Terracottas from Kınık Höyük, Southern Cappadocia: a Preliminary Overview*

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Abstract

Since 2011, an archaeological mission of ISAW-NYU and Pavia University have started excavating a tell at the site of Kınık Höyük, southern Cappadocia (http://www.kinikhoyuk.org). This region played a strategic role from prehistory up to modern times due to its geographical position on the route connecting the Central Anatolian plateau to Cilicia, through the Taurus passes, and far beyond to Syria and Mesopotamia. Despite its importance, so far the province of Niğde has received little attention from scholars, particularly as regards the Bronze and Iron Ages. With a view to bridging this gap, our team from the University of Pavia carried out an archaeological survey in the region between 2006 and 2009, followed by a 10-year project of excavations. From two operations in the mound a series of fragmentary terracotta statuettes, mostly from Hellenistic times, has been recovered. Most of them represent birds of prey, but bovines, lions and horses are attested as well. A minor number consists of female figurines. The purpose of this paper will be to present them, in order to address questions such as their production areas (and commercial routes involved), production techniques, iconographies and function.

Since 2011, a joint archaeological mission of ISAW-NYU and Pavia University has excavated at Kınık Höyük, southern Cappadocia (http://www.kinikhoyuk.org), in the province of Niğde. This region played a strategic role in history due to its geographical position on the route connecting the Central Anatolian plateau to Cilicia, through the Taurus passes, and far beyond to Syria and Mesopotamia (fig. 1).

Kınık Höyük is a site located in the Bor plain (ancient Tyanitis), ca. 70 km north of the Taurus and the Cilician gates and along one of the main routes connecting Central Anatolia to the Adana plain. The site bears traces of occupation from the Bronze Age to the end of the Hellenistic period. The archaeological information indicates that the site enjoyed a particular importance throughout the Iron Age and in the Hellenistic period, after which it was abandoned as a major settlement (fig. 2).³

The site consists of a circular mound (ca. 1 ha) set on a squared terrace (ca. 9 ha) and a surrounding area to the east, north and west, for an overall surface of 24 ha.

Excavation activities have been carried out on northern and southern sides of the summit of the mound, on the stone wall enclosure (likely built in the late Bronze and rebuilt in the early Iron Age) and on the southwestern edge of the site, investigating the stratigraphy of the terrace.⁴ A necessary premise to this paper is that both the excavations and the study of architecture and materials are ongoing and, therefore, the picture presented is provisional.

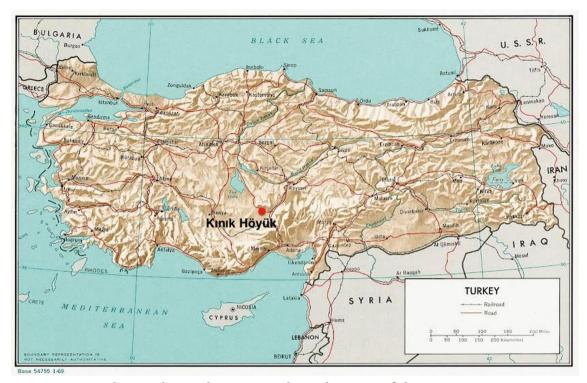


Fig. 1: Kınık Höyük, Southern Cappadocia: location of the area in Asia minor.

On the northern fringes of the mound, in Operation A Sector A1 (fig. 3), excavations revealed a multi-period building (the NW-Building); the earliest phase currently identified (level A1.2) was composed of four adjacent rooms (Rooms Ar2-5). One room was completely excavated (room Ar3) and two other rooms were partially investigated (rooms Ar2 and Ar5). It is likely that the building extended further north towards the slope, but the rooms in that direction are entirely lost because of the erosion. The building underwent reconstruction (level A1.1), presumably around mid-2nd c., with rearrangement of some of the architectures; the spaces had new functions, and notably a storage area with *pithoi* installations was built ("room" Ar10). The architectures of this later level were less well-preserved, and two rooms have been identified so far (rooms Ar9-10). The stratigraphy of the later phase A1.1 is less preserved as well, as it was close to the surface and substantially cut by erosion towards the northern mound slope. The installation of storage vessels in the late Hellenistic period in room 10, additionally, intruded the previous layers partially disturbing the stratigraphy of level A1.2.

