



at the risk of his health, to extend our knowledge of his text, with what success his own findings demonstrate (ref. to his forthcoming edition and commentaries). Finally, to those friendly and forbearing inhabitants of Jeddah and Jazan, who accepted our strange habits and gave us Jewish and Arab gifts - to all of them, I dedicate this book.

Introduction. I began to write this book while working at Benghazi in July 1981, during the fifth season of the survey which began in 1974. I felt that an attempt should be made, however provisional, to sum up the results of that work, and that I was probably the best person to do it. Here ~~is~~ a city, ~~whose~~ whose ruins and monuments invite interpretation, whose former

public buildings, cuneiforms, and above all, their inscriptions, gave us ample material to interpret their conditions of life. My training as an Ancient Historian ~~had~~ <sup>led me to</sup> ask constant questions about this evidence - <sup>about</sup> the social structure of this small state in Roman Imperial times, at the height of its <sup>visible</sup> prosperity, ~~and~~ explained for us by the genealogy of Zenobia Flavia; about its Hellenistic origins; about its <sup>name</sup>; about its later decline. But as I sat <sup>looking</sup> from various vantage-points over the surrounding <sup>Sebi</sup> valley towards Kel Day on the west, or to the ~~we~~ massive bulk of the Ak Day on the East, my feelings were so emphatically true I wanted to describe what was before me, to set down the things we had discovered, the ideas we had discussed, even the feelings ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> Beroude had aroused in us.

Part of the book, then, is the subjective response of a conscript who undertook a task on a hitherto undated and came to admire

of the qualities of this exceptionally beautiful place.  
The other part is the scientific part.

Ch. 2. ~~The site~~. Benavde and its territory.

Although the main public buildings of the Benavdes  
are set squarely on the saddle ridge of E two  
hill now known as <sup>Góink</sup> Eren Jefeoi, and it will be  
with these that we shall be principally concerned,  
you what follows

But there can be little doubt that the city's territory  
stretched over extensive tracts of the surrounding  
mountains, and an effort will be made ~~later~~  
to define its boundaries with neighbouring cities.

The central ~~state~~ area is not in doubt. It was  
the narrow but ~~lengthy~~ fertile valley <sup>now known as the</sup> of the Seki

oasis through which runs a stretch of the west  
~~which~~ known here as the Seki eye, lower down as the Eren eye,  
which descends through a gorge at its ~~head~~ <sup>from</sup>  
to ~~the~~ <sup>from</sup> the ~~ancient~~ <sup>lower</sup> valley of the lower Amthos  
which was once main

the ~~central~~ region of ancient Lycia. Modern  
villages — such as Gorka and Leyla — show

where abundant sources of water could be found  
~~but~~ and probably indicate places of ancient settle-  
ment — certainly in the area of the Benavdes.

nothing <sup>definite</sup> can be said about the pattern of ancient settlements until a thorough study of the valley is undertaken. Our occasional visits over the years of survey have shown no many pieces of evidence for the past, in the form of tombs - indeed a cemetery ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> Seki itself, <sup>with</sup> <sup>chambered</sup> <sup>tombs</sup> built of large slabs - <sup>including the</sup> <sup>underneath</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>floor</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>chamber</sup> - and other structures, but these have not <sup>yet</sup> been the subject of detailed study. ~~It~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~clearly~~ ~~evident~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~agricultural~~ ~~population~~ ~~used~~ ~~to~~ ~~live~~ ~~near~~ ~~its~~ ~~fields~~ ~~in~~ ~~all~~ ~~periods~~, ~~except~~ ~~those~~ ~~of~~ ~~profound~~ ~~insecurity~~. ~~Toward~~ ~~the~~ ~~eastern~~ ~~end~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~valley~~, a low mound yields objects which are Early Bronze Age, comparable to those from Karates - Heranyuk.

Forests of juniper, oak - ~~prevalent~~ ~~and~~ - and some cedar cover foothills and the lower slopes of the higher mountains. The higher areas are almost bare. How extensive the forests were in antiquity is hard to judge. When left free to grow they may have been more extensive than today.

crops the slope. The produce of flocks of ~~and~~ herds  
~~is~~ is likely to have been the other <sup>main</sup> ~~great~~ source of wealth.  
In general best a coarse, for example - of interest for  
modern man, but no gold or silver. The limestone  
mountains give a hard but fertile landscape. The  
winters bring a good deal of snow. <sup>Spring</sup> ~~The~~ summers  
are the best seasons; fresh and cool in the  
mornings ~~and~~ <sup>evenings</sup>, hot but dry ~~and~~ at  
~~the~~ mid-day, a bracingly diurnal, but one  
which it is hard to imagine a wealthy man  
and his family enduring year in, year out,  
if they could descend to lower altitudes during  
the winter months. We shall have to come back  
to this question. This is a gayle country. But gayles  
are, by definition, attached to other places

of the city sits there, with the valley below it.  
Several roads lead to it.  
Apart from the public buildings <sup>on top</sup> ~~to see~~ the way  
assure for the traces of buildings in the ~~village~~  
village of Incecler that the whole hill was  
occupied, as its network of paths and ~~summits~~

effort in building & maintenance is visible on the hill, — have our questions began — by whom? to what end? for whom? for how long?

