same with *Eileithyia*'s, since Artemis is more concerned with the transition aspect.¹³⁵

As helping in childbirth, and healing both babies and their mothers are parts of the nature of a kourotrophic goddess, above mentioned terracotta figurines of females with children, and depictions of children from different ages are also dedications to Artemis in relation with her function as a midwife.¹³⁶

II.5.d Chorus, Music and Dance

Artemis appears as the leader of the chorus of the Muses and the Graces as early as in the *Homeric Hymns*.¹³⁷ In this hymn, the goddess comes to Delphi to lead the Muses and the Graces in the dance. She takes her hunting clothes and bow off to wear graceful jewelry as she is the leader in the dance.¹³⁸ Artemis enjoys the lyre and dance as much as she loves the mountains and hunt in the *Homeric Hymn 5 to Aphrodite* (18–20). Kallimachos describes a dance scene of Artemis with the nymphs after a day of hunting.¹³⁹ This circle dance scene reappears later in Kallimachos, this

¹³³ Nosch 2009, 27; Budin 2016, 100–102. Also see the section “Links with Crete” for *Eileithyia*.

¹³⁴ Budin 2016, 102. Also see above notes 66, 67 for detailed information about *Eileithyia*.

¹³⁵ Dowden 2014, 44.

¹³⁶ See pg. 25.

¹³⁷ Generally accepted time period for the composition of the *Homeric Hymns* is the eighth to fifth century BC.E. (Athanasakis 2004, xv).

¹³⁸ *Hom. Hymn 27 to Artemis* 11–20.

¹³⁹ Kallim. 3.170–182. See Bing and Uhrmeister 1994, 19–34 for analysis of the Kallimachos' *Hymn to Artemis*.

time as a ritual dance around the statue of Artemis by the Amazons at Ephesos.¹⁴⁰ Ephesos was famous for its choruses dedicated to Artemis.¹⁴¹ The dance ritual was taken up by the girls of Ephesos and was a significant part of the festivals in honor of Artemis.¹⁴²

The literary sources, as early as the eighth–seventh century BC, indicate that music, choruses, and dancing played important role in the cults of Artemis. As much as Artemis loves dancing, young maidens and youths did too.¹⁴³ The *Iphigeneia at Aulis* and *Trojan Women* of Euripides provide example for the maidens’ and youths’ dancing for Artemis.¹⁴⁴

II.6 Artemis in Western Anatolia

In Anatolia, the goddess had different roles than in mainland Greece. While she was the goddess of the wild, hunting, childbirth and transition in Greece, Artemis was mainly worshipped as the city goddess in Anatolia.¹⁴⁵ She was the protector and principal deity in many cities in Anatolia: Leukophryene (white browed) in Magnesia on the Maeander, Astias (of the citadel) and Prokathegemon (leader) in Iasos in Karia, Kyria (mistress) in Milyas in Lycia, Artemis Kindyas in Kindya in Karia.¹⁴⁶ The goddess’ cults as the protector and patron of the city in Ephesos (Ephesia) and Perge (Pergaia) were especially prominent in Asia Minor.¹⁴⁷ The earliest literary evidence of her being a city goddess is the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.¹⁴⁸ However, her city

¹⁴⁰ Kallim. *Hymn* 3 240–242.

¹⁴¹ Budin 2016, 82.

¹⁴² Kallim. *Hymn* 3 240–242; Ar. *Cl.* 599–600. Also see Budin 2016, 82 for the place of dance and chorus in the cults of Artemis.

¹⁴³ Budin 2016, 82.

¹⁴⁴ Eur. *IA* 1480–1481; *Tro.* 553–555.

¹⁴⁵ Dowden 2007, 52; Petrovic 2010, 217–218.

¹⁴⁶ Petrovic 2010, 217–218.

¹⁴⁷ Petrovic 2010, 218.

¹⁴⁸ *Hom. Hymn 5 to Aphrodite* 16–20.

goddess function expanded in the Hellenistic period. Kallimachos makes Zeus grant Artemis with many cities together with many other gifts she asked.¹⁴⁹ Budin relates her function as a city goddess with eastern influence.¹⁵⁰ It is obvious that the cultic aspects of the goddess changed through time due to associations with local deities.

Artemis was widely worshipped in Asia Minor, especially in western Anatolia.¹⁵¹ The major cult centers of Artemis in western Anatolia were located at Ephesos and Sardes. The goddess was also worshipped at Klaros and Didyma, as counterpart of the main deity of the sanctuary. In Anatolia, the goddess Artemis is accepted as a Greek translation of an indigenous mother goddess by scholars.¹⁵² As Mitchell suggests, it was a sensible and easy step for a Hellenized community to associate their own native deities with the Greek Artemis.¹⁵³ When we examine the Anatolian cults of Artemis, we clearly see the syncretism of local goddesses with the Greek mistress of wild animals and nature.

The sanctuary of Artemis at **Ephesos** is the most well-known cult center of the goddess in Anatolia. Pausanias states that all cities worshipped Artemis of Ephesos because of the size of the temple, the reputation of the polis, and because of the prominence of the goddess who resided there.¹⁵⁴ The earliest cult activity in the sanctuary extends back to the 11th century B.C.E. based on the discovery of the Early Iron Age pottery, terracotta animal figurines, and stone setting underneath the seventh century B.C.E. structure.¹⁵⁵ Following this early stratum, the seventh century B.C.E.

¹⁴⁹ Kallim. *Hymn* 3. 31–39.

¹⁵⁰ Budin 2016, 145.

¹⁵¹ Helga Bumke conducted a comprehensive research on the western Anatolian cults of Artemis in 2007. Bumke's habilitation is called "*Artemisheiligtümer in Westkleinasien. Eine archäologische Untersuchung zum religiösen Charakter einer griechischen Gottheit im ionischen Kolonisationsgebiet*."

¹⁵² Talloen 2015, 94.

¹⁵³ Mitchell 1995, 56.

¹⁵⁴ Paus. 4.31.8.

¹⁵⁵ Bammer 1990, 142; Kerschner 2011, 20.

naiskos has been interpreted as the first shrine built for the goddess Artemis in the sanctuary.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, discovery of Late Bronze Age pottery and a terracotta figurine head suggests that the activity in the area of Artemision might have started earlier.¹⁵⁷ This archaeological evidence from the Late Bronze Age seems to support Pausanias' statement about the existence of a cult at Ephesos earlier than the Didymaion oracle and the Ionian settlement of Ephesos.¹⁵⁸ Thomson asserts that Leto was worshipped before Artemis in the Artemision area.¹⁵⁹ However, Akurgal suggests a different deity as the predecessor of Artemis at Ephesos; Kybele.¹⁶⁰ Even though it is not certain that which deity was worshipped in the area, Artemis, the subsequent owner of the sanctuary, had close connections with earlier local deities of Anatolia.¹⁶¹ The Ephesian Artemis has been associated with the Great Goddess of Anatolia, with Kybele, or with Anahita.¹⁶² Anatolian elements are visible in the cult image of the goddess and in the organization of eunuch priests in the Ephesian cult.¹⁶³ As stated earlier, the cultic image of the Ephesian Artemis is accepted as a clear demonstration of eastern influences by Burkert.¹⁶⁴ As known from Roman copies found at the site, the cult image of the goddess wears a tall head-dress (*polos*), which is a demonstration of the Ephesian Artemis being the city goddess at Ephesos.¹⁶⁵ The Ephesian's dedicating their city to Artemis by binding her temple to the city when the Lydians

¹⁵⁶ Bammer 1990, 142.

¹⁵⁷ Greaves 2013, 531.

¹⁵⁸ Paus. 7.2.4.

¹⁵⁹ Thomson 1988, 329. Thomson's suggestion of the cult of Leto in the sanctuary's earlier phases is based on C. Picard's work (1922). Picard bases his argument on literary sources and archaeological evidence from the sanctuary at Ephesos and claims that Artemis inherited the cult at Ephesos from her mother, Leto.

¹⁶⁰ Akurgal 1993, 400.

¹⁶¹ See Morris 2001, 135–138 for the prehistoric background of the Ephesian Artemis.

¹⁶² Burkert 2007, 149.

¹⁶³ Burkert 2007, 149. See also Smith 1996, 323–335 for the organization of the cult officials in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos.

¹⁶⁴ See pg. 21.

¹⁶⁵ Morris 2001, 138–139.

attacked Ephesos is the earliest account for Artemis the city goddess.¹⁶⁶ The zoomorphic figures on the goddess' dress also point her connection with Anatolian local deities. The bee, which appears as an important symbol on the coinage of Ephesos, as one of the earliest mythological figures of Hittite texts decorates the lower skirt of the cultic image of Artemis.¹⁶⁷ Lions and deer on her dress indicate the goddess' role as the protector of wildlife and animals.¹⁶⁸ In addition, lions standing beside the goddess express another resemblance with the Anatolian Kybele and the Ephesian Artemis.¹⁶⁹ The cult image of Artemis at Ephesos has a unique feature: the bulbous elements on her chest, which has been interpreted in many different ways (eggs, bull testicles, back parts of bees, breasts, grapes or acorns).¹⁷⁰ Even though debate about what these bulbous objects of the Ephesian cult image of Artemis illustrate still continues, there is a consensus in the scholarship that they indicate fertility aspect in the cult of the goddess.¹⁷¹ However, it should be noted that the fertility of the Ephesian Artemis is different from the fertility of the Anatolian Kybele. On the one hand Kybele was the Mother Goddess in Anatolia, and on the other the Ephesian Artemis was related to the fertility of the animals and the nature.¹⁷² The presence of foreign elements in the cult of the Ephesian Artemis leads to the conclusion that the Greeks syncretized their Artemis with the local deity or deities of Ephesos, and also applied some features of local Anatolian deities to their Ephesian Artemis.

¹⁶⁶ Hdt. 1.26.

¹⁶⁷ Morris 2001, 139. For the coinage of Ephesos, see Fleischer 1973, 99–100.

¹⁶⁸ See above pg. 22–23 for Artemis' relation with the wild and animals.

¹⁶⁹ See Roller 1999 for the attributes of Kybele.

¹⁷⁰ Morris 2001, 140–148; 2008, 57–62; Leger 2015, 130.

¹⁷¹ Leger 2015, 130–131.

¹⁷² For the nature of Kybele, see Roller 1999.

At **Sardes**, Artemis was worshipped as one of the main deities of the city, together with Meter.¹⁷³ A marble stele found at Sardes represents Meter and Artemis side by side, which has been dated to the fourth century B.C.E.¹⁷⁴ On this stele, Artemis stands on the left holding a doe, and Meter stands next to Artemis holding a lion. The fact that Meter and Artemis are represented together might be accepted as the indication of the two goddesses to be worshipped as separate deities at Sardes.¹⁷⁵ Two goddesses having their own temples is also an indication for two different cults.¹⁷⁶ The Artemis temple at Sardes is one of the biggest temples of the goddess in Anatolia.¹⁷⁷ The earliest surviving remains, the altar and pottery sherds, from the temple area extend back to the sixth century B.C.E.¹⁷⁸ However, no remains of a temple earlier than the Hellenistic period have been found in the Artemision. A fourth century B.C.E. inscription found at Ephesos declares that the sanctuary of Artemis at Sardes was founded by the Ephesians.¹⁷⁹ As representations of the Sardinian and Ephesian Artemis on coins show, they both depicted with bulbous objects on their chests.¹⁸⁰ Artemis of Sardes appears with long veil and *kalathos* on some representations as indication of her relation with vegetation and fertility.¹⁸¹

Artemis was not the main deity of the sanctuary, but the counterpart of Apollo at **Didyma**. According to Fontenrose, Artemis was the most respected deity in the

¹⁷³ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969, 264, 266; Roller 1999, 195.

¹⁷⁴ Roller 1999, 195, fig. 52.

¹⁷⁵ See above note 174.

¹⁷⁶ Passages of Herodotus (5.102) and Ksenophon (*Anabasis* 1.6.7) state the existence of two different sanctuaries for Meter and Artemis at Sardes: the Metroon and Artemision. See Gauthier 1989, 55–57 for the temples of two deities at Sardes. Hanfmann and Waldbaum suggest the combination of the cults of Meter and Artemis towards the end of the Lydian culture, when the Greek culture became predominant in the area (1969, 269).

¹⁷⁷ Cahill and Greenewalt jr. 2016, 473–509.

¹⁷⁸ Cahill and Greenewalt jr. 2016, 494.

¹⁷⁹ Fleischer 1973, 200; Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1969, 265; Masson 1987, 225–239; Horsley 1992, 157–158. This inscription describes a death sentence given to number of Sardians who disrupted a festival in honor of Artemis (Horsley 1992, 155).

¹⁸⁰ Fleischer 1973, 193–194, pl. 79.

¹⁸¹ Fleischer 1973, pl. 78b.

sanctuary at Didyma after Apollo.¹⁸² The goddess was one of the residents of the sanctuary of Apollo, together with Leto and Zeus. It is known from a third century B.C.E. inscription that Artemis had a temple at Didyma.¹⁸³ The goddess was worshipped as Artemis Pythie in this sanctuary.¹⁸⁴ It was thought that the sanctuary of Artemis at Didyma was located to the northwest of the temple of Apollo.¹⁸⁵ The sanctuary that was thought of Artemis Pythie is a complex of rooms, an altar, a rocky area in the middle, and springs.¹⁸⁶ Even though no inscription found within this complex identifies the structure as the sanctuary of Artemis, Tuchelt interpreted that the deity was worshipped in this sacred space was Artemis Pythie based on the size of the complex and the springs.¹⁸⁷ The earliest construction in this area dates back to the seventh century B.C.E.¹⁸⁸ The visible architectural remains in the area are from the first century B.C.E.¹⁸⁹ However, recent research based on the archaeological evidence demonstrated that this structure was not the sanctuary of Artemis at all.¹⁹⁰ Bumke clarifies that the material including bronze objects, jewelry, and fine ware that one should expect to find in the sanctuary of Artemis is missing. The scholar states that the misinterpretation for the complex must have been based on the springs in the rocky area in the center of the complex. It is known from inscriptions that the priestesses of Artemis Pythie were named *hydrophoroi* (water-carriers).¹⁹¹ Even though it is clear that water had significant role in the cult of Artemis Pythie, according to Bumke, this is not convincing enough for the interpretation of the above mentioned complex as the

¹⁸² Fontenrose 1988, 123.

¹⁸³ Fontenrose 1988, 124.

¹⁸⁴ See above note 183.

¹⁸⁵ Tuchelt 1984, 225; Bumke 2006, 216, fig.1.

¹⁸⁶ Fontenrose 1988, 124.

¹⁸⁷ Tuchelt 1984, 230–234.

¹⁸⁸ Fontenrose 1988, 124; Bumke 2006, 216.

¹⁸⁹ Bumke 2006, 217.

¹⁹⁰ Bumke 2006, 215–237.

¹⁹¹ *Didyma II* 307–388.

sanctuary of Artemis.¹⁹² Other indications Bumke uses to prove her suggestion are the ceramic vessels with bow handle and animal bones. These vessels were interpreted as votive offerings for the goddess. Nevertheless, Bumke proves that these ceramic bucket like vessels were used to carry water for oracular ceremonies.¹⁹³ It is remarkable that the animal bones found in the above mentioned complex, the so-called Artemis sanctuary, show no trace of any fire, which is the manifestation of a sacrificial ritual in Greek sanctuaries.¹⁹⁴ According to Bumke, the animal bones found in this complex were not of sacrificial animals but of animals for consumption.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, the scholar suggests the possibility of this complex being used as a *macellum*. In addition, the archaeologists discovered a new structure at Didyma, which is most likely the temple of Artemis.¹⁹⁶

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has given an overview of the myths related to Artemis, the goddess' links with elder and foreign deities, characteristics of her cults in the Greek world, and brief analysis of the worship of Artemis in Western Anatolia. Artemis was one of the most well-known and widely worshipped deities of the ancient world. The evidence suggests that an Artemis like deity appears as early as the Bronze Age in Aegean and the Near East and Anatolia. A goddess associated with girls emerges in the Minoan – Theran iconography, and a nature deity dominating wild animals emerges in the Minoan – Mycenaean culture. The cults of Artemis show syncretism with local deities and foreign influences. Even though the Greek Artemis was a virgin

¹⁹² Bumke 2006, 222.

¹⁹³ Bumke 2006, 223–224, fig. 9.

¹⁹⁴ Bumke 2006, 224, note 68.

¹⁹⁵ Bumke 2006, 225–227.

¹⁹⁶ Bumke et al. 2016, 404–405, fig. 9.

goddess, she was closely related to the children and women. The life cycle of a girl from childhood to puberty, from maidenhood to womanhood, and from pregnancy to childbirth was in the sphere of Artemis, as transition was one of the main characteristics of the goddess. Dance, music and singing played important part in the festivals of the goddess.

Anatolian cults and images of Artemis especially show her complicated persona. In Anatolia, Kybele appears as her counterpart as the goddess of fertility and nature. It must have been easy and sensible for the Greeks to combine Artemis with Kybele when they first meet this local deity who has similar characteristics with their own goddess. They were both the protectores of the wild animals, nature, and related to fertility and childbirth. Even though the fertility of Artemis was different than the one of Kybele, the Mother Goddess of Anatolia, her close relation with childbirth, children and pregnant women must have made this difference ignorable. However, the worship of Artemis and Kybele continued side by side in some places, such as at Klaros and Sardes, which is the main indicator of them being two separate deities.

CHAPTER III

THE SANCTUARY AT KLAROS

III.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the topography, history of investigation, foundation legends, and ancient history of the religious site at Klaros.¹⁹⁷ It aims to give a historical and geographical background to better contextualize the archaeological evidence for ritual practices.

The sanctuary at Klaros was one of the most important oracular centers of the ancient Greek world, where people came to learn about the future and the will of the gods. It functioned as a prophecy center from its foundation in the 13th century B.C.E. until its abandonment in the fourth century C.E. The goddess Artemis was worshipped in this extra-mural sanctuary together with her brother Apollo, who was the main god of the sanctuary, and their mother Leto. The ongoing excavations in the sanctuary have demonstrated that three deities, Leto, Artemis and Apollo, were worshipped in the sanctuary. The structures consecrated to Apollo are placed in the center, whereas the ones for Artemis are on the north, and the ones for Leto on the south (plan 1). Extra-mural sanctuaries like the one at Klaros were connected to the main cities through sacred roads. The processions that took place along these roads were the primary link between the city and the sanctuary, and also the consolidation of certain cult activities. A unique piece, the Hecatomb system (lines of one hundred blocks to tie up animals

¹⁹⁷ The etymology of Klaros is contradictive. Possible suggestions are that it was derived from a toponym, the name of Apollo's beloved, or from a Greek word *kleros* (κληρος) meaning "share." For the discussion of the etymology of Klaros, see Şahin 2007, 345.

intended for sacrifice), which ancient writers frequently mentioned, was found in-situ in the sacred area. One hundred animals, especially bulls, were sacrificed to the gods simultaneously, and the Hecatomb found in the sanctuary at Klaros is the first discovered – all one hundred blocks of the system together – archaeological evidence of this sacrificial ritual. The sanctuary at Klaros is also one of the few sacred areas where a monumental group of cult statues (Apollo, Artemis and Leto) was found in-situ.

III.2 Location and Topography

The sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros is situated 13 km southeast of the ancient city of Kolophon (Kolophon Arkhaia, Kolophon in the north) and 1.6 km north of the ancient city of Notion (Kolophon by the seaside, Kolophon in the south). It is located within the Ahmetbeyli quarter of the Menderes district, Izmir province, to the south of Cumaovası, in the lower part of the Ahmetbeyli Valley (Ales), which connects the plain to the Bay of Kuşadası on the south (**map 1**). Mt. Gallesion (Barbandondağ, Mt. Kale Boğazı) lies on the east side of the sanctuary and Mt. Korakion (Mezarlık Dağ) on the west (**map 2**). Strabo gives the names of these two mountains and describes the location of Klaros as “*Then one comes to the mountain Gallesion, and to Kolophon, an Ionian city, where there was once an ancient oracle.*”¹⁹⁸

The sanctuary is now located 1.6 km inside of the modern coastal line. However, the geography of the area was different in ancient times. As İlhan Kayan

¹⁹⁸ 14.1.27. The Greek geographer, philosopher and historian Strabo (64/63 B.C.E.–24 C.E.) wrote his 17 volume *Geographica* around 18/17 C.E. For detailed information about the life of Strabo; Lightfoot 2000, 272–273 and *LCL 49 – Strabo, Geography: Books 1–2*, translation by H. L. Jones, xii–xxx. Although it seems that the oracle was no longer functioning in Strabo’s time, according to this translation, the sanctuary at Klaros must have been in existence in the first century C.E., which is the time of Strabo. Archaeological evidence, which will be discussed in following pages, and ancient sources, such as Tacitus, *Annals II.54*, clarifies that the oracle was active until the fourth century C.E.

and Mehmet Doğan have shown through their systematic geological study and coring program, the sea-line was inside of today's coast and formed a long bay at the end of the third millennium B.C.E. (**map 3**).¹⁹⁹ The bay began to be filled with alluvium in the second millennium B.C.E., and the sanctuary at Klaros was founded over a marshy area (**map 4**).²⁰⁰ According to this research, the sanctuary had a harbor during its early period. Thucydides describes anchored vessels near Klaros in his account of the Peloponnesian War between the Athenians and the Spartans.²⁰¹ The coastline grew further away from Klaros over time due to the silting action of the Ahmetbeyli (Ales, Halysus) river, and its streams Kırmızı kayalar and Beynamaz (**map 5**).

Although Klaros was one of the three most important oracular centers of the ancient world with Didyma and Delphi,²⁰² the location of the sanctuary was detected later than the other two. The reason of this late discovery is that the sanctuary was buried under thick alluvial deposits due to the continuing silting action by the above mentioned rivers.

Ancient writers, such as Pausanias and Nikandros, give information on the fauna and flora of the sanctuary.²⁰³ Pausanias says “*In the land of Kolophon is the grove of Apollo, of ash-trees, and not far from the grove is the river Ales, the coldest river in Ionia.*”²⁰⁴ There are no longer ash trees in Klaros today, but this does not mean that we should doubt Pausanias because Strabo also mentions “*the grove of Apollo.*”²⁰⁵ The current vegetation cover of the valley of Ahmetbeyli is maquis, and pine in the

¹⁹⁹ Kayan 1995, 1–24; Doğan 2008, 129–132.

²⁰⁰ Doğan 2008, 111.

²⁰¹ *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 3.33. Thucydides was an Athenian historian and general of the fifth century B.C.E. (460–400 B.C.E.). For the life and work of Thucydides; Zagorin 2005, 1–6.

²⁰² For Delphi: Parke 1967; Lloyd-Jones 1976; Fontenrose 1988a; Morgan 2007; for Didyma: Parke 1967; 1985; Fontenrose 1988b; Greaves 2012.

²⁰³ Nikandros was a poet from Kolophon, who lived in the second century B.C.E. For the life and books of Nikandros: Lightfoot 2000, 248–250.

²⁰⁴ 7.5.10 (translated by W. H. S. Jones).

²⁰⁵ 14.1.27.

upper parts. There were tobacco fields around the site between the years of 1950 and 1970; now citrus and mandarin groves have taken their place. Klaros has a typical Mediterranean climate: sea breeze in summertime, and north and southwest winds in wintertime.²⁰⁶

III.3 History of Investigation

Richard Chandler is the first known research traveler who visited the area in 1764 during his travels in Asia Minor.²⁰⁷ He thought that he had found the remains of Klaros and the temple of Apollo in *Zille* (today's Çile). He described marble steps leading down to a well with deep water and assumed that these ruins were the prophetic cave and fountain of Apollo. However, none of the later travelers or researchers have been able to find any traces of the remains he described.

Following Chandler, another traveler, Francis V. J. Arundel, made some observations about *Zille* or *Chilli* (Çile), the river *Halesus* (Ales), *Giaurkeyu* (Gavurköy or today's Ahmetbeyli) and the ruins of *Notium* (*Notion*) on his way to Ephesos in 1826.²⁰⁸ Arundell detected steps in a recently excavated pit and several white and red marble columns near it around Çile.²⁰⁹ He remarked on the “*remains of a very ancient wall, of large stones without cement, and within it remains of a much later date, called Agios Elias*” below Çile. While continuing his research towards the south of the village, he mentioned that he had found two large columns of white marble. According to these remains, he suggested that Kolophon was located close to

²⁰⁶ Şahin 1998, 17.

²⁰⁷ Chandler 1825, 130–133.

²⁰⁸ Arundell 1828, 303-308, n.6.

²⁰⁹ Arundell 1828, 305.

Çile and Klaros was close to Ahmetbeyli.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, he was not able to locate the exact spot of the sanctuary.

Charles Texier placed Klaros “on a hill near the sea, south of the valley, and about three miles from Ghaiour-keui,”²¹¹ where in fact Notion is located, during his trips to Anatolia between 1833 and 1844. He suggested that the remains he found on the hill had belonged to the temple of Apollo. Later, Auguste Bouché-Leclerq, who never visited the area, indicated the importance of Klaros as an oracular center referring to the ancient writers in his book, which was on the functions of sanctuaries and divination.²¹²

The first systematic research in the valley of the Ales was carried out by Carl Schuchhardt in 1886. Schuchhardt first located Kolophon Arkhaia at Değirmendere and Notion (Kolophon by the Sea) on the hill to the south of Mt. Galesion, and suggested that the cave opposite Gavurköy (today’s Ahmetbeyli) was probably the place where the prophecy took place.²¹³

The next researcher, Theodor Macridy, found inscribed blocks among the remains of a Byzantine church on the acropolis of Notion in 1904.²¹⁴ Based on these blocks Macridy was convinced that the sanctuary of Apollo was not distant from the church and he returned to the area in 1907 to continue his earlier investigation. Following the information, he obtained from the local villagers, Macridy found the top part of one of the columns of the *Propylon* of the sanctuary and thought that this was the column that Arundell had seen. He was the first researcher who actually reached the sanctuary. He discovered two columns and the inscribed ante walls of the *Propylon*

²¹⁰ Arundell 1828, 306.

²¹¹ Texier and Pullan 1865, 31.

²¹² Bouché-Leclerq 1882.

²¹³ Schuchhardt 1886, 398–434.

²¹⁴ Şahin 1998, 18.

and interpreted that these remains had belonged to the temple of Apollo Klaros.²¹⁵ Macridy went back to the valley in 1913 with Charles Picard in order to carry out the first systematic excavation in the sanctuary. They revealed the entire *Propylon* during this first excavation season and understood that this structure was not the temple of Apollo, but the entrance building of the sanctuary. They also uncovered the large *exedra* on the east side of the *Propylon* and 125 inscriptions that were carrying the names of the delegates who came to the sanctuary for consultation mainly in the Late Hellenistic and Imperial period.²¹⁶ The excavation had to stop due to the start of the First World War in 1914.

There was no research in the sanctuary until the second period of excavations in 1950 by the French epigrapher Louis Robert who was a professor at the Collège de France, and his wife Jeanne Robert. This period of the excavations in the sanctuary continued until 1961 without any disruption. The temples of Apollo and Artemis, monumental cult statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto (the Triad), and most of the monuments that can be seen in the sanctuary were revealed during this period.²¹⁷

The third period of the excavations at Klaros took place from 1988 to 1997 led by Juliette de La Genière of the University of Lille.²¹⁸ The altars dedicated to Apollo and Artemis from the Early Archaic, Late Archaic, and Hellenistic periods were uncovered by the French team. They mainly focused on the earlier periods of the sanctuary, especially in the sectors of Apollo and Artemis.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Macridy 1912, 41–55.

²¹⁶ Macridy and Picard 1915, 33–52.

²¹⁷ Şahin 1998, 19.

²¹⁸ For the campaigns between 1988 and 1997 see La Genière 1990, 325–340; 1992, 69–77; 1993 37–45; 1995 53–68; 1996 47–55; 1998 745–754; 1999 125–129.

²¹⁹ La Genière 1992; La Genière and Jolivet 2003.

The next excavations in the sanctuary started in 2001 under the directorship of Nuran Şahin of Ege University and are still continuing.²²⁰ The goals of the project include determining the earliest periods and also the boundaries of the sanctuary. The studies of this period of the excavations have also aimed to understand the characteristics of the cults of Apollo, Artemis, Leto.

III.4 Foundation Myths

Although we need to be cautious about accepting the truth of foundation legends, it is still important to consider what ancient authors claimed about the origins of the oracle and also the nearby cities.²²¹ Pausanias says that “*The people of Kolophon suppose that the sanctuary at Klaros, and the oracle, were founded in the remotest antiquity.*”²²² The establishment of the prophecy center of Apollo Klarios according to the ancient texts dates back to the 13th century B.C.E.,²²³ which was the period of the Achaean colonization of the Kolophonian land.²²⁴ This region witnessed two overseas migrations consecutively in the Bronze Age, according to the literary sources.²²⁵ Pausanias points out that the locals of the region were Karians and the first migrants to the area had a Cretan origin. “*They assert that while the Karians still held the land,*

²²⁰ For the last period of the excavations: Şahin et al. 2003, 81–90; Şahin et al. 2004, 73–86; Şahin et al. 2005, 291–304; Şahin et al. 2007, 589–608; Şahin et al. 2008, 427–448; Şahin et al. 2009, 113–128; Şahin et al. 2010, 247–260; Şahin 2011, 151–163; Şahin et al. 2012, 287–303; Şahin et al. 2013, 253–264; Şahin et al. 2014, 342–353.

²²¹ For the Dorian migration; Strabo 14.2.6, 14.2.28, 14.5.26; Herodotus 1.171, 2.178. For the Ionian migration; Strabo 13.3.3, 14.1.3, 14.2.28, 14.5.26; Herodotus 1.145–147, 9.97; Pausanias 7.2.1–4. For the Aeolian migration; Strabo 12.3.21, 13.1.3–4, 13.3.3, 14.5.26; Herodotus 1.149–151.

²²² 7.3.1.

²²³ Paus. 7.3.1–2; 9.33.1–2; Apoll. Rhod. 1.308.

²²⁴ The region of Kolophon, Notion and Klaros was named as “the Kolophonian land” by Pausanias (9.33.2).

²²⁵ Foundation myths such as the Ionian and Aeolian migrations to the west coast of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands are subject to debates among scholars. The literary tradition preserves the stories about the movements of the Greeks and the foundations of new settlements during the so called “Dark Ages”. There is no consensus in the modern scholarship. While some scholars accept the migrations without any dispute, others reject the reality of the stories totally. For the debates; Lemos 2007, 713–727; Rose 2008, 339–430; Mac Sweeney 2013; 2015, 211–235; 2016, 411–434.

*the first Greeks to arrive were Cretans under Rhakios, who was followed by a great crowd also; these occupied the shore and were strong in ships, but the greater part of the country continued in the possession of the Karians.*²²⁶ The location of this “shore,” which had been occupied by the Cretans, has been subject to debate. N. Şahin argues that the first immigrants landed and settled in Notion (Kolophon by the seaside) and moved inland to Kolophon Arkhaia later.²²⁷ The origin of the leader of this first immigration movement is disputable. According to Pausanias, the *oikist* Rhakios was a Cretan.²²⁸ However, in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes the *oikist* has an Achaean origin and was named *Lacius*.²²⁹ Another ancient writer, Hesychius, explains that the Cretans used *Lake* (*Λακῆ*) as *Rhake* (*Ρακῆ*).²³⁰ Following the information given by the ancient authors, Şahin suggests that Rhakios was a Cretan with an Achaean origin.²³¹

The second wave of migration to the Kolophonian land supposedly came from Greece.²³² Pausanias informs that the new arrivals were from the Theban community who had to leave their homeland after the Epigones conquered Thebes.²³³ The captured Thebans were offered to Delphi as slaves following the fall of their city in this narration of Pausanias. If we accept the accuracy of this story, the Mycenaean pottery found in the destruction level of the palace of Kadmos at Thebes might indicate that this incident took place around 1400–1300 B.C.E.²³⁴ The prophet of Apollo, Teiresias,

²²⁶ Paus. 7.3.1.

²²⁷ Şahin 2007, 347. The connection of Kolophon and Notion, and their relation to Klaros have been long debated. For the scholarly debate on Kolophon and Notion see: Parke 1985, 117–124; La Genière 1998b, 253–255; Hansen 1997a, 36–37; 1997b, 100–105; Hansen and Nielsen 2000, 147 Lovette Guichard 2005, 21–23; Şahin 2007, 329–333.

²²⁸ 7.3.1; 9.33.2.

²²⁹ Apol. Rhod. 1.308.

²³⁰ Şahin 2012, 247–272.

²³¹ Şahin 2007, 343.

²³² Sakellariou 1958, 345–346; Parke 1985, 119; Şahin 2007, 344.

²³³ 7.3.1–2.

²³⁴ Sakellariou 1958, 347.

and his daughter Manto were said to be among the slaves.²³⁵ Apollo ordered the Thebans to found a colony and Manto to establish a prophecy center in his name specifically in the Kolophonian land. Pausanias states that when Manto and the Theban immigrants had arrived at Kolophon, Rhakios was still at war with the locals.²³⁶ In his narration, Rhakios let the new arrivals settle down and he married Manto. She then founded the prophecy center at Klaros following the order of the Delphic Apollo. According to some ancient authors, such as Apollonius of Rhodes, the sacred spring of Klaros was formed by the tears of Manto who had been expatriated from her country.²³⁷ Nikandros of Kolophon asserts that the name of the sanctuary comes from the Greek *kleros* (κλήρος), which means “share”, and says that Zeus, Poseidon and Hades shared the universe here.²³⁸ Although the etymology of the prophecy center is disputable, it is the common opinion of ancient writers, such as Pausanias and Apollonius of Rhodes, that its founder was Manto and the date of the establishment occurred sometime before the Trojan War.²³⁹ Mopsos, the son of Manto and Rhakios, took over the kingship from his father, and the task of prophecy from his mother.²⁴⁰ He was the first priest of Apollo and the king of the Kolophonian land who drove the locals inland.²⁴¹

After a long period of time, the land of Kolophon may have experienced another migration movement – the Ionian migration – according to the ancient authors.²⁴² The seventh century B.C.E. elegiac poet Mimnermos describes the *Pylians*’ violent arrival on the Kolophonian coast as “*We left the craggy city of Neleian Pylos*

²³⁵ Şahin 2007, 329.

²³⁶ 9.33.1–2.

²³⁷ Apol. Rhod. 1.308.

²³⁸ *Alexipharmaka*, 11.

²³⁹ Şahin 2007, 345.

²⁴⁰ Şahin 2007, 345.

²⁴¹ Paus. 7.3.1.

²⁴² See above note 225 for references to scholarly debate about the Ionian migration.

*and came on ship to handsome Asia and lovely Kolophon our base. There we brashly mustered our immense army in dreadful pride, and set out along the river flowing inside the forest. Aided by gods we captured the Aiolian city of Smyrna.*²⁴³ Şahin expresses that this Kolophon is the one by the seaside (Notion) and the name of the city was still Kolophon during the time of Mimnermos.²⁴⁴ The sanctuary at Klaros has revealed no evidence for the supposed Ionian migration to the land of Kolophon and no information has been found regarding the impact of any migration movements to the prophecy center yet.

Considering these foundation legends, we can see five historical phases of the Kolophonian land: a. the Karian period, b. Cretan migration, c. Theban migration, d. expel of the Karians by Mopsos, and e. Ionian migration.²⁴⁵ Except these foundation legends, the ancient sources give no information on the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age of the Kolophonian land. Our knowledge of the area in its early history comes from the limited excavations at Kolophon Arkhaia, and extensive campaigns at Klaros.²⁴⁶ According to the evidence from these excavations the area was occupied during these periods. However, the material does not allow us at this point to confirm whether these occupants were native Anatolians or migrants from elsewhere.

Although the recent excavations at Klaros have demonstrated that the activity in the sanctuary goes back to the Late Bronze Age,²⁴⁷ it has not been proven whether these mythical names were real historical figures or not. Parke argues that Manto was

²⁴³ *Mim. Frag.* 9 (The translation is taken from Barnstone 2010, 92); Strabo 14.1.4. Mimnermos was a Smyrneian / Kolophonian elegiac poet who lived in the seventh century B.C.E. (ca. 670–600). Also see Michael Schmidt, 2004, *The First Poets: Lives of the Ancient Greek Poets*. The *Pylians*, Mimnermos mentions were the native people of the Homeric town *Pylos* in the Peloponnese.

²⁴⁴ Şahin 2012, 247-272.

²⁴⁵ See Sakellariou 1958, 345–346 for the historical phases of the Kolophonian land.

²⁴⁶ Şahin 2007, 331; see Marioud 2010; Mac Sweeney 2013, 132–135 for the Iron Age graves of Kolophon. The burials were excavated by Carl Blegen, and Hetty Goldman in 1922. Information about their research can be found in *Kolophon Notebooks 1922*, which are located in the Kolophon excavation archive in Athens.

²⁴⁷ Şahin et al. 2010, 251; Şahin 2011, 156; Şahin and Debord 2011, 169–170.

a fictional person in order to relate Klaros to the Greek mainland and Apollo.²⁴⁸ However, there is a possibility that the stories might comprise some kind of reality regarding the origin of the people who founded the sanctuary and the settlements in this region. At the very least, the stories also reveal the kinds of connections with Crete and the Greek mainland, especially with Delphi and Thebes, that people at Klaros wanted to emphasize through repeating and recording certain stories or perhaps by purposefully inventing legends.

III.5 Historical Developments of the Sanctuary

The history of a sanctuary is closely linked with the history of its city. As it is the case for almost all sanctuaries of the Greek world, the historical development of Klaros must follow the historical development of the cities it was attached to – Kolophon and Notion. Although the ancient sources describe Klaros as the sanctuary of Kolophon,²⁴⁹ which Kolophon they meant has been subject to long debate.²⁵⁰ As stated earlier, Nuran Şahin suggests that both cities were named “Kolophon” in the remote past, which caused a misunderstanding, and the city on the seaside started being called “Notion” in the fifth century B.C.E.²⁵¹ The discussion about whether Kolophon and Notion were parts of a single state, or two separate cities continues. Aristotle informs that topographical conditions are the reason for why Kolophon and Notion are separate instead of being united as a single city.²⁵² The author points out the

²⁴⁸ Parke 1985, 115.

²⁴⁹ Paus. 7.3.1, 9.33.2; Strabo 14.1.27.

²⁵⁰ The scholarly dispute about Kolophon, Notion and Klaros, their foundation order, and relation to each other continues. For the discussion about the subject, see Şahin 2007, 329–333.

²⁵¹ Şahin 2007, 329–333. The name “Notion” is known from Herodotus (1.149), Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.2.1), and Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.1303b.9). Herodotus is the earliest source using the name “Notion,” and counts the city among the Aiolian sites. However, Şahin argues that he mixed two Notions, and did not mention the one in Ionia thinking that there was only one Notion in Aiolia. For the discussion on the city of Notion, see Şahin 2007, 344–345.

²⁵² Arist. *Pol.* 5.1303b.

resemblance of Kolophon and Notion with Athens and Piraeus.²⁵³ There is also a scholarly dispute about the sanctuary's relation with these two cities.²⁵⁴ Although the sanctuary was geographically closer to Notion, according to the ancient writers, Klaros was the sanctuary of Kolophon.²⁵⁵ Here again, the problem of the names of the cities appears.²⁵⁶ Rubinstein states that according to Thukydides, the territory of Kolophon contained both Klaros and the harbor town Notion.²⁵⁷ What really matters is that these two cities had control over the sanctuary in its later history.²⁵⁸ Which city first had the control over the sanctuary, or whether they were equal in power are still open questions. However, as the establishment of the sanctuary goes back to the 13th century B.C.E.,²⁵⁹ which is supported by literary sources and recent archaeological evidence, the strong possibility of the independence of Klaros, as an extra-urban sanctuary, in its early history should be considered.²⁶⁰

Two incidents are said to have marked the Archaic period of Kolophon: emigration of a group to Smyrna, which ended with Smyrna turning into an Ionian city,²⁶¹ and the Lydian invasion of Kolophon in the seventh century B.C.E..²⁶² The invasion must be related with the prosperity of the Kolophonian land.²⁶³ Following the

²⁵³ See Rousset 2014, 51–54 for the discussion on Kolophon and Notion.

²⁵⁴ Şahin 2007, 343–352.

²⁵⁵ Strabo 14.1.27; Paus. 7.5.10.

²⁵⁶ Since the problem of Kolophon and Notion is not the subject of this study, I will not be discussing it in detail.

²⁵⁷ Rubinstein 2004, 1078. Also see Thuk. 3.34.1.

²⁵⁸ Numismatic evidence expresses the sanctuary's link with Kolophon, as the head of Apollo appears on the coinage of the city.

²⁵⁹ Paus. 7.3.1–2; Apol. Rhod. 1.308. Although these writers do not give the exact same information about the Cretans' and Achaeans' coming to the area, and the foundation of the sanctuary, they agree on the date of its establishment – in the Late Bronze Age – and Manto as the founder of the sanctuary. Discussions on the foundation myths of Kolophon and the sanctuary at Klaros can be found in Sakellariou 1958, 146–172; Parke 1985, 112–123 Şahin 2012, 252–257; Mac Sweeney 2013, 104–122. Also see the previous section for the foundation myths.

²⁶⁰ The recent excavations at Klaros revealed evidence from as early as the 13th century B.C.E. Şahin et al. 2009, 113–123; Şahin et al. 2010, 247–255; Şahin 2011, 151–163; Şahin and Debord 2011, 169–204; Şahin 2012, 252–269; Şahin 2015a, 587–596. Also see Günata in press for the discussion on the sanctuary's extra-urban position, and analysis.

²⁶¹ Hdt. 1.16.2, 1.150.1–2. Also see Rubinstein 2004, 1078, 1099.

²⁶² Hdt. 1.14.4.

²⁶³ Arist. *Pol.* 4.1290b.

conquest of Gyges in the seventh century B.C.E., a strong Lydian influence can be seen in the material culture and in some social practices of Kolophon. According to the excavation notebooks from 1922 (of Goldman and Meritt), examples of characteristic Lydian marbled ware were found in the city's domestic area.²⁶⁴ On the other hand, the archaeological excavations at Klaros revealed no material related to Lydia. The Archaic and Classical periods of the sanctuary are mainly known from the archaeological excavations, which will be discussed in the following section. From a numismatic point, it is clear that Apollo and Artemis were highly respected at Kolophon, since their heads were on the Kolophonion silver and bronze coinage starting from the sixth century B.C.E.²⁶⁵

The Persian conquest of western Anatolia in the fifth century B.C.E., specifically of Kolophon in 430 B.C.E., left material evidence in the sanctuary.²⁶⁶ Thukydides gives clear information about the topography of Klaros in the fifth century B.C.E.²⁶⁷ According to his narrative, a Spartan admiral anchored in the harbor of Klaros while he was hiding from the Athenians. From this passage, we can extract that Klaros had a harbor in the fifth century B.C.E. Recent geographic and geophysical research in the area also revealed that Klaros was located by a bay in the first millennium B.C.E.²⁶⁸ While Kolophon was on the side of Persians from the beginning of the Persian conquest of Anatolia, Notion held the Athenian side until Athens was defeated.²⁶⁹ Following the defeat of Athens and the Peace of Antalkidas (the King's Peace) in 387 B.C.E., Notion went under Persian control and stayed as one of the

²⁶⁴ The Kolophon notebooks of 1922 can be found in the archives in Athens. Also see Mac Sweeney 2013, 123–128 for the Lydian influence in Kolophon. Mac Sweeney states that a social practice mentioned by Pausanias – dog sacrifice – must be Lydian influence (2013, 126).

²⁶⁵ Rubinstein 2004, 1080; Kim and Kroll 2008, 53–103, pls. 12–36.

²⁶⁶ For the Persian invasion and Kolophon's response, see Rubinstein 2004, 1078.

²⁶⁷ Thuk. 3.33.

²⁶⁸ Kayan 1996, 1–24; Doğan 2008, 111, 129–132. See map 4.

²⁶⁹ Şahin 1998, 13–14.

Persian stations until the conquest of the Persians by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C.E.²⁷⁰

In the ancient Greek world, especially in the Hellenistic and Roman period, sanctuaries were places to publish and display various texts on permanent material, such as metal or stone.²⁷¹ These engraved monuments displayed different types of texts, such as laws, decrees, letters, religious regulations, honorary inscriptions, or dedications to deities. As Mari describes Delphi as an “epigraphic museum” for displaying hundreds of inscriptions, we may also use the same term for Klaros.²⁷² The sanctuary at Klaros provides an extensive amount of inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.²⁷³ These inscriptions reveal information about the later history of the sanctuary, including the benefactors who supported construction projects in the sanctuary. Although the early history of the sanctuary is less well-known, the Hellenistic and Roman period of Klaros can be clearly read through the inscriptions found in the sanctuary, Kolophon and Notion, and also in many other cities who consulted the oracle at Klaros.²⁷⁴ It was the time of Alexander the Great when the sanctuary became famous in the Greek world. Pausanias narrates Alexander’s dream about moving Smyrna to a new spot, and his sending his general to consult Apollo at Klaros.²⁷⁵ It is also the time of the start of personal appeals to Apollo Klarios.²⁷⁶

After the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.E., the Greek world entered chaos caused by the conflicts among the generals of Alexander.²⁷⁷ Antigonos *Monophtalmos*

²⁷⁰ Şahin 1998, 14.

²⁷¹ Liddel and Low 2013, 1–6.

²⁷² Mari 2013, 126.

²⁷³ See Robert and Robert 1989, and especially Ferrary 2014 for an extensive analysis of the Klaros inscriptions. Also see Rousset 2014.

²⁷⁴ Robert and Robert 1989; Müller and Prost 2013, 93–126; Ferrary 2014; Rousset 2014. Also see Akar Tanriver 2009, 105–109 for some of the monuments found in the sanctuary.

²⁷⁵ Paus. 7.5.1; also see Şahin 1998, 23.

²⁷⁶ Şahin 1998, 23.

²⁷⁷ For the conflicts among the generals of Alexander after his death, see Errington, 2008.

(“the one eyed”) took over control and arrived in Kolophon around 311–306 B.C.E.²⁷⁸ According to a decree that was found at the Metroon in Kolophon, Antigonos started an extensive reconstruction and reorganization movement in the city, and a number of people, whose names were listed on the decree, donated a large amount of money during this project in 311–306 B.C.E.²⁷⁹ The sanctuary at Klaros also went under a comprehensive reconstruction process as part of Antigonos’ project.²⁸⁰ The recent research in the sanctuary revealed supporting evidence for the reconstruction of Antigonos.²⁸¹ However, the construction of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo and the Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector had to stop at another historical turning point. After Antigonos’ death in 301 B.C.E., another general of Alexander, Lysimakhos, obtained power, and took control of Asia Minor.²⁸² Lysimakhos’ first action in the area was rebuilding Ephesos on a new site nearby, renaming the city after his Ptolemaic wife Arsinoe, and moving the citizens of Kolophon to the new city forcefully in 294 B.C.E.²⁸³ With this political change in Kolophon, the construction of the temples at Klaros must have had to stop. However, according to an honorary decree of the second century B.C.E. that was found in the sanctuary, the residents who had to move to a new city returned back to Kolophon in 289 B.C.E. thanks to an intervention of Prepelaos – the lieutenant of Lysimakhos.²⁸⁴ After the return of the citizens of Kolophon, a *sympoliteia* (an agreement on merging two cities) was signed between

²⁷⁸ Şahin 1998, 14–15. See Errington 2008, 28–35 for the rule of Antigonos in Anatolia.

²⁷⁹ Meritt 1935, 359–379; Rousset in press.

²⁸⁰ See following section for the architectural phasing of the sanctuary.

²⁸¹ Information based on excavation notebooks.

²⁸² See Errington 2008, 51–62 for the period after the death of Antigonos, and the rule of Lysimakhos together with Demetrios and Seleukos. Also see Errington 2008, 63–76 for an overview of the first generation kings after the death of Alexander.

²⁸³ Strabo 14.1.21; Paus. 1.9.7, 7.3–5; Robert 1989, 81–85; Cohen 1995, 184–186; Errington 2008, 57; Şahin et. al 2016, 442–443.

²⁸⁴ Robert and Robert 1989, 63–104; Rousset in press.

Kolophon and Notion, but did not last long.²⁸⁵ Notion seems to have been in power after the third century B.C.E. Numerous decrees that were found in the sanctuary showed that both cities, Kolophon and Notion, had extremely chaotic and unsteady political conditions during the Hellenistic period.²⁸⁶

What really interests us in the scope of this study is that the sanctuary at Klaros underwent another extensive reconstruction project starting from the third century B.C.E., under the rule of the Pergamon Kingdom from Attalos I to Eumenes II.²⁸⁷ The construction of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo and that of the Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector had to stop with Lysimakhos' political move. The construction of these structures restarted with Attalos I and continued until the end of the life of the sanctuary in the fourth century C.E. Even in the time of Pausanias in the second century C.E., the temple of Apollo was still under construction.²⁸⁸ In the second century B.C.E., the construction project was extended by involving the whole sanctuary.²⁸⁹ Many of the presently visible remains at Klaros were built in the second and first centuries B.C.E., such as the *propylon*, the altars, the honorary monuments erected for Menippos and Ptolemaios, the *eksedrai* and the *hecatomb*.²⁹⁰ While the constructions continued in the sanctuary, the religious life at Klaros also seems to have continued without interruption, until its abandonment in the fourth century C.E. It is known that personal applications started in the third century B.C.E. with Alexander at Klaros.²⁹¹ After that the personal consultations continued with increase towards the

²⁸⁵ Şahin 1998, 15; Gauthier 2003, 61–100; Rousset in press. See especially Rousset 2014, 3–98 and Rousset in press for the relation of Kolophon and Notion.

²⁸⁶ Robert and Robert 1989; Gauthier 2003, 61–100; Rousset 2014, 3–98; Rousset in press.

²⁸⁷ Şahin 1998, 15.

²⁸⁸ Paus. 7.5.4. Pausanias describes the temple of Apollo at Klaros unfinished and compares it to the temple of Apollo at Didyma.

²⁸⁹ La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 197–210.

²⁹⁰ For the second century B.C.E. organization of the sanctuary, see La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 197–210. For the honorary monuments of Polemaios and Menippos, see Robert and Robert 1989.

²⁹¹ Şahin 1998, 23.

Roman period. The second century C.E. actually was the period that the oracular sanctuary of Apollo became extremely prominent.²⁹² Delegations and personal applications from close and distant cities continued until the fourth century C.E.²⁹³ It is also important that the Klarian cult of Apollo spread in Anatolia especially in the Imperial period. For example, the native cult of Apollo was assimilated to that of the Klarian Apollo in the Imperial period at Sagalassos and Isinda.²⁹⁴ A monumental cult statue of Apollo Klarios was found in the *nymphaeum* nearby the sanctuary of the god at Sagalassos. Together with the presence of the prominent Klareian games in the city, Talloen suggests that Apollo Klarios might have been the most important deity of the city in the Imperial period.²⁹⁵ Apollo Klarios also appears on the coins of Kremna, another Pisidian site during the reign of Caracalla in the third century C.E.²⁹⁶ Another evidence for the importance of the Klarian cult is provided by Pausanias. According to the author, a statue of the Klarian Apollo was erected in the forum at Korinth in the Roman period.²⁹⁷ An inscription from Klaros recording a delegation from Korinth to Klaros during the reign of Hadrian is a secure indication of the connection between Korinth and Klaros.²⁹⁸ No Byzantine architectural remains have been found in the sanctuary, except part of a single wall with north–south direction in trench I13 to the northeast of the Late Hellenistic temple.²⁹⁹

²⁹² See previous note.

²⁹³ See Akar Tanriver 2009, 457–467 for the personal applications and for the cities sent delegations to the sanctuary.

²⁹⁴ Talloen 2015, 181.

²⁹⁵ See previous note.

²⁹⁶ Talloen 2015, 182–183.

²⁹⁷ Paus. 2.2.8.

²⁹⁸ Bookidis and Strout 2004, 404.

²⁹⁹ Şahin et al. 2005, 296.

III.6 Phases and Chronology

The phasing of the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros has been divided according to architectural remains, features or surfaces that have been dated in accordance with coins, ceramics and certain stylistic chronology of small finds. The contexts are summarized in Table 1. This section will give a brief overview of the development of the sanctuary as a whole. A more specific discussion of the archaeological evidence from the Artemis sector will be given in the subsequent chapters.

Table 1: Phases and Contexts for the sanctuary at Klaros

Time Period	Context
Late Bronze Age 13 th century B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No architectural remains
LBA / EIA transition 1190/1180–1050/1000 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circular altar, square K15
Protogeometric 1050/1000–900 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circular altar, square K15
Geometric 900–750 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circular altar, square K15 • MN14 feature, square MN14 • Circular pit, square J16
Late Geometric / Early Archaic 750–650/630 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-circular altar, square K15 • Archaic building, squares I14–16/J15–16 • Archaic altar, squares IJ 16–17 • Circular pit, square J16
Archaic 650/630–480 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rectangular altar, squares J–L 15–16 • Archaic building, squares I14–16/J15–16 • Archaic building, squares MN 12–14 • Archaic altar, squares IJ 16–17 • Circular pit, square J16 • Terracotta feature, squares IJ17 • Archaic altar, square L15 • Sacred way • Archaic <i>temenos</i> walls

Classical 480–330 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing usage of the existing structures
Hellenistic 330–30 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hellenistic temple of Apollo • Hellenistic altar of Apollo • Early Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector • Early Hellenistic altar, squares IJ16–17 • Horseshoe-shaped structure, square J16 • Late Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector • Late Hellenistic altar, squares IJ17 • Rectangular blocks (Hecatomb) • Small stone features, square I17 • Gateway structure (<i>propylon</i>) • Sacred Way • Honorific monuments
Roman 30 B.C.E.–4 th century C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing usage of the late Hellenistic structures
Late Antique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No activity

According to the recent research, the chronology of the sanctuary at Klaros extends back to the Late Bronze Age,³⁰⁰ Investigations in the region also revealed evidence for Bronze Age settlements in and around the land of Kolophon.³⁰¹ Although no architectural remains from the Late Bronze Age have been discovered in the sanctuary, a small number of pottery sherds, figurines, examples of bronze arrowheads and knives, and fibulae of Mycenaean type indicate activity in the 13th century B.C.E. at Klaros.³⁰² The earliest cult activity close to the sanctuary comes from a cave, Demirli Mağara, to the northeast of Klaros. Schuchhardt, who located the cave on Mt.

