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COMMEMORATING THE LONG FORGOTTEN: KUMLUBÜK STELE ON THE KARIAN TRAIL

ABSTRACT: In this paper, an anthropomorphic stele, namely a menhir, now lying in the Kumlubük site (near the ancient Karian city of Amos) in the Bozburun Peninsula, is inquired theoretically, in reference to the comparative literature and ethnic background of the region. The stele, hewn in limestone, is located slightly uphill on the Karian Trail which is reached from the coastal area.

While the reason of placement and functions can differ considerably, it is argued that the Kumlubük Stele could have been erected as a grave marker- highlighting a mortuary practice, for commemoration of a deceased, rather than as a ritual place for worshipping, symbolic guardianship, declaration of property or as a boundary marker. Owing to the style it was shaped, it is suggested that it probably manifests the ambition to eternize the soul of a human figure/ spouse (either the aborigines who could have belonged to the ancient Karian community/ early inhabitants of Anatolia (Luwian descendants/ speaking groups, etc.) or the latecomers (shamanic Turkmens)), which can be elaborated within a broad chronological span, however specifically restricted to the post-Chalcolithic/ post-Bronze Age.

KEY WORDS: Karia - Bozburun - Amos, Stele/ Stelae - Anthropomorphic - Menhir

BACKGROUND AND METHOD

Archaeology and anthropology intrude into various aspects of the human life. When it comes to an enquiry about afterlife and expression for the people's ambition toward immortality, the posture and a well-defined context of the data becomes an essential condition for a better interpretation of the temporal limits of the

questioned material and/or the past cognitive systems of a community. If the chronological span gets too broad, it grows into a mystery. In contrast to a chanceful situation, one may even come across the heroization or apotheosis of the deceased with the display of a script or a symbolic language through some typical iconography.

The southwestern corner of Anatolia remains intriguing in certain respects even though this sub-

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geography, particularly pertaining to the end of the Bronze Age, is describable with the native Karians who co-existed with the Dorians and Ionians since the 11th century B.C. In the Homeric texts, the first known inhabitants of Miletus (near the Meander), as an ally of Troy, were the Leleges and Karians. In addition to possible settlement where Milesians once arrived, the Karian colonization has been sought through various intangible things and questions including toponyms, hydronyms and personal names (Herda 2013: 448-451). The boundaries of Karia varied at different periods but something is safely enunciable; Karians were the aborigines of the region between the Meander and Indus River. They left "official" hallmarks since the Archaic and Classical periods (from 8th to 5th century B.C)ⁱ but the way in which they invented and/or imported conventional traits and developed habitational patterns are barely understood, particularly when the pre-Archaic periods are of concern (Herodotus, 1.171, Garstang, Gurney 1959: 81, Kuhrt 2017: 311, Boardman 1999: 23, Küçükeren 2007: 20).ⁱⁱ There is no extra burden for seeing the cultures also as geographies, just as how Asia Minor is materially expressible concerning the Persian and Greek influences in the context of Classical archaeology.ⁱⁱⁱ Since the geography of Karia was not as sheltered as Lycia (Dinç 2010: 6), it was, in all likelihood, more affected, during the Lydian Great Colonization (750-550 B.C), and by Harpagos' campaigns. Nevertheless, the Anatolian background is a plausible answer for those chasing the questions on the identity of this folk, owing to the linguistic commonalities (Ratte 2005: 137, Sevin 2001: 105, Yakubovich 2012)^{iv} with that of the Luwians. With the incorporation of Karia (ca. 545 B.C) into the Achaemenid Empire as a satrapy, the Hecatomnid dynasty gained notable independence down to the 4th century B.C when the *poleis* of Karia flourished at remarkable degrees. Religion and language was the cement for their unity and that the similar applied to the "remote" territories of the country. Bozburun Peninsula was one of them.