Building NW – for what it concerns the occupation phase A1.2 – has been identified as a complex connected with cultic functions, predominantly on the basis of the material recovered from rooms Ar3 and Ar5 (collections of selected bones,⁵ suggestive of the remains of banquets, terracottas and ceremonial vessels such as *rhyta*).⁶ The building construction for what it concerns occupation phase A1.2 dates to the 4th c. BC, at the earliest, as suggested by ¹⁴C sampling.⁷ The architectural technique, the dimensions

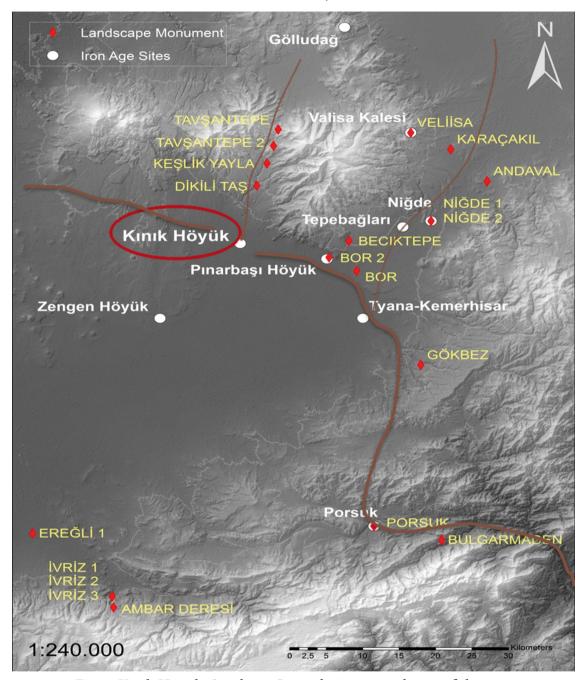


Fig. 2: Kınık Höyük, Southern Cappadocia: general map of the area.

of the rooms and their planimetry further exclude a domestic character for the NW Building. Room Ar5, whose excavation is still ongoing, seems to have been an area for discarded special objects and materials, whilst the cache of complete figurines (including four terracotta bovines and one statuette of a hawk in rhyolite) discovered in room Ar3 in 2016 substantially confirmed the particular character of the entire NW building,

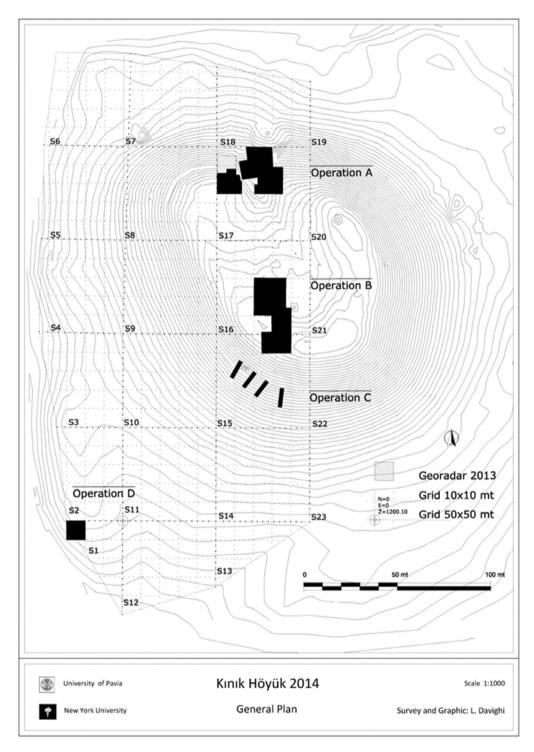


Fig. 3: Kınık Höyük, Southern Cappadocia: excavavations plan (2014).