Seen from a distance, even <sup>with its outline</sup> ~~see~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~place~~ — with its covering of trees, looks rather dark and inhospitable, like a ship pushing its prow out into the valley. Once on top, this impression is dispelled. The steep slopes give way to broad, gently sloping planes. The saddle indeed is narrow — and carries three small hills — but the upper part of the site is broad in extent, rising by <sup>wide</sup> terraced to the Acropolis hill itself. Steep cliffs protect it to NW <sup>N</sup> and NE. Here the ~~grey~~ limestone sticks out in <sup>divine</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~grey~~ cliffs, among which there are still paths — at least one sandstone and many rock-tombs, in a ~~space~~ <sup>space</sup> — which can not only be modern.

Everywhere the wreckage of the past obstructs our view — and our understanding. It is easy to identify ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~now~~ <sup>now</sup> with the

city of Sargines. But ~~the~~ attention to the evidence of change tells us this is a romantic illusion.

Where are the differences? They can be noted, if not quantified.

First, the erosion of soil from the limestone <sup>footprints</sup> ~~rocks~~ has created a series of deep fans in the valley below, and down all the slopes above. This process was taking place in antiquity. It was checked and guided by terraces, whose lines are still visible. Even when they have been overgrown or are overgrown with trees - a bush. ~~But~~ we must then assume a more ordered landscape in antiquity <sup>which was</sup> ~~thicker~~ and more productive, taking <sup>one</sup> ~~full~~ advantage of what he can now identify ~~as~~ as the main <sup>features</sup> ~~advantages~~ of the site. And these are both strategic and civic. The long lines of limestone <sup>rocks</sup> protruding from the side of the hill naturally catch between them a <sup>well</sup> ~~partial~~ soil, and this <sup>has</sup> ~~can~~ be developed and extended using stone cut from quarries on the Acropolis.



hill, the natural lines of the terrain have been  
levelled and softened, so that the areas of  
level ground are surprisingly large. The  
implications for ~~large~~ <sup>deliberate</sup> accumulation of rubble <sup>in a useful stone</sup>  
order to make the ~~roads~~ <sup>possible</sup> are formidable in  
their extent. On the upper parts where  
public buildings still stand, the natural rock  
must lie many metres below where we stand.  
Everywhere the natural rock was carved to more suitable shapes.  
Pinnacles of <sup>beheld</sup> rock ~~still~~ emerge everywhere  
and are frequently the foundation for ~~columns~~  
tombs, some carved from the rock itself, with  
removable covers shaped in simple style. Others  
stand on their own platforms. The most imposing  
herosa are major monuments of the city. All have  
overturned, smashed to bits, rejected by the  
treasure hunters who have worked on after  
fruiting - or failing to find - a few ~~traces~~  
pieces of pottery, the bones scattered to the  
wind. But the smashed tombs are still a  
powerful reminder ~~to~~ of the people who lived  
here.

Conceivable or inevitable coming, feeding on the  
rich loam which has trocked down into the  
cracks, widening those cracks even more. The  
trees are themselves plundered by both man  
& beast. The goats, sent up to graze, stand  
on tip-toe to nibble juniper berries, or munch  
contentedly at pines, which pricks one's  
fingers at the slightest touch - "See ormana  
an pena dasman" - the modern Turkish  
name comes to mind. But human activity  
is much more likely to restrict or distort the  
growth of the trees. Branches are broken off for  
firewood; bark is removed to ensure that  
the tree will eventually die; the lower branches  
are frequently <sup>intentionally</sup> removed ~~in toto~~; or part  
of the trunk is cut away. The effect is to  
produce the most bizarre shapes. Broken  
stripped, the trees still have great resilience  
& continue to grow. And young ones  
constantly appear, to suffer the same treatment  
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crippled trees, and smashed trunks, & shattered rocks, thinking "it cannot have been like this in antiquity".

At first, it may have been. The inhabitants of the valley will have taken timber to suit their needs. There will have been no paths other than those of animals & hunters. But when the hill was fully occupied, ~~then~~ the vegetation must have been regulated, confined, fenced and adjusted to human needs, providing shade where suitable, in clumps or scattered trees. When men built fortresses, they have evidently expelled the trees. Although the trees came back, we must keep them out of our view of ancient Oenoch's central areas. The ancients must have known what damage trees can do.