³⁰⁰ Şahin and Debord 2011.

³⁰¹ For the evidence for the Bronze Age occupation in this region (Kolophon, Bakla Tepe, Kocabaş Tepe, Halil Ağa Tepesi) see: Goldman 1923, 68; Holland 1944, 91–171; Bridges 1974, 264–266; Erkanal and Özkan 1999, 14–42; Şahin 2007, 333; Mariaud 2011, 687–703.

³⁰² Nuran Şahin considers these objects as votive offerings and suggests the existence of cult activity at Klaros in the Late Bronze Age (Şahin and Debord 2011).

Gallesion in 1886, claimed that Demirli Mağara was the place of prophecy.³⁰³ Macridy and Picard also suggested that prophecy took place in Demirli Mağara in the early period of the sanctuary.³⁰⁴ However, later studies revealed that this cave was related to a cult of a female nature deity.³⁰⁵ Material evidence indicates that the cave was in use from the Chalcolithic period into the Roman era.³⁰⁶

Klaros must have been a sacred place before the arrival of Apollo in the area. Besides the above mentioned cave, a Late Bronze Age female figurine found in the Apollo sector in 2009 indicates the possibility of an earlier female deity at Klaros.³⁰⁷ The figurine represents a female in labor (**fig. 3**). Şahin identifies this figurine as the Mother Goddess who was worshipped at Klaros before the foundation of oracle.

The earliest architectural remains of cult activity in the sanctuary is the circular altar of Apollo (**fig. 4**).³⁰⁸ Material, mainly ceramics, from the circular altar indicates activity during the Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age transition period at Klaros.³⁰⁹ Numerous animal bones with burnt marks, terracotta bull figurines in various sizes, and ash were found in the circular altar together with Protogeometric and Geometric pottery sherds and metal artifacts.³¹⁰ The circular altar might have been the center of cult activity in the Protogeometric and early Geometric periods of Klaros. The foundation level of a building in trench MN14 – to the south of the Hellenistic Apollo

³⁰³ Schuchhardt 1886, 430–432.

³⁰⁴ Macridy and Picard 1915, 39–41.

³⁰⁵ Bostancı 2002, 3–6.

³⁰⁶ Bostancı 2002, cat. nos. 157–188, pls. 52–61.

³⁰⁷ See Şahin 2015a, 587–596, for the Late Bronze Age female figurine from Klaros and the cult of a female deity in the sanctuary.

³⁰⁸ See Akar Tanrıver 2009, 77–83; Zunal 2014, 9–12 for the circular altar.

³⁰⁹ For the ceramics from the Late Bronze Age / Early Iron Age transition period see Zunal 2014, 146–149, 167, 181–183, 223.

³¹⁰ See Şahin and Debord 2011 for the Late Bronze Age material, and Zunal 2014 for the Protogeometric and Geometric ceramics from the altar.

temple – and the Artemis sector also revealed Geometric material indicating expansion in the activity in the sanctuary.³¹¹

The Archaic period at Klaros shows a change in cult activities with an increase in votive offerings and the emergence of the first temples of Apollo, Artemis and Leto. The earliest temple construction at Klaros started in the Early Archaic period.³¹² The circular altar of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods was out of use in the Archaic period and a larger semi-circular structure was built on top of the earlier one. This structure was left after a short period and a much larger rectangular altar was built over the early Archaic semi-circular one, which was kept inside the borders of the later structure (**fig. 4, 5**).³¹³ The new trend in building monumental structures in sanctuaries might have been one of the reasons for the construction of this larger altar. It also could have been simply because of the need for a larger sacrificial structure for the rituals. It is interesting that the character of the votive offerings started changing with the construction of the early Archaic rectangular altar.³¹⁴ Representations of the god as a lyrist, holding a *lyra*, in terracotta figurines became common instead of offering terracotta depictions of sacrificial bulls to the god. Additionally, one much smaller rectangular feature was placed to the south of the large Apollo altar – the Archaic altar of Leto according to Nuran Şahin – and another was built to the east of the Archaic building in the Artemis sector in the early Archaic period (**fig. 6, 7**).³¹⁵ All three of the

³¹¹ For the MN14 structure and the Geometric evidence see: Şahin 2011, 157–159; Şahin et al. 2012, 291–292; Zunal 2014, 65–66. See the chapter “Artemis at Klaros” in following pages for the chronological sequence in the Artemis sector and Geometric material evidence.

³¹² The Archaic temple of Apollo lies underneath the Hellenistic temple. See Moretti 2011, 299–300 for the analysis of the foundation of the Archaic temple. See the section “Architectural Remains” of the chapter “Artemis at Klaros” for the Archaic structures related to Artemis. The Archaic temple of Leto was uncovered to the south of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo and has been dated to the seventh century B.C.E. according to the material evidence (Şahin 2014, 13–17).

³¹³ La Genière 1992, 197–198; La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 184–187; Şahin et. al 2005, 292–293; Şahin et. al 2009, 113–118.

³¹⁴ Şahin 1998, 42.

³¹⁵ For the Archaic rectangular feature to the south of the Apollo altar see: Şahin 2011, 156–157; Şahin et. al 2012, 287–289; Şahin 2014, 14–15. For the Archaic altar to the east of the Archaic building in the Artemis sector see pg. 81–83.

structures revealed quantities of material from the Archaic period, which were interpreted as votive offerings from the Archaic period by the excavators.³¹⁶ However, the characteristics of the finds from the two smaller structures differ from those of the large Apollo altar.³¹⁷

The Classical period of the sanctuary reflects the political situation and events in the Greek world. The Persian attacks had an effect on the religious places as in all other aspects of life in Western Anatolia and the Greek mainland.³¹⁸ The Archaic structures continued being used for religious rituals in the Classical period and no construction of a new structure seem to have taken place in the sanctuary. Some necessary architectural renovation was carried out at the altar of Apollo, and the Archaic building in the Artemis sector in this period of time. Due to the destruction of the early Archaic rectangular altar of Apollo by the Persians, the altar was restored in the late fifth / early fourth century B.C.E.³¹⁹ The building in the Artemis sector underwent some minor renovation and change in plan following a flood in the fifth century B.C.E., which will be further discussed. Architectural evidence suggests a probable interruption or recession in the cult, especially starting from the mid fifth century B.C.E. The decrease in the amount of late Classical material in comparison with the Archaic and Early Classical period supports the architectural evidence. Nuran Şahin also suggests a break in the oracle at Klaros from the fifth century B.C.E. to the arrival of Alexander in western Anatolia.³²⁰ Nevertheless, the presence of Classical

³¹⁶ La Genière 2003, 197–204; Dewailly 2014, 87–88; Şahin 2014, 13–17.

³¹⁷ The difference and relation of the offerings to Apollo, Artemis and Leto will be discussed further on in following sections.

³¹⁸ For the social, economic and political life in the Classical period of Greek world see Cook 1961, 117–174; Mansel 1995, 253–432. Margaret C. Miller analyzes both parties – Greeks and Persians – in the Classical period (1999).

³¹⁹ Şahin and Debord 2011, 186.

³²⁰ Şahin and Debord 2011, 186.

material, even in reduced numbers, indicates that the ritual activity continued throughout the Classical period.³²¹

Following the Classical period, the sanctuary underwent a comprehensive and long-termed reconstruction project in the Hellenistic period.³²² As it can be seen in **Table 1**, numerous buildings and structures were added to the sanctuary. The largest of all is the temple of Apollo, which was also the only building that became close to being completed.³²³ Recent research has shown that the construction of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo must have started at the end of the fourth or in the beginning of the third century B.C.E., together with the Hellenistic structure in the Artemis sector.³²⁴ Both structures' foundations were placed over a filling that can be dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.E.³²⁵ However, this construction was disturbed by the exile of the residents of Kolophon Arkhaia to Ephesos by Lysimakhos in 294 B.C.E.³²⁶ A grading level of pebble and chipped marble covering the structures from the beginning of the third century B.C.E. was discovered in the Artemis sector during the excavation campaigns.³²⁷ The construction project in the sanctuary must have restarted in the late third – early second century B.C.E. It seems that the construction project continued for a long period into the Roman era, and was actually never completed.³²⁸ The sanctuary at Klaros was abandoned in the fourth century C.E. and was never occupied again.

³²¹ For the classical material, especially ceramics and figurines, see: Dallık 2009; Akar Tanrıver 2009; Doğan-Gürbüz 2012; Günata 2014.

³²² Şahin 1998, 28–49; La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 189–195, 205–208.

³²³ For the Hellenistic temple of Apollo see Moretti 2011, 289–299; Moretti et al. 2013, 235–244.

³²⁴ La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 206; La Genière 2007, 182.

³²⁵ Dewailly 2014, 95; Şahin et al. 2016, 442–443.

³²⁶ Strabo 14.1.21; Paus. 1.9.7, 7.3–5; Robert 1989, 81–85; Cohen 1995, 184–186; Şahin et al. 2016, 442–443.

³²⁷ Şahin et al. 2016, 444.

³²⁸ Şahin 1998, 28–49.

III.7 The Klarian Cult: The Divine Triad (Apollo, Artemis and Leto)

In this section, the Klarian cult of Apollo, Artemis and Leto will be briefly presented with a focus on the divine triad in order to better contextualize the cult of Artemis at Klaros.³²⁹

Klaros was one of the most famous oracular centers of the ancient Greek world, together with Delphi and Didyma.³³⁰ The Klarian cult of Apollo spread in Anatolia especially in the Imperial period. For example, the native cult of Apollo was assimilated to that of the Klarian Apollo in the Imperial period at Sagalassos and Isinda.³³¹ A monumental cult statue of Apollo Klarios was found in the *nymphaeum* nearby the sanctuary of the god at Sagalassos. Together with the presence of the prominent Klarian games in the city, Talloen suggests that Apollo Klarios might have been the most important deity of the city in the Imperial period.³³² Apollo Klarios also appears on the coins of Kremna, another Pisidian site during the reign of Caracalla in the third century C.E.³³³ Another evidence for the importance of the Klarian cult is provided by Pausanias. According to the author, a statue of the Klarian Apollo was erected in the forum at Korinth in the Roman period.³³⁴ An inscription from Klaros recording a delegation from Korinth to Klaros during the reign of Hadrian is a secure indication of the connection between Korinth and Klaros.³³⁵

As the Hellenistic cult statue group found in the Hellenistic temple of Apollo shows, Artemis and Leto were also the residents of the sanctuary (**fig. 8**).³³⁶ The three

³²⁹ The cults of Apollo and Leto will not be examined in detail, since Artemis is the main subject of this dissertation.

³³⁰ Delphi: Parke 1967; Lloyd-Jones 1976; Fontenrose 1988a; Morgan 2007; Didyma: Tuchelt 1984; Fontenrose 1988; Bumke 2006.

³³¹ Talloen 2015, 181.

³³² See previous note.

³³³ Talloen 2015, 182–183.

³³⁴ Paus. 2.2.8.

³³⁵ Bookidis and Strout 2004, 404.

³³⁶ For the cult statues, see Bourbon and Marcadé 1995.

deities of Klaros were worshipped in the sanctuary as the divine triad. In addition to the cult statues, the Apollonian triad was presented on Kolophonian coins, depicting Apollo in the middle seated, Artemis to his left standing, and Leto to his right also standing (**fig. 9**). As the cult statues and coins indicate, Apollo was the main deity of the sanctuary in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A second century C.E. memorial describing the dedication of three silver statuettes to the triad of Klaros is an indication for the long lasting tradition.³³⁷ The dimensional difference between the Hellenistic temples of Apollo and Artemis also supports this hierarchical order, since Apollo's temple is larger than the one of Artemis (**plan 2**). Unfortunately, we do not have secure information about a temple dedicated to Leto in the Hellenistic and Roman period. However, the Archaic levels of the sanctuary reveal more information indicating that Leto also had a sacred area at Klaros, to the south of the Apollo temple (**plan 1**).³³⁸

Even though Klaros has always been accepted as the oracular sanctuary of Apollo, recent research suggests that the god was not the first deity related to prophecy.³³⁹ The presence of a mother goddess is well-known in the Kolophonian land starting from the Chalcolithic period into Roman era.³⁴⁰ While Meter Galesia was widely worshipped in the area as the mother goddess of the Mount Galesion and nearby city Metropolis,³⁴¹ Meter Antaia was the main deity of Kolophon.³⁴² In addition, the above mentioned Late Bronze Age terracotta figurine presenting a female in labor has been identified as a Mother Goddess by Şahin.³⁴³ In consideration with the presence of a female deity in the early history of the area, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

³³⁷ See pg. 68.

³³⁸ Şahin 2014, 13–32.

³³⁹ Şahin in press. I am grateful to Nuran Şahin for sharing this article with me.

³⁴⁰ See above pg. 56, especially note 307.

³⁴¹ See the section on the topography, pg. 38. For Meter Galesia, see Şahin 2015, 590.

³⁴² Şahin 2015, 590.

³⁴³ See above pg. 56.

describing an oracle given by Leto (Şahin suggests that this oracle was given at Klaros before the time of Apollo),³⁴⁴ and recent archaeological evidence – the seventh century B.C.E. temple and altar dedicated to Leto – Şahin suggests that Leto was the first oracular deity at Klaros.³⁴⁵

Artemis, as the third member of the triad, also has a sacred place devoted to her, in the northern part of the sanctuary (**plan 1**). Even though, the cult of Artemis at Klaros will be analyzed through this study in detail, it is important to emphasize her place in the Klarian triad. It is not possible to identify each deity's role and significance in the triad with the present evidence. However, the divine triad concept brings an Anatolian and oracular tradition into the subject. In Anatolia, Artemis and Apollo were worshipped together in many cult centers, such as Amyzon, Iasos, Mylasa, Myndos and Stratonikeia in Karia; Erythrai and Magnesia on the Maeander in Ionia; Hypaipa in Lydia; Limyra and Sidyma in Lykia; Side in Pamphylia.³⁴⁶ In addition to these centers, where we see the siblings together, in some cult centers, Leto, Apollo and Artemis appear as a triad, such as Letoon in Lykia; Didyma and Klaros in Ionia.³⁴⁷ It is known from inscriptions that Leto and Artemis were worshipped at Didyma beside Apollo.³⁴⁸ Even though the recent research at Didyma revealed evidence for the possible temple of Artemis, no information is available about one for Leto. Klaros is an extremely important site for the triad concept. It is one of the few sacred places where a group of cult statues representing the divine triad was found.³⁴⁹ Another oracular center where we can talk about the existence of the Apollonian triad is

³⁴⁴ *Ov. Met.* 146–203.

³⁴⁵ Şahin 2008, 218; Şahin in press.

³⁴⁶ Albayrak 2008, 56–150.

³⁴⁷ Letoon: Albayrak 2008, 136–137; Didyma: Fontenrose 1988, 134–135; See Bumke 2006, 215–237 for the importance of Artemis in the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma.

³⁴⁸ Fontenrose 1988, 123.

³⁴⁹ Şahin 1998, 40.

Delphi.³⁵⁰ Although no such cult statue group has been found at Delphi, the triad (Leto, Apollo and Artemis) is apparent on the pediment of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo.³⁵¹

Concluding Remarks on the Sanctuary at Klaros

This chapter has presented an overview of geographical, literary, historical, and chronological features of the sanctuary at Klaros. As one of the earliest and most important sanctuaries of the ancient world, Klaros deserves special attention. As presented above in the literary, historical and chronological sections, the sanctuary at Klaros was important with its oracular god Apollo, especially in the Hellenistic and Imperial period. The Klarian cult of Apollo was one of the most wide-spread cults in Anatolia, as the evidence from Sagalassos, Isinda, and Hierapolis shows. Even he was the prominent deity of Klaros, Artemis and Leto were also worshipped in the sanctuary. The three deities were worshipped as the divine triad at Klaros, as in Didyma and Delphi.

As it can be seen in the mythological section, the foundation legends of the sanctuary point to Cretan origin. However, due to the physical conditions of the sanctuary it has not been possible to reach the probable Minoan levels at Klaros. The underground springs and the high level of basement water at Klaros had been an overwhelming problem for the ancient residents of the sanctuary, and is still causes difficulties for the excavations. Therefore, no evidence for existence of Minoan culture and influence at Klaros has been detected until now. Future vertical soundings at Notion might be able to prove evidence for expected Minoan or Minoan influential material in relation with the history of Klaros.

³⁵⁰ For Delphi, see above note 330.

³⁵¹ Valavanis 2004, 236.

CHAPTER IV

ARTEMIS AT KLAROS

IV.1 Introduction

This part of the dissertation offers an analysis of the literary and epigraphic evidence related to Artemis at Klaros, as well as of the architecture, stratigraphy, and artifacts from the ‘Artemis sector’ at Klaros throughout the history of the sanctuary (**Table 2**).³⁵² Occasional reference will also be made to features in other areas of the sanctuary when it is necessary to explain the overall chronology and developments. The first section of this chapter will be the analysis of the literary sources giving information about Artemis at Klaros and epigraphic, and numismatic evidence from the sanctuary itself, especially from the sector related to Artemis. The second section of the chapter is organized chronologically with each context described in terms of architecture and stratigraphy, and related material – small finds and ceramics. This section will include a brief introduction with previous excavation history, description of the structures – size, materials, rooms, state of preservation, and some basic discussion of interpretation, especially controversies about chronology or phasing. The third section of the chapter contains a discussion of the material by types and classification, followed by a brief discussion. Interpretations of the structures with the

³⁵² A general chronological table of the phases and context for the sanctuary can be found in the third chapter, **Table 1**.

function and cultic aspects of the material are further discussed in the final discussion.³⁵³

The structures discussed in this study have previously been interpreted and labeled with certain architectural functions, such as temple, and altar. The previous architectural labeling system will be applied throughout this dissertation in order to avoid any confusion in assigning different names to the same structures. However, this does not mean that the previous interpretations will be accepted without any question. It has been stated earlier in the introductory chapter that the architectural remains, related material including epigraphic evidence, statuary, small finds, coinage, and ceramics have not been comprehensively studied and brought together from the point of the cult of Artemis at Klaros. Therefore, following the examination of the original material from the structures included in this study, the previous interpretations and labels will be reviewed in the final discussion. Brief information about the previous excavations will be given at the beginning of each descriptive section of the structures throughout the present chapter.

IV.2 Literary, Epigraphic and Numismatic Evidence

Although the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros is extremely rich in epigraphic evidence – such as inscriptions, honorary monuments, engraved *krepidoma* of the temple of Apollo, engraved columns – very few of them are related to Artemis. First

³⁵³ The structures that are subjects of this study were excavated during the last three campaigns at Klaros; 1953–1961, 1989–1997, and 2001–2006. I do not have access to the data of the first two campaigns, except to the handwritten excavation notebooks of L. Robert (1950–1961), and of M. Dewailly (1990–1997), and some preliminary reports. Louis Robert's notebooks can be found in the library of École française d'Athènes. Martine Dewailly kindly provided a pdf file of her notes. Unfortunately, no other data (trench photographs, plans, material information, etc.) is accessible except a few excavation photographs in Nuran Şahin's archive. Robert 1956, 25–26; 1960, 58–59; La Genière 1992, 69–77; 1993, 37–45; 1995, 53–68; 1996, 47–55; 1998a, 745–754; 1999, 125–129; Şahin et al. 2003, 81–90; 2004, 73–86; 2005, 291–304; 2008, 427–448.

the literary sources and then the epigraphic, and numismatic material from the sanctuary will be analyzed in this section.

The only literary source that puts Artemis in relation with the sanctuary at Klaros is the *Homeric Hymn 9 to Artemis*.³⁵⁴ In this hymn, Artemis is described as coming from Smyrna to Klaros.

*“Sing, O Muse, of Artemis sister of the Far-darter,
arrow-pouring virgin, who was nurtured with Apollo.
She waters her horses by Meles with its tall rushes*

*And thence on her golden chariot through Smyrna courses
To Klaros, rich in vineyards, where Apollo of the silver bow
sits waiting for the far-shooting arrow-pourer.*

(.....)”

The earliest epigraphic evidence of the existence of Artemis at Klaros is an inscription on the leg of a *kore* (young maiden) statue of the sixth century B.C.E. revealing the name of the goddess (**cat. no. 1**).³⁵⁵ This statue was found near a Hellenistic stepped structure (“altar”) to the north of Apollo’s Hellenistic altar in 1959 by Louis Robert.³⁵⁶

“ΤΙΜΩΝΑΞ ΜΕ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ | Ο ΘΕΟΔΩΡΙΟ ΤΗΡΤΕΜΙΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ
ΠΡΕΥΣΑΣ”

“Timonaks, the son of Theodoros, dedicated me to Artemis as the first priest.”³⁵⁷

This discovery persuaded the excavator that the structure was the altar of the goddess, and that the sacred structures dedicated to Artemis were located to the north of the

³⁵⁴ See Athanassakis 2004, 52 for the English translation of the hymn, and 86 for the notes.

³⁵⁵ The statue will be examined in the material section.

³⁵⁶ Robert 1960, 59; Şahin 1998, 48.

³⁵⁷ Şahin and Debord 2011, 185.

sacred space of Apollo starting from the Archaic period of the sanctuary.³⁵⁸ The identity of Timonaks also has a significant meaning for the cult of Artemis at Klaros, which will be further discussed in the final discussion.

Nine small portable altars were discovered lined up to the northwest of the Hellenistic structure “altar” in the Artemis sector by Louis Robert in 1950s (**fig. 10**).³⁵⁹ Two of them revealed the names of Poseidon and Artemis Pythia. Although Robert interpreted the small altar with the name of Artemis as having been dedicated to Artemis Pythia of Miletos, as will be argued in the final discussion, it might have been dedicated to Artemis Pythia of Klaros. The small altars are contemporary with the second century B.C.E. Hellenistic altar in the Artemis sector.

A stele revealing the names of Apollo and Artemis in a ritual context was found in 1988 in the sanctuary.³⁶⁰ This is the first evidence that reveals Klaria as the epithet of Artemis at Klaros.³⁶¹ This decree describes the response of the Ionian league (*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων*) to a request of the Kolophonians related to an oracle demanding the revitalization of the annual (*πανήγυρις*) and quinquennial (*πενταετηρίς*) festivals in honor of Apollo and Artemis following a difficult period of war.³⁶² Two different dating have been proposed for the decree. Étienne dated the inscription to the third century B.C.E..³⁶³ On the other hand, Müller and Prost came to another chronological conclusion following their recent analysis of the inscription.³⁶⁴ According to the authors, the decree must have been erected in the second century B.C.E., possibly in 180. In consideration with this proposed date of the decree, the mentioned war must

³⁵⁸ Robert 1960, 59.

³⁵⁹ Robert 1960, 59.

³⁶⁰ Étienne and Varène 2004, 217, fig. 65. The stele was found between the Hierapytna base and Chios stele to the east of the sacred road.

³⁶¹ Müller and Prost 2013, 93–96.

³⁶² Müller and Prost 2013, 93–96.

³⁶³ Étienne and Prost 2008, 84.

³⁶⁴ Müller and Prost 2013, 96–98.

have been the one between the Persians and Greeks troubled the western Anatolia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E.³⁶⁵

According to a second century C.E. memorial, Caesar Germanicus of Bithynia dedicated three silver statuettes of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto as an expression of gratitude.³⁶⁶ This inscription indicates the existence and continuing worship of the Apollonian Triad at Klaros in the second century C.E. Archeological material supports the epigraphic evidence. A fragment of a silver statuette – a left arm – was found in a second century C.E. context to the east of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo in 2007 (**fig. 11**).³⁶⁷

The head of Artemis was featured on the Kolophonian coinage together with Apollo starting from the sixth century B.C.E. Henry S. Kim and John H. Kroll examined 906 silver coins of the sixth century B.C.E. from Kolophon.³⁶⁸ Besides, the Klaros excavations provided an important amount of coins.³⁶⁹ Most of the coins that were found at Klaros are Kolophonian minted.³⁷⁰ Although there are exceptions, the head of Apollo was the main identified obverse type of Kolophonian coinage, which is a declaration of that the Kolophonian people linked themselves with the sanctuary.³⁷¹ However, the head or bust of Artemis can also be seen on some coins from Klaros, especially from the Artemis sector. It should be noted that it can be challenging to identify the deity on coins when their names are not apparent, especially

³⁶⁵ For the Persian attacks in western Anatolia and the battles between the Persians and Greeks in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., see Mansel 1995, 253–432.

³⁶⁶ Ferrary 2014, 466–468, no. 191.

³⁶⁷ Şahin et al. 2009, 118.

³⁶⁸ Kim and Kroll 2008, 53–103, pls. 12–36. According to the authors, the hoard of silver coins are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Margaret Thompson identified the deity on the coins as Apollo mainly. She also described that a few of the coins possibly depicted Artemis (55).

³⁶⁹ For the coins of the excavations of Louis Robert, see Delrieux 2011; for the coins that were found in 1988–1997, see Amandry 1992, 91–99; Çizmeli Ögün 2007, 213–233; 2012, 57–74; for the coins that were found in 2001–2015, see Önol 2009; Delrieux 2014, 133–188; Şahin 2016, 147–162.

³⁷⁰ Çizmeli Ögün 2007, 213–233; Önol 2009.

³⁷¹ Kim and Kroll 2008, 55.

due to bad preservation. The earliest possible example with the head of Artemis from Klaros is a fifth century B.C.E. silver coin that was found during the excavation of the early Hellenistic structure in the Artemis sector (**fig. 12**).³⁷² Another silver example, possibly with the head of Artemis found during the excavation of the sacred road, has been dated to 375–330 B.C.E (**fig. 13**).³⁷³ One bronze coin of the first century B.C.E. depicts Artemis with her quiver as the huntress (**fig. 14**).³⁷⁴ A number of bronze examples depicting a standing figure with a *kythara* were found in different areas in the sanctuary, including the Artemis sector, and have been dated to the first century B.C.E.³⁷⁵ Although the standing figure was identified as Apollo by different scholars, Nuran Şahin argued that an iconographic analysis suggests that the standing figures on these coins represent a female (**fig. 15**).³⁷⁶ Şahin identified the female deity as Leto. However, the probability of the female on the reverse of the coins representing Artemis beside Leto should be considered. Şahin also suggested a different dating for the coins with female figures, based on their contexts.³⁷⁷ They were found together with third and early second century B.C.E. ceramics in contexts that provide a terminus post quem for the redevelopment of the sanctuary in the late second century B.C.E. Thus they cannot be after the second century B.C.E.

Other examples of Kolophonian bronze coins depicting Artemis, which are in the Ashmolean Museum collections (**figs. 16, 17, 18, 19**), are from the second century B.C.E. Roman imperial period (Trajan).³⁷⁸ Trajan's head is on the obverse on these

³⁷² Information is based on the excavation notebooks. For the coin see Önel 2009, 67 cat. no.1, pl.1; Delrieux 2014, 137 cat. no. 1, fig.2.1.

³⁷³ Delrieux 2014, 138–139 cat. no. 12, fig.2.12.

³⁷⁴ Çizmeli Ögün 2007, 221.

³⁷⁵ Delrieux 2014, 145–146, fig.6.137–160.

³⁷⁶ Şahin 2016, 147–162.

³⁷⁷ Şahin 2016, 147–148.

³⁷⁸ Ferrary 2014, 113–114; *RPC* III, nos. 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008.

coins, and an Ephesian type Artemis is depicted on the reverse with the legend “Artemis Klaria Kolophonia.”³⁷⁹

IV.3 Architectural Remains and Stratigraphy

IV.3.a Location of the Architectural Structures in the Artemis Sector

The area to the north of the Hellenistic temple and altar of Apollo is named “the Artemis sector” (**plan 2**).³⁸⁰ The attribution of this area of the sanctuary to Artemis is based on the evidence of the above mentioned *kore* statue dedicated to Artemis.³⁸¹

The sector that has been affiliated with Artemis forms a narrow rectangular area with structures placed in an EW direction (**fig. 20**). The sector has a complex stratigraphy as buildings and different features were built over each other and the space was reorganized several times through the centuries.³⁸²

The chronology of the main architectural remains from this sector ranges from the Archaic to the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods. While the Archaic structures are situated centrally in the Artemis sector to the northeast of the Apollo temple, the Late Hellenistic/Roman structures are pulled apart and located on the western and eastern edges of the sector (**plan 2**). This arrangement must have been related to the general organization plan of the sanctuary through time, especially the rebuilding project in the second century B.C.E., which will be discussed in more detail below.³⁸³

³⁷⁹ Ferrary 2014, 113.

³⁸⁰ Dewailly 2014, 85.

³⁸¹ This statue can be seen in the Izmir History and Art Museum. For the statue: Robert 1959, 58–59; Dewailly et al. 2004, 25–33.

³⁸² Robert 1956, 25–26; 1960, 58–59; ³⁸² La Genière 1992, 69–77; 1993, 37–45; 1995, 53–68; 1996, 47–55; 1998a, 745–754; 1999, 125–129; Şahin et al. 2003, 81–90; 2004, 73–86; 2005, 291–304; 2008, 427–448.

³⁸³ Şahin 1998, 28–49.

IV.3.b History of Investigation

The first phase of the excavations in the Artemis sector took place between 1953 and 1961 by Louis Robert.³⁸⁴ Part of a small structure to the north of the Apollo temple was first discovered in 1953, and was suggested as a possible temple of Artemis by Louis Robert.³⁸⁵ The rest of the structure was uncovered during the 1957 campaign.³⁸⁶ Robert explained that although no epigraphic evidence or material was found to attribute this building to Artemis, considering the existence of the Apollonian triad on Kolophonian coins, and the depiction of an Ephesian type image on again Kolophonian coins with the name of Artemis Klaria, he insisted that the building was the temple of Artemis. The discovery of a female statue revealing the name of Artemis on the northern side of a structure, which was located to the northwest of the Hellenistic altar of Apollo, led the researcher to affiliate it with Artemis too.³⁸⁷ Robert was confident that the area to the north of the structures dedicated to Apollo was the sacred space of Artemis in the sanctuary.

Following the work of Robert, the second excavation campaign in this sector started in 1988 and continued until 1997 by the team under the lead of Juliette de La Genière.³⁸⁸ The team first excavated the area between the great temple of Apollo and the small structure to the north of it, which was identified as the temple of Artemis by Robert.³⁸⁹ The results of the 1989 season were published in the first Klaros volume.³⁹⁰ The following excavation seasons, until 1997, revealed an Archaic building, which continued being used in the Classical period, and a rectangular feature to the east of it,

³⁸⁴ Robert 1956, 25–26; 1960, 58–59; La Genière 1989, 287; Şahin 1998, 19.

³⁸⁵ Robert 1956, 25. See pl.8 fig.3 in Robert 1956 for the discovery of the structure in 1953.

³⁸⁶ Robert 1958, 28.

³⁸⁷ Robert 1960, 59.

³⁸⁸ La Genière 1990, 325–340; 1992, 69–77; 1993, 37–45; 1995, 53–68; 1996, 47–55; 1998a, 745–754; 1999, 125–129.

³⁸⁹ La Genière 1990, 327–328.

³⁹⁰ Schwaller 1992, 65–90.

which was used throughout the Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic periods in the area between the Hellenistic structures that were discovered by Robert.³⁹¹ Martine Dewailly was responsible for the excavation of the Artemis sector between 1990 and 1997.³⁹² The researcher first interpreted and labeled the Archaic building as the “Archaic temple of Artemis,” however, as it will be further discussed in following sections, the unfamiliar plan of the structure raises questions concerning its function.

The next excavations in the Artemis sector took place from 2001 to 2006 as part of the Klaros Excavation Project by Nuran Şahin.³⁹³ Yusuf Sezgin was mainly responsible for the excavation of the Artemis sector. The team continued to excavate the structures that were uncovered during the earlier campaigns, and uncovered a new structure on top of the western part of the Archaic building that was left uninvestigated by Dewailly.³⁹⁴ In addition to the annual preliminary excavation reports in the *KST*, Sezgin published a brief analysis of the structures that were placed in the Artemis sector.³⁹⁵

The stratigraphy of the Artemis sector – as in the entire sanctuary – is extremely complex, in that later builders reused earlier structures, repurposed and moved blocks and statues, or dug foundation trenches or pits deep into earlier levels. The Geometric and Archaic levels have particularly been affected by later construction projects, leaving only limited evidence of building materials, foundations or very little of lower structures and making interpretation of earlier structures or activity challenging. Furthermore, the high ground water levels, and constant floods of the

³⁹¹ La Genière 1992, 69–77; 1993, 37–45; 1995, 53–68; 1996, 47–55; 1998a, 745–754; 1999, 125–129.

³⁹² Dewailly 2014, 85.

³⁹³ Şahin et al. 2003, 81–90; 2004, 73–86; 2005, 291–304; 2008, 427–448.

³⁹⁴ Dewailly could not conduct further research in the area of the Archaic building due to the fallen columns of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo; La Genière 1996, 49.

³⁹⁵ The *KST* preliminary reports include Şahin et al. 2003, 81–90; 2004, 73–86; 2005, 291–304; 2008, 427–448. For a brief analysis and interpretation of the structures in the Artemis sector see Sezgin 2008, 191–204.

rivers created immense problems for the ancient residents of the sanctuary, as well as for the modern excavators.³⁹⁶

IV.3.c Phases and Chronology

The chronological sequence of the architectural remains in the Artemis sector starts in the Archaic period and extends to the Roman era until the abandonment of the sanctuary in the fourth century C.E. The phasing of the Artemis sector has been divided according to architectural remains, features, or surfaces that have been dated according to coins, ceramics and certain stylistic chronology of small finds. The contexts are summarized in **Table 2**.

Table 2: Phases and Contexts for the Artemis Sector

Time Period	Context
Late Bronze Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No activity
Protogeometric 1050/1000 – 900 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No architectural remains • Ceramics, deeper levels underneath the Archaic building (“temple”) and area to the southeast of the Archaic building (“temple”), squares IJ14, J16 • Bronze fibula, deeper level underneath the Archaic building, square I14–15 (S3C)
Geometric 900 – 750 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ceramics and small finds, no architectural remains • Deeper levels in the Archaic altar area, IJ16 (S3K) • Circular pit (“votive deposit”) area, square J16 • Archaic building (“temple”), I14–16/J15–16 (S3C) • Deeper levels to the southeast of the Archaic building (“temple”), square 3A / JK16
Late Geometric / Early Archaic 750 – 650/630 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possible structure in squares IJ14–16, ceramics and small finds • Archaic building (“temple”), squares I14–16/J15–16 • Archaic altar, squares IJ 16–17 • Circular pit (“votive deposit”), square J16
Archaic 650/630 – 480 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural remains, ceramics and small finds • Archaic building (“temple”), squares I14–16/J15–16

³⁹⁶ Dewailly 2014, 89.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Altar, squares IJ 16–17 • Circular pit (“votive deposit”), square J16 • Terracotta channel, square IJ 17
Classical 480 – 330 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural remains, ceramics and small finds • Building (“temple”), squares I14–16/J15–16 • Altar, squares IJ 16–17
Hellenistic 330 – 30 B.C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural remains, ceramics and small finds • Early Hellenistic temple, square I14–15 • Early Hellenistic altar, square IJ 16–17 • Horseshoe-shaped structure, square J16 • Late Hellenistic temple, square IJ 11–12 • Late Hellenistic altar, square IJ 17 • Hecatomb, squares I–N 16–17 • Small stone mobile altars, squares I 17
Roman 30 B.C.E. – 4 th century C.E.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuing usage of the Late Hellenistic structures
Late Antique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No activity

IV.3.c.i Late Bronze Age, Protogeometric and Geometric Phases (1300 – 750 B.C.E.)

Since the foundation date of the sanctuary at Klaros extends back to the Late Bronze Age,³⁹⁷ and the earliest feature in the Apollo sector dates to the Protogeometric period,³⁹⁸ the possibility of cult activity in the Artemis sector earlier than the Archaic period should be considered. A small number of objects found in the sector of Artemis at deeper levels give some support to this possibility. The material from deeper levels in this sector includes mainly Protogeometric and Geometric ceramics, and a few bronze and silver objects, such as fibulae (see ceramics, silver and bronze sections).³⁹⁹

³⁹⁷ See pg. 55–56 for the Late Bronze Age, Protogeometric and Geometric period of the sanctuary.

³⁹⁸ Zunal 2014, 9–10.

³⁹⁹ According to the excavation reports of 1994, a bronze fibula of the 10th/9th century B.C.E. was found in the Artemis sector. Although La Genière claims that the fibula was certainly a votive offering to Artemis, it is not possible to know if it was Artemis who was worshipped there in the early periods. Fibulae can be found as dedications to different deities in many sanctuaries. Furthermore, we must

IV.3.c.ii Archaic Phase (750 – 480 B.C.E.)

Late Eighth – Seventh Century B.C.E. Remains

The main structures in the Artemis sector in the Archaic period were a building, which consisted of an entrance and a main room, and a rectangular structure in front of it (**fig. 21**). Although the earliest phase of the building extends back to the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E., research in deeper levels revealed seventh century B.C.E. figurines, together with other evidence for earlier activity.⁴⁰⁰

According to Martine Dewailly, who was responsible for the excavation of this area during the French campaign, the stratigraphy indicates earlier structures underneath the sixth century B.C.E. building.⁴⁰¹ A small part of a seventh century B.C.E. floor was discovered inside the western room of the Archaic building. As said, two slabs of limestone, which were part of this seventh century B.C.E. floor, beside the interior wall indicate an earlier structure underneath the Archaic building.⁴⁰² Unfortunately, the excavator could not conduct further research in this area due to the fallen column drums of the Hellenistic Apollo temple lying over the Archaic building. A concentration of stones and a part of a surface composed of limestone slabs to the west of the rectangular feature to the east of the Archaic building also suggest that it covered an earlier structure.⁴⁰³ Related material from these strata includes ceramics and small finds of the eighth and seventh century B.C.E.⁴⁰⁴ A deep sounding in the square front room revealed ceramics that can be dated to the second half of the eighth and seventh century B.C.E.⁴⁰⁵ Deep strata also revealed bronze and silver objects from

consider the question of its function, since fibulae can also be found in domestic or burial contexts. We need supportive evidence to clarify these arguments. La Genière 1996, 49.

⁴⁰⁰ La Genière 1996, 49.

⁴⁰¹ Dewailly 2014, 87.

⁴⁰² Dewailly 2014, 87, fig. 3.

⁴⁰³ Dewailly 2014, 87, fig. 4.

⁴⁰⁴ Dewailly 2009, 14; 2014, 88.

⁴⁰⁵ Dewailly 2014, 88.

the eighth – seventh century B.C.E.⁴⁰⁶ In addition, a significant amount of seventh century B.C.E. material was found during the research in the area between the Hellenistic temple of Apollo and the Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector in 1990.⁴⁰⁷ Two fibulae, a gold bead, and a bronze *phiale* that were found under the foundation level of the Archaic building's west room provide more evidence for the seventh century B.C.E. structure. The excavation of the rectangular feature of the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. (located to the east of the Archaic building), which has been interpreted and labeled as the altar of Artemis by earlier excavators,⁴⁰⁸ demonstrated that also this structure covers an earlier feature.⁴⁰⁹ Discovery of a concentration of limestone slabs along the west side of the trench, large blocks that served as a podium for the two statues of the mid-sixth century B.C.E., and a terracotta channel system that was placed under the construction level of the altar suggest that it was superimposed on an earlier feature (**fig. 22**).⁴¹⁰

During the French excavations, a stone pavement was uncovered to the south of the Archaic building's eastern room (**fig. 23**). Although no information is available about this pavement and its associated material, a photograph taken in 1990s, which is in Nuran Şahin's archive, shows a well preserved part of the stone pavement. A few limestone slabs are also visible on the stone pavement in this photograph. The slabs might have been a part of the foundation of a possible structure, and the stone pavement might have served as a bedding for it. As it can also be seen in the photograph, a thick layer formed of medium to large stones covers the mentioned stone pavement and the limestone slabs. This is the tenth layer in the stratigraphy of Klaros,

⁴⁰⁶ La Genière 1998b, 239; Dewailly 2009, 14.

⁴⁰⁷ La Genière 1992, 72; Schwaller 1992, 65–90, fig. 7–8.

⁴⁰⁸ For the interpretation on the Archaic altar see La Genière 1996, 50; 1998a, 747–748; 1998b, 242, 244; 1999, 125; Sezgin 2008, 194; Dewailly 2014, 87–89.

⁴⁰⁹ Dewailly 2009, 14.

⁴¹⁰ Dewailly 2009, 14; 2014, 87.

which can be seen in the entire sanctuary (**fig. 24, 25**).⁴¹¹ Due to the intrusions and alterations of later builders, the dimensions and plan of the structure stays unidentified. Material found in later campaigns in this deep strata (+0.05/-0.25 m) in different areas of the Artemis sector might have been related to this structure, or to an earlier phase. A silver ring, a bronze button, a bronze laurel leaf, bronze fibulae, silver bands, and ceramics that can be dated to the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. are among the material that could be associated with the structure with stone pavement. Fragments of wooden beams discovered underneath the tenth layer might also be related with the mentioned structure (**fig. 26**).⁴¹² Furthermore, eighth / seventh century B.C.E. material was discovered in deeper strata in the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector in 2006.⁴¹³

The evidence presented in this section shows that the sixth century B.C.E. Archaic architectural remains covered earlier eighth / seventh century B.C.E. structures. Since the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. remains were covered by the sixth century B.C.E. structures, it is not possible to discuss their function and plan at this point.

Sixth Century B.C.E. Remains

As stated in the previous section, a layer, designated as “the tenth layer,” formed of medium to large stones covers the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. levels in the entire sanctuary.⁴¹⁴ The tenth layer has been dated to the sixth century B.C.E. based

⁴¹¹ Şahin 2017, 398. This fill layer of the sixth century B.C.E. might have been used to prevent the increase in the ground water level, which has been a constant issue starting from the ancient period to the present day.

⁴¹² Information is based on excavation notebooks and photographs taken in the field during the excavation in 2001.

⁴¹³ Şahin et al. 2008, 429.

⁴¹⁴ See above note 411.

on the material, especially the ceramics associated with it.⁴¹⁵ Fragments of *skyphoi*, open and closed vessels, gilded bronze spirals, a bronze laurel leaf, and a gilded bronze arrowhead are among the material found in the tenth layer. The construction phases of the sixth century B.C.E. structures are contemporary with the tenth layer.⁴¹⁶ This stone layer was placed outside the sixth century B.C.E. structures covering the area up to the upper level of their foundations.⁴¹⁷ Wooden beams and in situ painted roof tiles (*stroter* and *calipter* fragments) were found above the tenth layer to the southeast of the Archaic building in the Artemis sector (**fig. 27, 28, 29**).⁴¹⁸ Traces of mud brick layers can also be seen in the trench sections, which indicates the existence of a structure with mud brick walls, and wooden beams in the early sixth century B.C.E. However, there is no evidence related to this structure's size, or function, except that it was covered with roof tiles, and that we know which were its construction materials.

Archaic Building "Archaic Temple" (sixth – fifth century B.C.E.)

The first structure to be discussed is a building, which was first excavated by Martine Dewailly between 1993 and 1997.⁴¹⁹ The excavation of the building was extended and it was reexamined by the team directed by Nuran Şahin from 2003 to 2004.⁴²⁰ Starting from its first discovery in 1993, the function of this structure has been subject to debate.⁴²¹ This building had previously been interpreted and labeled as a temple, however, the evidence for its function was unclear, and also due to its unusual plan with a wider entrance room, this idea was abandoned. The French team then

⁴¹⁵ Şahin 2011, 153; Şahin 2017, 398.

⁴¹⁶ Şahin 2011, 153.

⁴¹⁷ It should be noted that the tenth layer was not placed underneath the sixth century B.C.E. structures, but outside.

⁴¹⁸ Şahin et al. 2001, 83–84.

⁴¹⁹ La Genière 1996, 266; 1998a, 747; 1998b, 243, 246; Dewailly 2014, 85–89.

⁴²⁰ Şahin et al. 2005, 291–304; Sezgin 2008, 191–203.

⁴²¹ La Genière 1996, 49; Sezgin 2008, 192–195.

named the structure a cult building.⁴²² The same debate continued during the later research of the building. Yusuf Sezgin calls it an Archaic / Classical temple of Artemis.⁴²³ Nevertheless, the evidence for its function is still unclear and for now I will refer to it as the “Archaic building” in this descriptive section. The confusion about the function of the structure arises from its unfamiliar plan, which is not usual for Archaic or Classical Greek religious architecture, and this will be addressed in more detail in the final discussion, in which the function of the building will be further discussed.⁴²⁴

In the Archaic period, the structure would have been an impressive building located to the northeast of the Apollo temple. Sezgin has briefly published the architecture and a small part of the ceramics of the Archaic building from his work of 2003 and 2004.⁴²⁵ Some of the material from and around the structure has been published by the French excavators.⁴²⁶ However, neither the architecture nor the related material has been studied and published comprehensively. In the following section, the Archaic evidence is examined with an emphasis on aspects that will be important for the function and chronology of the building.

The building had a rectangular main room with a square porch in front and was oriented SE – NW. The complete length of the structure is 18.65 m. The porch is 9.30 x 8.70 m and the main room is 7 x 10 m.⁴²⁷ The porch is wider than the main room. The front facade of the building might have been open without any columns in the front and/or inside the porch, or it might have had four columns with cylindrical bases

⁴²² Dewailly 2014, 88.

⁴²³ Sezgin 2008, 192.

⁴²⁴ For Archaic and Classical Greek religious architecture: Bergquist 1967; Scully 1979; Bammer 1991, 63–83; 1993, 187–199; Jenkins 2006.

⁴²⁵ Sezgin 2008, 191–203.

⁴²⁶ La Genière 1998b, 242–250; Dewailly 2000, 343–348; 2001, 365–382; 2009, 13–30; 2014, 85–89.

⁴²⁷ Sezgin 2008, 192. Dewailly, the former researcher of the Artemis sector, gives different dimensions for the Archaic building. According to her, the complete length of the building is 17.30 m with a 9 m porch and a 6.80 m main room (Dewailly 2014, 85).

in front. Sezgin suggests that the four columns were added in the Classical phase of the building, but Dewailly asserts that the four columns might have belonged to the Archaic period.⁴²⁸ Orthostatic limestone ashlar blocks of the walls were placed over an *euthynteria*, which was also made of large ashlar blocks of limestone.⁴²⁹ The upper level of the *euthynteria* blocks is +0.17/0.16 m,⁴³⁰ (therefore the walls of the building are placed 0.17/0.16 m above the sea level). The maximum preserved height of the walls is 0.55 m, (therefore the upper level of the blocks is 0.72/0.71 m above the sea level). However, the south wall of the western room shows a different construction technique. The blocks are smaller than the others with their 0.33/0.34 m height.⁴³¹

Dewailly states that the related material provides a terminus post quem for the construction of the Archaic building, which is the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E.⁴³² Ceramics from the sixth to fourth century B.C.E. that were found in the building include a wide range of forms, such as *oinochoai*, *skyphoi*, cups, and *kraters*. The building also revealed objects made of metal and other types of materials, including gold and silver jewelry, bronze fibulae, and amber beads, which will be discussed in following sections.⁴³³ There are two different suggestions for the chronological phasing of the Archaic building. While Dewailly suggests that there were two phases with additional repairing of the flooring, on the other hand, Sezgin claims that four phases can be determined.⁴³⁴ Sezgin bases his chronology mainly on the exterior surfaces with close elevation to the floors of the building.⁴³⁵ However, his chronology for both the exterior and interior phases does not seem secure, due to the

⁴²⁸ Sezgin 2008, 193; Dewailly 2014, 89.

⁴²⁹ Sezgin 2008, 192; Dewailly 2014, 85.

⁴³⁰ The elevation of the structures and the material with reference to the sea level will be given here.

⁴³¹ Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴³² Dewailly 2014, 88.

⁴³³ See the section on the material.

⁴³⁴ La Genière 1996, 266; 1998b, 244; 1999, 125–129; Sezgin 2008, 193; Dewailly 2009, 14; 2014, 89–90.

⁴³⁵ Sezgin 2008, 193. See two charts in Sezgin 2008, 193 for the floor levels and the exterior surfaces.

lack of datable material and since he based his dating system on one or two pottery sherds from the layers around the Archaic building.⁴³⁶ In addition, accepting the contemporaneousness of the interior and exterior surfaces only because their elevation is the same or close seems suspicious in consideration of the general architectural structuring of Klaros. The examination of other structures from the Archaic period, such as the temple dedicated to Leto and the altar of Apollo, reveals that the walking level outside the structures was lower than their contemporary usage phase.⁴³⁷ The earliest phase in the square porch of the Archaic building dates back to the sixth century B.C.E. according to a test sounding beside the south wall in the room, carried out in 1996.⁴³⁸ The ceramics related to the first phase of the structure include Attic Black and Red Figure pottery fragments, and Attic Black Glazed cups of the sixth century B.C.E.⁴³⁹ The next phase is marked by a raising in the level that can be seen in the entire sanctuary at the end of the fifth century B.C.E..⁴⁴⁰ La Genière suggests that a final renovation before the abandonment of the building comprises its last occupation phase.⁴⁴¹ The last phase will be discussed in the Classical phase of the building.⁴⁴²

Archaic Rectangular Feature “Archaic Altar”

A rectangular feature (3.50 x 1.50 m), which is situated to the east of the Archaic building was uncovered in 1994.⁴⁴³ This structure has previously been

⁴³⁶ Sezgin 2008, 194–196.

⁴³⁷ The walking level was in alignment with the upper level of the *euthynteria* blocks of both the temple and the altar. This situation can especially be seen at the altar of Apollo, since its stairs are well preserved.

⁴³⁸ La Genière 1998a, 747.

⁴³⁹ Dewailly 2009, 14.

⁴⁴⁰ Dewailly 2009, 14; 2014, 89–90.

⁴⁴¹ La Genière 1998a, 747.

⁴⁴² See pg. 84–87.

⁴⁴³ La Genière 1996, 50.

interpreted and labeled as an altar, and as will be discussed there is good evidence that it did function as an altar.⁴⁴⁴ Therefore, I will refer to it as the Archaic altar. The excavation in 1994 and following campaigns demonstrated that this small structure has three phases and was used throughout the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods.⁴⁴⁵ The Classical and Hellenistic phases of this feature and related material will be discussed in related sections.

As it is asserted in previous sections, the Archaic altar covers an older structure. Although the date of this earlier structure is not clear, it is obvious that it was in use before the erection of the succeeding structure in the Archaic period.⁴⁴⁶ The first phase of the rectangular feature is made of beautifully profiled marble and the second one is of limestone. It seems that the earlier marble blocks formed a base for the second limestone phase of the altar.⁴⁴⁷ It is important that a second phase of construction can also be seen in the Archaic building in the Artemis sector, and the Archaic altars in the Apollo sector, which indicates a general reconstruction process in the sanctuary in the Late Archaic period.⁴⁴⁸ Related material, which has been found inside the foundation fill of the Archaic altar and around it, can be used to determine the chronology and function of the structure. The finds, which will be discussed further together with all related material from the Artemis sector, can be dated to the late seventh and sixth century B.C.E.⁴⁴⁹

A well-preserved terracotta channel system has been discovered to the east of the Archaic altar.⁴⁵⁰ It was made of slightly curved terracotta plaques. The elevation

⁴⁴⁴ For the interpretation on the Archaic altar see La Genière 1996, 50; 1998a, 747–748; 1998b, 242, 244; 1999, 125; Dewailly 2014, 87–89.

⁴⁴⁵ La Genière 1996, 50; 1998a, 747–748; 1998b, 242, 244; 1999, 125.

⁴⁴⁶ Dewailly 2014, 87, figs. 3, 5.

⁴⁴⁷ La Genière 1998b, 242.

⁴⁴⁸ For the altars of Apollo and Leto see: Şahin et al. 2009, 113–118; Şahin et al. 2010, 249–253; Şahin 2014, 14–15.

⁴⁴⁹ Dewailly 2001, 375–377; 2014, 91.

⁴⁵⁰ La Genière 1998a, 748.

of this terracotta channel system is lower than the Archaic altar's first phase. Therefore, it might have been placed and used earlier than the altar. A layer of fill underneath the fifth century B.C.E. surface has been discovered right on top of the terracotta plaques.⁴⁵¹ Ceramics and figurine fragments, which were dated to the early fifth century B.C.E., were found on this surface. Therefore, the channel system must have been out of use by the early fifth century B.C.E. La Genière suggests that the terracotta channel system was used to drain water from south to north.⁴⁵² However, the uppermost level of the terracotta plaques are +0.20 m at the south, and +0.26 m at the north ends.⁴⁵³ Therefore, any drainage direction from south to north seems impossible. Drainage must have been in the north to south direction.

Circular Pit "Votive Deposit"

A circular pit was discovered to the southwest of the Archaic altar during the 1997 excavation season (**fig. 30**). Although there is no written report about this feature or finds from the pit from 1997,⁴⁵⁴ it was reexamined in 2001, which revealed some significant evidence.⁴⁵⁵ This pit has previously been interpreted and labeled as a *bothros*.⁴⁵⁶ It is approximately 0.60 m in depth, and 1 m diameter. Excavation of this pit revealed a rich assemblage of different types of material from a wide time span, the earliest probably from the Geometric period, and the latest from the Archaic period.⁴⁵⁷ The material found in and around the pit includes gold plaques, a silver pendant, fragments of silver objects, and gold coated objects, bronze laurel leaves, bronze

⁴⁵¹ Sezgin 2008, 195.