Fig. 4: Kınık Höyük, female figurine.

with consistent symbolic representations of cattle and birds of prey.⁸ Nonetheless, it is arduous at present to understand the exact nature of these trash layers/deposits. In terms of chronology, the excavations so far have clarified that the building had two occupational levels: A1.1, corresponding to the late Hellenistic Period (mid-2nd – mid-1st century BC) and A1.2, corresponding to the Late Achaemenid-Hellenistic period (mid-4th century – mid-2nd century BC). Besides the C¹⁴ dates, layers have been dated on the ground of diagnostic ceramics, several coins and coin hoards, between the end of the 1st BC, and the Achaemenid period.⁹ A distinction should be made between the suggested date for the layers, in which the terracottas were found and the actual date of the figurines themselves, recognizing that they seem to have been transported from their original context in fills associated with deposits/trash deposits. Very few figurines have been found intact, most are fragmentary, and in several cases fragments attaching have been found in different layers. A similar situation of very fragmentary pieces is mirrored in the pottery from the very same layers, whose study is ongoing.¹⁰

This contribution offers a preliminary overview of the terracottas found in this building, in both occupational phases.¹¹ Other terracottas come from Operation D (Hellenistic domestic area) as well as from Operation A2, and they will be published separately by the author and other members of the Mission.

These artifacts were, plausibly, votive objects and their discarding along with animal remains and burnt materials seems to indicate that they have been transported into these areas from their primary deposition context still to be identified. Furthermore, the animal remains associated with the ash layers for both levels have been analyzed: species diversity is very limited (94% caprines, 6% cattle; no pig bones were recovered from this area, but are attested in the lower town). The assemblage included many meat related elements, such as ribs, vertebrae, and limb bones. The high percentage of sheep and goat remains and the absence of the youngest and oldest age classes suggest that this debris may be associated with feasting. Is

Almost the totality of the figurines of KH were recovered in a fragmentary state. The total number of pieces (including broken fragments and updated to May 2018) from the entire site of KH is just above 100. A catalogue of all the figurines is currently in preparation by the author.

Three macro categories have been identified:

- female *protomai* and female figurines (8)
- animals (two main categories, birds 24, especially birds of prey and bovines 28+15), an isolated horse and four paws of felines.
- *Alia* (fragments whose preservation state prevents a clear understanding of their type).

In terms of method, each fragment has been examined: according to

- typological and iconographical analysis;
- clay analysis at stereomicroscope (AM4013MZTL) to determine the fabric type and to distinguish local fabrics from imports;¹⁴
- production method (mould-made, hand-made, wheel- and hand-made). No traces of kilns have been found, neither moulds have been recovered yet in the area.

The female figurines (all mould made) have been presented in several articles.¹⁵ They depict either a goddess (in one case, definitely Aphrodite, 16 possibly the interpretation Graceca of another local, pre-existing deity) or female figures. The fabric analysis seems to indicate that they were all imports. Their iconographical types address to two production areas: Tarsus (fig. 4)17 a flourishing communication center, which controlled the southern access to Cappadocia and the plateau through the Cilician Gates, which was well connected to the Bor plain and, secondly, Olbia Pontica,18 which was equally well connected with southern Cappadocia. The Pontic area seems also to be the source of comparanda for the category of bovine statuettes. 19 According to Strabo, it was in Persian times that the region of Cappadocia was divided in two administrative districts, separating Pontic Cappadocia from Cappadocia proper. It seems, however, that this statement was a projection into the past of his contemporary reality. What we can discern from literary and numismatic sources indicates a single satrap in charge of this entire region: Datames, for example, struck coins from Tarsus to Sinope, while Ariarathes I, the founder of the Cappadocian dynasty, struck coins at Gazioura, which is situated at the very heart of what would become the Pontic Kingdom.²⁰ Therefore, the



Fig. 5: Kınık Höyük, Type A bovine terracotta figurines.

fact that terracottas of KH might be linked to the Black Sea region does not contradict historical narrative. Other identifiable types of female figurines are generally well documented in other sites of Asia minor.²¹

Their dating, on stylistical base, seems to point to the Hellenistic period. These figurines, found at the periphery of the Greek world but yet still Greek in type and iconography (and not made in local clay), belong to the moment of the Hellenization of this area, promoted by Ariarathes the 3rd, who was the first member of the dynasty of the Ariarathids to officially assume the title of *basileus*,²² as testified by the numismatic material. Before Ariarathes, and his predecessor Ariaramnes,²³ who adopted Greek legends on his coinage, the official language of Cappadocia was Aramaic:²⁴ the introduction of Greek language and iconography was probably intended to facilitate the assimilation of the kingdom of Cappadocia into the 'universal' Hellenistic culture and to legitimize Ariarathes' reign to the eyes of the Seleucids and the other Hellenistic kings.

