

A 14th century Account of Antalya's Sunken Cities. A Historical Context and a Literary Tradition

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This paper is divided into 3 sections. The first section briefly describes the book entitled the "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville, written in the 14th century, this work's historical impact, and quotes the passage that refers to the sunken cities off Antalya's coast. The second section gives a brief outline, in relation to Sir John's account, of Christian pilgrimage, trade and maritime hazards along the Southern Anatolian coast. The third section describes the series of Latin stories relating to the "sunken cities" and the "Bay of Satalya-Antalya" which occur from the late 12th century to the 14th century, from St. Albans to Sidon and Paris and in this series, the tale told by Sir John forms a part. The occurrence of the story of "the Bane of Satalya" in these distant places is due to communication along the pilgrimage and trade routes described in the second section. Some attempt is made to formulate the reasons why these stories are situated off Antalya's coast and the possible relationship between the Greek inscriptions on Lycian sarcophagi, the "cursing" inscriptions, other classical elements in these medieval stories, tectonic and plague events, and "the Bane of Satalya" series of stories.

Sir John Mandeville's 14th century account of the reason for the sunken cities off Antalya's coast and his remarks on the Christian pilgrimage route to Jerusalem in his book of "Travels", provide a framework to explore matters of historical context and literary tradition, regardless of whether he made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and further afield or not. He may have used other source material, chronicles, documents and stories, other texts such as world histories, which were available to him as a student in Paris and at the monastic center of St. Albans in England, in addition to his own travels, if any, to create his informative book of travels. Sir John begins his book of travels, which describes his extensive journeys of 34 years, from 1332 to 1356 when his book first appears, with the following statement:

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A note on the use of place names in this article. The diversity of placenames employed for the same place in the historical sources and also in modern works in Turkish, English, French, German, Arabic, Ottoman etc, including not only different names, sometimes used at the same time, for the same place, but also the various transliterations of those names into other languages. This means that any attempt to standardize placenames and the spelling of placenames, for example from Adalia, Satalya, Satalyia, Cathalay, Adalya to always Antalya, or from Megiste, Megisti, Castelrosso, Chateau Roux, Castellorizo, Castelorizzo to always Meis, is perhaps a disservice to the reader, as part of the richness of the recorded history is to be found in this diversity.

"I, John Mandeville, Knight, although I am unworthy, who was born in England at the town of St. Albans and passed the sea in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1332, on Michaelmas Day (29th September), and since then have been a long time overseas, and have seen and gone through many kingdoms, lands, provinces and isles and have passed through Turkey, Armenia the lesser and the greater, Tartary, Persia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Chaldea and Ethiopia, Amazonia, a greater part of India, the lesser and the greater"¹.

One may, if one reads the astonishing travels and insights of this knight, believe that he at least traveled to Palestine by one of the several routes he describes, if you choose to believe that he did not travel further afield to India, China and beyond, although there is nothing particularly improbable about a 14th century European traveler passing along the international trade and pilgrimage routes to other far distant parts of the world, nor that he saw the world in his terms, those also shared by many of his vast 14th, 15th and 16th century European audiences. Alternatively you may chose to think he never left his home but instead compiled his work from those of other travelers and storytellers². His objectivity is not our 21st century objectivity but certainly some of the descriptions and stories he recounts in the course of his long and eventful voyaging are worthy of far more serious consideration than they have often received from many modern researchers.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the travels of Sir John had a far greater impact than any other travel account upon Christian European perceptions of Asia, from 1356 when this book of Travels first appeared as a hand written text until the late 16th century. It was of greater importance in providing a mental map of the world beyond the borders of Christendom than that of any other European traveler, such as Ser Marco Polo. More than 300 manuscript copies of Sir John's travels survive in the various libraries of Europe today, in contrast to only 70 manuscripts copies of Marco Polo's travels. Sir John's travels were translated from Norman French into Latin and were printed in England in a first edition of 1496. The Travels had already been printed at Augsburg in 1478 and again in 1481 and were printed in 1480 in Milan "Tractato delle piu maravigliose cosse e piu notabili, che si trovano in le parte del mondo vedute... del cavalier Johanne da Mandavilla... Mediolani. 1480". There were 8 German editions, 7 in French, 4 in Latin, 2 in Dutch, others in Czech and Spanish and 12 Italian medieval printed editions before 1520. These figures not only provide a clear picture of the Europe-wide spread of this work, but also the demand for this text among the maritime states of Europe, particularly amongst the Italian city states such as Venice, Genoa, Amalfi and Florence.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1502) had a copy of "The Travels" of Sir John, as did Sir Walter Raleigh, who quotes from Sir John in his "Discoverie of Guiana", and Sir Martin Frobisher in his hunt for the North West Passage or route to the riches of the east, which he re-read in 1576 at frozen Baffin Island. A copy of the "Travels" of Sir John was with Christopher Columbus when he set off to discover a route to the East Indian spice Islands and China by sailing westwards and arrived at the Americas in 1492 instead, which presented certain

¹ Mandeville 1983, 44.

² Mandeville 1983, 9-39; M. Letts (ed.), *The travels of Sir John Mandeville, the Egerton text* (1953); Milton 1996.

intellectual problems. Perhaps as a result of his years as a student at the University of Paris 1329³ where the spherical form of the world was a major subject for debate, Chapter 20 of Sir John's travels clearly describes the world as a sphere and the possibility of the circumnavigation of the globe which this chapter written in the 14th century clearly suggests, and which became a goal of Western European maritime exploration in the 16th century, seems to have influenced Columbus's decision to sail West to arrive, as he hoped, at the fabled riches of the East, as Moseley's introduction to the "Travels" clearly shows. The first edition of Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" of 1598 includes Sir John's travels amongst its extensive collection of sailors and explorers' first hand accounts of their travels, as an early first hand account of exploration. Later editions of Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" ignore Sir John, as he then was thought to have retold tales and fables rather than born truthful witness. The "Travels" clearly influenced both the Catalan atlas of 1375 and the Nuremberg globe made in 1492 but by the start of the 17th century his work was disregarded.

I - Sir John Mandeville and Antalya province

The 5th chapter of the "Travels" in Moseley's translation⁴, published in 1983, is entitled: "Of different things in Cyprus; of the route from Cyprus to Jerusalem and of the marvels of a ditch full of sand". In this chapter there is the following strange account given as to the reason for the sunken cities off Antalya's coast:

"On the way to Cyprus men pass by a place that is called the Gulf of Cathaly (Adalia-modern Antalya), which was once a great and fair country, and there was a fair city in it that was called Adalia. And all the country was lost through the folly of a young man. For there was a beautiful damsel whom he loved well, and she died suddenly and was laid in a tomb of marble; and on account of the great love he had for her, he went one night to her grave and opened it and went in and lay with her and then went on his way. At the end of nine months a voice came to him one night and said, "Go to the grave of that woman and open it, and behold what you have begotten on her. And if you go not you shall have great evil and suffering". And he went and opened the grave, and there flew out a very horrible head, hideous to look at, which flew all around the city; and forthwith the city sank, and all the district round about. And around there are many dangerous passages (for ships).

Explanations for the sunken cities in Christian literature can be traced from Sir John's 14th century account, back to the 12th century, if not before, because the "sunken cities" of Antalya: Kekova, Aperlae, Simena and Teimiussa, on the coast between Kaş and Myra/Demre were visible to the thousands of pilgrims and traders who, over the course of centuries used the coastal route along the Southern shore of Anatolia. The story attached to these sunken cities is often called in the chronicles: "The Bane of Satalya", "Bane" being a curse or ruin.

³ Milton 1996, 67.

⁴ Mandeville 1983, 55.

II - The historical context

Christian Pilgrimage

The major maritime Christian pilgrimage route to Jerusalem, passed from Crete, Southern Italy or Constantinople to Izmir, particularly following Izmir's conquest in 1344 by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (held until 1402)⁵. Izmir possessed the famous relics of St. John Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna (Izmir) from 115-156, whose relics remained in the city until 1402, then the pilgrims moved down the coast to Ephesus-Seljuk the legendary pilgrimage site of the 7 Sleepers in the cave on the North side of Mount Pion, where the 7 sleepers were believed to have slept from the reign of Emperor Decius (240-251) for 200 years until the reign of Emperor Theodosius II (408-450)⁶ and to the nearby burial place of the Christian Apostle John who died in AD 40 at Aya Soluk (Ayassoluk, modern Selçuk). They visited his tomb, which stood within the huge basilica Church of St. John Theologus built by Emperor Justinian (527-65). The pilgrims then sailed to Cos (Lango) today called Istandköy in Turkish, which was held by the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem from 1337, who had taken the island from the Byzantine Empire. The pilgrimage route continued to Rhodes, taken from Byzantine-Turkish control and completely in Hospitaller hands from 1310.

The pilgrimage route then wound eastwards along the Southern Anatolian coast, past Patara, mentioned in the Holy Bible, Acts (of the Apostles), Chapter 21, v. 1-3 as the place where St. Paul and St. Luke changed ships on their way to Jerusalem from Miletus: "And it came to pass, that after we were gotten from them, and had launched (from the port of Miletus), we came with a straight course to Cos, and the day following to Rhodes, and from thence unto Patara. And finding a ship sailing unto Phenicia (Finike), we went aboard, and set forth. Now when we had discovered (reached) Cyprus, we left it on the left hand, and sailed into Syria, and landed at Tyre: for there the ship was to unlade (unload) her burden (cargo)". The port of Patara was visited by Saint Paul on three occasions and was an important place of pilgrimage given the numerous Byzantine Christian buildings, including 4 basilica, 8 churches, at least one probable monastery, and a bishop's palace, built at Patara from before the 6th century to the 14th century⁷. Patara was also the birthplace of St. Nicholas in 263 AD. Patara was visited in the 11th century by the British pilgrim Saewulf in 1102, by the Russian pilgrim Daniel in 1106 and by the Icelandic pilgrim Nicholas von Pvera in 1140, who recounts visiting "the School of St. Nicholas" at Patara, which suggests a monastery of this name was active in the 12th century⁸.

⁵ For pilgrimage and trade in the early Middle Ages and the closing of the Western Mediterranean to Christian traffic in the 8th century: H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (1968) 75-118, 147-186. Also C. Cahen, "Commercial relations between the Near East and Western Europe from the VIIth to the XIth centuries", in K. I. Semann (ed.), *Islam and the Medieval West-Aspects of intercultural relations* (1980) 1-16 for qualifying Pirenne's thesis.

⁶ See for an incident often related to the 7 sleepers, Holy Koran, Surah 18 Al-Kahf, Ayet 9-26.

⁷ Isik 2000, 13, 121, 171; Kalund 1923, 59, 83 for the 12th century Icelandic pilgrim guide mentioning Patara, Myra and Andriake.

⁸ Isik 2000, 12, 14; Pryor 1992, 117, 121.

