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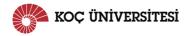
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Trade Relations between Byzantion and the Black Sea Region in the Hellenistic Period: An Assessment through Recently Found Amphora Stamps

PINAR CAĞNİS*

Abstract

The rescue excavations undertaken on the European and Asian sides of Istanbul in recent years have revealed significant information regarding Byzantion, which had an active and strategic role in Hellenistic trade. A highly important part of the work in question was undoubtedly the excavations carried out within the scope of the Marmaray Project. A large number of artefacts and structures were brought to light throughout the excavations of the project at the Sirkeci station. Among these finds were amphora stamps which had previously been little known. The excavations uncovered finds that shed new light on the commercial relations between Byzantion and two important cities in the Black Sea region - Chersonesus and Sinope. This study results from documenting these amphora stamps. Although these amphora stamps provide information regarding a limited geographical area within Byzantion, nevertheless, they provide some idea regarding the larger commercial relationships of the city.

Keywords: Byzantion, Sinope, Chersonesus, amphora stamps, Hellenistic period, Marmaray Project.

Öz

Son yıllarda İstanbul'un her iki yakasında gerçekleştirilen kurtarma kazıları sonucunda Hellenistik Dönem ticaretinde hem stratejik hem de aktif olarak önemli bir role sahip olan Byzantion'a dair çok önemli bilgilere ulaşılmıştır. Söz konusu çalışmaların oldukça önemli bir kısmı Marmaray Projesi kapsamında yapılan kazılar olmuştur. Projenin Sirkeci İstasyonu kazılarında, çok sayıda taşınabilir ve taşınmaz eser ele geçmiştir. Söz konusu buluntular içinde, kentte daha önce ele geçtiğine dair çok az bilgi sahibi olduğumuz amphora mühürleri de bulunmaktadır. Çalışmalar sonucunda Hellenistik Dönem'de Byzantion ile Karadeniz Bölgesi'nin iki önemli kenti, Sinope ve Khersonesos arasındaki ticari ilişkilere ışık tutacak, bu ilişkiyi amphora mühürleri üzerinden belgeleyecek yeni buluntular ele geçmiştir. İncelenen amphora mühürleri ile ilgili elde edilen veriler, Byzantion içinde sınırlı bir alan hakkında bilgi vermesine rağmen, bu buluntular kentin ticari iliskileri hakkında fikir vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Byzantion, Sinope, Khersonesos, amphora mühürleri, Hellenistik Dönem, Marmaray Projesi

Located on the Bosporos Akra (Sarayburnu), a peninsula on the western shore of Bosporos Thrakios, Byzantion dominates the Chrysoceras (Golden Horn) in the north, the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) in the south, and the Bosphorus in the east. It is thus surrounded by the sea

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This article is based on my master's thesis entitled "The Amphora Stamps from Black Sea Region Found in the Marmaray Tunnel Excavations at Sirkeci Station (Heracleia Pontica, Sinope, Amastris and Chersonesus)."

on three sides and holds a key position between Asia and Europe.¹ Archaeological research carried out on both sides of the Bosphorus shows that traces of human settlement in the city date back to a couple of hundred thousand years. Research and excavations have revealed several Prehistoric layers ranging from the Lower Paleolithic to the Chalcolithic periods. These were identified in the Yarımburgaz Cave, the oldest settlement on the European side. Traces of habitation dated to the Hellenistic, Roman and the Byzantine periods were observed in the cave, which had been abandoned for a long time. Excavations carried out on the Anatolian side have also revealed several settlements dating back to the Prehistoric period in Kadıköy, Fikirtepe, Pendik, İçerenköy, Dudullu and Ümraniye.² Moreover, recent years have witnessed many rescue excavations, carried out on the European and Asian sides of Istanbul in connection with construction activity. They have provided highly relevant information concerning the Prehistoric periods of the city. During the excavations carried out at the Yenikapı station within the scope of the Marmaray and Metro Projects, traces of settlements and different artefacts dating from the Neolithic period to the present time were discovered.³

Byzantion is a city blessed by the sea with a mild climate and natural beauty. In antiquity, as today, it was a very important city with its fertile land and plentiful sea praised by ancient writers. Polybios mentioned that the city was peaceful and rich, in particular, due to its location by the sea.⁴ As a port city, Byzantion's social and economic life also developed in this direction. After its foundation in the seventh century BC, the city became known for its wealth and prosperity during the sixth and fifth centuries BC. It maintained its independence throughout the Hellenistic period. It can be inferred from the rescue excavations carried out in the various districts of Istanbul that the city had a history longer than a thousand years before the reign of Constantine I. Due to its geographical location and strategic importance, Byzantion was constantly exposed to attacks. Looking into the background of these attacks, the main reason clearly lies in its economic wealth.

Amphora stamps are a very important group of finds that records the commercial life of the past. They also document the commercial relations between cities, both economically and socially. Examples of stamped amphorae are known from the Archaic period to the Byzantine period. However, the systematic practice of stamping amphorae began in the Hellenistic period. Throughout this period, the cities more active in producing stamped amphorae were those having favorable conditions for growing olives and grapes. It is well known that amphorae were not merely used to transport liquid goods, but also products such as olive oil, wine, garum, honey, salted fish, dried or fresh fruits and vegetables, etc. This study aims to document the commercial relationships between Byzantion, which played a strategic role in the Hellenistic trade, and two important cities of the Black Sea region - Sinope and Chersonesus - through the analysis of recently found amphora stamps.

Within the scope of the Marmaray Project between 2004 and 2013, excavation and test trenches were conducted in the areas designed to host the stations' infrastructure and ventilation systems in Yenikapı and Sirkeci in the historic peninsula, as well as in Üsküdar on the Anatolian side. This project, which aimed to solve the deep-rooted mobility problems of the modern city by extending its transportation network, also made remarkable contributions to

¹ Dönmez 2014, 49.