⁴⁵² La Genière 1998a, 748.

⁴⁵³ Sezgin 2008, 195.

⁴⁵⁴ No information related to the pit has been published, nor can be found in the excavation notebooks.

⁴⁵⁵ Şahin et al. 2003, 84.

⁴⁵⁶ *Bothros* (βόθρος) is an ancient Greek word for a pit with a religious function dug into the ground. *LSJ*, see s.v. "βόθρος."

⁴⁵⁷ Şahin et al. 2003, 84.

fibulae and spirals, and terracotta figurines.⁴⁵⁸ The pit's upper levels have the form of a simple circular pit dug in the earth. However, lower levels show a special construction method and a specific purpose with equally spaced wooden posts. The wooden posts must have been served to stabilize the pit.

IV.3.c.iii Classical Phase (480 – 330 B.C.E.)

Excavations in the Artemis sector have shown that the Archaic structures – the Archaic building and the altar – continued being used throughout the Classical period (fifth – fourth century B.C.E.).

Continuing Usage of the Archaic Building “Archaic Temple”

The Archaic building in the Artemis sector continued being used throughout the Classical period.⁴⁵⁹ Dewailly states that the building underwent a reconstruction at the end of the fifth century B.C.E.⁴⁶⁰ A flood that can be traced in the stratigraphy might have been the possible reason of this transformation, according to the researcher. The front facade of the building might have been damaged or collapsed during the flood.⁴⁶¹ As a result, the foundation of the building must have been raised and the front facade must have been redesigned. The excavations demonstrated that the soil was heightened with 0.35 / 0.40 m of leveling fill in the whole area in the Artemis sector.⁴⁶² Sezgin suggests that the four columns in the front facade had been added during the redesign of the building in the fifth century B.C.E.⁴⁶³ On the other hand, as mentioned above, Dewailly considers the possibility of the front columns being from the Archaic

⁴⁵⁸ See the section on the material.

⁴⁵⁹ See pg. 78–81 for the Archaic phase of the building.

⁴⁶⁰ Dewailly 2014, 89.

⁴⁶¹ Dewailly 2014, 89.

⁴⁶² Dewailly 2014, 90.

⁴⁶³ Sezgin 2008, 193.

phase of the building.⁴⁶⁴ While the base diameter of the first column in the north is 0.70 m, the other three columns have 0.60 m diameters.⁴⁶⁵ The space between the central two columns (3.20 m) is wider than the space between the central and external columns (**fig. 31**). This suggests a possible entrance at the front through the columns. The inner floor also had a repair and had been raised with addition of a thin layer made of some sort of mortar.⁴⁶⁶ The addition of four columns inside the porch also might have taken place during the reconstruction project of the building in the late fifth century B.C.E.⁴⁶⁷

As stated earlier, the west part of the south wall of the main room shows differences in construction technique and material. The blocks of the wall in this part are 0.33 / 0.34 m in height, while the other walls have ashlar blocks that are 0.55 m in height.⁴⁶⁸ According to Sezgin, this difference suggests a second entrance at the southwest of the building in the second half of the fifth century B.C.E.⁴⁶⁹ Nevertheless, there is not any certain evidence to prove the existence of an entrance in the south wall of the building.

According to the reports, Dewailly suggests one Classical phase in the Archaic building, which has been dated between the late fifth and late fourth century B.C.E.⁴⁷⁰ A thick layer of silt, which must have been caused by a flood, and can be seen in the stratigraphy, marks the beginning of the second phase of the building and also serves as the fill layer of the Classical phase.⁴⁷¹ The fill layer contains ceramic sherds, including Attic Black Figure, Red Figure, and Black Glazed cups, bowls, and *skyphoi*,

⁴⁶⁴ See pg. 80.

⁴⁶⁵ Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴⁶⁶ Dewailly 2014, 89.

⁴⁶⁷ Sezgin 2008, 193; Dewailly 2014, 89.

⁴⁶⁸ Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴⁶⁹ Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴⁷⁰ La Genière 1996, 266; 1998b, 244; 1999, 125–129; Dewailly 2009, 14–15; 2014, 89–90.

⁴⁷¹ Dewailly 2009, 15.

non-Attic production of Black Glazed pottery samples, fragments of *amphorai*, and terracotta figurines that can be dated between the late sixth and the fifth century B.C.E.⁴⁷² Two consecutive floors can be seen in the Classical phase of the square room, a second one replacing the first floor after a short time.⁴⁷³ Dewailly points out that the second floor was much more robust than the earlier one. This hard mortar floor has also been determined by the later researcher, Sezgin (**fig. 32**).⁴⁷⁴ On the other hand, Sezgin asserts that three levels of Classical period flooring can be determined in the building.⁴⁷⁵ He divides the occupation phases of the structure into 25 to 50 year periods: 1. 525–500 B.C.E.; 2. 500–450 B.C.E.; 3. 450–400 B.C.E.; 4. 400–350 B.C.E, each referring to a flooring.⁴⁷⁶ As can be seen, the Classical phase of the building contains three floorings, the earliest continuing from the Archaic phase into the Classical period. He bases his chronology on the walking levels around the building and ceramics that were found on these levels.⁴⁷⁷ He suggests that the third phase of the building, and the fifth century B.C.E. walking levels in trenches I17 (to the north of the altar) and IJ16 (to the west of the altar) were contemporary due to their close elevation.⁴⁷⁸ He also suggests a 50 years time span for the third phase of the building, and another 50 years for the fourth phase.⁴⁷⁹ This division of time into artificial 50 year time periods create a problem. This chronology is based on stylistic analysis and the dating of a few ceramics from each layer and assumption of the contemporaneousness of the exterior and interior surfaces with close elevation.⁴⁸⁰ However, I do not agree that an inner phase at +0.60 m would necessarily to be

⁴⁷² Dewailly 2014, 90.

⁴⁷³ Dewailly 2014, 89.

⁴⁷⁴ Information based on the excavation notebooks.

⁴⁷⁵ Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴⁷⁶ See charts in Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴⁷⁷ Sezgin 2008, 193–195.

⁴⁷⁸ See phase chart in Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴⁷⁹ Sezgin 2008, 193.

⁴⁸⁰ Sezgin 2008, 193.

contemporary with an exterior walking level at +0.70 m. First of all, 0.10 m can refer to a significant time difference depending on the events that took place throughout the period. Secondly, the lack of datable material creates a problem in comparing the inner and outer phases. Finally, the general architectural structuring at Klaros shows that the walking level outside the buildings has been lower than interior floors of the same period.

Another layer of silt mixed with gravel covers the last occupation phase and marks the abandonment of the building.⁴⁸¹ This layer is only visible in the square porch due to the construction of a new structure on top of the west room.⁴⁸² A fill layer over the last floor of the Archaic building – the Classical occupation phase – contains fourth century B.C.E. material – Attic Black Glazed pottery sherds of the second half of the fourth century B.C.E., and some local production ceramic samples of the same period.⁴⁸³ According to Dewailly, the abandonment of the Archaic building must have been in the late fourth or early third century B.C.E.⁴⁸⁴ However, later research in the area, and the stratigraphy in other trenches in other sectors demonstrated that the fill layer must have laid down around the mid-fourth century B.C.E., or a little later.⁴⁸⁵

Continuing Usage of the Archaic Rectangular Feature “Archaic Altar”

The Archaic altar to the east of the Archaic building is the other structure of the Artemis sector that continued being used in the Classical period.⁴⁸⁶ As stated in the previous section, the elevation of the area was raised about 0.35 m following the possible flood in the fifth century B.C.E. This fill layer can be seen throughout the

⁴⁸¹ Dewailly 2009, 15; 2014, 90.

⁴⁸² Dewailly 2014, 92.

⁴⁸³ Sezgin 2008, 196; Dewailly 2014, 92

⁴⁸⁴ Dewailly 2009, 15.

⁴⁸⁵ Sezgin 2008, 196.

⁴⁸⁶ See above pg. 81–83 for the Archaic phase of the altar.

Artemis sector, as well as in the entire sanctuary. Dewailly states that a layer of gravel sealed the filling between the building and the altar, and created a path in EW direction.⁴⁸⁷ The layer of gravel continues all around the altar to the west, south and east, probably to delineate a sacred area. The Archaic *korai* stayed intact, but lower parts of them must have been buried in the soil, together with the lower part of the Archaic altar and the terracotta channel system behind it.⁴⁸⁸

Ceramics including Attic and non-Attic Black Glazed pottery sherds, *amphorai*, a few Korinthian *aryballoi*, examples from Ionian workshops,⁴⁸⁹ terracotta figurines, and metal objects found in the embankment around the altar have been dated to the second half of the fifth century B.C.E.⁴⁹⁰ The fourth century B.C.E. material over this fifth century B.C.E. layer indicates an uninterrupted activity in the area. In addition to the material, the existence of ash and burnt animal bones in large amounts might be useful to identify the function of the structure, which will be discussed further in the final discussion.

IV.3.c.iv Hellenistic and Roman Phases (330 B.C.E. – fourth century C.E.)

An extensive construction project, which started in the Late Hellenistic period and continued throughout the Roman era, substantially changed the organization of the sanctuary.⁴⁹¹ Most of the structures that were built in the Hellenistic period continued being used in the following centuries with small additions or renovations.⁴⁹²

An Early Hellenistic building, a horseshoe-shaped structure, a Late Hellenistic

⁴⁸⁷ Dewailly 2014, 90.

⁴⁸⁸ Dewailly 2014, 90, fig. 8.

⁴⁸⁹ Dewailly 2009, 15.

⁴⁹⁰ Dewailly 2014, 90.

⁴⁹¹ For the Hellenistic and Roman periods of the sanctuary see pg. 59.

⁴⁹² Şahin 1998, 28–44; La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 189–195, 205–208.

building and a rectangular feature were the new additions to the Artemis sector. The Archaic altar continued being used in the Early Hellenistic period with a renovation.

Early Hellenistic Structure “Early Hellenistic Temple” (fourth – second century B.C.E.)

A trapezoidal structure (8.45 x 5.00 m) was built over and within the walls of the western room of the Archaic building (**fig. 33**).⁴⁹³ Although the previous excavator of the Artemis sector, Martine Dewailly, realized that a new construction took place over the western room, no further research was conducted in the area due to later architectural remains (the fallen columns of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo).⁴⁹⁴ She suggests that the construction of the building was never completed. It was excavated comprehensively by Yusuf Sezgin in 2003, and it has been proved that the structure was actually completed.⁴⁹⁵ The size of the new building is smaller than the rectangular room of the earlier structure. This building previously has been interpreted and labeled as a temple.⁴⁹⁶ Therefore, I will refer to it as the Early Hellenistic temple in order to avoid any confusion in assigning a different name to the same structure. The function of the structure will be discussed further together with the related material in the final discussion.

The Early Hellenistic temple has two rooms; an eastern one (3.60 x 3.10 m) and a western one (3.70 x 3.30 m).⁴⁹⁷ According to Sezgin, the entrance to the building must have been at the east side, since the workmanship of the east wall was more elaborate than that of the others.⁴⁹⁸ Although I am not sure about the workmanship of

⁴⁹³ Şahin et al. 2005, 293–294; Sezgin 2008, 191.

⁴⁹⁴ Dewailly 2014, 92.

⁴⁹⁵ Şahin et al. 2005, 293–294, plan 2.

⁴⁹⁶ Sezgin 2008, 191–192.

⁴⁹⁷ Şahin et al. 2005, 293–294; Sezgin 2008, 191.

⁴⁹⁸ Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

the east wall of the temple, considering the organization of the sanctuary and general temple orientation in Greek religious architecture, an entrance from the east is logical – the temple of Apollo also faces east. The Archaic building's separation wall between the east and west rooms serves as the foundation of the eastern wall of the Early Hellenistic temple. The western room's elevation is higher than the eastern one. A square stone platform was placed beside the west wall of the western room. Sezgin asserts that this platform served as a base for a cult statue.⁴⁹⁹

Little datable material has been found inside the Early Hellenistic temple. However, the abandonment of the Archaic building is a terminus post quem for the succeeding structure, which is the mid fourth century B.C.E. The Early Hellenistic temple might have been constructed a short time after the abandonment of the Archaic building. We also have a secure terminus ante quem for the end of the occupation of the Hellenistic structure. A thick fill layer (between +1.66 m and 1.40 m) over the Hellenistic temple contains material from the third quarter of the second century B.C.E. at the latest.⁵⁰⁰ Fragments of a *lagynos*, moldmade bowls and coins have been discovered in this layer.⁵⁰¹ This layer – the second thick fill after the one in the fifth century B.C.E., which can be seen in entire sanctuary – lies over the Early Hellenistic structure. The abandonment of the Early Hellenistic structure, and the filling layer must have been part of the extensive construction project that was carried on at the end of the second century B.C.E. at Klaros.⁵⁰² Therefore, the Early Hellenistic structure must have been in use between the late fourth or early third century B.C.E., and the second half of the second century B.C.E.

⁴⁹⁹ Sezgin 2008, 191.

⁵⁰⁰ Sezgin 2008, 192.

⁵⁰¹ Şahin et al. 2005, 293.

⁵⁰² Şahin et al. 2004, 75, 83, fig. 1–2.

Continuing Usage of the Archaic Rectangular Feature “Archaic Altar”

The Archaic altar, which was located to the east of the Archaic building and was in use throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, continued functioning in the Early Hellenistic period, together with the Early Hellenistic temple.⁵⁰³ The elevation of the feature was raised by placing three rows of uneven rectangular stone blocks over the previous altar in the Early Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic phase of the altar (3.75 x 1.75 m) is slightly larger than the earlier one (**fig. 34**).⁵⁰⁴ Terracotta figurines and ceramics of the fourth and third century B.C.E. found around the altar clarify its chronology.⁵⁰⁵ The material indicates that the Hellenistic phase of the altar and the small Early Hellenistic temple located on top of the western room of the Archaic building were in use concurrently in the Early Hellenistic period.⁵⁰⁶

Horseshoe-Shaped Structure “Fountain / Naiskos”

A structure with a horseshoe form was discovered to the southeast of the Archaic building in 1997, and labeled as a “fountain building” by the French researchers.⁵⁰⁷ However, no evidence indicating a water-related function has been found in or around the structure. In later publications, Dewailly labeled the structure as a “*naiskos*,” and claimed that it was never completed.⁵⁰⁸ The structure has a square plan with an open facade to the east (**fig. 35**). Only the foundation level of the walls of the structure is preserved – the upper level of the wall blocks is +2.29 m.⁵⁰⁹ A large number of terracotta figurines of various types were found in front of this structure in

⁵⁰³ Sezgin 2008, 192; Dewailly 2009, 15.

⁵⁰⁴ La Genière 1996, 50.

⁵⁰⁵ Dewailly 2009, 15.

⁵⁰⁶ La Genière 1996, 50; Sezgin 2008, 191–192.

⁵⁰⁷ Şahin et al. 2003, 83. The excavation notebooks of 1997 reveal that the structure had first been interpreted as a “fountain.”

⁵⁰⁸ Dewailly 2007, 132–154; 2009, 13–30.

⁵⁰⁹ Information based on the excavation notebooks.

deeper levels during the 1997 excavation season.⁵¹⁰ She identifies the find place of the figurines as a “votive deposit.”⁵¹¹ Other types of objects, such as ceramics, bronze, gold, ivory and glass artifacts, were also found in the same area. The excavation and reexamination of the structure continued in 2001, and revealed a large quantity of Hellenistic terracotta figurines including examples depicting Aphrodite and Eros.⁵¹² Following the 2001 excavation results, the structure has been interpreted as a structure related to Aphrodite, according to the figurines depicting the goddess and Eros.

Late Hellenistic Structure “Late Hellenistic Temple” (third century B.C.E. – fourth century C.E.)

A small marble structure was uncovered to the north of the Apollo temple and to the west of the Archaic and Early Hellenistic structures in the Artemis sector by Louis Robert in 1950s.⁵¹³ Research in this area was conducted by Martine Schwaller in 1988–1990,⁵¹⁴ and by Nuran Şahin in 2006.⁵¹⁵ This building was interpreted and labeled as a temple by Robert and his interpretation has been accepted by later scholars.⁵¹⁶ As will be discussed further in the final discussion, the structure revealed good evidence that it functioned as a temple. Therefore, I will refer to it as the Late Hellenistic temple.

The Late Hellenistic temple (16 x 11 m) has a *megaron* plan with one square porch and a square main room (**fig. 36**). The foundation of the structure is immensely

⁵¹⁰ Dewailly gives two different information for the numbers of the terracotta figurines found near the horseshoe-shaped structure in two publications. She claims that the numbers of the found figurines were 214 in a 2009 article, but 141 in a 2014 publication. See Dewailly 2009, 15; 2014, 92. However, only 41 terracotta figurines can be found in the museum inventory.

⁵¹¹ Dewailly 2009, 15.

⁵¹² Şahin et al. 2003, 83.

⁵¹³ Robert 1958, 28–30.

⁵¹⁴ Schwaller 1992, 65–90;

⁵¹⁵ Şahin et al. 2008, 427–430.

⁵¹⁶ Robert 1958, 28; La Genière 1992, 13; Şahin 1998, 46–47; Şahin et al. 2008, 427.

strong with large stone blocks (**fig. 37**). Unfortunately, no upper structure that can be seen in the field now has been preserved. However, a few elements might have been related to the Late Hellenistic temple were found to the east of the structure. An Ionic capital and a fluted column drum were found in square I13/AC in Roman levels (**figs. 38, 39**).⁵¹⁷ Two Roman coins, one belonging to Philippos (244–249 C.E.) and one to Gallienus (260–268 C.E.), found together with these superstructure elements provide secure evidence for the date of the context. Lower parts of the volutes have broken off; the carving of the *kymation* between the volutes is deep; the abacus is intact. The fluted column drum was found together with a female statue fragment that will be discussed in the following section.⁵¹⁸ The diameter of the drum is approximately 0.90 m, and it has 24 flutes.

According to the excavation reports by Schwaller, a fill layer underneath the Late Hellenistic foundations was placed over a fifth century B.C.E. stone structure, from which we do not have any evidence.⁵¹⁹ Fragments of moldmade bowls, which were found in the fill, can be accepted as a *terminus post quem* for the Late Hellenistic temple. In addition to a Kolophonian coin from the last quarter of the second century B.C.E. found in the fill layer,⁵²⁰ a treasure of 164 bronze coins that was discovered under the foundation of the structure – on the south side – is significant evidence for the chronology of the temple.⁵²¹ The coins have been dated to 320–294 B.C.E.⁵²² Therefore, the construction of the building must have started sometime in the early third century B.C.E. However, as stated earlier in the third chapter, the late fourth

⁵¹⁷ Şahin et al. 2004, 75–76.

⁵¹⁸ See pg. 97.

⁵¹⁹ La Genière 1992, 73; Schwaller 1992, 76–78.

⁵²⁰ La Genière 1992, 73.

⁵²¹ Schwaller 1992, 70.

⁵²² Amandry 1992, 91. For detailed information and the analysis of the coins see Amandry 1992, 91–99 pl.1–2.

century B.C.E. construction project had to stop in 294 B.C.E., after Lysimakhos gained power.⁵²³ It seems that the construction of the Late Hellenistic temple restarted in the first century B.C.E. The *peristasis* of the temple was uncovered in 2006 excavation season.⁵²⁴ A first century B.C.E. coin found underneath the *peristasis* provides a terminus post quem for the construction date.⁵²⁵

Late Hellenistic Rectangular Structure “Late Hellenistic Altar” (second century B.C.E. – fourth century C.E.)

A rectangular feature, which has been dated to the Late Hellenistic period, was found to the northwest of the Apollo altar by Louis Robert in 1950s.⁵²⁶ This structure has previously been interpreted and labeled as an altar, and as will be discussed further in the final discussion, there is good evidence that it functioned as an altar.⁵²⁷ Therefore, I will refer to it as the Late Hellenistic altar. This structure (8 x 5 m) seems like a smaller version of the Apollo altar (**fig. 40**). It has three steps and a podium, a sort of *prothesis*, which carries the sacrificial table.⁵²⁸ An Archaic *kore* statue revealing the name of the goddess Artemis was found on the first step of the Late Hellenistic structure in 1959.⁵²⁹ A deep sounding in front of this structure in 1989 revealed that it was constructed in the second half of the second century B.C.E..⁵³⁰ The foundation fill includes fragments of second century B.C.E. moldmade bowls, and terracotta figurines.

⁵²³ See chapter III for the historical development of the sanctuary.

⁵²⁴ Şahin et al. 2008, 427.

⁵²⁵ Şahin et al. 2008, 428.

⁵²⁶ Robert 1960, 59; Şahin 1998, 46–48.

⁵²⁷ Robert 1960, 59; Şahin 1998, 46–48.

⁵²⁸ Weber 2014, 78.

⁵²⁹ Robert 1960, 59.

⁵³⁰ La Genière 1992, 71–72; Şahin 1998, 47.

Rectangular Blocks “Hecatomb”

One hundred blocks of marble were found in-situ in the area between the Hellenistic temple and altar of Apollo during the 1988–1997 campaign.⁵³¹ Iron rings were attached to the blocks. These blocks have previously been interpreted as a “*hecatomb*” system.⁵³² There are three lines of blocks in front of the Late Hellenistic structure in the Artemis sector, but four lines of blocks in front of the altar of Apollo. The entire length of the lines of blocks is almost 50 m in NS direction and 11 m in EW direction.⁵³³ While the north end of the blocks is in line with the north edge of the Late Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector, the blocks continue towards the south over the south border of the Apollo altar. Coins and fragments of moldmade bowls from the last quarter of the second century B.C.E. were found in the occupation level of the blocks.⁵³⁴ Fragments of moldmade bowls of the late third and early second century B.C.E. were also discovered underneath this surface.⁵³⁵

⁵³¹ La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 189–193.

⁵³² La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 189–193.

⁵³³ La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 190.

⁵³⁴ La Genière 1992, 71.

⁵³⁵ La Genière 1992, 71.

IV.4 Related Material

Objects related to Artemis including marble statuary, small finds and ceramics, are briefly described in this section according to material and type in order to give an overview of artifact types throughout the phases and areas of the sector related to Artemis at Klaros.

In this chapter, the subject material ranges from the Protogeometric to the Hellenistic period. Even though Roman era was the peak time for the sanctuary at Klaros, we do not have any material from this period. The reason for this is the earlier excavations took place at Klaros. The Roman levels were excavated in the beginning of the 1900s by Macridy and Picard, and in 1950s by Louis Robert. Unfortunately, these scholars did not pay attention to ceramics and small finds but only cared for architectural remains. Therefore, no material from the Roman levels can be accessible today.

IV.4.a Marble

Sculpture / Statuary

The earliest examples of marble statuary related with Artemis at Klaros are two Archaic life-size *korai* – draped images of young females. One of them was discovered on the first stair of the late Hellenistic altar by L. Robert in 1959 (**cat. no. 1**).⁵³⁶ The standing female statue's head and part of the left arm are missing (pr. height 1.36 m). Her body is frontal, but her feet are slightly turned left and the lower part of the statue is twisted. Her right arm is pressed against her legs and the left arm holds an object against her chest, though the object is not preserved. She wears a *khiton* tied with a wide belt on the waist and a short mantle over the shoulders. During the 1997

⁵³⁶ Robert 1960, 59.

excavation a lower part of another *kore* on a high cylinder base was found together with a rectangular statue base with an oval dowel hole to the south of the Archaic altar in the Artemis sector (**cat. no. 2**). An analysis of the 1959 *kore* and the rectangular base clarified that the base belongs to the statue.⁵³⁷ Both statues have been dated to the sixth century B.C.E.⁵³⁸

A Classical example of marble statuettes (pr. height 0.11 m) was found next to the Archaic altar in the Artemis sector. This small statuette is depicting a standing female figure wearing a *khiton* and a *himation* (**cat. no. 3**). Its head, lower right arm, hands, and lower legs are missing. This example resembles the fifth century B.C.E. statues with its posture (weight is on one leg), and depiction of the dress.⁵³⁹

Three examples of marble statues depicting females are smaller in size than the earlier *korai*. One of the three small statues (pr. height 0.65 m.) was found to the east of the Late Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector (**cat. no. 4**).⁵⁴⁰ Its upper body, arms, head and feet are broken. She wears a *khiton* fixed with a thin stripe under the breasts. Her left hand pulls her skirt. Although the fragment was found in a context belonging to the Roman phase, it dates (based on style) to the Late Classical / Early Hellenistic period, which is not surprising since all the other early sculptures were discovered in Roman levels.⁵⁴¹ This indicates that the statues of earlier periods continued being displayed in the sanctuary during the Roman era. Another small female statue (pr. height 0.44 m) was found between the Archaic rectangular altar of Apollo and the Archaic building in the Artemis sector (**cat. no. 5**). Its head, arms and

⁵³⁷ La Genière 1998b, 242, pl. 4.1; 1999, 125; Dewailly et al. 2004, 26.

⁵³⁸ For a discussion on the chronology of the *kore* see; Richter 1968, 24, 26; Ridgway 1977, 98; Boysal 1979, 25; Floren 1987, 396; Holtzman 1993, 811–814; Dewailly et al 2004, 21–33, figs. 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 2.

⁵³⁹ See Ridgway 1981 for the fifth century B.C.E. sculpture. Also see Pollitt 1988, 15–63; Boardman 1991; Woodford 2015, 75–103, 110–133, 138–142 for the Classical Greek sculpture

⁵⁴⁰ Şahin et al. 2004, 76.

⁵⁴¹ Dewailly et al. 2004, 5–59; Şahin et al. 2004, 76.

legs are not preserved. This statue probably presents a female and wears a *khiton* fixed with a thin stripe under the breasts. Although it was found in upper levels, stylistic analysis indicates that the statue should be dated to the Hellenistic period. The third female statue (pr. height 0.40 m.) was found in a Hellenistic context and should be dated to the Hellenistic period according to its stylistic features (**cat. no. 6**).⁵⁴² Its head, arms and legs from the knees are missing. She wears a *khiton* fixed with a thin stripe under the breasts. A fragmentary female statuette (pr. height 0.11 m) found in a mixed context wears a *khiton* tied with a belt under the breasts (**cat. no. 7**). Only the upper body is preserved. The style of the dress (a belt under the breasts) points to the Hellenistic style.⁵⁴³ Two different fragments of statue arms were also found in Roman levels. One of them was found close to the Early Hellenistic female statue and it probably is a part of the same statue, considering the size (**cat. no. 8, 9**). Both arm fragments should belong to statues of similar size. A fragment of marble statue hand was found in the area between two altars in the Artemis sector. The hand is black polished and has an elaborate workmanship (**cat. no. 10**).

The most recognizable of all the marble sculptures at Klaros are the cult statues of Artemis, Apollo and Leto with their massiveness – the pr. height of the statue of Artemis was measured as 5.90 m. by M. Bourbon and M. J. Marcadé (**cat. no. 11**).⁵⁴⁴ Considering that Artemis is the smallest of the three statues, it should be easy to imagine the impressive effect of the group on the visitors. The group of the statues has been dated to the second century B.C.E. by Marcadé based on style. The fragments of

⁵⁴² For the Hellenistic sculpture, see Smith 1991; Ridgway 2000; 2001.

⁵⁴³ See previous note.

⁵⁴⁴ Bourbon and Marcadé 1995, 521. See Marcadé 1996; 1998 for comprehensive analysis on the cult statue group at Klaros. The pr. height of the statue of Leto is 6.20 m, and of the statue of Apollo (up to the knees) is 2.80 m (Bourbon and Marcadé 1995, 521, 523).

the statues were found lying over the platform inside the *naos* of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo by L. Robert.⁵⁴⁵

IV.4.b Metal

IV.4.b.i Gold and Silver

Precious metals (gold and silver) have been mainly found in the sectors of Artemis and Leto at Klaros, mostly in secure contexts in different levels.⁵⁴⁶ A small number of them, which have been uncovered in different areas in the sanctuary, might have been relocated during reconstruction phases throughout the history of the site. The areas that revealed gold and silver artifacts in the Artemis sector are the west room of the Archaic building, the Archaic altar, the “votive deposit,” and the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple.⁵⁴⁷ In addition, some examples of gold and silver artifacts were found outside the Archaic building.⁵⁴⁸ The pieces that were found in these areas include gold and silver jewelry and adornments, a gold mask, thin gold foils, a silver arrowhead, and silver bands. These artifacts will be classified and examined according to their material and chronology on the following pages. Although it is difficult to date gold and silver artifacts, the clear stratigraphy of the sanctuary makes dating these objects easier, at least some of them.⁵⁴⁹ Examination of these objects clarifies that the existence of precious metals in the sanctuary – in the sectors related to Artemis and Leto – extends back to the Geometric period and continues throughout the following periods.

⁵⁴⁵ Bourbon and Marcadé 1995, 520.

⁵⁴⁶ Şahin and Günata 2016, 390–398.

⁵⁴⁷ La Genière 1998a, 746; Şahin et al. 2003, 84; Şahin et al. 2008, 428; Şahin and Günata 2016, 390–398.

⁵⁴⁸ Şahin et al. 2003, 82; Şahin et al. 2004, 75.

⁵⁴⁹ For the stratigraphy of the sanctuary at Klaros, see Table 1.

Gold

Jewelry and adornments comprise the largest group of the gold artifacts from the Artemis sector. Examples of gold jewelry and adornments were found in Geometric, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic contexts, mainly in or around the votive deposit, the Archaic building, the Archaic altar, and in the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector.⁵⁵⁰ These pieces include three gold beads, two gold pendants – possibly from earrings or a necklace, a gold chain, and a gold diadem with ionic *kymation* decoration. Gold plaques and small fragments of thin gold foils are included in this section as adornments, since the plaques were probably used to decorate a cult statue as in the case of ornaments from Delphi, or they are fragments of single dedications, such as diadems.

The earliest examples of gold objects were found in the votive deposit, in and outside the Archaic building, the Archaic altar, and the Late Hellenistic temple. A piece of gold foil (**cat. no. 12**), which can be dated to the Geometric period based on the stratigraphy of the sanctuary, was uncovered inside the votive deposit on the ground level –0.22 m.⁵⁵¹ However, an Archaic date is also possible, since the deposit was dug into the tenth layer of the sixth century B.C.E. A similar example of a gold foil was also found in Geometric levels to the east of the rectangular altar of Apollo in trench K16/D at Klaros.⁵⁵² Kerameikos and Lefkandi provide Early Geometric examples of gold diadems.⁵⁵³ Therefore, we can suggest a Geometric / Archaic date for the gold foil.

⁵⁵⁰ Şahin et al. 2003, 82–84; Şahin et al. 2004, 75; Şahin et al. 2008, 428–431.

⁵⁵¹ Şahin et al. 2003, 84.

⁵⁵² Şahin et al. 2010, 251–252; Şahin and Günata 2016, 392, fig. 3.

⁵⁵³ Lefkandi: *Lefkandi I*, 219–220, pl.227.b, 229.c, 232.a–d; Kerameikos: Coldstream 2003, 60, fig. 16b.

A miniature gold mask was discovered during a cleaning process of the north wall of the Archaic building's western room (**cat. no. 13**).⁵⁵⁴ This unique piece from the Archaic phase of the building – the 14th layer according to Dewailly's excavation notebooks – must have been a votive offering given its small size and elaborate craftsmanship.⁵⁵⁵ It might have been representing a child. It is also possible that it was attached to a wooden or an ivory figurine. One extremely important feature of this mask is an impressed seal of a *kythara* – musical instrument – on its forehead on the left. It is difficult to date this object. Since it was found beside the Archaic building's wall, it might have been related to the Archaic building, or to an earlier phase. The most well known gold masks of the Greek world are those from the shaft graves of Mycenae – extremely rich Bronze Age graves.⁵⁵⁶ The life-size Mycenaean masks might be accepted as antecedents of later votive masks. The seal on the mask might have been a manifestation of its being produced at Klaros, in the territory of Apollo.⁵⁵⁷

A twisted gold object – probably a child's bracelet – was uncovered in the Early Archaic level near the votive deposit (**cat. no. 14**).⁵⁵⁸ Besides, a thin gold foil was found in the Archaic level near the altar (**cat. no. 15**). My close analysis of this object in the Efes Museum depot revealed that it resembles a seventh century B.C.E. gold plaque from the Artemision of Ephesos.⁵⁵⁹ The Klaros plaque represents a female with big almond shaped eyes, long hair, an earring and a necklace. It might also have been a coating of a small figure – of wood or ivory.

⁵⁵⁴ The excavation notebooks reveal that this piece was discovered at a deeper level – 14/15 – beside the north wall of the western room of the Archaic building.

⁵⁵⁵ I would like to express my sincere thanks to Vivi Saripanidi who shared valuable information based on her research on gold masks in Greece.

⁵⁵⁶ See Castleden 2005, 92–93 for gold masks from the Mycenaean shaft graves, fig. 3.10.

⁵⁵⁷ *Kythara* is one of the musical instruments that has been associated with Apollo. The god has been depicted holding a *kythara* on many vases (see the *Beazley Archive*). This instrument also can be seen on Kolophonian coins.

⁵⁵⁸ Şahin et al. 2003, 84.

⁵⁵⁹ Scheich 2008, 183, cat. no. 6.

An electron plaque (**cat. no. 16**) was uncovered in the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector. The artifact has very fine craftsmanship and elaborate decoration. Seventh century B.C.E. gold appliques from the Artemision of Ephesos have the same quality and technique.⁵⁶⁰ Other parallels to the Klaros applique can be found in Lydian tumuli.⁵⁶¹ This type of applique was common in ancient Near Eastern art.⁵⁶² Their usage on garments in the Achaemenid period is well-documented in Classical texts, and known from the archaeological evidence.⁵⁶³ Examples of Achaemenid type gold appliques have been recovered from graves at Sardis.⁵⁶⁴

One small circular gold bead was found under the foundation level of the Archaic building (**cat. no. 17**),⁵⁶⁵ which is probably related to an earlier phase underneath the Archaic building.⁵⁶⁶ Similar examples have been found in Lydia.⁵⁶⁷ A larger gold bead was discovered in the Archaic level to the south of the Archaic building (**cat. no. 18**).⁵⁶⁸ This bead is formed of two joined conical pieces.⁵⁶⁹ Fragments of an elaborate gold/electron plaque (**cat. no. 19**), which might have been a belt or a part of an applique, and a probable gold diadem fragment (**cat. no. 20**) were discovered in Archaic levels around the Archaic altar.

A group of fragments of gold strings were found in the Classical level beside the altar (**cat. nos. 21, 22**). How these fragments join and the function of the artifact are not clear. However, it was previously thought that a fresco of a young woman

⁵⁶⁰ Scheich 2008, 203, cat. nos. 72, 74. Michael Kerschner (pers. comm.) has suggested the possibility of a single workshop that produced these appliques. Since Ephesos provides quite a number of these objects, a workshop near or at Ephesos might have been the source of them.

⁵⁶¹ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 166–167.

⁵⁶² See Oppenheim 1949, 172–193; Kantor 1957, 1–23 for the ancient Near Eastern appliques.

⁵⁶³ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 166.

⁵⁶⁴ For gold appliques from Sardis, see Curtis 1925, 11–13, pl. 1, nos. 1–11.

⁵⁶⁵ Şahin et al. 2004, 75.

⁵⁶⁶ See pg. 77–78 for the earlier structure underneath the Archaic building.

⁵⁶⁷ Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 182, no. 133.

⁵⁶⁸ Şahin et al. 2003, 82.

⁵⁶⁹ Earlier examples of this type of beads were found in third millennium B.C.E. contexts at Troy (Sazcı 2007, 214; Ateşoğulları 2008, 166, pl. 28.8).

(often referred to as Sappho) from Pompeii might give an idea about it (**fig. 41**).⁵⁷⁰ The young woman wears a gold headdress that seems like a gold hair net in this fresco.

A group of gold jewelry – two pendants, a chain, a diadem, a bead (**cat. nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27**), and fragments of gold foils (**cat. nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36**) were found buried underneath a surface of large stones in the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple, in trench IH12, together with third century B.C.E. ceramics and figurine fragments.⁵⁷¹

Silver

Examples of silver artifacts were found in different levels around the votive deposit, the Archaic building, and the Archaic altar.⁵⁷² A bow type silver fibula and two silver bands discovered near the votive deposit in the area between the Archaic building and the Archaic altar in Geometric / Early Archaic levels are the earliest examples of this group (**cat. nos. 37, 38, 39**). A twisted silver ring (**cat. no. 40**), and fragments of a thin silver plaque, probably an adornment (**cat. no. 41**), were also found in the same area in Early Archaic levels. A silver arrowhead (**cat. no. 42**), and a silver pendant in a wild goat form (**cat. no. 43**) are the other objects found in Archaic levels from the Archaic altar. Moreover, a silver medallion representing a head of a female or male facing left from the Archaic building presents fifth century B.C.E. characteristics (**cat. no. 44**).⁵⁷³

One silver pendant was discovered in a Hellenistic level to the east of the Archaic altar (**cat.no. 45**).⁵⁷⁴ The pendant has a simple bow shape without any

⁵⁷⁰ Şahin 2013, fig. 42.

⁵⁷¹ Şahin et al. 2008, 428; Şahin and Günata 2016, 392, fig. 4.

⁵⁷² Şahin et al. 2003, 82–84; Şahin et al. 2004, 75

⁵⁷³ Boardman 1991, fig. 10.

⁵⁷⁴ A similar silver fibula of the seventh century B.C.E. from Klaros can be found in Şahin 2014, 15, fig. 28.

decoration. Parallels of this pendant in gold were found on Delos, and dated to the Hellenistic period.⁵⁷⁵ Another similar gold pendant has been discovered in a Hellenistic context at Gordion.⁵⁷⁶

IV.4.b.ii Bronze

Statuary

This is a small category with some examples of possible fragments of bronze sculptures. Bronze fragments, including one possible fragment of statue hair (**cat. no. 46**), an eyelash (**cat. no. 47**), and a bronze fragment found together with an eye (**cat. no. 48**) support the existence of bronze sculptures in the sanctuary.⁵⁷⁷

Fibulae

Fifteen examples of bronze fibulae from the Artemis sector were discovered in Geometric and Archaic contexts.⁵⁷⁸ The earliest possible example is the violin bow fibula from the west room of the Archaic building (**cat. no. 49**), which probably dates to the Protogeometric or Geometric period.⁵⁷⁹ The other fourteen fibulae that are in the scope of this study were discovered in the Geometric and Archaic levels in the Artemis sector and they include examples from Blinkenberg's type XII.⁵⁸⁰ Type XII is also known as Phrygian fibulae.⁵⁸¹ This type appeared in the Phrygian world in the eighth

⁵⁷⁵ Hackens 1965, 555–556, pl. 17, 22.

⁵⁷⁶ *Friends of Gordion Newsletter* 2016, 13, fig. 20. I would like to express my sincere thanks to C. Brian Rose for sharing his thoughts about this pendant. Although it was found in a Hellenistic context, it is thought to be Early Roman Imperial due to stylistic analysis. I am also grateful to Prof. Stella Miller-Corbett who shared her thoughts about the chronology of this pendant.

⁵⁷⁷ Literary sources mention the display of gilded bronze statues at Klaros. See Şahin 1998, 32–37.

⁵⁷⁸ La Genière 1996, 49; Şahin et al 2003, 83; Şahin et al 2008, 429.

⁵⁷⁹ The violin bow fibula from the Artemis sector has not been published. However, a very similar example of the type from square K16 – sondage 1K of the French campaign – has been dated to the tenth – eighth century B.C.E. by Stéphane Verger (2003, 174, fig. 36.9, 57.3). The fibula from the Artemis sector probably belongs to the same time period as the other two.

⁵⁸⁰ Blinkenberg 1926, 219–226, figs. 249–252, 255, 258. Jacobsthal (1956) and Muscarella (1967; 2003; 2008) follows Blinkenberg's classification.

⁵⁸¹ Muscarella 1964; 1967; 2003; 2008.

century B.C.E.⁵⁸² The group XII fibulae have the form of an arc decorated with moldings.⁵⁸³ The moldings are decorative and have no function. The type XII fibulae have sub-types that have been determined according to their decoration system. Most of the bronze fibulae from Klaros belong to sub-type 13. Type XII.13 is one of the most widespread and longest-lived among all the group XII fibulae.⁵⁸⁴ Type XII.13 can be found in large numbers outside Phrygian sites, either imported or imitated.⁵⁸⁵ Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the origin of the fibulae from Klaros without material analysis, which has not been carried out yet.

Similar examples of Blinkenberg's type XII.13 can be found at Emporio on Chios in the votive deposits of the Harbor Sanctuary.⁵⁸⁶ Boardman groups the type XII.13 of Blinkenberg as "*types H, J, and K*" in accordance with his examination of the fibulae at Emporio.⁵⁸⁷ Klaros fibulae with catalogue numbers **50** and **51** have similarities with Boardman's type H examples of the seventh century B.C.E.⁵⁸⁸ Other examples of type XII.13 from Klaros have comparanda with Boardman's type J (**cat. nos. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62**).⁵⁸⁹ This type is also from the same time period according to the author. Overall, type XII.13 fibulae represented in the Artemis sector at Klaros also have close parallels with those from Lindos, Ephesos, Samos, and Tenedos.⁵⁹⁰ One example of a "single ball type" fibula (**cat. no. 63**), Blinkenberg's

⁵⁸² Muscarella 2008, 180.

⁵⁸³ Blinkenberg 1926, 219–226; Muscarella 1967, 12–13.

⁵⁸⁴ Muscarella 1967b, 22.

⁵⁸⁵ Muscarella states that Phrygian fibulae were imitated by the Eastern Greeks. Thus, the XII.13 type fibulae from sites outside Phrygia might have been either imitations or imports. (Muscarella 1967b, 58.) Fibulae have special value among all ornaments, according to Muscarella (1967a, 82). He repeats Kossinas' phrase "the most important of all ornaments" for fibulae (Muscarella 1964, 39). Fibulae serve as a chronological guide and as an indication of ethnic or cultural movement in Muscarella's research (1967a, 82, n. 1). They can be accepted as an important evidence for the interconnection between the Phrygians and Greeks in the eighth century B.C.E.

⁵⁸⁶ Boardman 1967, 205–212.

⁵⁸⁷ Boardman 1967, 210–211, fig. 138.212–230.

⁵⁸⁸ Boardman 1967, 210, fig. 138.212–221.

⁵⁸⁹ Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225.

⁵⁹⁰ Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1988, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329).

type IV.10 was found underneath the foundation level of the western room of the Archaic building.⁵⁹¹ A very close parallel of the single ball type fibula from Klaros was found on the terrace of the Athena temple at Emporio on Chios, which is the type A of Boardman.⁵⁹² Boardman dates this type to the eighth century B.C.E.⁵⁹³ The single ball type fibulae are also represented in the Artemision of Ephesos.⁵⁹⁴

Pins

Ten examples of pins were discovered in the contexts that are related to Artemis in the sanctuary of Klaros.⁵⁹⁵ It is difficult to determine the length of the pins of Klaros, since no complete example has been found. The earliest possible examples are catalogue numbers **64** and **65**, which were found near the votive deposit in the Artemis sector. A gold coated pin (**cat. no. 65**) was discovered in the Archaic level to the east of the votive deposit. A very close parallel of this pin was found in the Artemision of Ephesos.⁵⁹⁶ The Klaros pin is an exact parallel of the Ephesos one and can be dated to the seventh century B.C.E. in accordance with both the context it was found in and comparanda. The other early example was discovered in a mixed context.⁵⁹⁷ Similar examples to the pin with catalogue no **64** – only a small part of the head is preserved – are the examples from Jacobsthal's Geometric group 2 pins.⁵⁹⁸ Since this fragment is from a mixed context, a Late Geometric or Archaic date should

⁵⁹¹ Şahin et al. 2004, 75.

⁵⁹² Boardman 1967, 208, fig. 137.169.

⁵⁹³ Boardman compares this type to an example from a Late Geometric grave on Rhodes (Boardman 1967, 208).

⁵⁹⁴ Klebinder-GauB 2007, 30–32, especially 32, pl.3–6, nos. 28–85.

⁵⁹⁵ All the examples of pins from the Artemis sector that are included in this study are from the 2001–2006 excavation period. None of these examples has been published. The information was found in the excavation notebooks.

⁵⁹⁶ Klebinder-GauB 2007, 80, pl.21, nos. 293–294. For the Bronze Age examples of this type of pin see: Iamoni 2012, 349–363.

⁵⁹⁷ It was found in a context that was destroyed by the construction of a later feature.

⁵⁹⁸ Jacobsthal 1956, 9–12, figs. 27, 29, 32

be considered. The globes on the shaft of the pin also resemble examples from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora.⁵⁹⁹ The other eight examples of straight pins from Klaros are fragments of shafts, without any ornament or hole (**cat. nos. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73**). These examples were found in relatively later levels compared to the others.

Buttons

Two examples of bronze buttons were found in Archaic contexts that are related to Artemis (**cat. nos. 74, 75**). Both of them are gilded bronze buttons. One of them was discovered near the votive deposit to the southeast of the Archaic building, while the other was found in the foundation level of an Archaic wall underneath the Late Hellenistic temple's *peristasis*.⁶⁰⁰ Buttons started being used following the disappearance of pins and fibulae as garment fasteners in the seventh century B.C.E. in the Greek world.⁶⁰¹ The Klaros buttons support this chronology according to their contexts.

Rings and Spirals

Six examples of bronze rings and ten examples of bronze spirals were found in different contexts in the Artemis sector. The spirals were discovered in the Archaic levels near the Archaic altar (**cat. nos. 76, 77, 78 (a, b, c, d, e, f, g), 79**). The Klaros spirals have close parallels with those from the Artemision of Ephesos, and Emporio

⁵⁹⁹ Baumbach 2004, 36, fig. 2.55. The Klaros example only represents a small part of the head of the pin, and we cannot determine the length or the rest of the decoration. Therefore, it might have been a dress pin similar to the ones in Jacobsthal (1956, fig. 27, 29, 32), or a dedication with a representative function as in Baumbach (2004, fig. 2.55).

⁶⁰⁰ As it is mentioned in the section on the architectural remains, the research to the north of the late Hellenistic building revealed a small part of an Archaic wall. However, no further research could be conducted in deeper levels without removing the Late Hellenistic remains.

⁶⁰¹ Lee 2015, 133–134.

on Chios.⁶⁰² Klebinder suggests that the spirals from the Artemision are “*spiralohrringe*” (earrings).⁶⁰³ However, a gold coated example of this type from Ephesos has been named as an “earring or hair accessory.”⁶⁰⁴ In my opinion, it must be difficult to use these spirals – of bronze or gold – as earrings, since no example was found with any kind of securing part or addition. It is more likely that they were used as hair accessories.⁶⁰⁵

Six bronze rings from the Artemis sector include four finger-rings and two simple rings.⁶⁰⁶ One of the finger-rings (**cat. no. 80**) is larger than the other three. It was found in the Archaic level near the altar to the east of the Archaic building. It is gilded and has a decoration on the bezel, but the decoration is not clear. Another well-preserved finger ring was found in a fifth century B.C.E. context (**cat. no. 81**).⁶⁰⁷ A panther is depicted walking on the bezel. Two smaller finger-rings were discovered in the Hellenistic levels, one near the altar, and the other on the west side of the Early Hellenistic temple. Both rings’ bezels display some kind of figure, but it is difficult to determine what is depicted (**cat. nos. 82, 83**). Two simple bronze rings were found in Archaic levels next to the altar (**cat. nos. 84, 85**). Simple bronze rings are common finds both in graves and in cult contexts throughout the Late Bronze Age and Archaic period.⁶⁰⁸ Those from the Artemis sector might have been votive gifts. Close parallels of the simple bronze rings can be found at Emporio on Chios, and in the Artemision of Ephesos.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰² Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 221–222, fig. 144.351–374, pl.91); The spirals from Ephesos are both of bronze and gold (Klebinder-Gaub 2007, pl. 40–41 nos. 613–638).

⁶⁰³ Klebinder-Gaub 2007, 85–87.

⁶⁰⁴ Scheich 2008, 195, cat. no. 50.

⁶⁰⁵ Bronze Age examples of gold spirals from Troy have been labeled as hair accessories (Sazcı 2007, 247).

⁶⁰⁶ Information is based on the excavation notebooks and museum records.

⁶⁰⁷ Verger 2010, paper read at Hierapolis.

⁶⁰⁸ Aslan in press.

⁶⁰⁹ Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211–214, fig. 139.242–247, pl. 87.244, 245); Ephesos (Klebinder-Gaub 2007, 88–89, pl.41–42, nos. 639–656).

Belt Fragments

This is a small category, but it is important that bronze belt fragments prove the existence of this class of votive offerings at Klaros in relation with the goddess Artemis, considering that the fragments were found in the Artemis sector. Two – one very small piece is probably part of the larger fragment – fragments of a bronze belt were found in the Archaic level beside the altar (**cat. no. 86**). This fragment must be the upper or lower edge of a belt with small holes. Parallels for this type of belt were found at Emporio on Chios.⁶¹⁰ One fragment of a hinge of a belt was found in a Hellenistic context on the east side of the late Hellenistic building in the Artemis sector at Klaros (**cat. no. 87**). Examples of bronze hinges of belts can also be found at Emporio.⁶¹¹

Pendants

Bronze pendants found in Archaic levels in the Artemis sector form a special category of votive offerings. Two of the pendants (**cat. nos. 88, 89**) were discovered beside the Archaic altar, and one other pendant (**cat. no. 90**) was uncovered in trench IH12 to the north of the Late Hellenistic temple. The find spot of the latter is inside the Archaic structure underneath the later building.⁶¹²

The bronze pendants that were found both in the sectors of Artemis and Leto are made of gilded bronze.⁶¹³ These pendants have a circular form with a rectangular upper part. The rectangular upper part has a small hole and incised decorative

⁶¹⁰ See Boardman 1967, 214–215, fig. 140, pl. 91.321, 340 for parallels. Boardman states that each edge of the bronze belts – at least those at Emporio – displays small holes, which are probably for sewing on leather or linen backing.

⁶¹¹ For the examples of bronze belt hinges see Boardman 1967, fig. 143, pl. 88.279, 90.309, 310, 314, 319.

⁶¹² See the section on the architectural remains in the Artemis sector.

⁶¹³ For the pendants from the Leto sector, see Şahin 2014, 24, figs. 18–19.

horizontal lines. The parallels of these pendants can be found in the Cleveland Museum of Art (**fig. 42**).⁶¹⁴ According to the museum inventory: “*These 45 separately cast pendants once formed a necklace, a pectoral, or some other assemblage of personal ornamentation. Their unique design features a perforated handle swelling to form a disk pierced with an offset circular aperture. The front surface is convex while the back is concave. They are further embellished with incision.*”⁶¹⁵

S. Verger suggests that these types of bronze pendants were characteristic for Central Balkans starting from the seventh century B.C.E.⁶¹⁶ According to Verger, the pendants can be found in various sanctuaries in Northern and Central Greece. He also asserts that these were rare in Eastern Greece (Western Anatolia), and only several examples were discovered in the Heraion on Samos.⁶¹⁷

Leaves and a Branch

At Klaros bronze leaves have been found in three areas in the Artemis sector; the altar, the circular pit, and the Late Hellenistic temple. Some of the leaves were found in Archaic contexts, and some were uncovered in Hellenistic levels, and their stylistic analysis supports the date of the contexts they were found in. These examples include eleven laurel leaves (**cat. nos. 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100 (a, b)**) and one ivy leaf (**cat. no. 101**). Laurel leaves seem more popular at Klaros, which seems logical since it was the oracular center of Apollo and the laurel leaf was one of the important oracular objects in the ancient period, and laurel was a sacred tree of

⁶¹⁴ James Kohler from the Cleveland Museum of Art was so kind to send me a digital copy of the image of a “Bronze necklace with hanging pendants from Northern Greece.” Although it is not certain that the pendants were forming a necklace – as it is in the description of the object in the text above – the object has been dated to the eighth century B.C.E. in the museum records: see www.clevelandart.org.

⁶¹⁵ This description is a quotation from an e-mail sent by Christine Edmonson, the reference librarian of the Cleveland Museum of Art, as a response to my inquiry about the object. Similar pendants can be found in Bouzek 1974, 423–429, figs. 1–2.

⁶¹⁶ Information is based on S. Verger’s presentation at Hierapolis in 2010.

⁶¹⁷ Unfortunately, no examples from Samos could be found in published reports.

Apollo as well as of Artemis.⁶¹⁸ The leaves of Klaros might have been either part of branches and/or single dedications, which will be discussed in the following pages.⁶¹⁹ One example of a bronze branch was found in the Archaic level near the altar in the Artemis sector, together with a bronze laurel leaf that can be attached to the branch – the joint section of the leaf is preserved. Traces of attached leaves are also visible on the branch (**cat. no. 91**). Bronze leaves are common votive gifts that can be found in large numbers in sanctuaries.⁶²⁰ A fragmentary bronze object found to the north of the Late Hellenistic temple is probably part of a stylized branch (**cat. no. 102**). Two twigs ending in spirals are preserved. A similar object is presented on a Red Figure amphora in Leto's hand.⁶²¹

Vessels

Examples of bronze cup fragments from the Artemis sector include bronze cauldrons, small cups and a *phiale* (a shallow libation bowl). Fragments of bronze cauldrons, part of a tripod and handle examples from the Artemis sector were found in Archaic levels.⁶²² One cauldron rim fragment (**cat. no. 103**) was discovered in the square room of the Archaic building, and another (**cat. no. 104**) was uncovered close to the Archaic altar. The gilded bronze cauldron fragment has punched knobs and concentric circles on the body, and punched knobs on the rim as decoration (**cat.**

⁶¹⁸ Laurel leaves have been found in other sanctuaries related to Apollo and Artemis, such as Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), and Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458). See Hamilton 2011, 155–157 for the myth about Apollo and Daphne and the laurel tree being the sacred tree of Apollo.

