South-Eastern Anatolia at a Crossroads

A Multicultural Mediterranean Area from the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine Period

Edited by
Emanuela Borgia

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Archaeopress Publishing Ltd
13-14 Market Square
Bicester
Oxfordshire OX26 6AD
United Kingdom
www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-78969-575-5
ISBN 978-1-78969-576-2 (e-Pdf)

Cover: View of the Mediterranean Sea from the Land Castle of Korykos (Kızkalesi, Turkey). © E. Borgia

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Preface

Emanuela Borgia

This volume gathers a series of contributions presented during a thematic session organized within the 24th EAA Annual Meeting (Reflecting Futures) that was held at Barcelona from 5 to 8 September 2018. The session, titled 'South-Eastern Anatolia at a crossroads: a multicultural Mediterranean area from the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine period', was focused on the analysis of a definite geographic area of the Mediterranean, encompassing all the regions south of the Taurus range (Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia and Pisidia) facing the sea and being, throughout their history, in strict contact with the island of Cyprus to the south and with the coast of northern Syria to the east. South-eastern Anatolia was actually a key crossroads of people and cultures, in a crucial point between East and West. Due to its strategic geographic position connecting (through maritime and terrestrial routes) Anatolia and Syria, and to the facility of contacts with the whole eastern Mediterranean, the region was characterised by manifold processes of mobility, migrations and cultural interchanges.

The focus of the volume is to present a critical overview of South-Eastern Anatolia in the period between the phase of Hellenization and the early Byzantine age, concentrating on how the various cultural identities interacted and contributed to the formation of a very peculiar Mediterranean identity, revealed by manifold historical and archaeological aspects. The reciprocal contacts with northern Syria and with Cyprus are also analysed, with the purpose of examining the process of interchanges from both directions. Finally, specific case studies of newly excavated sites or of recent discoveries are also considered. All the contributions will hopefully implement our current knowledge and provide innovative interpretative frameworks on the region.

Keeping aside the historical events previous to the advent of Rome in Asia Minor, it is worth focusing the attention on how Pamphylia (Pisidia) and Cilicia, even if having been annexed to the Empire in different moments, lived parallel vicissitudes[1]. It is highly probable that Pamphylia (together with Pisidia) entered the Roman sphere already in 129-126 BC, when M'. Aquilius created the *provincia Asia* as a consequence of the testament of Attalus III. However, the Roman control on this district of the southern coast of Asia Minor was not very strong until the expedition of M. Antonius against the pirates in 102 BC. After this date a *provincia Cilicia* is mentioned in the ancient sources, sometimes called Pamphylia. As I tried to demonstrate a few years ago[2], this *eparcheia Kilikias* was no more than a permanent military command and did not imply the creation of a real territorial province of Cilicia. On the other hand, a territorial province, maybe still called Asia, and including a part of Lycia, Pisidia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, already existed at least since 75 BC when Servilius Vatia operated in the region. Here has to be located the seat of Roman generals, who normally started their offensive against the pirates from the harbour of Attaleia. It was only with Pompey in 67-65 BC that a territorial province of Cilicia was created, whose effective extension is still discussed (but much probably it was limited to Eastern Cilicia and parts of Isauria). In 39 BC Phrygia and Pisidia were given to the client king Amyntas of Galatia, and to these territories, a few years later, also Pamphylia, Lycaonia and Cilicia Tracheia were added. At the death of Amynta all the territories under his rule formed the new province of Galatia, including the regions of Lycaonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia and Isauria. Cilicia was granted in the age of Augustus to king Archelaus of Cappadocia, and then, after a short time span, to Antiochus IV of Commagene. According to Dio (D.C.,

[1] Arena 2005: 35-47.
[2] Borgia 2017.

60.17.3), Claudius created in 43 AD the new province of Lycia and Pamphylia, extrapolating Pisidia and Pamphylia from Galatia (but other scholars point to the creation in this moment only of the province of Lycia and leave Pisidia and Pamphylia under Galatia until Vespasian)[3]. Since then, apart from short and specific occasions, the two regions were united in a single province, which was however quite disomogeneous.

Lycia et Pamphylia and Cilicia were granted their definitive organisation under Vespasian, in AD 72, and became imperial provinces under a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. It is not easy to fix the exact limit between the two provinces, also due to the text of Strabo who locates in Cilicia some cities that in the Roman imperial period were almost certainly included in Pamphylia. Pamphylia encompassed also Pisidia, but its northern borders are not easy to be determined and certainly changed during time. The province of Cilicia remained under the control of the emperor throughout its history; on the contrary Lycia et Pamphylia were elevated to the rank of senatorial provinces during the reign of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. Both the provinces under examination lived deep transformations with the reform of Diocletian and of his successors with a geographic fragmentation in smaller provinces: Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria and Cilicia.

The aims of the session presented at Barcelona were three-fold. The first was to analyse diversity and cultural interaction characterising South-Eastern Anatolia under a multidisciplinary perspective. This area was a meeting place for cultural and artistic currents from East and West, that melted with the local substratum which maintained a very strong influence[4]. The peculiar physical geography of the region, dominated to the north by the Taurus range and someway isolated from the rest of Anatolia, regulated the different ways in which cultural impulses from outside penetrated it. This determined the eclecticism of cultural, monumental and decorative features. The second goal was to verify how the particular situation of this region affected urbanism and monumentalisation. As it is well known the coastal settlements granted communication, trade and subsistence, whereas inland cities performed various tasks, including the defence of the territory and the exploitation of local resources. It is clear that, depending on the contexts, transfer of concepts and mutual influences in building and architecture had different outcomes. The last goal was to analyse the development of societies, languages and interconnected traditions from the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine period. This also particularly affects religion, rituals and cult places that were one of the pieces of evidence of cultural identity and cultural transfers. At the same time material culture is a mirror of people's tangible world and of local and trans-Mediterranean contacts. To sum up, borrowing the words of R.E. Blanton, the ultimate goal was 'to contribute to an understanding of how this region influenced and was influenced by larger social formations of the greater Mediterranean region'[5]. Blanton refers to Western Rough Cilicia, but the same concepts can be easily extended to the whole region of South-Eastern Anatolia.

The Editor is deeply grateful to all the contributors of this volume for agreeing to publish their research, and for their patience in waiting for the final edition, which sees the light a few years after the Congress at Barcelona. Unfortunately, Covid 19 pandemic and other impediments meant that a lot of time elapsed before publication. A final thanks goes to Richard Westall who took care to review the English texts with attention and dedication.

[3] Brandt 1992: 98-99.
[4] Er 1991.
[5] Blanton 2000: 1.

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Introduction. Hellenization versus Romanization: Understanding Cultural Identity in the Eastern Mediterranean

Oğuz Tekin[1]

Although the book you are holding focuses on South-Eastern Anatolia, in fact this region is part of a larger geographic entity, viz. the Eastern Mediterranean. When we say Eastern Mediterranean – in the narrow sense – we are referring to the coastal geography and hinterland that includes Southeast Anatolia, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Palestine, and Cyprus. This region of the Eastern Mediterranean is also referred to as the Levant. The name of Levant, as is known, comes from the Italian word 'Levante', which means 'the place where the sun rises' or 'the East', and its entry into the literature dates back to the 15th-16th centuries. Similarly, during the Byzantine period or among those living in the Byzantine world, the word 'Anatolê,' which also means 'East,' was used, and Anatolia derives from there. In fact, during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, the Eastern Diocese was referred to as Oriens, meaning 'East'. The Romans embraced the Mediterranean to such an extent that they called it 'Our Sea' in Latin, which translates to *Mare Nostrum*. The adoption of the term Mediterranean as *Mediterraneum* in literature, on the other hand, is due to Isidore of Seville, who lived in the 6th–7th centuries AD.

However, it should not be forgotten that the axis of the Roman Empire progressively shifted eastwards from Italy to Anatolia since the time of Diocletian and Constantine the Great (from the early 4th century AD). This shift in axis made the Eastern Mediterranean even more important. Nevertheless, the Romans' control over Anatolia had started much earlier, in the last quarter of the 2nd century BC with the establishment of the Province of Asia, which was followed by the establishment of other provinces. Considering the establishment of the Province of Asia, it can be seen that the Romans formed the provinces of Syria, Cilicia, and Lycia et Pamphylia quite late in the eastern regions. Although the establishment of Roman hegemony and the provincial organization of the southern and south–eastern parts of Anatolia dates back to the end of the 2nd century BC, this new reality was reinforced with Pompey's campaign in the region which led to the establishment of a province in Syria and laid the foundation for Cilicia. Finally, during the time of Vespasian, the provincial process in Cilicia was completed. In other words, from the second quarter of the 1st century BC onwards, Southeast Anatolia and the Levant were, in a sense, under Roman domination.

The fact that Anatolia, which had been ruled by Hellenistic kings or dynasties for the last two centuries, was now entering the dominion of a Latin-based power must have greatly reinforced the 'us vs. them' perception. Was Hellenization giving way to Romanization? If we consider language as the most important element of a culture, the Hellenization of Anatolia was actually more effective and widespread than its Romanization. Ancient Greek became the primary language in Anatolia with the arrival of Alexander the Great, surpassing local languages. In those regions where Greek culture spread, intercommunication among societies became easier through a common language (*koine*). Consequently, Greek managed to maintain its primacy even when faced with the challenge posed by Latin during the Roman Empire. Apart from being used as the official language of government in the provinces and Roman colonies, Latin failed to find an environment in which to thrive, and the people continued to use Greek. In fact, even the language used on the coins they minted with the permission of the emperor was Greek. The same situation is evident in religion as well. Traditional Greek religion continued to exert its

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influence in the city-states of Anatolia until the early 4th century AD, when Christianity became dominant. Of course, the common and shared ground between ancient Greek religion and Roman religion played a significant role in this.