² Tekin 2005, 1.

³ Kızıltan 2010, 8.

⁴ Polyb. 4.38.1-3.

the field of archaeology. The amphora stamps, the subject of the present study, were recovered from the Sirkeci Station excavations that began in 2005. The research was carried out in four different areas (fig. 69): the North Entrance (inside Sirkeci Train Station), the South Entrance (Cağaloğlu Ankara Street), the Eastern Shaft (south of the North Entrance and a ringshaped ventilation area east of Bostancibasi), and the Western Shaft (Hocapasa).

Based on the accounts in ancient sources, it is believed that the eastern and western shaft excavation sites are located around the ancient harbor, but the harbor has gradually filled in during the last 2500 years. It is assumed that the harbor in question was situated probably 250 m behind the present coastline of Sirkeci and 150-200 m behind the Eminönü coastline.⁵

Taken together, the remains of harbor structures and related finds such as ship parts and ropes unearthed by the excavations in the North Entrance area along with the interpretation of ancient sources lead us to confirm that our excavations took place in and around the Prosphorianos Harbor located south of the Sepetçiler Kasrı. Furthermore, the dock remains uncovered during the excavations in the Eastern Shaft area support the idea that both areas remained within the limits of the ancient harbor. 6 The number of commercial amphora shards found throughout the work carried out in this area present a striking density. These amphora fragments, originating from Thasos, Rhodes, Knidos, Sinope, Kos, Chios and Herakleia Pontika, have been classified typologically. They demonstrate a chronology spanning between the fifth and the first centuries BC. The excavations have shown that along with the eastern and western shafts, the North Entrance area (inside Sirkeci Station) also was within the limits of ancient harbor described by ancient sources (fig. 70). The existence of commercial amphora stamps dating to the Hellenistic period from many cities in the area suggests that the localization of the ancient harbor is more than an assumption.

Beside the abundance on the shores of the Golden Horn of tunny fish, which had almost become the symbol of the city, other species such as mackerel and swordfish were caught and salted fish was produced. Therefore, it is plausible to assert that fish consumption dates back to these earlier times as the main food source in the daily life of the city. Herodotus mentions that the inscriptions on the wall of the Heraion in Samos (sixth century BC) referred to the Bosphorus as having abundant fish. Additionally, Strabo describes how abundant tunny fish were in the Haliç, so much so that they could be caught by hand. Tunny fish and dolphin depictions on the coins of the Roman period also confirm the importance of these two animals. Notable sources of income for the city included leasing public lands, tariff duties, taxes of transiting ships, and taxes paid to the harbors. Polybius informs us about the importance of the city in the commercial activities between the Black Sea and the Aegean, and which products were bought and sold as the part of this trade. He mentions that besides being essential suppliers of cattle and slave trade, the trade centers of the Black Sea also supplied luxury products such as salty fish, honey and bee wax. He notes that in return olive oil and wine were bought from the Aegean, and wheat was bought and sold in both areas. 9 He emphasizes that Byzantion was the center that benefited most economically from this commercial exchange.

Karamut 2007, 10.

⁶ Kızıltan 2014, 72.

⁷ Hdt. 4.88; Strabo 7.6.2.

Arslan 2010, 375-77.

Polyb. 4.38.5-7.

Holding a key point between the Black Sea and the Aegean and the Mediterranean, Byzantion held an advantage regarding maritime trade that gained momentum, especially in the Hellenistic period. According to Polybius, it was not possible to enter or exit the Black Sea without the city's consent. 10 It is known that earlier, around 409-408 BC, there was a custom's station near Chrysopolis (modern Üsküdar), close to where the current Maiden's Tower is located. Any ship intending to enter or exit the Bosphorus had to pay out a 10% tax as "passing rights."11 Providing information about the city's harbors, Dionysios Byzantios mentions that Byzantion had three harbors in antiquity, whereas Dio Cassius states that it had two harbors. 12 However, no structural remains of great importance belonging to these harbors have survived to the present day. The first of the two main harbors within the historical scope of this study, which held great economic importance for Byzantion, is Prosphorianus. It is located in the East (Sirkeci Pier). The second harbor is Neorion (Bahçekapı) to the west of the first. It is believed that the Prosphorianus Harbor, dating from the fifth century BC, was located east of the area currently occupied by the Sirkeci railway station. The studies carried out along the coastline in the area covering the line between Sarayburnu and Sirkeci, where the city was first founded, demonstrate that a section approximately 250 m wide was intentionally filled in from the Byzantine period on. It is believed that the earlier harbors were located in and around the Sirkeci Station where the fill layer is most intense. 13 The stamps as archaeological evidence, recovered from the excavations carried out in the area referred as Prosphorianus Harbor (North Entrance and Eastern Shaft), confirm the ancient sources. 14

Sinope was founded by Milesian colonists on a peninsula of the southern shore of Pontos in the seventh century BC. It was the most important city in the Black Sea in antiquity as stated by Strabo. ¹⁵ In the fourth and third centuries BC, the city became an important center that produced and exported olive oil and wine to other cities. As one of the most important ancient wine producers on the south shore of the Black Sea, Sinope stamped the amphorae it produced from the middle of the fourth century BC to the first quarter of the second century BC. ¹⁶ The Sinopean amphorae, mostly studied in detail by Russian archaeologists, were classified chronologically under three main types, each containing four or six subgroups. As a result of these studies, 164 magistrates and 256 producers - active between 375-203 BC for a total period of 172 years - were identified on the stamps. ¹⁷ The Sinopean stamps presented in the catalogue have been dated according to the chronologies developed by N. Conovici¹⁸ and Y. Garlan. ¹⁹

Chersonesus was founded in the fifth century BC on the northern shore of the Black Sea and on the southwest side of the Crimea peninsula by colonists from Heraclea Pontica, which is located on the southern coast of the Black Sea. The city had lands suitable for grape cultivation and animal husbandry, although located on rocky terrain. The stamped amphorae from Chersonesus, assumed to have contained wine, were produced between the years 330-150 BC,

¹⁰ Polyb. 4.38.1-3.