⁶¹⁹ There are examples of single leaves and wreaths with bronze or gold leaves found in sanctuaries such as Delphi (Colonia 2006, 192–193). Scenes on vases also display gods and goddesses wearing laurel or myrtle wreaths (Colonia 2006, 232–235).

⁶²⁰ See Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, n.1311. Bronze leaves that have been found as votive offerings in many sanctuaries can be in the form of ivy (Nemea: Miller 1980, 50, pl.13.BR816; Isthmia: *Isthmia VII*, 71, pl.42) or sycamore (Isthmia: *Isthmia VII*, pl.41.272–273).

⁶²¹ *LIMC II*, no. 1122.

⁶²² Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

no.104). Bronze cauldrons – attached to tripods – were common and significant offerings in sanctuaries starting from the Geometric period.⁶²³ Klaros is no exception.

Two bronze griffin heads (**cat. nos. 105, 106**), a foot of a tripod in the shape of a lion paw (**cat. no. 107**), and a bronze fragment with a snake figure that is probably a tripod leg (**fig. 43**) form the category of attachments of cauldrons.⁶²⁴ The griffin heads – ornaments of bronze cauldrons – have been found in many sanctuaries through the Greek world. Close parallels of the Klaros griffins can be found at Ephesos, Olympia, Samos and Delphi.⁶²⁵

Three examples of handles, all of different types, were discovered in Archaic levels. The handle with catalogue no **108** should belong to a cauldron, and has parallels at Olympia and Ephesos.⁶²⁶ One of other two examples probably belonging to a small *situla* type vessel (**cat. no. 109**), has close parallels at Olympia,⁶²⁷ while another (**cat. no. 110**) – a gilded bronze handle with slightly curved profile and horizontal groove decoration – also may have belonged to a small cup. The latter must have been attached to a cup with small nails on the two edges – one of the nails is preserved.

The bronze *phiale* provides a complete profile and traces of gilt can be seen on some parts (**cat. no. 111**). *Phialai* have common usage in sanctuaries and on ceremonial occasions as libation bowls.⁶²⁸ Examples of *phialai* with and without *omphalos* (a hollow central boss) can be found in the Artemision at Ephesos.⁶²⁹ A

⁶²³ De Polignac 1995, 13, 15. De Polignac describes the votive offerings that can be found in the early sanctuaries of the Greek world. C. Morgan discusses bronze tripod cauldrons as an important indication of social structure and character of the dedicators in the Geometric and Archaic periods at Olympia (2007, 43–47) and Delphi (2007, 139–142).

⁶²⁴ The fragment of a bronze tripod leg was found in the 1990s and taken to the Archaeological Museum in Izmir. However, the fragment got lost in the museum. It was found recently and is subject to a court case. Unfortunately, it is not currently available for studying due to its legal condition. Therefore, only a photograph of the object from the 1990s can be included in this study.

⁶²⁵ Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 77–82, especially cat. nos. 869–871); Olympia (Gauer 1991, pl. 1.1); Samos (Jantzen 1955, no. 86, pl. 32, 2).

⁶²⁶ Gauer 1991, for cat. no. 107 fig. 14.5, pl. 25.7, 29.8.

⁶²⁷ Gauer 1991, fig. 29, pl. 107. See also pl. 94 for the use of this type of handle.

⁶²⁸ Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 105.

⁶²⁹ Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 62–65.

fragment of a bronze trefoil *oinokhoe* rim (**cat. no.112**) from an upper level is another example of a bronze vessels found in the Artemis sector.

Weapons and Tools

Arrowheads

Metal weapons and tools have been found in three areas – around the Archaic altar, to the west of the rectangular room of the Archaic building and to the south of the square room of the Archaic building. Arrowheads form the largest group of this section – thirteen arrowheads have been found in the sector of Artemis in total (**cat. nos. 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124**). All of the examples are from Archaic levels, with one exception that was found in a mixed context. The Klaros arrowheads might be grouped in two distinctive categories, those used as arrowheads and those used as votive gifts. While some examples probably functioned as arrowheads in a battle, or hunting, some must have functioned as votive offerings.⁶³⁰ The examples from the Artemis sector might have been votive gifts to the goddess, considering their contexts and the fact that most of them are made of gilded bronze.

Other weapons and tools include a bronze greave fragment that was probably found in a Hellenistic context (**cat. no. 124**),⁶³¹ and bronze and gilded bronze plaques from the Archaic levels with small holes on one edge – most likely fragments of greaves and/or helmets. The greave from the Artemis sector has close parallels to group II at Olympia, which can be dated to the middle and late Archaic period.⁶³²

⁶³⁰ Zunal 2017, 42, 47.

⁶³¹ According to the museum – Efes Museum – records.

⁶³² Kunze 1991, 100–116, pl. 20–49.

Miscellaneous

There are also bronze objects that occur as single or unidentifiable examples. I have also included bronze nails with different sizes and functions in this category. One bronze cross shaped object with a hole in the center was found in a Late Geometric / Early Archaic level close to the Archaic altar (**cat. no. 125**). One bronze object, which is probably a scepter head, was previously interpreted as a pin head (**cat. no. 126**). However, the diameter of the object is too wide for a pin.⁶³³ It was found in an Archaic context beside the rectangular feature. Some other bronze objects that were found in Archaic and Classical levels include fragments of furniture ornamentation, which have close parallels at the Artemision at Ephesos (**cat. nos. 127, 128 (a, b), 129**).⁶³⁴ Small holes, and preserved nails indicate that these objects were attached to some surfaces, possibly wooden furniture. A single example of probably part of a belt or a shield from a fifth century B.C.E. context has parallels at Ephesos and Olympia (**cat. no. 130**).⁶³⁵ One bronze object, probably a *spatula* was found in a Classical / Hellenistic level close to the Archaic altar (**cat. no. 131**). Two examples of bronze mirrors were discovered in a Hellenistic context near the circular pit in the Artemis sector (**cat. nos. 132, 133**).⁶³⁶ A bronze probable horse harness forms an interesting example among the bronze finds from the Artemis sector (**cat. no. 134**).⁶³⁷ It was found in a Hellenistic level, according to the museum records. The object is elaborately decorated and painted. Some other single objects are bronze plaques with undetermined usage (**cat. no. 135**).

⁶³³ See Jacobsthal 1956 for examples of pin heads.

⁶³⁴ Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 89 nos. 912–917.

⁶³⁵ Ephesos: Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 92 no. 937; Olympia: Fellmann 1984, pl. 24 no. D5.

⁶³⁶ Information is based on excavation notebooks.

⁶³⁷ Information is based on S. Verger's presentation at Hierapolis in 2010.

A large number of bronze nails have been found in various contexts in different levels at Klaros.⁶³⁸ The sector of Artemis is one of the areas that revealed a number of examples. Some of the examples were found in the Archaic levels and some were in the upper levels. It is important that some of the bronze nails were uncovered in contexts indicating the existence of a structure – traces of mud-brick walls and wooden beams that were destroyed by intense fire.⁶³⁹ Three examples (**cat. nos. 136, 137, 138**) might have been used on the central wooden beam on account of their remarkable length, and thickness in comparison with the other examples.⁶⁴⁰ What is also significant about these nails is that each of them was discovered at the corners (southwest and southeast) of the Archaic building, which can suggest that these nails might have secured the central beam of the roof of the Archaic building. Smaller and thinner bronze nails (**cat. nos. 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145**) might have been used for other reasons, for instance applying bronze plaques on different surfaces such as leather, wooden furniture, etc.

IV.4.b.iii Lead

A lead folded plaque with a seal on one corner (**cat. no. 146**) and a group of lead rings forming part of a chain (**cat. no. 147**) comprise this category. Both objects were found in the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic structure in Hellenistic levels.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁸ The information about their contexts is based on the excavation notebooks.

⁶³⁹ See the “Architectural Remains and Stratigraphy” section.

⁶⁴⁰ Personal communication with Nuran Şahin. Similar examples were found in the sector of Leto have approximately the same length with the ones from the Artemis sector.

⁶⁴¹ Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

IV.4.b.iv Iron

This is a small category including an iron spearhead from an Archaic context (**cat. no. 148**), and clout nails (**cat. nos. 149, 150, 151, 152**). The spearhead was found in an Archaic level.⁶⁴² The iron examples of nails are large in size and must have been used for constructional purposes.⁶⁴³ Unidentified fragments of iron objects, which are most likely building materials, can also be included in this category.

IV.4.c Precious Stone and Glass

Precious stone and glass most commonly occur in the form of beads at Klaros. Ring stones, and jewelry appear in lesser numbers. All the beads from the Artemis sector, except for one glass example, are of amber. Eight out of ten examples of amber beads and an amber pendant in the form of a pomegranate were found in Archaic levels (**cat. nos. cat. nos. 153, 154, 155 (a, b, c, d, e), 156**).⁶⁴⁴ Close parallels of the Klarian pomegranate pendant were found in the Artemision at Ephesos.⁶⁴⁵ The other two amber beads were uncovered in mixed fill layers (**cat. nos. 157, 158**). Usage of amber was extremely popular in the Bronze Age, especially in the Mycenaean centers.⁶⁴⁶ The popularity of amber declines through the Archaic period.⁶⁴⁷ Artifacts made of amber have been found in the Artemision at Ephesos in large numbers.⁶⁴⁸ Analysis of the Ephesian ambers showed that they were from the Baltic area.⁶⁴⁹ Even though no

⁶⁴² Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

⁶⁴³ Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

⁶⁴⁴ Although the pomegranate-shaped amber pendant was not found in the sector of Artemis – it was found near the rectangular altar of Apollo, it is included in this category, since it has close parallels from the Artemision of Ephesos and it is a type of votive offering that is common for Artemis and other female deities.

⁶⁴⁵ Muss and Pülz 2008, 260, cat. nos. 177–185.

⁶⁴⁶ See Aubert 1996, 663–675 for the distribution of amber in the Mycenaean period. See also Hughes-Brock 1993, 219–229 for the usage of amber in the Late Bronze Age.

⁶⁴⁷ Muss and Pülz 2008, 256.

⁶⁴⁸ Muss and Pülz 2008, 251–262.

⁶⁴⁹ Muss and Pülz 2008, 251. The analysis was carried out by C. W. Beck, but the results has not been published.

analysis has been conducted on the Klaros ambers, since they were similar to those from Ephesos in colour and texture, they might also have been from the Baltic area.

Except for one from the Archaic building (**cat. no. 159**), all the glass examples, including a bead (**cat. no. 160**), ring stones (**cat. nos. 161, 162**), a single agate ring stone (**cat. no. 163**), a pendant in the form of a ram's head (**cat. no. 164**), one glass ring (**cat. no. 165**), and examples of glass bracelets (**cat. nos. 166, 167**), were discovered in Hellenistic contexts. Glass beads and jewelry were popular votive offerings in sanctuaries. Examples of glass artifacts can be found in the Artemision at Ephesos and at Emporio on Chios.⁶⁵⁰ The precious stone and glass examples were mainly clustered around the rectangular feature, and the Archaic building in the Artemis sector.

IV.4.d Bone and Ivory

Worked bone and ivory objects comprise an important group of votive offerings in sanctuaries.⁶⁵¹ Carved ivory objects include one spectacle (figure-eight or double disk) form fibula (**cat. no. 168**), a pin (**cat. no. 169**), an object – probably an accessory (**cat. no. 170**), one elaborately worked doll (**cat. no. 171**),⁶⁵² and a beautiful miniature comb (**cat. no. 172**). Except the ivory doll and the comb, which were found in a Hellenistic context close to the circular pit, the ivory objects were discovered in Archaic contexts.⁶⁵³ The ivory fibula, the pin, and the comb have close parallels at the Artemision of Ephesos.⁶⁵⁴ Eight astragals form the group of worked bone objects from

⁶⁵⁰ Ephesos: Pulsinger 2008, 263–280; Emporio on Chios: Boardman 1967, 238–239.

⁶⁵¹ For examples of sanctuaries that have been revealed votive gifts of worked bone and ivory see: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, 242–243); Ephesos (Muss 2008, 215–250); Samos Heraion (Sinn 1982, 35–55; Brize 1992, 162–163; Baumbach 2004, 170); Orthia at Sparta (Dawkins 1929; 1930; Kopanias 2009, 123–131).

⁶⁵² La Genière 1998, 247, pl. 7.1

⁶⁵³ Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

⁶⁵⁴ Muss 2008, 215–250, fibula (cat. nos. 140–141); pin (cat. nos. 152–156); comb (fig. 3). Emporio on Chios also reveals close parallels to the Klaros fibula (Boardman 1967, 211, pl. 86.233–239).

the Artemis sector. Some of them were found in Archaic levels, while some are from mixed contexts (**cat. nos. 173, 174 (a, b, c, d), 175, 176, 177**). Astragals have been discovered in many sanctuaries and they mostly are identified as divination objects.⁶⁵⁵ However, the function of the worked astragals from the Artemis sector is not evident and they might have been votive offerings.

IV.4.e Terracotta

Figurines

Most of the terracotta figurines in the Artemis sector were found in the areas of the Archaic altar and the deeper levels of the horseshoe-shaped structure. Dewailly states that 88 figurines from the fifth century B.C.E. were found around the rectangular feature during the French campaign – more than a third of the figurines represents males holding a lyre.⁶⁵⁶ Seventy three sixth and fifth century B.C.E. examples of female terracotta figurines have been discovered around the Archaic altar in our excavations (2001–2006).⁶⁵⁷ Other areas that revealed examples of terracotta figurines are the Archaic building, and the Late Hellenistic temple and altar to the west, and the east of the Archaic building. The earliest terracotta figurine from the Artemis sector, which is a female head found in the west room of the Archaic building (**cat. no. 178**), can be dated to the eighth / seventh century B.C.E.⁶⁵⁸ This terracotta female head was found in a deeper strata underneath the Archaic building. Dewailly states that the foundation of the Archaic building was dug into this deeper strata revealing eighth and seventh century B.C.E. material including the terracotta head. A close parallel of this

⁶⁵⁵ Reese (2000, 398–401) discusses the use of astragals in various Aegean sanctuaries. For the use of astragals for divination at Didyma see Greaves 2012, 183–196.

⁶⁵⁶ (Dewailly 2014, 90).

⁶⁵⁷ Information based on the excavation notebooks.

⁶⁵⁸ Dewailly 2014, 88 n.10.

female head is a terracotta male head that was found in the area of the circular altar in the Apollo sector in the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. level.⁶⁵⁹

Fifty figurines from the Artemis sector are included in this study. These examples include seated and standing female figurines, *kourotrophoi*, representations of Kybele (?), Artemis, children, and single heads.⁶⁶⁰ Female figurines comprise the largest group among the anthropomorphic figurines that were found in the Artemis sector. The Archaic altar is the main find spot for the sixth and fifth century B.C.E. female figurines. On the other hand, the terracotta figurines of the fourth and third century B.C.E. are mainly concentrated around and underneath the horseshoe-shaped building.⁶⁶¹ Even though hundreds of examples of terracotta figurines were discovered in the Artemis sector, the reasons for not including all of them are their fragmentary preservation, and the difficulty in identifying that who or what they represent.

Many of the seated female figurines from the sixth and fifth century B.C.E. are wearing a *kekriphalos*, a *sakkos* or a veil, and a *himation* over a *khiton*.⁶⁶² Some of them hold an object to their chest (**cat. nos. 179, 180, 181**), and some are depicted with one of their hands resting over their chest (**cat. nos. 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187**). Others rest their hands on their legs (**cat. nos. 188, 189, 190**). Similar seated female

⁶⁵⁹ La Genière and Jolivet 2003, 102–103, pl.26.1.

⁶⁶⁰ Some of the examples that are included in this study have been studied by Elçin Doğan Gürbüzler in her doctoral dissertation (2012). See “Doğan Gürbüzler, 2012, *Klaros Kazılarında Bulunmuş Olan Pişmiş Toprak Figürinler ve Kültler Açısından Değerlendirilmeleri*” for the stylistic analysis of the different types of terracotta figurines from Klaros.

⁶⁶¹ Dewailly gives two different numbers for the figurines that were found around the horseshoe-shaped structure in her two publications. She claims that 214 figurines were found around the structure (she labels the find place of the figurines as a “votive pit”) in 2007, 15; and that 141 terracotta figurines were discovered in the same area in 2014, 92. It is not possible to know the exact number of the found figurines around the horseshoe-shaped structure for now. The possible function of the find place of the figurines will be discussed in the final discussion.

⁶⁶² *Kekryphalos* (κεκρύφαλος), and *sakkos* (σάκκος) are types of hair dress of women in ancient Greece (*LSJ*, see s.v. “κεκρύφαλος” and “σάκκος”). *Himation* (ἱμάτιον) and *khiton* (χιτών) are types of clothing in the ancient Greek world (*LSJ*, see s.v. “ἱμάτιον,” and “χιτών”).

figurines have been found in different sanctuaries, including those at Thasos, Emporio on Chios, and Rhodes.⁶⁶³

Although they are smaller in numbers, standing female figurines form the other significant figurine group from the sixth and fifth century B.C. They are also mainly found around the Archaic altar. The earliest example of standing female figurines has been discovered in the west room of the Archaic building (**cat. no. 191**), and has been dated to the sixth century B.C.E. The figurine wears a *stephane* and a veil as a hair dress,⁶⁶⁴ and a *himation* over a *khiton* as a clothing. She holds an object to her chest with the right hand, and the left hand pulls her skirt. This is a characteristic representation of women in the Archaic and early Classical period.⁶⁶⁵ Other examples of standing female figurines are from the sixth / fifth century B.C.E. contexts around the Archaic altar.⁶⁶⁶ Only three figurines were found to the south of the Archaic building during the last period of the excavations at Klaros.⁶⁶⁷ However, Dewailly states that 39 female figurines, both seated and standing, were discovered to the south of the Archaic building.⁶⁶⁸ Two examples of Archaic standing figurines found beside the Archaic altar represent females wearing a *khiton* and *himation*, having their right hand at the side of the body, and their left hand bended at the elbow, lifting the *himation* (**cat. nos. 192, 193**). Five standing figurines belong to the same type (**cat. nos. 194, 195, 196**).⁶⁶⁹ While two of them hold probably a pomegranate in their right

⁶⁶³ Thasos: Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, fig. 1274–1310, 1623–1628; Emporio on Chios: Boardman 1967, pl.81.122, 127, pl.83.143; Rhodes: Higgins 1970, fig.65, 121–132. Also see Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 54 n.247 for strong resemblance with Rhodes figurine that are in the British Museum.

⁶⁶⁴ *Stephane* (Στέφανος) is a crown like hair dress for women in the ancient Greek world (*LSJ*, see s.v. “Στέφανος”).

⁶⁶⁵ See Ridgway 1977, for predecessors of this type in marble statuary, especially figs. 16–29, 57–58. Also see Boardman 2007 for the development of Archaic sculpture in the Greek world.

⁶⁶⁶ Some of them have been studied by Doğan Gürbüzler (2012, cat nos. 29, 30, 32–36, 179).

⁶⁶⁷ See Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, cat. nos. 44, 129.

⁶⁶⁸ Dewailly 2014, 90. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine each figurine in the museum storage rooms, since most of them were not recorded in the inventory in 1990s, but were most likely stored in study collection.

⁶⁶⁹ Two of the figurines have been published by Dewailly (2001, 375 fig. 8, nos. 96.29, 96.32).

hands to the chest, the other three hold their hands to the chest without an object. Higgins states that the offering in the figurine's hand must have been indicated in paint when there is no object in plastic.⁶⁷⁰ Only one of the five figurines' heads is preserved (**cat. no. 196**). One female head should belong to a figurine of this type, in comparison with the example with catalogue no. 196 (**cat. no. 197**). This type of standing figurines have been classified as the "Rhodian type" in the scholarship.⁶⁷¹ Similar examples of this type have been found on Lindos, and Rhodes.⁶⁷² The rest of the standing figurines of the fifth century B.C.E. are of different types or only fragmentarily preserved.

An example of a female mask was discovered to the south of the Archaic building (**cat. no. 198**).⁶⁷³ It has been dated to the late sixth century B.C.E. based on its context and stylistic features. Similar examples of female masks can be found in Athens, Delos, Erythrai, and Olynthus.⁶⁷⁴

Two out of eight examples of the *kourotrophos* type that have a date range from the fifth century B.C.E. to the fourth century B.C.E. are included in the catalogue (**cat. nos. 199, 200**).⁶⁷⁵ This is a special type of figurine that can be found in the sanctuaries of deities who were associated with pregnancy, childbirth, and who had role in helping children to reach adulthood.⁶⁷⁶ Depiction of a female with a child forms the type. In addition to sanctuaries, this type of figurines can be found in tombs, and domestic contexts.⁶⁷⁷ The *kourotrophos* figurines from Klaros have been found in the

⁶⁷⁰ Higgins 1967, 62. Also see Higgins 1970, 272–277 for polychrome decoration in terracotta figurines.

⁶⁷¹ Higgins 1967, 62 pl. 24.

⁶⁷² Lindos: Blinkenberg 1931, nos.2146–2151, 2168, 2173; Rhodes: Higgins 1970, pl.21.

⁶⁷³ See Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 140–142 for stylistic analysis of the Klaros mask and female masks in general.

⁶⁷⁴ Athens: Morgan 1935, 202, fig.8; Delos: *Delos XXIII*, 77, 91, pl. 6.210, pl.16.129–131; Erythrai: Bayburtluoğlu 1977, 38, pl.2.4; Olynthus: Robinson 1931, 4, pl.2.3.

⁶⁷⁵ Four other examples of *kourotrophoi* have been published in Dewailly 2001, 375–378, figs. 9, 10, and two more figurines representing females with children can be found in Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, cat. nos. 20, 27.

⁶⁷⁶ Budin 2011, 29–32.

⁶⁷⁷ Pilafidis-Williams 2009, 124. Those put into children's tombs might have had protective meaning. On the other hand, the ones that were found in adult graves might have been gifts to women who died

contexts related to Artemis and Leto.⁶⁷⁸ One *kourotrophos* figurine holding a young child was found at the fifth century level, underneath the Late Hellenistic altar in the Artemis sector Artemis (**cat. no. 200**).⁶⁷⁹ Another one carrying two infants was found together with two other *kourotrophos* type of figurines – a seated female holding one baby – at the elevation level on the eastern side of the Archaic altar of Artemis.⁶⁸⁰ The one with two babies has been identified as Leto by Dewailly (**cat. no. 199**).⁶⁸¹ Four other figurines from the Hellenistic period representing seated females and babies were uncovered around the circular pit area dedicated to Artemis.⁶⁸² Another *kourotrophos* figurine was found to the north-east of the Archaic Apollo altar (**cat. no. 201**).⁶⁸³ Although the last figurine's find spot is not an Artemis-related structure, it might have been a representation of the *kourotrophic* aspect of Artemis, since determining exact borderlines between the deities is impossible in the sanctuary.

Terracotta figurines of children, girls and boys, (**cat. nos. 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208**) have been discovered around the altar and in the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple in the fourth and third century B.C.E. contexts. A single example representing a figurine group from the altar probably depicts a young girl and an adult (**cat. no. 209**).

Other types of figurines that were found in the Artemis sector include female figurines that depict dancing females (**cat. nos. 210, 211, 212, 213**), figurines

during child-birth. Domestic contexts were probably indicating household shrines, according to Pilafidis-Williams.

⁶⁷⁸ According to one suggestion another finding spot of the *kourotrophos* figurines at Klaros is a context related to a festival of Dionysus – *Anthesteria* (Pişkin Ayvazoğlu, C., *Klaros'da Dionysos Kültü*, 2015, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ege University, Izmir).

⁶⁷⁹ Dewailly 2001, 375–377, KL 89.38.

⁶⁸⁰ La Genière 1998, 243–244, pl.VI figs. 2, 4; Dewailly 2001, 375–377, fig. KL 96.15, KL 96.29, KL 96.39.

⁶⁸¹ Dewailly 2001, 376 fig. 9 KL96.15.

⁶⁸² Şahin et al. 2003, 83–84; Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 33–34, cat. no. 20, 27. Two of them were found during the French excavations (Dewailly 2001, 378 fig. 10).

⁶⁸³ Şahin 2011, 154

representing brides (**cat. nos. 214, 215**), young girls reading hymns (**cat. nos. 216, 217**), Nikes (**cat. nos. 218, 219, 220, 221**), figurines of sirens, which were mythological creatures in the form of a bird with female head (**cat. nos. 222, 223**), a doll (**cat. no. 224**), and fragmentary body parts (**cat. nos. 225**) from the fourth and third century B.C.E. contexts. Catalogue no 225 has previously been interpreted as a depiction of Kybele.⁶⁸⁴ However, considering its find spot beside the Archaic building in the Artemis sector, and similar examples from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, we may suggest that it represents the goddess Artemis at Klaros (**fig. 44**). Two other examples probably depicting Artemis herself emphasize her huntress function (**cat. nos. 226, 227**).

IV.4.f Ceramics

Ceramics are among the primary sources of information in sanctuaries concerning the development and characteristics of religious ritual. They can also clarify trade networks and cultural contacts of the settlements to which the sanctuary was attached. The multiple phases of activity preserved at Klaros allow us to establish a relative chronology for the sanctuary. The sector of Artemis reveals large quantities of ceramics from the Protogeometric to the Hellenistic periods. However, it is difficult to associate these examples directly with the cult. The examples included in this study help us to restore the chronological framework for the activity in the Artemis sector. Therefore, the pottery included in this section mainly refers to a general overview of the ceramics in the Artemis sector. Since the Protogeometric, Geometric, and Archaic periods of the Artemis sector are more problematic than the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman eras, I have preferred to include less examples in the sections of latter periods.

⁶⁸⁴ Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 232 cat. no. 18.

Since no definite architectural evidence is available for the Protogeometric, Geometric, and Early Archaic periods, the ceramic examples are informative for the activity in the Artemis sector in these periods. On the other hand, monumental structures secure the existence of religious activity in the Classical, and especially the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Protogeometric and Geometric Periods

The Protogeometric and Geometric periods are represented by a small amount of pottery sherds in the Artemis sector. It should be noted that the majority of the Protogeometric and Geometric period ceramics were found in the Apollo sector, inside and around the circular altar, and in the Western Honorific Monuments sector (B.O.A.), the foundation level of the MN14 structure.⁶⁸⁵

The first group of ceramics from the Protogeometric / Geometric levels in the Artemis sector are cups.⁶⁸⁶ This group contains only one example of a Protogeometric cup rim-handle fragment (**cat. no. 228**),⁶⁸⁷ and a possible conical foot of a cup (**cat. no. 229**).⁶⁸⁸ A single example of a Protogeometric *skyphos* type with concentric circles was found together with the above mentioned cups. It is a body fragment with ten concentric circles drawn by a compass, and a possible thick band underneath (**cat. no. 230**).⁶⁸⁹ Close parallels to the Klaros *skyphos* with concentric circles can be found at Lefkandi.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁵ Zunal 2014, 9–12, 65–66. Also see above section “Late Bronze Age, Protogeometric and Geometric phases,” for the Protogeometric and Geometric contexts at Klaros.

⁶⁸⁶ See Zunal 2014, 16–24, 67–72 for the development of the Protogeometric and Geometric cups at Klaros.

⁶⁸⁷ For comparanda see Zunal 2014, 146–154, especially 154 cat. no.9.

⁶⁸⁸ For comparanda see Zunal 2014, 220–222, especially 222 cat. No. 77. As Zunal states this type of conical high foot might be from a *skyphos* as well as a cup.

⁶⁸⁹ See Zunal 2014, 25–30, 160–166 cat. nos. 15–21 for the PG *skyphos* examples from Klaros.

⁶⁹⁰ *Lefkandi II.1*, pl. 43.882.

Several rim sherds of closed vessels can be dated either to the Protogeometric or Geometric periods. One example was found together with cups and mugs, and the other was with Late Geometric / Archaic pottery sherds. The first example must have been a fragment of a Protogeometric closed form, possibly an *amphora* (**cat. no. 231**).⁶⁹¹ Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify the vessels' forms since we have only small rim fragments. The second fragment can be dated to the Late Geometric period according to its context. However, it should be noted that these types of rim fragments do not have significant chronological differences in shape and style.⁶⁹² Parallels to Klaros rims can be found at Troy.⁶⁹³

Geometric period mugs are represented by three examples in the Artemis sector. All of them have been discovered in Protogeometric / Geometric contexts close to the circular pit, where in deeper levels traces of an earlier structure were found.⁶⁹⁴ Two of the mugs are glazed both on the interior and exterior (**cat. nos. 232, 233**). The interior of the other larger mug is glazed and it has a cross-hatched sandglass motif encasing triple vertical lines (**cat. no. 234**). All three examples from the Artemis sector are of the type that Zunal identifies as "mugs with convex profile."⁶⁹⁵ Close parallels to these mugs can be found at Klazomenai, Metropolis, Troia, Ephesos, Samos, Emporio on Chios, Iasos, Miletos, and Didyma.⁶⁹⁶

An example of a Geometric period *skyphos* was found in the Protogeometric / Geometric context in deeper levels close to the circular pit. This rim sherd of a small

⁶⁹¹ Zunal 2014, 49–51, 199–212 cat. nos. 54–67. Similar examples from 1988–1997 excavations have been identified as *amphorai* (Jolivet-Robert 2003, 107, fig. 38).

⁶⁹² Zunal 2014, 49.

⁶⁹³ Aslan 2002, pl.2.12.

⁶⁹⁴ See above section "Late Bronze Age, Protogeometric and Geometric Phases," for the possible architectural remains from the Geometric period in the Artemis sector.

⁶⁹⁵ Zunal 2014, 99–102, cat. nos. 122–137.

⁶⁹⁶ Klazomenai: Ersoy 2004, 48; Troy: Aslan 2002, 102, pl.7.41; Ephesos: Kerschner 2003, 55; Samos: Furtwangler 1980, 199–201; Emporio on Chios: Boardman 1967, 123–128; Iasos: Berti 2007, 439 pl.52.1; Miletos: Graeve 1973–1974, 93, pl. 21, 38; 1975, 43–44 no.3, pl.3; Didyma: *Didyma III*, 102.

skyphos shows an Attic character with its fine clay and paint (**cat. no. 235**). Similar examples can be found at Ephesos.⁶⁹⁷

Four krater body fragments were found in deeper levels underneath the foundation layer of the Archaic building's western room in the Artemis sector, and in deeper levels to the south of the circular pit. One of them is known as "G2/3 ware" based on the first find spot of this type of ware at Troy.⁶⁹⁸ The pattern of the sherd is partly preserved: four visible step pattern elements between horizontal double bands, and a zigzag pattern underneath (**cat. no. 236**). This is one of the most traditional patterns of the G2/3 ware, as Ilieva states.⁶⁹⁹ Another possible G2/3 ware fragment is badly preserved; a zigzag pattern underneath two thin bands is visible. One other example of G2/3 ware that was found in the Apollo sector has been interpreted as sub-geometric and dated to the early seventh century B.C.E.⁷⁰⁰ Two other *krater* body fragments have geometric motifs: horizontal bands and concentric triangles underneath (**cat. nos. 237, 238**).

Several examples of Geometric *kotylai* were discovered in deeper levels to the south of the Archaic building's western room. Two rim sherds must be from the Geometric period, according to their sharp rim profile.⁷⁰¹ One sherd has thinner walls, a sharper rim profile and a tree meander (Rhodian meander) motif (**cat. no. 239**).⁷⁰² Parallels for the *kotyle* with tree meander can be found at Klazomenai, and Emporio on Chios.⁷⁰³ Another rim sherd has thicker walls and a smoother rim profile (**cat. no.**

⁶⁹⁷ Ephesos: Kerschner 1999, 19, fig. 9.23

⁶⁹⁸ For the development and distribution of G2/3 ware, see Ilieva 2009, 109–122; 2013, 123–131; 2014, 85–96; 2015, 146–157. Also see Zunal 2014, 123–125, cat. no. 171 for another example of G2/3 ware from Klaros.

⁶⁹⁹ Ilieva 2014, 86.

⁷⁰⁰ Zunal 2014, 124.

⁷⁰¹ See Zunal 2014, 73–92, 229–258 cat. nos. 84–113; 2015, 243–254, 343–344 figs. 1–5 for the *kotyle* examples from Klaros.

⁷⁰² For the *kotyle* type with tree meander, see Zunal 2014, 84–86, 235–242 cat. nos. 90–97.

⁷⁰³ Klazomenai: Hürmüzlü 2003, pl.56.217/7, pl.57.219/1; Emporio on Chios: Boardman 1967, pl.42.437–439.

240). The pattern is not well preserved – only two vertical lines of a panel and very pale paint traces are visible. One rim and handle fragment of a Late Geometric *kotyle* (cat. no. 241), and a possible *kotyle* body fragment with a bird motif was found in deeper levels underneath the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple (cat. no. 242). This sherd might belong to a *kotyle* because of its deep profile. The back part and feet of a bird and three diagonal lines are preserved on the exterior.

One body fragment that was found in Protogeometric / Geometric levels has one thick, and three thin horizontal bands, and a beam pattern rising from the lower part of the bowl (cat. no. 243). This sherd might have been a part of a bird bowl from the Geometric period.⁷⁰⁴

Archaic Period

Quantities of pottery sherds point to intense activity in the Artemis sector in the Archaic period. The main areas that reveal the majority of the Archaic ceramics in the sector are deeper levels under the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple, inside and around the Archaic building and the Archaic altar.

Fragments of *skyphoi*, cups, and closed vessels mark the Archaic period in the Artemis sector. Numbers of band, bird and possible rosette *skyphos* fragments were found in the Archaic contexts, especially in trenches of the Archaic building and the altar.⁷⁰⁵ One of the band *skyphos* examples belongs to the early type of the form and can be dated to 650/630 B.C.E (cat. no. 244).⁷⁰⁶ Another example is a late type of a band *skyphos* (sixth century B.C.E.), which has wider bands than the earlier example, and stands rising up from the foot (cat. no. 245). Klazomenai reveals parallels for the

⁷⁰⁴ See Zunal 2014, 93–95, 259–262 cat. nos. 114–117 for the bird bowls of the Geometric period at Klaros.

⁷⁰⁵ Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

⁷⁰⁶ For the chronology and development of the band *skyphoi*, see Hürmüzlü 2003, 283–294.

Klaros band *skyphoi*.⁷⁰⁷ A single example of an Ionian *kyliks* body/handle fragment (c. 650 B.C.E.) has a painted interior and exterior with two visible reserved band areas on the exterior (**cat. no. 246**). Close parallels can be found at Klazomenai and Emporio on Chios.⁷⁰⁸ Possible rosette and bird skyphos examples represent other drinking cups assemblages with rim, body and foot fragments. Rim fragments of bird *skyphoi* were found in seventh–sixth century B.C.E. contexts (**cat. nos. 247**).⁷⁰⁹ Stylistic analysis of the fragments and parallels from other sites support their date. Although an exact resemblance of the rim sherd with a cross-hatched *rhombus* cannot be found, bird *skyphoi* with similar decoration that are dated to 650 B.C.E can be found at Klazomenai.⁷¹⁰ Band cups and eye cups from the sixth century B.C.E. are also represented in the Artemis sector (**cat. nos. 248, 249**).⁷¹¹

Classical Period

As stated earlier, activity in the Classical period was not as intense as in the Archaic period at Klaros.⁷¹² The Classical period is represented by fifth century B.C.E. Black and Red Figure vases, and Black Glazed pottery fragments. All examples of Black and Red Figure vases are Attic imports, including *kraters*, and cups (**cat. nos. 250, 251, 252**). Attic and non-Attic Black Glazed pottery forms the main ceramic type found in the Artemis sector in Classical contexts (**cat. nos. 253, 254, 255, 256**).⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁷ Early type band *skyphos*: Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 10.32/17, 20, 22; Late type band *skyphos*: Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 6.34/1–2, fig. 12.63/2; Güngör 2006, fig. 15.D14–17.

⁷⁰⁸ Klazomenai: Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 16.79/1; Emporio on Chios: Boardman 1967, 171, fig. 118.864, 866, 868, pl. 65.860–868.

⁷⁰⁹ Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

⁷¹⁰ Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 9.32/12.

⁷¹¹ For the eye cups, see Bundrick 2015, 295–341; and for the band cups, see Heesen 2011. I am grateful to Kathleen Lynch for her comments on the Klaros cups.

⁷¹² See pg. 58–59 for the Classical period of the sanctuary.

⁷¹³ Sezgin 2008, 195–196, cat. nos. 15–25. Also see Dallik 2009 for the Black Glazed pottery of Klaros in general.

Hellenistic and Roman Periods

The ceramic assemblage from the Hellenistic period of the Artemis sector is extremely poor, probably due to heavy construction processes in the second century B.C.E. and afterwards.⁷¹⁴ Fragments of moldmade pottery represent the Hellenistic period in the Artemis sector.⁷¹⁵ Moldmade bowl sherds found in the Artemis sector are too fragmentary and badly preserved. Therefore, only sherds of one rather well preserved moldmade bowl is included in the catalogue as an example of the type (**cat. no. 257**).

Quality ceramics representing the Roman era are also poor in quantities in the Artemis sector, due to the lack of information from earlier excavations of the Roman levels. Only several examples of badly preserved terrasigillata can be counted here. Small numbers of coarse ceramic fragments, and a few examples of pottery used in daily life can be counted as representation of the Roman period in the sector.⁷¹⁶

Concluding Remarks on the Evidence for Artemis at Klaros

This chapter has provided a comprehensive analysis of the literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence, architectural remains and stratigraphy, and material related to the cult of Artemis at Klaros. As the presented evidence has shown, the sacred area devoted to Artemis is located in the north part of the sanctuary. Even though the earliest secure architectural evidence related to the goddess at Klaros dates back to the sixth century B.C.E., the seventh century B.C.E. material, such as bronze fibulai, griffin protomes, pendants, amber beads and some examples of terracotta figurines indicate that the worship of Artemis must have been founded earlier. Remains of

⁷¹⁴ See pg. 59 for the Hellenistic period of the sanctuary and the construction projects took place in the second century B.C.E. and afterwards.

⁷¹⁵ See Rotroff 1982; 2006, 357–378 for moldmade bowls.

⁷¹⁶ Information is based on excavation notebooks and personal observation.

earlier structures underneath the Archaic building (“temple”) and altar dedicated to Artemis support this idea of earlier foundation of the cult of Artemis at Klaros. The architectural remains and material from the Artemis sector indicate a continuing cult activity starting from the Protogeometric / Geometric period into the fourth century C.E.

The material included in this study has been selected in order to show the diversity of the votive offerings for Artemis at Klaros, despite the limitation in access to the earlier excavations’ results. On the one hand some of the material show direct connection to the cult of Artemis at Klaros, and on the other provide only chronological information. The gold and silver artifacts, amber beads and ivory objects form a prestigious and more costly category of votive offerings to Artemis, but mainly do not provide information about the nature of the cult. However, a silver arrowhead and a silver pendant in the form of a wild goat might be accepted as indication of the Klarian Artemis’ huntress and the goddess of wilds persona. It is also interesting that the gold objects show close resemblance with those from the Artemision at Ephesos. Examples of bronze spirals are also parallel to the gold and bronze spirals from Ephesos. These spirals that are accepted as hair accessories might be indicating Artemis’ relation with women. Terracotta figurines are the most informative from the cultic aspect. The selection of the figurines for this study has been done according to the preservation and mainly to the cultic connection. For instance, the figurines with children indicate Artemis’ function as the *kourotrophos*; the figurines depicting dancers and hymn readers represent the goddess’ connection with music, dance and festivals; the figurines of children from different ages prove that Artemis Klaria played role in transition. Examples presented in the ceramic section provide chronological information for the activity in the Artemis sector.

By bringing the whole corpus of this original, mostly unpublished material, it is possible in the next chapter to discuss about the possible foundation date, the reconstruction of the cult of Artemis at Klaros, and her relation with Apollo and Leto in the sanctuary.



CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter is organized chronologically in order to enable a clear framework to understand the nature of the ritual and worship of Artemis at Klaros and its development over time. Following the chronological discussion of the architectural remains, stratigraphy, and related material, the characteristics of the cult of Artemis Klaria will be discussed. As stated earlier in chapter IV,⁷¹⁷ the name Artemis Klaria first appears on a decree from the third / second century B.C.E.⁷¹⁸ This epithet of the goddess has been derived from the name Klaros,⁷¹⁹ and is the feminine form of Klarios, which is the epithet of Apollo at Klaros, as it can be seen on numbers of epigraphic evidence from the sanctuary and from many other cities, since the cult of Apollo Klarios got spread, such as Sagalassos and Isinda.⁷²⁰ The Klarian Apollo had a sanctuary at Sagalassos. According to an inscription found at Hierapolis, the god demanded that the citizens of Hierapolis to erect statues of himself in the city.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁷ See section on the literary and epigraphic evidence related to Artemis at Klaros in chapter IV.

⁷¹⁸ Müller and Prost 2013, 93–96.

⁷¹⁹ Etymology of Klaros is contradictive. Possible suggestions are that it was derived from a toponym, the name of Apollo's beloved, or from a Greek word *kleros* (κλερος) meaning "share." For the discussion of the etymology of Klaros, see Şahin 2007, 345.

⁷²⁰ For the epigraphic evidence revealing Apollo's epithet "Klaria," see Ferrary 2014. For the cult of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos, see Talloen 2015, 181–183.

⁷²¹ Ritti 2006, 94–97.

Late Bronze Age, Protogeometric, and Geometric Phases (1300 – 750 B.C.E.)

Ceramics and bronze objects from the Late Bronze Age have been found in the sanctuary at Klaros, especially in the circular altar area in the Apollo sector.⁷²² The circular altar, of which only the foundation made of large stone blocks has been preserved, has been dated to the Protogeometric period based on the associated material.⁷²³ However, a number of Late Bronze Age ceramics and bronze objects, including a fibula, arrowheads, and knives, were discovered in deeper levels of this structure. Some of these were found together with Protogeometric material. The Late Bronze Age material indicates that the area was used in the 13th century B.C.E. Nevertheless, it is not easy to clarify whether the activity was ritual or not. In addition to this evidence, the cave to the northeast of the sanctuary on Mount Galesion, and a female figurine found close to the circular altar might also be explanatory for the Late Bronze Age of Klaros.⁷²⁴

Recent research revealed that the cave housed a female deity, probably a nature deity based on the material found in the area.⁷²⁵ Material evidence indicates that the earliest activity in the cave started in the Chalcolithic period, and continued in the Bronze Age, and following periods.⁷²⁶ Pottery sherds and terracotta figurine fragments from the Roman period indicate that the cave even continued being used into the Roman era.⁷²⁷ A relief depicting Kybele with probably a young boar, or a young bear from the third century B.C.E. that was found outside the cave suggests that the cave was sacred to a nature deity first, and was associated with Kybele in its later history.⁷²⁸

⁷²² See chapter III and chapter IV for the circular altar. Also see Şahin et al 2009, Şahin et al 2011, 152–157; 114–117; Akar Tanrıver 2009, 77–83; Zunal 2014, 9–11.

⁷²³ Zunal 2014, 9–10.

⁷²⁴ See above pg. 56 and notes 303–307 for the cave and the female figurine.

⁷²⁵ Bostancı 2002.

⁷²⁶ Bostancı 2002, cat. nos. 157–188, pls. 52–61.

⁷²⁷ Atalay 1988, 297.

⁷²⁸ Bostancı 2002, 3–6; Şahin 2015a, 589.

A Late Bronze Age / Early Protogeometric handmade terracotta figurine representing a female in labor, which was found in square K16A to the east of the circular altar of Apollo, can also be evidence for early cult activity at Klaros.⁷²⁹ The female figurine has been identified as a mother goddess by Nuran Şahin.⁷³⁰ Şahin supports her suggestion with the worship of a female deity in the above mentioned cave, and the cults of mother goddesses at the nearby cities of Kolophon and Metropolis.⁷³¹ Whether the figurine represents a goddess or a mortal mother is uncertain, but its relation with fertility and a female deity cannot be excluded.⁷³² The above-mentioned Late Bronze Age finds – ceramics and bronze artifacts – might have been related to this female cult. Therefore, we may suggest that Klaros was sacred as early as the Late Bronze Age.

The circular altar is the earliest architectural remain that has been associated with cultic activity.⁷³³ Ceramics, bronze objects, terracotta anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, burnt animal bones and ash provide secure evidence for the cultic function of the structure. However, it is not easy to determine if this altar was dedicated to Apollo, or another deity in the Protogeometric period.

It used to be thought that religious activity started in the sector related to Artemis during the Archaic period, specifically in the sixth century B.C.E. and then continued through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁷³⁴ Even though research at deeper levels provided earlier material, the possibility of religious activity in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, and its possible nature have never been discussed. The number of identifiable Protogeometric and Geometric finds from the

⁷²⁹ Şahin and Debord 2011, 177, pl. 6.1; Şahin 2015a, 587–595.

⁷³⁰ Şahin 2015a, 587–595.

⁷³¹ Şahin 2015a, 590.

⁷³² Şahin 2015a, 591–592.

⁷³³ Şahin and Debord 2011, 186.

⁷³⁴ See chapters III and IV.

Artemis sector is a strong indication of activity in this area. The earliest material from the Artemis sector includes ceramics and jewelry.⁷³⁵ Examples of Protogeometric and Geometric ceramics were mainly concentrated in deeper levels in the area to the southeast of the Archaic building, and under the building, and in the deeper levels in the altar area.

Archaic Phase (750 – 480 B.C.E.)

The discussion on the Archaic period of the Artemis sector has been divided into four sub phases in order to represent phases of activity in relation with the cult.

Late Eighth / Seventh Century B.C.E.

Evidence for a structure with wooden beams and a stone pavement was found associated with eighth / seventh century B.C.E. material underneath the leveling fill of the “tenth layer.” The stone pavement might have provided bedding for an earlier structure underneath the sixth century B.C.E. temple. Limestone slabs discovered in deeper levels in the western room of the Archaic building may have been related to the foundation or floor level of the earlier structure. Similar limestone slabs were also recovered over the stone pavement to the southeast of the Archaic building, the tenth layer covered them (**fig. 23**).⁷³⁶ A silver ring (**cat. no. 40**), a bronze button (**cat. no. 74**), a gilded bronze laurel leaf (**cat. no. 95**), bronze fibulae (**cat. nos. 49, 50**), silver bands (**cat. nos. 38, 39**), and ceramics from the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. can be associated with this level, and probably with the structure. Although we cannot determine the exact foundation date of the structure, we can at least possibly suggest

⁷³⁵ See chapter IV for the material, and their contexts.

⁷³⁶ As stated in the fourth chapter, the tenth layer is a leveling course used as a precaution against ground water in the sanctuary. It was not found underneath the sixth century B.C.E. structures, but covered the area outside.

a Late Geometric, or more likely Early Archaic date. The presence of the gilded laurel leaf and jewelry in this level perhaps suggests early votives.

Remains of an earlier structure are also visible underneath the Archaic altar to the east of the Archaic building. The first phase of the Archaic altar, which is contemporary with the first phase of the Archaic building, was placed over remains of this previous structure.

Analysis of the material found underneath the deeper levels of the Archaic building, provides evidence for continuity of activity in the seventh / sixth century B.C.E. The ceramic assemblage includes examples of early type band *skyphoi*, Ionian *kylikes* from the seventh century B.C.E, rosette and bird *skyphoi* from the late seventh and early sixth century B.C.E., and band and eye cups from the early sixth century B.C.E. Seventh century B.C.E. bronze artifacts, such as griffin protomes, cauldron fragments, a tripod fragment, and fibulae also suggest a continuation of religious activity.⁷³⁷ Therefore, we can confidently suggest that the earlier structure underneath the Archaic building, and the possible altar underneath the Archaic altar continued functioning until the late sixth century B.C.E. construction period in the sanctuary.

A terracotta channel system was constructed at the east side of the Archaic altar, but below the foundation level of the first phase of the altar. Since its elevation is below the foundation level of the first phase of the Archaic altar, the well preserved terracotta channel must have been in use in the seventh century B.C.E., before the erection of the Archaic altar. As can be clearly seen in the photo, the Archaic altar partly covers the channel (**fig. 45**). Considering that the Archaic altar was placed on top of another structure, probably an earlier altar, we can suggest that the terracotta channel was a part of the ritual in the seventh / early sixth century B.C.E. This channel

⁷³⁷ See chapter IV, bronze section.

might have been used to drain blood into the earth.⁷³⁸ Although it is difficult to say if it continued being used in the late sixth century B.C.E with the new altar, the fifth century B.C.E. ceramics and figurines found in-situ lying over the channel suggest that it was out of use in the early fifth century B.C.E. If we accept that the terracotta channel was part of an earlier sacrificial structure, and stopped being used with the sixth century B.C.E. altar, we may suggest an alteration between sacrificial traditions of the two periods. Animal sacrifice might have performed on the previous altar and the channel might have been used to drain the victim's blood. Animal sacrifice was at the center of ancient Greek cult practice, and altars played a major role in this ceremony.⁷³⁹ In the case of Klaros, especially in the Artemis sector, ash and burnt animal bones provide secure evidence for the rite of sacrificing animals. In addition, the terracotta channel for possibly draining the blood into the earth indicates that the rite of sacrifice occurred on the earlier altar before the erection of the Archaic one. Considering the length of the channel we can also suggest that the previous structure might have occupied a larger space.

The altar of Apollo also has a channel system for blood draining. The channel beside the altar of Apollo is made of stone, whereas the one in the Artemis sector is of terracotta. Differences in construction material are not limited to the channels. The archaic building in the Artemis sector was built of limestone, but marble was used for the temple of Apollo in the Archaic period.⁷⁴⁰ What would have been the reason for the difference in construction material in the same period? It might have been caused

⁷³⁸ See Haase 2013, 1.

⁷³⁹ Whitley 2010, 134. The earliest evidence for sacrifice of animals in the Aegean area goes back to the Minoan and Mycenaean periods (Marinatos 1988, 9–20; Bergquist 1988, 21–34). It is difficult to trace the rite of sacrifice most of the time. Although it can be detected from remains of animal bones, it is not the case for all sanctuaries.

⁷⁴⁰ Dewailly 2014, 85.

by the availability of the material in the area, but it is also likely that it indicates the relative importance of the cult of the different deities.

Destruction (seventh century B.C.E.)

The “tenth layer” formed of medium to large stones covers the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. levels. As mentioned above, the tenth layer has been interpreted as a precaution against the raising ground water in the sanctuary around the sixth century B.C.E.⁷⁴¹ As it is the case at Klaros today, the constant increase in the ground water level was a major problem for the sanctuary throughout its life time. Placing leveling courses and elevating the walking levels might have been an effective measure. Material found below this stone layer shows heavy burnt marks, and traces of an intense fire can be observed in different trench sections. This destruction layer is visible in all areas that show activity in the seventh century B.C.E. and earlier in the sanctuary.⁷⁴² Burnt roof tiles, ceramics, and remains of burnt mud brick layers show that the seventh century B.C.E. building in square MN12–13 to the south of the Hellenistic Apollo temple must have suffered from a heavy fire. In addition, a large number of arrowheads, and a few spear heads were found in this burnt layer in square MN12–13.⁷⁴³ Even though the destruction layer in the mid seventh century is visible in the entire sanctuary, the evidence shows that the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. structures continued being used into the sixth century B.C.E.⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴¹ See above note 411.

⁷⁴² These areas are the circular and rectangular altars to the east of the Hellenistic Apollo temple, and in Square MN12–13 that revealed seventh and sixth century B.C.E. architectural remains to the south of the temple.

⁷⁴³ Şahin et al. 2015, 674.

⁷⁴⁴ Şahin et al. 2012, 289–294; 2013, 255–256; 2014, 342–346; 2015, 670–676. Nuran Şahin also states (personal communication) that there was no *hiatus* between the seventh century B.C.E. destruction and the sixth century B.C.E. construction period.

The destruction might have been caused by an earthquake or enemy attack. Earthquakes continually caused destructions at the sites of western Anatolia in the ancient period, and still continue to do so.⁷⁴⁵ Another reason for such destruction might have been an enemy attack, which is more likely in consideration with the presence of weaponry in square MN12–13.⁷⁴⁶ Historical evidence supports the high possibility of an attack in the seventh century B.C.E. in western Anatolia. The mid seventh century B.C.E. was a troubled period in western Anatolia because of the Kimmerians.⁷⁴⁷ Although historical sources do not mention Klaros as one of the places attacked by Kimmerians, considering the Kimmerian attacks on Miletos, Ephesos, Lebedos and other Ionian sites in ca. 638 B.C.E, it is highly possible they also sacked Klaros on their way to Kilikia.⁷⁴⁸

Even though a similar amount of arrowheads is not available in the Artemis sector, the same destruction layer outside the Archaic structures is visible in this area. As it is the case in other sectors, the tenth layer also covers the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. levels in the Artemis sector, and the material found underneath the stone layer shows burnt marks. It is not possible to determine any destruction layer underneath the Archaic building without removing it. However, considering the burnt seventh century B.C.E. layer evidenced in the Artemis sector, I think it is safe to suggest that the earlier structure underneath the Archaic building was damaged as a result of an enemy attack around 630s B.C.E. Even though it is not easy to say whether the structure was

⁷⁴⁵ See Tokmak 2012 for a discussion of seismic activity in western Anatolian cities, including Priene, Ephesos, Miletos, Magnesia ad Meander, Hierapolis, Laodikeia, Sardis, and Stratonikeia.

⁷⁴⁶ Fortythree arrowheads were found together with a few spear heads in square MN12–13, underneath a sixth century B.C.E structure – probably the temple of Leto. See Zunal 2017, 41–53 for discussion of the arrowheads.