In the Hellenistic period, similar influences can be observed in architecture as well. The urban plans and architectural styles of public and religious buildings in Hellenistic Anatolia reveal a homogeneous style. However, the most complex period for the city-states in Anatolia was likely the 1st century BC. In the course of this century, the city-states under the dominion of Hellenistic monarchic states witnessed the struggles in which Rome gradually put an end to these monarchies. Eventually, the city-states made the transition from the dominance of Hellenistic monarchs to the rule of another dominant power, Rome. This chaotic transitional period or the encounter between Hellenistic culture and Roman culture in Anatolia encompasses approximately one century, starting around 129 BC, when Rome established the province of *Asia* in western Anatolia, and extending to 31 BC when the last Hellenistic kingdom (that of the Ptolemies) was also eradicated from the historical stage by Rome.

The spread of Roman culture (whether spontaneous or intentional) outside Italy and in the provinces of the Roman Empire is referred to as Romanization. Undoubtedly, Romanization occurred to varying degrees due to regional cultural differences in the provinces located in the western and eastern halves of the empire. The region of South–Eastern Anatolia and Syria is an area where this influence arrived later and more slowly. Moreover, the surviving literary and archaeological evidence from that period is mainly limited to public spaces and the upper social classes. However, Romanization also indubitably differed in its manifestation among social classes (and their spaces) within a province. Nonetheless, it is also true that Roman culture was not a monolithic, unchanging entity over the course of the millennium extending from the Regal period to the Late Imperial period. In other words, if there is Romanization, the Romans must have created and coexisted with it over time, thanks to the contributions of the nations living in the provinces under their rule. In short, the Roman culture of the 3rd and 4th centuries AD was not the same as the Roman culture of a few centuries earlier; interaction with local cultures had created a new form of Roman identity.

The city-states of Anatolia saw themselves not only as friends and allies of Rome, but also as belonging to the empire. However, although this was meaningful in terms of social and political status, it did not mean that their Roman identity or culture in effect superseded their own. In general, the Hellenized cities of the Eastern Mediterranean or the southern and south–eastern regions of Anatolia continued their existence under the rule of Roman emperors. However, the depiction of Sandan on horned-lion, portrayed on the coins of Tarsus from the pre-Hellenistic period until the height of the Roman Empire, is a phenomenon not found in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. Likely of Hitite-Luwi origin, Sandan stands before us as evidence of what could be preserved and maintained despite the harshness of acculturation.

The efforts of the city-states in the East during the Imperial period, known as the Second Sophistic, to connect their origins to Greece and Macedonia serve as evidence of this. Perhaps the so-called 'Romans' (*Rhômaioi*) in Anatolia were not mere spectators, but rather actors and protagonists in the process of Romanization, if such a process existed. It can be said that under the Roman Empire, the city-states of Anatolia to a certain extent continued to maintain the lifestyle of a *polis*. If we were to speak of a dominant acculturation in Roman Empire period Anatolia, as was the case in the Hellenistic period, it would have been most strongly felt in the 4th and 5th centuries AD. The reason for this was not the spread of Roman culture, but rather the dominance of Christianity, which was rapidly spreading at that

time. In the 4th and 5th centuries AD, Christianization had a much more profound and tangible impact than the supposed Romanization phenomenon of previous centuries. With Christianity, the life in the so-called city-states in Anatolia took on a different character than in previous centuries. The sense of civic identity and the labour and money invested in the city gave way to personal expenditures and investments in the Church. While the city councils attempted to maintain their existence, they could no longer go beyond a symbolic meaning. As the city-state councils lost their ability to represent their cities, this role was taken over by bishops. Service to the Church became more important than service to the city. This was due to the increasing importance attributed by Christians to the afterlife rather than to the present world. In the world of Late Antiquity, the traditional city-states of the late Roman empire were caught in an existential crisis.

In a significant portion of the papers contained in this book, the themes of locality and external influences (or cultural interactions) that I have just been discussing either form the focal point main axis or serve as the starting point for analysis. For instance, in her article titled '**Local Patterns and Syrian Influences in the Colonnaded Streets of Roman Cilicia and Pamphylia',** Emanuela Borgia examines the colonnaded streets in the cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia that are located on the southern coast of Anatolia facing the Mediterranean, and their hinterlands. Although their initial construction dates back earlier, these streets took their main form during the early Principate (1st-2nd centuries AD). Borgia highlights that the phenomenon of colonnaded streets is an element of Syrian origins, and she suggests that the cities of Cilicia and Pamphylia modelled this phenomenon after Syrian cities such as Antioch on the Orontes, Apameia, and Palmyra. She even emphasizes that in addition to their functional purpose as thoroughfares, colonnaded streets should be considered as decorative elements that adorn and enhance the splendour of the cities. Borgia points out that the consoles on the column shafts, which serve the function of carrying statues, can be found in both Syrian examples and in the Cilician and Pamphylian examples inspired by them. She also notes that changes in the physical appearance of colonnaded streets, as well as the stoas and shops (*tabernae*) that should be considered together with them, occurred during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods as a result of fires, earthquakes, or urban renovations. Indeed, comparing cities like Antioch, Apameia, and Palmyra in Syria with Cilician and Pamphylian cities such as Soloi Pompeiopolis, Hierapolis Kastabala, Anazarbos, Perge, Syedra, and Side through their colonnaded streets reveals an important dimension of the interaction between the Eastern and Western worlds at the intersection point.

One of the most important physical and social elements of a city-state is undoubtedly the baths. In his article titled '**The Bath Buildings of Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia in Roman Times. Characteristics, Layout, and Peculiarities**', Emanuele Casagrande Cicci examines the bath structures in Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia. After providing general information about the bath buildings in Western Anatolia (such as their plans and symmetry), Cicci highlights the similarities with the baths in Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. He draws attention to the trends followed in bath architecture, particularly during the Roman Imperial Period in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. These inevitably resulted in a homogeneous appearance for the bath complexes. Cicci draws attention to the fact that over 40 baths have been identified in the province of Cilicia so far, noting that most of them consist of several parallel rectangular rooms (usually three), with heated rooms placed in the opposite direction of the entrance. Noting that the best-documented bath structure in Kilikia is found in Elaiussa Sebaste, she dedicates more space to discussing this particular bathhouse. Cicci also provides an overview of the general features of the baths in Pamphylia and Lykia. She emphasizes that the baths in Lykia are smaller in size and mentions that the Roman hypocaust system was applied in the bath structures of Pamphylia, Lykia, and Kilikia.

Coins undoubtedly hold great importance for history and archaeology due to the visual data they provide. Even in the absence of literary, epigraphic, or archaeological evidence, coins are the most reliable source of information about a state's political, cultural, religious, and architectural past. In his article titled '**The Religious Life of Tarsus in the Light of Numismatic Evidence: Some Observations**', Edward Dabrowa discusses the religious life of Tarsus on the basis of the numismatic evidence. Dabrowa emphasizes that Tarsus served as a 'bridge' between Syria and Asia Minor for many years and analyses the gods, goddesses, and mythological figures (scenes) depicted on coins minted in Tarsus from the period of Antiochus Epiphanes IV, when Tarsians first began minting coins, until the reign of Gallienus, when coin minting ceased. The author examines the limited number of gods and heroes (e.g. Athena, Heracles, Zeus Nikephoros, and Sandan) who are depicted on Tarsus coins during the Hellenistic period, and he highlights the fact that a much broader repertoire of gods and goddesses appears on coins minted during the Roman Imperial period. Dabrowa delves into the long history of Sandan in Tarsus and associates the presence of this deity with the influence of Assyria on Cilicia, also emphasizing the mythical founder of Tarsus, King Sardanapalus of Assyria. Another topic addressed by Dabrowa is the Imperial Cult. The author mentions that Tarsus first received the title of *neôkoros* during the reign of Hadrian, and he discusses the cult's contribution to the process of Romanization in Tarsus and Cilicia.

Beatrice Fochetti's article titled '**The Doric Order in Rough Cilicia: Local Identities or Cultural Interactions?**' focuses on Doric-style temples or tomb structures in the Mountainous Cilicia region between the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial periods (2nd century BCE - 3rd century CE). After observing that the tower tomb in Diocaesarea is the oldest tomb structure in Mountainous Cilicia to feature the Doric style, Fochetti discusses other tomb structures in Diocaesarea's Western necropolis, such as rock-cut tombs at Ayatekla, Korykion Antron, and the Doric-influenced tombs in Yeniyurt Castle. She highlights both local elements and influences coming from Northern Syria and Lycia. In addition to these tomb structures, Fochetti draws attention to the Doric style in the Ismailli, Çatıören, and Korkyion Antron temples. She notes that the use of polygonal masonry and architectural elements such as metopes, triglyphs, guttae, mutules, geison, and antae pilasters in both tomb structures and temples indicates the presence of the Doric style.