 $^{^{11}\,\,}$ Müller-Wiener 1998, 3; Dion. Byz. 20; see also Xen. 1.1.22.

¹² Dion. Byz. 41; Cass. Dio 75.10.2.

¹³ Müller-Wiener 1998, 2, 4; Müller-Wiener 2002, 57-58; Arslan 2010, 428-29.

¹⁴ Çağnis 2019, 151.

¹⁵ Akurgal 1956, 48; Strabo 12.3.11.

¹⁶ Cankardeş-Şenol 2006, 44.

¹⁷ Fedoseev 1999, 31-39, tables 1-2.

¹⁸ Conovici 1998, 21-51.

¹⁹ Garlan 2004, 76-85.

for a period longer than 180 years. After the identification of 130 magistrate names, the studies have shown that a 50-year chronological gap still exists.²⁰

Among the stamps examined within the scope of the study, no examples of stamps belonging to other amphora producers in the Black Sea region such as Amastris, Heraclea Pontica, the Myrsileias group or Dioscurias were encountered. This may be explained by the short period of production activities in some of these centers. Also, amphorae were not exported much but rather produced for local consumption. Finally, the distance between some centers and Byzantion and sometimes preferences in trading were factors for their absence.

Conclusion

The stamps presented in this study were found as a result of the rescue excavations in the scope of Marmaray Project carried out between 2004 and 2012 date back to the Hellenistic period. These finds provide new information on the commercial activities of Byzantion and its connections with other cities through the study of amphora stamps. A total of 73 stamps from Sinope and Chersonesus documenting the trade relationship between these cities at the certain level have been examined. 51 examples from Sinope (cat. nos. 1-51) were identified, and 42 of them were restored and dated. Many symbols depicted on the stamps such as the cornucopia, acrostyle, vine leaf, male head, sword, eagle on a dolphin, kantharos, bunch of grapes, lion, horse, bull, scepter, oenochoe, amphora, trident, satyr or the club seem to belong to the city magistrate, the producer or the city. The dating of the stamps allows us to assume a commercial relationship between Sinope and Byzantion between 355 and 190 BC. From the date Sinope started to produce stamped amphorae until the beginning of the second century BC - the Hellenistic period - Byzantion shows a commercial connection with Sinope, which played a very active role in Black Sea trade in this period. The stamps of Group II (dated between 333-296 BC) and the stamps of Group III (dated between 295-280 BC) form the densest groups numerically among the Sinopean stamps that chronologically fall into five groups. The stamps of these groups in question (Groups II and III) are dated to the time period when the military campaigns of Alexander the Great and his successors took place. It was the time when the products of the cities producing wine and amphorae were in great demand in the centers of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The productions centers such as Rhodes and Knidos began to be especially seen in the Eastern Mediterranean markets. Throughout this period, Byzantion seems to have preferred products from Sinope, one of the most important production center in the Black Sea due to its geographical proximity. Among the stamps examined in the study, 17 stamps are from Chersonesus, and 13 of these were restored and dated (figs. 52-64). The scarcity of Chersonesus stamps unearthed during the Sirkeci Station excavations may be explained by the distance between this production center and Byzantion. The commercial relationship between Byzantion and Chersonesus between 325-273 BC is thus proven through the dates inferred from the typology of the stamps.

Considering the chronological distribution of the stamps of these cities, a particular density in the stamps dated between 333-280 BC in Sinope and 325-285 BC in Chersonesus can be observed. This implies intensive commercial relations between both cities and Byzantion within these time spans. However, the data obtained covers findings from a very small area

²⁰ Stolba 2005, 166-67.

in Byzantion. Although the findings shed some light on the history of Byzantion's trade, they do not allow us draw conclusions on all the commercial relations of the city. It is, however, possible to conclude that Sinope and Chersonesus shipped wine to Byzantion and also that Sinopean and Chersonesean products were consumed in the city between the end of the fourth century BC and the beginning of the second century BC through the study of Sinopean and Chersonesean stamps. The results provided by the stamped amphora handles of these two centers are very important since they reveal the first evidence of imported products held by amphorae shipped to Byzantion in the Hellenistic period.

Sinopean amphora stamps in the catalogue are dated according to the classification developed by Conovici, ²¹ whereas the Chersonesian stamps are dated based on the classification by Katz. ²² Dating the stamps is essential to determine the time period testifying to extensive trade between the cities. The Chersonesian stamps consist of new die examples (cat. nos. 52-57 and 59-64). Five Sinopean stamps mentioned here, already published in a previous study, are not included in the catalogue. ²³

Catalogue

Sinopean Stamps

1.24 Exc. Etd. No. BMK' 25 12 / 4223. Context: BMK E/3 bottom of the shaft. Rectangular, 5.1 x 1.8 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 6 brownish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 7 / 6 yellow. Date: 333-296 BC.

Άπολλοδώρου

ἀστυνόμου vine leaf

Τεύθρα

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Apollodoros II with the producer Theuthras II Thymocharios (son of Thymocharios). 27



FIG. 1

2. Context: SMK 28 B / 6. Rectangular, 4.9 x 1.9 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 6 brownish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 7 / 6 yellow. Date: 279-258 BC.