Classical and Archaic evidence about the recently deciphered Karian script as well as local alphabets comes along with graffiti, masonry, coinage and pottery^v whereas public ones are dated to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C (Herda 2013: 463-464). According to a good many scholars, Karian has origin in the Luwian language and relation to Hittite, also because their land or identification either as Karkisa, Karsa, Karka or Kurka are recorded in the Hittite, Mesopotamian and

Egyptian texts of the 14th century B.C (Melchert 2003, Adiego 2007, Meier-Brügger 2009, Herda 2013: 433, Kuhrt 2017: 311). From an archaeological point of view, the Greek epigraphic record about the Peninsula and its close environs demonstrates that the colonization activities of the Dorian origin groups and their interests on the mainland, back up a foreign intervention on the way of living, particularly in light of the architectural traces and material remains. However, the following point cannot be skipped: some traits echoing the people's sense of place and community affiliation were anyway maintained. As this is out of the scope of the paper at hand, we compulsorily confine ourselves to the Karian identity particularly reflected through the cultic practices and epithets of deities which were found in the ancient *demoi* of the Peninsula (excluding script which is absent in the region).

Bozburun Peninsula (*Figure 1*) lies immediately south of the Knidian (Datça) Peninsula, in the outmost SW Anatolia. It faces two nearby islands. Reached out from the Aegean in the west (over Symi) and Mediterranean in the east and south (Rhodes), it is a picturesque land of rurality. Numerous bays, dozens of promontories and islets are sheltered by the steep, rocky and limestone formations which enable the usage of small plains throughout the region that falls to the borders of today's Marmaris- an ancient settlement of the Karian community known as Physcus. The coastal area of Kumlubük (*Figure 2*), lying down the *Acropolis* (localized by scholars on Hisarburnu/ Asarcık) of the ancient Karian town of Amos (Fraser, Bean 1954, Saner 1994: 273-283, McNicoll 1997: 224-228) (first acknowledged as a Classical *demos* according to the Athenian Tribute Lists), is only one of them. The epigraphical record about Amos is limited to a few inscriptions, primarily providing information on the lease agreements dating the early 3rd century B.C (Fraser, Bean 1954: 6-12, 14, 19, 90-92, 123-125, Bresson 1991: no.49-51 (76-83), Bean 2000: 165, Köktürk, Milner 2003: 164, Oğuz-Kırca 2014: 294) when the Peninsula was officially attached to the Rhodian State. It is widely accepted that Amos was connected with Lindos which was one of three mother *poleis* at the Island. There was a board of *hieromnamos* at the city where Apollo Samnaios (Taşlıkloğlu 1963: 76, Bresson 1991: no. 49 (76-79), no. 54 (84-85)) - probably the original deity of the Amians of Karian descent, was worshipped.

Kumlubük is located on the Mediterranean coast, falling to the eastern part of the Peninsula. It maintains

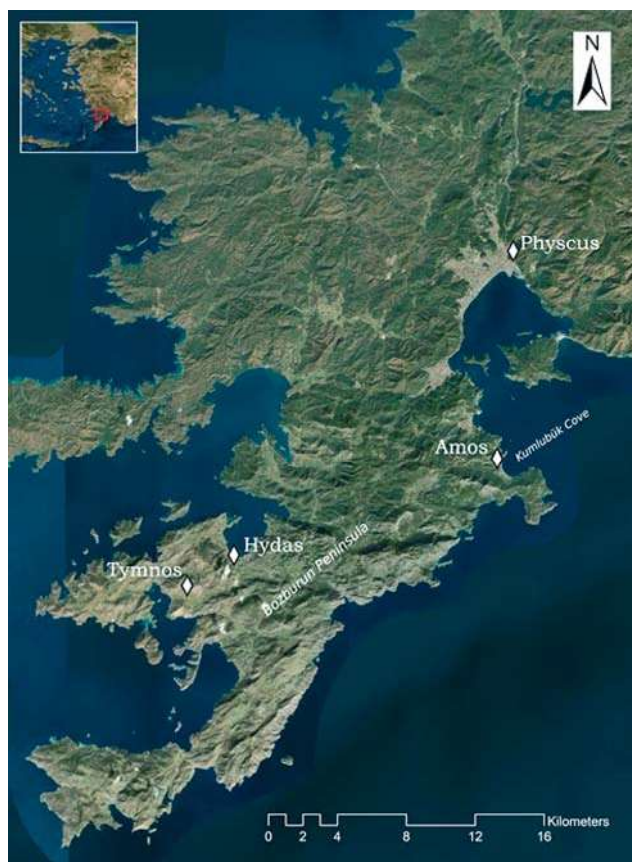


FIGURE 1: Geographical position of Bozburun Peninsula and Kumlubük Cove.