This route was followed by many later Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and ran, via Cos and Rhodes to Patara and Myra to Cyprus and Tyre. Passing by Kekova and the sunken cities, at Kekova where there are 2 Byzantine churches and Aperlae, where there is another, the pilgrims reached the pilgrimage station of Myra (modern Demre) through its port of Andriace where there is an early Byzantine church. Myra is mentioned in Acts, Chapter 27, v. 2-6 as the port where St. Paul, St. Luke and Aristarchus in circa 59-60 AD. changed ships for Rome having sailed westwards along the Lycian coast: At the port of Caesarea (Palestine) "And entering into a ship of Adramyttium (Edremit), we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; one Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonika being with us. And the next day we touched at Sidon...And when we had launched from thence, we sailed unto Cyprus, because the winds were contrary, and when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, a city of Lycia. And there (at the port of Andriace) the centurion found a ship of Alexandria (Egypt) sailing unto Italy; and he put us therein". Myra was also the burial place of St. Nicholas (patron Saint of sailors, scholars, pilgrims, such as those of the 1204 Crusade, travelers and others) inside a large basilica church, expanded by Emperor Justinian (527-65) after its destruction in the earthquake of 529, and extensively restored by Emperor Constantine IXth "Monomachus" (1042-55) and Empress Zoe in 1042, which stood over his tomb. Beside the church stood the Metropolitan Bishop's palace. The church remained as a place of Christian pilgrimage long after sailors from Bari in 1087 and later from Venice claimed they had taken the Saint's bones from his sarcophagus (Fig. 1-2).

The pilgrims continuing their journey, may have on occasion, stopped at Finike, at Olympos with at least 2 Byzantine churches and a Metropolitan Bishops palace (458-536)⁹, and then sailed past Antalya, from where, Acts, Chapter 14, v. 25-6, St. Paul and St. Barnabus sailed to Antioch (Antakya): "And when they had preached the word at Pergae, they went down into Attalia (Antalya): And thence sailed to Antioch". The wealthier members of the Second Crusade repeated this journey in 1148. The pilgrims sailed on to Anamur or directly to Cyprus, where the majority of ships revictualled, loaded with salt and where the pilgrims refreshed themselves¹⁰. The pilgrims then sailed to the Holy Land to the ports of Tripoli and Tyre in Syria and Acre and Jaffa in Palestine¹¹. The route hugging the southern coastline of Anatolia was, to the majority of Christian pilgrims, preferable to the open sea crossing south of Cyprus, as the listing of many small ports along the coast in pilgrim itineraries and medieval portolans show¹². The difficult and dangerous overland route through Anatolia from the end of the 11th century, with the exception of the Crusades, seems to have been little used by Latin Christian pilgrims.

Sir John's account of the pilgrimage routes to Jerusalem is somewhat confused and convoluted, as it combines routes from Venice and Calabria direct to Acre, as well as the overland and island hopping coastal route from Constantinople to Jerusalem. The distance

⁹ E. Parman, "Antalya-Olympos ve çevresinde (Geç Antik-Ortaçağ) Yüzey Araştırmaları", AST XVIII.1, 2000, 106.

¹⁰ Mandeville 1983, 56.

¹¹ Pryor 1992, 96.

¹² Pryor 1992, 97.

from Venice to Acre via Crete is given as 2080 Lombardy miles and from Calabria (Bari?) and Sicily (Palermo?) to Acre as 1300 Lombardy miles¹³. In the account of the pilgrimage route from Constantinople Sir John mentions Nicaea (Iznik)¹⁴, the city where the first Ecumenical Council was held which formulated the Nicæan creed between May and June 325; Chios, in Latin hands from 1347 but with some Latin influence to prevent piracy from 1304¹⁵, with access to the island to a degree, controlled by the Hospitaller Knights patrols from 1306, and Patmos, "where St. John the Evangelist wrote the Apocalypse"¹⁶. Then to Ephesus where "St. John is buried behind the altar in a tomb" and on to Cos (Lango)¹⁷ and Rhodes¹⁸, both in Hospitaller hands at this time. Rhodes is described as being "800 (Lombardy) miles from Constantinople". Sir John mentions Patara as St Nicholas's place of birth, and Myra "where he was chosen to be Bishop"¹⁹. Myra is also noted for its "good strong wine, which is called the wine of Marc (Myra)". The route then moves past "the Gulf of Cathaly" (Kekova)²⁰. Antalya was, at this time, a possession of the Hamid Beylik and from 1327 onwards the city and surrounding areas were administered by Mahmud Bey's Emir, Sinanüddin Hızır Bey²¹. The route then left the Anatolian coastline for Cyprus, which was ruled by Hugh IV from 1324 to 1359. Cyprus is described as being the essential stopping place for pilgrims to Jerusalem: "From Rhodes to Cyprus is near 500 (Lombardy) miles, but men may journey to Cyprus and not touch at Rhodes", this was the case for pilgrims sailing a course further south than the route adjacent to the Anatolian coast. Cyprus is noted for its, "cross of the good thief Dismas", for St Sozomen (St. Genovese) and St. Hilarion, as well as for being the revictualling stop before sailing to Syria and Palestine²². On leaving Cyprus from the ports of Famagusta or Limassol, the pilgrim ships sailed either to the Syrian port of Tyre and on to Acre²³, or to the nearest port to Jerusalem, Jaffa²⁴. It is to be noted that Sir John's account provides no evidence to suggest that he landed for watering and reprovisioning at the port of Antalya or anywhere else between Rhodes and Cyprus, although a stop at the island of Castellorizo (Meis), opposite Kaş, then in Hospitaller hands, was possible. Ludolph of Sudheim records the use by the Hospitaller Knights of St John of Jerusalem of fire and smoke signal between the garrisons at Castellorizo, Rhodes and Cos in 1340²⁵.

¹³ Mandeville 1983, 57.

¹⁴ Mandeville 1983, 53.

¹⁵ Balard 1989, 161.

¹⁶ Mandeville 1983, 53.

¹⁷ Mandeville 1983, 53, 54.

¹⁸ Mandeville 1983, 54, 55.

¹⁹ Mandeville 1983, 53.

²⁰ Mandeville 1983, 55.

²¹ Uzunçarşılı 1988, 67.

²² Mandeville 1983, 55, 56.

²³ Mandeville 1983, 56.

²⁴ Mandeville 1983, 57.

²⁵ Luttrell 1989, 151, 152.

Earlier pilgrims who followed this route along the Lycian coast include: St. Helen, mother of Emperor Constantine, on her return from her pilgrimage of 327 to Jerusalem, aged 72, having found the "true cross", and who is said to have founded the first church at Castellorizo (Meis) on her return journey to Rome, as a result of being saved from a storm at sea off the Lycian coast. Paula's pilgrimage of 386 AD, via Rhodes and Lycia to Cyprus and Jerusalem, recounted by St. Jerome²⁶, Evagrius seems to have returned from one of his two pilgrimages to Jerusalem by sea and St. Willibald returned from his pilgrimage of 726-7 by sea, taking the route along the Lycian coast²⁷, Bernard the monk who left Jaffa and sailed along the Lycian coast on his return from Jerusalem in 860-70²⁸. In 1064 Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, with a party of 7000 pilgrims led by the Bishop of Mainz, passed along the Lycian coast and may well have returned the same way. Of the 30 pilgrims who left Normandy to join the Bishop of Mainz's party in the 1064 pilgrimage only 20 survived, to return to Normandy at the end of their journey, which provides clear evidence of the physical dangers attendant on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the 11th century²⁹ (Fig. 3).

Some idea of the length of time spent on these voyages can be seen from the following data. In 1191 King Richard of England took 27 days to sail from Messina to the port of Limassol in Cyprus and the length of this voyage included a stop of thirteen days at Rhodes. In 1228 Fredrick II took 24 days to sail from Brindisi to Acre, via Corfu, Cephalonia, Crete, Rhodes, Alanya and Limassol, a distance of 1075 miles at an average speed of 1.70 knots (nautical miles per hour)³⁰. In 1384 three Tuscan pilgrims sailed from Beirut to Venice in 42 days. In 1395 the outward journey from Venice to Jaffa took 32 days but the return journey took 3 months³¹. In the 15th century the average sailing time from Venice to Jaffa was 36.6 days while the return journey from Jaffa to Venice took 64 days³². The difference in the length of time taken, between the East-West and West-East voyages is explained by the difficulty of tacking against the "Meltemi" wind, which blows from West or South-West, towards the East, through most of the sailing season. Although the Mediterranean circulatory current runs at a rate of 1 knot in a counter clockwise direction, around the shores of the Mediterranean³³, which would seem to facilitate the East-West

²⁶ Marriner 1970, 48; Wilkinson 2002, 79; Kalund 1923, 58, 83.

²⁷ S. Mitchell, *Anatolia Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor, the rise of the church II* (1995); Wilkinson 2002, 247, 248. It is to be noted that Gregory of Nyssa denounced pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the 4th century, which provides an indication of the numbers of pilgrims to Jerusalem from Anatolia at that time, while for obvious reasons the majority of pilgrims from Anatolia in the 5th-6th centuries traveled overland via Syria including: Philoromus's 2 pilgrimages to Jerusalem before 420, Theodore of Sykeon in his 3 pilgrimages to Jerusalem from Galatia between 520-590, Elpidus and Evagrius also in the 6th century. The latter seems to have once returned from Jerusalem by sea, op. cit. Mitchell, 70, 109, 123, 130, 134.

²⁸ Wilkinson 2002, 261-269.

²⁹ R. Hakluyt, "Voyages and discoveries, The principle navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation", J. Beeching (ed.) (1972) 44. A resolution to the problem of exact date of composition of this Medieval chronicle, included in Hakluyt's Elizabethan work, remains.

³⁰ Pryor 1992, 71, 74 n. 163; Edlbury 1994, 15.

³¹ Pryor 1992, 51.

³² Pryor 1992, 52.

³³ Heikell, 2001.

voyage along the Lycian coast, in fact, both the sails and the rigging throughout this period meant that sailing against the wind was both a difficult and a time consuming process. In addition, there were frequent stops at local ports for trade and to take onboard water and provisions. Galley crews needed more frequent stops at coastal ports to take onboard fresh water supplies for the oarsmen than sailing boats, although both types of vessel seem mostly to have remained in coastal waters as much as possible, and within sight of land.

Coastal trade

In addition to the importance of this coastal route for Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem from the 4th century to the 19th century, this was also one of the most important trade routes, linking Egypt (Alexandria), Palestine (Acre and Jaffa) and Syria (Tripoli), with Ayaş (Lajasso, Laiazzo, Layas, Laizo, today called Yumurtalık) and the west. The port of Ayaş was described in 1295 by Marco Polo as: "The mart (market) for all the riches of the East. All the spicery, and the cloth of silk and gold, and other valuable wares that come from the interior are brought to that city." and this was in part, due to the Italian trading settlements established at Tabriz, which, to Marco Polo was the "interior", that sent goods onwards from the silk road via the port of Trabzon on the Black Sea and Ayaş on the Mediterranean³⁴. However the port of Ayaş was destroyed by the Egyptian Mamlukes in 1322, in part because of the longstanding (1242-1344), Mongol and later Mongol-Ilkhanid Lesser Armenian alliance against, first the Rum Seljuks and then against the Mamlukes of Egypt-Syria³⁵. Following this attack on Ayaş, only the land, and not the island castle that defended the entrance to the harbour, was rebuilt. The port of Ayaş was again destroyed by the Mamlukes in 1337, with the Mamlukes remaining in possession until at least 1347³⁶. The town of Ayaş was burnt to the ground by Peter I of Cyprus in 1367. In consequence, Antalya, Alanya and to a certain extent Anamur gained in trade traffic at the expense of Ayaş from 1322 onwards, as the trade route was displaced Westwards. The trade route continued, from Egypt and Egyptian Syria via Cyprus and Anamur (Stamene, Stalimore, Stalemura, Mamuriye) along the southern coast of Antalya Province via Alanya (Korakesion, Kalonoros, Candelor, Scandelore, Galanorum, Alaya, Alaiyalı, Ala'iyya), Antalya (Adalya, Adalia, Satalya, Cathaly), Finike and Myra (Demre), Kekova (Dolichiste, Polemos, Kakava) and Üçağız (Teimiussa, Tristom, Porto Tristomo), Kaş (Antiphellus, Andifli), Meis (Megiste, Megisti, Castelrosso, Chateau Roux, Castellorizo), (Patara's harbour seems to have been silted up by the late 13th century), to Rhodes and then westwards to Europe, via Crete and Southern Greece to ports on the East coast of Italy (Venice) and, via the straits of Messina to Palermo in Sicily and/or up the West coast of Italy to Genoa, Amalfi, Pisa, Lucca and Florence; and/or on to Southern France to Marseille. A further trade route ran from Anatolia's southern coast up the Western (Aegean) coast of Anatolia to Constantinople.