Αστυνόμου

Άριστίωνος satyr

[Θ]υαἴας

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Aristion Aristippos with the producer Thyaias.²⁹



FIG. 2

²¹ Conovici 1998, 21-51.

²² Katz 1994, 159-60.

²³ Çağnis 2019, 160-61.

 $^{^{24}\,}$ All the photographs of the stamps are in their actual size (1 / 1).

²⁵ Bostancıbaşı Marmaray Excavation Site (East).

²⁶ Munsell Soil Color Charts, 1994.

²⁷ Garlan 2004, 51, 125.

²⁸ Sirkeci Station Marmaray Excavation Site (North Entrance).

²⁹ Garlan 2004, 170-71, cat. nos. 269-75; Canarache 1957, 113-14, cat. nos. 233-36.

3. Context: BMK / BH³⁰ G-H / 4-5. Rectangular, ? x 2.0 cm, Clay: 5 YR 5 / 8 yellowish red. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 2 pinkish white. Date: 279-258 BC.

[Άττά]λου ἀστυ-

νομ[οὔντος].

[Φίλ]ων male head



FIG. 3

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Attalos and the producer Philon II.

4. Context: BMK / BH G-H / 2-3 bottom of Wall 116. Rectangular, 4.9 x 1.6 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 6 brownish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 3 very pale brown. Date: 279-258 BC.

[Άττ]άλου άστυ -

νομούντος

[---]oc? male head

The stamp bears the name of Attalos; the last two letters of the producer's name have been preserved.



FIG. 4

5. Context: BMK / BH E / 3. Rectangular, ? x 2.1 cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 7 / 4 pink. Date: 295-280 BC.

Βόρυς

ἀστυνόμου.

[Έ]κατα[ί]o[v] male head

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Borys I with the producer Hekataios.³¹



FIG. 5

6. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'11 / 4348. Context: BMK / BH H-G / 4. Rectangular, 6.1 x 2.7 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 yellowish red. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 295-280 BC.

Βόρυος [ά]στυ-

νομούντος male head

[Σι]νωπίωνος

sword



FIG. 6

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Borys I with the producer Sinopion.³²

7. Context: SMK / C-4. Rectangular, 5.1 x 2.4 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Date: 295-280 BC.

Ά[στυνομούν-]

τος Βόρυος male head

Φίλωνος

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Borys I with the producer Philon.³³



FIG. 7

 $^{^{30}\;}$ Bostancıbaşı Marmaray Excavation Site/Big Ring (Eastern Shaft).

³¹ Garlan 2004, 148; Conovici 1998, 65, cat. no. 59; Pridik 1917, 87, cat. no. 515.

³² Garlan 2004, 148, 150, cat. no. 184.

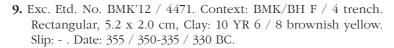
³³ Garlan 2004, 148, 150, cat. no. 187; Pridik 1917, 65, cat. nos. 67-69.

8. Context: SMK / D-4. Rectangular, 4.5 x 2.2 cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 5 / 8 red. Slip: 2.5 YR 5 / 8 red. Date: 295-280 BC.

[Άσ]τυνόμου symbol?

Νουμηνίου

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Dios (Herakleidos) with the producer Noumenios.³⁴



Έπὶ Ἐνδή(

Νιμάκτο(eagle on a dolphin



10. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4575. Context: BMK G / 1. Rectangular, 6.0 x 2.0 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 3 very pale brown. Date: 333-296 BC.

[Έπιέ]λπου

ἀστυνό-kantharos

[μου] [----τ]ος

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Epielpes I; a few letters of the producer's name have been preserved.³⁶

11. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4338. Context: BMK/BH G / 5. Rectangular, 5.9 x 2.7 cm, Clay: 5YR 8 / 4 pink. Slip: 7.5 8 / 3 pink. Date: 279-258 BC.

Άστυνόμ[ου]

Έστιαίου Ἡρ[α]-symbol?

Κλείδου

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Hestiaios I with the producer Herakleides.

12. Context: BMK / BH H-I / 3. Rectangular, ? x 1.7 cm, Clay: 5YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 10YR 8 / 2 very pale brown. Date: 279-258 BC.

[Έστι]αίου

[Άστ]υνόμου

[Ίστι]αίου kantharos



FIG. 11

FIG. 12

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Hestiaios I with the producer Histiaios.³⁷



FIG. 8







FIG. 10

Garlan 2004, 136-38, cat. nos. 127-31; for other examples referring to this astynomos, see Conovici 1998, 61, cat.

³⁵ Garlan 2004, 102; for other examples referring to this astynomos, see Garlan 2004, 102-3, cat. nos. 4-9.

³⁶ Garlan 2004, 118; for other examples referring to this astynomos, see Pridik 1917, 88-89, cat. nos. 550-59.

³⁷ Garlan 2004, 158; see also Monachov et al. 2016, 177, cat. no. 15.

13. Context: SMK / D-5. Rectangular, 5.9 x 2.5 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 1 white. Date: 333-296 BC.

bunch of grapes Ἡρακλείδο[ν]

kantharos Ἀστυνό[μου] lion

Έφαίστ[ι[ου



FIG. 13

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Herakleides I with the producer Hephaistios.³⁸

14. Context: SMK / D-4. Rectangular, 5.3 x 2.4 cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red. Slip: 7.5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Date: 333-296 BC.

Ἡρακλείδου cornucopia

Αστυνόμου

Γλαυκία lion

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Herakleides I with the producer Glaukias.³⁹



FIG. 14

15. Context: SMK C / 4. Rectangular, 5.9 x 2.4 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 333-296 BC.

Θεαρίωνος

Άστυνόμο(υ) vine leaf

Σαγαρις

N[o]υμηνίου bunch of grapes?