Excavations in Antiochia ad Cragum (a city in Rough Cilicia) began in 2005 and are still ongoing. Among the prominent remains in the city are the Great Bath complex, the Small Baths, the bouleuterion-odeon, a temple, and two churches. Michael Hoff, the former director of the Antiochia excavations, explores the transformation of a settlement that was once a pirate base into a flourishing city during the Roman period in his contribution entitled '**Antiochia ad Cragum in Western Rough Cilicia: From Pirate Base to Hadrian**'. Founded by the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes towards the middle of the 2nd century BCE, the city, later became a pirate stronghold. The pirate era came to an end in 67 BCE with the intervention of Pompey the Great. Subsequently, in the second quarter of the 1st century CE, the Romans handed over Rough Cilicia to another Antiochus IV, the King of Commagene. Antiochus maintained control over the region for over 30 years, until the establishment of the province of Cilicia by Vespasian in 72 CE.

The presence of retired Roman soldiers in Roman colonies or city-states provides important data on Rome's interaction with the East and its influence on regional cultures. In his contribution entitled '**Veterans of the Roman Army in Cilicia**', Mustafa H. Sayar draws attention to the presence of Roman veteran soldiers in Cilicia. After discussing the provincialisation of Cilicia, which began with Pompey and was completed under Vespasian, Sayar talks about the settlement of retired Roman legion soldiers in Cilicia, particularly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. The evidence of the inscriptions is deployed. He

cites examples from various places in Cilicia, such as a retired soldier from Legio IV Scythica who settled in Kolybrassos and a soldier from Legio II Parthica who settled in Kanytellis, along with other examples from elsewhere in Cilicia. Sayar emphasizes that the settlement of retired soldiers in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire was considered a measure that would ensure the security and cultural assimilation of these regions.

In his article titled '**Marble in Cilicia in Antiquity as Evidence of Import of Building Material and Architectural Interaction**', Marcello Spanu highlights that there were no marble deposits (or commercially viable ones) in Cilicia and suggests that marble was mostly imported from Western Anatolia during the Roman Imperial Period. Spanu supports this claim with a map showing the locations of marble deposits in Anatolia. Despite the absence of marble quarries, one striking aspect of Spanu's contribution is the significance of marble in Cilicia, particularly in architecture, reliefs, and sculptures. The use of marble is associated with luxury, grandeur, and prestige.

The comparison of the necropoleis of two significant centers dating to the same period in the Eastern Mediterranean reveals quite interesting results. In their articles titled '**Funerary Practices in Karpasia (Cyprus) and Kelenderis (Cilicia) during the 4th-3rd Century BC: a Comparative Analysis**', Latife Summerer and Hazar Kaba examine the network of relations between Cilicia and Cyprus as revealed by the tombs. They compare the tombs in Kelenderis, Cilicia, and Karpasia (Tsambres), Cyprus, which in both cases date back to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. A total of 43 tombs, 31 from Kelenderis and 12 from Karpasia, are analyzed. Most of the Kelenderis tombs have been looted, whereas in Tsambres all but one are intact. This contribution explores various aspects such as the physical condition of the tombs, their contents, and the condition of the remains. The Kelenderis tombs exhibit a variety of forms, including rock-cut tombs, chamber tombs with a dromos, and sarcophagi, whereas the Tsambres tombs are predominantly chamber tombs with a dromos. This contribution primarily focuses on the chamber tombs with a dromos in both necropoleis. It is noted that in both necropoleis, the deceased were placed in a supine position not according to the compass direction, but rather based on the physical orientation of the tomb (entrance, walls).

The relationships between the kingdoms of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Commagene (which developed under the influence of Neo-Assyrian, Persian, and Macedonian powers) with the Roman emperors, as well as the ideological and political perceptions within these relationships, are discussed in Ljuben Tevdovski's contribution, which is entitled '**Tiny Kingdoms of Prophetic Ideals. The Impact of the Melting Pot of Roman-dependent South-Eastern Anatolia on the Ideological and Political Concepts of the Roman and Early Byzantine World**'. This paper presents data on the efforts made by these kingdoms to maintain and sustain their identities belonging to the Hellenistic world (*oikoumenê*) even under Roman rule and examines their positions between the Hellenistic world they were part of and the newly formed Roman world. It highlights the attempts of dynastic members to associate their origins with Alexander the Great or the Macedonian dynasty in order to legitimize their power and achieve political stability. Dynastic marriages were fundamental from this perspective. The relationships between Roman generals such as Pompey, Caesar, Mark Antony, and the dynastic members, followed by the relationships between Roman emperors and the dynastic members, are presented through the accounts of contemporary writers.

It appears that the above-mentioned excavations at Antiochia ad Cragum, which have been ongoing since 2005, have also extensively focused on the Northeast Temple. In the contribution entitled '**Materials and Techniques of Construction in the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum**', Rhys

Townsend and Ece Erdoğmuş provide a detailed analysis of the architecture and construction of the tetrastyle temple, which follows the Corinthian order and rises on a stepped podium of moderate size. The data obtained indicates that marble from the nearby quarry was used in the construction of the temple. Additionally, the presence of clamps and dowels, which are rarely seen or encountered in temple constructions in Cilicia, has been detected in the temple. The construction of the temple seems to be associated with the visit of Septimius Severus to the region.

It appears that archaeological excavations and surveys carried out in the southern and southeastern Anatolian region (including Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia) have opened up the gateway between Syria and Anatolia (or vice versa). They provide us with an opportunity to reassess how local cultures assimilated Roman rule or exhibited hybrid formations. That is splendidly demonstrated by the case studies contained in this stimulating and useful volume. As research and studies in this field progress, the extent of interaction will become clearer and may give rise to new questions.

Local Patterns and Syrian Influences in the Colonnaded Streets of Roman Cilicia and Pamphylia

Emanuela Borgia[1]

Abstract

Colonnaded streets, whose Syrian origin is well known, are a monumental feature recurring in several Roman cities of South–Eastern Anatolia, both in Cilicia and in Pamphylia. These expensive infrastructures were at the same time monumental buildings, contributing to the decor of ancient cities, and functional structures whose utilitas has often been underestimated. Starting from the oldest attested case, that of Antioch on the Orontes dating back to the Augustan–Tiberian age, colonnaded streets were constructed in most Syrian cities, mainly from the late 1st or early 2nd century AD, but also in many urban centres of Asia Minor. This paper aims at analysing how mutual influences between Syria and Asia Minor affected the diffusion of colonnaded streets in Cilicia and in Pamphylia, and if these regions, because of their position at a crossroads, played a key role within this process. Moreover the specific characteristics in building and architecture of colonnaded streets in South–Eastern Anatolia will be taken into account, with the aim of trying to outline how and at which extent they referred to Syrian models or, on the contrary, to peculiar regional features. For instance, the presence in some Cilician sites of consoles for statues inserted in the column drums (which is quite unattested elsewhere) seems to be a clear imitation of Syrian monuments, such as those of Palmyra and Apamea. But other elements point to a local adaptation of an imported model.

Key words: *colonnaded streets, architecture, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Urban Planning*

Introduction

Colonnaded streets were, as is well known, a type of monumental structure that characterized a large number of cities in the eastern provinces of the Mediterranean and beyond.[2] They were an original creation of the Roman East, and their prototype must be indubitably identified in the colonnaded avenue of Antioch on the Orontes, which dates to the late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD, and is to be attributed to the evergetism of Herod the Great. It is clear from ancient sources – mainly Josephus[3] – that the project achieved at Antioch, even if its preserved remains are very scanty, was thought to reach an outstanding scale that differentiated it immediately from any former Hellenistic *stoa*. Starting from this earlier attested case, the majority of Syrian and Anatolian cities were provided of monumental colonnaded streets since the mid–1st, but mainly in the 2nd century AD. The reign of Trajan can be considered a turning–point, and in the following decades the major projects of colonnaded streets were realized in the Near East. A similar development and diffusion of colonnaded avenues occurred in Asia Minor, where in many urban centres, even those with difficult orographic situations, the construction of colonnaded avenues was considered as essential for the self–representation of the cities themselves, and became a widespread trend in Roman imperial cityscape.

Colonnaded street complexes recur in several Roman cities of South–Eastern Anatolia, both in Cilicia

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[2] Even though they were largely widespread and were a distinctive feature of many urban centres, colonnaded streets have not been the subject of very many comprehensive studies. See, especially, Burns 2017 (focusing on the origins of colonnaded streets, with the review by Waelkens 2020); Bejor 1999; Coulton 1976: 177-180. Cf. also Pont 2010: 177-187; Tabaczek 2002.

[3] J., *AJ* 16.148; J., *BJ* 1.425.

and Pamphylia.[4] This paper aims to analyse how, within a wider idea of monumentalisation of urban centres in the whole Roman empire, mutual influences between Syria and Asia Minor affected the diffusion of colonnaded streets in Cilicia and Pamphylia, and if these regions, because of their position at a crossroads, could have played a key role within this process. Under a complex and multifaceted perspective, I will try to examine also the development of this innovative architectural model. To that end it is necessary to analyse both the overall urban patterns and the architectural features of the porticoes lining the main streets, while not forgetting to reflect on the materials employed and to the specific functions of this kind of infrastructures.

It is worth emphasising the dissimilar state of our knowledge for the colonnaded streets of Pamphylia and of Cilicia. The first province, actually, is better known from both the archaeological and epigraphic sides, whereas the second was, until recently, a sort of 'missing link' and much work still needs to be done.

Cityscapes, urban features and overall layout

As a matter of fact the building of imposing and continuous colonnades during the imperial age was realized almost everywhere along pre–existent routes, normally the most important urban roads. Their length could be in case extended, if land was available. So, in cases where a clearly delineated axis existed, its significance was emphasized and its appearance was upgraded within major monumental projects. When laid out on a regular urban grid, the porticoes were linear and gave to the street a monumental and regular perspective that was interrupted only by the crossroads with lateral streets – often provided with additional monuments marking the intersection – or by the projecting *propylaea* of some particular buildings.