³⁴ Marco Polo, *La Description du Monde*, L. Hambis (trans.) (1955) 20; A more reliable translation than H Yule's of 1871-1903; Goitein 1999, 214, re seaborne trade between Egypt and Asia Minor, from Cairo-Alexandria to the ports of Antalya, Tarsus, Silifke and Constantinople; Franck 1986, 240; Spuler 1960, 31-32.

³⁵ Labib 1978, 67; Spuler 1960, 34, 40; only in 1344 did the King of Lesser Armenia cut ties with Ilkhanid (Mongol) Persia under Mamluke pressure.

³⁶ Boase et al. 1978, 127, 155; Edlbury 1994, 158.

Throughout the 14th century, Antalya, Alanya, and to a lesser extent Anamur, following the destruction of the port of Ayaş, were the main ports for the entry into Anatolia and for the trans-shipment, on mainly Italian city states' vessels, Genovese, Venetian and Florentine, of Indian and Arabian goods, primarily valuable spices and for the export of slaves³⁷ and throughout the 13th and 14th centuries raw silk in transit was exported to Italy by the Genovese through the ports of Antalya, Ayaş (Yumurtalık) until 1322-1337, from Denizli and from Caffa (Kaffa, Kafa, Feodosiya) in the Crimea³⁸. In addition there was the longstanding trade since the classical period in timber from the Tauros Mountains, including Cedar wood (Lat. *Cedrus Libani*), which grows from 500 to 2400 meters in the Tauros Mountains, in a belt of forest which runs from Köyceğiz in the West to Maraş in the East³⁹ and which was exported from ports such as Castelrosso (Meis), Finike and Alanya. The export of timber from Alanya to the Egyptian ports of Dimyat (Damietta) and Alexandria in 1332 is noted by Ibn Battuta in his travels⁴⁰. Timber was exported from ports such as Finike and Kaş until the 1950's and from Meis until the 1930's, mainly to Egypt⁴¹. There was also the export of oak galls and also of acorns and their cups from the Valonia oak (Lat. *Quercus Aegilops*, It. *Vallonia*, Gk. *Balonos*). The products from the Vallonia oak, which grows above 1000 meters in the Tauros Mountains, were exported from the ports of Kaş, Castelrosso (Meis) and elsewhere along the Lycian coast. These acorns and their cups provided an essential extract which was used as an ingredient for inks, dyeing and tanning until the mid 20th century and, like timber and oak galls, was a long established export commodity from the Tauros mountains behind Kaş-Meis and from elsewhere in Anatolia. In the 1950's Anatolia produced 50,000 tons per year of which 66 percent were exported⁴². Turkish (native) cotton, was a considerable export from 14th century Anatolia⁴³, and may also have been exported from Antalya as well as rugs, carpets and other woven fabrics⁴⁴ and, given Sir John's remarks, probably wine from Myra as well as from Cyprus was exported. The longstanding export trade in pitch obtained from the forests of the Tauros Mountains continued in this period, as did the export of wax and gum tragacanth⁴⁵. Thus the 14th century trade through the port of Antalya can be understood to continue the trade pattern established under the Rum Seljuks in the first half of the 13th century, when trade treaties were signed with the Venetians in 1207, with Cyprus in 1216, with Pisa in 1229, with the Provençals in 1236, with Florence in 1240 and with the Genovese in 1253 as a consequence of Rum Seljuk control over ports in the Mediterranean (Antalya, Alanya, Anamur), and on the Black Sea (Samsun, Sinope) in the early 13th century, and which

³⁷ H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire-the classic age 1300-1600* (1994) 124; Lloyd - Rice 1958, 5; Labib 1978, 69, 73, 75.

³⁸ İnalcık - Quataert 1997, 219-222.

³⁹ M. Boydak, *Ecology & Silviculture of Cedar of Lebanon and conservation of its natural forest* (1996) 8, 11- 12.

⁴⁰ Lloyd - Rice 1958, 5; E. Mercil, 1994, 201.

⁴¹ Kinross 1956, 47-49; Marriner 1970, 43; where 500 ships, including 3 masted schooners for trade were registered at Meis before 1913.

⁴² W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East, a physical, social and regional geography* (1956) 322, 339; Kinross 1956, 47.

⁴³ Lopez et al. 1978, 105; Braudel 1972, 300; with the export of cotton also from Syria and Cyprus to Western Europe where it was combined with wool to form fustian cloth, as was the cotton exported from Anatolia.

⁴⁴ Mercil 1994, 201.

⁴⁵ Flemming 1964, 70-71, 83. My thanks to Dr. M. L. Champagne for her assistance in translation.

continued, after the disruptions of the mid 13th century, from 1270 to 1300 with trade once again flourishing and the re-establishment of a mint at Antalya for silver coins from the 1270's onwards⁴⁶.

Peter Edbury describes the significance of the port of Antalya, and thus the coastal traffic along the coast, in the 14th century, in the following manner: "Satalia was probably the most important trading center on the South coast of Anatolia at this time and a useful port of call for ships sailing between Cyprus and the West"⁴⁷. The importance of the Genovese in this trade along the Southern coast of Anatolia is shown by Genovese architectural construction work on forts built to guard anchorages and harbors such as at Olympos and Simena, by the sheltered cove named Porto Genovese to the west of Olympus and the Genovese structures on the five islands (Beşadalar) at the tip of Cape Gelidonia and at Fare island in the bay of Antalya. Fare Ada was called "Rashat Island" in 18th century French correspondence, as it is today on the British Admiralty Mediterranean Pilot chart V. Rashat in French meaning: to buy back, or set free (slaves-captives), it seems this island was used to exchange captives-slaves, a practice on the island that may date back to the 14th century. In addition, Ibn Battuta traveled from Cyprus to Alanya in 1330 aboard a Genovese boat that sailed from the port of Ladhiciyya (Latakia) on the Syrian coast, piloted by Captain "Martalamin" (probably Bartolomeo) and which took 10 nights to complete the journey, due to adverse winds, a journey that usually took between 2 and 3 days. Ibn Battuta stayed more than 3 days in Alanya and then took another Genovese ship Westwards along the coast to Antalya⁴⁸, and he notes the importance of Antalya and Alanya's trade with Alexandria in Egypt. This is not to deny the importance of both Venetian and Cypriot, and, to a lesser extent Florentine, as well as the considerable Egyptian presence as remarked upon by Ibn Battuta, amongst the merchants, traders and cargoes in the trade carried out in the 14th century, along the Southern Anatolian coast⁴⁹.

Further evidence of the importance and value of the trade traffic along this coastal route is provided by Peter I of Cyprus's fleet's campaigns, with contingents of troops supplied by the Genovese and 4 galleys contributed by the Master of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Roger de Pins (1355-65), and 2 galleys supplied by Pope Innocent VI (1352-62) in a fleet amounting to 120 large and small craft⁵⁰, which in the 1360's raided and reimposed tribute on: Myra, Anamur, Sij (Softa Castle, also called Siq, Sechin, Syce, Sycæ, Sequin, Sequino, the hilltop castle 12 km East of Anamur) and Alanya and which began, with the capture of the port of Antalya on the 24th August 1361. The city of Antalya was held by the Cypriots and their allies until 1373⁵¹, and Anamur seems

⁴⁶ Flemming 1964, 5, 35-6, et al.

⁴⁷ Edbury 1994, 163.

⁴⁸ Ibn Battuta, "Travels in Asia & Africa 1325-54", H. A. R. Gibb (trans.) (1958-71); T. Mackintosh-Smith, *The travels of Ibn Battuta* 2002, 102 n. 2; R. E. Dunn, "The adventures of Ibn Battuta a Muslim traveler of the 14th century, 1986, 157 n. 6, contra Gibb and Mackintosh-Smith who describe this 10 day journey as being with "favorable winds" when Ibn Battuta remarks the journey usually took 3 days.

⁴⁹ Flemming 1964, 61, 70, 83, 114, re. Genovese Venetian trade rivalry in Alanya-Antalya 114.

⁵⁰ Luke, 1975, 353.

⁵¹ Edbury 1994, 163, Luke 1975, 353, Boase et al. 1978, 151, 153, contra S. Runciman, "A history of the Crusades III (1990) 452, where the Cypriot occupation of Antalya is said to have continued "for 60 years".

also to have been in Cypriot hands at this time⁵². In part, this campaign intended to restore the tribute paid in 1337 by the southern coastal Anatolian Emirs to the Latin ruler of Cyprus⁵³. To a certain extent at least, the relationship between the trading ports on Anatolia's southern shore and Cyprus was clarified in the first half of the 14th century, following the collapse of Rum Seljuck rule in Anatolia and thus of the existing 13th century trade treaties between the Seljuck Sultanate and the Kingdom of Cyprus, through this payment of tribute by the rulers of Satalia (Antalya), Alanya, Sij and Anamur to the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus in 1337⁵⁴, which permitted a freer movement of shipping by limiting, to a certain extent, piracy. No doubt it was the weakened state of the Antalya branch of the Hamid Emirate after the death of Sinanüddin Hızır Bey, as well as the increasing power and range of the Cypriot fleet, in comparison to those of Antalya and Alanya, when combined with the mainland threats to their independence from the Emirate of Karaman, that led to this tributary status in 1337.

In addition to the important trade from Antalya and Alanya in spices, timber and timber products such as oak galls, slaves, raw silk and other textiles, continued since the Rum Seljuck Sultanate, the trade in alum, the indispensable mordant for fixing dye to cloth for the entire textile industry in Europe⁵⁵, had been a valuable component of exports from the port of Antalya to Italy, Southern France and to the rest of Europe. The alum trade from Anatolia centered on the first quality alum mined at "Karahisar Shabin", today called Sebinkarahisar, (shab Arabic, Şap Turkish = alum), Ibn Bibi's "Karahisar Dawlah" and Hajji Khalfah's Jahan Numa of 1648, "Karahisar Shabin"⁵⁶, and from the alum mines in the Kütahya region. Alum formed an important export item from Seljuck Antalya and was exported from the port of Antalya on Cypriot ships to Marseilles in Southern France, following the trade agreement which specifically mentions the export of alum from Antalya, between the Seljuck Sultan Alaeddin Keykubat Ist and Henry Ist Lusignan of Cyprus in 1236⁵⁷. In 1264 the Genovese were granted a monopoly over alum exports from Foça by the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus 1259-82, in part, as a reward to the Genovese against Venetian trade interests, due to the Venetian led 4th Crusade's sack of Constantinople in 1204 and, in part, for Genovese assistance in the expulsion of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople in 1264. The illegal export of alum by the Genovese from Sehin "Karahisar" led to the blinding of the crew of a Genovese merchant ship by order of Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1275, when the ship took passage through the Bosphorus⁵⁸. William of Rubruk, who traveled from the Mongol court in 1254 via: Ani,

⁵² Boase et al. 1978, 151.