a smooth surface topography over the seaboard and offers the most suitable land for doing agriculture in the *territorium* of Amos. For that reason alone, the level site of Kumlubük (as well as Gölenye (Fraser Bean 1954: 125, Bean 2000: 165^{vi})) must have been cultivated by the Amians (under the Rhodian suzerainty) since the early Hellenistic period (Bresson 1991: no. 44–54).^{vii} We only had knowledge of the site's agrarian and probably lower settlement function (also as a coastal *khora* as well as harboring Amos), to date until the overtly reporting of something quite extraordinary by Özcan (2019), which presents a clue for the Peninsula's historical trajectory as back as the occupation of the yet undetermined human groups. As he continues, this is a free stele (First cited by Özdemir *et.al.* 2013, Özcan 2019: 73–77) found on one of the low hills, with a forest view to the north.

The Kumlubük Stele (Özdemir *et.al.* 2013, Özcan 2019: 73–77) (Figure 3) is located at a treeless open

space, which is accessed by following the slightly ascending Karian/ Carian Trail (all shown with the signposts) continuing from the skirts of the *Acropolis*. It has a clear view of the open sea, directly facing Amos. Taking the Kumlubük road for approximately one km from the coastal area, there appears a rocky platform, beyond the wide space at the end of the said road. The average man-size stele (Figure 3, top right), otherwise the dressed stone block/ monolith standing upright (seemingly in-situ), is hosted at the edge of the rocky platform. It invokes simple schematized body geometry with the caput and shoulder as if it was an aggrandized version of an idol or statute. The place of the block has a perfect view of the coastal area. It appears to be a memorial monument and is rather distinguished from the typical tomb steles with script, which were copiously found (dating between Late Classical/Hellenistic/Roman periods) in various parts of the Peninsula (Bresson 1991).^{viii} Hence, it can alternatively be identified as sort of a balbal^{ix} or menhir, hewn in limestone. Özcan conveys that another stele, even if broken, lies adjacent on the same ground (2019: 76). We certainly avoid going off at a tangent and leave it up to the discretion of future researchers.

Owing to the fact that the stele has been introduced recently, this paper is a theoretical endeavor which inevitably lacks contextual interpretation and chronometric dating for the present. As the Peninsula and neighborhood also lack parallel evidence, two main questions on the material relate to identification and reason of placement. At its discovery stage, the approach and method taken here below is purely based on comparative evidence in time and space and, relative dating with a referral to the preliminary, hence scant information and basic image of the stone, provided by Özcan. The intention is not to go beyond the limits but assess it and proceed to the extent that it involves the geography of the Karian world. Therefore, alternative periods (when the Karians were already enounced in history) are strongly articulated, particularly on the grounds of the likelihood of their presence in SW Anatolia. The timelines are also considered, taking into account the lack of script alongside the plausible reason of erection based on canonic knowledge linked to a pre-established chronology.

How can the purpose of the Kumlubük stele be defined? Was it carved for the commemoration of a deceased/ a group of the deceased or erected as a slab paralleling the *horos* practice of the Classical world – namely the boundary marker or as a cross mark for the

claim of control of a certain domain? A symbolic "device" of a belief system, a ritual manifestation as an altar or an artwork representing the human against the irresistible nature? The final question set seemingly reposes on the post-processual theory and "archaeology of the body" as the very ideo-social side of the academic debates, however, also assumes that something without script or decoration can also relate to bedrock art as argued enough for e.g. the megaliths of western Europe (Renfrew 1983.*passim*, Sherratt 1990)^x, the case of Alentejo, Southern Portugal (Calado, Rocha 2010: 25-28). In many respects, the Kumlubük Stele, basically regarding the time and reason of placement, hardly corresponds well with the well-known cases in literature, also due to its primitive form. Likely as it seems, various dates are possible with respect to the temporal coverage but estimations can be continued by examining some canons of theory and practical research.

COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE

Turning an eye to the protohistoric burial traditions that transect some typological categories of the Asiatic cultures, it looks far from evidencing the pastoral lifeways (cf. Mongolian samples see Taylor *et al.* 2019,

fig. 3) as early as 3000 B.C. with the "balbal"s having a similar relation. Being one of the pending puzzles of archaeology as to their origins, statue menhirs, sometimes as upright orthostats, are distributed across a wide geography of the Middle Bronze Age Europe, Africa, Oceania and Asia as well as having relation to the Iron Age (ed. of Rodriguez, Marchesi 2015, Robb 2009).^{xi} Highlighted in the Classical literature, they bore different functions (for ceremonial purpose, celebration as symbols of life, worship, sentinel as standing stones, commemoration, the houses of the dead, passage graves, *allée couverte*, portal tombs to enlightenment, sometimes appearing as straight alignments, ley lines, stone circles, labyrinths (Pohribný, Richards 2007: 27–296), for human sacrifice, as calendars or boundary markers). Interpretations have changed dramatically with the enhancement of knowledge driven by the advancement of the dating techniques and calibration within a defined context (Kipfer 2000: 534, Paulsson 2019).^{xii}

There are engraved menhirs in Anatolia. The earliest known site of Göbeklitepe in SE Turkey, famous with the T-steles, date ca. 12.000 years bp. On the northern geography, some Early Iron Age parallels can be found in the environs of Edirne and Kirklareli, Thrace (majorly concentrated in Sakar, Stranca and Eastern Rhodop Mountain range) (Özdoğan, Akman



FIGURE 2: View to Kumlubük from Hisarburnu (Amos) (photograph archive of the author).

1991)^{xiii}, where the menhirs and dolmens are often identified with the burialscapes. These funerary spaces may take the form of sacred place rock art in a few parts of Karia (cf. Gerga (Bean 2000: 214, 217–218, fig. 56, 60, www.tayproject.org; <https://aydin.ktb.gov.tr/>), Latmos (Peschow-Bindokat 2006)^{xiv}). The dolmens scattered in various parts of the Thrace (cf. Lalapaşa, Edirne: Kansu 1969, Akman 1997) quite invoke the style and technique applied on the Π-shape tomb structures attested from Karia and Lycia (Novakova, Kılınçoğlu 2014: 77–78). Identical shape Tymnian structures/tombs reported from Kaletpe (*Figure 4*), Tymnos (Bozburun town) can be valuable in this respect (Oğuz-Kırca 2018: 275–276, fig. 10).

Despite the ambiguities, the visible context of the Kumlubük Stele, which is complemented with a second one, leaves the impression that the spot could hardly be a demarcation line. This might well be regarded as a restricted interpretation. If erected as a territorial marker (in the protohistoric times at the latest), there remains a strong need to have knowledge about an identifiable community therewith. The view to be

assumed here should never rule out the Karian ethnicity, being the indigenous folk for more than *millennia*. Depending on the recent results of the ethno-linguistic studies (Herda 2013), the relations with the Luwian groups cannot be denied, either (Melchert 2003, Adiego 2007, Meier-Brügger 2009, Yakubovich 2011, Herda 2013: 433). Notwithstanding, the arguments we are mounting herein can be totally fallacious should it belong to a person/persons/ spouse who died far away from home and that the stone was placed thereupon, to commemorate him/her^{xv} them, forever. Hence, it could be sort of a funeral manifestation erected in the honor of the deceased nearby the ancient trail, perhaps replacing the function of a *cenotaph*.^{xvi} If not, the Amosward position of the stele suggests that the owner(s) of the tomb or those concerned could have assimilated themselves into the city of Amos when elaborated within the ideopsychological context. However, because of the spatial background, there can be another potentiality. In light of how Özcan describes, the stele has proximity to the ruins of a structure, known as the İlimar Church which