Even if constructed in different chronological phases and by single stretches, mainly for bigger sites (such as, for instance Apamea and Palmyra in Syria, and Soloi Pompeiopolis in Cilicia), the existence of a general project prescribing the main features of plan and elevation made it possible to have, as a final result, the impression of a very unitary and homogeneous perspective.[5] So, even if the porticoes were not erected at once but over various decades, only some features (such as, for instance, the shape of the capitals or the characteristics of the architectural decoration) might recall the specific period of erection, whereas the overall structure responded to prearranged prescriptions and rules.

It might also happen, such as at Palmyra and Bosra in Syria, but also for example at Anazarbos in Cilicia and at Side and Perge in Pamphylia (**Figure 1**), that the street(s) had a broken line and a zig–zag pattern. This irregular setting can be ascribed to various reasons – pre–existing tracks, orographic constraints, urban limitations, such as previous monuments – and the colonnades necessarily followed this pattern. Often, at the crossing points or where the street changed direction, isolated monuments such as *tetrapyla*, *tetrakionia* and *tetrastyla* were built also with the aim of dissimulating the irregularity. These structures existed at many Syrian, Pamphylian and Cilician sites, and aimed not only at giving a more impressive and monumental aspect to these imposing projects, but also, when necessary, at correcting the divergences and at giving a better unitary perspective. We can mention, for instance, the monument

[4] For some general reflections on the colonnaded streets of Pamphylia and Cilicia, see Borgia 2019; Burns 2017: 115–132; Bejor 1999: 32-43; 70-75. As far as Cilicia is concerned, see also: Hellenkemper 1980. In this paper, when reference is made to Pamphylia, the geographic region (including Pisidia), and not the provincial unit is being indicated. Even if its borders varied over time, the province, in fact, included also Lycia which is excluded from the present analysis.

[5] Cf. Tabaczek 2010 (on Palmyra and Gerasa).

Figure 1: *Satellite view of the colonnaded street of Perge (Google Earth, 23 January 2020)*

with pedestals and columns (the so–called '*propylon*') that is partially preserved on the northern side of the main colonnaded street of Hierapolis Kastabala, at the eastern edge of the visible sector of the carriageway.[6] It might be interpreted as an arch or (better) as a sort of *tetrakionion*, even if without a more detailed analysis and excavation it is very difficult to interpret it properly. At Anazarbos the intersection of the two southernmost stretches of the north–south colonnaded street, slightly diverging from one another, was provided with a monumental arch (maybe with five passageways), which has not yet been excavated, and whose extant remains are possibly to be dated to Late Antiquity.[7] As far as Diokaisareia is concerned, a very peculiar and distinctive type of monumental passageway is preserved along the main east–west colonnaded street, even if it was straight and without any deviation in its orientation. Its function was to mark a pivotal area of the city, as it gave access to a privileged area close to the Temple of Zeus Olbios.[8] At Perge the well–known *tetrapylon* of Demetrios and Apollonios is located at the northern crossroads between the main colonnaded street and the second major street of the city even if, in this case, it is not positioned exactly on the axis of the main avenue, but shifted towards the east.[9] This monument is precisely dated by its inscription to the Flavian age, and so we can infer that the main plan of the colonnaded street was already designed if not partially realised in this period.

[6] For the urban layout of Hierapolis Kastabala, see: Zeyrek 2018; Krinzinger and Reiter 1993.
[7] Posamentir 2008: 1016-1017 figs. 8-11; Posamentir and Sayar 2006: 329-330.
[8] Spanu 2013: 627-630. Cf. Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 48-53.
[9] İnan 1989.

It is worth highlighting that some of the examples of colonnaded streets in Pamphylia and Cilicia under consideration attain impressive dimensions. One of the most imposing is the case of Anazarbos (**Figure 2**) in Cilicia, where the street–complex, 1700m long and divided into three segments with diverging orientations, has an extraordinary width reaching in some points 29m (porticoes and shops included). Recent excavations have shown that the stretch to the north of the monumental arch consisted in reality of two distinct carriageways, separated by a central strip, but still we are dealing with one of the largest examples of this category of monuments in Antiquity.[10] The whole street complex underwent many transformations during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, in part as a consequence of serious earthquakes. A similar arrangement, even if for different reasons, is that of the colonnaded street of Perge (**Figure 3**), whose carriageway is 20m wide, but is crossed longitudinally by a water channel (2.50m wide) originating from the Hadrianic *nymphaeum* located at the foot of the acropolis.[11] Another case of a colonnaded street with a segmented path, having stretches with slightly diverging axis, is, for instance, the so–called Street C at Side in Pamphylia.[12]

What looks peculiar in South–Eastern Anatolian cities, maybe more than elsewhere, is that the construction of a colonnaded street was considered as a fundamental requirement, to such an extent that even sites with difficult orographic conditions, where the construction of a linear and monumental structure was more challenging, did not renounce building colonnaded avenues, even if on a minor scale. In some cases, for instance at Antiocheia on the Kragos, Syedra, Selge and Termessos (**Figure 4**), terraced walls were necessary to support colonnaded streets (and maybe also the porticoes), as there was not

Figure 2: *View of the central portion of colonnaded street of Anazarbos (Author)*

[10] Posamentir 2008; Posamentir and Sayar 2006.
[11] Heinzelmann 2003: 202.
[12] Mansel 1963. Cf. Ryan 2018.

Figure 3: *View of the main north-south colonnaded street at Perge (Author)*

enough flat space to accommodate the whole monument. At Antiocheia the structures on the south side, sloping downwards, were perhaps realized on two storeys, so as to flatten and enlarge the area and host

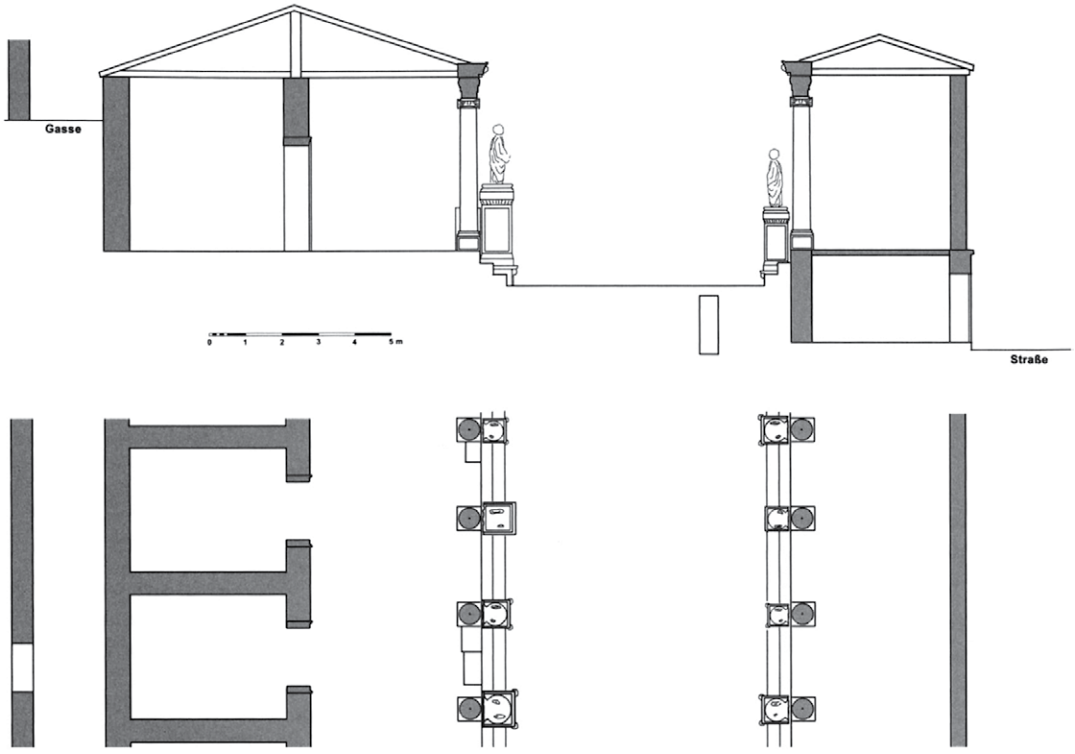

Figure 4: *Section of the colonnaded street of Termessos (Heinzelmann 2003)*

the porticoes at the upper level (that of the carriageway) and the shops at the lower level.[13] At Syedra the porticoes are limited to the side of the road looking towards the mountain and they were not present on the opposite side (**Figure 5**).[14] At Selge the street is not straight but is organised into various stretches with different orientations, as the orographic situation does not allow for a more regular setting.[15] Here too the street and the adjacent porticoes and shops were supported by high retaining walls, creating a double storeyed structure on the downward slope. In the mountain site of Sagalassos in Pisidia the colonnaded street, dating in its first phase to the second half of the reign of Tiberius but refurbished under Hadrian, served as the main urban axis even if in a difficult orographic situation. We are dealing with small cities in steep areas, where a regular plan is impossible to adopt, but nevertheless it was felt necessary to have a 'representative' monument such as a colonnaded street, just like bigger, regularly planned cities. It is worth underlining that both Antiocheia and Syedra adopted white marble for bases and capitals and granite for columns, an expensive material (but the entablature, as we will see below, was made of local stone). This is a clear demonstration that such an infrastructure was essential to any important city since the Early Imperial age.[16]

Figure 5: *The colonnaded street at Syedra (Author)*

[13] A different reconstruction, foreseeing a colonnade only on the north side of the street and an open view towards the sea, was also proposed by Hoff *et al.* 2015: 210-212; Hoff *et al.* 2014: 12-13. However, this second hypothesis does not look very convincing: cf. Erdemgil and Özoral 1975: 57-58; Borgia 2019: 167.