⁷⁴⁷ Hrd. 1.6, 1.15; Strabo 14.1.40. For Kimmerian attacks in western Anatolia, see Burn 1960, 100–106; Kristensen 1988; Zunal 2017, 46.

⁷⁴⁸ Şahin et al. 2015, 674; Zunal 2017, 46.

abandoned or continued being used with some repair because of the later constructions on top of it, the material indicates a continuation of activity in this area.

Sixth Century B.C.E. Remains

It is in the sixth century B.C.E. that we have clear evidence not only that Artemis was worshipped in the sanctuary, but also that structures in the northern part of the sanctuary were dedicated to her. An Archaic *kore* dedicated to the goddess as revealed by its inscription is the most significant indicator for identifying the sacred space of Artemis in the sanctuary. The statue was found beside the Late Hellenistic altar located to the north of Apollo's altar by Louis Robert in 1956. Robert then labeled the area to the north of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo as sacred to Artemis. Roman period coinage representing the Klarian triad (Apollo, Artemis and Leto side by side) also shows Artemis standing on the left of Apollo (**fig. 9**). It is most likely that Robert also based his argument on the coinage. The next period of excavations (1988 – 1997) provided supporting evidence for this area and the architectural structures being consecrated to Artemis. This evidence was the base of the *kore* with the name of Artemis placed beside a small altar (**fig. 46**). Therefore, this area has been named as the sector of Artemis. The related material that has been examined in the fourth chapter provide a good amount of evidence that Artemis was residing to the north of her brother, as it will be discussed in following pages.

The Archaic *kore* and the cylindrical base of another *kore* found with it to the south of the Archaic altar were placed on two identical square limestone stone slabs (**fig. 47**). These stone slabs were inserted into the seventh century B.C.E. layer, and the “tenth layer” partly lies above them. The slabs were oriented in an east – west direction, and they do not match the Archaic altar's orientation, which is slightly

northeast – southwest (**fig. 48**). The statue bases were displaced and rearranged to have the same orientation with the Archaic altar. The *kore* with the cylindrical base must have been removed from its original spot in the sanctuary and have replaced another statue, which stood beside the *kore* dedicated by Timonaks.⁷⁴⁹ Considering that this statue was originally placed on that slab, it is possible that it was erected here prior to the Archaic building and the altar. The date of the statue also indicates that it was dedicated to Artemis before the construction of the late sixth century B.C.E. temple and altar. Both *korai* have been dated to 560/550 B.C.E. by M. Pecasse based on a stylistic analysis in comparison with the *kore* of Cheramyes and the *kore* of Genelaos of the sixth century B.C.E.⁷⁵⁰ Since the *korai* are chronologically earlier than the erection of the late sixth century B.C.E. temple and altar, they can also be accepted as indicators of the continuing usage of the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. structure underneath the Archaic building. Therefore, we can suggest that the structure and altar preceding the late sixth century B.C.E. building and altar must also have been consecrated to Artemis.

As previously mentioned, the “tenth layer” formed of medium to large stones was placed over the eighth / seventh century B.C.E. levels in the entire sanctuary. As stated in the fourth chapter, the “tenth layer” covered the area outside the Archaic building and altar (and other sixth century B.C.E. structures in the sanctuary) up to the upper level of their foundations. The material associated with this layer mainly includes seventh / sixth century B.C.E. ceramics and small finds.⁷⁵¹ Wooden beams, and in situ roof tiles were found higher above the tenth layer to the southeast of the

⁷⁴⁹ Dewailly suggests that there must have been another statue beside the *kore* with inscription on the second slab, which is missing now (Dewailly et al. 2004, 12).

⁷⁵⁰ On the other hand, Holtzman had suggested an earlier date by comparing the Klaros *kore* with the *Dame d’Auxerre kore* and the *kore* of Nikandre from Delos: 600/580 B.C.E. However, stylistic analysis of the Klaros *kore* shows more resemblance with the later examples.

⁷⁵¹ See chapter IV. Also see Şahin 2011, 153; Şahin 2017, 398.

Archaic building, together with burnt mud brick layers in the trench sections. As this evidence shows, a structure with wooden beams and mud brick walls was built on the early sixth century B.C.E. “tenth layer.” Therefore, the material that has been found with the roof tiles and wooden beams and dated to the seventh / sixth century B.C.E. might have been related to this structure. Considering the placement of the structure with mud brick walls and wooden beams on top of the “tenth layer,” and the associated material, we might suggest a possible construction of a small, probably temporary, temple. In the meantime, the late sixth century B.C.E. Archaic building must have been under construction together with the Archaic temple of Apollo.⁷⁵² If we assume that the builders first started to build a temple for the main god of the sanctuary, it is possible to think that Artemis only received a small temporary sacred space before the late sixth century B.C.E. building was erected. It is also possible that the construction of the Archaic building to Artemis was started, but due to the water problem it had to be stopped. With this assumption, the builders would have prioritized taking measurements against the water level in the sanctuary, which would have been a challenging and time consuming task. Therefore, building a small temporary structure for the goddess may have been a practical solution; admittedly, this is speculation without strong evidence. The finds of gilded bronze objects and jewelry perhaps suggest votives and the sacredness of the structure.

It was previously thought that there might have been a hiatus following the destruction in the mid seventh century B.C.E. until the construction activities of the late sixth century B.C.E. However, the presence of the early sixth century B.C.E. structure with mud brick walls and wooden beams constructed on the “tenth layer” to the southeast of the Archaic building points to continuity of activity. In addition, the

⁷⁵² The foundation of the Archaic Apollo altar also was placed on top of the “tenth layer” (Şahin 2011, 153).

korai predating the construction of the Archaic building in the late sixth century B.C.E. might have been consecrated to the goddess during the presence of the temporary mud brick structure, as also their orientation supports. The statues were most likely reoriented with the demolition of the temporary sacred building and the consecration of the late Archaic structure. The Archaic *korai* and their relation with the late sixth century B.C.E. structures will be further discussed in the following section.

Late Archaic Phase (late sixth – early fifth century B.C.E)

The Archaic building was constructed in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E, and was in use until the fourth century B.C.E.⁷⁵³ Although the position of the building within a sanctuary suggests that it should be considered a temple, the function of this structure has been subject to debate. The structure had been labeled as a temple first, but then it was renamed as an “Archaic building” by the French team.⁷⁵⁴ The confusion about the function of the building is caused by its unfamiliar plan, which is not usual for Archaic or Classical Greek religious architecture.⁷⁵⁵ The building had a rectangular main room with a square porch in front. The porch is wider than the main room. It is difficult to find comparanda for a temple with a wider square porch and a rectangular main room in Archaic sanctuaries. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that the Archaic period was a time of experimentation for Greek art and architecture.⁷⁵⁶ Vitruvius, in his important work *De Architectura*, explains that it was possible to create new architectural forms and plans by analyzing basic principles and blending different elements (4.8.4–7). Four columns in front and four columns inside

⁷⁵³ Dewailly 2014, 88.

⁷⁵⁴ See chapter IV.

⁷⁵⁵ See above note 424 for Archaic and Classical Greek religious architecture.

⁷⁵⁶ Jones 2014, 208. Jones explains that the development of Greek temples was not limited by boundaries, but flexible, and it moved from heterogeneity to conformity.

the square porch in alignment with the central two columns of the façade resemble the *tetrastylus* plan of Greek temples.⁷⁵⁷ In the light of the flexibility in architectural plans and the existence of other uncanonical architectural examples in the Archaic period,⁷⁵⁸ as well as the building's position within a sanctuary, I suggest that the possibility of the Archaic building having been used as a temple should be considered.⁷⁵⁹ Therefore, I will continue to refer to the Archaic building as the Archaic temple throughout the rest of this study.

Although we do not have direct access to the material from the first period of the excavation of the Archaic temple and altar, preliminary reports and excavation notebooks enable us to have a general framework for the ceramics and small finds found in and around the structures. In addition, some of the material is recorded in the inventory of the Efes Museum in Selçuk, and the museum in Izmir, which extends our knowledge of the earlier excavation finds in the area.⁷⁶⁰ As a consequence of fallen column drums over the main western room of the building, the first excavation period concentrated on the square front room. According to the preliminary reports of Dewailly who was responsible for the excavation of the Artemis sector during the French campaign, the ceramics found in the square room provide a wide range of forms and chronology from the sixth to fourth century B.C.E.⁷⁶¹ Although no information is given as to how much pottery was found inside the building, she states that the ceramics included Attic Black Glazed pottery sherds, which formed the largest group, fragments of Attic Black and Red Figure *oinochoai*, *skyphoi*, cups, *kraters*, examples

⁷⁵⁷ The temple of Athena Nike in Athens is an example for this type of four columns facade. The term *tetrastylus* was first used by Vitruvius (3.3.7).

⁷⁵⁸ For hybrid plans in architecture see Rowland and Howe 2001, 237–238.

⁷⁵⁹ I thank Alexander Herda and Michael Kerschner for calling my attention to both the uncanonical characteristics of Archaic period architecture and the possibility that the Archaic building of Klaros resembles *tetrastylus* temples (personal communication, 2016).

⁷⁶⁰ The material kept in the museums in Selçuk and Izmir was examined with the permission of the present excavation director Nuran Şahin, and of the directors of the museums.

⁷⁶¹ Dewailly 2009, 14–16

of local productions, and fragments of *amphorai* from the sixth and fifth century B.C.E.⁷⁶² Since we do not have any information about the whole ceramic assemblage related to the building, it is difficult to determine its function. The vessels might have been dedicated or stored in the porch and kept as votives. Another suggestion would be that the porch served as a place for dining involving ritual activity and display. In either case, we do not have enough evidence to interpret the function of the square room.

The excavation of the west room had to be limited due to the later architectural remains covering it. Material found in this part of the building includes amber beads (**cat. no. 155 a, b, c, d, e**), female figurines (**cat. no. 191**), a gold mask (**cat. no. 13**), and fragments of gold foils. La Genière interpreted the gold foil as an appliqué on a cult statue's dress.⁷⁶³ These objects might have been special offerings for the goddess. According to Dewailly's reports, the ceramics from the Archaic building were mainly concentrated in the porch area and were less numerous in the west room.⁷⁶⁴ In addition to the valuable material found in the west room, the small amount of ceramics (all Attic imports) discovered there also seem costlier. According to the reported material, I argue that the west room was most likely the main sacred room with the most valuable dedications to the goddess kept there.

The area of the Archaic altar to the east of the temple was first excavated during the French campaign, and we do not have full access to the material and results of the research. However, during the 2001 – 2006 excavation period of the Artemis sector, the altar area was reinvestigated. First of all, the above mentioned base of the Archaic *kore* was found located to the south of the altar, together with another base. Since the

⁷⁶² Dewailly 2009, 15.

⁷⁶³ La Genière 1998, 745.

⁷⁶⁴ Dewailly 2009, 13–30.

base belonging to the *kore* revealed the name of Artemis, we can consider that the area and structures around the dedication were most likely in the possession of the goddess. Secondly, square IJ16 next to the west side of the Archaic altar revealed more than 600 fragments of figurines, mainly representing females. Eight complete female figurines were discovered in-situ beside the altar in the late sixth / early fifth century B.C.E. layer, which is the first phase of the Archaic temple. Furthermore, bronze objects, jewelry, gilded bronze laurel leaves, bronze griffin protomes, fragments of bronze cauldrons, bronze fibulae, a silver arrowhead, and silver objects were discovered in the Archaic levels around the altar. In addition, remains of burnt animal bones, ash, and charcoal found together with the figurines in square IJ16 are indicators of a sacrificial ritual. The ash and burning noted around the altar indicate that it was probably used for burning the sacrifices.⁷⁶⁵ Quantities of burnt and unburnt terracotta tile fragments might be considered as sacrificial trays. Ceramics have been found beside the altar, including examples of Ionian cups, *kraters*, closed vessels, East Greek *skyphoi*, plates, and *amphorai*. These indicate ritual activity involving sacrifice, cooking and dining, and probably the dedication of food and libations.

Considering the amount of figurines and especially metalwork associated with the altar, we can suggest that they were placed there with a certain purpose, as votive offerings for the deity. Catherine Morgan states that metalwork and terracotta figurines might point directly to cult activity.⁷⁶⁶ All evidence presented here has shown that the Archaic structure to the east of the temple functioned as a sacrificial feature, and it was the altar consecrated to Artemis in the Archaic period.

⁷⁶⁵ The Archaic / Classical altar is covered by three rows of marble blocks forming the Hellenistic altar. Therefore, we cannot get any information about the top of the altar without removing the Hellenistic blocks.

⁷⁶⁶ Morgan 1999, 326.

Classical Phase (480 – 330 B.C.E.)

A thick leveling fill (about 35 to 40 cm thick) placed outside the temple and around the altar in the Artemis sector includes material from the late sixth to the second half of the fifth century B.C.E., such as fragments of Attic Black Figure drinking vessels, Attic Red Figure and Black Glazed pottery sherds, fragments of *amphorai*, and Early Classical terracotta figurines.⁷⁶⁷ A large amount of standing and seated female figurines were mainly found around the Archaic altar. The area outside the Archaic temple is the secondary find spot for the figurines. Dewailly gives numbers for the figurines in relation to their find spots: 88 female figurines were found around the altar, and 39 around the temple.⁷⁶⁸ Figurines representing Apollo holding a lyre were also discovered in the sector, which is not surprising, since Apollo was the main deity of the sanctuary. The female figurines being concentrated around the altar forms important supporting evidence for the continuing function of the structure. The materials found below and in the fill layer are mostly burnt. In addition, a destruction layer identified inside the square porch of the temple and contemporary with the fill contains ash, charcoal, fragments of burnt roof tiles, and painted frescos over the floor, which indicates a probable fire inside. Furthermore, the same destruction layer can be identified in the entire sanctuary, especially around the Apollo altar. As Şahin and Debord state, three sacrificial blocks found by the west side of the rectangular altar of Apollo lie over a c. 20 cm thick burnt fill layer.⁷⁶⁹ The authors compare the situation at Klaros to that at Didyma, and suggest that Klaros had the same fate as Didyma, and was burnt down by the Persians as a consequence of the Ionian revolt in 494 B.C.E. On the other hand, another major sanctuary of Ionia, the Artemision, escaped without

⁷⁶⁷ Dewailly 2014, 91.

⁷⁶⁸ Dewailly 2014, 91.

⁷⁶⁹ Şahin and Debord 2011, 186.

damage thanks to Ephesos' bilateral politics.⁷⁷⁰ The authors also state that the oracle of the Klarian Apollo stayed silent until Alexander the Great's arrival in western Anatolia. As is the case for the Artemis sector, the figurines and ceramics below this destruction layer have been dated to the first half of the fifth century B.C.E.

Although Dewailly connected the late fifth century B.C.E. destruction to a flood,⁷⁷¹ with the presented evidence both from the Artemis and Apollo sectors another possibility should be considered. The fifth century B.C.E. was a troubled time in western Anatolia due to the Persians.⁷⁷² The end of the fifth century B.C.E. marks the increasing impact of the Persians in the Kolophonian land, including Klaros.⁷⁷³ Considering Şahin and Debord's interpretation for the fifth century B.C.E. destruction layer in the Apollo sector, and traces of heavy fire in the Artemis sector, it is more likely that the destruction resulted from an attack, not a flood. Even though we cannot talk about a *hiatus* in the late fifth and early fourth century B.C.E. at Klaros, it should be noted that there is a recognizable reduction in the amount of Classical ceramics, and terracotta figurines in comparison with the Archaic and Early Classical phases.⁷⁷⁴ Especially the lack of locally produced ceramics and terracotta figurines enables us to understand that this was a troubled time in the sanctuary and the nearby cities. Nevertheless, Attic pottery of the late fifth and fourth century B.C.E. continued to appear in the sanctuary, especially in the Artemis sector.⁷⁷⁵ As known from literary and epigraphic sources, Notion maintained its pro-Athenian politics until it was

⁷⁷⁰ Bammer and Muss 2010, 21.

⁷⁷¹ Dewailly 2014, 89.

⁷⁷² Cook 1961, 117–174; Mansel 1995, 253–432. Also see chapter III, pg. 58–59 for the Classical period at Klaros.

⁷⁷³ See above note 320.

⁷⁷⁴ Since the excavation of the Archaic temple and the altar were mainly carried out by the French team, we cannot say with certainty that this was the case for the Artemis sector. However, research that took place later in the Apollo sector and to the east of it in the 2000s provided a good amount of evidence to enable us to understand the situation in the fifth and fourth century B.C.E. See Şahin 2011, 151–163; Şahin and Debord 2011, 186; Şahin et al. 2012, 302; 2013, 253–264; 2014, 342–353; 2015, 669–684.

⁷⁷⁵ Dallık 2009.

brought under the control of the Persians in the early fourth century B.C.E.⁷⁷⁶ The Attic pottery in the sanctuary might be explained in consideration with continuing trade between Notion and Athens.

Following the Persian attack (rather than a possible flood) in the late fifth century B.C.E. the soil outside the temple was heightened by additional fill in the entire Artemis sector, and also in the sanctuary. The temple itself underwent a slight renovation with a mortar flooring, and some additions in its east façade. A path of gravel was placed over the thick backfill to organize a sacred area between the building and the altar, and also to the north, west, and south of the altar. In the meantime, the Archaic *korai* remained intact, as the excavation revealed.

The continuing usage of the structures was interrupted in the later fourth century B.C.E. with the abandonment of the Archaic temple. Another fill layer covered the entire area and the building itself contains material dated to the second half of the fourth century B.C.E., including Attic Black Glazed pottery sherds, mainly drinking cups, and closed vessels. This fill layer both sealed the abandonment layer of the Archaic / Classical temple, and provided a bedding for the subsequent structure. Traces of severe disruption can be seen under this fill layer both in the temple, and around the altar. Burnt ceramics, soil mixed with ash and charcoal indicate a fire. This can be observed in the stratigraphy of the entire sanctuary. This destruction might have been caused by a natural catastrophe like an earthquake, or a flood. But it is more likely that the fourth century B.C.E. structures were destroyed as a consequence of the Persian military action against Alexander's troops in western Anatolia in the late fourth century B.C.E.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁶ Şahin 1998, 14.

⁷⁷⁷ For the military actions of Alexander the Great, see Stark 1956, 294–304; 1958, 102–120.

Hellenistic and Roman Phases (330 B.C.E. – fourth century C.E.)

As stated in the previous section, a thick fill layer that was placed over the Archaic / Classical temple and outside the building in the Artemis sector marked the end of the Classical phase. Fourth century B.C.E. ceramics, and terracotta figurines found in the fill provide a terminus post quem for the foundation of a new structure on top of the west room of the Archaic / Classical temple. This structure has been interpreted as the Early Hellenistic temple by its excavator.⁷⁷⁸ This smaller trapezoidal building with two rooms was placed within the walls of the earlier rectangular room. The fourth century B.C.E. Attic Black Glazed pottery sherds, and terracotta figurines in the fill indicates that the construction of the Early Hellenistic temple cannot be earlier than the second half of the fourth century B.C.E.

Only very few ceramics and finds can be associated with the structure because of a thick fill layer formed of compressed chipped stones, containing second century B.C.E. material, over the Early Hellenistic temple. Outside the south wall of the temple, fragments of terracotta figurines of Tanagra types, and a seated female figurine representing probably a female deity from the third century B.C.E. might be related to this structure.⁷⁷⁹ No ceramics, or any other identifiable finds were found inside the building. It seems that whatever had been kept in the building must have been removed before spreading out the filling layer. The thick fill layer containing second century B.C.E. material, such as moldmade bowls, and bronze coins, must be related to the general reconstruction project at Klaros, which has been discussed in the third chapter.⁷⁸⁰ This fill layer also seals the abandonment of the Early Hellenistic temple in the second century B.C.E. Therefore, the two fill layers under and above the

⁷⁷⁸ Sezgin 2008, 191.

⁷⁷⁹ Şahin et al. 2005, 294.

⁷⁸⁰ See chapter III for the historical development of the sanctuary.

building help us to date the temple between the late fourth and early second century B.C.E. A square stone platform was placed beside the west wall of the western room of the Early Hellenistic structure. Sezgin, who excavated the building, suggests that this platform served as a base for a cult statue.⁷⁸¹ Since no identifiable material is available from the building it is difficult to determine its function.

The Archaic / Classical altar located to the east underwent a renovation. As stated in the fourth chapter, the placement of three rows of uneven marble blocks over the earlier phases resulted in the Hellenistic altar. Terracotta female figurines representing various types, and ceramics found around the altar clarify its chronology and function, as especially the terracotta figurines point to cult activity.⁷⁸² The *korai* stayed intact beside the Early Hellenistic altar in the third century B.C.E.⁷⁸³ Dewailly suggests that the statues must have been lifted up to match the ground level after several leveling operations took place following the above-mentioned destructions in the sanctuary. The upper level of the stone platform, which is thought to have been a base for a cult statue, and the upper level of the stone blocks of the Hellenistic altar compared with each other are equivalent (+1.20m). Considering that the Hellenistic altar was placed over its predecessor, and taking into account the votive elements found around the altar, together with animal bones, we can confidently suggest that it functioned as a sacrificial structure. Since the altar and the Hellenistic structure are contemporary according to their elevation, we can also suggest that they were related. The location of the Early Hellenistic temple can also be accepted as an indicator for its function. Since the earlier building has been interpreted as a temple, the sanctity of the previous building might have been the reason for building the later temple over the

⁷⁸¹ Eren 2017, 105–116.

⁷⁸² Morgan 1999, 326.

⁷⁸³ Dewailly 2014, 94.

western room. One can question the small size of the structure. I think the most logical answer to this would be an urgent need for a sacred place for the goddess following a destruction. Although there is no certain evidence for *spolia*, it is highly possible that the new temple's construction material came from the earlier structure underneath.

The second Hellenistic temple is located to the west of the Archaic temple and to the north of the temple of Apollo. This small marble structure with a *megaron* plan (porch and main room) has a strong foundation made of large stone blocks, and a *peristasis*. Based on the material in the foundation level of the Late Hellenistic temple in the Artemis sector, its construction started around the early third century B.C.E. A hoard of 164 bronze Kolophonian coins of 320 – 294 B.C.E., which was left in the foundation of the temple probably as a foundation offering, provides a secure terminus post quem for the date.⁷⁸⁴ However, another fill layer that has been dated to the second century B.C.E. covers the first foundation, which indicates an interruption in the construction of the temple. The historical development of the sanctuary, and its main cities – Kolophon and Notion – clarifies the situation.⁷⁸⁵ The comprehensive construction project that started at the end of the fourth century B.C.E. with Antigonos Monophtalmos had to stop as a consequence of Lysimakhos' political action in 294 B.C.E. Lysimakhos obtained power after the death of Antigonos Monophtalmos in 301 B.C.E., and took control of Asia Minor. As soon as he started ruling, he rebuilt Ephesos on a new site nearby, and named the new city after his wife Arsinoe, and forced the citizens of Kolophon to move to the new city.⁷⁸⁶ With the desertion of Kolophon, Antigonos' construction project at Klaros stopped. A decree from the second century B.C.E. found at Klaros informs us that the removed Kolophonians returned to their

⁷⁸⁴ See Amandry 1992, 91–99 for the hoard.

⁷⁸⁵ See chapter III for the historical development of Klaros.

⁷⁸⁶ See above note 326.

city in 289 B.C.E.⁷⁸⁷ As excavations have demonstrated, another extensive construction project started in the sanctuary in the late third century B.C.E. This is the time that Kolophon came under the rule of Attalos I of the Pergamon Kingdom.⁷⁸⁸

Since the building was excavated by Louis Robert in 1950s, we have no information about the material from inside the temple. However, later excavations in the *peristasis* area revealed significant evidence for the date and the function of the structure. Fragments of second century B.C.E. moldmade bowls, local production pottery sherds, and a bronze coin from Smyrna, which is from the early first century B.C.E., were found under the *peristasis* blocks to the north of the temple. As stated earlier, the fill layer covering the Early Hellenistic temple, which also provided a bedding for the foundations of the subsequent structures, contains material from the third quarter of the second century B.C.E. Therefore, we can suggest that the erection of the Late Hellenistic temple as part of the second construction project at Klaros must have started in the late second or early first century B.C.E. One can wonder about the reason for the late start of the temple for Artemis. Considering that Apollo was the main god at Klaros, first building a temple for the god is reasonable. Thus, we can assume that the project in the late third century B.C.E. prioritized the temple for Apollo. Until a major part of the Apollo's temple was completed, they probably did not start erecting one for Artemis. In the meantime, the small Early Hellenistic temple might have served for ritual activities associated with the goddess.

An Ionian capital and a single well-preserved fluted column found to the east of the Late Hellenistic temple in Roman levels provide evidence for the superstructure of the temple. In addition to the architectural elements, a beautifully worked female statue fragment was discovered in the same level. The statue has been dated to the

⁷⁸⁷ Robert and Robert 1989, 63–104; Rousset in press.

⁷⁸⁸ Şahin 1998, 15.

second half of the fourth century B.C.E. according to its stylistic features.⁷⁸⁹ This Late Classical / Early Hellenistic statue must have continued being displayed in the Roman era of the sanctuary, as it is the case for other earlier statues, which were found in Roman levels.⁷⁹⁰ The dress of the statue resembles the style used for statues of Artemis, and therefore this small statue probably represents the goddess Artemis.⁷⁹¹

The date of the statue (second half of the fourth century B.C.E.) indicates that it might have been related to the Early Hellenistic temple. As the evidence presented has shown and as discussed earlier in this chapter, the construction date of the temple must have been in the late fourth century B.C.E. according to the material in the fill of the foundation. It should also be pointed that a square stone platform found inside the main room of the Early Hellenistic temple has been interpreted as the base of a cult statue. Is it possible that the small marble statue of the goddess would have been the cult statue of the Early Hellenistic temple? Of course it is not easy to answer this question. Nevertheless, the possibility should be considered. It is also possible that the statue was removed from the earlier temple and placed in the later one.

Research in the area to the north of the *peristasis* of the Late Hellenistic temple revealed material from the third to the first century B.C.E, including fragments of second century B.C.E. moldmade bowls, third century B.C.E lamps, bronze coins, and other bronze objects. It seems that this material was removed during the filling operation at the time of the construction. Gold jewelry, foils, and objects were discovered under a fill formed of medium to large stones in a specific area (**fig. 49**), together with a quantity of bronze fragments, and fragments of terracotta figurines

⁷⁸⁹ *LIMC II*, 636 no. 133, 640 no. 181.

⁷⁹⁰ The Archaic *kore*, and *kouroi*, and other Classical and Hellenistic marble statuary were discovered in Roman levels at different spots in the sanctuary.

⁷⁹¹ *LIMC II* nos. 129, 130, 132, 133, 162.

representing females, children, and animals.⁷⁹² An eyelash, and a fragment of hair lock are among the bronze objects. These two artifacts and the amount of fragmentary bronze plaques indicate the existence of a bronze statue in or near the structure. A single fragmentary bronze object found in the stone filling is particularly interesting (**cat. no. 102**). It should have been a smaller part of an object like a branch. Only two upper twigs ending in spirals are preserved. First, it had been thought that it is a part of ornamentation. However, two different Red Figure vase scenes offer another suggestion for the object. In one of the scenes Leto holds a very similar branch in her hand, and on another vase Artemis is represented holding a stylized lotus branch (**figs. 50, 51**). Considering the existence of statue fragments found in the same area, we may suggest that presence of a bronze cult statue of the goddess in the Late Hellenistic temple is possible.

The altar related to the Late Hellenistic Artemis temple was located to the northwest of Apollo's Hellenistic altar (**plan 2**). As can be seen in the plan, this is a smaller version of Apollo's altar. The above mentioned Archaic *kore* revealing the name of Artemis was found on the first step of the altar, which indicates that this structure was also dedicated to the goddess. The altar has been dated to the second half of the second century B.C.E. according to the examples of moldmade bowls found in the foundation level of the altar.⁷⁹³ The existence of a sacrificial system in front of the structure, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs, can be accepted as a secure indicator for its function as an altar.

It seems that two separate constructions in the Hellenistic period were started in the Artemis sector. What would have been the reason for building two similar structures very close to each other at the same time? If both buildings had the same

⁷⁹² Information is based on the excavation notebooks.

⁷⁹³ La Genière 1992, 71.

function, the smaller one might have been temporary until the larger one was completed. According to Şahin, the Late Hellenistic temple was never completed due to the ongoing construction of the Apollo temple and financial issues.⁷⁹⁴ In the existing circumstances, building a smaller structure might have been logical. Alternatively, the structures may have had different functions.

During the reconstruction project that continued from the late third century B.C.E. to the end of the life of the sanctuary, one hundred marble blocks with iron rings were placed in the area between the temples and the altars (**fig. 52, plan 1**). In consideration with the related material (fragments of moldmade bowls and coinage) the *hecatomb* system must have been placed in the second century B.C.E. These blocks with rings have been identified as a sacrificial system called the *hecatomb* (*ἑκατόμβη* in ancient Greek).⁷⁹⁵ The meaning of *hecatomb* in ancient Greek is an offering of a hundred animals (especially oxen), and this was one of the religious traditions in the ancient Greek world.⁷⁹⁶ The north edge of the blocks was aligned with the north side of the Late Hellenistic altar in the Artemis sector, which has been associated with Artemis due to the earlier mentioned *kore* (**fig. 53, plan 2**). Similar sacrificial systems have been discovered at Amphipolis and Thasos.⁷⁹⁷

The Cult of Artemis at Klaros: Artemis Klaria

There is no question about the presence of Artemis at Klaros. Not only archaeological, but also literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence securely attest that the goddess was one of the residents of the sanctuary, and was worshipped beside Apollo and Leto. However, these documents provide no detailed information about the

⁷⁹⁴ Personal communication with Nuran Şahin.

⁷⁹⁵ La Genière 1992, 71; 1993, 40; Lidde and Scott, see s.v. “ἑκατόμβη.”

⁷⁹⁶ The number of the victims is subject to change.

⁷⁹⁷ La Genière 1998, 248–249.

nature of the cult, or ritual practices.⁷⁹⁸ Therefore, identification of the characteristics of Artemis Klaria depends on the study of the votives, faunal remains, and comparison with other sites. It should be noted that identifying votive offerings among excavated materials from Greek sanctuaries is problematic.⁷⁹⁹ The problem rises from the question of whether all objects deposited in a sanctuary could be considered votive offerings. According to Van Straten, all non-consumable objects given to a deity and kept in the sanctuary might be accepted as votive offerings.⁸⁰⁰ Once the votive offerings were placed in a sanctuary, they were the property of the god. An inscription from *Loryma* on the Rhodian Peraia (third century BC) explains that removing votive offerings from the sanctuary was forbidden.⁸⁰¹

Although offerings to the deities were made for numerous reasons, the main motives were asking for help on occasions of difficulty or danger, and as an expression of gratitude.⁸⁰² Dedications were also regularly made during annual festivals, on the occasion of sacrifices, and rituals. Votive offerings were kept in treasuries either in a separate building or in a part of the temple reserved for the storage of these items.⁸⁰³ Temple inventories are extremely important to get information about the votive offerings in a sanctuary. Unfortunately, archaeologists are not so lucky about finding the inventories. For instance, Brauron is one lucky example with its well-preserved inventory. No inventories have been found at Klaros yet.

⁷⁹⁸ It should be noted that the epigraphic finds from the sanctuary, which were found by Louis Robert in the 1950s are partly published. Ferrary examined and published delegation decrees in 2014. The rest of the epigraphic finds are being studied by American scholars according to Ferrary (2014, 15).

⁷⁹⁹ Brulotte 1994, 8.

⁸⁰⁰ Van Straten 1992, 290.

⁸⁰¹ Van Straten 1992, 272.

⁸⁰² Brulotte 1994, 11; Spivey 2013, 96.

⁸⁰³ Brons 2015, 43.

1. *The Characteristics of Artemis Klaria*

The *Homeric Hymn 9 to Artemis* describes the “*far-shooting arrow-pourer*” goddess coming from Smyrna to Klaros, where Apollo sits and waits for her arrival. Parke suggests that this hymn must have composed for a special occasion.⁸⁰⁴ According to Parke, the hymn was composed for a festival held at the sanctification of the temple constructed for Artemis at Klaros in the seventh century B.C.E. He mistakenly combines the Late Hellenistic temple and altar with the inscribed Archaic *kore*, and considers that the structures were also dated to the seventh century B.C.E., because he only knew the results of Louis Robert’s excavation in 1950 – 1961.⁸⁰⁵ Although the chronology of Parke’s suggestion is not accurate in consideration with the architectural remains in the sanctuary, with the recent evidence we may take into consideration the possibility of the hymn referring to the consecration of the late sixth century B.C.E. temple to Artemis. Nevertheless, this hymn gives a few clues about Artemis of Klaros. She is the “*far-shooting arrow-pourer*.” Here Artemis appears as the virgin huntress. In this hymn, Artemis comes from Smyrna to Klaros, where Apollo waits for her. But it is not clear whether she comes from another place and stops by Smyrna to water her horses, or Smyrna was her starting point.⁸⁰⁶ Was this the first time she was going to Klaros? It is also not possible to answer this question.

The earliest epigraphic and archaeological evidence that indicates that Artemis was worshipped at Klaros is the Archaic *kore* revealing her name. A priest named Timonaks dedicated a *kore* to Artemis, and a *kouros* to Apollo as the first priest in the first half of the sixth century B.C.E.⁸⁰⁷ It seems that Timonaks served as a priest to

⁸⁰⁴ Parke 1985, 121.

⁸⁰⁵ His dating of the *kore* was not accurate. (Either the *kore* has been dated to the sixth century B.C.E. Dewailly et al. 2004, 25–35 no. 2.

⁸⁰⁶ For the *Homeric Hymn 9 to Artemis*, see above note 354.

⁸⁰⁷ For the *kore* and *kouros* dedicated by Timonaks, see Dewailly et al. 2004, 25–35 no. 2, 47–55 no. 5. See Hermary 2015, 21–22 for the *kore* and *kouros* from Klaros.

both deities. Was he the first priest of their temples, or of a newly introduced cult at Klaros?⁸⁰⁸ Hermay's answer to this question is that the priest must have wanted to symbolize the link between Apollo and Artemis. I do not agree that it was this simple. A fragment of a marble base that was found near the rectangular altar of Apollo in 2008 has demonstrated that it was more complicated than just emphasizing the link between two deities, and might have been related to a new cult at Klaros.⁸⁰⁹ Apollo is depicted naked, holding a bow in his left, and a young hare in his right hand. He is described as disembarking from a boat in the shape of a boar, and as extending his right hand with a hare to someone in front of him (**fig. 54**). Letters in Greek ("ΠΥΘ...") can be read under the boat and have been identified as part of *πύθιος* by Pierre Debord.⁸¹⁰ Şahin and Debord interpreted this find as illustrating the introduction of a new cult for Apollo "*Pythios*" at Klaros, and with this interpretation Timonaks can be accepted as the initiator and first priest of this new cult in the sanctuary.⁸¹¹ Based on Pierre Debord's investigation, Timonaks is named as a Kolophonian aristocrat by Şahin.

An iconographic analysis of the incised scene on the above-mentioned marble base of the sixth century B.C.E. may clarify the interpretation of a new cult. The male figure on the base represents Apollo with his bow, one of the main attributes of both Apollo and Artemis in Greek art.⁸¹² A boat in the shape of a boar is behind the god. Leaving the boat behind must indicate that Apollo has just arrived. The rest of the base is broken, but since he is handing over a hare, there should be another figure standing opposite him. To identify this missing figure, the young hare will be explanatory.

⁸⁰⁸ This is the main question based on the inscriptions on both statues that was examined by different scholars: Lejeune and Dubois 1998, 1145; Etienne and Prost 2008, 84; Şahin and Debord 2011, 185.

⁸⁰⁹ For the marble base and its interpretation, see Şahin and Debord 2011, 176, 185.

⁸¹⁰ Şahin and Debord 2011, 185.

⁸¹¹ Şahin in press.

⁸¹² Carpenter 1996, 43.

Considering that the coast where Apollo landed is Klaros, we can think of two deities who welcome the god: Artemis and Leto. Here the hare must be referring to Artemis. Hares, especially young hares, were consecrated to Artemis. Killing a hare caused a substitute sacrifice, or punishment with death.⁸¹³ In one foundation myth, Artemis presents herself in the shape of a hare.⁸¹⁴ Young girls were depicted holding young hares to associate their link with the goddess at Brauron (**fig. 55**). In addition, a similar scene appears on an Attic vase from 370 B.C.E. (**fig. 56**).⁸¹⁵ We see Apollo sitting and handing over a hare to Artemis depicted as Bendis in Thracian dress.⁸¹⁶ Therefore, the welcoming figure opposite Apollo should be Artemis. The marble base is contemporary with the statues Timonaks consecrated to Apollo and Artemis. In consideration with the present evidence, Artemis might have shared the new cult with her brother as his counterpart. Artemis sharing the cult with her brother is not surprising. She was introduced to the cult in Delphi in the Classical period, and shared Apollo's epithets Pythia and Delphinia with him.⁸¹⁷ One of the second century B.C.E. small mobile altars revealing the name "Artemis *Pythia*" was thought to be representing the goddess of Miletos, but with this new evidence, we can may be consider its being dedicated to Klarian Artemis Pythia. (Would it be possible that the *Pythia* cult was active for so long?) It is known from epigraphic evidence that Apollo was both Klarios and Pythios until the end of the cult activity in the sanctuary in the fourth century C.E.⁸¹⁸ In the decree of Laodicea from 209 / 210 C.E. the god was called "Apollo Pythios and Klarios," which is an indication of the continuity of both cults at

⁸¹³ Aesch. *Ag.* 140–143; Xen. *Cyn.* 5.14.

⁸¹⁴ Paus. 3.22.12.

⁸¹⁵ *LIMC II*, 706 no.1097a.

⁸¹⁶ For the cult of Bendis and her association with Artemis, see Janouchová 2013, 95–106.

⁸¹⁷ Athanassakis 2004, 90.

⁸¹⁸ See Ferrary 2014 for the epigraphic evidence revealed the name and epithets of Apollo at Klaros.

Klaros.⁸¹⁹ Although it is not known if both these epithets were in use without an interruption from the sixth century B.C.E. to the third century C.E., the possibility should be considered. Apollo and Artemis appear with their Klarian epithets Klarios and Klaria in the third / second century B.C.E. pan-Ionian decree, which informs us about an oracle of Apollo demanding the revival of ancient traditional rituals for himself and his sister.⁸²⁰ This decree is also an indicator for the continuity of cultic rituals throughout the centuries in the sanctuary. We may accept that Artemis also carried the epithet *Pythia* together with Apollo at least to the third century C.E. Considering that the cult of Artemis *Pythia* came to Klaros in the sixth century B.C.E., the new temple might have housed both cults; *Pythia* and *Klaria*. In this case we may also suppose that the cult of Artemis Klaria was already active at Klaros, and it was Artemis Klaria who welcomed Apollo at his return, as well as the new cult he brought with him. Even if *Pythia* was worshipped at Klaros together with Klaria, it seems not possible to determine its cultic nature separately.

A decree from the beginning of the second century B.C.E. found in the sanctuary reveals an oracle of Apollo Klarios demanding the revival of ancient festivals in the name of himself and Artemis Klaria.⁸²¹ There is no mention of *Pythia* in this text. Can we assume that the *Pythian* cult did not last long into the second century B.C.E.? In this case, can we accept the small mobile altar referring to Artemis *Pythia* was a commemoration of a vanished cult in the sanctuary? Unfortunately, these questions cannot be answered in the current state of evidence.

Votive offerings are our main source for identifying the nature of the cult of Artemis at Klaros. A close analysis of the related material has been completed

⁸¹⁹ Ferrary 2014, 568–569, no. 289.

⁸²⁰ Müller and Prost 2013, 93–96.

⁸²¹ See chapter IV for the decree. Also see Müller and Prost 2013, 93–96. As stated in the fourth chapter, the interruption of the festivals must have been related to the Persian destruction at Klaros.

comprehensively in the fourth chapter and in the catalogue. Here, I will discuss the cultic aspect of the material in depth.

a. The Huntress and Punisher

In the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis*, the goddess appears with her huntress character. Since she is coming to Klaros where Apollo waits for her, one can expect to find archaeological evidence for her being worshipped as the huntress starting from the Archaic period in the sanctuary. A silver arrowhead found beside the Archaic altar in an Archaic level provides the first evidence for Artemis Klaria's huntress persona (**cat. no. 42**). Of course this is not the only example of arrowheads in the Artemis sector. Eleven bronze arrowheads, eight of them found beside the Archaic altar and seven of them gilded, indicate that Artemis Klaria received arrowheads as votive offerings. Arrowheads found in sanctuaries refer to dedications most of the time, unless traces of battle could be detected. Such example can be seen in the sector related to Leto at Klaros. A group of 43 bronze arrowheads were found in one corner of the Archaic temple of Leto – in a burnt context. Zunal argues that the burnt layer indicates fire as a result of a battle and the arrowheads that were found in this layer were used in a battle.⁸²² The silver and gilded bronze arrowheads consecrated to Artemis Klaria should almost certainly be considered as votive offerings, since they are more decorative and probably more costly than functional. Arrowheads consecrated to Artemis Klaria might indicate two different suggestions: they were offered to the goddess to honor her huntress role, or they were dedicated before or after a war as an expression of gratitude for returning alive. Greek soldiers offering arrowheads to Zeus at Olympia after the victory at Marathon provide a good example.⁸²³ Therefore, some

⁸²² Zunal 2017, 47.

⁸²³ Hellmuth 2014, 26.

or perhaps all of the arrowheads dedicated to Artemis Klaria may have been related to soldiers and war. This also reminds us of one of the specific functions of Artemis as *Agrotera* (of the war) in some areas of Greece.⁸²⁴ However, there is no certain evidence for Artemis being worshipped as *Agrotera* at Klaros. A single dedication, a bronze greave (**cat. no. 124**), which was found at the altar of Artemis, might indicate the possibility, but still it could have had the same purpose as the arrowheads as expression of prayer or gratitude, before or after a war.

Another myth related to Artemis being a “*far-shooting arrow-pourer*” is the story of Niobe’s children being killed by Apollo and Artemis.⁸²⁵ Both Artemis and Apollo appear with a punishing role in this myth. As a punishment for Niobe’s arrogance Artemis and Apollo kill all the children of the queen. In consideration with her punishing function and the mentioned myth, it is also possible that the arrowheads might have been offered as a commemoration of Artemis and Apollo bringing death with their bows and arrows. Of course this not the only story representing Artemis as the bringer of death.⁸²⁶ This is one of the characteristics of her persona in Greek religion.

We cannot exclude the huntress function of the goddess by considering the possibility of the arrowheads being dedicated in relation with a war, and her punishing function. In addition to the hymn, and the arrowheads, the Hellenistic monumental cult statue of Artemis shows her as a huntress. Even though the quiver is not preserved, a band holding her quiver is visible diagonally between her breasts (**cat. no. 11**). An Archaic silver pendant depicting a running wild goat (**cat. no. 43**) might be accepted as related to her hunting skill. A Hellenistic period terracotta figurine most likely

⁸²⁴ Paus. 8.32.4.

⁸²⁵ Niobe was the daughter of Tantalus, and the queen of Thebes in Greek mythology. See Şahin 2013, 86–90 for the myth.

⁸²⁶ See chapter II for different myths representing Artemis as the punisher and bringer of death.

represents Artemis the huntress in rest, maybe after a tiring hunt (**cat. no. 227**). This figurine wears a short tunic, boots, and a cloak, and sits on a rock. Therefore, Artemis Klaria must have been worshipped as the huntress from the Archaic period to the end of the life of the sanctuary.

b. The Protector of Children (Kourotrophos)

As stated in chapter II, protecting and taking care of children is one of the principal functions of Artemis in Greek religion, and she was called *kourotrophos*.⁸²⁷ The combination of a female (deity or mortal woman) and a child is the most common figural type of the *kourotrophos* figurines, which can be found in sanctuaries of deities who are associated with pregnancy, childbirth, and who had role in helping children to reach adulthood.⁸²⁸ Although there is a general acceptance that *kourotrophos* figurines are representations of deities who had something to do with children, the possibility of these figurines depicting the worshippers should be kept in consideration.⁸²⁹

In addition to her huntress function, numbers of kourotrophic figurines indicate that Artemis *Klaria* was also related to children. As the evidence presented in chapter IV has shown, the terracotta figurines depicting females with children have a date range from the fifth to the third century B.C.E.

Beside the figurines representing females with babies, figurines depicting children that have also been found in the Artemis sector indicate her relation with children (**cat. nos. 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208**). However, it is not easy to

⁸²⁷ The kourotrophic aspect of Artemis and her cults related to children and childbirth can be found in chapter II, pg. 24–26.

⁸²⁸ Beaumont 2003, 61; Budin 2011, 23–26.

⁸²⁹ Budin 2016, 70. Budin clarifies that the modern literature describes *kourotrophos* as nurturer, and the image with a child could be divine or mortal.

determine the nature of this relation with the absence of written sources. The variety in age and gender of the figurines indicates that the Klarian Artemis was effective in both girls' and boys' lives in different ages. The figurines depicting younger children might have been dedications for helping infants survive and reach a certain age, since infant deaths were high in the ancient world. The ones depicting children of age 5 to 14 might have been related to her role in transition.

Beside terracotta figurines, garments form a special category among offerings to a kourotrophic deity, as in Brauron.⁸³⁰ Recorded garments in inventories at Brauron were offered by women only and described as "sacred to Artemis."⁸³¹ Dedication of clothes to Artemis are often connected to childbirth.⁸³² There are also inventories of textile productions as votive offerings from different sanctuaries, especially sanctuaries of female deities.⁸³³ Other deities who received garments are Leto, Demeter, Hera, Athena, and Eileithyia.⁸³⁴ Textiles might have served for two different purposes in the sanctuaries. In some cases, they are simply gifts for the deities. Nevertheless, in some instances, as on Delos, garments are described as being used for dressing the statues.⁸³⁵ Since it is difficult to find archaeological evidence of organic material, such as fabric, we might consider some objects as indicators of garments as votive offerings in sanctuaries. These objects are fibulae, pins and buttons. The Artemis sector at Klaros reveals all three types of artefacts. Even though it is highly possible that these objects were individual offerings, it is also likely that some of them were attached to garments.

⁸³⁰ Van Straten 1992, 275.

⁸³¹ Linders 1972, 2–3.

⁸³² Brulotte 1994, 12.

⁸³³ Brons 2015, 48–55.

⁸³⁴ Brons 2015, 58.

⁸³⁵ Brons 2015, 51.

c. *The Goddess of Transition*

The process of transition from childhood into adulthood was also in the sphere of Artemis.⁸³⁶ She was especially dominant in the life cycle of girls – puberty, preparing for marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth.⁸³⁷ Artemis is an exclusive recipient of special kind of offerings “*proteleia*,” the offerings and sacrifices to mark the end of childhood and the entrance into adulthood.⁸³⁸ The dedications of this kind include hair locks, toys, dolls, musical instruments used by the dedicator in his or her childhood. Mirrors, jewelry, female figurines are some other offerings the goddess receives.

Two examples of dolls, a terracotta and an ivory one (**cat. nos. 171, 224**), representations of brides in terracotta (**cat. nos. 214, 215**), and dedication of belts (**cat. no. 86, 87**) indicate the goddess’ role in transitions. But again, it is difficult to detect the character of this role. Childhood items, including dolls, toys, and clothes were among offerings of maidens before their marriage as symbols of transition from girlhood to womanhood.⁸³⁹ These dedications can be accepted as manifestations of soothing the anger of the goddess before losing their virginity, since pureness was essential for Artemis. The above-mentioned offerings have been dated to the Hellenistic period, according to their contexts or stylistic analysis. Nevertheless, this does not prove that her role related to young girls was attached to her persona in the Hellenistic period. Examples of bronze fibulae from the seventh century B.C.E. suggest that Artemis Klaria was already receiving dedications related to children in this early period. Mariaud who investigated bronze fibulae from tumuli at Kolophon,

⁸³⁶ See above note 116.

⁸³⁷ See above note 117.

⁸³⁸ Brulotte 1994, 11; Budin 2016, 94. Also see *LSJ*, s.v. “*προτέλεια*.”

⁸³⁹ Budin 2016, 93.

classified them based on their size.⁸⁴⁰ According to his research, while child burials revealed smaller fibulae (2.3 to 3 cm), adult burials were adorned with larger fibulae (4.5 to 5 cm). Therefore, eight out of fifteen examples dedicated to Artemis might have been offered in relation with children, probably young girls who dedicated their childhood garments to the goddess before their marriage (**cat. nos. 51, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61**). Since the fibulae from the Artemis sector are from the seventh century B.C.E., we can suggest that even though no representation of young girls can be found in this earlier period, the possibility of Artemis being responsible for watching over young maidens in the seventh century B.C.E. should be considered.

Gilded bronze spirals from the seventh century B.C.E. found at the Archaic altar are also probably related to young maidens bringing offerings to Artemis Klaria before they became brides. As stated in chapter II, young girls cutting and offering a lock of hair to Artemis before marriage was one of the most common religious traditions in Greek world.⁸⁴¹ Considering the gilded bronze spirals were most likely used as hair accessories, we might suggest them being offered together with the locks of hair by maidens.

2. *Dances, Singing and Ceremonies*

a. *Chorus, Music, and Dance in the cult of Artemis Klaria*

Two Homeric hymns composed to Artemis will be referred to here: *hymn 9* informs us about Artemis' journey to Klaros, and *hymn 27* describes the goddess as coming from the hunt to lead the chorus of the Muses and Graces in Delphi.⁸⁴² They

⁸⁴⁰ Olivier Mariaud kindly shared his research and permitted me to use it for reference in this dissertation. The text he shared is to be presented in a conference in Italy. I would like to express my sincere appreciation.

⁸⁴¹ See Budin 2016, 93.

⁸⁴² See Lonsdale 1993, 53–57 for the *Homeric Hymns 9* and *27*, and Artemis being the leader of the chorus.

all sing and dance. Even though the second hymn is related to Delphi, not Klaros, we may consider a resemblance in the cults of Apollo and Artemis at the two sites.⁸⁴³ As stated earlier, Artemis shared Apollo's cult epithets *Pythia* and *Delphinia* in Delphi, and *Klaria* and *Pythia* at Klaros. Therefore, it is highly possible that for the cult Artemis of Klaros festive occasions included chorus performances and dance.

The Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions from the sanctuary reveal a great deal of information about the oracular cult at Klaros.⁸⁴⁴ According to the inscriptions, music, hymns, and games were major parts of the oracular ceremonies.⁸⁴⁵ Although it is out of our knowledge, Dewailly points out the existence of terracotta figurines representing young musicians among dedications to Artemis.⁸⁴⁶ The scholar suggests that the Archaic building was not a temple but a place for two different functions. According to Dewailly, the western room was the place for housing the cult statue, and storing the offerings, and the square eastern room was linked to gymnastic and musical rehearsals of young attendants.⁸⁴⁷ It is not clear that on what evidence she based her suggestion, and therefore, we should approach it with suspicion. As explained earlier in this chapter, the Archaic structure probably served as a temple, despite its unfamiliar plan. Terracotta figurines representing dancing females (**cat. nos. 210, 211, 212, 213**), and young hymn readers (**cat. nos. 216, 217**) dedicated to Artemis should be interpreted together with the representations of musicians. Therefore, Dewailly's suggestion might be partly accepted. She suggests that Artemis was the patron deity of children who were from elite families of Kolophon and other cities,

⁸⁴³ For Delphi, see Parke 1967; Lloyd-Jones 1976; Fontenrose 1988a; Morgan 2007.

⁸⁴⁴ See Ferrary 2014 for delegations at Klaros.

⁸⁴⁵ Busine 2005, 72–81.

⁸⁴⁶ Dewailly 2014, 97. Unfortunately, none of the figurines recorded in the museum inventory depicts a musician, and as stated earlier, we do not have a direct access to the material of the French excavations.

⁸⁴⁷ Dewailly 2014, 97.

and who participated in Klarian festivals.⁸⁴⁸ According to this scholar, Artemis was responsible for the education of children participating in ceremonies in honor of Apollo. However, in my opinion this suggestion underestimates the persona of Artemis Klaria, and put her in the position of helper of her brother. Her relation with children must have included their participation in ceremonies, music and dance, but must not have been limited to it, as the evidence presented in chapter IV has shown.

b. Festivals for Artemis Klaria

The earliest epigraphic evidence for the celebration of festivals in honor of Artemis Klaria is the third / second century B.C.E. decree of the Ionian league.⁸⁴⁹ Since it informs us about an oracle of Apollo demanding a revival of quinquennial festivals in honor of himself and Artemis Klaria with ancient traditional rituals, we understand that the festivals were being celebrated in honor of both deities in the Archaic and Classical periods.

As presented in the fourth chapter, and interpreted earlier in the present chapter, Artemis was worshipped in the northern part of the sanctuary, beside the oracular god of Klaros. Epigraphic, literary, and numismatic evidence, architectural remains including temples and altars consecrated to Artemis, numerous and various votive offerings examined in this study indicate that the goddess' place in the sanctuary at Klaros was significant, probably almost equal to Apollo's.⁸⁵⁰ As stated earlier, the north end of this sacrificial system is aligned with the north end of the altar consecrated to Artemis. This sacrificial organization and the pan-Ionian decree indicate that the *penteteric* Klaria festivals were being celebrated in honor of both deities, and Artemis

⁸⁴⁸ Dewailly 2014, 98.

⁸⁴⁹ Müller and Prost 2013, 93–96.

⁸⁵⁰ For the architectural remains and related material, see chapter IV.

and Apollo were receiving sacrificial offerings during these festivals. Even though there is no certain evidence for the foundation date of the festivals, since the sixth century B.C.E. was the time of a comprehensive reconstruction period of the sanctuary, and also the beginning of a new cult (Pythia), we can suggest that the Klaria Festivals might have started in the sixth century B.C.E. Unfortunately, no information is available about the rituals related to the Pythia cult.