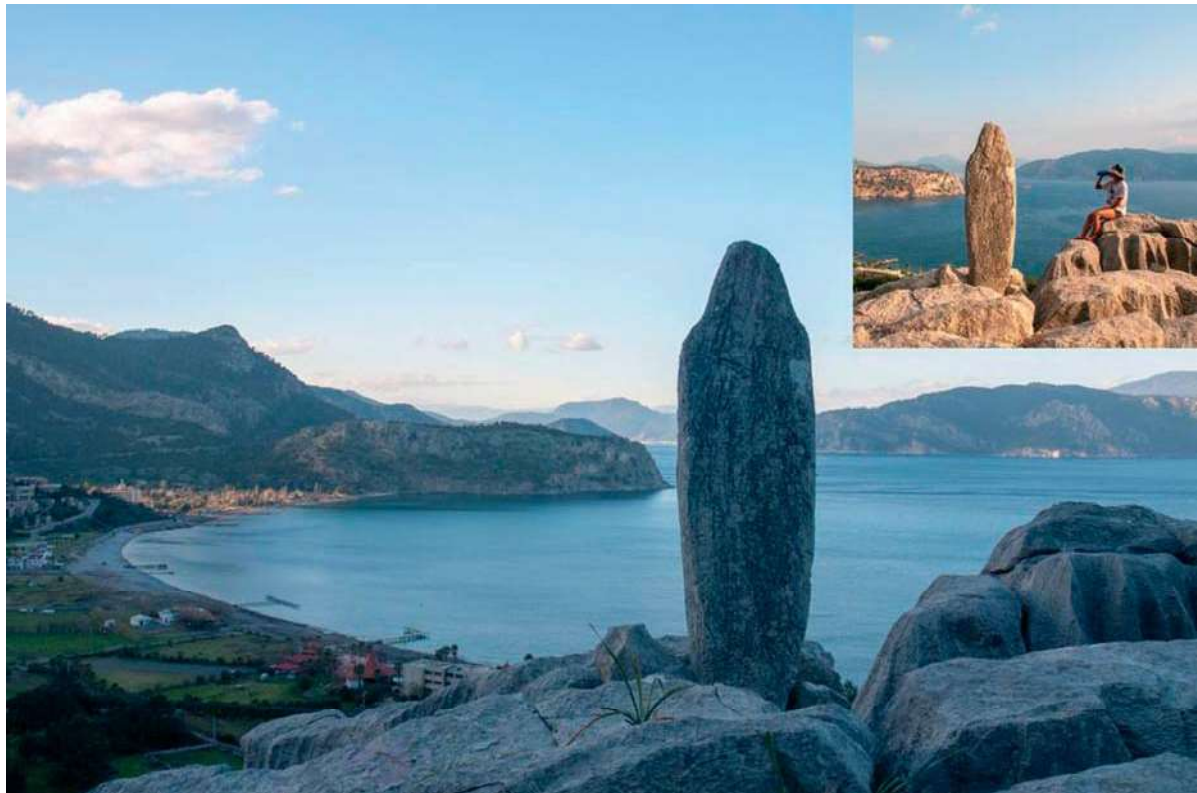


FIGURE 3: Kumlubük Stele facing Amos (Photographs by A. Özcan, Özcan 2019: 74).



FIGURE 4: Π-shape tomb at Kaletepe, Tymnos (Photograph archive of the author).

was built nearby a water source, locally called as the *mar* (Özcan 2019: 76-77). In the case of any relevancy, the likelihood of a temporal relationship between the two may need to be questioned in the near future.

One might propose, without reserve, that the impact the "foreign" cultures left in West and South-West Anatolia should not be underestimated. Based on studies of pottery and settlement patterns between the Eastern Aegean and Western Anatolia, Troy, Liman Tepe, Miletus or Bademgediği Tepe particularly enhanced the scholars' knowledge about the 2nd millennium B.C. Troy and Beycesultan are still the two main implantations where stratigraphy is completed and published, however, enquiries on Late Bronze Age Anatolia and cross cultural/ settlement relations are continued. The view that Western Anatolia was a multicultural region of autonomous cultures/ hybrid groups is being backed up by many scholars. Regarding the discussions about their periodization, Troy (from time to time expressible in the Hittite geography) has

revealed that it had a different place, as part of the North-West Anatolian ring. As we understand, the northern and southern zones had very different dynamics and that the speed of development and change in e.g. the pottery styles increased in the coastal bands where Mycenaean finds also had higher frequencies. But at the end, nothing seems to make e.g. Troy (Wilusa?) as totally Hittite or Mycenaean, in light of the cultural findings (Pavúk 2015: 93, fig. 7, 103).