Among the animals, the two main categories attested in KH are birds, predominantly birds of prey (cat. 1–24) and sometimes found with their bases, and bovines (catt. 25–53). Three isolated feline paws, and a horse complete the picture.²⁵

The bovine figures can be distinguished into two groups: Group A, a series of similar handmade bovine figurines, of an average height 6 cm to 7 cm (fig. 5)²⁶; group B, zoomorphic vessels, which will be not considered in this paper.²⁷ It is difficult to distinguish the representation of bulls from those of cows and oxen since genitals are not indicated and the horns are mostly broken; furthermore, it was not the main aim of the coroplast to arrive to a punctual definition of these details, but he wanted to highlight their species. Group A is handmade: full tube-like elements were joined together to make bodies and necks, to which heads, legs, horns and tails were applied.



Fig. 6: Tyana AE15, semi-automonous issue, ca. 1^{st} Century BC. Bull walking left / TYANE Ω N, Zeus seated left, holding patera and sceptre.

In the biggest specimens, the clay was shaped in order to form legs and head as well. Horns are partly straight and partly curved. Stereoscope analysis has confirmed that they were all produced locally, showing volcanic stones in the fabric typical of the region. The most common fabric is K17, with three specimens belonging to K26, all local medium wares. Determining a date for these statuettes is difficult, since this tradition seems to have continued in Anatolia since the 2nd millennium: they have been found in KH associated with figurines from the late Hellenistic period to the Achaemenid period.

Some bull figurines of group A²⁸ are represented with a humped-back, therefore it should be considered if the intention, instead, was to represent the *Bos indicus*, i.e. a zebu. The question is relevant because, mixed with the ashes and the soil, the layers which contained the bovines also contained animal bones. It is difficult, though, to establish if there is any *Bos indicus* in the bone material from KH. The anatomical feature that can be used to identify *Bos indicus* in the archaeological record is a bifurcation on the spines of the thoracic vertebrae. If there is a bifurcated vertebra, the specimen is almost certainly *Bos indicus*, but not all *Bos indicus* vertebrae show this bifurcation. None of the Area A cattle (where osteological analyses have proven the existence of bovine) showed bifurcated spines. That does not rule out *Bos indicus*, but there is no clear evidence for any *Bos indicus* anywhere in the KH faunal assemblage.²⁹

The introduction of *Bos indicus* (humped cattle) in Anatolia during the Bronze Age is based almost entirely on representations in art and sculpture which appear in Mesopotamia in the 3rd millennium and in Anatolia in the second millennium.³⁰ Ancient authors recall bovines in Syria and in Asia Minor with a hump: Pliny the Ancient (*Hist. Nat.* VIII, 70, and before him, Aristotle (*H. A.* 499a.3-5 and 606a.14-16) mention the *agrioi boes* of Syria, similar to camels in consideration of their hump. Casabonne has

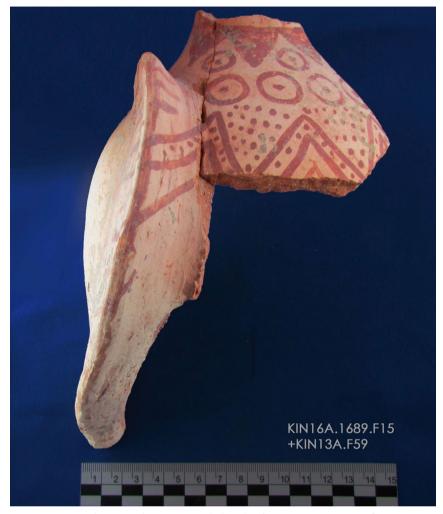


Fig. 7: Kınık Höyük, Type A b bird of prey terracotta figurine.

suggested that these descriptions are proof of the existence of different races of bovines in the ancient Near East.³¹ A coin issue from Tyana of the first c. BC depicts a similar type of animal (fig. 6)³² and coins from Tyana in Imperial age, in Septimius Severus and Caracalla issues, depict a *Bos indicus*³³. Therefore, the iconographical evidence of the terracottas of KH combined with depictions on coins issued in the nearby Tyana area since the 1st BC to the 3rd AD seems to suggest that both species existed in the area. Equally relevant is the small bronze zebu of the former Brummer collection whose provenance is considered Caesarea-Kayseri in Cappadocia³⁴ and the Comana's bulls recovered by Chantre.³⁵

The presence of bovine figurines can be inserted in the Central Anatolian tradition:³⁶ Gordion,³⁷ the Apollonion of Klaros,³⁸ Kastamonu in Paphlagonia,³⁹ Meyre,⁴⁰ Sinope,⁴¹ and Çirişli Tepe (Central Black Sea),⁴² are all sites where bull and zebu statues and statuettes have been found.