[14] On the colonnaded street at Syedra, see, in particular: Can 2017: 39-40. Cf. also Huber 2003; Huber 1992.

[15] Machatschek and Schwarz 1981: 62-66 pl. IX.

[16] It should be recalled that, even if the road network of Sagalassos was not regular, nor levelled because of the orographic situation, at least three streets were colonnaded. To build the main street an abundant quantity of soil was amassed in order to create a regular and flat area. See Jacobs and Waelkens 2013; Lavan 2008; Martens 2008: 194.

Figure 6: *The Arch of Anazarbos before the collapse of the western passageway. Photograph by G.L. Bell, 20 April 1905 (© Gertrude L. Bell Archives, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, C_160)*

Finally, it is worth stressing that all colonnaded streets frequently offered the possibility of monumentalising the city at a larger scale, having as their focal conclusion arches and/or gateways that were richly ornamented and that gave access to other sectors of the city. The best example of this typology of monuments is, without any doubt, the imperial arch at Anazarbos which, with its three passageways, spans the southern extremity of the main colonnaded street (**Figure 6)**.[17] Recently restored, this monument has a very rich and polychrome architectural decoration with projecting elements, and it uses a mix of local stones and Troad granite. Its chronology has been extensively discussed and is uncertain, mainly because it depends on only stylistic features of the decoration (no inscriptions connected to the monument are preserved), but, according to the most recent proposals, the arch was probably erected under the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. At Diokaisareia in Cilicia an arch with a triple passageway, that was not richly decorated but had an imposing structure, closes off the north–south colonnaded street, marking the northern urban limit (**Figure 7**).[18] A different solution was adopted at Perge, where the northern edge of the colonnaded street is marked by a monumental nymphaeum built against the slope of the acropolis, whereas to the south the monumental triple arch dedicated by Plancia Magna in AD 119–122 was built next to the complex of the Hellenistic gate.[19] A smaller and less well preserved arch with a single passageway was erected at the eastern end of the colonnaded street of Antiocheia on the Kragos, and also the colonnaded street of Hierapolis Kastabala was probably provided with an arch on its western edge, of which only one single pedestal remains.

[17] On this monument, see the recent in-depth re-analysis by Kadioğlu 2013 (with previous literature).
[18] Spanu 2013: 630-634. Cf. Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 53-56.
[19] Heinzelmann 2003: 201-205.

Figure 7: *The northern Arch at Diokaisareia (Author)*

Architectural features and costs

As far as architectural features are concerned, it is worth investigating this topic in depth, so as to determine whether they were influenced only by Anatolian models or if connections between Syrian and Cilician–Pamphylian trends in colonnaded streets can be discerned.

At a first glance Cilician porticoes, mostly those of Plain Cilicia, were more similar to Syrian ones, being built entirely in local limestone and with columns made of various superimposed drums; consequently they could reach even considerable dimensions. This can be attributed mainly to the fact that in Cilicia and in Syria marble quarries are absent, with one consequence being that imported materials could reach very high costs for a major building project such as a monumental colonnaded street.[20] Moving towards the west, starting from Antiocheia on the Kragos in Cilicia and from there to Pamphylia (Syedra, Perge, Side, etc.), we find the construction of porticoes partly or even entirely made of marble. But these regions were not endowed with marble quarries either. Then, what reasons could have conditioned the selection of a local stone, instead of imported marbles? I believe that the more expensive choice of marble partially conditioned and limited both dimensions and monumentality. When marble was used, columns were smaller and shorter (also because they were carved in the quarries with standard measures) and perhaps this is the reason why in some cases, as at Perge, they were placed upon pedestals to give the portico a slender appearance. But the final effect, even with a superstructure (architrave, frieze, cornice) made of local stone, was impressive all the same. On the contrary, when local stone was selected for the

[20] See the contribution by Marcello Spanu in this volume.

whole elevation, the porticoes could reach imposing dimensions without difficulty and at affordable costs, and thus the overall outcome was certainly more magnificent. Therefore, both choices aimed to achieve the specific requirements of magnificence and self–representation. We can assume that a city could realise a huge colonnade in local stone or a smaller colonnade partially or entirely made of marble more or less at the same cost.[21] It is worth stressing that in some cities of Plain Cilicia, such as Anazarbos and Hierapolis Kastabala, some of the column shafts were carved in a multi–coloured breccia of local or neighbouring origin, a stone that, if well–polished, could give the general impression of being a more precious stone than limestone and similar to marble.

Coming to peculiar features and local trends, we find many interesting parallels between Syria and Cilicia. For instance at Soloi Pompeiopolis, in the southern stretch of the street, fluted columns were adopted (**Figure 8**)[22], not unlike what can be seen at Apamea, where vertical and spiral fluted columns were used together with plain shafts.

In the porticoes of some Cilician sites (e.g. Soloi Pompeiopolis (**Figure 8**), Diokaisareia, Anazarbos, and Epiphaneia) consoles aimed at supporting statues were inserted in – or worked in the same piece of – the column drums. This peculiarity is almost unattested elsewhere in Asia Minor and seems to be a clear imitation of Syrian monuments, such as those of Palmyra and Apamea. The consoles bore inscriptions that attest the dedication of the now lost statues, whose dimensions were slightly less than life–size, to Roman emperors, patrons, or local citizens. Hence in the above–mentioned cases colonnaded streets

Figure 8: *Southern stretch of the colonnaded street of Soloi Pompeiopolis (© C. Raddato, CC-BY-SA-2.0, Wikimedia Commons)*

[21] For a tentative approach to the costs of colonnaded streets, cf. Borgia 2010: 294-299.

[22] For the colonnaded street of Soloi Pompeiopolis, cf. Peschlow–Bindokat 1975. For an analysis of figured capitals in the porticoes, cf. Borgia 2020.

Figure 9: *Fallen fragmentary statue and statue bases along the colonnaded street of Termessos (Author)*

became a sort of parade of statues placed on consoles with inscriptions. In western Cilicia (e.g. at Antiocheia on the Kragos) and in Pamphylia (e.g. at Perge, Termessos, and Sagalassos) the same task was performed by statue bases lining the streets and placed in the intercolumniations (**Figure 9**).[23]

Moreover, we can also observe the adoption in Cilicia of consoles with a structural purpose, whose direct model is certainly to be looked for in Syria. For instance, in the colonnaded streets of Gerasa and Apamea stretches of the porticoes having different heights existed, even if the street had an horizontal layout, and these were connected through lateral consoles projecting from the columns of the higher portions of the colonnades with the purpose of supporting the architraves of the lower portions of the porticoes. In Cilicia 'structural' consoles are attested in the colonnaded street of Hierapolis Kastabala, which slopes from the west, where the lower portion is located, to the east, where it reaches the uppermost part of the city (with a difference in elevation of approximately 27.60m[24]). Recent excavations have demonstrated that the street pavement sloped with a constant degree, for obvious reasons linked to the vehicular traffic. The sidewalks lining the street were sloping at the same manner as the carriageway, whereas the passageways under the porticoes consisted of different horizontal sections interconnected by steps. The column bases of the porticoes lay upon these horizontal stretches, each group being placed at the same level and reaching the same height. So, to connect the entablature of different stretches of the portico that had different heights it was necessary to insert structural consoles (**Figure 10**), that did not project toward the street (and at a height that was absolutely not suitable for statues[25]) but were aligned with the porticoes, in order to support the architraves of the lower portion of the *stoa*. As far as

[23] Ryan 2018: 163–166.
[24] Zeyrek 2013: 31.
[25] The note by Zeyrek 2013: 31 who suggests that the corbel was aimed at supporting a bust or a statue looks improbable.

Figure 10: *'Structural' console in a drum from the colonnaded street of Hierapolis Kastabala (Author)*

I know a similar architectural solution is never attested in marble colonnaded streets, mainly because marble column shafts were carved according to certain standard parameters in the quarries and imported finished or half–finished, with the result being that it was more difficult to rework them later to insert consoles.

Functions of colonnaded streets

Colonnaded streets were simultaneously monumental buildings which contributed to the *decor* of ancient cities, and functional structures possessing a *utilitas* that has often been underestimated.[26] How distinctive were these aspects in the examples under consideration of the colonnaded streets of South–Eastern Anatolia? How do they compare with what can be seen within a wider eastern Mediterranean perspective?

Undoubtedly the main factor behind the development of colonnaded streets was the desire to impress any arriving person with the city's magnificence, and to create along the street itself and at certain, special viewpoints a sort of 'facade of the city'. This phenomenon is arguably linked to the well–known inter–urban political competition that characterised many cities of Asia Minor during the Imperial and Late Antique periods. As concerns *decor*, many aspects concerning the magnificence of these buildings from manifold points of view have already been remarked. Two features in particular contributed to the *decor* of colonnaded streets: the grandiosity of the projects (width and elevation), and the lavishness of the decoration and materials employed on the other hand. It is important to stress that, from a

[26] As far as the functions of the colonnaded streets are concerned, see Bejor 1999. For the particular case of late antique Sagalassos, see Lavan 2008: 208-210.