FIG. 15

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Thearionos Philonos with the producer Sagaris Noumenios.40

16. Context: BMK / BH E / 3 inside Canal 22. Rectangular, 5.4 x 2.1 cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 4 very pale brown. Date: 295-280 BC.

Μικρίου ἀστυν[ο-]

μούντος horse to left

Τεύθρ[α]



FIG. 16

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Mikrias I with the producer Theuthras. 41

17. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4347. Context: BMK / BH G / 3-4. Rectangular, 5.7 x 2.2 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 1 white. Date: 295-280 BC.

Άστυν[όμου]

Μνησίκλε[ους] bunch of grapes

Έκαταίου

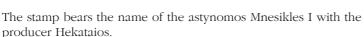




FIG. 17

³⁸ Garlan 2004, 130; see also Pridik 1917, 89, cat. no. 569.

³⁹ Garlan 2004, 130; see also Pridik 1917, 89, cat. nos. 567-68.

⁴⁰ Garlan 2004, 131; Conovici 1998, 59, cat. no. 33; see also Pridik 1917, 79, cat. no. 362.

Garlan 2004, 147-48, cat. no. 175; Conovici 1998, 37, 66, cat. nos. 65-66; Pridik 1917, 93, cat. nos. 659-60; Canarache 1957, 379, cat. no. 383; Monachov 1993, 131, cat. no. 44; Monachov et al. 2017, 49, table 5, cat. no. 40.

18. Context: BMK / BH F-G / 3. Rectangular: 5.1 x 2.3 cm, Clay: 5 YR 8 / 4 pink. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 4 pink. Date: 295-280 BC.

[Μ]νησικλέους

[Άστ]υνό bunch of grapes μου

 $[\ldots]\omega[\ldots]$



1 ,

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Mnesikles I; one letter of the producer's name has been preserved. 42

19. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'11 / 4349. Context: BMK / BH H / 4. Rectangular, 6.7 x 2.7 cm, Clay: YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 7 / 4 pink. Date: 295-280 BC.

Αστυνόμου

Μνησικλέους

[.....]
µov bunch of grapes

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Mnesikles I; the last letters of the producer's name have been preserved. 43



FIG. 19

20. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4607. Context: BMK E / 5; Rectangular, 5.5 x 1.8 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 3 very pale brown. Date: 333-296 BC.

Μνήσιος

ἀ[σ]τυνόμο(satyr

[Άρχεπ]τολε(



FIG. 20

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Mnesis I with the producer Archeptolemos. 44

21. Context: BMK / BH I / 3-4. Rectangular, ? x 2.0 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 295-280 BC.

symbol? [Π]ασιχάρους άστυ-

[ν]όμου. Άττεις



FIG. 21

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Pasichares with the producer Attis. 45

22. Context: SMK D / 6. Rectangular, 4.7 x 2.2 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: - . Date: 333-296 BC.

[Παταί]κου

ἀσ[τυ]νό-

[μου] bull

 $[\ldots] \acute{\omega} \tau [\ldots \upsilon]$



FIG. 22

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Pataikos; a few letters of the producer's name have been preserved. 46

⁴² Garlan 2004, 152, 154, cat. no. 204; see also Pridik 1917, 74, cat. no. 259.

⁴³ Garlan 2004, 152-54 cat. nos. 194-204; see also Conovici 1998, 68-70, cat. nos. 72-81.

⁴⁴ Garlan 2004, 113; see also Conovici 1998, 57, cat. nos. 23-26.

⁴⁵ Garlan 2004, 87, 143-45, cat. nos. 156-64.

⁴⁶ Garlan 2004, 132, cat. nos. 111-12.

23. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'11 / 4344. Context: BMK / BH H / 5. Rectangular, 4.9 x 2.0 cm, Clay: 5 YR 8 / 4 pink. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 257-190 BC.

Άστυνόμου male head with turban

Πολύκροτος

τού Δημητρίου

[Ά]γά[θ]ων



FIG. 23

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Polyktor II Demetrios with the producer Agathon. 47

24. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4570. Context: BMK / BH bottom of the shaft. E / 5. Rectangular, 5.0 x 2.5 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 333-296 BC.

Πολυγάρμου

[ά]στυνό- kantharos, leaf

μου [----πο]



FIG. 24

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Polycharmos; a few letters of the producer's name have been preserved.⁴⁸

25. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4339. Context: BMK / BH G / 3. Rectangular, 5.4 x 2.2 cm, Clay: 10 YR 8 / 4 very pale brown. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 3 very pale brown. Date: 333-296 BC.

Ποσιδείου

τού Ήφαιστοδώρου

άστυνομο(ὔντος) scepter



FIG. 25

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Posideios I Hephaistodoros. There is no producer's name.49

26. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4342. Context: BMK / BH E / 2. Rectangular, 5.1 x 2.2 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: - . Date: 333-296 BC.

[Ποσι]δείου

[τοὔ] Ἡφαιστο(δώρου)? scepter

[άστ]υνόμου



FIG. 26

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Posideios I Hephaistodorou. There is no producer's name.50

⁴⁷ Pridik 1917, 77, cat. nos. 315-16; Canarache 1957, 139, cat. no. 322.

⁴⁸ Garlan 2004, 135.

⁴⁹ Pridik 1917, 77, cat. no. 325, 84, cat. no. 451, 139, cat. no. 17; Garlan 2004, 126, cat. nos. 94-96.

⁵⁰ Pridik 1917, 77, cat. no. 325, 84, cat. no. 451; Garlan 2004, 126, cat. nos. 94-96.