Fig. 8: Kınık Höyük, Type B bird of prey terracotta figurine.

Terracotta representations of cattle are frequent in sanctuaries of most deities. In Cappadocia, bovids are the most represented animals, both in bronze and in terracotta, as it was already noticed by Chantre⁴³ (who saw examples in Songorlou, next to Euyuk, in Kayseri and on the Cilician Taurus). New data from the excavations of the Black Sea region as well as from southern Cappadocia reinforces the thesis that dedications of bovine figurines and statues are extremely common in the area.

Thus, the figurines from KH are to be understood within a widespread and very ancient iconographic Anatolian tradition and could have been dedicated as long-lasting reminders of sacrifices or as a substitution of the sacrifice itself, or as attributes of the deity, as well as an attempt to place the depicted animals under the deity's protection. Furthermore, considering the characteristics of KH, a tell overlooking the fertile plane

of Bor, it might be argued that their dedication points to a local community whose wealth was based on land property and cattle-breeding for agricultural labors.⁴⁴

The peculiarity of KH's terracottas consists mainly in the bird figures and figurines. The stereomicroscope analysis, in this case as well, showed that they all belong to the local K17 fabric. 45

Terracotta birds may be divided in two main categories: the first type, A, includes relatively tall birds (fig. 7)⁴⁶ depicted in beige coating and red motifs, such as dots and triangles, in order to provide definition of joints, feathers and other details. Type B, instead, is always coated in white and red but all the surface is carved to render the feathers.⁴⁷ In type A, bodies and wings and possibly heads were wheel-made then attached together whilst legs were hand-made and placed upon a base. The dimensions of the single parts, including the bases, produce a considerable weight. It has not yet been possible to find good published parallels for the type A terracottas: the type of painted decoration echoes patterns found on pottery specimens from Gordion (especially the mainly 4th c. BC class of the so-called dotted triangle ware)⁴⁸ and from Tarsos.⁴⁹ The best *comparanda*, in terms of decorations with dotted triangles, come from Kara-Euyuk, near Dedik, excavated by E. Chantre in 1894.⁵⁰ On these ground, a *terminus ad quem* in 4th BC seems a possible date for these specimens.

The type B (fig. 8) pieces, of slightly smaller dimensions, show almost full bodies with wings, which are less pronounced, and legs, which were subsequently connected to the body. Not a single head of this type has been found yet. In terms of decoration a parallel from Hellenistic period⁵¹ comes from Smyrne. Nonetheless, the clay of the KH specimens is local and the scale of the item from Smyrne is significantly different.

The very same layers have given back fragments of birds type A and B (e.g. SS.UU. 133; 135; 1689), therefore, for the reasons explained above concerning the not primary finding context, it is not possible to propose a date based on stratigraphical elements.

As Mellink⁵² and Canby⁵³ have noted, birds of prey have been a popular artistic and religious motif in Asia Minor since the Hittite period.⁵⁴ Several broken stone birds have been found at Gordion (where there are depictions in relief of a female goddess with a bird of prey in her left hand, interpreted as Kubaba)⁵⁵ and, in Cappadocia, in Kayseri, as well as in the territories further north, next to Pteria, both as bronze statuettes and as marble statues.⁵⁶ In Gordion the most popular carvings are made in local alabaster and represent small squatting hawks.⁵⁷ They occur in Hellenistic and earlier levels, some of them in the fill of tumuli which were closed in the sixth century. The dates of the KH bird terracottas are, at the present, less easy to propose: we can link the painted type A to the 4th century BC pottery production of Gordion, but we have no fine elements of chronology for the type B.