Figure 11: *A column made of 'breccia' in the colonnaded street of Hierapolis Kastabala (Author)*

theoretical perspective, a colonnaded street was conceived as an indefinitely extendable project. Consequently, its construction could spread along a wide span of time. This occurs in fact in many cases – such as Apameia Palmyra, Soloi Pompeiopolis, Perge – even if it is not always easy to discern the different building phases in the absence of written or material sources or without thorough stratigraphic excavations.

If we consider grandiosity, apart from the width and length of the streets lined by porticoes and their monumental features, the materials employed (mainly in the *stoai*) merit attention. Some porticoes, mainly those in Cilicia Pedias and in eastern Tracheia, were built in the local stone since this resource was more easily available, just as happened in Syria. Limestone is mainly attested, even if there are cases of the use of polychrome breccias (at Anazarbos and Hierapolis Kastabala) that imitated marble and created a polychromatic effect and contrast (**Figure 11**). In western Cilicia and in Pamphylia, on the other hand, the *stoai* were made essentially of Troad granite or marble, or at least their columns (bases–shafts–capitals) were, whereas the upper entablature was often in local stone (Antiocheia on the Kragos, Syedra). At Perge and Side columns shafts were of white marble or Troad granite, bases and capitals of marble and the entablature (when preserved) was made both of marble and the local stone (**Figure 12**).[27] An exception can be seen at Tarsos, where some marble elements were employed in the porticoes, but here we are dealing with the capital of the province of Cilicia, and therefore a particular emphasis on the decoration of the street is not surprising.

The phenomenon of 'marmorisation' is a peculiarity of Asia Minor, a region where marble became an essential feature of all the main buildings in the Roman imperial age: colonnaded streets partially or entirely built of marble perfectly fit within this trend. A question then follows: why did some cities chose to adopt local stone whereas others chose marble? Was it a matter of fashion or of expenditure? A few years ago I tried to calculate, in a tentative and experimental way, the realization costs of a colonnaded street entirely made of local limestone compared to those of a similar monument partially built with imported marble.[28] The selected examples were two Cilician cities, Soloi Pompeiopolis, where the street is richly decorated (fluted columns and also figured capitals but all carved in the local limestone[29]), and Antiocheia on the Kragos, where the porticoes had bases and capitals in white marble and column shafts in Troad granite. Taking into consideration the whole building procedure and adding, in the second case, the expenses related to the purchase and importation of marble, it turned out that the two buildings

[27] For Perge, see: Heinzelmann 2003: 205-215. For Side, see: Mansel 1978: 21-30; Mansel 1963: 16-25.
[28] Borgia 2010: 294-299.
[29] Borgia 2020.

Figure 12: *The north-south 'lateral' colonnaded street of Side (Author)*

approximately cost the same. The difference was that the first monument was twice as tall and so certainly had a bigger impact. However, a portico in marble was more elegant, and the decorative details were more elaborate and accurate.

The *utilitas* consisted unquestionably in giving shelter from sun (which is very strong in these regions) or rain, depending on the season, and protecting pedestrians from vehicles and traffic moving along the main street. Sometimes the streets were also provided with additional sidewalks along the carriageway, that were probably used for short transits. Even if some scholars suppose that some porticoes lining the colonnaded streets were not provided with a roof – this hypothesis was proposed for instance for Gerasa[30] – keeping in mind the rules of ancient architecture, I think that it is not plausible that the *stoai* were designed without a full entablature and a roof. The 'modern' idea of beauty connected with these linear perspectives of columns without an entablature is not conceivable in Antiquity and, if often the upper structures of the colonnades have not been discovered, there may be specific reasons for this, but it cannot be considered the rule.

Anyhow, even if colonnaded avenues may have been built for other reasons, both archaeological and written sources attest to their central role as commercial entities. As Coulton very well highlights 'one of the main attractions of such streets as a device of urban planning must have been their known convenience to the city as a commercial centre'.[31] Shopping was certainly one of the most important activities carried out in monumental streets, which were created to extend the commercial area of the city alongside but outside the traditionally designated space, that is to say the *agora*. Late Antique *topos*

[30] Seigne 2008: 108 (with previous bibliography).
[31] Coulton 1976: 177.

inscriptions carved on the columns, such as at Soloi Pompeiopolis, attest the use of some areas of the porticoes as additional commercial areas, where movable stands could find a place.[32] We are informed about the crowded life and the manifold activities carried out under the porticoes of Antioch on the Orontes through a renowned passage of the *Antiochikos* of Libanius, who describes the city in the 4th century AD: 'One may understand the superiority of our trade from the following circumstance. The cities which we know pride themselves especially on their wealth exhibit only one row of goods for sale, that which lies before the buildings, but between the columns of the stoas no one works; with us, however, even these spaces are turned into shops, so that there is a workshop facing almost each one of the buildings. These are wooden huts, with brushwood for the roofs, and no space is without some handicraft; but if a man gets possession of a little strip of space, it at once becomes a tailor's shop or something of that order, and people cling to such places as they would to ropes, like Odysseus to the wild fig tree'.[33] Therefore, the prominence of commercial activities in the colonnaded streets of Late Antiquity is confirmed, and also the public regulation of the use of space. An interesting but still unexplored topic is the analysis and reconstruction of the routes taken by merchants to deliver goods to the numerous shops along the main colonnaded streets, some of which do not show wheel ruts and often have barriers as steps. But in several big cities, such as Perge, vehicles could run at least along some stretches of the street.

Finally, a fundamental (but still often underestimated) role played by colonnaded streets is the sacred–religious one. Even if not excluding the functions of *utilitas* and *decor*, this is a feature that is seldom identified and considered. We are dealing with both urban streets and suburban roads with the peculiarity of monumentalizing the access to a sacred area within a city or connecting the city with an extra–urban sanctuary.[34] The wide streets lined by monumental porticoes, and the possible statuary displayed along the sidewalks must have contributed to the overall enhancement of the visitors' expectations and certainly made the approach to the sanctuary very impressive. The most renowned case is certainly that of Palmyra, where the main street connecting two fundamental sacred reference points of the city – the Temple of Bel to the east and the Funerary Temple to the west – was progressively provided with colonnades over a long timescale (between the 2nd and early 3rd century AD), thanks to the generosity of various private citizens.[35] Another important example is that of Petra, where the main urban axis along the Wadi Musa, since the earliest phases of life of the city, had also a processional role in the direction of the temple of Dushara; in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD it was provided with flanking porticoes on both sides that emphasized its role as the ceremonial route leading to the city's main temple.[36] The religious role is again fundamental in the last portion of the sacred road connecting Pergamon to the Asklepieion, which was certainly the background for processions and ceremonies.[37] We find a suitable parallel in Cilicia at Hierapolis Kastabala (**Figure 13**), where the long and sloping colonnaded street was probably also a sort of sacred way leading to the sanctuary of the patron goddess (even if its exact location remains debated) and guiding the faithful towards her shrine. At Diokaisareia

[32] Borgia 2004. Cf. Saliou 2007: 139-142 (who proposes also other possible functional interpretations of these *toposinschriften*).

[33] Lib. Or. 11, 254 (translation by Downey 1959: 679-680). Γνοίη δ' ἄν τις ὡδὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπερβάλλον. Αἱ πόλεις, ὅσας ἴσμεν ἐπὶ πλούτῳ μάλιστα φρονούσας, ἕνα στοῖχον τῶν ὠνίων δεικνύουσι, τὸν τῶν οἰκημάτων προκείμενον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις τῶν κιόνων ἐργάζεται οὐδείς, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πωλητήρια, ὥστε ἑκάστου μικροῦ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀντιπρόσωπον ἐργαστήριον, ἀντίπυργοι ξύλινοι καὶ ῥῶπες εἰς σκέπην, καὶ τόπος οὐδεὶς ψιλὸς χειροτεχνήματος, ἀλλὰ κἂν μικροῦ τις λάβηται κρασπέδου, παραχρῆμα τοῦτο ἀκεστήριον ἤ τι παραπλήσιον, καὶ ἔχονται δὴ τῶν τόπων οἷον καλωδίων, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦ ἐρινεοῦ.

[34] For an attempt to delineate the role of urban streets as 'religious and liturgical annexes' in the city of Rome, see Bertrand 2010: 79-80. An analysis of this feature in the colonnaded streets of Palmyra was attempted by Saliou 1996: 323.

[35] Borgia 2010: 288-291 (with previous literature).

[36] Burns 2017: 109–114; Kanellopoulos 2001. Cf. Amadasi Guzzo and Equini Schneider 1997: 124-126.

[37] Melfi 2016; Radt 2002: 222-226.