We can go further. Can the traces left by the Hittites- mainly the Luwian inscriptions and sometimes reliefs as border markers, in the Lower Meander (Maner 2015: 836-837) approximating Latmos (near Lake Bafa) slightly concern the northern sectors of Phycus, due to its relative distance/ proximity to the said region? The answer is no for the present since no specific finds, addressing Hittite involvement, have been reported from the surveyed *demoi* of the Peninsula, until recently. On the other hand, the Peninsula, although included in the "coastal zone" of Western Anatolia, appears to fall out of the scope of the material culture- the "ceramic groups" zone in some of the maps (Pavúk 2015: 95, fig. 9).^{xvii} But, the fact that the number of Mycenaean pottery finds are higher in SW Anatolia leaves us with the suspicion whether the region was ever incorporated into the land of Ahhiyawa(?) whose borders are still unclear in literature. Such an idea can also find support with novel investigation.

The Karian-Ionian leap has long engaged the attention of the scholars in the course of investigation of the links of Western Anatolia with the fashionable word of the "Ionian Renaissance" (which is widely alleged to have found meaning in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C) (Pedersen 2011: 372-375, Herda 2013: 421-507)^{xviii} with which Karia is often furnished regarding the typical elements known from Greece, Ionia, Egypt, etc. If the cultural "tornado" that gradually emerged at the end of the Greek colonization in Western Asia Minor is disregarded, the stele could well be a work of an "outsider", e.g. a Mycenaean product with little probability, and though being associated with utterly a different, broadly the late Helladic period (ca. 16th-12th centuries B.C) when the Mycenaeans had established maritime networks in the Mediterranean including the Anatolian coasts (Taylour 1995.*passim*, Tartaron 2013: 1-12).^{xix} A place of suggestion was made in favor of Hydas (Selimiye at Losta Bay), which is now supposed to bear the traces of the LH IIIC ceramics in the Bozburun Peninsula (Benter 2010: 670, Gür 2015: 9, 13, 18, helladic.info). By analogy, as well

as SW Anatolia's "historical" connection- as a supporter in the famous war, Trojan influence is another presumption. A stele, which was decorated with a relief of a helmeted armorer, was found outside the southern gates, in front of the bastions of Troy I. The erection of standing stones seems to have become a tradition in the city over the centuries as similar stones reappeared at Troy VI, in front of the southern gate (Korfmann 1998: 471-478).

It is interesting enough that Kumlubük Stele is and shall remain the unique^{xx} case ever met in the Peninsula until new evidence is brought some day. If it was a work of the native Karian groups, it might have addressed the melting of two periods that witnessed the genesis and self-realization of this "culture" in SW Anatolia and maturation of identity. Although the archaeological record at Bozburun Peninsula does not indicate, apart from the Karians, the presence of a strongly Anatolian character culture like that of the Hittites, we can never go beyond such a multiple layer mystery unless we

cogitate the possibility of early activities (by and large the post Chalcolithic age) all over this barren geography. Deposits are lost in a way or another.

DISCUSSION AND REMARKS

The given primary context of the Kumlubük Stele (also to be supported with ceramic data) and immediate vicinity is in need of further interpretation about its linkage with a sedentary environment. What is known currently is the well-known fragmentary material - the lease agreements reported from the agricultural terraces of the Classical city of Amos, already identified with a Karian *demotic*. A question as to whether the stele could have connection with the local Apollo Samnaios cult may sound irrelevant in the lack of script (also in view of the companion lying nearby); hence the idea runs into a contradiction reaching a deadlock. Who knows? To whoever it



FIGURE 5: Stele from the countryside of Ahlat (Photograph by A. Özcan).

belonged, owing to its morphological trait and average human size (conjuring up the head form in the Archaic *kouroi*), it seems to demonstrate a mortuary tradition in the cultural trajectory of Bozburun Peninsula. We somehow lean towards this final idea since to be a boundary marker would not necessarily require another accompanying monolith of the same kind, either. Everything put aside, the reason of its erection deserves a rigorous discussion. On the other hand, some parallels can be seized with the human tall, upright stelae found in close proximity to the religious structures, in the other regions of Turkey (e.g. Nemrut, Ahlat (Bitlis) and the vicinity) and hence be rethought (Figure 5).