⁵³ Edlbury 1994, 163 contra Lloyd - Rice 1958, 5 where the evidence of this tribute payment, recorded by Ludolf of Sudheim in 1340, is unaccountably ignored.

⁵⁴ Edlbury 1994, 158.

⁵⁵ Lopez - Raymond 1990, 128; M. I. Origo, *The Merchant of Prato-Daily life in a Medieval Italian city* (1992); a selection of the Florentine merchant, Francesco Datini's 150,000 pages of correspondence and ledgers from the late 14th century, 69, 85; Labib 1978, 71.

⁵⁶ G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1993) 1-17.

⁵⁷ O. Turan, "Kıbrıs tarihi üzerinde çalışmalar I. Ortaçağlarda Türkiye-Kıbrıs münasebetleri", *Belleten* 110, 1964, 217, n. 23.

⁵⁸ Lopez - Raymond 1990, 127.

Erzurum, Kayseri, Konya, and Ayaş to Cyprus (Nicosia)⁵⁹ reports that in 1255 the Seljuck Sultan Izzeddin Keykavas II had awarded a monopoly to a Venetian and a Genovese merchant to export alum from the Seljuck state and "they were fixing prices as they wished".

The importance of alum exports through the port of Antalya seems to have increased in the 14th century, in part, this seems to have been the result of the exhaustion of the Egyptian alum mines in the first quarter of the 14th century⁶⁰ leaving the bulk of this vital commodity to be exported from Anatolia, with the remainder exported from Tunisia and a poorer quality from Castile in Spain. The Florentine merchant Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti (1310-40) in his "La Practica della Mercatura" (The Practice of Commerce) notes that about 4,000 Genovese cantara of alum from Kütahya were brought by caravan to Antalya, in a journey lasting 14 carrier days, each year⁶¹. As one Genovese Cantara equals 57.65 Kilo⁶² Antalya exported 232,000 Kilos of Kütahya alum per year in the first half of the 14th century. A substantial quantity of alum to be shipped in 14th century merchant cogs, which were often laden with a variety of goods for trade from port to port, rather than single cargoes. The maximum cargo size for the largest 13th-14th century Western merchant ships was 800 metric tons, but the vast majority of merchant ships were much smaller vessels⁶³.

Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti also supplies a list ranked in order of quality of the alum exported from Anatolia and it is clear, given both the detail and the quantities involved of the importance of this trade to 14th century Europe. The highest quality alum came from (Şebin) Karahisar, mainly exported, after a seven day carriers journey, from the port of Kerasont (Giresun), by Trabzon on the Black Sea. A quantity of 14,000 Genovese Cantara per year, (807,100 Kilos), of alum was exported from the mines at Karahisar and this alum was called "Colonna"⁶⁴ or "Karahisar". The second quality was choice alum from good alum works, Phocaea alum from Foça by Izmir, (Foça was in Genovese hands from 1267 into the 15th century⁶⁵ and it exported 14,000 Genovese Cantara of alum per year, (807,100 kilos). A similar quality of alum was obtainable from Kütahya which exported 12,000 Genovese Kantara of alum per year, (691,800 kilos), through the ports of Antalya

⁵⁹ I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal envoys to the Great Khans* (1971) 140-1; C. Dawson, *The Mongol Missions, narratives and letters of the Franciscan missionaries in Mongolia and China in the 14th and 15th centuries* (1955).

⁶⁰ Lopez et al. 1978, 126.

⁶¹ Lopez - Raymond 1990, 355.

⁶² Lopez - Raymond 1990, 353 n. 43.

⁶³ Pryor 1992, 85-6; Braudel 1972, 297 ff, where a ratio of 10 small ships to one large one is suggested and that the average tonnage in the 16th century was still less than 75 tons; J. France, *Western warfare in the age of the Crusades 1000-1300* (1999) 201 suggests that by the end of the 13th century Cogs were built 30 m long and 9.5 m wide, of 200 tons deadweight, that could transport 250 tons of cargo and 18-20 people or convey 500 people as a transport vessel. However, Queller - Madden, 1997, 69 states that the 4 largest cogs of the 200 ships deployed in the Venetian built fleet of 1202 and used on the 4th Crusade were up to 200 foot long and 30-40 foot wide, that is approximately 60 m long and 10 to 13 meters wide. Cogs of this size suggest Pryor's 800 tons maximum cargo is possible, although there is no evidence to prove ships of this size, rather than much smaller vessels, visited the ports along the Southern Anatolian coast. The increase in ship size in the 15th century was led by the Genovese Carrack which could transport cargoes of 1000 tons of alum and wine Braudel 1972, 299 ff.

⁶⁴ Lopez - Raymond 1990, 128.

⁶⁵ Balard 1989, 161.

and Ayassoluk (Selçuk). Another source of good alum was the mines at Ulubad, 4 days carrier travel from the port of Trilia on the Sea of Marmara, which exported 10,000 Genovese Cantara per year (576,500 kilos). The poorest qualities of Anatolian alum were called: "Cyzican alum", which came from near Bandırma, Pit and Cord alum, that alum which adhered to the sides and bottom of the alum vat and which had, as a result, a small crystal size, and finally "Diaschilo" alum, shipped from Eskel liman on the Sea of Marmara⁶⁶. In addition, I H Uzunçarşılı maintains Antalya also exported quantities of "Konya alum"⁶⁷ although the source for this reference is unclear, it may in fact refer to alum from Kütahya as I can find no other reference to "Konya alum" or to alum mines in Konya. The value of the alum trade can be realized from the fact that when the first Ottoman Capitulations were granted to the Genovese in 1352, the monopoly of alum export from Manisa formed a vital element of this agreement⁶⁸.

There was of course the important cabotage from port to port, local trade and transportation, carried out by both local craft and cogs from the Italian city states, particularly important given the nature of the Lycian coastline. Although there is doubtless no exact correspondence between coastal trade in the classical period with coastal trade in the 13th - 14th centuries, there was still the need to concentrate goods for export at the key ports, as in the classical period, and, as in the Roman period, there was inevitably a form of passenger ferryboat service along the rugged Lycian coast. Transport along the Lycian coast into the 1960's remained primarily a maritime activity, given the absence of roads along this coast⁶⁹.

Piracy and naval warfare along the coastal route

Piracy and naval warfare was a continuous threat to maritime trade and pilgrimage along the Aegean and Southern Anatolian coastline. Pirate vessels were launched by all, Greek, Latin and Moslem, and formed a considerable hazard to both trade and pilgrimage and through slave raids, not only to crews and passengers on ships but also to the coastal inhabitants throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, in addition to the damage caused to shipping through embargo and naval warfare. By 1282 the Byzantine Emperor Michael Palaeologus had eliminated more than 2000 pirates in the Aegean alone⁷⁰. In the 14th century the City State of Venice signed treaties, including the payment of tribute, with the

⁶⁶ Lopez - Raymond 1990, 353-55 for slightly different listings; Uzunçarşılı 1988, 252, which gives Foça first with Karahisar then Ulubat and Kütahya for the sources of Alum.

⁶⁷ Uzunçarşılı 1988, 252.

⁶⁸ İnalcık - Quataert 1977, 224.

⁶⁹ Hohlfelder - Vann 2000, 126-35; N. Çevik, *Taşların İzinde Likya* (2002) 45-6; See also for coastal travel, E. Stark, *The Lycian Shore* (2002); Bean 1989, 121; Kinross 1956. There was in the Roman Imperial period a ferryboat service from Myra to Limyra for goods and passengers, Bean 1989, 121 and a Turkish mail boat service along this coast until the 1970's when the coastal road was built, Marriner 1979, 55. At what date valuable exports from the Murex industry, the purple dye produced from the Murex mollusk, established since the classical period on the Lycian coast at Aperlae etc. declined; and when the collection of the valuable drops of Myrrh gum resin from the Commiphora thorn-like trees, that grow wild around Myra, and the export of Myrrh from Lycia stopped I am unable to determine. Both exports were important in the Classical period and Murex also in the Early Byzantine period but the use of Myrrh and frankincense in Christian worship in early Christianity was interdicted by the Church, which must have impacted on Myrrh exports from Myra.

⁷⁰ Luttrell 1989, 151.

Turkish Emirates of Aydın and Menteşe to prevent the "pirates" - "gazis" from raiding Venetian shipping⁷¹. The problem of piracy was not confined to the Aegean. The Menteşe Beylik was established through a series of invasions from the sea, beginning in 1261, with the Menteşe Beylik firmly established in Fethiye and the region of Caria by 1282 on the death of Menteşe Bey. The pirates, sailors and warriors who created this Beylik issued from the port of Antalya and from those ports to the West of Antalya along the Lycian coast⁷² and established their main naval base at Fethiye and then at Miletus (Palatia, today's Milet). The breakdown of Seljuck State authority in the period following the Mongol invasion and chronic administrative instability, which increased rapidly from the 1260's onwards, combined with the westward movement of Turkmen, under Seljuck, Mongol and other pressures, in this period⁷³, provided the chance for unemployed sailors, pirates and "Gazis"⁷⁴ based at the Lycian ports to secure the adjacent Carian ports which were weakly held by the Byzantines and, not only to establish a state (Emirate), but also to raid the lucrative coastal shipping⁷⁵ and, to raid for slaves and booty and, on occasion to secure the adjacent islands. The maritime Emirates could field fleets of between 200 and 300 of the smaller pirate-war craft, although they did not possess the largest type of war galleys, and the tall sides of the larger Genovese, Venetian and Florentine cogs, plus the wind factor, made them relatively safe from pirate attack⁷⁶. The island of Rhodes was seized by "gazi" forces from the Menteşe Beylik and much of the island was held from 1300 to 1306, although neither the key fortresses nor the city were taken, they remained in Byzantine hands. This led to the intervention of the Knights of St. John in 1306, at the request of the Byzantine Emperor, to reduce the piracy in the area by aiding the Byzantine forces on Rhodes and expelling the Turks⁷⁷. Rhodes would then provide a key port for patrolling and guarding the shipping route along the Carian coast and Eastwards along the Anatolian coast towards Cyprus. The conquest of Byzantine Rhodes by the Hospitaller Knights was

⁷¹ Luttrell 1989, 151.

⁷² Uzünçarşılı 1988, 70; Merçil 1994, 205, "Menteşe Principality". Piracy was long established in Lycia and can be dated to well before 1296 BC, when the Hittite King "Muwatallis had also gathered around himself all the auxiliaries he could rely upon. He had swelled his troops by hiring mercenaries and even a contingent of the feared pirates of Lycia" which he led into the Battle of Kadesh on the Orontes against Ramses the Great of Egypt. Ceram, 1957, 166.

⁷³ Flemming 1964, 27 ff.

⁷⁴ Zachariadou 1989, 218-20. This article maintains support for P. Witteck's thesis of the "Gazi state" but stripped of its early 20th century ideological component, contra C. Imber "Ottoman Empire 1300-1481 (1990) 13-14 n. 13; R. P. Linder "Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia" (1983) et al., who have replaced Witteck's thesis concerning the religious ideology and justification for the "Gazi" states of the 13th-14th centuries, with a thesis of "self-aggrandizement and self-defense". The facts seem to be, that both factors, the continuation of the ideology of "jihad", from the 7th century to the 14th century, (re. C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades - an Islamic perspective* (1999) 89-250; J. A. Aho, *Religious Mythology and the Art of War - comparative religious symbolism and military violence* (1981) 182-193; S. Murata - W. C. Chittick, *The vision of Islam* (1996) 20-22; H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies on the civilization of Islam* (1982) 91-107 and into the 15th century and later, together with the material success of these Emirates in taking territory, slaves and other booty, were combined, as they were in the initial Islamic Jihad campaigns of the 7th and 8th centuries, following the death of the Prophet Muhammed, to produce a successful outcome for the Islamic world. The divisive reductionism of the "either, or" option, that is, greed or religious "fundamentalism", is a misrepresentation of the complexity of human motivation. Jihad, throughout the period covered by this paper, was regarded by Moslem "ulema" (scholars of religious law), by Moslem rulers and their Moslem subjects as "the 6th pillar of Islam".