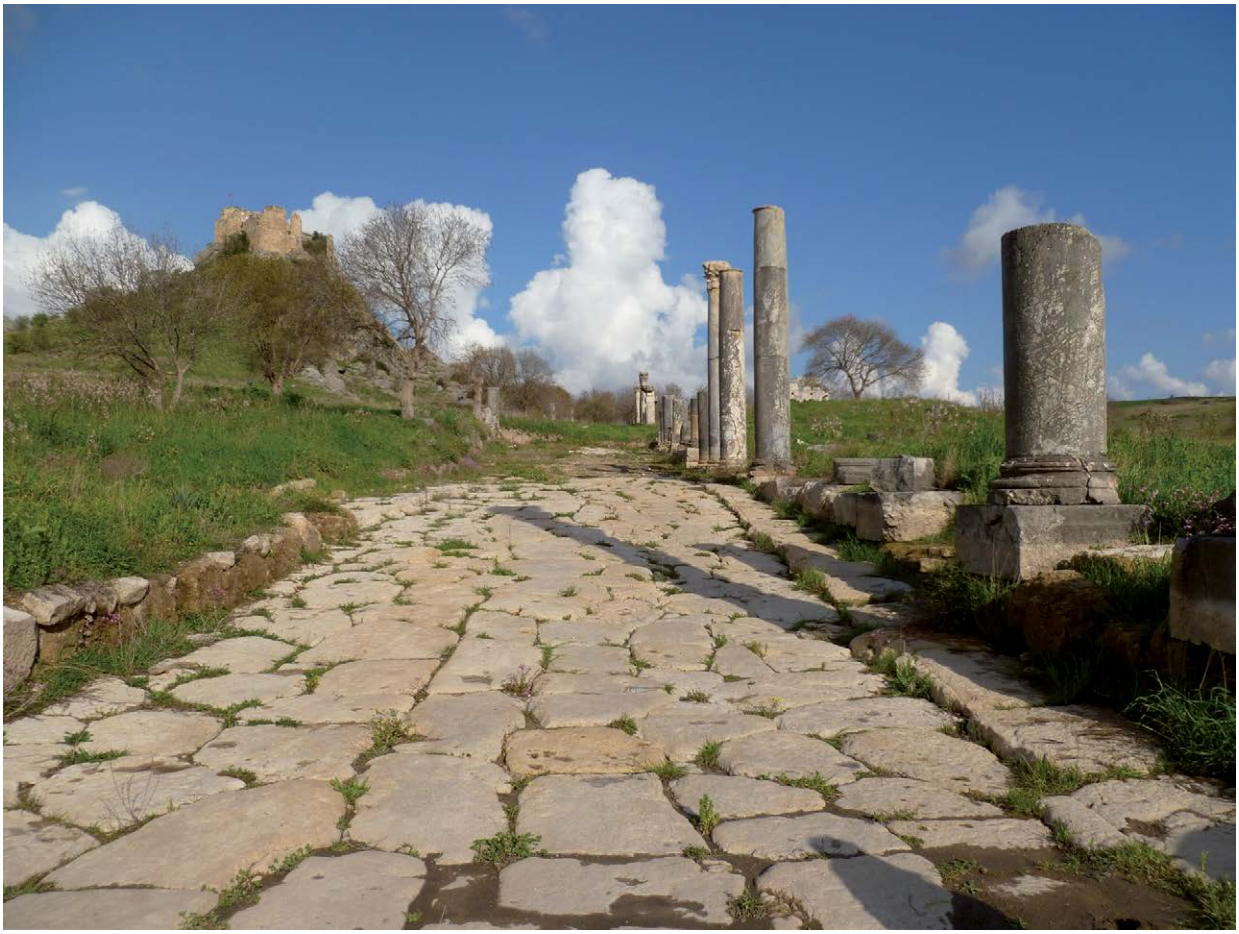

Figure 13: *The sloping colonnaded street of Hierapolis Kastabala (Author)*

in Cilicia two or maybe three colonnaded streets surrounded the *temenos* of the temple of Zeus Olbios, and certainly were a fundamental network for the flow of worshippers in and out of the temple; it may have had also religious functions and could be used for sacred processions.

A very stimulating hypothesis that endorses the possibility of using the colonnaded avenues as processional ways has been recently proposed by C. Saliou.[38] Albeit tentatively, she argues that some of the *toposinschriften* inscribed (or better roughly engraved or painted) on the elements of the *stoai* lining the streets may well be explained as designating specific sectors of the porticoes for use by different categories of people, but not (only) for commercial purposes. They could also be linked to the participation in specific religious processions or celebrations that took place very often in ancient cities and were obviously attended by large crowds so that there was a need for the regulation and distribution of people along the streets. At any rate, the randomness of such inscriptions from the spatial point of view and the choice of a wide variety of places in which to engrave them let us infer that they were not often linked to an overall plan for the distribution of people at such huge and organised ceremonies. It looks more probable, especially when we are dealing with *topoi* mentioning specific professions, that they were marks of 'private' use of public space, that was likely granted to traders and sellers by official authorities.

[38] Saliou 2017: 141-142.

In a few cases marble columns of the porticoes are decorated with divine figures in high relief in the upper portion of the shaft, such as at Perge, where in the central portion of the main street, some columns display gods or figures making sacrifices. It is not easy to understand if this was linked to specific religious rituals or if it is to be explained through a more general religious feeling that the donors of those columns wanted to exhibit.

The connection of monumental streets with religious ceremonies and rites can also be perceived in later phases, especially with the building of Christian complexes that became focal monuments within renovated cities. Some interesting considerations were presented by Lavan concerning Sagalassos, a city where continuity in the use of the main north–south colonnaded street is attested up to the 7th century AD.[39] A suggestive hypothesis was proposed by Jacobs concerning the existence, in Late Antiquity, of 'ecclesiastical' colonnaded streets alongside secular ones.[40] Either existing colonnaded streets, refurbished and maintained, or newly built ones were certainly a pivotal element in the new cityscape, involving Christian processions and rituals outside the 'prayer halls'. This is particularly true also for some Cilician cases, such as Hierapolis Kastabala or Anazarbos, where churches were integrated behind the colonnades, or as Diokaisareia, where the main church was built within the pre–existing temple that was already linked with the net of colonnaded streets surrounding the *temenos*. In Pamphylia, at Side, the secondary colonnaded street B gained more importance when the ecclesiastical complex was built. Undoubtedly, more careful research on Late Antique urbanism will shed new light on this complex phenomenon, that involves not only the necessity of giving a highly representative approach to episcopal complexes or main Christian buildings, but also to other activities that could be carried out under the porticoes. Moreover, an often neglected aspect is that streets also reflected the everyday and instinctive religious life of people. The columns of the porticoes or other structures connected to the streets occasionally bear Christian symbols or short pious inscriptions that were painted or carved by personal initiative, as a demonstration of the diffused new religious feeling pervading the local communities in the Early–Byzantine age.

Evergetism and local benefactors

As in the rest of the Mediterranean East, also in the provinces considered here the construction of colonnaded streets largely involved private sponsorship that provided funds for local projects. It is important to stress again that such huge projects were often the result of the well–known attitude of competition between different urban communities all of which sought to embellish their cities.[41] Unfortunately in Pamphylia and Cilicia few epigraphic sources attest to these forms of evergetism, and the real sponsors of such huge projects remain often unknown. Two remarkable examples come from Side in Pamphylia. The first testimony is almost unique, as it consists of an inscription on a statue basis that mentions the renovation of 250 columns by an otherwise unknown governor of Pamphylia of the 4th century AD, Flavios Eutolmios:[42] even if the fragmentary text does not explicitly mention the colonnaded street, this monument (maybe together with others, such as the agora) is the most suitable for receiving a so large number of columns. The second is an inscription of the Roman Imperial period that mentions the erection of a single column of the colonnaded street with its base or plinth (βωμός) and capital (σπειροκέφαλος) by a local *euergetes*, called Loukios Poplios Ailios [...]lianos.[43]

[39] Lavan 2008: 208-209.
[40] Jacobs 2014; Jacobs 2009.
[41] For overall considerations on this topic, see Barresi 2003. For civic benefactions in Cilicia, see Wandsnider 2013.
[42] Nollé 2001: 476-477 no. 156. The renovation could be connected to an earthquake.
[43] Nollé 2001: 483-483 no. 164.

Like other monuments, but perhaps more so than others, colonnaded streets were the place where the status and power of urban élites could be displayed at the same time as their devotion and loyalty to Rome and the emperor. It is well known that in ancient cities of the Roman East political power, in order to be accepted, needed also to be represented and visualised through inscriptions and images (primarily statues). Arguably no other type of monument was better suited for the display of statues than the colonnaded avenue. Daily hundreds of persons of both local and foreign origins walked along the streets and their porticoes, making them the best place to practice this 'visualisation of power'. If such a solution is self–evident when dealing with larger and more important cities – such as Perge or Side in Pamphylia and Tarsos and Anazarbos in Cilicia – it is remarkable that also minor settlements adopted the same system of propaganda through smaller colonnaded streets.