The Stele can open a new line of investigation in the remote history of Bozburun. We prefer to define it as a menhir or a monolith rather than the generic term of megalith. With this in mind, the Pi-shape tombs (perhaps embodying an inherited Thracian effect rather than the influence of some other "foreign" cultures or outsiders, in part) could be the miniature menhirs^{xxi}, as extensions of the idealization of the same concept, which could have roots in the folkways of the Karians and/ or the subject geography. Regarding the prehistoric trajectory of the region, further contextual links can be chased in the south of Marmaris, around the Neolithic site of Nimara Cave (Cennet/ Heaven Island – a small peninsula) where microliths were reported and which continued to be used probably as a "ritual" place in the later periods ("Classical" periods included) (MARTAB 2012: 45–46, Özcan 2019: 170–171).

CONCLUSION

Estimation is that Kumlubük Stele was erected as a grave stone, by looking at form and visible (though insufficient on images) context. Brief to say; a schematized body geometry (reminiscent of those attributable to the Atlantic coasts in Portugal (Rodríguez 2011: 82, fig. 9) clearly portraying the human form (tapering towards the top as the head) associates with the presence of a human activity, rather than a symbolic representation of a guardianship as if meeting the outlanders. The second stone could be a companion, e.g. a spouse, comrade in arms or another from the same lineage. One should also bear in mind that it could have been carved out of a yet unaccredited limestone bedrock source (or perhaps quarried at a nearby source). That the close environs could have the potential to hide additional stelae

(where a good many Hellenistic tomb stelae were reported by the beginning of the 20th century) would not be a utopia since such a physically limited space could also be part of a ritual network.

In the lack of absolute dating and hard to interpret context;

- It could have been a product of the late Neolithic peoples, which is however a rare chance in the dearth of parallel finds in the neighborhood.
- It could be related to the Late Bronze/ Early Iron Age inhabitants, particularly having connection with the descendants of the northern tribes (somewhere from the Hittite frontiers, Thrace, etc.) or the Karian origin groups of the Early Iron Age or Archaic period based on the geoethnic indicators. Despite a few prominent cases relating to the guardsmen reported from Troy, the stone could represent an obscure link to this city or hide the Luwian influence in the origin. In the absence of script (as is visible on the image, first introduced by Özcan), a strong Karianism can be presumed owing to the associated geography, highlighting the very local Anatolian spirit.
- An anachronistic approach would be to accept it as a Classical stone even though the rest of the Peninsula never disclosed such a find. It is equally possible that the nomadic Turkmen groups which frequented this part of Anatolia later, in the Middle ages, could have put them as landmarks, perhaps as the symbols of the shamanic world (substituting an ovoö – sacred stone) before they transformed themselves to sedentary lives. Equally parallel is that it could symbolize a sacred place for worshipping, recalling the Icarian boulders (2.5 m on average) which are thought to be the products of the Neolithic (novoscriptorium.com).^{xxii} This can only be proven right or wrong by working on the stele in detail, at the field. Otherwise, such a rare case will remain an enigma and be left into eternity in the absence of chronometric dating of a contextual item or parallel distinct finds in the Karian region. And various parameters can be put to the discussions henceforward. We pause here just as the same way the stele has been doing for the centuries or millennia.

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NOTES:

- i On the pre-Classical tomb architecture of Karia, Birsal 2015.
- ii Having a different appellation in the Bronze Age, Hüsanassa of the Lukka land, Karka/ Karkiya/ Karkissa in the Hittite and Assyrian cuneiform texts (*İbid*).
- iii Some scholars bring to attention that the extent of importation of certain elements, as often expressed through iconography and arts (Carstens 2013: 214), was at the Karians' control that they chose to make benefit of various cultures in the proto-Hellenistic era. Such a view can be assumed with a similar understanding that they could have been too adaptive to their cultural environment or active enough to adopt various aspects of the civilizations they encountered (as well as the clash of interests re-deemed).
- iv There is consensus that Hittite language is replete with Luwian loanwords (Yakubovich 2011: 545).
- v The amphora with an inscription in Museum Chur (Switzerland) testifies to the earliest known Karian script (see Özgünel 2006: 33-37). Hence, we regard the earliest