⁷⁵ Zachariadou 1989, 215.

⁷⁶ Zachariadou 1989, 215.

⁷⁷ Uzünçarşılı 1988, 70-1; Edlbury 1994, 111.

completed on the 15th August 1310. However, tribute was paid to the Turkish maritime Emirates by the Lords of the Aegean islands in the 1330's⁷⁸ and Turkish piracy around Rhodes continued into the 1350's⁷⁹ as did piracy based at Smyrna (Izmir), which continued under the rulers of Aydın until 1344⁸⁰ and then, following the conquest of the port of Smyrna, continued under the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Aegean-Southern Anatolian coastal route remained contested by Latin and Moslem pirates.

Earlier, in 1222, the Christian shipping in the port of Limassol was destroyed by a Moslem raid⁸¹ and in 1292 a joint Papal Cypriot fleet of 35 galleys, commanded by the Genovese Captain Manuel Zaccara, attacked Alanya and then Alexandria in Egypt⁸². In 1299 a Cypriot fleet of 16 galleys and smaller ships boarded and seized a Moslem ship bound from Alanya to Alexandria, Egypt⁸³. This is in addition to the seizing of combatants' shipping in ports such as Paphos, Cyprus, in times of war between Genoa and Cyprus for example. Further, there was the embargo mounted by the galley fleet of Henry IInd of Cyprus, in response to the Papal Bull issued by Pope Nicholas IV (1288-92) interdicting any Christian trade with the Moslems, which was continued by the Cypriot fleets from 1290 to the mid 14th century and led to the above mentioned 1299 incident⁸⁴. In addition to the non-payment of tribute, one of the reasons given by the contemporary Cypriot chronicler Leontis Makharios for the Cypriot attack on the city of Antalya in 1363, was the problem of Turkish piracy coming from the ports of Antalya, Alanya, Anamur, Sij and Myra, threatening both the coast of Cyprus and Cypriot shipping⁸⁵.

Maritime hazards, real and imagined along the coast

The mention by Sir John of the "dangerous passages (for ships)"⁸⁶, draws attention not only to the matter of piracy, but also to the hazards to navigation along this southern Anatolian coast. They include not only shoals and exposed and submerged rocks, at Porto Genovese, at Kale (Simena) at Kekova, and in the passage between Meis (Castellorizo) and Kaş⁸⁷ and the hazard in both the East and West harbors of Phaselis of submerged Roman breakwaters⁸⁸ but also, waterspouts which occur between Cyprus and Anamur, along the Lycian coast and on occasion, in the Bay of Antalya. The following note from Captain Bill Berry of the yacht "Merry Harrier" based in Antalya describes a recent waterspout incident:

⁷⁸ Zachariadou 1989, 214.

⁷⁹ Edlbury 1994, 161.

⁸⁰ Runciman 1990, 451.

⁸¹ G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* 2 (1940-1952) 16; Goitein 1999, 214 records that 2 ships in 1028 sailing from the then Byzantine port of Antalya to Egypt, were captured by Moslem pirates. Piracy from many coastal states was a feature of the Eastern Mediterranean for millennia, with only intervals of enforced peace Ceram 1957.

⁸² A. T. Luttrell, "The Hospitallers at Rhodes 1306-1421", in: H. W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades* 3 (1975) 342. Edlbury 1994, 102.

⁸³ Edlbury 1994, 105.

⁸⁴ Edlbury 1994, 103 n. 11, 136.

⁸⁵ Edlbury 1994, 163 n. 82.

⁸⁶ Mandeville 1983, 55.

⁸⁷ Heikell 2001, 253, 259, 267.

⁸⁸ Heikell 2001, 268.

"In 1999 Steve Giorgiou and his wife set sail in a well found 12 meter yacht "Thalassa". They had been sailing in the Eastern Mediterranean for more than 10 years and were on route from Antalya to Girne, North Cyprus. Off Cape Anamur they were surprised to see a number of waterspouts springing up in front of them. Fearful of damage to sails and other damage to their yacht, they turned-tail and anchored back in Gazipaşa. There was, and is today, also the hazard of gales and violent onshore winds from the West or South-West, which can drive ships aground on the sand between Antalya and Alanya, or wreck them on the rocky Lycian coast, on the steep rocky coastal promontories and on the cliffs by Cape Anamur. From the 7th century onwards, the Coptic calendar of the yearly cycle of gales and its equivalents were a factor in determining when a captain in the Mediterranean left a secure harbor or anchorage and set sail on this restless sea⁸⁹. In 1384 three Italian pilgrims, Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli were caught in the Bay of Antalya by a northerly storm in April and were blown completely across the Mediterranean, to be nearly shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, under Mamluke rule the frontiers of the Egyptian state extended to the Northern borders of Syria⁹⁰, likewise, the trade treaties signed between Sultan Izzeddin Keykavas Ist and Hugh of Cyprus in 1216, following the Seljuck conquest of Antalya in 1207, explicitly recount the dangers of sailing along this coast. In the letter of the 19th of July 1216 from Hugh to the Sultan is the following passage: "And if it so happens that any of his (the Sultan's) ships is caught in the billows of a tempest and seeks refuge on the shores of any territory under my rule, its sailors as well as their possessions shall be kept safe"⁹¹ and in the Sultan's reply to Hugh of Cyprus of September 1216: And if it so happens, and such things take place quite often, that a ship or any other kind of sailing vessel (for example an oared galley), which belongs to his Royal Grace, founders in the seas of my Royal Domain, I shall see to it that its crew, their lives saved and their possessions rescued, will be sent back to the king, who again is bound to do the same in similar instances, as our treaty postulates⁹². There was also the appearance, if not the hazardous effect, of dangerous whirlpools, where freshwater rises up in the sea from underground springs off the coast, as at Sura near Myra⁹³, at Aperlae⁹⁴ and at other points along this coast, in the East, from Baba Burnu to Antalya's harbor, where the limestone "falez" cliffs meet the sea and a series of freshwater undersea springs rise up in the seawater. There can be little doubt, given these risk factors, that the premium charged on goods brought from the Eastern Mediterranean to European markets in the 13th to 14th centuries, in addition for example, to the already 300% mark up on goods from the East to be exported from Alexandria⁹⁵, was a fair reflection of the significant dangers to both long distance and coastal maritime transport this journey entailed.

⁸⁹ Heikell 2001, 31-33; Labib 1978, 70 for the change from one to two round trips per year for Italian ships, from Italy to Egypt, from the mid-13th century onwards, also Queller - Madden 1997, 79, for the sailing of the Venetian fleet from Venice in March to May, dependant on weather conditions and a further sailing of the Venetian fleet from Venice in June to August in the 13th century. Marriner 1970, 71-2, for the ever present danger of SW. winds on the Lycian coast.

⁹⁰ Bellorini - Hoade (ed.- trans.), *Visitors to the Holy Places* (1948) 89, 118-119, 185.

⁹¹ Lampros 1908, 48-50.

⁹² Lampros 1908, 51-52.

⁹³ Bean 1989, 132.

⁹⁴ Hohlfelder - Vann 2000, n. 69, 127.

⁹⁵ Franck - Brownstone 1986, 259.

III - The literary tradition

The "Bane" of Cathaly, Satalya, Antalya.

This combination of trade and Christian pilgrimage along the Southern coast of Anatolia provided a ready vehicle for the transmission and communication of stories, observations and tales concerning the "sunken cities" and the "Bane of Cathaly", in both Easterly and Westerly directions. It seems from this passage in the "Travels" of Sir John⁹⁶, that the "Gulf of Cathaly" in the 14th century was understood to have encompassed most of the coastline of Antalya Province, rather than being restricted as a term, to the actual bay of Antalya as it is today, that is, from Baba Burnu in the East to Taşlık Burnu (Cape Gelidonya) in the West⁹⁷.

What is odd about this story about Antalya province, retold by Sir John, is that it seems to be a folk explanation for the earthquakes and sunken cities of Simena (Kaleköy), Aperlae, Kekova and Teimiussa (Üçağız), and may have its origin in the Classical period. A version of this story occurs, presumably from a Byzantine source, in 1191. The original version of this story may perhaps therefore be dated to before the 7th century AD earthquake, maybe as early as the 1st century AD, with later additions. It offered an explanation, firstly for the occurrence of earthquakes through the violation of tombs and necrophilia, symbolizing the overthrowal of the moral order, and then for the existence of the sunken cities, and it circulated in various forms along the South Anatolian coastal trade and pilgrimage route, reaching Sidon in Syria, (Lebanon) to the East and Westwards via pilgrims to Paris and St Albans in the 14th century.

These sunken cities off the coast of Antalya province are the result of massive earthquakes, one of which at Aperlae had a lateral displacement of 7 meters and a vertical displacement of, in places, 6.25 meters⁹⁸. In AD 68 the Sibylline Oracles (4.109) recorded: "Fair Myra (Demre) of Lycia, the earth shall shake and not remain firm; thou shalt fall headlong to the ground and pray to find another land of refuge, as an emigrant, when with thunderclaps and earthquakes the dark waters of the sea spread sand over Patara (a tsunami-tidal wave), for its godlessness"⁹⁹ likewise Dio Cassius records a tidal wave when the sea retreated from Egypt and covered the greater part of Lycia. Large earthquakes struck Demre-Myra in 142-4¹⁰⁰, possibly in 262 in connection with a tidal wave¹⁰¹ and 240 AD, again in 529-30¹⁰² when much of Myra was destroyed including the Church of St. Nicholas, and the quay-pier built above the fault line at Aperlae, was torn across so that 7 meters separate one torn end of the pier from the other. Malalas records of this quake: "In that year (529/30), Myra/Demre the Metropolis of Lycia suffered the wrath of God and the Emperor (Justinian 1st) gave generously to the survivors and the city

⁹⁶ Mandeville 1983, 55.

⁹⁷ Heikell 2001, 266 ff.

⁹⁸ R. L. Hohlfelder - R. L. Vann, "The Church beneath the sea at Aperlae, Lycia", *Adalya IV*, 1999-2000, 211; R. L. Hohlfelder, "Uncovering the secrets of Aperlae", *NEA* 61:1 (1998) 29.

⁹⁹ Guidoboni 1994, 211.

¹⁰⁰ Guidoboni 1994, 235-236.

¹⁰¹ Guidoboni 1994, 242-243.