27. Context: BMK / BH E-F / 1-2. Rectangular, 4.7 x 2.0 cm, Clay: 10 YR 7 / 6 yellow. Slip: 2.5 Y 8 / 3 pale yellow. Date: 333-296 BC.

[Ποσι]δε[ίου]

[τ]οῦ Ἡφαιστοδώ- scepter

[ρ]ου ἀστυνό[μου]



FIG. 27

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Posideios I Hephaistodorou. There is no producer's name. 51

28. Exc. Etd. No: BMK'12 / 4465. Context: BMK F / 5-6. Rectangular, 5.9 x 2.0 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: 2.5 Y 8 / 3 pale yellow. Date: 333-296 BC.



FIG. 28

Ήφαιστίου τοῦ bunch of grapes

Ποσειδωνίου kantharos

Κεραμέως

The stamp belongs to the astynomos Posideios I Hephaistodoros. The stamp bears the producer's name Hephaistios with the patronym Poseidonios (son of Poseidonios) and the eponym Kεραμέως. 52

29. Context: SMK / D-4. Rectangular, 5.7 x 3.1 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 7 / 4 very pale Brown. Date: 333-296 BC.



FIG. 29

Ή[φαίστ]ίου bunch of grapes τοὔ Νου-kantharos

μηνίο[υ]

The stamp bears the producer's name Hephaistios I with the patronym Noumenios (son of Noumenios).⁵³

30. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4343. Context: BMK / BH F / 1. Rectangular, 4.6 x 1.9 cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 5 / 8 strong Brown. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 4 pink. Date: 333-296 BC.



FIG. 30

Ήφαιστί[ου τοὔ]

Ποσε[ιδωνίου]

The stamp belongs to the astynomos Posideios I Hephaistodoros. The stamp bears the name of the producer Hephaistios with the patronym Poseidonios (son of Poseidonious).⁵⁴

31. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4622. Context: BMK E / 5. Rectangular, 6.4 x 2.0 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: 2.5 Y 8 / 3 pale yellow. Date: 333-296 BC.



FIG. 31

Κεραμέως

Ήφαιστίου τοῦ kantharos

Θευδώρου

 $^{^{51}\,}$ Garlan 2004, 126-27, cat. nos. 94-96; see also Pridik 1917, 77, cat. no. 325, 84, cat. no. 451.

⁵² Garlan 2004, 126-29, cat. nos. 92-101.

⁵³ Garlan 2004, 127, cat. no. 97.

⁵⁴ Garlan 2004, 127, cat. no. 97.

The stamp belongs to the astynomos Posideios I Hephaistodoros. The stamp bears the name of the producer Hephaistios I with the patronym Theudoros (son of Theudoros) and the eponym Κεραμέως.55

32. Context: BMK / BH F / 3. Rectangular, 6.0 x 2.8 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 3 very pale brown. Date: 295-280 BC.

Ά[σ]τυνόμου

Πυθοκλέους

Μενίσκου male head with beard



FIG. 32

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Pythokles, and the name of the producer Meniskos.56

33. Context: BMK / BH H / 4-5. Rectangular, ? x 2.7 cm, Clay: YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 4 very pale brown. Date: 295-280 BC.

[Φίλ.....]

Άστυ[νόμου] symbol?

Πρυτά[νιος]



FIG. 33

Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp, so restoration is not possible.

34. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4350. Context: BMK / BH F / 1-2. Rectangular, 5.1 x 2.0 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 7 / 4 pink. Date: 295-280 BC.

Φόρβαντος

kantharos Άστυν[όμου]

Τεύθρα



FIG. 34

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Phorbas II with the fabricant Teuthras.

35. Context: BMK / BH F-G / 1. Rectangular, 5.5 x 2.2 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 2 pinkish white. Date:



[.....][ἀστυ-] symbol ?

νόμου bunch of grapes

Ποσιδωνίο(



FIG. 35

Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp, so restoration is not possible.

36. Context: BMK / BH G / 2 North of Wall 116. Rectangular, ? x 2.1 cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 6 / 4 light brown. Slip: 10 YR 7 / 4 very pale brown. Date: -

[.....]

Δημητ[ρίου]?

[.....]



FIG. 36

⁵⁵ Garlan 2004, 50, 126.

⁵⁶ Garlan 2004, 151; see also Pridik 1917, 79, cat. nos. 351-52.

37. Context: SMK / D-6. Rectangular, 5.5 x 2.0 cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red. Slip: 7.5 YR 7 / 4 pink. Date: -	
[]νος	
[Άστυ]νόμου retr.	THE PARTY OF
[]	
Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.	FIG. 37
38. Context: SMK / D-6. Rectangular, ? x 2.6 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddisyellow. Slip: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Date: -	sh
[]	
[]	
[] oenochoe, amphora	
The stamp has mostly been broken, so restoration is not possible.	FIG. 38
39. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4340. Context: BMK / BH G / 5 Rectangula ? x ? cm, Clay: 10 YR 8 / 4 very pale brown. Slip: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow Date: 295-280 BC. [
The stamp has mostly been broken, so restoration is not possible. ⁵⁷	
 40. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4341: Context: BMK / BH F / 5. Rectangular, 4.0 x 1.9 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: Date: [δ]ατ[α] [ά]στυνόμου 	
[]	FIG. 40
Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.	
41. Context: BMK / BH F-G / 1-2. Rectangular, ? x 2.0 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 3 very pale brown. Date: - [
[αστονο]μου καπιπατος	The second secon

The stamp has mostly been broken, so restoration is not possible. Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.

FIG. 41

⁵⁷ See fig. 16.