- (Archaic) written samples as the *terminus post quem* (with a *posteriori* that innumerable artifacts lack script in the discipline of archaeology).
- vi Even though Bean does not associate the lease agreements, hence involvement in agriculture, with Kumlubük.
- vii On the temporal range attributable to the epigraphic evidence, Bresson 1991: 68–84. Kumlubük must have had far earlier bases in agricultural activity.
- viii For the corpus of inscriptions on the Rhodian Peraia, Bresson 1991. The *stelae* limited to the Amian territorium were retrieved at the upper terrace of the city by the end of the 20th century B.C. The evidence reported by Bean from Hisarburnu, is firstly related to the cult of Apollo Samnaios, which was probably a localized epithet nowhere used but in the Peninsula (Bresson 1991: no. 54 (84)). Another group of the fragments, as mentioned before, involves the lease cases that transected the people of the Peninsula and the Rhodian state in the early 3rd century B.C. (Bresson 1991: no. 49–51 (76–83), Bean 2000: 165).
- ix "Bal" meaning grave icon or "stone ancestor" impersonating the deceased, and often used in the Asiatic context. These menhir like stones were erected in front of the graves or around the kurgans, to commemorate the deceased, in Central Asia cultures, particularly the shamanistic Turkish tribes.
- x Especially see Pohribný, Richards 2007 for the visual documentation of the megaliths, with various dates (extensively the period from around 5000 to 1000 B.C), from across the European countries; from France to Poland, Malta to Finland.
- xi The concentration of these standing stones are come cross in Portugal, Iberia, Italy and some islands, Switzerland-Austria borders, southern and western France, Ireland, Britain, Ukraine, Greece, Scandinavia, Poland, Balkans, etc. (Robb 2009: 164–165). The prehistoric samples reported elsewhere from e.g. Europe are populously dated to far back, to the 4th–3rd millennia B.C., often interpreted as the social markers manifesting the changing social contexts and transformations. *ibid.*
- xii Late Neolithic/ Copper Age Europe is initially addressed by Kipfer. *ibid.*
- xiii Menhirs and dolmens were extensively studied in the Thrace. The Thracian samples put aside, the Anatolian megaliths seem to be erected up in the mountainous range (Yükmen Edens 2004: 318).
- xiv These are the prehistoric (late Neolithic and early Chalcolithic) petroglyphs in the Latmos range (Peschlow-Bindokat 2006). About the Peninsula, the certain parts (e.g. Hydas where material culture is dated as back as the 12th century B.C., Benter 2001: 177–179) are claimed to be ideal for the prehistoric settlements (see Nowicki 2014: 40–41) where a famous case is the Nimara Cave in Marmaris (MARTAB 2012), as recalled in our text. The western coasts are so degraded, except for a few microlith sites (For the generically identified obsidian zones, also covering the Peninsula, Chataigner *et al.* 1998: 519 (fig. 1), on some prehistoric finds, Atakuman *et al.* 2019: 381–382. Note that neither study provides photography at the locus, find spot or context).
- xv The majority of the well diagnosed *stelae* are gendered (Robb 2009: 174).
- xvi Symbolic empty tomb. For a sample e.g. in Geyikliköy near Alexandria Troas, Schliemann 2014: 75.
- xvii The Peninsula's exclusion from the mentioned zone is, most likely, due to the lack of systematic studies.
- xviii Pedersen (2011) backs up the process in view of the philosophical familiarities of the Karians with the Greeks and mathematical involvements, as some major sources of evidence (379–380) besides literature, poetry, drama, prose and other cultural aspects (381–385).
- xix Also for the probable Minoan presence in Karia at Iasos, Momigliano 2009: 124–137.
- xx Another extraordinary structure peculiar to the Peninsula is the pyramidal "Cağ Baba" tomb of the 2nd century B.C (see Bresson 1991: no. 56).
- xxi A mini menhir or menhir-like structure can be the one reported from Gemecitdüzü (Oğuz-Kırca, Liritzis 2017: 274, 286), with reservations.
- xxii On Mesolithic Icaria, Sampson 2014.

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