¹⁰² Guidoboni 1994, 326.

for rebuilding purposes". From 541 to 745 AD much of Byzantine Anatolia was struck repeatedly by plague which led to massive depopulation in Constantinople, with 300,000 dead in 542, the first full year of the pandemic in Constantinople and to the partial or total abandonment of ports and cities such as Anamurion, Corycos, Kanlıdivane, Anavarza and Canbazlı¹⁰³. It seems most unlikely that the Lycian coastal ports remained unaffected by the 6th/7th century plague pandemic given their established coastal trading links to both east and west and Myra was certainly devastated by the plague between 542-3, with up to one third of the population killed. However, two great earthquakes of the late 7th and 8th centuries created the sunken cities that lie beneath the waters of the Kekova Roads and along the adjacent coastline. At Simena the street plan, quayside and sarcophagi are today visible underwater, at Kekova (Dolichiste), at Aperlae in Asar Bay, where 1500 square meters of the city is underwater and at Teimiussa, churches, streets, houses, tombs lie beneath the waters and staircases carved out of the rock descend beneath the waves.

The combination of massive earthquakes, tidal waves, plague and, in consequence, severe depopulation, the clear evidence of sunken cities, with sarcophagi still visible above sea level and staircases descending beneath the waves provided the Byzantine and Medieval visitor with clear evidence of the consequences of man's immorality and sin in the macrocosm. These components formed the morality tale known as "the Bane of Antalya", a literary form which one may call "Curse" or "Bane" stories, one of which is recorded by Sir John. This type of story seems to have formed a part of the 12-14th century Latin Christian call to reform morals¹⁰⁴. It is to be noted that in 1347, before Sir John's "Travels" were completed, there was another earthquake that affected both Rhodes and Cyprus, and doubtless the southern Anatolian coastal area between these two points, including Kekova. This 1347 earthquake was again linked to an outbreak of the plague "Pasturella Pestis", pneumonic, septicaemic and bubonic¹⁰⁵, as was the case in the second quarter of the 6th century AD during the reign of Emperor Justinian. This 1347 outbreak was a part of the great plague pandemic spread by Genovese shipping from Tana and Caffa in the Crimea in 1346 to Constantinople, and then by Genovese merchant ships to Sicily and Italy in 1347 and, by Genovese merchant ships to Egypt in 1347-8. This plague pandemic killed one third of the population of Europe (50 million people)¹⁰⁶ and caused the deaths of a similar proportion in Egypt and Syria, with 900,000 dead at Cairo, 22,000 dying per month at Gaza and 500 people dying per day at Aleppo¹⁰⁷ and 100-200 per day at the port of Alexandria, Egypt¹⁰⁸. It may be that Sir John's account of "The Bane of Cathalya" was reinforced by some knowledge of the events of 1347 in the area.

Sir John's account of the sunken cities does more than record the fact of a large city, in fact a series of towns, underwater off the coastline of Antalya, which many pilgrims and merchants sailing along this coastal route to the Holy Land must have seen and of the

¹⁰³ D. Keys, *Catastrophe* (1999) 9-16 for translation of John of Ephesus and Evagrius's accounts, 420 n. 6; Martin 2002, 10-11, 86.

¹⁰⁴ G. G. Coulton, *Life in the Later Middle Ages I* (1930) 261-71; IV 33-36.

¹⁰⁵ Martin 2002, 16-17.

¹⁰⁶ Martin 2002.

¹⁰⁷ P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (1991) 681.

¹⁰⁸ Lopez et al. 1978, 119-120; Labib 1978, 77.

dangers of this coastal route with its shoals, submerged rocks, waterspouts, whirlpools, winds, currents and pirates. His account also records a traditional local explanation, certainly current in Christian European texts from the 12th century to the 14th century and probably first coined at a much earlier date, for the cause of the disaster which struck this area in the 7th-8th century AD.

Tomb robbery was as common in the classical period as it is today and the evidence of marble tombs, some carrying Greek inscriptions cursing tomb violators with devastating consequences, many of these tombs broken open, sticking out of the sea water in this area, provided a focus for the imagination, while the crimes of tomb violation, symbolized by necrophilia, within the moral and theocentric universe inhabited by the residents of Classical, Byzantine, Seljuk, Beylik and Ottoman Antalya province, would have been understood to call forth Divine vengeance. Tomb inscriptions, in Lycian (an unknown script in the 14th century) but also in legible Greek, cursing the violator of the tomb and in some cases, threatening devastating Divine vengeance and utter destruction from local Gods such as Leto and Apollo, would have been visible to pilgrims and merchants on this coastal route and these Greek "cursing" inscriptions were both legible and, to a certain extent, comprehensible to the well educated Byzantine Christian from the 6th to the 14th centuries, the Latin West's knowledge of Greek until the 12th century and later, was almost non-existent, with the exception of some few Italians¹⁰⁹. Surely it was these Lycian curses, written in Greek on the exteriors of sarcophagi and rock-cut tombs, together with classical mythology such as the Medusa's head and the physical evidence of the "sunken cities" themselves, which formed the basis for these "Curse or Bane" stories set in the "Bay of Cathaly".

Examples of this type of curse inscription carved in Greek, which in some cases differ from the Lycian inscriptions on the same stone sarcophagus or rock cut tomb¹¹⁰, come for Lycian coastal ports such as Myra and Kaş, from Thyateira near Antalya and from inland sites such as Pinara¹¹¹, and have been dated from the 4th century BC to the 2nd Century AD. Johan Strubbe writes of these inscriptions: "As soon as the prohibition against the violation of the grave is transgressed, the punishment will automatically occur. This evil does not depend on the judgment of a god: it operates directly through the force of the (written) word itself. A divine agent may be involved in the actual punishment."¹¹² In some cases these curses are related to contagion, such as plague¹¹³, to ruin and utter abandonment, to the loss of fruitfulness of land, sea and offspring etc. The use of the Greek word (ἐπιτρίψι) in these inscriptions, meaning, to "utterly destroy" the violator of these classical tombs, and its parallel expression, as a stressed adjective (ἐξώλεις [καὶ]

¹⁰⁹ C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the 12th century* (1964) 280-301.

¹¹⁰ Strubbe 1997, 250 n. 20.

¹¹¹ Strubbe 1997, 243, 249, 294-295; Also A. V. Schweyer, *Les Lyciens et la mort. Une étude d'histoire sociale* (2002) 61-89 and n. 500-502. For Athenian examples, from the 2nd century AD; J. Tobin, *Herodes Attikos and the city of Athens- Patronage and conflict under the Antonines* (1997) 113-161, including the expression: "may the earth not bear fruit for them, nor the sea be navigable, and may he and his race die miserably" which has a marked similarity to Strubbe No. 368, page 243 from Pinara.

¹¹² Strubbe 1997, XI.

¹¹³ Strubbe 1997, XV.

πανώ[λ]ε[ις] “to ruin and utterly destroy”, was doubtless to the educated medieval mind, understood to prove a connection between the broken open and violated tombs and the evidence of utter destruction provided by the sunken cities by Kekova. An example of this form of cursing inscription in Greek, comes from a rock-cut tomb at Kaş, just to the West of Kekova, which dates to the end of the 4th century BC and was cut into the East face of the Acropolis and was clearly visible to visitors to the port.

It reads: “Ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικήσῃ ἢ αγοράσῃ τὸ Μνήμα, ἡ Λητώ αὐτὸν ἐπιτ(ρι)Ψι” This can be translated thus: “If somebody damages or sells (or buys) this memorial tomb, Leto will utterly destroy him”¹¹⁴. Another example of this type of Lycian cursing inscription comes from inland, from a sarcophagus at Pinara.

It reads: “(Κατεσκευάσεν [καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ] μηδένα ἄλλων τῇν ὁσ[τοθήκην (?)] ἄνοίξαι [ταύτην]¹¹⁴ οἱ δὲ ἀνοίξαν[τε]ς καὶ [θέν[τ]ες ἄμ(α)ρ[τω]λοὶ εἶ[ν]εν [καὶ μήτε γῇ μήτε | θάλασσ]α καρπὸν Φέροι, ἄλλ’ ἐξώλεις [καὶ] πανώ[λ]ε[ις] εἶεν τίσαι¹¹⁵ ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ οἱ τοῦ τεθέντος κληρονόμοι καὶ οἱ ἀνοίξαν[τε]ς, τῇς πράξεως κ(α)ὶ προσανγελί[ας] οὔσης [π]αν[τ]ί¹¹⁶ τῷ βουλομένῳ]. *vatic*”¹¹⁵. It can be translated as follows: “Nobody is allowed to open this “ostotheke”(sarcophagus). That person(s) who opens this tomb and puts another person in it, would be a sinner(s) and the land and eventually the sea will not bear him (them) fruit, on the contrary, that person(s) would be ruined and utterly destroyed.” This inscription forms a member of Strubbe’s category of: “curse of land and sea”, also found at the coastal ports of Patara and Myra in Lycia.

It is important to remember, in the context of the medieval understanding of these Lycian cursing inscriptions, that to the medieval clerical and mercantile mind, matters of epigraphy and accuracy of translation from pagan inscriptions were of less, if any concern, rather, of singular importance in this case was the clear and visible consequence of tomb violation, recorded in the curse “to utterly destroy”, with the evidence of the “sunken cities”. A geophysical explanation for earthquakes and associated major subsidence, through the theory of plate tectonics and knowledge of the fault system that runs along the southern foot of the Tauros Mountain range, that resulted in the sunken cities and other earthquake damage to Myra, Aperlae, Patara, Xanthos, etc was unknown until the 20th century. A curse therefore, seemed to the medieval traveler the logical explanation for the sunken cities.

The connection between the classical god Apollo, son of Leto, cited on some of these inscriptions, and contagion such as plagues, recorded in Book 1, verses 35-67, 96-7, 370-385, of the Illiad, and also with the construction and dedication of the temple of Apollo Medica in Rome following the plague of 433 BC., may well have been unknown to the medieval authors who recounted these stories of the “Bane of Satalya”, but the association of Medusa with death and destruction continued from the Classical period through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁴ Strubbe 1997, 249. My thanks are due to Prof. Dr. E. Varinlioglu for his encouragement and to M. Oktan for his assistance in this matter, and for communications from B. Takmer epigraphical research assistant at Akdeniz University, Antalya.

¹¹⁵ Strubbe 1997, 243. Note the use of the curse to “utterly destroy”. The complete inscription has not been translated here, only that part that concerns the curse for a 2nd century Roman parallel see Tobin (supra n. 111).

¹¹⁶ Hornblower - Spawforth 1996.

The earliest example of the “Bane-ruin or Curse of Cathaly-Satalya” in Latin literature is recorded by Walter Map in the late 12th century. His story concerns a shoemaker of such ability that nobles asked him to make their shoes. This mastery together with a marvelous prowess at sport, gained him wide fame and one day a beautiful maiden with a large entourage came to order some shoes. The shoemaker was so overwhelmed by her that, although he realized that social barriers made her unapproachable, he thought that he would sustain a milder rejection if he gave up his craft and took up the nobler profession of a soldier. Attaining great skill in this field too, he approached the maiden’s father for her hand, but was not accepted. Violently angry, he took to piracy as a means of avenging his humiliation and soon came to be greatly feared. However, he heard that the maiden had meanwhile died, and hastening to the funeral he noted the place of interment. That night he returned, broke into the grave, and violated the corpse. Then he heard a voice, telling him to come again to this place, when he would see what offspring had been produced (that is in 9 months time). When he returned, he received a human head from the dead woman, which he was forbidden to expose to anyone except an enemy he wished to kill. He kept the head in a locked chest and caused great havoc amongst his enemies when he used its power. Eventually he was given the chance to marry the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, who was also the heiress to the Empire. After some time she demanded to know what was in the chest, and one day she opened it when he was asleep. Waking him up she thrust the head into his face and he was killed. Horrified, the Princess caused the head and its keeper to be thrown into the sea, an act that caused a great storm which, when it subsided, left a great and treacherous whirlpool in that spot. The place is now known as the Gulf of Satalia¹¹⁷. The elements of necrophilia - that is tomb violation, the head, the bay of Satalia-Cathaly found in this 12th century story are all in Sir John’s 14th century account.