Everywhere one can see how men <sup>have</sup> fitted themselves into the site, levelling and cutting, creating foundations for houses, steps, on top of which they built up their massive walls of cut blocks, brought, with what labour (!) from the quarries north and south, along routes where we can still see abandoned blocks, the evidence of accidents or defects in the stone. An ~~apparently~~ <sup>unmechanistic</sup> supply of stone was available, as long as <sup>quarrymen</sup> ~~stone masons~~ were there to do their work, stone masons to do theirs, Carter ready to shift the stone, and all the additional workers needed ~~to~~ in construction of major or minor works.

A skilled population is implied by what we see in front of us. Perhaps the occasional specialist was brought to the site to advise on planning or design; the bulk of the work must have been carried out by the local population. How many were there? Who paid them? What was the minimum <sup>first</sup>

Maintain the public buildings? ~~We shall~~  
~~Consider later~~ A test case is the aqueduct,  
a structure essential to the well-being of the city.  
Without the water which it brought from Gokpura  
the city would shrink in size. (A smaller  
citizen body could not maintain the city. So when  
did the aqueduct finally fall into disrepair?  
After that date, the city could retain its  
appearance of strength; but the process of  
disintegration had already begun. This process  
is traceable in <sup>many</sup> other cities of the Ancient  
World. At Persepolis it must have been  
swift.

Why did they do it? What led minor chiefs  
to undertake the expense of building on their  
heights? When did the whole business start?  
A Jukhai colleague jokingly suggested to me  
a few years ago that the Persians began to  
fortify their cities in Greek style only when  
Alexander had demonstrated how open to

of like a carpet! What a humiliation!  
Just Greek influence pre-dates Alexander is not  
a complete repetition of this idea. But it may  
have come gradually, through Syrian veterans from  
the wars between the successors, who came home  
with new ideas about security for their class,  
or who wanted security in which to enjoy their  
gains. We must consider later the implications  
of Ptolemaic influence in this region; but the  
truth must remain that we are desperately  
short of evidence. We cannot even be sure  
that Zen Tebe was occupied in the Third  
Century B.C. although a sanctuary of Isis  
on its lower slopes has produced an  
inscription which belongs to that period.  
The site may have been occupied but not  
fortified. Its potentialities have been  
understood but not realised. A certain kind  
of political sophistication is needed before  
such a site can be transformed from a  
local's shrine into a noble's stronghold.

The ~~impulse~~ impulse may finally have come from Pergamon, early in the Second Century B.C. The surviving section of defensive wall at the southern end of the site is purely Pergamene in style, — and demonstrates how the power of the Attalids reached as far south as here. The fortification of the site may have been a decisive act in its history. How it was accomplished, we cannot tell. An existing pool of skilled labor is likely.

The effect of the <sup>new</sup> fortifications on the height must have been several-fold. First, it created a stronghold which could be used by any successor to the Royal representatives — and their garrison: the perfect home for a local dynast or the agent of a greater dynast, Anagathos of Thyrea. Secondly, it began that process of urbanisation which was to culminate in the city of the Roman <sup>Imperial</sup> period. The wall defined the site; it now remained to fill the space within the enclosed hill with its buildings.

extended and to build, to adopt new fashions —  
notion living to the ~~the~~ space available on the  
hill. We are considering, therefore, a period  
which must have lasted for at least 500  
years, from ~~200~~<sup>180</sup> B.C. until 358 A.D. By  
slow stages there was time for a great deal of  
building. And to this assemblage of buildings we  
must now turn.

More impressions.

a) Each side of the hill is different. The northern face  
presents an almost continuous cliff-face of grey  
limestone, above lower boulders and outcrops of  
prominent size. Only the occasional brown soil-  
slip amidst the grey — a dark-green tangle  
of fertile catchment areas above these cliffs.  
his being found stamps to ascend from the base  
where the name known to Shultz & Forbes is  
preserved on the Kebak house sign.

To the <sup>north</sup> west the impression from a distance is  
not that to see the ... with ...



series of outlying pinnacles of rock  
ridge ~~which~~ runs down from the thing just, creating  
a valley in between, below the road

— & there are some particularly stark & elevated  
groups half way along. But here, paradoxically  
is just where a <sup>long</sup> entrance first presents itself, —  
it is to this gap that ~~the~~ <sup>one</sup> ancient road from below  
directs itself, winding up, in easy stages, <sup>round lower cliffs</sup> over gentle  
ridges, where rough paths have now been made,  
that ~~is~~ a ~~series~~ a ~~course~~ of abundant cold water — where  
there are clear signs; ~~any~~ ~~first~~ ~~ever~~ ~~seen~~ ~~around~~  
us, of some kind of fountain — house is antiquity  
with a heavy scatter of <sup>late</sup> masonry to show continued  
interest in the only good supply of water apart from  
cisterns — & holds — reaching finally below the  
last bastion of cliffs before the saddle, a series  
of ~~and~~ connected lower terraces, which have been  
turned into a road which runs along the hill,  
southwards, gently ascending until the aqueduct  
is reached at the southern end of the ridge  
on the outer side of these broad terraces — we  
are speaking here, as Shrub & Jones did — of  
of a wide thoroughfare, perhaps 30m. wide in  
places — there is a <sup>series</sup> <sup>of groups</sup> of tombs, placed  
in a line along the ...