42	. Context:	$\mathrm{BMK} \; / \;$	BH F / 1-2.	Rectangular,	? x 2.2 cı	m, Clay: 5	YR 7 / 6 red-
	dish yello	w. Slip:	5 YR 8/3 p	ink. Date: -			

[.....]ς [.....] [.....] trident

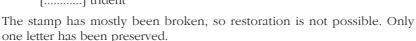




FIG. 42

43. Context: BMK / BH G-H / 1 inside Site 11. Rectangular, 2.0 x? cm, Clay: YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: -

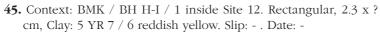
> [.....]our retr. kantharos [.....]ειδο(

The stamp has mostly been broken, so restoration is not possible. Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.



 $[\ldots]\omega[\ldots]$ [.....]δ[......ο]υ [.....] rose?

The stamp has mostly been broken, so restoration is not possible. Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.



[.....] [.....]το[-]? [.....]

46. Context: BMK / BH G / 3 South of Wall 103. Rectangular, ? x 2.4 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 2 pinkish white. Date:

> [......]υ ἀστ- bunch of grapes [......] $\phi\alpha$ ı- kantharos [.....]ἀστ(

The stamp has mostly been broken, so restoration is not possible.

47. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4672. Context: BMK E / 4. Rectangular, 4.9 x 2.1 cm, Clay: 10 YR 6 / 8 brownish yellow. Slip: - . Date: 355 / 350-335 / 330 BC

> Άσ[.....]-[.....] retr. [.....]το[..] [.....] $vo[\tau]$ eagle on a dolphin



FIG. 43



FIG. 44



FIG. 45



FIG. 46



FIG. 47

Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp. The right side of the stamp has the eagle on a dolphin symbol, common on Sinopean stamps and coins issued under the rule of the Persian Achaemenid $Empire.^{58}$

48. Context: BMK/BH E / 3 inside Canal 22. Rectangular, 2.1 x ? cm, Clay: 5 YR 8 / 4 pink. Slip: - Date: 257-190 BC.

Άστυνόμου

 $E\pi\iota[\tau\gamma?]\alpha[....]$

Ναυ[σικράτης]?



FIG. 48

The stamp has mostly been broken, so restoration is not possible.

49. Context: SMK / D-6. Rectangular, 4.5 x 2.2 cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 6 light red. Slip: 10 YR 8 / 2 white. Date: -

[....]ρίωνος

Άστυνο[μοὔ]ντο- retr.

ς Καλ[λ]ισ [τ...]

 $[...\sigma...]vo$

club



FIG. 49

Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.⁵⁹

50. Context: BMK / BH H-I / 3-4. Rectangular, 1.5 x ? cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 5 / 8 strong brown. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 2 pinkish white. Date: -

Ά[.....]

Κα[.....]

Kα[.....]



FIG. 50

Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.

51. Context: BMK / BH G-H / 3. Rectangular, ? x 1.8 cm, Clay: YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 2.5 Y 8 / 3 pale yellow. Date: -

[.....] male head

[Άσ]τυνόμ-

[.....]τά[.....]

Only few letters have been preserved on the stamp.



FIG. 51

⁵⁸ Conovici 1998, 51; see also Fedoseev 2015, 363, cat. nos. 2-3.

⁵⁹ Fedoseev 2008, 283, cat. no. 2.

Chersonesean Stamps

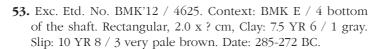
52. Context: SMK D / 6, Rectangular, 4.8 x 1.3 cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 7 / 6 light red. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 4 pink. Date: 285-272 BC.

Άγάθων

Γνάθωνος

ἀστυνό[μων]

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Agathon Gnathon. 60



 $A[\pi]o\lambda\lambda[\alpha\varsigma]$

Χορείου

Ασ[τυ]νόμ[ου]

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Apollas Khoreios. 61

54. Context: BMK / BH G / 2. Rectangular, 1.2 x ? cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red. Slip: 5 YR 8 / 2 pinkish white. Date: 300-285 BC.

Δαμοτέλείο[ς]

ἀστυνόμο[υ]

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Damoteleios. 62

55. Context: BMK / BH F / 2. Rectangular, ? x 1.4 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 300-285 BC.

[Δ]αμοτέλείος

[ά]στυνόμου

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Damoteleios.

56. Context: BMK / BH F / 4. Rectangular, 1.0 x ? cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 6 / 1 gray. Date: 300-285 BC.

[Δα]μοτέλε[ίος]

[ἀστυνόμου]

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Damoteleios.



FIG. 52



FIG. 53



FIG. 54



FIG. 55



FIG. 56

Katz 1994, 83, no. 1, table 1, cat. nos. 1.1, 1-4; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 2.1; see also Pridik 1917, 103, cat. no. 842; Fateev 2014, 235, table 5; Monachov et al. 2017, 48, table 5, cat. no. 20.

⁶¹ Katz 1994, 86, cat. no. 11, table 6, cat. nos. 1.11, 4-6; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 2.3; Katz et al. 2002, 119, cat. no. Ae2; Fateev 2014, 237, cat. no. 11; Monachov et al. 2017, 60, table 7, cat. no. 46.

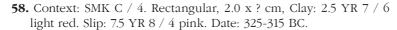
⁶² Katz 1994, 92, cat. no. 35, table 14, nos. 1.35, 1-4; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 1.33; Vnukov and Jefremov 2017, 95, cat. no. 193; Monachov et al. 2017, 48, table 5, cat. no. 11.

57. Context: BMK / BH F / 3. Rectangular, 1.4 x ? cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 6 / 1 gray. Date: 300-285 BC.

[Δαμ]οτέλείος

[ἀστ]υνόμο[υ]

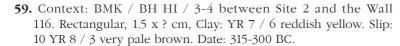
The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Damoteleios.