In conclusion, KH has returned a small number of terracottas: a few imports from Tarsos, from the Black Sea region and from other cities of Asia minor (the imported terracottas, according to the present data, are exclusively anthropomorphic female

figurines, evidently not connected to a local iconographic tradition, and chronologically belonging to the late Hellenistic period). The majority of the figurines, bulls, zebu, birds of prey, and other animals, are local specimens, and seem to reflect, instead, the Anatolian tradition and, later, the Achaemenid world.

This picture, of course, reflects the pluralism of the Cappadocian kingdom itself, a patchwork of different geographic and cultural zones with a long and complex past: Anatolian, Achaemenid, and Greek.

Future campaigns (and future excavations in Central Anatolia) yielding terracotta figurines will better define KH and its position within the coroplastic production of the region.

Notes

- * I thank Lorenzo D'Alfonso for having involved me in the KH Project and for helpful discussions. My warmest aknowledgments go as well to Andrea Trameri, who directed the excavations in A1.
- ¹ Cfr. D'Alfonso Mora 2011; Mora D'Alfonso 2012; D'Alfonso Mora 2013; D'Alfonso et al. 2014; D'Alfonso et al. 2015; D'Alfonso et al. 2017b; D'Alfonso et al. 2018; D'Alfonso Castellano 2018; Crabtree et al. 2018, 185–190.
- ²Thierry 2002; Turchetto 2012; Turchetto 2014; Matessi Tomassini Pieri 2017; Panichi 2018, 48–57.
- ³ Trameri D'Alfonso 2020; D'Alfonso et al. 2017a.
- ⁴Cinieri et al. 2014.
- ⁵Crabtree 2017
- ⁶ Lanaro et al. 2015; D'Alfonso et al. 2017b; D'Alfonso Castellano 2018.
- ⁷Trameri D'Alfonso 2020.
- ⁸Cfr. infra.
- ⁹D'Alfonso et al. 2017b.
- ¹⁰ The pottery study has been assigned to M. Derada: I thank her for the information.
- ¹¹Trameri D'Alfonso 2020.
- ¹² Trameri D'Alfonso 2020.
- ¹³ Highcock et al. 2015; Crabtree et al. 2018.
- ¹⁴ Basso et al. 2008. Dr. Elena Basso has established a method to assign each sherd to a specific fabric (a catalogue of the fabric will be published in the Catalogue of the terracottas), through microscope analysis. She considers several criteria: 1) grain-size class, using a ruler and the grain-size visual key: C: Coarse (maximum size = 3mm) M: Medium (maximum size = 1mm) F: Fine (maximum size = 0.5mm); 2) density of the inclusions, using the density charts: D1: density ≥ 30% (very common to abundant) D2: 15% density < 30% (moderate to common) D3: density < 15% (rare to sparse); 3) hardness of the sherd: from very Hard to soft. 4) type of inclusions (multiple choices are possible): OWG: opaque white grains (e.g., plagioclase, acid volcanic rocks) SWG: shiny white grains, that appears glassy (e.g., quartz, calcite) BG: black grains (e.g., amphiboles, pyroxenes, basic volcanic rocks, obsidian) Mi: mica (it appears like

glistening flakes, light- or dark-coloured) O: vegetal or organic matter (usually you see elongated voids, with or without black rings) and other.