It may be <sup>edges</sup> are hemmed in by ~~the~~ foothills, with one of  
the things just Japas: ~~has~~ <sup>has</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~found~~ <sup>found</sup> ~~Even~~ <sup>Even</sup> ~~Japas~~ <sup>Japas</sup> ~~a~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~directly~~ <sup>directly</sup>  
- noted - A long gully divides the face, and over it hang two narrow  
up. The water path to the bottom end of the gully must drain from a  
- southern end of the first of these before entering the city. An unexcavated  
it could have served entry by this route, although a sparse defence system  
is longer visible. The slopes are steeper than on the other side, as if  
a hill branched its shoulder on this side. The contours are sharper.  
+ on top there is much more space than one expects.

There is a deep gully running from the village to the city ruins  
The path crosses it and bears round on a rising bluff. Rain  
water has both covered and exposed: covered with debris,  
exposed to the wind, in a path. It will show. It crosses

which mark the ~~at~~ outer edge of the terraces. All the banks now be overgrown and smashed, and the terraces are mainly filled with trees, but the trace of a road is a strong one, passing under the fortified height of Becoanda itself. Beyond the aqueduct, through which it could pass <sup>beneath</sup> ~~at~~ its southern archway, the road winds round the northern face of the Kingjust Tepesi, close to the water-line. This looks like the main highway which comes down from ~~to~~ ~~and~~ is heading south, over the eastern gap in the mountains, by a route still to be fully traced.

The eastern slopes <sup>begin</sup> are like the western in reverse, except that here we have no major highways, only minor pathways. ~~Here~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~village~~ ~~of~~ ~~Incealiler~~ ~~below~~, which sits comfortably in the <sup>side</sup> valley beneath, with the wooded height of Yapulak behind. The same grey dips give way <sup>the</sup> <sup>time</sup> to steep slopes covered <sup>with trees and bushes</sup> with grey and brown soil, all that is left from the thorough sacking of the

Tombs are connected by a series of horizontal paths:  
— at or a higher level, where the city building ~~begins~~ begin, one finds well cut terraces which were given over to tombs at a later date.

— and above them the broad shoulders of the Acropolis hill. <sup>the dips are used for small altars & granthouses. There is, and always was, access but not on every one.</sup>

Human activity on this side of the hill has been so great that it is hard to detect the stages of growth, change and decline. Here we suspect an early wall. Nothing remains to confirm it. But as we move round to the <sup>eastern</sup> southern ~~east~~ of the city, where we find the little residential district packed close beneath the later wall, we have the impressive remains of <sup>the</sup> aqueduct and a <sup>good</sup> sketch of the Hellenistic wall to give us proof that defence was needed at the easiest point of entry, which is here.

For, from the top of the saddle, which is here crossed by the aqueduct, the ridge is easily ascended, and the city would at once be taken by an enemy. So the fine Hellenistic

took down bits of it, to repair the aqueduct (where?)  
but they never took it all down. You could  
enter the city by a gateway, later narrowed to  
a trackway. Here we may see the main  
entry to the city, from the highway leading  
south through the mountains.

b) Each face of the mountain has its own character.  
I know the eastern slope best, since it is the  
one I have climbed ~~more than a time~~ <sup>and descended</sup>  
nearly a hundred times. And yet I don't  
know it as it was in Roman times. The  
shape has been created by erosion, and still  
— the footsteps of countless ancient human  
beings. Paths have been overlaid, new ones  
created. Trees now dictate a different pattern.  
As one slides down paths which are choked  
with loose stones, the sweat in one's  
eyes, you can glimpse the remains of a  
carefully ordered hill-side, from the terraces  
on each crag, to the cuttings designed to  
create lateral paths-ways. Through the bushes

the broken sarcophagi, → realize that  
this hill-side would have had its regular  
visitors. What we are stepping on is the  
table of their labor. Frequently, we are  
walking over the top of it. Below a certain  
point, the underlying rock changes: a  
broken grey conglomerate creates a <sup>shallow</sup> grey slope  
for good begins. The platform of another  
hymnphalon, perhaps. From the outskirts  
of the village, which has its own few signs  
of antiquity, lying in yards, →  
in the pathways.