Εὐκλε[ίδα]

ἀστυν[όμου]

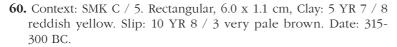
The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Eukleidas. 63



Ήρακλ[είου]

ἀστυ[νόμου]

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Herakleios. 64



[Ήρα]κλείου

[ἀ]στυ[νόμου]

61. Context: SMK D / 4. Rectangular, 1.4 x ? cm, Clay: YR 7 / 8 reddish yellow. Slip: 5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 300-285 BC.

[Ήρ]έα ἀστυνο-

[μ]οῦντος

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Hereas. 65

62. Context: SMK C / 5. Rectangular, ? x 2.0 cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: -. Date: 285-272 BC.

[Ήρο]κράτε-

[ος] ἀστυν-

[όμου Νευμηνί]ου monogram?



FIG. 57



FIG. 58



FIG. 59



FIG. 60



FIG. 61



FIG. 62

Katz 1994, 94, no. 44, table 17, cat. nos. 1.44, 1-3; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 1.3; Katz et al. 2002, 121, cat. no. Ae53; Stolba 2005, 168, table 2; Hannestad 2005, 185, fig. 5; Fateev 2014, 238, cat. no. 44; Monachov 2016; Monachov et al. 2017, 56, tables 6.1, 59, 7.32.

⁶⁴ Katz 1994, 94, nos. 47-48, tables 18-19, cat. nos. 1.47-48, 1-4, 8-10; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 1.13; Lungu 1994, 147, cat. no. 64; Katz et al. 2002, 121, cat. no. Ae55; Hannestad 2005, 185, fig. 5; Finkielsztejn 2011, 59, table 1, cat. no. 3.5; Fateev 2014, 238, nos. 47-48; Monachov 2016, 325, fig. 6, cat. no. 39; Monachov et al. 2017, 48, table 5.8, 56, table 6.3.

⁶⁵ Katz 1994, 95, no. 51, table 22, cat. no. 1.51, 3; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 1.35; see also Fateev 2014, 235, table 5.10-18; Monachov et al. 2017, 48, table 5.12-13.

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Herokrateos and the producer Noumenios (son of Noumenios).66

63. Exc. Etd. No. BMK'12 / 4351. Context: BMK / BH F / 1. Rectangular, 1.9 x? cm, Clay: 5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 6 reddish yellow. Date: 315-300 BC.



FIG. 63

Συρί[σκου]

ἀστυν[όμου]

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Syriskos.⁶⁷

64. Context: SMK C / 5. Rectangular, 1.1 x ? cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 6 / 8 light red. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 3 pink. Date: 315-300 BC.

[Σω]κρί[του]

[ἀσ]τυν[όμου]

The stamp bears the name of the astynomos Sokritos.⁶⁸



FIG. 64

65. Context: SMK D / 7 trench. Rectangular, ? x 0.8 cm, Clay: 2.5 YR 8 / 4 pink. Slip: 7.5 YR 8 / 2 pinkish white. Date: -

[.....]

[ἀστυν]όμου



FIG. 65

66. Context: BMK / BH F / 3. Rectangular, 1.1 x? cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: 7.5 YR 6 / 1 gray. Date: -

ἀστυν[όμου]



FIG. 66

67. Context: BMK / BH F / 3. Rectangular, ? x 1.1 cm, Clay: 7.5 YR 7 / 6 reddish yellow. Slip: - Date: -

[ἀστυν]όμου

[.....]ου



FIG. 67

68. Context: BMK / BH F / 3. Rectangular, ? x 1.1 cm. Clay: 10 R 4 / 8 red. Slip: - Date: -

[.....]

[ά]στυν[όμου]



FIG. 68

Katz 1994, 97-98, no. 56, table 24, cat. no. 1.56, 2; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 2.7; Fateev 2014, 239, no. 56; Monachov 2016, 322-23, fig. 4, cat. no. 19; Monachov et al. 2017, 49, table 5, cat. nos. 22-23.

⁶⁷ Katz 1994, 112, no. 109, table 94, cat. nos. 1.109, 5-8; Katz 2007, 442, table 10, cat. no. 1.18; see also Canarache 1957, 213, cat. no. 495; Lawall et al. 2010, 369, no. L-46, 380, no. L-93, 386, no. L-139.

Katz 1994, 112, no. 110, table 95, no. 1.110, 4; Katz 2004, 442, table 10, no. 1.27; Katz et al. 2002, 121-22, nos. Ae69-70; Hannestad 2005, 185, fig. 5; Fateev 2014, 240, no. 110.

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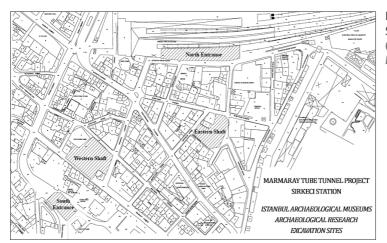


FIG. 69 Site plan of Sirkeci Excavations (Istanbul Archaeological Museum Excavation Archive)

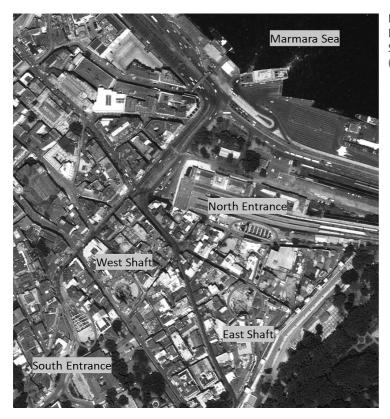


FIG. 70 Excavation area in Sirkeci Station overview (Gür-Düzgün and Emre 2018, 31).