Manto who was the founder of the oracle at Klaros according to the foundation myths,⁸⁵¹ gives voice to Leto's demand in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.⁸⁵² According to this, Leto demanded that the worshippers should bring votive offerings and sacrifice animals on the altars for herself and her children – Apollo and Artemis – and all participants should wear laurel wreaths during the festivals. Numbers of gilded bronze laurel leaves found around the altars in the sanctuary might be indications that the participants were wearing laurel wreaths during the festivals, in accordance with Ovid's narrative.

It is known that processions (*pompe* “*πομπή*” in Greek) were crucial parts of religious festivals in Greek religion.⁸⁵³ As processions were an important ritual part of cult practices, evidence for processions to the sanctuaries can be found on vases, relief friezes, in literary sources, and inscriptions.⁸⁵⁴ Physical manifestations of processions are the sacred roads, connecting the city and the sanctuary, especially when the sanctuaries are located in the countryside.⁸⁵⁵ As one of the extra-mural sanctuaries of the ancient world, Klaros was connected to the nearby cities, Kolophon and Notion via sacred roads. Parts of the sacred roads of Klaros have been uncovered in previous

⁸⁵¹ See above pg. 43–45.

⁸⁵² Ov. *Met.* 6.157. Nuran Şahin suggests that Klaros was the place where Leto gave this oracle (2008, 218–219).

⁸⁵³ De Polignac 1995, 39–40; Greaves 2010, 180–181.

⁸⁵⁴ Ekroth 2006, 474–478.

⁸⁵⁵ Greaves 2010, 180–181.

years. The sacred road leading towards the south was in use from the seventh century BC to the third quarter of the fourth century BC.⁸⁵⁶ This sacred road has two phases and was used in the Archaic and Classical periods consecutively. Recent research indicated that the road was connecting the sanctuary to its harbor.⁸⁵⁷ Although only a part of this road has been found,⁸⁵⁸ I think that the road to the harbor might also have been a part of the main sacred road between the sanctuary and the city.⁸⁵⁹ The harbor of Klaros was probably the main access point to the sanctuary for many worshipers who arrived by sea.

Not many details are known related to the festivals at Klaros. Nevertheless, considering the close relationship between Ephesos and Klaros as Charles Picard asserted in his *Ephèse et Claros*, the Ephesian festivals of Artemis might be accepted as model for the Klarian festivals, especially for the parts related to the goddess.⁸⁶⁰ In addition, the Roman coins depicting Artemis Klaria in the form of the Ephesian Artemis indicate a syncretism between the goddesses of two sanctuaries. The Ephesian festivals started with processions of young maidens and men who were carrying the cult statue of the goddess, torches, baskets full of sacred objects, precious jewelry and fruits.⁸⁶¹ The cult statue, which was a dressed and adorned depiction of the huntress Artemis, was carried by the priestess of the temple followed by young maidens in beautiful dresses.

⁸⁵⁶ La Genière 1998, 257, plan 1; Şahin et al. 2004, 78; Şahin 2007, 346.

⁸⁵⁷ As it is indicated earlier in the third chapter, recent geophysical research proved the existence of the sanctuary's own harbor.

⁸⁵⁸ Unfortunately, the rest of the road lies partly under the Roman building complex and partly under the parking area at the entrance of the site. However, it would be possible to trace the route of the road towards the south and to search for the turning point of it immediately after the parking area.

⁸⁵⁹ It is known that the sacred road between Miletus and Didyma first reached to the Panormos harbor and then turned towards the south-east and ran towards the sanctuary (Greaves 2010, 183–184).

⁸⁶⁰ Picard 1922.

⁸⁶¹ Xen. Ephes. 1.2.

Processions must have also been part of the Klaria festivals, since this was a general starting point in religious festivals in ancient Greek world.⁸⁶² The participants in a procession differed according to the characteristics of the cult. A 160 / 170 C.E. decree from Hierapolis, which must have been erected on a special occasion delivering an oracle of Apollo Klarios,⁸⁶³ informs us that the *molpoi* (*μολποῖ*), who were the members of a society responsible for performing religious sacrifices, were ordered to bring maidens with sacrificial animals and votive offerings to the sanctuary.⁸⁶⁴ This is a secure indicator of young virgins participating in Klaria festivals. These maidens should have worn white dresses as a symbol of innocence,⁸⁶⁵ and carried laurel branches in their hands.⁸⁶⁶ A bronze branch found at the altar of Artemis and a stylized branch found close to the Late Hellenistic temple of the goddess might be accepted as an indication of this ritual tradition. In addition, considering the presence of two small statues representing Artemis (**cat. nos. 4, 6**), we might suggest that carrying a statue of the goddess was also a part of the processions during the Klarian festivals. Furthermore, it is known from an inscription found in Notion that a virgin maiden (*kosmophoros*) was responsible for carrying the goddess' jewelry during the Klaria festivals.⁸⁶⁷

Music was an inseparable part of the procession.⁸⁶⁸ Flute (*aulos* “*αὐλός*”), and lyre (*lyra* “*λύρα*”) were probably the main musical instruments used in the festivals at Klaros. Black and Red Figure vases depicting Apollo and Artemis playing or holding a lyre, numerous terracotta figurines representing males and females holding a lyre

⁸⁶² Şahin 2012, 153.

⁸⁶³ The Klarian Apollo was worshipped at Hierapolis together with Apollo Kareios. See Ritti 2006, 94–99.

⁸⁶⁴ Ritti 2006, 94–99.

⁸⁶⁵ It is known from Ephesian festivals that the participant maidens were wearing white dresses during the processions (Şahin 2012, 154, n. 22).

⁸⁶⁶ Şahin 2012, 154.

⁸⁶⁷ Picard 1922, 245–246.

⁸⁶⁸ Şahin 2012, 154.

discovered in the sanctuary, and a few examples of a tortoise shell with holes (the lyre was made of tortoise shell) are proof of the lyre's significance at Klaros. Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions found at Klaros also reveal information about young boys and girls participating in the festivals as choristers.⁸⁶⁹ Six girls and six boys (sometimes seven) were included in the delegation of Laodicea.⁸⁷⁰ However, the number of the children was subject to change.⁸⁷¹ It is known from the inscriptions that sometimes young singers, or professional poets and musicians as masters of children joined to the festivals at Klaros.⁸⁷² Terracotta figurines depicting children of both sexes and young girls depicted singing found in the Artemis sector could be linked to these choristers who participating in the Klarian festival. Unfortunately, no other information related to the rituals is available. As stated earlier, since not all of the epigraphic finds have been published, our knowledge about the rituals applied in the festivals are limited.

⁸⁶⁹ Aude Busine (2005) and Jean-Louis Ferrary (2014) published inscriptions of delegations found at Klaros.

⁸⁷⁰ Busine 2005, 74.

⁸⁷¹ Herakleia Salbake sent groups of nine, Aizanoi sent ten, while Chios sometimes sent as many as twenty young choristers (Busine 2005, 74).

⁸⁷² Busine 2005, 74, 76.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Artemis was one of the most popular and widely worshipped deities of the ancient Greek world. The goddess had a special character with her wide range in time, region and cultic functions. She had a complicated and conflicting persona with a variety of different roles in different places. Artemis was the goddess of hunting and the wilds; as well as the protector of children, especially girls. She was also responsible for protecting young animals. She was the bringer of death to women, but also the healer. Artemis played an important role in transition from childhood to puberty, from maidenhood to womanhood, and from pregnancy to childbirth. This dissertation documented the evidence for different components of the cult of Artemis at Klaros including the festivals, ritual practices and material evidence, and compared them to other cults of the goddess in western Anatolia and Greece.

By bringing a large amount and range of material together, and examining them in archaeological, chronological, and cultic respects, a comprehensive study has been completed, which is among one of the aims of this study.⁸⁷³ The material that has been investigated in this study includes literary and written evidence, architectural remains, small finds, ceramics and animal bones that were found in the Artemis related area at Klaros. Careful and detailed documentation of the material including descriptive and visual records has comprised the foundation of this study. Following

⁸⁷³ See chapter I.

the first introductory chapter, the second chapter has presented an overview of the myths related to Artemis and her cults in the Greek world, general consensus and conflicts in the scholarship considering the early history of Artemis, and her links with Crete, the Near East and Anatolia. A brief observation of the worship of Artemis in western Anatolia with a focus on selected major sanctuaries of the goddess have also been included in chapter II. The third chapter of this dissertation has summarized the features of the sanctuary at Klaros. Foundation legends related to the oracular sanctuary of Apollo, historical development of Klaros, a brief information about the phases and chronology of the sanctuary, and the Klarian triad in the guidance of ancient literary sources have also been covered. The fourth chapter of this dissertation has presented a descriptive analysis literary, archaeological and written material from the site. A brief introduction with previous excavation history, description of the structures, some basic discussion of interpretation, and analysis of the material by types and classification have formed the structure of this chapter. Chapter V has presented an extensive discussion in accordance with the entire corpus, followed by the conclusive chapter. The final chapter of this study is the catalogue, within which an extensive set of information has been collected.

The only accessible archaeological evidence from the first period of the excavations related to Artemis are architectural remains from the Late Hellenistic and Roman eras of the sanctuary. Since the Roman era was the peak time for the oracular sanctuary of Apollo, a large amount of material should be expected in the Roman levels. The reason that no material from the Roman period has been included in this study is because there is no available information from the 1950s' excavations, which were conducted by L. Robert. The scholar's specific focus on architectural and epigraphical evidence should be the explanation of the absence of any small finds and

ceramics from the excavations. Even though the second period of research in the sector revealed more archaeological evidence (architectural and materialistic), there are still problems in access. Our main source of material is the last period of the excavations: 2001–2006.

Although there is evidence for possible cult activity at Klaros dating back to the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, the earliest evidence for worship of Artemis dates to the Archaic period. It is in the sixth century B.C.E. when we have clear evidence that Artemis was worshipped at Klaros and the structures in the northern part of the sanctuary were consecrated to her. A temple and altar were constructed for the goddess in the Archaic period, and an Archaic *kore* was dedicated to Artemis. As the evidence that has been analyzed in this dissertation has shown, Artemis was worshipped at Klaros as Klaria and Pythia with almost equal importance to Apollo. The goddess shared both the epithets and festivals with her brother. As the third / second century B.C.E. decree demonstrates the *penteteric* Klaria festivals were celebrated in honor of both deities starting from the Archaic period. Even though not many details are known related to the festivals at Klaros, the Ephesian festivals of Artemis might give us a clue in consideration with the close relationship between Klaros and Ephesos. As the small statues depicting Artemis indicate, it is highly possible that the cult statue of the goddess was being carried in the processions during the Klarian festivals. The worship of Artemis continued from the sixth century B.C.E. till the abandonment of the sanctuary in the fourth century C.E. without interruption as the Archaic *kore*, Late Classical and Early Hellenistic small statues, Late Hellenistic cult statue and Roman coins indicate.

Artemis' persona at Klaros was complicated as in all places she was worshipped. The goddess was the beautiful virgin huntress who was described with

her quiver and arrows as the “*far-shooting arrow-pourer*.” Besides her huntress function, we also see her as the relentless goddess who brings death to women. On the other hand, Artemis Klaria appears as the protector of children and probably pregnant women with her *kourotrophos* character. She was also worshipped as the goddess of transition as the terracotta figurines of brides, and young girls and boys indicate. Klaros with its extra-urban location serves well for the goddess’ transition function as well. Dance and music must have been crucial in the ritual practices related to Artemis at Klaros as the dancing female figurines indicate. It is interesting that in the Roman period Artemis Klaria gained an additional characteristic by being syncretized with the Artemis of Ephesos, and appeared on coins as the “Artemis Klaria Kolophonia” in the form of Ephesian Artemis. Unfortunately, the evidence is not clear to explain this new appearance of the Klarian Artemis in the Imperial period.

The strong eastern influence that is prominent in the cult of the Ephesian Artemis is not visible in the cult of Artemis Klaria. She does not show close resemblance with the Mother of Anatolia. In addition, the cult of Kybele was present near the sanctuary at Klaros, and in the nearby city, Notion. Therefore, we cannot suggest any combination or syncretism with Kybele and the Klarian Artemis. The present evidence from Klaros suggests that the Klarian Artemis was more Greek than Anatolian.

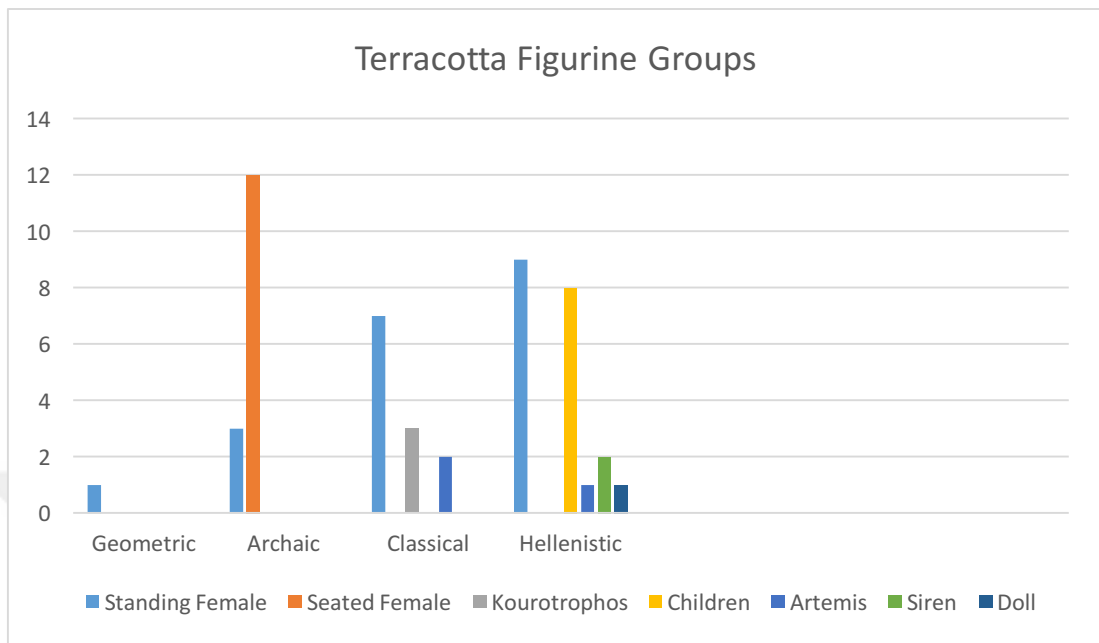


Chart 1. Typological analysis of the terracotta figurines found in the Artemis sector.

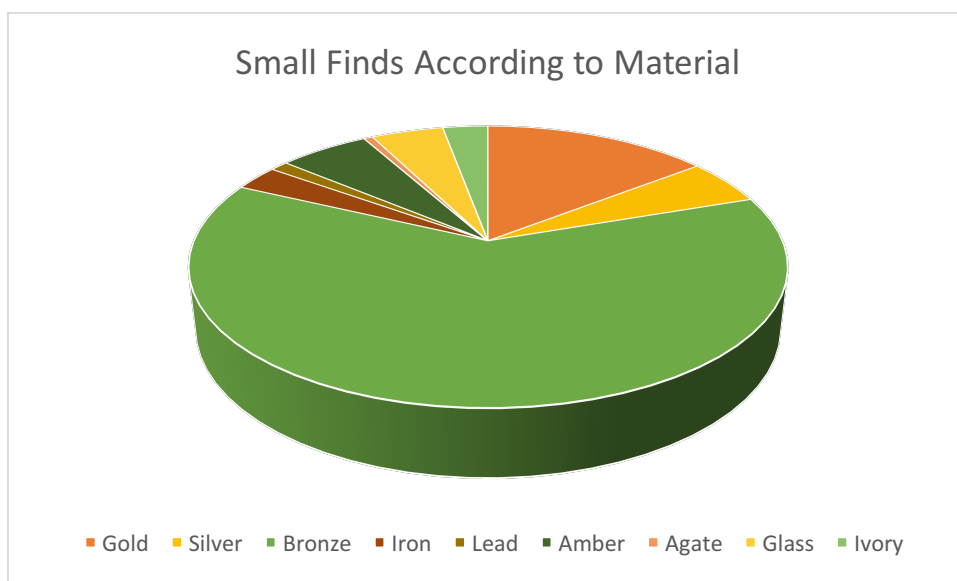


Chart 2. Small finds grouped according to their material.



CATALOGUE

CATALOGUE

Marble

Cat. no. 1

Material / Artifact type: Marble / *kore* (female statue)

Context / Year: *kore*: on the first stair of the Late Hellenistic Artemis altar / 1959 – Base: south of the Archaic altar / 1997

Izmir Museum, inv. 003.708

Dimensions: pr. height *kore*: 1.36 m. / base: 0.55 m.

Description / Decoration: Head and part of the left arm missing. Frontal body. Feet are slightly turned to left and the lower part of the statue is twisted. Right arm pressed against its side. Left arm against the chest. She probably is holding an object. Hair depicted in eleven braids at the back. Wears a chiton tied with a belt on the waist and a short mantle. Inscription on the left side: “Timonax, the son of Theodoros, dedicated me to Artemis as the first priest.”

Chronology: 560 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Kore* of Cheramyas (Louvre Museum) and *Kore* of Geneleos (Louvre Museum). Robert 1960, 59; La Genière 1998b, 242–243; Karakasi 2001, 56–58.

Publication: Dewailly et al. 2004, 25–33.



Cat. no. 2

Material / Artifact type: Marble / base and a lower part of a *kore* (female statue)

Context / Year: S3.1/C south of the Archaic altar. layer 10 / 1997 KL97.81

Efes Museum, inv. 81/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 90 cm / *kore* h. 20 cm / base h. 70 cm / diam. base. 57 cm / skirt. 27 cm

Description / Decoration: High cylindrical base. Only feet and a lower part of the skirt are preserved. Feet are close, right foot slightly ahead.

Chronology: 560 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Kore* of Cheramyes (Louvre Museum) La Genière 1998b, 242, pl. 4.1.

Publication: Dewailly et al. 2004, 21–25.



Cat. no. 3

Material / Artifact type: Marble / female statuette

Context / Year: S3.1/A / 1993

Efes Museum, inv. 23/43/93

Dimensions: pr. height 11 cm / pr. width 6 cm / chest 3.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Standing female statuette. Head, lower right arm, hands, lower legs are missing. Wearing a chiton and himation.

Chronology: Classical / second half of the fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Parthenon sculptures (Ridgway 1981, fig. 2); relief from Eleusis (Boardman 1991, 187, fig. 144)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 4

Material / Artifact type: Marble / female statue (Artemis)

Context / Year: I13/AC / 2002

Efes Museum, inv. no. 23/22/02

Dimensions: pr. height 64 cm / pr. width 22 cm / depth 15 cm

Description / Decoration: Lower body and legs are preserved. Head, arms, upper body, right leg under knee and feet are missing. Wearing a chiton fixed with a thin stripe under the breasts. Missing left hand must have been holding her skirt.

Chronology: Late Classical / Early Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication: –



Cat. no. 5

Material / Artifact type: Marble / female statue?

Context / Year: J15C +2.42 m. / 2008

inv. no. KL2008/4

Dimensions: pr. height 44 cm / width 27 cm / depth 24 cm

Description / Decoration: Small female statue. Part of the body and a part of the left arm are preserved. Head, arms, legs, upper part of the body are missing. Wearing a chiton fixed with a thin stripe under the breasts.

Chronology: Early Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: *LIMC II*, 463, no.210

Publication: –



Cat. no. 6

Material / Artifact type: Marble / female statue (Artemis)

Context / Year: S4/BC / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. 80/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 40 cm / width 26 cm / depth 20 cm

Description / Decoration: Small female statue. Head, arms and legs are missing. Wearing a chiton fixed with a thin stripe under the breasts.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication: –



Cat. no. 7

Material / Artifact type: Marble / female statuette fragment

Context / Year: mixed context / 1995

Efes Museum, inv. 7/9/95

Dimensions: pr. height 11 cm / pr. width 13 cm / chest 10.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Fragment of a female statuette. Only upper part of the body is preserved. Wearing a chiton tied with a belt under the breasts.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Boardman 2014, fig. 139.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 8

Material / Artifact type: Marble / statue arm

Context / Year: IH12 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 20.4 cm / pr. max. width 4.5 / wrist 2.9 cm

Description / Decoration: An arm and part of a hand of a small statue. Fingers and upper part of the arm are broken.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 9

Material / Artifact type: Marble / statue arm fragment

Context / Year: J14 +2.00/+1.70 m. / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 9.4 cm / pr. max. width 4.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Arm fragment of a small statue. Broken on both sides of the elbow.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 10

Material / Artifact type: Marble / hand

Context / Year: 3A northeast area / 2001
Efes Museum, inv. no. 15/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 6.9 cm / pr. width 6.5 cm / depth 5.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Hand fragment of a life-size statue. Middle finger is complete. Fourth and fifth fingers partly preserved. Exterior black polished.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 11

Material / Artifact type: Marble / cult statue

Context / Year: On a platform in the Hellenistic temple of Apollo. / 1956

Dimensions: pr. height 5.90 m

Description / Decoration: Torso and left leg are preserved in two fragments. Wearing a khiton. Dress is fixed under the breasts. Band of the quiver is visible.

Chronology: Hellenistic period

Publication: Robert 1957, 5; Holtzman 1993, 801–817; Marcadé 1996, 447–463; Bourbon and Marcade 1995, 519–524; Flashar 1998/1999, 227–239; Marcade 1998, 53–94, 299–323.



Metal

Gold

Cat. no. 12

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque

Context / Year: 3A ground of the circular pit. –
0.22 m. KL01.32 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 32/3/01

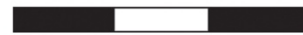
Dimensions: pr. height 1.8 cm / pr. width 4.4 cm
/ weight 0.3 gr

Description / Decoration: Thin rectangular
plaque. Part of a diadem. Both edges are broken.
Unidentified decoration, impressed.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Kerameikos:
Coldstream 2003, 60, fig. 16b; Lefkandi:
Lefkandi I, 219–220, pl.227.b, 229.c, 232.a–d

Publication: Şahin et al. 2003, 84.



Cat. no. 13

Material / Artifact type: Gold / miniature mask

Context / Year: S3 western room of the Archaic
Building. layer 14. KL96.MT.1/ 1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 31/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 3.2 cm / pr. width 2.9 cm /
weight 0.9 gr

Description / Decoration: Miniature mask. Slightly
smashed. 0.2 cm wide circular frame around the face.
Hammered. Incised line decoration on the forehead. A seal
with a kythara motif is visible on the left temporal region.

Chronology: Archaic?

Comparanda / Bibliography: For gold masks from the
Mycenaean shaft graves see Castleden 2005, 92–93, fig.
3.10.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 14

Material / Artifact type: Gold / object

Context / Year: 3A/1 east of the trench. layer 10.
+0.26 m. KL01.35 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 35/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 2.8 cm / max. thickness 0.1 cm
/ weight 0.6 gr

Description / Decoration: Twisted hoop of a thin gold wire. Complete.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: Şahin et al. 2003, 84.



Cat. no. 15

Material / Artifact type: Gold / piece of a miniature foil in the shape of a female

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12. KL97.78 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 78/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 2 cm / pr. width 1.4 cm
/ weight 0.2 gr

Description / Decoration: Very thin gold foil in the shape of a female head. Hammered. Large almond shape eyes. Earring in a flower shape. Pendant on the neck in a flower shape.

Chronology: Archaic / seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Artemision of Ephesos: Scheich 2008, 175, 183, cat. no. 6

Publication: –



Cat. no. 16

Material / Artifact type: Electron / applique

Context / Year: IH12 in the peristasis of the late Hellenistic temple. +0.59 m. KL06.22/ 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 024.393

Dimensions: pr. height 1.4 cm / pr. width 1.4 cm / weight 0.1 gr

Description / Decoration: Electron applique in the form of a square. Small holes on each corner to sewn on garment. One of the corners is broken. Hammered. A central globular relief is surrounded with four separate globular reliefs. These are bordered with single circular rings. These five globular reliefs form a flower pattern. Outside this pattern a square inner frame. An exterior frame is formed of small square reliefs, which shape a sort of chain.

Chronology: Archaic – seventh / sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos: Scheich 2008, 203 cat. nos. 72, 74; Lydia: Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 166–167.

Publication: Şahin and Günata 2016, fig. 18.



Cat. no. 17

Material / Artifact type: Gold / bead

Context / Year: I14/D southeast area. +0.11m. KL02.11/ 2002

Efes Museum, inv. no. 17/22/02

Dimensions: pr. height 0.6 cm / pr. width 0.5 cm / max. diam. (int.) 0.2 cm / weight 0.4 gr

Description / Decoration: Small circular bead. Slightly smashed.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Kyme (Williams and Ogden 1994, 94 no. 46, fig. 46); Despini 1996, no. 125; Sardes (Özgen and Öztürk 1996); Ephesos (Scheich 2008, cat. no. 37)

Publication: Şahin et al. 2004, 75.



Cat. no. 18

Material / Artifact type: Gold / bead

Context / Year: south to the Archaic building.
KL01.43 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 43/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 1.9 cm / pr. width 2.1 cm / max. diam. (ext.) 2.1 cm – (int.) 0.6 cm / weight 1.9 gr

Description / Decoration: Conical large bead. Formed of a very thin gold sheet. Two pieces join together to form a conical prism.

Chronology: Archaic – seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: For earlier examples from Troia (Sazcı 2007, 214; Ateşoğulları 2008, 166, pl. 28.8).

Publication: Şahin et al. 2003, 82.



Cat. no. 19

Material / Artifact type: Gold/Electrum / plaque

Context / Year: S3 Archaic altar. layer 61-2. +0.70 m.
KL96.MT.2/ 1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 32/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 5.6 cm / pr. width 5.5 cm / weight 3.2 gr / diam. (circles) 0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: Nine joining pieces of a gold/electrum plaque. Two small holes on each side. Decoration: circles between lines. Impressed.

Chronology: Archaic / Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 20

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque (diadem fragment)

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12. KL97.77 / 1997
Efes Museum, inv. no. 77/7/97

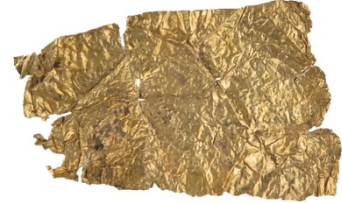
Dimensions: pr. height 1.6 cm / pr. width 2.7 cm / weight 0.02 cm

Description / Decoration: Very thin gold sheet. Piece of a diadem. Both edges are broken. Unidentified decoration, impressed.

Chronology: Archaic – sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 21

Material / Artifact type: Gold / wire fragments

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 9. KL97.76 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 76/7/97

Dimensions: weight 0.01 gr

Description / Decoration: A group of gold wire fragments.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic period

Comparanda / Bibliography: Şahin 2013, fig. 42

Publication: –



Cat. no. 22

Material / Artifact type: Gold / wire fragment

Context / Year: S3 1/B layer 9. KL97.79 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 79/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 0.17 cm / pr. width 0.05 cm / weight 0.001 cm

Description / Decoration: A piece of a gold wire. It must be a part of cat. no. 21.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Şahin 2013, fig. 42

Publication –



Cat. no. 23

Material / Artifact type: Gold / pendant

Context / Year: IH12 in the peristasis of the late Hellenistic temple. +1.50 m. KL06.10 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 024.390

Dimensions: pr. height 1.1 cm / pr. width 0.4 cm / weight 0.3 gr

Description / Decoration: Drop shape pendant. Body is smashed. A tiny crack in the middle. Probably attached to a strap necklace.

Chronology: Late Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Melos (Williams and Ogden 1994, 68–69 no. 22, fig. 22); Thessaloniki (Williams and Ogden 1994, 74–75 no. 30, fig. 30)

Publication: Şahin 2013, fig. 32; Şahin and Günata 2016, 392, fig. 5



Cat. no. 24

Material / Artifact type: Gold / pendant

Context / Year: I12/B in the peristasis of the late Hellenistic temple. +1.50 m. KL06.11 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 024.391

Dimensions: pr. height 1.2 cm / pr. width 0.4 cm / weight 0.2 gr

Description / Decoration: Drop shape pendant. Well preserved. Body is slightly smashed. Probably attached to a strap necklace.

Chronology: Late Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Melos (Williams and Ogden 1994, 68–69 no. 22, fig. 22); Thessaloniki (Williams and Ogden 1994, 74–75 no. 30, fig. 30)

Publication: Şahin 2013, fig. 32; Şahin and Günata 2016, 392, fig. 5



Cat. no. 25

Material / Artifact type: Gold / chain

Context / Year: I12/B in the peristasis of the late Hellenistic temple. +1.52 m. KL06.14 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 024.392

Dimensions: pr. length 4 cm / weight 1 gr

Description / Decoration: A piece of a gold chain. Elaborately braided.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: For a silver example from Elis (Williams and Ogden 1994, 52 no. 6, fig. 6); Kyme (Williams and Ogden 1994, 100–103 no. 54–55, fig. 54–55); Büyükyazıcı 2008, 140–143, fig. 4.111,112,113.

Publication: Şahin 2013, fig 32; Şahin and Günata 2016, 392, fig. 6



Cat. no. 26

Material / Artifact type: Gold / diadem

Context / Year: I12/B in the peristasis of the late Hellenistic temple. +1.50 m.
KL06.42 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 024.394

Dimensions: pr. height 0.6 cm / pr. length 6.4 cm / weight 0.5 gr

Description / Decoration: Ionic kymathion decoration. The band is decorated with hammered wavy lines.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: Classical / Hellenistic

Publication: Şahin 2013, fig. 32; Şahin and Günata 2016, 392, fig. 4



Cat. no. 27

Material / Artifact type: Gold / tube bead

Context / Year: I12/B west side of the trench. +1.96 m.
KL06.12 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E717.KL06

Dimensions: pr. length. 1.3 cm / pr. width 0.3 cm /
weight 0.116 gr

Description / Decoration: A gold bead in the form of a tube. Formed from a rectangular sheet by bending it and joining two edges. Decorated with circular grooves.

Chronology: sixth / fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Madytos (Williams and Ogden 1994, 114 no. 65, fig. 65); Despini 1996, no. 122–123

Publication: –



Cat. no. 28

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque (diadem fragment)

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.82 m. KL06.1 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E709.KL06

Dimensions: pr. height 1.6 cm / pr. length 4.4 cm / weight 0.184 gr

Description / Decoration: Thin gold sheet. Piece of a diadem. Both edges are broken. One edge is narrower. Slightly gets wider from one edge to the other. Floral decoration, impressed.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 29

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.82 m. KL06.2 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E710.KL06

Dimensions: pr. height 3.5 cm / pr. length 6.2 cm / weight 0.759 gr

Description / Decoration: Thin gold sheet. Irregular shape. Floral decoration, impressed.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 30

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.82 m. KL06.3 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E711.KL06

Dimensions: pr. height 3.6 cm / pr. length 5.9 cm / weight 1.056 gr

Description / Decoration: Thin gold sheet. Irregular shape. Floral decoration, impressed. Small holes close to the sides.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 31

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.82 m. KL06.4 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E712.KL06

Dimensions: pr. height 1 cm / pr. length 1.5 cm / weight 0.054 gr

Description / Decoration: A small piece of a thin gold sheet. Unidentified (probably floral) decoration, impressed.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 32

Material / Artifact type: Gold / fragment

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.44 m. KL06.8 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E715.KL06

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 0.6 cm / weight 0.007 gr

Description / Decoration: Very small piece of a thin gold sheet. Looks like a small star, but it's smashed.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 33

Material / Artifact type: Gold / fragment

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.44 m. KL06.9 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E716.KL06

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 0.5 cm / weight 0.003 gr

Description / Decoration: A small piece of a thin gold sheet.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 34

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.82 m.
KL06.13 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E718.KL06

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 1.5 cm / weight 0.033 gr

Description / Decoration: A small piece of a thin gold sheet.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 35

Material / Artifact type: Gold / plaque

Context / Year: I12/B west side of the trench. +1.56 m.
KL06.6 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. KL06.6

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 0.7 cm / weight 0.016 gr

Description / Decoration: A small piece of a thin gold sheet.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 36

Material / Artifact type: Gold / fragment

Context / Year: IH12 north of the *peristasis*. +1.82 m.
KL06.7 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. KL06.7

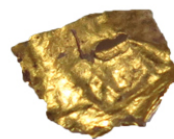
Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 0.6 cm / weight 0.023 gr

Description / Decoration: A small piece of a thin gold sheet.

Chronology: Classical?

Comparanda / Bibliography: Nif (Baykan 2016, 386–388, fig. 7,12); Delphi (Valavanis 2004, 182 fig. 246–247).

Publication: –



Silver

Cat. no. 37

Material / Artifact type: Silver / fibula

Context / Year: S3 altar. layer 18. KL96.MT.5 / 1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 36/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 1.7 cm / pr. width 3 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm / max. bow width 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Simple bow type fibula. Well preserved.

Chronology: eighth / seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Şahin 2014, 15, fig. 28

Publication: –



Cat. no. 38

Material / Artifact type: Silver / band

Context / Year: 3A layer 11. –0.02 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. length 21 cm / pr. width 1.4 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Rectangular band. Edges are smoothed. Very soft, easily bendable. It was found folded.

Chronology: Geometric / Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 39

Material / Artifact type: Silver or lead / band

Context / Year: 3A near the circular pit. layer 11. -0.13 m. / 2001

Dimensions: length 25 cm / width 1.6 cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Very soft, easily bendable. It was found folded.

Chronology: Geometric / Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 40

Material / Artifact type: Silver / ring

Context / Year: 3A circular pit sphere. layer 11. +0.02 m. KL01.40 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 40/3/01

Dimensions: max. diam. ext. 2.4 cm – int. 1.8 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Twisted silver ring.

Chronology: Late Geometric / Early Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: For bronze examples from Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 104 D33–D35).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 41

Material / Artifact type: Silver / plaques

Context / Year: 3A layer 11. +0.24 m. / 2001

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 2.7 cm / max. th. less than 0.01 cm

Description / Decoration: Four fragments of a thin silver plaque. Parallel relief bands. Two small holes on one fragment. Elaborately worked.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 42

Material / Artifact type: Silver / arrowhead

Context / Year: S3 1/C KL97.65 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 65/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 2.2 cm / pr. width 0.8 cm / socket diam. 0.6 cm / socket depth 1.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Three-wings socketed arrowhead. Sharp edge is broken.

Chronology: sixth / fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Olympia: Hellmuth 2014, 26–27, fig. 24; Bayraklı, Klazomenai, Sardis: Yalçıklı 1999, 112, pl. 27. 1–30.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 43

Material / Artifact type: Silver / pendant

Context / Year: 3A northwest side of the trench. layer 9. +0.46 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 2.3 cm / pr. width 3.4 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Wild goat shape pendant. A small hole on the body.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: For bronze examples from Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 59–60, no. 797–806)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 44

Material / Artifact type: Silver / pendant

Context / Year: IJ14 +0.44 m. KL03.4 / 2003
Efes Museum, inv. no. 4/21/03

Dimensions: pr. height 1.9 cm / pr. width 1.7 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Uneven circular medallion. Reverse: undecorated. Obverse: head of a female or male is depicted facing left. Rolled hair tucked up at the back and pinned (*krobylos*).

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Similar to a bronze head from the Acropolis (Boardman 1991, fig. 10)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 45

Material / Artifact type: Silver / pendant

Context / Year: mixed context beside the Archaic altar / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 2.5 cm / pr. width 3.7 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Bow form silver object. One edge is broken.

Chronology: Hellenistic / Early Roman

Comparanda / Bibliography: Delos (Hackens 1965, 555–556, pl. 12, 22); Ephesos (Scheich 2008, 188 no. 21); Gordion (Friends of Gordion Newsletter 2016, 13, fig. 20).

Publication: –



BRONZE

Statuary

Cat. no. 46

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / hair curl

Context / Year: I12b west to the wall Art. 06/1.
+0.81 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 3.1 cm / max. th. 1.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Edge of a hair lock.
Pointed edge. Incised lines.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Corinth XII*, 65, pl.
47.491–492; *Isthmia VII*, pl.4.24 Olympia (Olympia
Archaeological Museum): Hemingway 2004, 21 fig.
12.1–2.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 47

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / eyelid

Context / Year: IH12 northern side of the trench. layer 3.
+1.57 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. length 3.9 cm / pr. width 3.5 cm / max.
th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Eyelid of a bronze statue.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: The Metropolitan Museum
of Art: Hemingway 2004, 12 fig.8

Publication: –



Cat. no. 48

Material / Artifact type: Bronze and ivory / eye and hair (?) frg.

Context / Year: S3 1/C. layer 10. KL97.59 / 1997
Efes Museum, inv. no. 59/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height eye 3.3 / hair (?) 2.6 cm /
pr. width eye 3.5 / hair (?) 3.2 cm / max. th. eye 0.1
/ hair (?) 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Bronze and ivory
statue fragments. Eye and a fragment of hair (?).
Small ivory chips.

Eye: Almond shape. A small nail at the center. Part
of an ivory stuff is attached to the back side of the
eye ball with this nail is preserved. Back side of the
eye ball must be filled with an ivory piece.

Hair (?): Small fragment. Curved parallel vertical
lines.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Fibulae

Cat. no. 49

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S3C layer 53. KL94.29 / 1994

Efes Museum, inv. no. 29/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 3.9 cm / pr. width 6.1 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Violin bow type fibula. Needle is not preserved. Needle-bow joint 1.5 spiral. Slightly sharp turning points on bow. Central part is thicker. Two bead like decoration on both sides of central part. Large fibula.

Chronology: Protogeometric / Geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: Verger 2003, 174, fig. 36.9, 57.3

Publication: –



Cat. no. 50

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: J14b east of the trench. layer 9. –0.14 m. / 2002

Dimensions: pr. height 0.7 cm / pr. width 3.8 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Needle is preserved. Bow is broken.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 210, fig. 138.212–221); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 51

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: I14d east of the trench. underneath the floor level. +0.20 m. / 2002

Dimensions: pr. height 1 cm / pr. width 2 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Broken.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 210, fig. 138.212–221); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 52

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S1TC (J15c) layer 12. KL94.4 / 1994 Efes Museum, inv. no. 4/3/94

Dimensions: pr. height 1.8 cm / pr. width 2.7 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Needle is not preserved. Gilded. Three cylindrical ornament on bow. Crosshatch decoration on cylinders. Needle-bow joint curled in three-line spiral. Very small trace of a plaque is preserved on the opposite side.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 11–13, no. 129–154, especially no. 148)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 53

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S3K layer 14. KL96.35 /1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 35/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 3.3 cm / pr. width 4.2 cm / max. th. 0.9 cm

Description / Decoration: Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. hree cylinders on bow. Each cylinder is made of five rings. Starting point of needle is preserved.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 54

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S3 KL97.49 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 49/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 3.2 cm / pr. width 5.5 cm / max. th. 1.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Large Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Quite heavy. Heavy corrosion. Three cylinders. Each cylinder has five rings. Row of nail head reliefs on the central rings on each cylinder. Needle is broken. Preserved in pieces.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 55

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12. KL97.52 / 1997
Efes Museum, inv. no. 52/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 3.3 cm / pr. width 5.4 cm /
max. th. 1 cm

Description / Decoration: Large and heavy.
Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg.
Three cylinders on bow. Each of them has five
rings. Needle is broken. Row of nail head reliefs on
each central ring.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios
(Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225);
Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5);
Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 56

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12. KL97.51 / 1997
Efes Museum, inv. no. 51/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 2.4 cm / pr. width 2.8 cm /
max. th. 0.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Small Phrygian fibula.
Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Needle is broken. Three
cylinders on bow. Each cylinder is made of three rings.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios
(Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos
(Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer
1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49);
Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 57

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12. KL97.53 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 53/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 0.4 cm / pr. width 2.9 cm / max. th. 0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Heavy corrosion. Needle is broken. Three cylinders of five rings.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 58

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12. KL97.50 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 50/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 3.6 cm / pr. width 5.2 cm / max. th. 0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: Large and heavy. Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Needle is broken, preserved in pieces. Starting point of the needle is preserved as 3 spirals. Three cylinders of five rings on bow. A rectangular piece attached to the bow is for needle. Five incise lines can be seen on the front. The end of the piece turns backwards and forms a small socket for the needle. Back side of the cylinders are crosshatched.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 59

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: 3A south to the circular pit. layer 11. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 1.9 cm / pr. width 2.9 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Gilded bronze. Three cylinders on bow. Needle is not preserved.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 60

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: IH12 east of the trench, northwest area. layer 10. +0.22 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 1.3 cm / pr. width 2.9 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg. Gilded bronze.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 61

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: IH12 northwest area. +0.27 m. / 2006

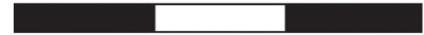
Dimensions: pr. height 1 cm / pr. width 2.4 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Broken. Phrygian fibula. Type XII.13 of Blinkenberg.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211, fig. 138.222, 223, 225); Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, 88, pl. 8.112); Ephesos (Bammer 1984, 148, pl. 17.5); Samos (Jantzen 1972, 48–49); Tenedos (Özkan 1993, 120, no. 329)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 62

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: I 14-d southeast of the trench. layer 10. KL02.20 / 2002

Efes Museum, inv. no. 20/22/02

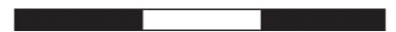
Dimensions: pr. height 1.9 cm / pr. width 3.1 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Phrygian fibula. Type XII.14 of Blinkenberg. Needle is not preserved. Conical needle base. Two cylinders and three rectangular prisms on the bow. Miniature relief nail heads on the rectangular prisms.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 15–16, no. 193–211, especially no. 207–208)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 63

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / fibula

Context / Year: J14b east of the trench +0.05 m. / 2002

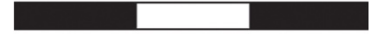
Dimensions: pr. height 1 cm / pr. width 2 cm / max. th. 0.9 cm

Description / Decoration: Single ball type fibula. Broken.

Chronology: eighth / seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 208, fig. 137.169); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 30–32, especially 32, pl.3–6 nos. 28–85)

Publication: Şahin et al. 2004, 75.



Pins

Cat. no. 64

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: 3A/1 horse-shoe shaped structure. +0.73 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 1.2 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded.

Chronology: Geometric / Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Jacobsthal 1956, 9–12, figs. 27, 29, 32; Samos (Baumbach 2004, 36, fig. 2.55).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 65

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: 3A/1 east side of the trench. layer 11. +0.24 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 4 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 80, pl.21 nos. 293–294)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 66

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: 3A layer 9. KL01.36 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. 36/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 6.3 cm / max. pr. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Broken. Upper part is flattened. Flatten top part might have been rolled.

Chronology: Archaic / Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 223, fig. 145 no. 377–380); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 21 no. 302–303)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 67

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: IH12 Tn.31 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 4.7 cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Joining two pieces.

Chronology: Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 68

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: IH12 west of the trench / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 2 cm / max. th. 0.15 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded, broken on each edges.

Chronology: Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 69

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: 3A/1 horse-shoe shaped structure sphere. +0.79 m.
/ 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 7.7 cm / max. th. 0.25 cm

Description / Decoration: Heavy corrosion. Traces of gild.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 70

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: IH12 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 6.7 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: One edge is broken. Bended.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 71

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: I12b / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 2.7 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Traces of gild. Partly preserved.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 72

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: I14ab +1.89 m / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 5.4 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Joined three fragments. Two incised band on preserved edge.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Hellenistic

Publication: –



Cat. no. 73

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pin

Context / Year: I13-14 +2.17 m. / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 4.1 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Badly preserved. Fragmentary pin.

Chronology: Hellenistic / Roman

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Buttons

Cat. no. 74

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / button

Context / Year: 3A/1 layer 11. +0.10 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 1.1 cm / pr. width 1.6 cm / max. diam. 1.6 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved, semi globular button. Gilded.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Similar undecorated examples were found in Altıntepe (Özgüç 1983, 35, pl. 13.c) and labeled as small beads.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 75

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / button

Context / Year: IH12 north of the wall Art. 06/2. +0.08 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 1.7 cm / pr. width 1.6 cm / max. diam. 1.6 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded bronze button. Well preserved. Semi globular.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Similar undecorated examples were found in Altıntepe (Özgüç 1983, 35, pl. 13.c) and labeled as small beads to sew onto garments.

Publication: –



Spirals

Cat. no. 76

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / spiral

Context / Year: 3A/1 east side of the trench. layer 11. +0.26 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 2.5 cm / pr. width 1.7 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Spiral form. Gilded. Broken. Heavy corrosion.

Chronology: Archaic – seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Korinth and Argos (Despini 1996, no. 47–48); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 221–222, fig. 144.351–374, pl.91); Altın-tepe (Özgüç 1983, pl. 15c); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 40–41 nos. 613–638).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 77

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / spiral

Context / Year: 3A/1 east side of the trench. layer 11. +0.26 m. KL01.38 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 38/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 2.5 cm / pr. width 2.1 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Spiral form. Heavy corrosion.

Chronology: Archaic – seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Korinth and Argos (Despini 1996, no. 47–48); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 221–222, fig. 144.351–374, pl.91); Altın-tepe (Özgüç 1983, pl. 15c); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 40–41 nos. 613–638); Klaros (Şahin 2014, 24, fig. 30).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 78 a, b, c, d, e, f, g

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / spirals (seven items)

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12. KL97. 61 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 61/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height: a. 2.7 / b.2.5 / c.2.9 / d.2.8 / e.2.6 / f.2 / g.2.2 cm

pr. width: a.2-2.6 / b.1.9-2.8 / c.1.5-2.1 / d.1.8-2.2 / e.1.4-2.3 / f.1.3-2 / g.1.6-1.7 cm

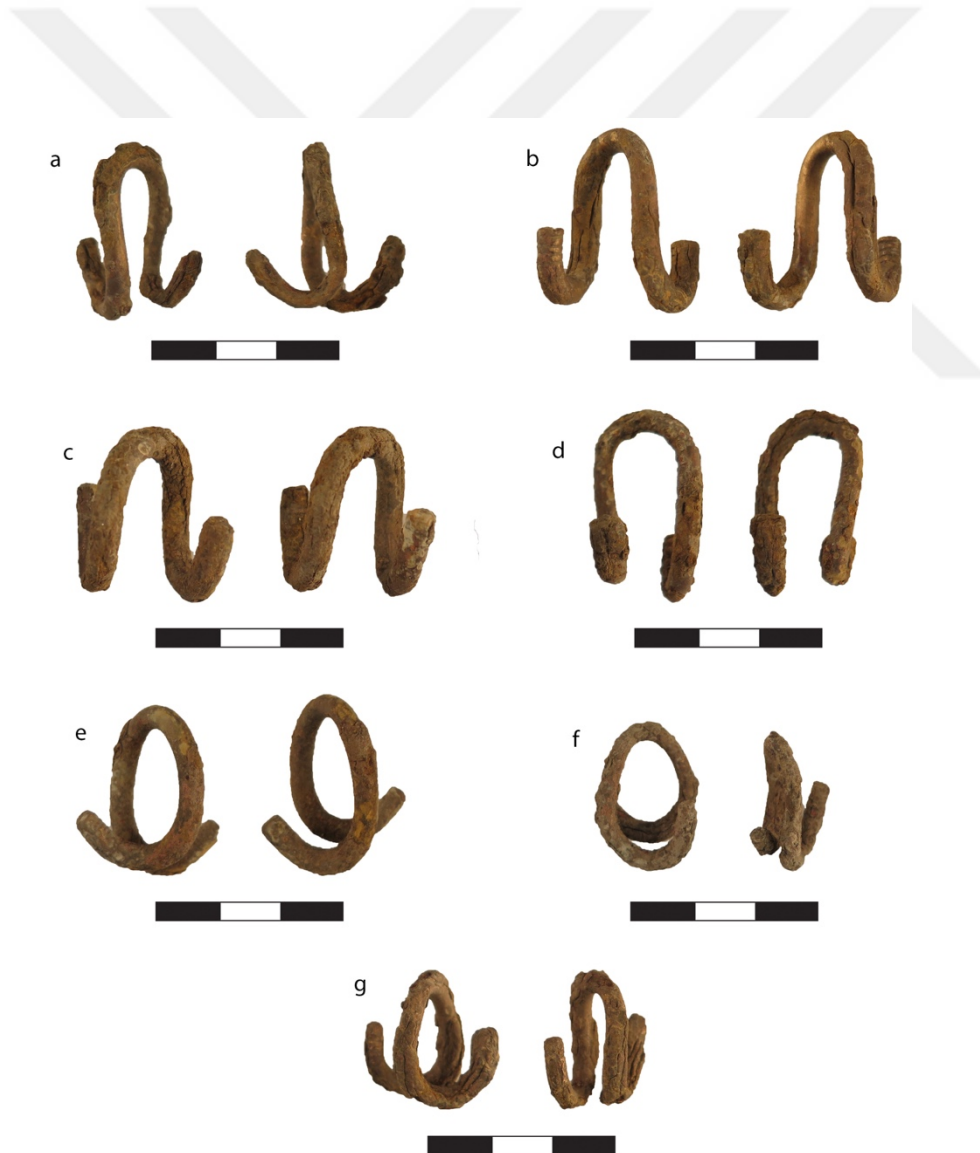
max. th.: a.0.4 / b.0.4 / c.0.3 / d.0.35 / e.0.3 / f.0.3 / g.0.27 cm

Description / Decoration: Seven spirals were found together. In different sizes. Decoration: four incised rings on each edges of each spiral. Gilded. Well preserved.

Chronology: Archaic – seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Korinth and Argos (Despini 1996, no. 47–48); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 221–222, fig. 144.351–374, pl.91); Altuntepe (Özgüç 1983, pl. 15c); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 40–41 nos. 613–638).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 79

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / spiral

Context / Year: I17 Tn.19.36 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 1 cm / pr. width 1.4 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

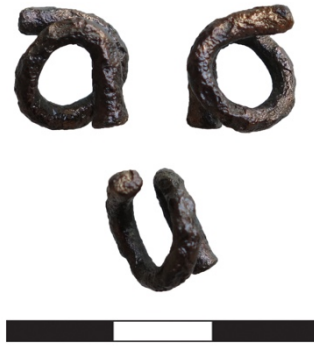
Description / Decoration: Spiral form. Gilded. Well preserved.

Chronology: Archaic – seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Korinth and Argos (Despini 1996, no. 47–48); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 221–222, fig. 144.351–374, pl.91);

Altıntepe (Özgüç 1983, pl. 15c); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 40–41 nos. 613–638).

Publication: –



Rings

Cat. no. 80

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ring

Context / Year: 3A northeast of the trench. layer 9. +0.46 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 2.3 cm / pr. width 2.5 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Partly preserved. Gilded. Unidentified decoration on bezel.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 81

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ring

Context / Year: S3 layer 13 KL94.25 / 1994
Efes Museum, inv. no. 25/42/94

Dimensions: max. diam. ext. 2.4/int. 1.9 cm / Bezel: length 1.2/width 0.6 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved. Decoration: a panther. Body in profile, frontal head. Figure fills the bezel area. Impressed.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: For a gold example from Eretria (Williams and Ogden 1994, 51 no.3, fig.3); a gold ring at British Museum (Williams and Ogden 1994, 52 no.4, fig.4)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 82

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ring

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 9. KL97.57. / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 57/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 1 cm / pr. width 2 cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Bezel and upper part of the ring are preserved. Impressed decoration on bezel. Animal?

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: For a gold example from Eretria (Williams and Ogden 1994, 51 no.3, fig.3); a gold ring at British Museum (Williams and Ogden 1994, 52 no.4, fig.4)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 83

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ring

Context / Year: I14ab southeast side of the trench.

+1.14 m. / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 1.1 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm / max. diam. 1.3 cm / bezel: width 0.6/length 1 cm

Description / Decoration: Part of a ring. Unidentified decoration on bezel. Gilded.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: For a gold example from Eretria (Williams and Ogden 1994, 51 no.3, fig.3); a gold ring at British Museum (Williams and Ogden 1994, 52 no.4, fig.4)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 84

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ring

Context / Year: IJ16 Tn.9.58 / 2004

Dimensions: max. diam. 1.6 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Simple small ring. Well preserved.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211–214, fig. 139.242–247, pl. 87.244, 245); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 88–89, pl.41–42 nos. 639–656).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 85

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ring

Context / Year: IJ16 Tn.11.18 / 2004

Dimensions: max. diam. 1.5 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Small simple ring. Heavy corrosion.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 211–214, fig. 139.242–247, pl. 87.244, 245); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 88–89, pl.41–42 nos. 639–656).

Publication: –



Belt Fragments

Cat. no. 86

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / Belt fragment

Context / Year: I12b Tn.8 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 4.8 cm / pr. width 2.4 cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Piece of hinge (probably of a belt). Small holes under the hinge.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, fig. 143, pl 88.279, 90.309, 310, 314, 319); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2008, 297, fig. 2–3)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 87

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / belt fragment

Context / Year: 3A east of the trench. layer 10. +0.32 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 1.4 cm / pr. length 3.3 cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Small holes.

Chronology: Archaic / Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 214–215, fig. 140, pl. 91.321, 340

Publication: –



Pendants

Cat. no. 88

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pendant

Context / Year: S3 1/C. layer 11. KL97.71 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 71/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 5.3 cm / pr. width 5 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Circular pendant with a vertical upper part. The circle is not even. Thinner side is broken. Vertical part is broken. A thin incise line at the joint of the circular and vertical parts.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Cleveland Museum of Art; Bouzek 1974, 423–429, fig. 1–2.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 89

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pendant

Context / Year: S3 1/C. layer 11. KL97.73 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 73/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 4.6 cm / pr. width 3.6 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Circular pendant. Broken. Uneven. Two incise lines on vertical upper part.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Cleveland Museum of Art; Bouzek 1974, 423–429, fig. 1–2.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 90

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / pendant

Context / Year: IH12 northwest of the trench. +0.30 m / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 4.9 cm / pr. width 4.9 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Lower part is broken. Small hole and horizontal grooves on the rectangular edge.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Cleveland Museum of Art; Bouzek 1974, 423–429, fig. 1–2.