A similar version to Walter Map’s story is to be found in Roger de Howden’s account of the return of Phillip IInd of France from Palestine in 1191. He recalled the tale when they were sailing past “the Isles of Yse”, which may signify the adjacent islands of Kekova, Kara Ada and Toprak Ada. The hero of this story is a knight and the result of his necrophilia is a still-born son. A voice told him to cut off the head, for it could be used to destroy enemies who gazed upon it. After some years of effective use, his wife found the head while he was away and threw it into the Gulf of Satalia where, when it was lying face upwards, it caused a terrible storm¹¹⁸. In Gervais of Tilbury’s account of this story, written about 1210, he relates that the Gorgon’s head, which Perseus threw into the sea, lay in Gulf of Satalia, but that a tradition local to the Gulf of Satalia relates the following, different account. A knight loved a queen and had intercourse with her after she died. The product of this union was a monstrous head, with destructive power if anyone looked directly at it. Later, when the knight was at sea, the knight fell asleep, and his mistress, curious to see what he kept in the chest he always carried, stole the key, opened the chest and was at once struck dead when she saw the head. When the knight awoke, he found his mistress dead and the chest open and he too looked at the head and fell dead on the spot. The

¹¹⁷ W. Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, M. R. Jones (ed.) (1914) 183-5.

¹¹⁸ R. Howden, *Chronica III*, W. R. Stubbs (ed.) (1870) 158-9.

result was that both he and the ship were lost in the Bay of Satalia. During the next seven years, whenever the face of the head turned upwards, there was great danger for the sailors in the region¹¹⁹. Thus, from the late 12th century, if not earlier in Byzantine sources which are inaccessible to me, the Gulf of Antalya-Satalia was associated with breaking into graves, with necrophilia - tomb violation, with the Medusa's head, with sudden death and the overthrowal of cities, with whirlpools and storms and dangers to shipping.

The head which circled the city in Sir John's account, before the city sank beneath the sea, like the head mentioned by Walter Map, by Roger de Howden and Gervais of Tilbury, as well as those mentioned in evidence at the Templar trial of 1308 (see below), can be related to the head of Medusa, to the legends attached to Medusa's head, of plague, earthquake, death and destruction and also to the Lycian and other tombs and classical relief carving including the mask of Medusa in tomb pediments and on carved shields that depict this head. Examples survive from Trysa and Trebenna in Lycia and from Side and Perge (Fig. 4) for example, many of the decorated sarcophagi from the Roman period have a carved Medusa's head on the side or in the pediment, although this is rare in the surviving Lycian tombs, they are mainly plain¹²⁰. Grotesque carved heads visible to coastal shipping and to pilgrims, such as those masks carved on the Roman theatre at Myra and on the pediment of the Heroon at Saraycık (Kita Naura) to the West of Phaeselis¹²¹, may well have been understood by the 14th century Christian pilgrims and travelers as also representing heads of the Medusa-Gorgon or even, human heads turned to stone as a result of looking upon the Medusa's face.

Strange though it may seem, this practice of attributing human causes to disasters such as plague and earthquakes has continued from the classical period down to the present day. Similar to the idea of Divine vengeance as a consequence of immoral human action recorded by those writers who describe "the bane of Antalya" from the 12th to the 14th centuries, is the idea of Divine vengeance for human actions, suggested by some people after the İzmit (Gölcük) earthquake of 1999.

There is a link between Sir John's account of the sunken cities, recorded at some time between 1332 and 1356, the earlier medieval accounts situated in the Gulf of Satalia, and the series of similar stories, sometimes with their location changed, presented as evidence in the trial of the Order of the Templars and collected in 1307. Firstly, on March 1st, 1307, an Italian notary, Antonio Sicci di Vercelli, who had worked for the Templars for about 40 years in the Eastern Mediterranean and who seems to have repeated, if not emended, an earlier story particular to the Gulf of Satalia, resituated the story at Sidon on the Syrian coast, to blacken the Order of the Templars at their trial. There is every possibility that Antonio was well aware of the "Satalia" story which had been in circulation since the late

¹¹⁹ G. Tilbury, *Chronica*, F. Liebrecht (ed.) (1856) 11; S. Reinach, "La tete magique des Templiers", 25-39 in *RHistRel*, LXIII (1911); M. Barber, *The trial of the Templars* (2000) 188-9.

¹²⁰ Barber, *op. cit.* 188; G. E. Bean, *Eski Çağda Lykia Bölgesi* (1997) 116-7; N. Çevik - B. Varkıvaç, "Trebenna, Arkeolojisi, Tarihi ve Doğası" (2003) forthcoming, where the Medusa's head in the pediment of the tomb cover from the monumental tomb of Solon and Na is described. My thanks to the authors for their assistance.

¹²¹ E. Petersen - F. v. Luschan, *Reisen im südwestkleinasien* (1889) 143 Abb. 67 for the engraving of this Heroon.

12th century if not earlier¹²², given Antonio's 40 years work in the Eastern Mediterranean for the Templars, who regularly sailed along the southern Anatolian coast, between their commanderies in Syria (until Acre and the last Crusader outposts fell to the Mamluke Sultan Al-Ashraf Khalil in 1291), Cyprus, Lesser Armenia and Italy. The story recounted by Antonio is that he had heard many times at Sidon that a Lord of that town (the preceptor of Sidon, a Templar called Matthew le Sarmage, who Antonio alleged, was the blood brother of the Sultan of Egypt) loved a noble lady of Armenia but: "He (the Lord) had never known her carnally while she was alive, but at length he secretly had intercourse with her when she was dead in her tomb, on the night of the day in which she had been buried. When he had done this, he heard a certain voice saying to him: "Return when it is time for birth, because you will find a head, offspring to you". And I (Antonio) have heard that when the time had passed, this same knight returned to the tomb, and found a human head between the legs of the buried woman. Again he heard the voice saying to him: "Guard this head, because all good things will come to you from it"¹²³.

Secondly, on the 12th of May, 1307 in further evidence presented to and recorded in the notarial record of the Templar trial, a Templar Knight from Limoges, Hugues de Faure provided a variant on this story. He said that the port of Sidon had been bought by Thomas Berard, who was the former Grand Master of the Order of the Temple, but he had not heard that any Lord of Sidon was a Templar. However he had heard in Cyprus, after the fall of Acre (in May 1291), from the Bailli of Limassol, Jean de Tanis that: "A certain noble had deeply loved a certain damsel of the castle of Maraclea in the country of Tripoli, and, since he could not have her in her lifetime, when he heard that she was dead, he caused her to be exhumed, and had intercourse with her. Afterwards he cut off the head for himself, and a certain voice rang out that he should take good care of the said head, since whoever saw the head would be totally destroyed and routed" (as with the Classical legend of the use of Medusa's head). He covered the head and placed the head in a chest. Since he hated the Greeks he then exposed the head to the Greek castles and cities and "all were at once ruined" (as with Sir John's story of the head circling and the city sinking beneath the waves). Some time later, he set out to Constantinople to destroy that city too, but the key to the chest in which the head was kept, was stolen by his former nurse, who wanted to see what was in the chest. She opened the chest, discovered the head, and at once a storm sank their ship. The only survivors were the sailors who told the story. "It is said that from then on, there were no fish in that place where the foregoing occurred". Hugues had not heard that the head had come into the possession of the Templars nor did he know of the head described by Antonio Sicci¹²⁴.

Thirdly, Guillaume April of the diocese of Clermont said that he knew nothing of the other two stories but that in ancient times before the foundation of the Templars and the Hospitallers (that is before the 12th century) "that there sometimes appeared on the sea, in a whirlpool at a place called Satalia, a certain head after whose appearance, boats which were in the said whirlpool were imperiled"¹²⁵.

¹²² Reinach op. cit (supra n. 119) 25-39.

¹²³ Michelet 1851, Vol. 1, 645. My thanks to R. P. M. Duggan for drawing my attention to this reference.

¹²⁴ Michelet 1851, Vol. 2, 223-224.

¹²⁵ Michelet 1851, Vol. 2, 238.

The relationship between this "Medusa-like" head and earthquakes-sunken cities or whirlpools-waterspouts seems to be a feature of most of these "Bane" or "curse-ruin" stories set in, or which can be related to, the Bay of Antalya-Cathaly-Satalya. The connection between the Medusa's head, Perseus who slew the Medusa, and who rode the winged horse Pegasus, which was born from the Medusa-Gorgon's neck and the Lycian coast, including the Bay of Cathaly - Satalia - Antalya, was established in classical mythology. Lycia was the site of Poseidon's son Bellerophon's encounter with the child of Echidne and Typhon, the Chimaera, a fire breathing creature with the head of a lion, the body of a she-goat and the tail of a snake at Chimaera (today called Yanartaş) by Olympus, recorded in art from the 7th century BC onwards, and of Bellerophon's fight with the Lycian Solymi, also in the Tauros Mountains. In these encounters Bellerophon rode the winged horse Pegasus that emerged from the dying or dead Medusa's neck, together with Chrysaor, both were the children of Poseidon's relationship with the Medusa¹²⁶. The god Poseidon was understood to have resided on Tahtalı Dağ, one of the many Mount Olympus in the classical world, in the Tauros Mountains behind Phaselis, or on Mount Solymos (Güllük Dağı) in the same Lycian mountain range, and Poseidon was the classical god of earthquakes (of earthquake waves on land, the "Earth Shaker"), of waves and storms at sea and of horses, including the winged horse Pegasus, which was conceived through Poseidon's relationship with the Medusa-Gorgon. Gervais of Tilbury's story from the first decade of the 13th century, clearly links the Medusa's head with the Bay of Antalya, which seems to have been a post-classical development to the story of Medusa. All the classical sources report that Perseus gave the head of Medusa to the goddess Athena, where it appears on her aegis, rather than tossing the Medusa's head into Antalya's bay, and so, quite why the head of the Medusa is reported as being in the Bay of Satalia I am unable to explain, unless the Medusa's head was used by Gervais of Tilbury in a symbolic manner, like the wooden shield painted by Leonardo da Vinci in the 15th century, which carried a Medusa's head and the wooden shield, which survives today, painted by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio in 1598 (Fig. 5). The Medusa's head was used in the 15th - 16th century as a symbol of fear and terror, it carried the same symbolism in the classical period as described in the Illiad 11.36-7: "And circled in the midst of all was the blank-eyed face of the Gorgon with her stare of horror and fear was inscribed upon it and terror". It is for this reason the head of the Medusa was depicted on Classical shields and tombs and, when worn by the goddess Athena on her aegis, was surrounded by the symbolic figures representing: fear (Phobos), strife (Eris), strength (Alke) and pursuit (Ioke).

¹²⁶ Hornblower - Spawforth 1996, re "Medusa-Gorgon", "Aegis", "Perseus", "Bellerophon", "Poseidon"; G. E. Bean, *Turkey's Southern Shore* (1979) 94, re Bellerophon and the Chimaera and Solymi (Solymians) at Termessos below Mount Solymos (Güllük Dağ) and 134-138 re Olympus and Chimaera. It should be noted that the site of the Chimaera was moved in the Classical period from by the Xanthus valley in Lycia to close to Olympos (also in Lycia), probably because of the perpetual flame, visible to mariners at night. G. Niemann - E. Petersen - K. G. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens II* (1892) 1-3, re Solymi (Solymier), 6-7, re Poseidon on Mt. Solymos rather than Mt. Olympos. Herodotus, *Histories* see. 7, 126-130 clearly records the connection made in the classical period between the god Poseidon and earthquakes, with the creation by Poseidon through an earthquake of the gorge through which the river Peneus runs, so draining the inland Thessalian Sea.