- D'Alfonso et al. 2014; D'Alfonso et al. 2015; D'Alfonso et al. 2017b. On Tarsus figurines cfr., lastly,
 Hasselin Rous Yalçin 2018; They are: KIN13A.122.F34; KIN13A.133.F39; KIN15A.131.F31; KIN 14A.1548.
 F42; KIN16A.146.F16; KIN16A.1689.F14; KIN16A1686F13; KIN17A.1827.F18.
- ¹⁶D'Alfonso et al. 2015.
- ¹⁷ Ghita 2010, 46 f.; on Hellenistic Tarsus cfr. Goldman 1950 and Goldman 1963.
- ¹⁸ About terracottas from the Pontic Region cfr. Denisova 1981; Lejpunskaja et al. 2010; Shevchenko 2015. ¹⁹ Cfr. infra.
- ²⁰ Str. 12.1.4. For a discussion of the borders of Cappadocia in Achaemenid times, cf. Debord 1999; 83–91; Thierry 2002; Panichi 2018, 55–57.
- ²¹ Cfr. Bald Romano 1995, n. 41. 42. 59. 69 (from Gordion); Mendel 1908, n. 204 (from Priene).
- ²² D.S. 31, 19, 6; Str. 12, 1, 2. On the historical reconstruction as well as on dynastic and mythological claims of the Ariarathids cfr. Ghita 2010.
- ²³ Iossif-Lorbeer 2010.
- ²⁴On Ariaramnes and Ariarathes' coins see Berges-Nollé 2000, 336 n. 31. 32.
- Inv. numbers: lion's paws: KIN16A1686F8+ A1691F22+A1724F37 (10x22x20 cm); KIN13A139F18 (6.1x9.6x4.2 cm); KIN13A143F22 (4.4x2x1.9 cm); horse: KIN16A1741F46 (10.4x5.9x4 cm). Horse: KIN16A1741F46. On animal figurines in sanctuaries cfr. Muller et al. 2003, Parayre 2004.
- ²⁶ Complete bull figurines: Inv. nr. KIN16A1767F68 (10.5x6x3 cm); KIN16A1774F63 (13x7x3 cm); KIN16A1774F64 (11.6x6.9x4.2 cm); KIN15A1607F11 (14.3x7.7x4.5 cm); KIN16A1774F67 (15x9.2x4.8 cm.); KIN15A1609F12+KIN15A1604F9 (14.1x7.5x10.5 cm). Heads: KIN14A1545F82 (6.4x5x5.2 cm.), KIN15A1607F13 (5.7x3.2.x3.6 cm); KIN16A1735F45 (7.6x6.7x4.1 cm); KIN15A1602F26 (6.8x5.2x5.5 cm); Muzzles: KIN16A1754F54 (7.7x6.9x6.7 cm); KIN15A1551F18 (5.1x7.7x3.5). Bodies: KIN16A1689F10 and F12 (9.5x4.2x3.8 cm); KIN15A1674F37 (8.3x4.4x3.4cm); KIN13A135F56 (4.1x2.9x3.6 cm); KIN13A120F5 (7.1x10.5x4.7cm); KIN15A1624F21 (8.9x6.5x3.2 cm). Legs: KIN16A1774F66.1 and 2 (7.7x5.8x2.9 and 7.5x5x2.9); KIN13A129F1 and F2 (3.2x3.2x3.5 and 2.4x4x2.75); KIN16A1724F41 (10.7x8.3x7.1); KIN16A1689F17 (15.6x13.1x6cm); KIN13A129F9 (3.2x3.1x3.5); KIN14A1819F18 (12.7x9.3x8). Horns: KIN15A1624F20 (8.31x4.4x4.3); KIN17A1317F19 (2x2x6 cm); KIN17A1317F18 (2x1x2 cm). KIN13A101F19 (4.4x4x5.5); KIN13A119F29 (6.2x4.8x3.7cm).
- ²⁷ A third group of large size terracotta bulls has been brought to light in the campaign 2018 in Operation E, and is currently studied by Roberta Casagrande Kim.
- ²⁸ Inv. nr. KIN16A1787F68; KIN16A1774F63; KIN15A1607F11; KIN16A.1774.F67; KIN15A1624F21; KIN15A1674F37.
- ²⁹ Highcock et al. 2015; Crabtree et al. 2015.
- ³⁰ Casabonne 2006.
- ³¹Casabonne 2006.
- ³² Cappadocia. Tyana, Pseudo-autonomous issue, Circa 100 BC-AD 50. Bronze Æ13mm., 2,78g. Bull zebu standing right / TVANEWN, Zeus seated left on throne, holding sceptre and patera. SNG Copenhagen 315. Berges (in Berges-Nollé 2000, 358, rejects the idea that the bulls depicted on Tyana's coins are zebus,

and prefers to consider them the hunched back cattle (die Buckelstier, an auroch). Cfr. Arbuckle 2012. As Lev-Tov has recently reassessed, "these ... cattle species are impossible to distinguish morphologically except on a very few skeletal elements and through the use of metric measurements". several skeletal remains found in Jordan, Syria and Israel demonstrate that Bos indicus was present in the Levant since Bronze Age II, whilst it is still sub indice if it was known in the area corresponding to modern Turkey (Lev-Tov 2017, 222 f.).