Publication: –



Leaves and a Branch

Cat. no. 91

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / branch and leaf

Context / Year: S3 1/A area between the Archaic building and the rectangular feature KL93.24 / 1993

Efes Museum, inv. no. 24/43/93

Dimensions: pr. length branch: 16.05 cm / leaf: 9.1 cm

pr. width branch: 6.5 cm / leaf: 2.8 cm

max. th. branch: 1.6 cm / leaf: 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Bronze casting brunch, quite heavy. Five leaf joints on thicker brunch and three leaf joints on thinner brunch.

Laurel leaf: large leaf. Leaf stalk is curling and should be attached to the joints on the brunch.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), and Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 92

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: S3 1/C. layer 10. KL97.46 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 46/7/97

Dimensions: pr. length 6.3 cm / pr. width 2.6 cm / max. th. less than 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Slightly bended. Broken at the stalk starting point.

Chronology: Archaic period

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458) and Klaros (Jolivet 2003, 127, fig. 44, pl. 30.4).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 93

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: S3 1/C. layer 10. KL97.45 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 45/7/97

Dimensions: pr. length 10.3 cm / pr. width 2.7 cm /
max. th. leaf: 0.15 cm / stalk: 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Large laurel leaf. Well preserved.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458) and Klaros (Jolivet 2003, 127, fig. 44, pl. 30.4).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 94

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: S3K. layer 10. KL94.24 / 1994

Efes Museum, inv. no. 24/42/94

Dimensions: pr. length 5.8 cm / pr. width 2.4
cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved,
except small chips. Slightly "S" formed central
trachea.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), and Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458)

Publication:



Cat. no. 95

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: 3A Circular pit. layer 11. +0.06 m. / 2001

Dimensions:

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Two joining parts.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), and Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 96

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: 3A Circular pit sphere. layer 10. +0.35 m. / 2001

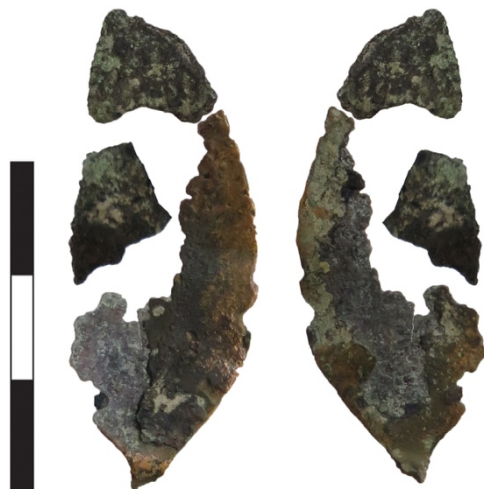
Dimensions:

Description / Decoration: Preserved in pieces. Gilded.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), and Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 97

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: 3A Circular pit sphere. layer 9.
+0.62 m. KL01.31 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 31/3/01

Dimensions: pr. length 8 cm / pr. width 2.3 cm /
max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Inscribed.
Only three letters “KΛA...” can be read. Needs
conservation (cleaning).

Chronology: Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos
(Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–
949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379),
Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458) and Klaros
(Jolivet 2003, 127, fig. 44, pl. 30.4).

Publication:



Cat. no. 98

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: S3 west to the Late Hellenistic
altar / 1989

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 015.577

Dimensions: pr. length 8.9 cm / pr. width 2.8
cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Large laurel leaf.
Gilded. Inscribed. Well preserved.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos
(Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–
949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379),
Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458) and Klaros
(Jolivet 2003, 127, fig. 44, pl. 30.4).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 99

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel leaf

Context / Year: I12b west to the wall. layer 3.
+1.69 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. length 8.2 cm / pr. width 2.2 cm /
max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved.
Probably attached to a branch.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos
(Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–949),
Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379), and
Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458)

Publication:



Cat. no. 100 a, b

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / laurel
leaves (two items)

Context / Year: IH12 north of the trench. layer
3. +1.57 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height a.5.1 / b.4.3 cm / pr.
width a.1.5 / b.1.4 cm / max. th. a. 0.1 / b.0.1
cm

Description / Decoration: Two laurel leaves
were found together. Only one of them is
complete. Detailed workmanship.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos
(Klebinder-GauB 2007, 187, 274, pl. 93.947–
949), Delos (*Delos XVIII*, 312–313, fig. 379),
and Delphi (*FdD V*, 122, fig. 454–458)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 101

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ivy leaf

Context / Year: S3 1/A. KL93.73 / 1993

Efes Museum, inv. no. 6/3/94

Dimensions: pr. length 4.8 cm / pr. width 4.7 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved. Cut out of a bronze plaque.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: (Nemea: Miller 1980, 50, pl.13.BR816; Isthmia: *Isthmia VII*, 71, pl.42)

Publication: Pişkin Ayvazoğlu 2015, cat. no. 75.



Cat. no. 102

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / branch

Context / Year: I12b west to the ART06/1 wall +1.67 m / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 7.2 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Stylized branch. Upper part is preserved, broken at the lower part. Two spiral twigs.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Carpenter 1996, fig. 139.

Publication: –



Vessels

Cat. no. 103

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / cauldron frg.

Context / Year: I15-16 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 1.7 cm / rim diam. 34 cm / max. th. (body) 0.1 cm / max. dim. 13.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Large globular cauldron rim and body part. Rim is thickened by folding.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Olympia (Gauer 1991, fig. 7, pl. 5 no. 1. Le 16, 2. Le 18, 3. Le 15)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 104

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / cauldron frg.

Context / Year: 3A south of the trench. +0.41 m. / 2001

Dimensions: max. dim. 9.9 cm / max. th. less than 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Rim fragment. Heavily damaged. Decoration: punched hobs and concentric circles.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 105

Material / Artifact type: Bronze
/ griffin protome

Context / Year: S3K layer 10 /
1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 33/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 15 cm /
diam. 4.6 cm / width (head) 3.8
cm / th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Well
preserved. From the shoulder of a
large bronze cauldron. Tapering
serpentine neck is flanged at the
base for attachment. Gaping beak
with flickering tongue, large
hollow eyes. Knobbed stem above the forehead. Slender straight ears.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Argos (Baumbach 2004, 102 fig. 4.60); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 77–82, especially cat. nos. 869–871); Olympia (Gauer 1991, pl.1.1); Samos (Jantzen 1955, no. 86, pl. 32.2).

Publication: La Genière 1998b, 240, pl. 6.3.



Cat. no. 106

Material / Artifact type: Bronze
/ griffin protome

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 10
/ 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 48/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 13.1 cm /
pr. width 5.7 cm / th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Partly
preserved. Serpentine neck.
Gaping beak with flickering
tongue, large hollow eyes. Knobbed stem above the forehead. Slender straight ears.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Argos (Baumbach 2004, 102 fig. 4.60); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 77–82, especially cat. nos. 869–871); Olympia (Gauer 1991, pl.1.1); Samos (Jantzen 1955, no. 86, pl. 32.2).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 107

Material / Artifact type:

Bronze / foot of a tripod

Context / Year: S3K. east to the Archaic altar. KL96.MT10 / 1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 41/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 9.5 cm / pr. width 4.2 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm / sole diam. 2.9 cm / paw width 3.6 cm

Description / Decoration:

Heavy. In the form of a lion claw on a ring base. Four nails. Widening upwards. Claw is solid. Leg is hollow. Back of the leg is open.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Olympia (Gauer 1991, pl. 63–64, 66–67)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 108

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / cauldron handle

Context / Year: I17 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 4.4 cm / pr. width 3 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Exterior color: pinkish. Semi-circular handle. Diamond-shaped section.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Olympia (Gauer 1991, fig. 14.5, pl. 25.7, 29.8); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 70–72 no. 844–852)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 109

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / handle – situla like vessel

Context / Year: S3 layer 11 / 1989

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 015.575

Dimensions: pr. height 5.8 cm / pr. width 6.9 cm / Max. th. 0.55 cm

Description / Decoration: U shaped handle. Outturned edges have knobbed tips.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Gauer 1991, fig. 29, pl. 107

Publication: –



Cat. no. 110

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / handle

Context / Year: J14b east of the trench +0.35 m. / 2002

Dimensions: pr. height 3.7 cm / pr. width 0.7 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Surface is grooved. Small hobnails on the edges. It must have been attached onto a cup with hobnails. Only one of the nails is preserved.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 111

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / *phiale*

Context / Year: J14b / 2002

Efes Museum, inv. no. 21/22/02

Dimensions: pr. height 4.5 cm / max. diam. 13.4 cm / max. th. less than 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Burnt marks. Gilded. Very thin. Globular bowl is turning in and then the rim is flaring out. Damaged. Small chips can be seen. Whole profile.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 62–65.

Publication: Şahin et al. 2004, 75.



Cat. no. 112

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / *oinokhoe* rim fragment

Context / Year: I13bd center of the trench. layer 2. +2.18 m. / 2002

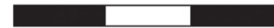
Dimensions: pr. height 2 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Fragment of a bronze trefoil oinochoe rim. Lip is slightly thickened.

Chronology: Hellenistic / Roman

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Weapons and Tools

Arrowheads

Cat. no. 113

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: S3 / 1994

Efes Museum, inv. no. 23/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 4.3 cm / pr. width 1.3 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm / socket diam. 0.8/depth 2.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Two winged. Well preserved. Gilded. Sharp edges. Spurred.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 114

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: 3A/1 east to the horse-shoe shaped feature. layer 10. +0.27 m. / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 34/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 3 cm / pr. width 0.9 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm / socket diam. 0.5/depth 1.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Small, thin and light. Gilded. Spurred. Two small hole at the starting point of the socket - damaged due to its thin structure.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 115

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: 3A Circular pit sphere. layer 11. 0 m. / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 33/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 4.1 cm / pr. width 1 cm / socket diam. 0.7/depth 1.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Two winged. Gilded. Spurred. Greco–Scythian type. Well preserved.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 116

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: 3A/1 east to the horse-shoe shaped feature. layer 10. +0.27 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 3.1 cm / pr. width 1.3 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Small flat type. Gilded. Edge is broken.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 117

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: 3A/1 east side of the trench. layer 11. +0.26 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 2.8 cm / pr. width 1 cm / max. th. 0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: Small. Two winged. Socketed and spurred. Gilded.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 118

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: IJ14. +0.51 m Tn.24.33 / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 3 cm / pr. width 0.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Two winged. Greco–Scythian type. Socketed. Socket is broken. Gilded.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 119

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: S3 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 54/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 4.6 cm / pr. width 1.3 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm / socket diam. 0.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Heavy corrosion. Two winged. Starting point of a spur is preserved. Greco-Scythian type.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 120

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: I13ac mixed context. +2.80 m. /2003

Dimensions: pr. height 3.8 cm / pr. width 1.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Two winged. Leaf formed. Long socket and spur. Well preserved. Traces of gild.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 121

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: S3 layer 12 /1989

Izmir Museum, inv. no. 015.576

Dimensions: pr. height 4.3 cm / pr. width 0.8 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm / socket diam. 0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: Three winged arrowhead. Well preserved.

Chronology: sixth /fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Yalçıklı 1999, 112, pl.17 no. 1–30; Olympia (Hellmuth 2014, 26–27, fig. 24); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 43–44, fig. 2 cat. no. 6–7)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 122

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: 1994

Efes Museum, inv. no. 7/3/94

Dimensions: pr. height 3.6 cm / pr. width 0.7 cm / socket diam. 0.5/depth 1.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Complete. Three winged arrowhead.

Chronology: sixth / fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Yalçıklı 1999, 112, pl.17 no. 1–30; Olympia (Hellmuth 2014, 26–27, fig. 24); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 43–44, fig. 2 cat. no. 6–7)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 123

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / arrowhead

Context / Year: I13ac south to the circular pit. +1.57 m. / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 3.8 cm / pr. width 0.9 cm

Description / Decoration: Three winged. Socketed and spurred. Well preserved.

Chronology: sixth / fourth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 86 no. 892–894); Nif (Baykan 2012, 234, fig. 2); Klaros (Zunal 2017, 45, fig. 4 cat. no. 9–16)

Publication: –



Greave

Cat. no. 124

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / greave

Context / Year: S3 / 1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 42/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 34 cm / pr. width 14.6 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Half of the greave is preserved. Broken in the middle at the front. Two holes for fastening are preserved. An oval decoration is hammered.

Chronology: Middle / Late Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Kunze 1991, 100–116, pl. 20–49.

Publication: –



Miscellaneous

Cat. no. 125

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / object – button?

Context / Year: 3A near circular pit. layer 11.
KL01.37 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 37/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 2.5 cm / pr. width 2.35 cm /
max. th. 0.6 cm / hole diam. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Cross shape object.
Probably button (?)

Chronology: Late Geometric / Early Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Klaros (trench L15b–
L16a, similar object, same level); Blinkenberg 1931,
pl. 12, no. 303; Bozođlan 2016, cat. nos. 88–91

Publication: –



Cat. no. 126

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / scepter
head

Context / Year: 3A northeast of the
Archaic altar KL01.16 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 16/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 4.6 cm / pr. width
3.9 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Cylindrical
neck, globular head. Uneven holes on the
globular part. Burnt.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 127

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ornament frg.

Context / Year: 3A deeper levels underneath the horse-shoe shaped feature. layer 10 KL01.17 / 2001

Efes Museum, inv. no. 17/3/01

Dimensions: pr. length 27.3 cm / pr. width 0.6 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved. Gilded. Stylized ionic kymation (egg and dart motif) on the front. Back side is flattened. It might be gold plated. A straight line can be seen on the back side. Three nail hole on the object. The spaces between the holes are not even. The distances between the holes are 7.2 cm, 8.3 cm and 10 cm in order. One of the ends of the piece is preserved and narrower than the rest of the object. This part should be placed in another piece. The other end of the piece is broken at the beginning of the fourth hole.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 89 nos. 915–917)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 128 a, b

Material / Artifact type:

Bronze / ornament frg.

Context / Year: S3

KL96.MT.7 / 1996

Efes Museum, inv. no.
34/15/96

Dimensions: pr. length a.17 /
b.2.3 cm / pr. width a.0.9 / b.0.8
cm / max. th. a.0.8 / b.0.7 cm

Description / Decoration:

Two pieces. Alternatively
placed bead and two disks -
bead and reel. Small piece
could belong to another
ornament. It is smaller and
thinner.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 89 no. 912–917)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 129

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ornament frg.

Context / Year: 3A east of the trench. layer 9. +051 m. / 2001

Dimensions: pr. length 6.5 cm / pr. width 0.3 cm / max. th.
0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded. Stylized Ionic kymation
decoration. Small nail is preserved on one edge.

Chronology: Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB
2007, pl. 89 no. 916)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 130

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / part of a belt or a shield?

Context / Year: I17 Tn.20.26 / 2004

Dimensions: max. diam. 7.1 cm / central part diam. 3.2 cm / pr. height 1.2 cm / max. th. 0.1 cm

Description / Decoration: pinkish color. Hollow central part, circular shape.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Olympia (Fellmann 1984, pl. 24 no. D5); Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 92 no. 937)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 131

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / spatula (?)

Context / Year: 3A northeast area. layer 9. KL01.18 / 2001
Efes Museum, inv. no. 18/3/01

Dimensions: pr. length 14.7 cm / pr. width 0.6 cm / max. th. 0.45 cm

Description / Decoration: Thin and sharp edge. At one point widens and turn into a cylinder. Then it is pressed and flattened. Broken.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 132

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / mirror

Context / Year: 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 63/7/97

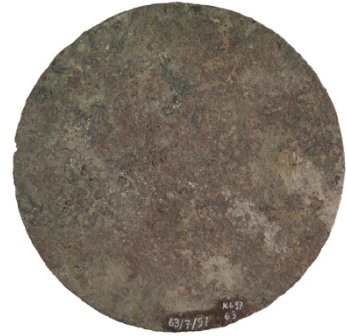
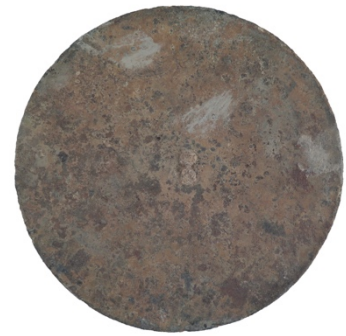
Dimensions: max. diam. 11.9 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Heavy corrosion. Disc shape mirror.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 85.886)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 133

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / mirror

Context / Year: 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 64/7/97

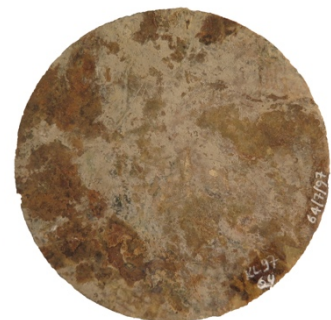
Dimensions: max. diam. 7.2 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Outer edge of the mirror is slightly flaring on the front side. Two incise circle near the outer edge. A compass hole in the center.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 85.886)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 134

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / horse harness

Context / Year: 1996

Efes Museum, inv. no. 37/15/96

Dimensions: pr. length 25.1 cm / pr. width 13 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm / hobnail diam. 1 cm

Description / Decoration: Dark red and cream paint. Gilded on frame area and hobnails.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 135

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / ?

Context / Year: IH12 northwest corner of the trench, layer 4. +1.05 m. Tn.29.39 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. length 9 cm / pr. width 1.2 cm / max. th. less than 0.1 cm / nail length 1.5 cm / nail diam. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Gilded.

Two rectangular pieces are joining together with small nails. Small holes for nails are preserved on both edges of each piece.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic (?)

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 136

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: IJ14 +0.90/+0.70 m. / 2003

Efes Museum

Dimensions: pr. height 16.4 cm / pr. width (head) 2 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Large bronze nail. Should be used in the Archaic building's wooden beams.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Klebinder-GauB 2007, pl. 100 no. 982–987)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 137

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: IH12 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 4.6 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Broken. The head is not preserved.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 138

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 4.3 cm / pr. width (head) 2.1 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Head is preserved. Uneven rectangular nail-head.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 139

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: 3A Circular pit sphere. layer 9. KL01.39 / 2001

Efes museum, inv. no. 39/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 2 cm / pr. width 1.4 cm (nail head diam.) / max. point th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Circular head. Tapering through the tip.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 140 a, b

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail (two items)

Context / Year: IH12 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height a.2 / b.1.6 cm / pr. width (head) a.0.6 / b.0.7 cm / max. th. a.0.3 / b.0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Found together. Well preserved. Circular heads, tapering through the tip.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 141

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: IH12 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 2.1 cm / pr. width (head) 0.7 cm / max. th. 0.25 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved. Circular head. Tapering through the tip.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 142

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: IJ14 +1.40/+1.34 m. / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 1.1 cm / pr. width (head) 0.8 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Circular head. Tapering through the tip.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 143

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: I14ab +1.89 m. / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 1.4 cm / pr. width (head) 0.8 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Circular head. Tapering through the tip.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 144

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: IJ14 +1.34/+1.29 m. / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 1.6 cm / pr. width (head) 0.4 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Head is partly preserved. Corroded.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 145

Material / Artifact type: Bronze / nail

Context / Year: I13 mixed context. +2.17 m. / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 2.4 cm / pr. width (head) 1 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Circular head. Tapering through the tip. Shaft has sharp edges.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Lead

Cat. no. 146

Material / Artifact type: Lead / plaque

Context / Year: IH12 mixed context.
+1.08 m. / 2006

Dimensions: length 5.7 cm / max. width
1.6 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Folded lead
plaque. Sealed on the corner.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication: –



Cat. no. 147

Material / Artifact type: Lead / chain

Context / Year: IH12 north to the peristasis. layer
4. +1.30 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. length 4.6 cm / max. pr. width 1.6
cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Part of a chain. Three
rings comprise a chain.

Chronology: Classical / Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Iron

Cat. no. 148

Material / Artifact type: Iron / spearhead

Context / Year: S3 KL97.72 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 72/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 0.2 cm / pr. width 3.4 cm / max. th. 1 cm

Description / Decoration: Heavy corrosion. Leaf form.

Chronology: sixth century B.C.E. (museum record)

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 149

Material / Artifact type: Iron / nail

Context / Year: IH12 +0.51/+0.43 m. / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 8.4 cm / max. th. 1 cm

Description / Decoration: Heavy corrosion. Partly preserved.

Chronology: Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 150

Material / Artifact type: Iron / nail

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 7 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Heavy corrosion. Partly preserved.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 151

Material / Artifact type: Iron / nail

Context / Year: I15-16 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 1.8 cm / pr. width (head) 2.3 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Head and the top part of the shaft is preserved. Heavy corrosion.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 152

Material / Artifact type: Iron / nail

Context / Year: J14b east of the trench. layer 8. / 2002

Dimensions: pr. height 6.6 cm / pr. width (head) 1.9 cm / max. th. 1.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Heavy corrosion. Tapering through the tip.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Precious Stone and Glass

Cat. no. 153

Material / Artifact type: Amber / bead

Context / Year: I14d east of the trench. underneath the surface. layer 8. +0.20 m. KL02.22 / 2002

Efes Museum, inv. no. 18/22/02

Dimensions: max. diam. 2 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Circular bead. Reddish brown amber color. Slightly rough surface.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Muss and Pülz 2008, 255–256, fig. 8–9)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 154

Material / Artifact type: Amber / bead

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 12 KL97.68 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 68/7/97

Dimensions: max. diam. 2.6 cm / max. th. 1.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Conical prism form. Reddish brown color. Rough surface. Burnt.

Chronology: sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Muss and Pülz 2008, 255–256, fig. 8–9)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 155 a, b, c, d, e

Material / Artifact type: Amber / beads

Context / Year: S3C layer 17 KL97.32 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 32/42/94 a–e

Dimensions: max. diam. a.3.6 / b.2.3 / c.1.6 / d.0.9 / e.1 cm

max. th. a.1.6 / b.1.4 / c.0.9 / d.0.7 / e.0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: a. Large bead. It might had different function (application). Back side is flat. Front side is convex. Hemispherical form. Four channels inside the bead. Four small holes at the back and four small holes inside the central larger hole are joining with these channels. The holes at the back are placed symmetrically around the central hole. Visible cracks. Translucent, rough surface.

b. Conical prism form. Translucent, rough surface.

c. Spherical, translucent. Rough surface. Visible cracks.

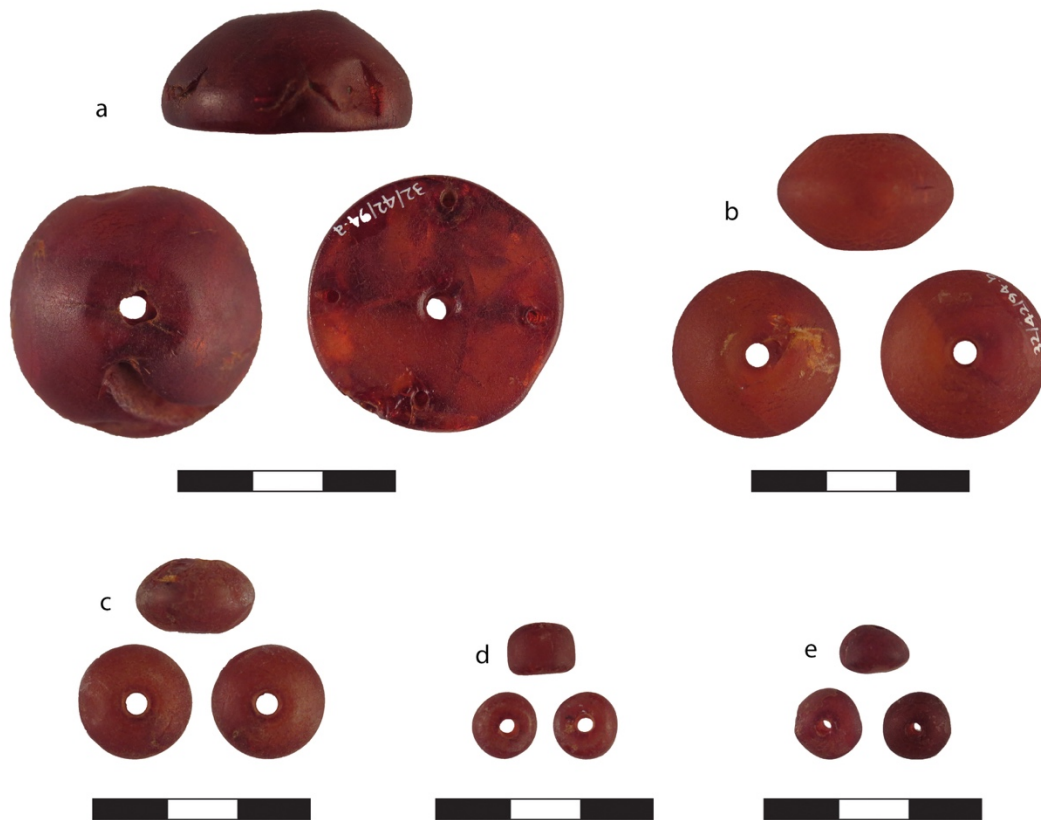
d. Cylindrical, translucent. Rough surface. Visible cracks.

e. Spherical, uneven. Translucent, rough surface. Visible cracks.

Chronology: sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Muss and Pülz 2008, 255–256, fig. 8–9)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 156

Material / Artifact type: Amber / pendant

Context / Year: 1K8 KL92.3 / 1992

Efes Museum, inv. no. 3/3/94

Dimensions: pr. height 2.1 cm / pr. width 1.6 cm /
max. diam. hole. 0.3 / neck. 1.1 cm

Description / Decoration: Pomegranate shape.
Burnt. A hole in the center - vertical channel. Dull,
rough surface. Visible cracks.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Muss and
Pülz 2008, 260 no. 177–185; Naso 2013, no. 10–
13)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 157

Material / Artifact type: Amber / bead

Context / Year: J14b +1.90 m. / 2002

Dimensions: pr. height 1.2 cm / max. diam. 1.3
cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Exterior: light
green

Interior: very light, whitish green

Amber bead. Broken. Heavily burnt. Diagonal
grooves on the surface.

Chronology: Hellenistic (?)

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 158

Material / Artifact type: Amber / bead

Context / Year: IH12 center of the trench. above floor. +2.43 m. /2006

Dimensions: pr. height 1.5 cm / max. diam. 1.7 cm / max. th. 0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: amber bead. Heavily burnt. Greenish color. Grooved surface. whole bead.

Chronology: Hellenistic / Roman (?)

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 159

Material / Artifact type: Glass / bead

Context / Year: J14b east side of the trench. layer 9. –0.05 m. KL02.49 / 2002

Efes Museum, inv. no. 19/22/02

Dimensions: max. diam. 1.3 cm / max. th. 0.6 cm

Description / Decoration: Oil green color. Dull, smooth surface. Small cracks.

Chronology: Archaic / Classic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Pulsinger 2008, 275–279 no. 203–206)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 160

Material / Artifact type: Glass / bead

Context / Year: IH12 north of the trench. +1.52 m. Tn.21 / 2006

Izmir Museum, inv. no. E719.KL06

Dimensions: max. diam. 0.3 cm / height 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Green, dull, very small bead.

Chronology: Hellenistic (?)

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Pulsinger 2008, 275–279 no. 203–206)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 161

Material / Artifact type: Glass / ring stone

Context / Year: S3 1/C layer 9. KL97.62 / 1997
Efes Museum, inv. no. 62/7/97

Dimensions: max. diam. 1.5 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Green glass. Circular form. Back side is flat. Front side is convex. Dull and rough surface.

Chronology: third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication:



Cat. no. 162

Material / Artifact type: Glass / ring stone

Context / Year: S3 1/B layer 9. KL97.69 / 1997
Efes Museum, inv. no. 69/7/97

Dimensions: max. diam. 1.3 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Semi dull. Light blue/turquoise color. Circular form. Back side is flat. Front side is convex.

Chronology: third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication:



Cat. no. 163

Material / Artifact type: Agate / ring stone

Context / Year: S3 1/B layer 9. KL97.70 / 1997
Efes Museum, inv. no. 70/7/97

Dimensions: pr. width 1.3x1 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Shiny surface. Oval form. Flat back side. Convex front.

Chronology: third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication:



Cat. no. 164

Material / Artifact type: Glass / pendant

Context / Year: S3 1/C KL97.58 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 58/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 1.6 cm / pr. width 1.9 cm / max. th. 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Blue glass miniature pendant with ram head shape. Horns and eye contour are of green glass. Eyes are of blue glass. White glass attachments in the center of the horn spirals. A hollow area on top of the head. It looks like a small cup with a handle beside. Orange colored residue inside the hollow.

Chronology: third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Pulsinger 2008, 274 no. 200)



Cat. no. 165

Material / Artifact type: Glass / ring

Context / Year: I13-14 northeast area. +2.13 m. / 2004

Dimensions: max. diam. 2.2 cm / pr. width 0.8 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Description / Decoration: Half of the ring is preserved. Dull black glass. Burnt? Decorated with grooves.

Chronology: Hellenistic / Roman

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 166

Material / Artifact type: Glass / bracelet

Context / Year: I13bd north of the trench. layer 3. +2.12 m. / 2002 (a joining part was found in trench GH16 in 2015)

Dimensions: max. diam. 6.7 cm / max. width 1.7 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Description / Decoration: Black glass. Grooved rows as decoration.

Chronology: Hellenistic / Roman

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 167

Material / Artifact type: Glass / bracelet frg.

Context / Year: I14ab +1.85 m. / 2004

Dimensions: pr. length 1.6 cm / pr. width 1 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Description / Decoration: Fragment of a black glass bracelet.

Chronology: Hellenistic / Roman

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Bone and Ivory

Cat. no. 168

Material / Artifact type: Ivory / fibula

Context / Year: 3K layer 10. KL94.a / 1994

Efes Museum – 22/42/94

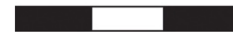
Dimensions: pr. length fibula 5.2 / needle 3.5 cm / pr. width 2.6 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm / max. diam. ext. 2.5 / int. 2.2 / nail hole 0.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Well preserved. Whole. Figure-eight form / double disks. Two joint circles. One nail at each circle and three nails at the central joint part used to attach the needle and the fibula. (Five nail holes) The central nail is preserved. Decorated with concentric circles. Ten motifs on one and eleven motifs on the other circle.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, pl. 86 no. 233–239); Ephesos (Muss 2008, 215–250, cat no. 140–141)

Publication: –



Cat. no. 169

Material / Artifact type: Ivory / pin

Context / Year: IH12 northwest area of the trench. layer 10. +0.23 m. Tn.36.40 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 3.2 cm / pr. width (head) 0.8 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Edge is broken. Semispherical top and four discs form head. Incised decoration on head.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Muss 2008, 215–250, cat. no. 152–156

Publication: –



Cat. no. 170

Material / Artifact type: Ivory / object??

Context / Year: IH12 Tn.19 / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 5.2 cm / pr. width 1.2 cm / max. th. 1.2 cm

Description / Decoration: Burnt marks. women related. another object should be attached to it. Closed hole in the middle on both sides. Grooved body.

Chronology: Archaic / Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 171

Material / Artifact type: Ivory / doll

Context / Year: S3 1/B layer 9. KL97.43 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 43/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 5.4 cm / pr. width 1.4 cm / depth 1 cm

Description / Decoration: Polos w.0.8 - h.0.2 - h(back).0.3 / Forehead w.0.6 - h.0.2

Face h.0.8 - w.0.7 (cheek) / Neck w.0.5 / Shoulder w.1.4

Chest 1.3 - Hip 1.3

Polished shiny surface. Ext. dark brown (10YR 3/3). Well preserved. Naked. An X shaped band on chest. Conical polos. Twisted hair turns back of the head and forms a bun. Arms and legs were attached, but lost. A hole on top of the polos.

Chronology: fourth / third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: La Genière 1998b, 247, pl. 7.1; Dewailly 2007, 136, fig. 2.



Cat. no. 172

Material / Artifact type: Ivory / comb

Context / Year: S3 1/B layer 9. KL97.56 / 1997

Efes Museum, inv. no. 56/7/97

Dimensions: pr. length 4.8 cm / pr. width 2.8 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Description / Decoration: Miniature comb. Votive. Central part is divided into three sections. An X in the middle section. Six concentric circles on each outer section. Two concentric circles on the smaller triangles and three concentric circles on the larger triangles on the middle section. Outer borders of the comb are thicker than the inner teeth. Twenty-four thin teeth between the outer thicker teeth. One side is well preserved.

Chronology: Classical (?)

Comparanda / Bibliography: Muss 2008, 215–250, fig. 3

Publication: –



Cat. no. 173

Material / Artifact type: Bone / astragal

Context / Year: IJ16 +0.30/+0.23 m. / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 2 cm / pr. width 2.9 cm

Description / Decoration: Painted astragal. Sheep or goat. Reddish brown (5YR 4/4) paint.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Greaves 2012, 183–196

Publication: –



Cat. no. 174 a, b, c, d

Material / Artifact type: Bone / astragals

Context / Year: S3C west room of the Archaic building. layer 18 / 1994

Dimensions: pr. height a.1.8 / b.1.8 / c.2.2 / d.2 cm / pr. width a.2.6 / b.2.8 / c.3.4 / 2.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Four astragals were found together. Painted. Sheep or goat.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Greaves 2012, 183–196

Publication: –



Cat. no. 175

Material / Artifact type: Bone / astragal

Context / Year: 3A / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 3.5 cm / pr. width 4.8 cm

Description / Decoration: Painted astragal. Sheep or goat. Red paint.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: Greaves 2012, 183–196

Publication: –



Cat. no. 176

Material / Artifact type: Bone / astragal

Context / Year: I12b / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 1.8 cm / pr. width 3 cm

Description / Decoration: Worked astragal.
Sheep or goat. Painted.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Greaves 2012,
183–196

Publication: –



Cat. no. 177

Material / Artifact type: Bone / astragal

Context / Year: I13ac mixed context /
2003

Dimensions: pr. height 5 cm / pr. width 7.1
cm

Description / Decoration: Painted
astragal. Bovine. Reddish brown (5YR 4/4)
paint.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography: Greaves
2012, 183–196

Publication: –



Terracotta Figurines

Cat. no. 178

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / female head

Context / Year: S3C west room of the Archaic building / 1994

Efes Museum – 28/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 5.8 cm / pr. width 5.8 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), mica, sand, white inclusions, porous clay

Description / Decoration: Handmade. Paint: 5YR 3/3. Big eyes, nose, mouth and ears. Stylized hair. Wearing a *stephane*.

Chronology: eighth / seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Rolley 1973, 516–517 fig. 22–25; for a bronze example of a similar figurine: Akurgal 1962, 375, pl. 98.11–13; for a male version from Klaros (Inv. No. KL92.40): Jolivet and Robert 2003, 103, pl. 26.1.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 179

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: S3K layer 10 / 1996

Efes Museum – 28/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 12.8 cm / chest 2.4 cm / head 2.5 cm / forehead h.0.5 / w.1.3 cm / base h.0.6 / w.2.6 / d.2.5 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 7/6), a lot of silve mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Cream (10YR 8/2) slip. Sittin on a stool. Left hand is holding an object to chest. Wearing a *sakkos* (type of a hair dress).

Chronology: sixth / fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Louvre II*, pl. 3, b-MYR 194; Higgins 1969, pl. 88.671; Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 244 cat. no. 51, pl. 12

Publication: Dewailly 2014, 91, fig. 9.



Cat. no. 180

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 13.6 cm / chest 3.2 cm

Fabric: yellowish red (5YR 5/6), mica, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Sitting on a stool. Feet are on a thin base. Wearing a *himation* over a *khiton*. Right hand against chest, holding a lotus blossom. Left hand rests on the left leg.

Chronology: early fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Delos (*Délos XXI* 1956, pl. 5. 72); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, pl. 81. No. 122); Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 120); Phokaia (Özyiğit 1988, pl. 11–12).

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 246, cat. no. 56.



Cat. no. 181

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 12 cm / chest 4 cm / head 4 cm / forehead: h. 0.7 cm w. 2.4 cm

Fabric: yellowish red (5YR 5/6), mica, fine sand, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Red paint. Wearing a *himation* over a *khiton*. Probably sitting. Right hand to chest, holding a bird. Lower part of the figurine and left arm are not preserved.

Chronology: early fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Delos (*Délos XXI* 1956, pl. 5. 72); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, pl. 81. No. 122); Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 120); Phokaia (Özyiğit 1988, pl. 11–12).

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 246, cat. no. 57.



Cat. no. 182

Material / Artifact type:

Terracotta / seated female

Context / Year: 3 A/1 / 2001

Efes Museum – 5/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 14 cm / chest 3.3 cm / head 2.6 cm / forehead h.0.4 / w.1.3 cm / base h.1 / w.4.1 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 6/6), a lot of silver mica, sand, white inclusions

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Seated female holding a bird in her right hand. Left hand rests on her left leg. Oval face. Wearing a *himation* and a *sakkos*.

Chronology: late sixth – early fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Louvre II*, pl. 3; Higgins 1969, pl. 88.671.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 244, cat. no. 51.



Cat. no. 183

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female

Context / Year: 3 A/1 / 2001

Efes Museum – 6/3/01

Dimensions: pr. height 10.7 cm / chest 2.5 cm / head 2.1 cm / forehead h.0.2 / w.1 cm

Fabric: brown (7.5YR 5/3), a lot of silver mica, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Burnt. Seated female on a stool. Lower part is not preserved. Right hand is against her chest, left hand rests on her left leg.

Chronology: first half of the fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Boardman 1967, pl. 81. 122.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 244, cat. no. 52.



Cat. no. 184

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Izmir Museum – 022.729

Dimensions: pr. height 10.1 cm / chest 1.9 cm / head 2.5 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.1 cm

Fabric: reddish brown (5YR 5/4), mica, sand, white inclusions, porous clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Seated on a stool. Left hand against chest. Wearing a *khiton* and a *himation*. Feet are on a rectangular thin base.

Chronology: sixth / fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 245, cat. no. 53.



Cat. no. 185

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / sitting female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Izmir Museum – 022.722

Dimensions: pr. height 15 cm / chest 3.1 cm / head 2.7 cm / forehead h.0.4 / w.1.3 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Paint: dark red (10R 3/6), light red (10R 6/6), black. Well preserved. Seated on a stool. Feet are on a thin base. Right hand on her right leg, left hand against chest holding a bird. Hair is covered. Wearing a *khiton* and *himation*.

Chronology: Archaic / sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Gorbea 1980, pl. 42.66; Tolun 2008, fig. 3, cat. no. 2.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 244, cat. no. 50.



Cat. no. 186

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: J15C / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 12.5 cm / chest 3 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/8), mica, fine sand, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Light pink paint. Sitting on a stool. Right hand to chest, left hand rests on the leg.

Wearing a *himation* over a *khiton*. Dove tail details of the garment can be seen on the right. Feet are on a thin base.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Delos (*Délos XXI* 1956, pl. 5. 72); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, pl. 81. No. 122); Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 120); Phokaia (Özyiğit 1988, pl. 11–12).

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 245, cat. no. 55 (find place is mistakenly given as K15A).



Cat. no. 187

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: I17 +0.40/+0.38 m / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 9.5 cm / chest 3 cm / head 2.8 cm / forehead: h. 0.4 cm w. 1.8 cm

Fabric: yellowish red (5YR 5/8), mica, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Lower part of the body is not preserved. Sitting on a stool. Right hand to the chest. Wearing a *himation* over a *khiton*. Hair is tied in a *sakkos*.

Chronology: first half of the fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Delos (*Délos XXI* 1956, pl. 5. 72); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, pl. 81. No. 122); Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 120); Phokaia (Özyiğit 1988, pl. 11–12).

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 247, cat. no. 58.



Cat. no. 188

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: S3K layer 10 / 1994
Efes Museum – 19/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 13.2 cm / head 3 cm / forehead h.0.5 / w.1.3 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), silver mica, fine sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Burnt. Seated on a throne. Both hands are resting on the legs. Hair is covered with a veil.

Chronology: late sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 121–126); Kombothekra (Gregarek 1998, pl. 15.12, cat. no. 42); Dewailly 2001, 375 fig. 8 no. KL96.37; 2014, 91 fig. 9; Tolun 2008, fig. 3, cat. no.2; Thasos (Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, nos. 1274–1310).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 189

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / Seated female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004
Izmir Museum – 022.723

Dimensions: pr. height 11.3 cm / chest 2.1 cm / head 2.3 cm / forehead h.0.4 / w.1.1 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), no visible inclusion

Description / Decoration: White slip. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) paint. Heavily burnt. Seated on a throne. Both hands are resting on the legs. Hair is covered with a veil.

Chronology: late sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 121–126); Tolun 2008, fig. 3, cat. no.2; Thasos (Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, nos. 1274–1310); Dewailly 2014, 91, fig. 9.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 242–243, cat. nos. 47–49.



Cat. no. 190

Material / Artifact type:

Terracotta / seated female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Izmir Museum – 022.724

Dimensions: pr. height 11.2 cm / chest 2.1 cm / head 2.25 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.1 cm

Fabric: brown (7.5YR 4/3), no visible inclusion

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4). Burnt. Due to burning: slip turns into brownish color in some areas (very pale brown 10YR 8/3 – 10YR 8/4).

Seated on a throne. Both hands are resting on the legs. Hair is covered with a veil.

Chronology: late sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 121–126); Tolun 2008, fig. 3, cat. no.,2; Thasos (Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, nos. 1274–1310); Dewailly 2014, 91, fig. 9.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 242–243, cat. nos. 47–49.



Cat. no. 191

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3C layer 13 / 1994

Efes Museum – 27/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 15.6 cm / chest 2.8 cm / head 3.5 cm / forehead h.0.7 / w.1.5 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Cream (10YR 8/2) slip. Red (2.5YR 5/8) and black paint. Standing. Left hand pulling the skirt.

Right hand holding an object against chest. Wearing a *stephane* and a veil.

Chronology: sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication: –



Cat. no. 192

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3K / 1996

Efes Museum – 26/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 11 cm / chest 1.8 cm / head 2 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.1 cm / base h.0.7 / w.2.7 / d.3.2 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), mica, white inclusions, very fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip, red paint (10R 6/4). Standing on a thin square base. Wearing a *himation*.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Halicarnassus (Higgins 1970 no. 359); Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 248).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 193

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3K / 1996

Efes Museum – 27/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 11 cm / chest 1.7 cm / head 1.9 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.0.9 cm / base h.0.6 / w.2.5 / d.3.2 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), mica, white inclusions. very fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip, red paint (10R 4/4 weak red). Burnt. Standing on a thin square base. Wearing a *himation*.

Chronology: Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 248); Halicarnassus (Higgins 1970, no. 359).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 194

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3A layer 11 / 1989
Izmir Museum – 015.529

Dimensions: pr. height 10 cm / chest 2.6 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), mica, sand, white inclusions, porous clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Head and base are not preserved. Right hand against chest. Left hand pulls the skirt. Wearing a *khiton*. Dovetail detail can be seen on the right side.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Blinkenberg 1931, nos. 2146–2151, 2168, 2173; Higgins 1967, 62 pl. 24A; Hübinger and Menninger 2007, 216 no. 162; Dewailly 2014, 91, fig. 9.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 195

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 +0.40/+0.34 m / 2004

Dimensions: pr. height 11 cm / chest 3 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), mica, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Burnt marks. White slip. Black paint. Wearing a *khiton* and a *himation*. Dovetail details of the *himation* are visible on the right side. Right hand holding a pomegranate against chest. Left hand pulls the skirt.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Blinkenberg 1931, nos. 2146–2151, 2168, 2173; Higgins 1967, 62 pl. 24A; Hübinger and Menninger 2007, 216 no. 162; Dewailly 2014, 91, fig. 9.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 236–237, cat. no. 30.



Cat. no. 196

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta
/ standing female figurine

Context / Year: IJ16 / 2004

Izmir Museum – 022.730

Dimensions: Pr. height 12.4 cm /
Chest 2.6 cm / Head 2.3 cm /
Forehead h.0.3 / w.1.2 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4),
mica, sand, white inclusions, porous.

Description / Decoration: Mold
made. Well preserved. White slip.
Right hand against chest. Left hand
pulling the skirt. Wearing a *khiton*.
Dovetail can be seen on the right side.
Hair is covered with a veil. Hair on
the forehead is elaborately worked in
two rows of locks. Severe style.

Chronology: Early Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: Blinkenberg 1931, nos. 2146–2151, 2168, 2173;
Higgins 1967, 62 pl. 24A; Hübinger and Menninger 2007, 216 no. 162; Dewailly 2014,
91, fig. 9.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 236, cat. no. 29.



Cat. no. 197

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / female
head

Context / Year: S3A layer 11 / 1989

Izmir Museum – 015.540

Dimensions: pr. height 3.1 cm / head 2.4 cm
/ forehead h.0.3 / w.1.2 cm

Fabric: brown (7.5YR 5/4) / light reddish
brown (5YR6/4), sand, mica, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Very
pale brown (10YR 8/3) slip. Red (10R 4/6) paint. Beautifully detailed severe style face
and two rows of hair locks. Hair is covered with a veil. Same style with **cat. no. 196**.

Chronology: Classical

Comparanda / Bibliography: Blinkenberg 1931, nos. 2146–2151, 2168, 2173;
Higgins 1967, 62 pl. 24A; Hübinger and Menninger 2007, 216 no. 162.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 198

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / mask

Context / Year: IJ14 +0.60/+0.50 m / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 11.4 cm / pr. width 10 cm

Fabric: light brownish gray (10YR 6/2), mica, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: White slip. Traces of red paint (2.5YR 5/6). Part of a female mask.

Chronology: late sixth / early fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Morgan 1935, 201 fig. 8; Caskey 1959, pl. 68.8; Rhodes (Higgins 1970, no. 139–141, 145); Samos (Higgins 1970, no. 526).

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 377, cat. no. 425.



Cat. no. 199

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine (Leto?)

Context / Year: S3K east trench – altar / 1996

Efes Museum – 25/15/96

Dimensions: pr. height 16.4 cm / chest 3.5 cm / head 2.4 cm / forehead h.0.4 / w.1.3 cm / base h.0.4 / w.4.6 cm / babies: head: a.1.4 / b.1 cm / chest: a.1.3 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), gold mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Cream (10YR 8/3) slip. Wearing a veil. Carrying two children.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: Dewailly 2001, 376, fig. 9; 2014, 85, fig. 1.



Cat. no. 200

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / *kourotrophos*

Context / Year: S3 layer 12 / 1989

Izmir Museum – 015.531

Dimensions: pr. height 8.8 cm / chest 3.1 cm / head 2.7 cm / forehead h.0.4 7 w.1.4 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), mica, sand, white inclusions, porous

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Red (10R 4/6) paint. Wearing a veil. Carrying a child. Lower body is not preserved.

Chronology: Classical – severe style

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: Dewailly 2001, 376, fig. 9 no. KL89.38.



Cat. no. 201

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / *kourotrophos*

Context / Year: K15 rectangular altar area / 2009

Dimensions: pr. height 8.6 cm / chest 1.6 cm / head 2 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.0.8 cm

Fabric: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), mica, very fine sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Burnt marks due to firing. Sitting on a stool. Wearing a veil. Carrying a child.

Chronology: Classical – severe style

Comparanda / Bibliography: Higgins 1969, pl. 551–557.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2009, 235, cat. no. 25.



Cat. no. 202

Material / Artifact type:

Terracotta / child

Context / Year: Mixed context / 1992

Efes Museum – 44/74/92

Dimensions: pr. height 7.9 cm / chest 1.9 cm / head 2.2 cm / forehead w.1.4 cm / base h.0.5 cm

Fabric: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), no visible inclusion. fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip / pink slip (10YR 8/4). Black paint. Standing. Depicted with a chubby belly. Almost hairless.

Chronology: –

Comparanda / Bibliography:

Publication: –



Cat. no. 203

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / sitting boy

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 28/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 6.8 cm / chest 1.7 cm

Fabric: pink (5YR 7/4), a lot of mica, sand, white inclusions.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Cream slip (10YR 8/2). A naked boy sitting on a rock covered with his himation. He supports himself with his left hand while with his right hand he holds a rooster. Chubby body. Head is not preserved. Age group: 2 to 5 years.

Chronology: Hellenistic / first quarter of the third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Bobou 2015, 142, cat. no. 55.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 204

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / girl head

Context / Year: S3K / 1994

Efes Museum – 9/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 1.3 cm / head 1.1 cm / forehead h.0.25 / w.0.6 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/6), sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Hair is tied in a bun.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Bobou 2015, 126, cat. no. 2.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 205

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / girl head

Context / Year: S3K / 1994

Efes Museum – 12/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 1.8 cm / head 1.6 cm / forehead h.0.4 / w.0.9 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/6), mica, sand, white inclusions, fine.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Burnt. Hair is carelessly tied in a loose bun at the back. Looking towards left. Face is oval with regular features.

Chronology: Hellenistic / early third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Bobou 2015, 126, cat. no. 2.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 206

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / child head

Context / Year: I12b east to the wall
Art.06/1. +1.58 m / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 3 cm / forehead: h.
0.5 cm w. 1 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made.
Burnt marks. Child with a round face and
chubby cheeks. Hair is centrally parted

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Bobou, 130
cat. no. 16, 144 cat. no. 62.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 268, cat. no. 120 (identified as a female head).



Cat. no. 207

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / child head

Context / Year: IH12 north area of the trench
+1.53 m / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 1.5 cm / forehead h. 0.5
cm w. 1 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 7/8), a lot of silver
mica, fine sand, porous clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. The
head of a figurine depicts a child with a round
face, and chubby cheeks. The nose and mouth are
small. The hair is centrally parted. Age group: 2
to 5 years of age.

Chronology: Hellenistic / third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Bobou, 130, cat. no. 16, 144, cat. no. 62.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 365, cat. no. 392 (identified as the head of Eros).



Cat. no. 208

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / child head

Context / Year: IH12 north of the peristasis.
+1.71 m / 2006

Dimensions: pr. height 3.2 cm / head 3 cm /
forehead h. 0.5 cm w. 1.8 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), mica,
sand, white inclusions, porous clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made.
White slip, black paint. Head of a boy. Age
group: 9 to 15 years old.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Velickovic 1957, pl. 21, no. 63.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 366, cat. no. 394 (identified as a male head).



Cat. no. 209

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta /
figurine group

Context / Year: S3K / 1994
Efes Musuem – 4/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 5.6 cm / chest 1.3 cm
/ head 1.3 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.0.7 cm

Fabric: pink (5YR 7/4), gold mica, fine
sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. A
group of an adult and a young girl.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 210

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine -dancer

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 3/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 9.4 cm / chest 1.7 cm / head 1.5 cm / forehead h.0.2 / w.0.7 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Dancing female. Left leg stretched forward. A veil is covering her face.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Dewailly 2001, 380, fig. 12 no. KL97.73

Publication: –



Cat. no. 211

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine dancer

Context / Year: S3K / 1994

Efes Museum – 7/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 10 cm / chest 2.2 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), a lot of gold mica, fine sand, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Dancing female. Left leg stretched forward. Right arm bended and lifted. Body is slightly turning left.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 212

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 12/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 13.5 cm / chest 2.3 cm / head 2.6 cm / forehead w.1.2 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), a lot of mica, fine sand, little white inclusions, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Bended forward. Depicted in a dance move. Wearing an unusual hair dress.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 213

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 20/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 14 cm / chest 2.4 cm / head 2 cm / forehead h.0.4 / w.1 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/3), mica, sand, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Dancing female. Depicted in a dance move. Hands tied behind. Head is slightly bended right.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: Dewailly 2001, 380, fig. 12; 2014, 93 fig. 11.



Cat. no. 214

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine - Bride

Context / Year: S3K / 1994

Efes Museum – 15/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 8.9 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.1 cm

Fabric: yellowish red (5YR 5/6), a lot of mica, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Depicting a bride wearing a veil and covering her face.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 215

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine - bride

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 38/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 9.7 cm / chest 1.4 cm / forehead h.0.2 / w.0.8 cm / base h.2 / w.3.8 / d.2.9 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Depicting a bride wearing a veil and covering her face.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 216

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 4/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 9 cm / chest 1.4 cm / head 1.5 cm / forehead w.0.5 cm / base h.1.3 / w.3 / d.2.6 cm

Fabric: pink (5YR 7/4), mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Depicting a young girl reading hymn. Standing on a circular base. Wearing a veil.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 217

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 24/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 13.6 cm / chest 2.4 cm / head 2.4 cm / forehead h.0.3 / w.1 cm / base h.1.4 / w.4.1 / d.4.1 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), a lot of gold mica, white inclusions, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Red paint (2.5YR 5/4). Depicting a young girl reading hymn. Standing on a circular base. Wearing a veil. Right hand against chest.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication:



Cat. no. 218

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / Nike

Context / Year: S3 K / 1994

Efes Museum – 5/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 5.4 cm / chest 1.1 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Red (10R 4/6) paint. Depicted in a vibrant movement. Wings are broken.

Chronology: fourth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 219

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / figurine group - Nikes

Context / Year: S3A layer 10 / 1989

Izmir Museum – 015.532

Dimensions: pr. height a.5.9 / b.5.6 cm / chest a.1.35 / b.1.5 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), sand, mica, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Red (10R 3/6) paint. Depicted in a vibrant movement.

Chronology: fourth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 220

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / Nike

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 29/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 9.7 / Nike pr. h.7.4 cm / chest 1.6 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), a lot of mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Leaning towards a post. A shield, a helmet and clothing of a soldier are hanged on the post. Wearing a *khiton*.