The collection of evidence, such as the above three sworn statements recorded in the notarial record of the trial of the Templars was conducted by officials of Phillip IV of France, and led to the Papal dissolution of the religious order of the Templars in 1312¹²⁷.

Much of the property both nominal and actual of the Order of the Temple in the Eastern Mediterranean and elsewhere, passed into the possession of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St John of Jerusalem on the Papal dissolution of the Templars¹²⁸. It may be that at this time the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem gained ownership of the title "Duke of Satalya" from the dissolution of the Order of the Templars. The title "Duke of Satalya" - Duke of Adalyia/Antalya, had been granted by the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin Ist (1204-5), Count of Flanders, to the Order of the Templars following the 1204 conquest of Constantinople¹²⁹. This title, given in expectation of the conquest of Antalya following the 4th Crusade and the establishment of the Latin Empire at Constantinople, was given to the Templars because of their military-protective role towards Christian pilgrims, the importance of the port of Antalya to Christian pilgrimage and trade, which was well known not only through trade and pilgrimage but also, since part of the 2nd Crusade led by Louis VII of France had embarked from the port of Antalya in 1148 and sailed along the coast to Antioch (Antakya). The Latin conquest of Antalya following the 1204 conquest of Constantinople did not happen, but the Hospitaller contingent, which played a major part in Peter Ist of Cyprus's conquest of the port of Antalya in 1361, may have hoped to provide their nominal dukedom with ownership of the estate and port of Antalya. When Antalya was taken in 1361, rulership over the conquered port resided with the Latin ruler of Cyprus, rather than with the Hospitaller Knights, but the title "Duke of Satalya" continued in use into the 16th century amongst members of the Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

¹²⁷ Barber 2000.

¹²⁸ Edbury 1994, 136 for the Hospitallers obtaining Templar property in Cyprus.

¹²⁹ J. Richard, "The establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204-27)" in A. Hamilton - Jacoby (ed.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (1989) 52-3 n. 47; Edbury 1994, 42 n. 12.

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Özet

Antalya'nın Batık Kentleri hakkında bir 14. yüzyıl anlatımı, tarihsel bağlamı ve yazınsal geleneği

Araştırmanın ilk bölümünde, Sir John Mandeville'nin 1356 tarihli "Geziler" adlı kitabının Ortaçağlar'ın sonu ile Erken Rönesans dönemlerindeki Avrupa üzerinde yaptığı etki anlatılmakta; Kekova'nın "batık kentleri" ile "Katalya (Satalya-Antalya)'nın Belâsı", başka bir deyişle lâneti ya da yıkımı betimleri üzerinde durulmaktadır.

İkinci bölüm, konunun tarihsel bağlamını saptamakta ve batık kentlerle ilgili Ortaçağ öykülerinin Bizans Dönemi'nden itibaren 14. yüzyıla kadar Anadolu'nun güney kıyısı boyunca uzanan ticaret ve Hristiyan hac yolları üzerinden yayılmasının nedenini açıklamaktadır. Bu kıyıdan gelip geçen pek çok hacı ve tacir tarafından görülen batık kentlerle ilgili olarak Ortaçağ düşüncesine yatkın bir açıklama yapılmıştır. İ.S. 4. yüzyıldan beri kullanılan bu kıyı hac yolunun önemi, 1071'den itibaren Hristiyan hacılar için gittikçe zorlaşan koşullar yüzünden Avrupa'dan Kudüs'e gidiş-dönüş sırasında tutulacak ana yol olması bakımından pekişmiş bulunuyordu. Sir John'un anlatımında tanımlanan hac yolları, diğer anlatımların ışığında, yolculuklarda harcanan süreler ve gemilerin boyları ile tiplerine ilişkin kanıtlara da bakarak tartışılmaktadır. Ayrıca, hem Sir John'un anlatımında değinilen kıyı ve açık deniz rüzgarları, akıntılar, fırtınalar, girdaplar, deniz hortumları, sığıklar ile su altı kayahkları gibi denizcilik bakımından tehlikeler, hem de korsanlık ve deniz savaşlarıyla ilgili sorunlar üzerinde durulmaktadır. Güney Anadolu kıyısı boyunca yer alan limanlardan özellikle 13. ve 14. yüzyıllarda yapılan ticaret ile Cenovalı, Kıbrıslı, Mısırlı, Venedikli, Floransalı tüccarların ve deniz taşımacılığının önemi incelenmektedir. 13. ve 14. yüzyıllarda bu kıyı boyundaki dış alım ve dış satım, köle ticareti yanısıra, ham ipek, baharat, kereste ve reçine meşe rendesi, meşe palamutu, halı, kilim ve diğer dokuma kumaşlar, doğal pamuk, keçidiken (tragakanta) reçinesi gibi malları kapsamaktaydı. Yine bu yüzyıllarda Anadolu'dan Avrupa'ya yapılan şap (Alum) dış satımının önemine değinilmekte, Francesco di Balduccio Pegolotti'nin Antalya limanından dışarıya yılda 232.000 kilo şap satıldığını belirten anlatımına da dikkat çekilmektedir.

Üçüncü bölümde, Toros Dağları'nın eteğinde uzanan bu kıyı boyunca meydana gelen ve Simena, Aperlai, Teimiussa ile Kekova yerleşimlerinin batmasına neden olan depremler dizisinin ana hatları verilmekte; bu batık kentler için 12.-14. yüzyıllarda ileri sürülen nedenler hakkında Walter Map'ten bu yana, kaynağı olasılıkla klasik mitoloji ile birleşen Yunan masalları ve folklorunda bulunan Latin yazın geleneği anlatılmakta; Ortaçağ düşüncesinde deprem ve diğer afetlerin ortaya çıkmasıyla mezara saldırı arasında bir bağlantı kurulduğu belirtilmektedir. Ortaçağ'ın Satalya - Katalya (Antalya) Körfezi'nde geçen ya da doğrudan ilintili olan bu öyküler dizisi, batık kentler hakkında Ortaçağ'a özgü bir açıklama getirmekte, Walter Map ile Sir John tarafından anılan bu açıklama, başka nedenler arasında, mezar

saldırısının simgesi olan ölüseverlik (nekrofil) ve doğal düzenin bozulması, dolayısıyla Klasik Çağ'dan 17. yüzyıla kadar depremler, girdaplar, veba salgınları gibi yıkım, terör ve ölüm demek olan "Medusa başı"nın ortaya çıkması ile ilgili bulunmaktadır. "Satalya'nın Belâsı" öyküleri Latin geleneğinde 12. yüzyıldan 14. yüzyıla kadar uzanmakta ve Anadolu'nun güney kıyısını izleyen ticaret ve hac yollarına bağlı olan Suriye, Paris ve *St. Albans* kadar birbirlerinden uzak yerlerde kayıt edilmiş bulunmaktadır. Yazar, 4. yüzyıldan Bizans Dönemi'ne kadar Likya lahitleri üzerinde görülen ve mezar saldırganlarını ölümcül sonuçlarla tehdit eden Yunanca lanetleme yazıtlarının, batık kentlerin yöresindeki bu mezarlarda yapılan soygunların ve mezar saldırılarının açık kanıtları, suların altında görünür durumdaki batık kentlerin kendileriyle birlikte bir arada düşünüldüğü zaman, "Satalya'nın Belâsı" adı verilen masallar dizisinin özündeki öğeleri oluşturduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

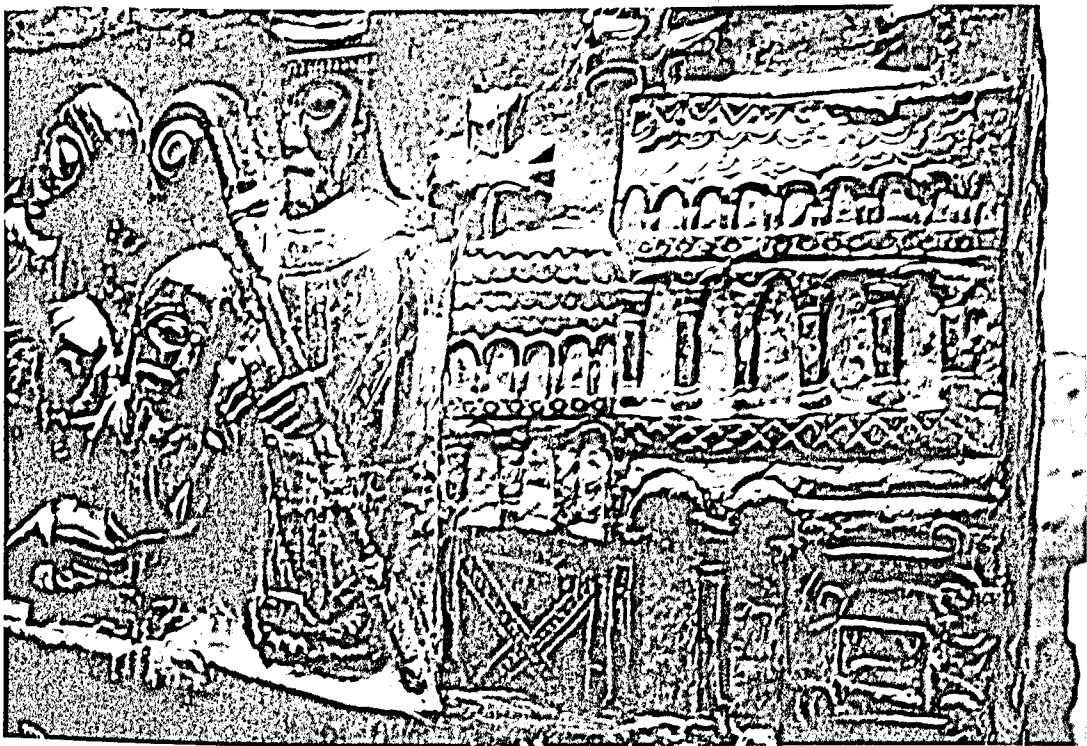


Fig. 1 The Church-Metropolitan Bishop's Palace at St Nicholas, Myra, detail of a relief carving of 1150-75, showing the church after its 1042 restoration. This relief was carved in Tournai, Flanders, on a baptismal font commissioned for Winchester Cathedral, England. A mitred St. Nicholas is shown, holding his crozier, blessing supplicants who come to the church.



Fig. 2 The complete relief carving on one of the two carved sides of the Winchester Cathedral baptismal font of 1150-75. The scene shows the arrival of penitents-pilgrims at Myra, greeted by St. Nicholas.



Fig. 3 Relief carving on the baptismal font in Winchester Cathedral of 1150-75, showing the story of the three boys, butchered and salted in a barrel to sell as meat, an Angel (not depicted) in a dream informed St. Nicholas, who restored them to life and a fine carving of a 12th century vessel carrying penitents-pilgrims on pilgrimage to Myra. This group of pilgrim-penitents are then greeted by the saint, on the adjacent face of the font (Fig. 1 & 2).



Fig. 4 The Medusa's head from Perge's Roman theatre.



Fig. 5 A circular wooden shield depicting the head of the Medusa that in 1598 by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610), today in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. Note the clear parallel of this head of Medusa with its Roman relief carved precursors at Perge and elsewhere.