- ³³Caracalla issue: SNG von Aulock 6550 var. (legends); Septimius Severus issue: Cf. SNG von Aulock 6542.
- 34 Sotheby 1964, no. 161.
- 35 Chantre 1898a, 136 (from Comana, in association with bulls and eagles). Perrot et al. 1872, 138 f.
- ³⁶ Dupré 1993.
- ³⁷ Bald Romano 1995, nn. 5. 6. 16. 121; pl. 3. 5. 33.
- ³⁸ Akan Tanriver 2015.
- ³⁹ Donceel 1984, 21-79.
- ⁴⁰ Summerer 2014, 200 f. fig. 13.
- ⁴¹ Summerer 2014, 194 fig. 7.
- ⁴² Summerer 2014, 210 f. fig. 23; Summerer 2015, 571-588.
- ⁴³Chantre 1898a, 128. 141.
- ⁴⁴ Speidel 2014, 625 f. and especially note 5, with further bibliography; Panichi 2018, 50–52.
- ⁴⁵ K17, medium ware fabric. Fabric description: D3; BG-SWG-Other (red grains); Dominant type: BG-SWG. Remarks: large elongated voids, parallel to the wall surfaces. Cfr. above, note 10.
- ⁴⁶ Type A (20 specimina) inv. nr.: KIN13A135F7+139F58 (F7: 5x6.3x8.2 cm. and F58); KIN16A1689F15+KIN13A180F59 (17.7x26.9x5.7 cm); Heads type A: KIN13A132F14 (6.3x7.9x6.3 cm); Wings and Legs type A: KIN15A1647F34 (12.8x11x4 cm); KIN16A1744F48 (4.4x4.8x2.1 cm); KIN15A1659F30 (12.4x7.3x4.9 cm); KIN15A1683F42 (7.4x6x4.6 cm); KIN16A1711F40 (5.5x6.2x3.7 cm); KIN13A145F23 (8.1x8.6x3.1 cm); KIN13A178F53.1 + F53.2 + F57 (F53.1: 5.8x8.5x2.4 cm; F53.2: 17.5x7x2.7; F57: 2.3x2.8x10.8 cm); KIN13A135F55 (2.9x8.8x2.4 cm); KIN15A1683F67 (3.7x9.9x2.9 cm); KIN16A1724F39 (9.1x2.7 cm); KIN16A1692F24 (7.7x2.8 cm); KIN16A1691Frg (5.1x1.3 cm); KIN13A180F62 (3.9x1.7x0.7 cm); KIN17A1868f68 (13x13.4x2.9 cm). Bases Type A: KIN14A133F43 (11.4x10.1x2.7 cm); KIN16A1771F57 (13.4x8.6x5.4).
- ⁴⁷ Type B (11 specimina) Inv. Nr. KIN13A114F49 +141F45 (F49: 9.9x8x2.4 cm; F 45: 10.1x8.2x10.9 cm); KIN15A1683F64 (6.9x12.1x3.4 cm); KIN16A1715F23 (9.8x7.4x2.35 cm); KIN15A1689F71 (8x9.3x5cm); KIN13A122F36 (5.4x4.5x2.9 cm); Wings and Legs type B: KIN16A1691F21 (17x12x1.6 cm); KIN 16A1683F1 (9x5x4 cm); KIN17A1884F76. Base type B: KIN15A1683F65 (8.1x2.7x6.2 cm). Fragments: KIN13A135F16 (4.9x7.5x1.9 cm); KIN15A1683F43 (6 pieces).
- ⁴⁸ Bacheva 2015; Stewart 2010, 53 f.
- ⁴⁹ Cfr. Bacheva 2015, especially 42 note 11, with discussion of the possible area of provenance of this motif (Western Anatolian tradition, full 4th century BC) and 264 fig. 3. b9–11 MIA pottery from Büyükkaya. Kealhofer Grave 2009, fig. 3. On Tarsus cfr. Goldman 1950 and Goldman 1963.
- ⁵⁰ Chantre 1898 b.
- ⁵¹Smyrne: two birds of prey, Gift Gaudin. Hellenistic. Besques 1972: Louvre Museum D 1337 and D 1338.
- ⁵² Mellink 1963/1964.

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⁵⁵ Roller 1991, 128-143; Roller 1999; Roller 2009.

⁵⁶ Bittel 1936/1937. Chantre 1898a, 156.

⁵⁷ Mellink 1963/1964.

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