Chronology: fourth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication



Cat. no. 221

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine – Nike

Context / Year: 3A/1 +0.79 m Tn.6 / 2001

Dimensions: pr. height 6.1 cm / chest 1.2 cm

Fabric: pale brown (10YR 6/3), fine sand, mica, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip.

Chronology: fourth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 222

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / siren

Context / Year: S3 K / 1994

Efes Museum – 1/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 8.4 cm / chest 2.7 cm / head 2.5 cm / forehead h.0.5 / w.1.1 cm / base h.1.2 / w.3.3 / d.3.7 cm / claw h.2.8 / w.3.4 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, sand, white inclusions, fine

Description / Decoration: Mold made. The figure leans forward. Wears a low *polos*. Stands on a circular base. Open wings have vertical position. Oval face, large eyes. Curly hair.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Thompson 1963, pl. 48 no. 225–226; Mollard-Besques 1972, pl. 136.

Publication: Dewailly in press.



Cat. no. 223

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / siren

Context / Year: S3 K / 1994

Efes Museum – 2/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 6 cm / chest 2 cm / head 1.4 cm / forehead h.0.2 / w.0.6 cm / base h.0.8 / w.3.9 / d.3.4 cm / claw h.1.2 / w.3.2 cm

Fabric: pink (5YR 7/4), gold mica, sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Red (2.5YR 5/6) paint on the hair, and black paint on the claw. The figure leans towards. Her wings are wide open. Triangular face, hair is tied back.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Thompson 1963, pl. 48 no. 225–226; Mollard-Besques 1972, pl. 136.

Publication: Dewailly in press.



Cat. no. 224

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / doll

Context / Year: S3A layer 7 / 1989

Izmir Museum – 015.543

Dimensions: pr. height 9.3 cm / chest 2.9 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/8), sand, mica, white inclusions, porous

Description / Decoration: Mold made. Seated nude female. Legs are broken. Holes for the attachment of the arms. Head is not preserved.

Chronology: third century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Attica (Higgins 1970, no. 701–703); Corinth (Higgins 1970, no. 973).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 225

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated female figurine fragments

Context / Year: IJ14 +1.30 m / 2003

Dimensions: pr. height 10 cm / pr. width 7.1 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), a lot of mica, fine sand, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Mold made. White slip. Brown paint. Probably a depiction of Kybele. Sitting on a throne. Holding a *phiale* in her right hand. An animal is sitting on her lap. Only the back part of the animal is preserved.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Thompson 1963, 81 pl. 8–11; Higgins 1970, no. 422; Sinn 1977, 21 no. 3.

Publication: Doğan Gürbüzler 2012, 232, cat. no. 18.



Cat. no. 226

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / standing female figurine (Artemis)

Context / Year: S3K / 1994

Efes Museum – 6/42/94

Dimensions: pr. height 10.5 cm / chest 3 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, sand, white inclusions.

Description / Decoration: White slip. Mold made. A female is depicted probably walking or dancing. Wearing a *khiton*. Dress resembles depictions of Artemis.

Chronology: fourth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: *LIMC II*, nos. 262, 268, 277.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 227

Material / Artifact type: Terracotta / seated figurine – Artemis hunter (?)

Context / Year: S3 1/B / 1997

Efes Museum – 39/7/97

Dimensions: pr. height 9.4 cm / chest 2.5 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), gold mica, sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Mold made.

White slip. Burnt. Seated on a rock. Probably depicting a resting person (Artemis). Wearing a short tunic and boots. Head, left leg and feet are not preserved.

Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Ceramics

Cat. no. 228

Shape / Part: Cup / rim-handle-body

Context / Year: 3A circular pit area. Layer 11. 0/-0.13m / 2001

Dimensions: pr. h. 7.4 cm / max. th. 0.9 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/3), mica, fine sand, fine porosity.

Description / Decoration: Black (7.5YR 2.5/1) - brown (7.5YR 4/4) glaze. Rounded rim. Deep body.

Chronology: Protogeometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Lefkandi I*, 294 fig. 7C, 7E; Zunal 2014, 150–154, cat nos. 5–9.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 229

Shape / Part: Cup / conical foot

Context / Year: 3A circular pit area. Layer 11. -0.07/-0.13 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. foot diam. 4 cm / pr. h. 2.4 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (10YR 6/4), mica, sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: High conical foot. Interior and exterior: very dark gray (7.5YR 3/1) paint. Resting surface and inside stem is reserved.

Chronology: Protogeometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Lefkandi I*, 294, fig. 7.C–F; *Lefkandi II.1*, 69–70, pl. 51; Chabot Aslan 2002, 100, pl. 3.21; Jolivet and Robert 2003, fig. 33.9–10; Aytaçlar 2004, 26, fig. 11.1–2; Zunal 2014, 220–222, cat. no. 75–77.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 230

Shape / Part: *Krater / skyphos?* / body

Context / Year: 3A circular pit area. Layer 11 0/-0.13 m / 2001

Dimensions: pr. h. 6.5 cm / max. pr. dim. 7.8 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), sand, mica, medium porosity.

Description / Decoration: Interior: black (5YR 2.5/1) - yellowish red (5YR 5/6) White (5YR 8/1) slip. Paint color is not protected. Concentric circular decoration. Big and even circles. PG krater. Import.

Chronology: Late Protogeometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Lefkandi II.1*, 21–22, pl. 48.120; Akurgal 1997, 19 pl. 9C; Zunal 2014, 164, cat. no.19.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 231

Shape / Part: *Amphora* / rim

Context / Year: 3A circular pit area. Layer 11. 0/-0.13 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 14 cm / pr. h. 2.8 cm / max. th. 1 cm

Fabric: pale brown (10YR 6/3), fine sand, mica, medium porosity.

Description / Decoration: Everted, rounded, thickened rim. Very dark brownish gray (7.5YR 3/1) bad decoration along the rim outside and inside.

Chronology: Protogeometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: Lemos 2002, pl. 6.1, 21.8; Chabot Aslan 2002, pl. 2.12; Bakır et al. 2002, 43 fig.4; Jolivet and Robert 2003, 107, fig. 38.6–8; Jolivet 2003, 76–78, fig. 22.4, 23.6, 8, 10, 12, 24.7–9; Kerschner 2003, fig. 5.6; Özyiğit 2006, 74–75, fig. 3; Zunal 2014, 199–212, cat. nos. 54–67.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 232

Shape / Part: Mug / whole profile

Context / Year: 3A circular pit area layer 11 0/-0.03 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 8 cm / est. base diam. 4.4 cm / pr. h. 6.1 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), fine sand, fine porosity

Description / Decoration: Dark brownish gray (7.5YR 4/1) inside and outside. Verticle profile. Flat base. small cup. Possibly one handled.

Chronology: ca. 650 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 123–128; Coldstream 2008, 290, pl. 64.d; Ersoy 2004, 48 fig. 3.j–m, 4.f–g, 5.f–g; Chabot Aslan 2002, 102, pl. 7.41; Kerschner 2003, 55 fig. 7; Zunal 2014, 268–282, cat. nos. 123–137.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 233

Shape / Part: Mug / rim

Context / Year: 3A southeast area of the trench -0.15/-0.22 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. base diam. 6.8 cm / pr. height 7.1 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), fine sand, fine porosity

Description / Decoration: Dark brownish gray (7.5YR 4/1) inside and outside. Verticle profile. Flat base. small cup. Possibly one handled.

Chronology: ca. 650 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 123–128; Coldstream 2008, 290, pl. 64.d; Ersoy 2004, 48 fig. 3.j–m, 4.f–g, 5.f–g; Chabot Aslan 2002, 102, pl. 7.41; Kerschner 2003, 55 fig. 7; Zunal 2014, 268–282, cat. nos. 123–137.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 234

Shape / Part: Mug / body-base

Context / Year: 3A circular pit area. Layer 11. 0/-0.13 m / 2001

Dimensions: pr. h. 5.3 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

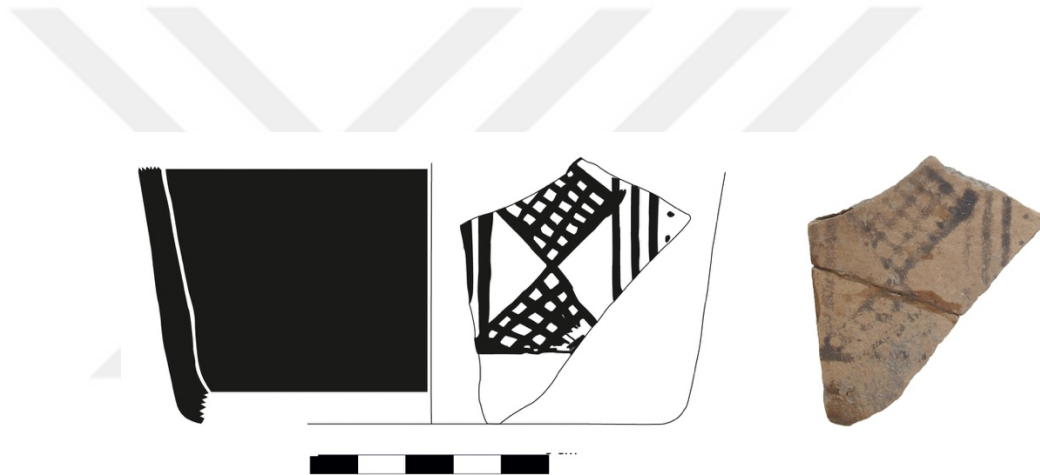
Fabric: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), mica, fine sand, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Vertical profile. Very small part of the junction of the base and wall is preserved. Slip is not preserved. Interior: black - very dark brownish gray (7.5YR 3/1) paint. Sandglass motif between vertical bands on lower body.

Chronology: eighth/seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Boardman 1967, 123–128; Coldstream 2008, 290, pl. 64.d; Ersoy 2004, 48 fig. 3.j–m, 4.f–g, 5.f–g; Chabot Aslan 2002, 102, pl. 7.41; Kerschner 2003, 55 fig. 7; Zunal 2014, 268–282, cat. nos. 123–137.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 235

Shape / Part: *Skyphos* / rim

Context / Year: 3A circular pit area. Layer 11. 0/-0.13 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam: 11.4 cm / pr. height 5.3 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

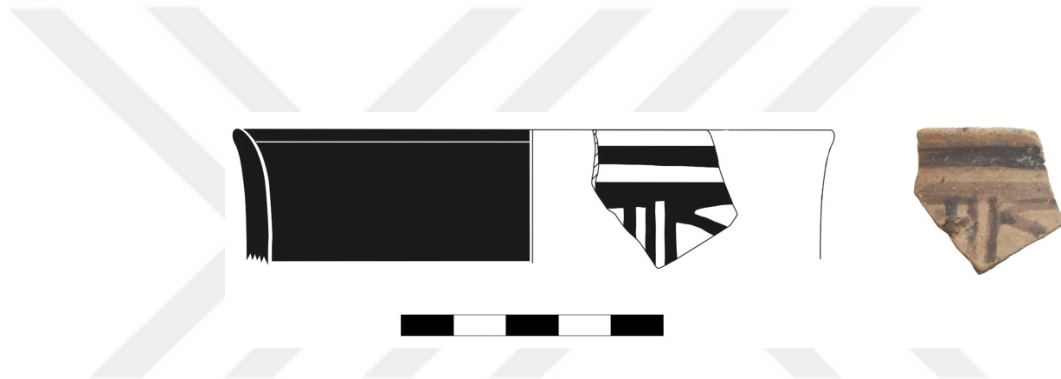
Fabric: Light reddish brown (10YR 6/4), mica, sand, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Very dark blackish brown (7.5YR 2.5/1) - light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) paint. Interior is entirely painted except one reserved band along the rim. Two horizontal bands along the rim outside. Three vertical bands outside. Slip is not preserved.

Chronology: Geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ephesos (Kerschner 1999, 19, fig. 9.23).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 236

Shape / Part: *Krater* / body

Context / Year: I14d east side of the trench. Layer 10. -0.05/-0.25 m / 2002

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 5.1 cm / max. th. 0.7 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), fine sand.

Description / Decoration: G2-3 ware (?). Interior is reddish brown (5YR 5/3). Pinkish white (5YR 8/2) slip and reddish brown (2.5YR 4/3) paint on exterior. Step pattern between double bands and, zigzag pattern underneath them.

Chronology: Sub-geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: Ilieva 2009, 121 fig. 2,3; Ilieva 2013, 126 fig.2.6; Chabot-Aslan 2002, 106, pl. 28.71; Daniele 2011, 93-100; Zunal 2005, pl. 8 n. 6; Zunal 2014, 316, cat. no. 171.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 237

Shape / Part: *Krater* / body

Context / Year: I14d east side of the trench. Layer 10. -0.05/-0.25 m / 2002

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 4.3 cm / max. th. 1 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), fine sand.

Description / Decoration: Interior is dusky red (2.5YR 3/2). Slip is not protected on exterior. Dark reddish gray (2.5YR 3/1) and red (2.5YR 5/8) paint on exterior. Concentric triangles under three bands.

Chronology: Sub-geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 238

Shape / Part: *Krater* / body

Context / Year: I14d east side of the trench. Layer 10. -0.05/-0.25 m / 2002

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 3.2 cm / max. th. 1 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4)

Description / Decoration: Interior is dusky red (2.5YR 3/2). Slip is not protected on exterior. Red (2.5YR 5/6) paint on exterior. Concentric triangles underneath two bands.

Chronology: Sub-geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 239

Shape / Part: *Kotyle* / rim

Context / Year: J14b east side of the trench. Layer 9 +0.23 m / 2002

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 16 cm / pr. h. 2.6 cm / max. th. 0.45 cm

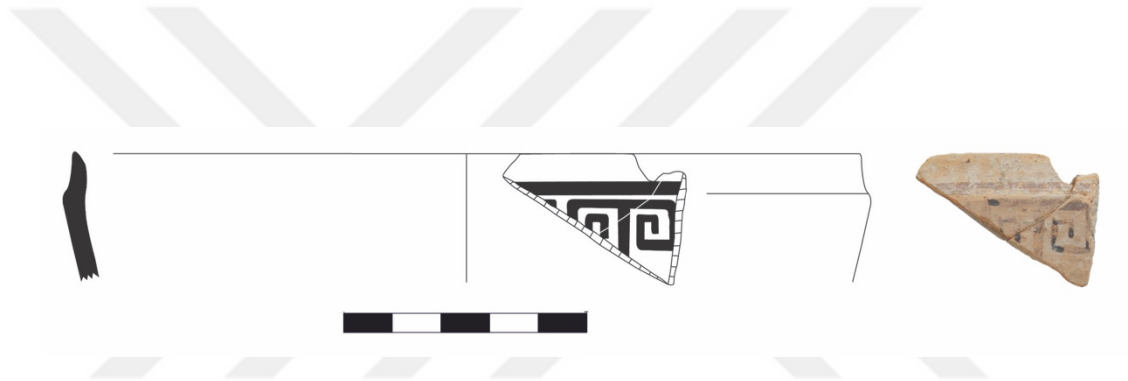
Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, fine sand, very fine porosity

Description / Decoration: White (7.5YR 8/1) slip. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1) glaze inside. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1) - gray (7.5YR 5/1) paint outside: tree meander and one band above.

Chronology: 750 – 700 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Graeve 1973–1974, pl. 23.47; Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 56; Tulunay 2011, 404, fig. 2; Zunal 2014, 235–244, cat. nos. 90–99.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 240

Shape / Part: *Kotyle* / rim

Context / Year: J14b east side of the trench. Layer 9. +0.23 m / 2002

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 15.2 cm / pr. height 1.7 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

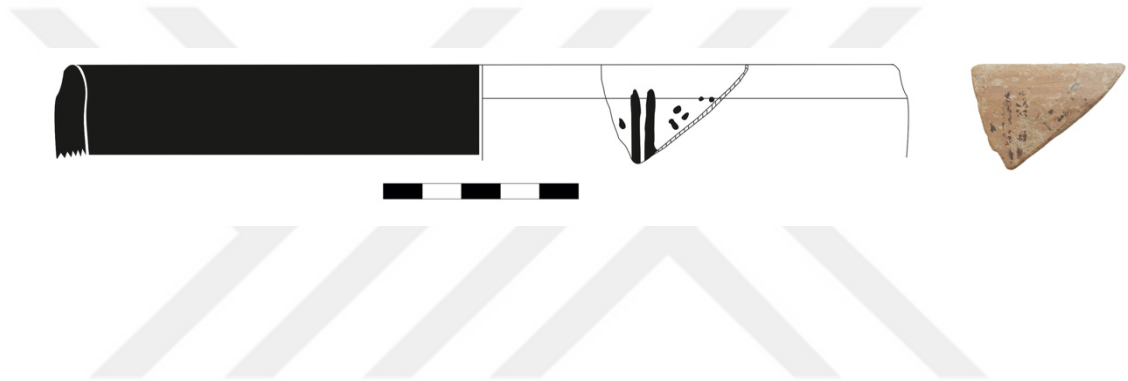
Fabric: Pink (5YR 7/3), no visible inclusions, fine clay.

Description / Decoration: Black (7.5YR 2.5/1) paint inside and outside. Exterior: two vertical line and traces of paint are preserved under the rim.

Chronology: Late Geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: Graeve 1973 / 1974, pl. 23. 47; Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 56.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 241

Shape / Part: *Kotyle* / rim-handle-body

Context / Year: IH12 +0.31/+0.20 m / 2006

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 16.8 cm / pr. height 5.1 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Fabric: Pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, fine sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Deep body. Vertical rim profile. Thick wall. Interior is brown (7.5YR 4/2) with a band along the rim. Exterior: no preserved slip, no visible decoration, black ((7.5YR 2.5/1) and brown (7.5YR 4/2) paint.

Chronology: Late Geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: Akurgal 1950, 10, pl. 9a; Özyiğit 2006, 74–75, fig.5; Jolivet 2003, 129, fig. 45. 3, 6, 8, 9, Zunal 2014, 255, cat. no. 110.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 242

Shape / Part: *Kotyle* / body

Context / Year: IH12 northern side of the wall Art.06/2. +0.33 m / 2006

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 4.9 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Fabric: Pink (7.5YR 7/3), mica and sparse calcite (white inclusions), fine porosity

Description / Decoration: Black (7.5YR 2.5/1) glaze inside. Body and feet of a bird outside. Three diagonal bands above bird.

Chronology: Late Geometric / Early Archaic

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 243

Shape / Part: Bird bowl / body

Context / Year: IH12 north of the wall Art.06/2. +0.14/-0.18 m / 2006

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 6.4 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Fabric: light brown (7.5YR 6/4), mica, sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Slip is not protected. Black (7.5YR 2.5/1) paint outside. Four bands and strand motifs outside.

Chronology: Geometric

Comparanda / Bibliography: Zunal 2014, 93–95, 259–262, cat. nos. 114–117.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 244

Shape / Part: *Skyphos* / whole profile

Context / Year: 3A southeast of the trench. layer 11. -0.05/-0.15 m/ 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 14 cm / pr. height 6.2 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

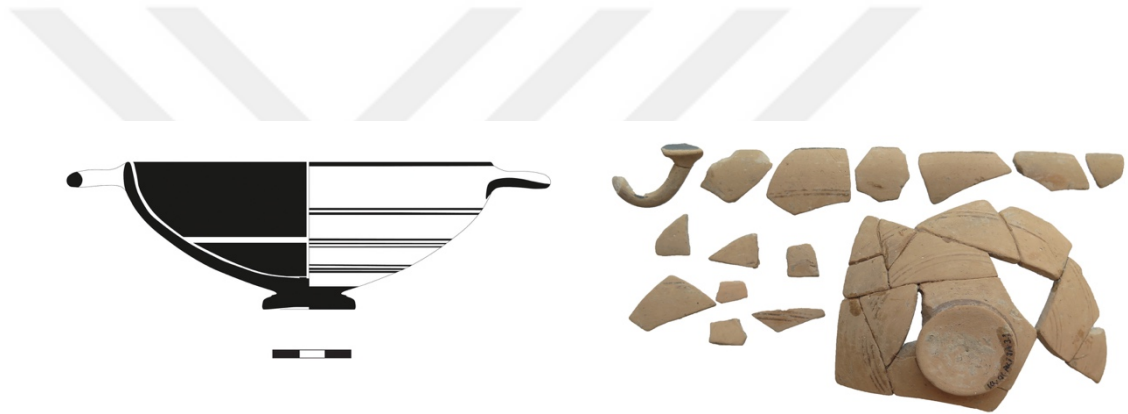
Fabric: pinkish gray (5YR 7/2), mica, very fine sand, small white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Band *skyphos*. No preserved slip. Interior: two reserved bands, dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) paint. Exterior: dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2) bands, lower part of the handles is painted.

Chronology: 650 / 630 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 10.32/17, 20, 22.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 245

Shape / Part: *Skyphos* / whole profile

Context / Year: IJ14 +0.50/+0.30 m / 2003

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 15.6 cm / pr. height 7.8 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Fabric: light reddish brown (5YR 6/3), mica, very fine sand, very fine clay

Description / Decoration: Joint fragments. East Greek band *skyphos*. No preserved slip. Interior: reserved disc, dark gray (2.5Y 4/1) and black (2.5Y 2.5/1) paint. Exterior: Black paint. Thin band along rim, one thick and one thin band, and strands on lower body. Handles are painted. Burnt marks. Late type band *skyphos*.

Chronology: sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 6.34/1–2, fig. 12.63/2; Güngör 2006, fig. 15D14–17.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 246

Shape / Part: Ionian *kylixs*

Context / Year: IH12 / 2006

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 9.5 cm / pr. height 5.3 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), fine sand, calcite, medium porosity

Description / Decoration: Brown (7.5YR 4/3 - 7.5YR 5/4) glaze inside and outside.
Reserved bands outside.

Chronology: c. 650 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Klazomenai (Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 16.79/1); Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967, 171, fig. 118.864, 866, 868, pl. 65.860–868).

Publication: –



Cat. no. 247

Shape / Part: *Skyphos* / rim

Context / Year: 3A southeast of the trench layer 11 -0.05/-0.15 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 21 cm / pr. height 1.9 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), mica, very fine sand, white inclusions, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Bird *skyphos* rim fragment. Three vertical band and part of a cross hatched rhomb is preserved. The placement of the motif between the diamond and the bands at the rim is unfamiliar. The standard placement of this motif is close to the head of the bird.

Chronology: seventh century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Hürmüzlü 2003, fig. 9 32/12.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 248

Shape / Part: Band cup / body

Context / Year: IH12 corner of the wall Art. 06/2 +0.68 m / 2006

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 7.9 cm / pr. height 2.4 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

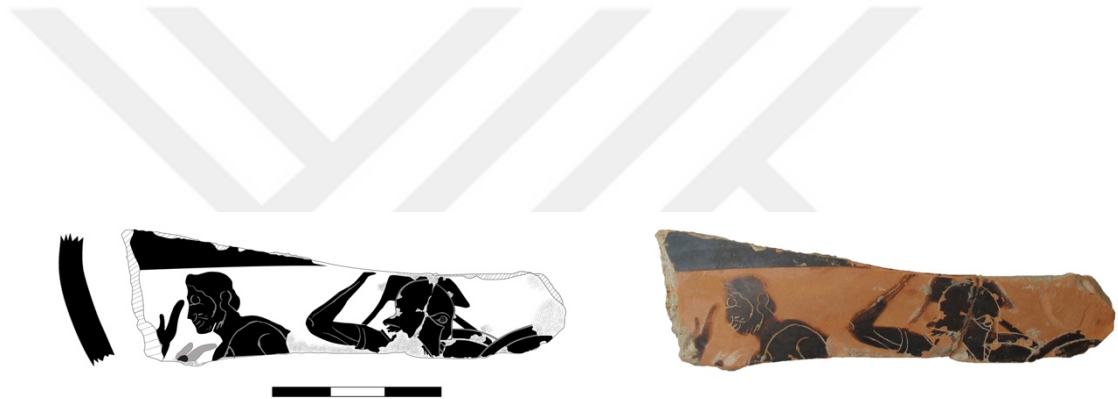
Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), no visible inclusions, non-porous, very fine Attic clay

Description / Decoration: Large black figure cup body fragment. Black glaze inside. Combat scene on the right, and may be a courting scene on the left. The bearded man faces left towards a woman, whose flesh is in added white.

Chronology: sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: *Beazley Archive* for fight scene: Paul 1997, 48, fig. 10; for courting scene: *Beazley Archive*, 41358, London; 46522, Athens, National Museum.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 249

Shape / Part: Eye cup / rim-body

Context / Year: 3A/1 layer 10 +0.16 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 15.4 cm / pr. height 2.3 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), no visible inclusions, non-porous, very fine clay

Description / Decoration: Type A eye cup rim and body fragments, joining. Black figure war scene. Interior: black (7.5YR 2.5/1) paint. Slip is not preserved.

Chronology: sixth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Bundrick 2015, 295–341.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 250

Shape / Part: *Krater* / Rim

Context / Year: 3A South side of the trench. Layer 10. +0.41/+0.30 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 39 cm / pr. h. 4.2 cm / max. th. 1.2 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), no visible inclusions, very fine Attic clay.

Description / Decoration: Red figure calyx *krater*. Two joint pieces. Bay leaf motifs below rim. Interior is black (5YR 2.5/1) and reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4). Slip on exterior is not protected. Black (5YR 2.5/1) paint on exterior. The vase probably was used for cultic purpose. Similar sherd was found at Leto sector. Calyx or bell krater. Fragment of out-turned rim. Black glaze with reserved band at join of rim to body. Horizontal pattern of laurel leaves. Interior: reserved band where rim turns out; otherwise black glaze.

Chronology: Classical / ca. 450–425 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Schaeffer et al. 1997, cat. no. Att. 118, pl. 42.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 251

Shape / Part: *Krater* / rim

Context / Year: 3A layer 11 0/-0.05 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 25 cm / pr. h. 2.5 cm / max. th. 1.1 cm

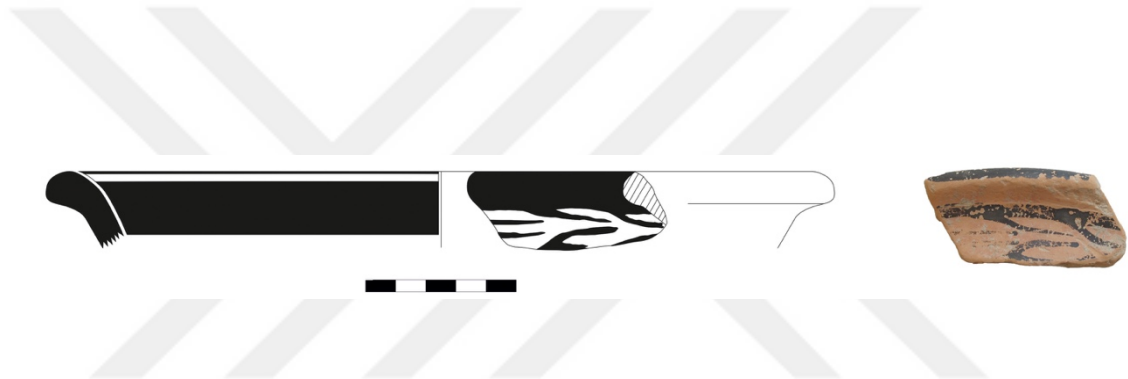
Fabric: light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4), no visible inclusion, very fine fabric.

Description / Decoration: Chalix *krater*. Everted, rounded rim. Slip is not protected. Black glaze inside. Black and reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4) paint outside underneath rim. Bay leaf motifs on panel under rim. One reserved band inside along rim.

Chronology: Classical / ca. 450–425 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Schaeffer et al. 1997, cat. no. Att. 118, pl. 42.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 252

Shape / Part: Cup / body

Context / Year: IH12 east to the KL06/2 wall +0.80 / +0.66 m / 2006

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 2.6 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

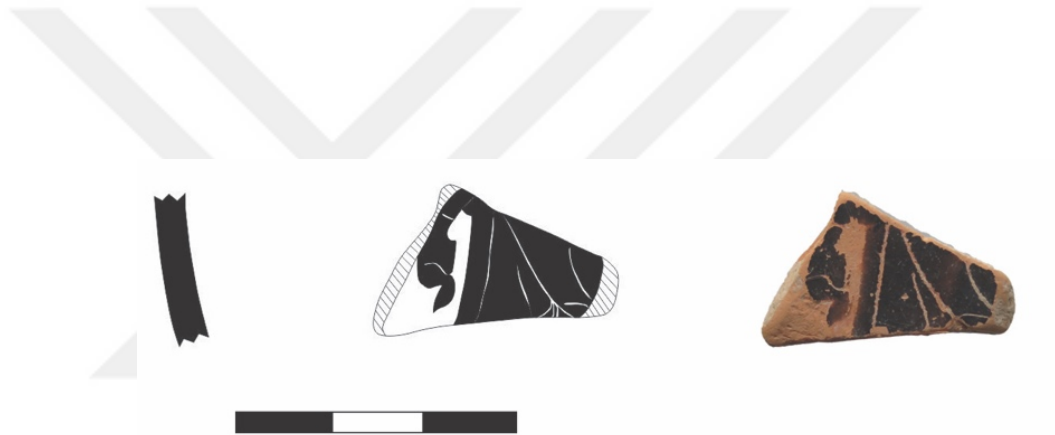
Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), no visible inclusion, very fine non-porous clay

Description / Decoration: Body fragment of a cup. Interior: black. Exterior: Black figure. Small part of a male figure is preserved. Details of his dress are visible. He is holding a plectrum in his right hand.

Chronology: fifth century B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: –

Publication: –



Cat. no. 253

Shape / Part: *Skyphos* / foot

Context / Year: 3A +0.59/+0.54 m / 2001

Dimensions: est. foot diam. 6.4 cm / pr. height 3.2 cm / max. th. 0.8 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6), mica, very fine sand, fine clay

Description / Decoration: Black Glaze *skyphos* ring foot and body fragment.

Chronology: 440 – 425 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Robinson 1950, pl. 199, no. 564; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, pl. 16, no. 344; Dallik 2009, cat. nos. 1, 2, fig. 1.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 254

Shape / Part: *Stemless* / body

Context / Year: J14b eastern area of the trench +0.80 m / 2002

Dimensions: max. pr. dim. 5.4 cm / max. th. 0.3 cm

Fabric: pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2), no visible inclusions.

Description / Decoration: Black Glaze Attic *stemless* tondo. Interior: incised tongue decoration.

Chronology: 430 – 400 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, fig. 5, no. 487.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 255

Shape / Part: Small bowl / rim

Context / Year: 3A layer 9 / 2001

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 9 cm / pr. height 2.2 cm / max. th. 0.5 cm

Fabric: reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6), very fine sand, very fine clay

Description / Decoration: Interior and exterior: black glaze. Incurving rim.

Chronology: 375 – 350 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Sparkes and Talcott 1970, fig. 8, no. 828.

Publication: –



Cat. no. 256

Shape / Part: *Kantharos* / rim-body

Context / Year: IH12 south side of the trench +2.33/+2.16 m / 2006

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 18 cm / pr. h. 11 cm / max th. 0.5 cm

Fabric: pink (7.5YR 7/4), no visible inclusions, very fine Attic clay.

Description / Decoration: Attic black glazed molded rim *kantharos*. Rim-body-handle joint are protected. Foot is not protected. Rouletting on the floor. "...ΙΩΝ...ΚΑΗΠΙΙ...Ι" inscribed along the lip. Glaze on exterior and interior is black and reddish brown (2.5YR 5/6).

Chronology: 350 – 325 B.C.E.

Comparanda / Bibliography: Corbett 1955, fig. 3.28; Sparkes and Talcott 1970, fig. 7.661; Blonde 1985, fig. 16.123.

Publication: Dallik 2009, cat. no. 69.



Cat. no. 257

Shape / Part: Moldmade bowl / rim

Context / Year: IH12 north / 2006

Dimensions: est. rim diam. 13.4 cm / pr. height 5 cm / max. th. 0.4 cm

Fabric: light gray (2.5Y 7/2), mica, sand, porous clay.

Description / Decoration: Moldmade bowl. Burnt. Lesbian kymation, and egg-and-dart motif. Four fragments from the same bowl. Dark gray (10YR 3/1) glaze.

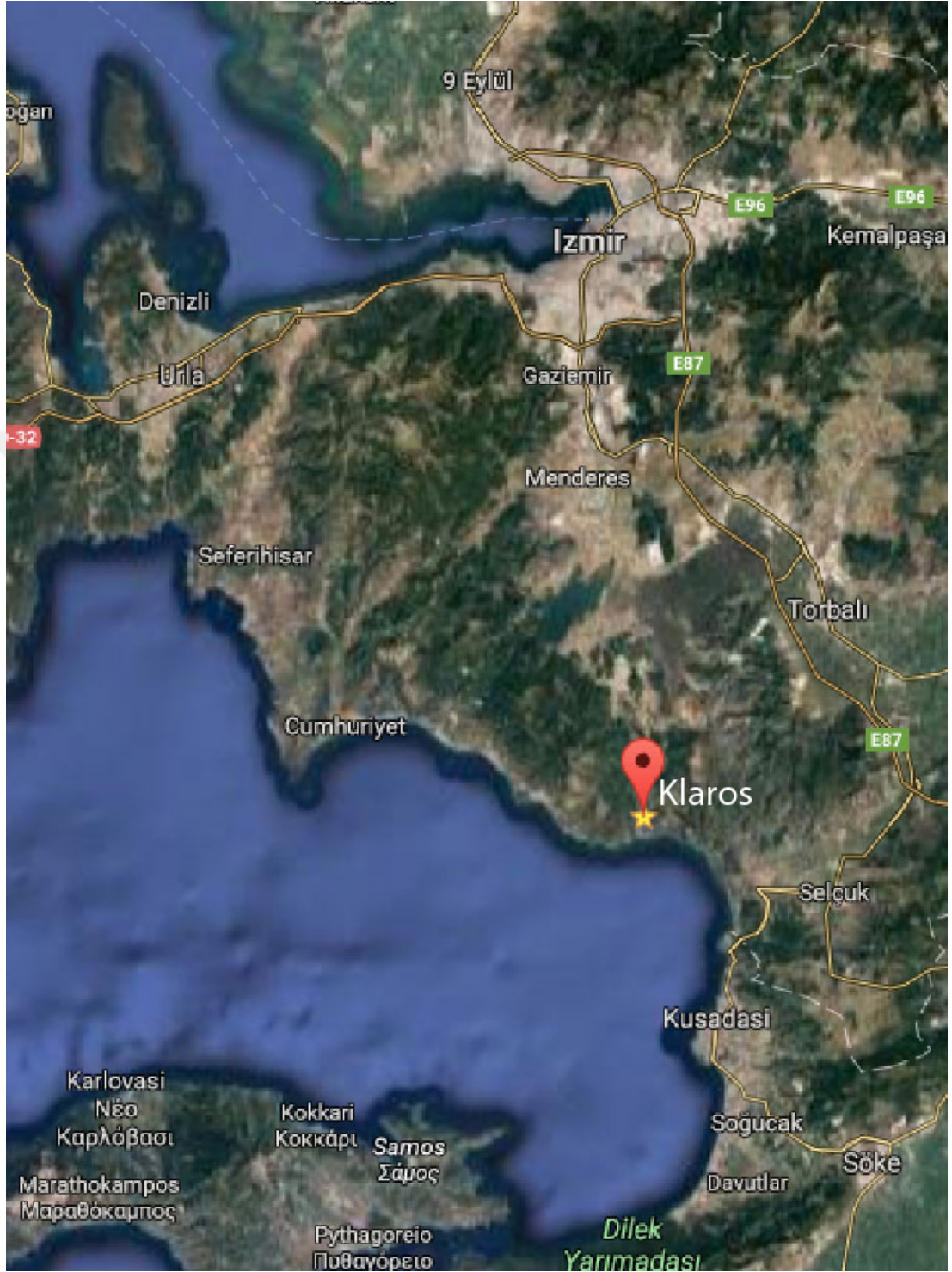
Chronology: Hellenistic

Comparanda / Bibliography: Smyrna (Ersoy 2013, nos. 1, 2).

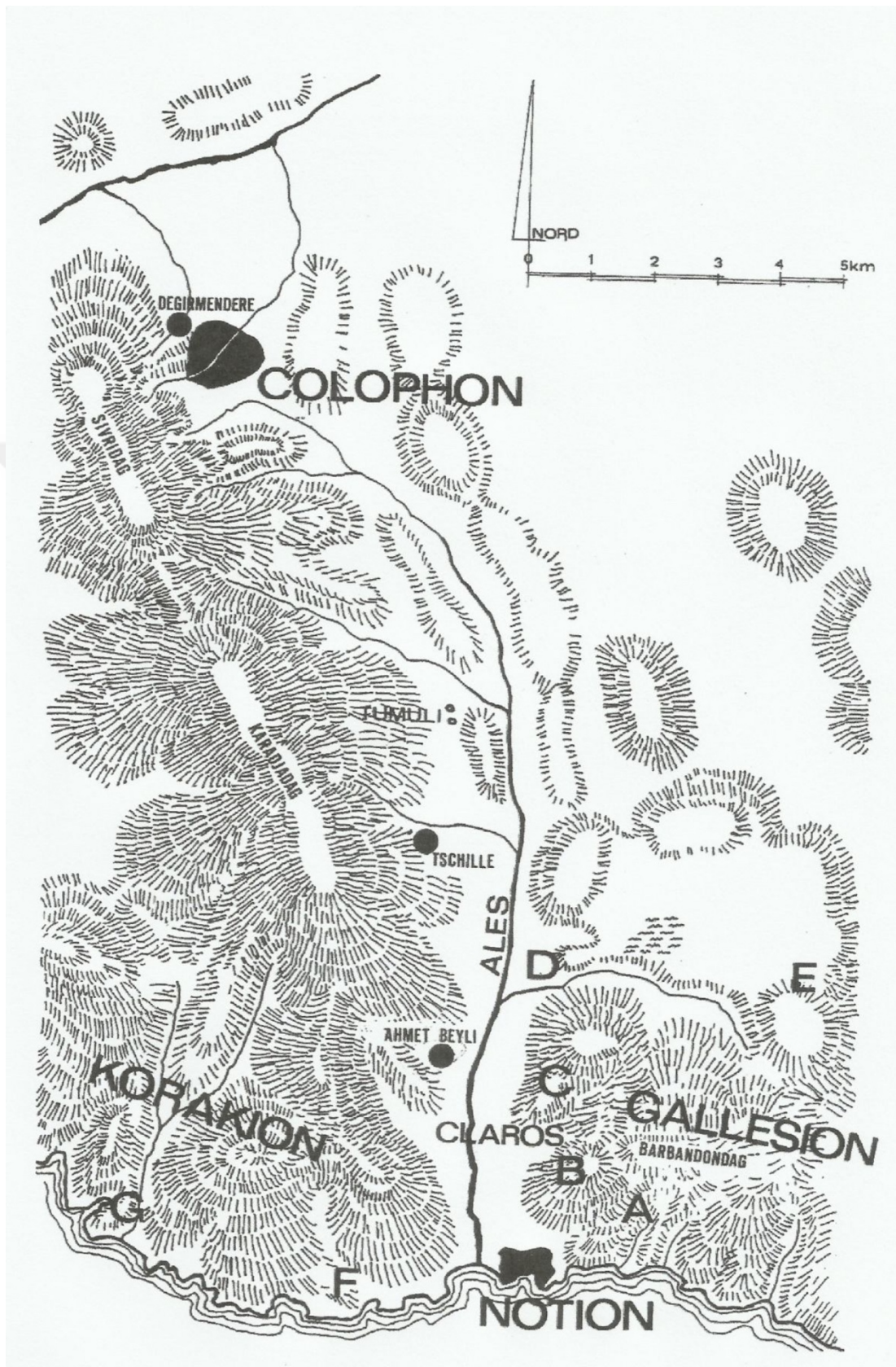
Publication: –







Map 1. Kuşadası Bay, Klaros.



Map 2. Kolophonian Land (after Schuchhardt 1886).



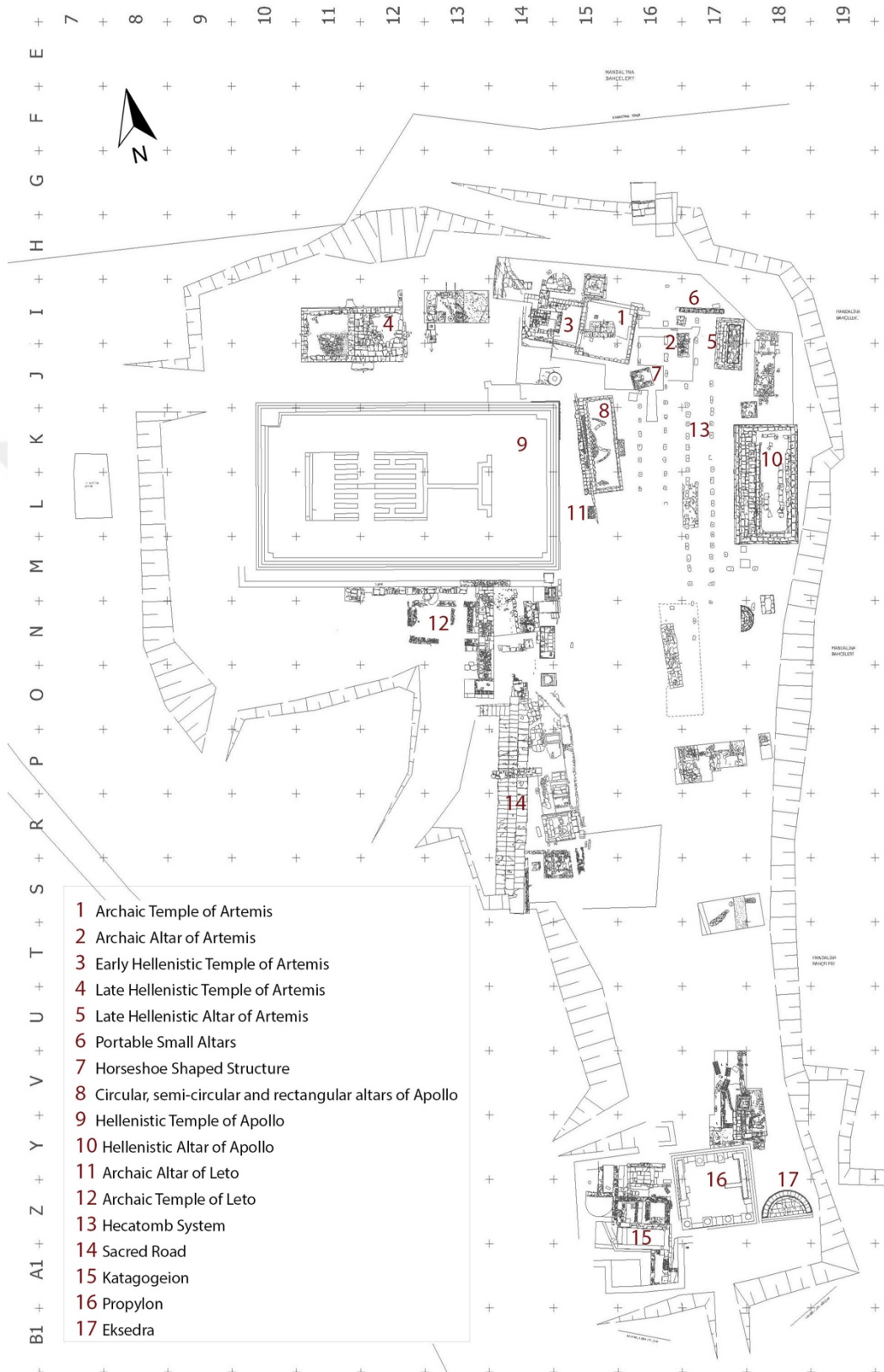
Map 3. Klaros in the 3rd Millennium B.C.E. (after M. Doğan 2008).



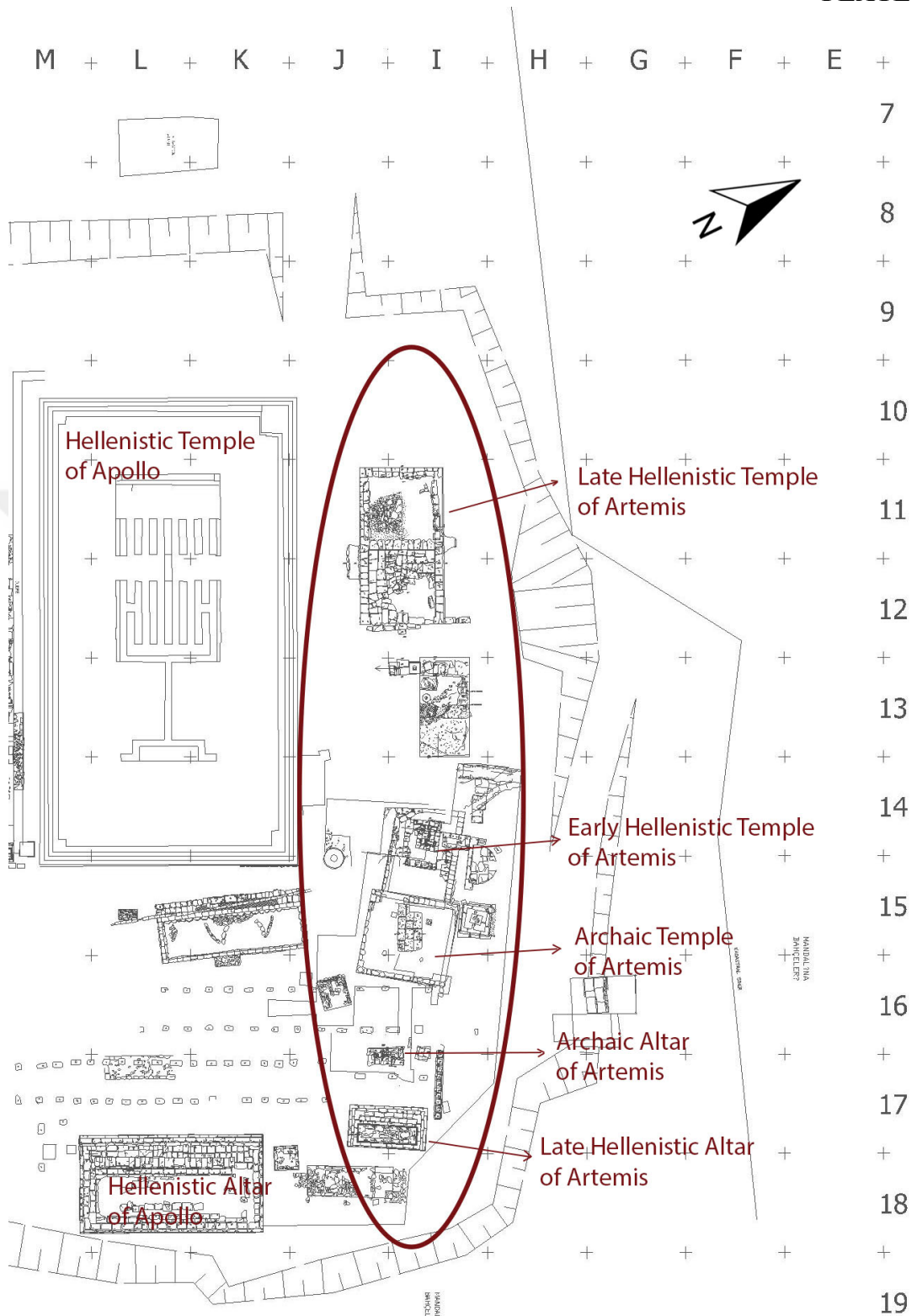
Map 4. Klaros in the 1st Millennium B.C.E. (after M. Doğan 2008).



Map 5. Klaros today (after M. Doğan 2008).



Plan 1. Sanctuary at Klaros. 1/200.



Plan 2. Artemis sector to the north of the Apollo sector.



Fig. 1. Relief from Hierapolis, depicting the scene described by Kallimachos.



Fig. 2. Artemis Ephesia cult statue. Efes Museum in Selçuk. (photo taken by author)



Fig. 3. Female figurine in labor (Klaros Excavation archive).

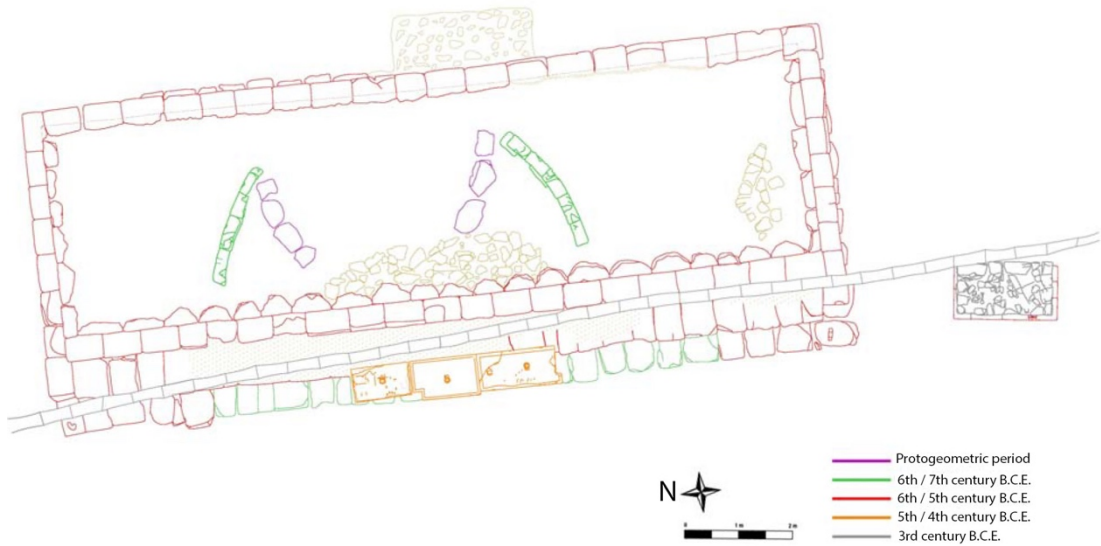


Fig. 4. Altars of Apollo.



Fig. 5. Rectangular altar of Apollo. View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 6. Small altar to the south of the rectangular altar of Apollo. View from west. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 7. Small altar to the east of the Archaic building (“temple”). View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 8. Cult statue group. The Klarian Triad: Apollo, Artemis and Leto (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 9. Roman Imperial coin depicting the Klarian Triad (Apollo, Artemis and Leto).



Fig. 10. Small portable altars in the Artemis sector. View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 11. Left arm of a silver statuette found to the east of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 12. Silver coin found in the Artemis sector, probably depicting the head of Artemis (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 13. Bronze coin probably depicting the head of Artemis (Delrieux 2014).



Fig. 14. Bronze coin depicting the bust of Artemis with a quiver (photo taken by author).



Fig. 15. Silver coin depicting Homeros and a standing figure (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 16. Bronze coin depicting Artemis Klaria
(*RPC III*, no. 2005).



Fig. 17. Bronze coin depicting Artemis Klaria
(*RPC III*, no. 2006).



Fig. 18. Bronze coin depicting Artemis Klaria
(*RPC III*, no. 2007).



Fig. 19. Bronze coin depicting Artemis Klaria
(*RPC III*, no. 2008).



Fig. 20. Aerial photograph of Klaros. View from east. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 21. Archaic building (“temple”) and altar in the Artemis sector. View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 22. Earlier structure remains underneath the Archaic altar. View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 23. 8th / 7th century B.C.E. layer to the south of the Archaic building ("temple"). View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 24. Tenth layer in the Apollo sector. View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 25. Tenth layer in the Apollo sector (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 26. Wooden beams under the tenth layer in the Artemis sector (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 27. Wooden beams over the tenth layer in the Artemis sector (Klaros excavation archive)



Fig. 28. Wooden beams over the tenth layer in the Artemis sector (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 29. Wooden beams over the tenth layer in the Artemis sector (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 30. Circular pit “votive deposit” to the southwest of the Archaic altar in the Artemis sector (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 31. Front façade of the Archaic building ("temple").
View from southeast. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 32. Classical phase flooring in the Archaic building ("temple").
View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 33. Early Hellenistic temple. View from west. (Klaros excavation archive)



Fig. 34. Three-phase altar in the Artemis sector. View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 35. Horseshoe shaped structure (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 36. Late Hellenistic temple. View from northeast. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 37. Foundation blocks of the Late Hellenistic temple (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 38. Ionic capital (photo taken by author).



Fig. 39. Column drum and statue found together (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 40. Late Hellenistic altars. View from west. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 41. Detail of Pompeii fresco woman with pen (Sappho?). Le musée archéologique national de Naples (www.photo.rmn.fr).



Fig. 42. Pendants in the Cleveland Art Museum.



Fig. 43. Fragments of a tripod.



Fig. 44. Figurines from The Brauron Museum (photo taken by author).



Fig. 45. Terracotta channel beside the Archaic altar. View from south.
(Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 46. Base of the Archaic *kore*. View from north.
(Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 47. Two statue bases found together to the south of the Archaic altar. View from west. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 48. Limestone slabs supporting the statue bases. View from south. (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 49. The stone filling where gold artifacts were found to the north of the Late Hellenistic temple (Klaros excavation archive).



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Fig. 50. Red Figure amphora under copyright of London, British Museum, E256 (Beazley Archive).



Fig. 51. Detail from a Red Figure amphora of Andokides painter. Artemis holding a lotus branch (Boardman 2005, fig. 103. Berlin 2159).



a. View from north. b. View from south.
Fig. 52. *Hecatomb* (Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 53. Late Hellenistic altar and the *Hecatomb*.
View from west.
(Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 54. Marble base depicting Apollo Pythios
(Klaros excavation archive).



Fig. 55. Statue of a young girl holding a rabbit.
Brauron Museum (photo taken by author).



Fig. 56. Red Figure bell-krater of Bendis painter.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1983.553)
(www.theoi.com).

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