Such is the case for instance with Antiocheia on the Kragos in Cilicia and Termessos in Pamphylia (**Figure 9**), where a considerable number of inscribed statue bases were found *in situ* (or very close to their original location) in the intercolumnar spaces of the porticoes.[44] At Termessos the street L5 was not a main artery but, even if it was not fundamental in the city's traffic, it served as an urban market and at the same time as a gallery of statues. The honoured persons were of different categories: men and women, priests, athletes, magistrates, and benefactors. This sort of collective message was addressed to passers–by by the single families, but at a final point it was composed by the city itself. The colonnaded street of Syedra was also lined on the north side with important honorific monuments having a certain importance, such as two *exedrae*, and a building that is interpreted as a *heroon* is located at its western end.[45]

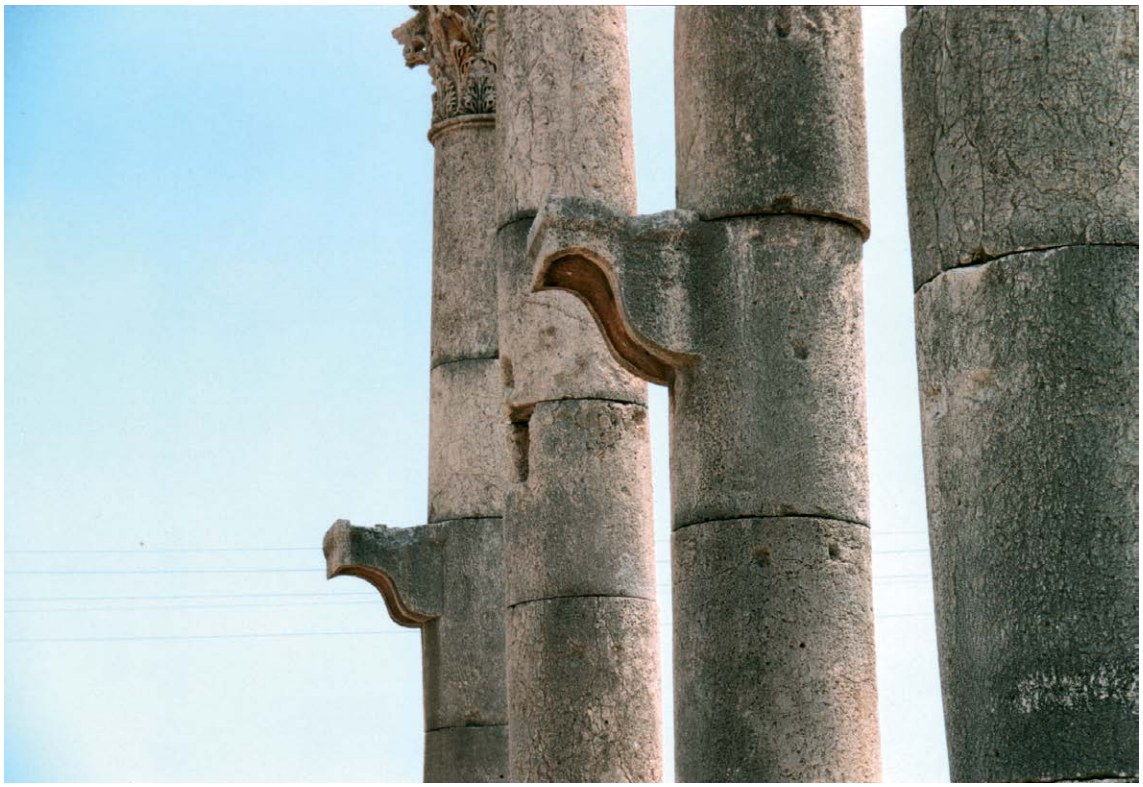

Figure 14: *Southern portion of the colonnaded street of Soloi Pompeiopolis with inscribed consoles for statues (Author)*

[44] Van Nijf 2011: 231–232.
[45] Adak 2021.

The same evergetic function was performed by the statues placed above the consoles projecting from column shafts at Soloi Pompeiopolis (**Figure 14**) and Diokaisareia. These statues and inscriptions were much probably set up and paid by the families or by the persons involved, even if this information is not always available. So, we must imagine a special permission given by urban authorities (probably the same group to which the honorand pertained) to introduce these familial self–representations within a public monument such as the street. From the very short inscriptions preserved we are informed about the identities of the people thus honoured. It is remarkable that homage was paid not only to local benefactors, but to living and deified emperors as well. At Diokaisareia Tiberius is mentioned as *ktistes* and *soter* on a console pertaining to a portico datable to the mid–2nd century AD. At Soli Pompeiopolis an inscribed console is dedicated to Augustus, whereas the whole project encompassing the artificial harbour and the colonnaded street was started by Hadrian and concluded by Antoninus Pius. If it is not difficult to assume what kind of impact the commemorated local personalities may have had on the city's political and civic life, and therefore why they were honoured with statues along the main avenues of the city, the same cannot be said when dealing with emperors. Living emperors may have made an actual financial contribution to the building project, but what could have been the role of emperors who lived and ruled more than one century before the erection of the colonnaded street? I believe that in this last circumstance there was a real commemorative intent by means of the local authorities aiming to celebrate those emperors who were responsible of important changes in the city's life and history.[46]

Late Roman and Early Byzantine renovations and transformations

Because of their fundamental role as multipurpose foci for urban centres, colonnaded streets were maintained in use, but underwent many renovations during the later centuries of the Roman Empire and the first centuries of the Byzantine age.[47] These reconstructions were often made necessary by catastrophic events, such as fires or earthquakes, but occurred also as a result of the normal processes of maintenance and of ordinary transformation or destructuration of the classical Greco–Roman city. Both epigraphic and archaeological sources inform us about the restoration of the porticoes lining the main streets, a renovation that involved their structural and decorative aspect.

As far as it is possible to hypothesize, the colonnaded street of Soloi Pompeiopolis was largely destroyed by an earthquake that is datable precisely in AD 525 through excavation data.[48] It was then restored, even if it is not possible to determine to what extent, or whether the campaign of reconstruction encompassed the whole building or only those portions that were in a worse state of preservation. It is almost certain that at this moment the southern portion of the western *stoa* was provided with arches rising directly upon the capitals, instead of the canonical sequence of architrave, frieze, and cornice. This reconstruction is made certain because some voussoirs were still *in situ*, even before the imposing restoration that was carried out a few years ago. The de–structuration of the typical Roman architecture is a specifically Late Antique feature that finds parallels, for example, at Jerusalem.

One of the main aesthetic (but also functional) aspects of the Early Byzantine renovation process often involves repaving the *stoai* with geometric *opus sectile* and/or figural mosaics, whereas in the Roman period the most common type of walkway was made of stone slabs. Mosaic pavements are attested both

[46] In other regions of Asia Minor the porticoes were also used as exhibitions places for works of art or paintings. See Pont 2010: 185-186.

[47] For a thorough analysis of these processes, see Saliou 2005.

[48] On the colonnaded street of Soloi Pompeiopolis, various excavation reports were published annually on the Journal *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*. In particular, see the most recent ones: Yağcı and Yiyitpaşa 2018; Yağcı and Yiyitpaşa 2019.

in Syrian cities, such as Apamea,[49] and in the cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia. We must imagine that a rich and elaborated type of pavement, such as those under examination, did not extend for the entire length of the porticoes but was concentrated mainly (or only) in the most important and central areas of the city and outside the main buildings. Along the east side of the porticoes on the main colonnaded street of Side, leading from the North Gate to the harbour (the so called 'Groβen Säulenstraβe'), fragments of mosaic pavements probably to be dated to the 5th century AD bear two dedicatory inscriptions concerning the restoration of the mosaics. The more complete text is inscribed in a *tabula* within a mosaic decorated with geometric lunate patterns and commemorates the restoration made under the *komes* Theodoros.[50] At Soloi Pompeiopolis large portions of *opus sectile* pavements, dated after the above–mentioned earthquake of AD 525, were created under the porticoes.

It is even more difficult to understand if and to what extent in Late Antiquity the analysed colonnaded streets underwent partial processes of de–construction and/or privatisation.[51] It is well known that in some specific cases the loss of control by public authorities resulted in a complete change of urban patterns. This process may have affected the large part of the cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia, but it is not always easy to detect in detail all the changes that occurred in the streets. However, at the present state of the research, encroachment is no longer necessarily indicative of a phase of decline, but mainly of a deep transformation. A very significant and well–studied case under this perspective is Sagalassos where major and minor repairs, with the use of *spolia*, are largely attested in public streets and squares after the earthquakes dating to AD 500 and the early 7th century.[52] A localised process of rupture and continuity can also be identified at Soloi Pompeiopolis, Anazarbos and perhaps also at Hierapolis Kastabala. At the same time new one–room shops were often created outside the regular lines behind the porticoes, occupying the porticoes themselves and other areas connected with the street. But the effective encroachment of the road pavement normally occurred in a much later phase and not before the 7th century AD.

As far as the available evidence suggests, the colonnaded street complexes of Pamphylia and western Cilicia continued their life even after the above–mentioned transformations, and on into Early Byzantine age. Falling into the hands of the Arabs in the mid–7th century, eastern Cilicia's cities met with a different fate: some of them were abandoned thereafter, and all their activities were concentrated in big cities, such as Tarsos.[53]

Conclusions

The cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia, not differently from those of the whole Asia Minor, promoted a uniform and well organised idea of the cityscape. The streets were considered among the primary monuments contributing to the urban order and embellishment, also because they facilitated the movement of people and goods. As we have remarked above, the long porticoes lining the streets, together with the shops and monuments behind them, were multipurpose structures. They contributed in giving a homogeneous architectural façade to the buildings overlooking the street, and so they

[49] Tabaczek 2010: 107 nt. 26.

[50] Mansel 1978: 27; Nollé 2001: 483-484 no. 164 (see also no. 163). The inscription was copied by Bean in 1949 and has suffered deep deterioration since that time.

[51] On the encroachment of public spaces, mainly of streets, in Late Antiquity, see Jacobs 2009.

[52] Lavan 2008.

[53] In Cilicia archaeological traces of the gradual transformation of colonnaded streets into suqs, as happens in Syria, are not attested. For a thorough re-analysis of this important period of change in the Near East, when the town moved away from the classical model, see Ward-Perkins 1996: 148-152.

contributed to the monumentality of the city. The statues placed in the intercolumniations and/or above the consoles in the columns offered a specific political message to the people walking along the street, but were at the same time an ornament of the urban area. But the *stoai* with their covered roofs had also a practical function, as they could shelter people and merchants from the atmospheric agents and allowed economic and social exchanges.

Taking into account the specific characteristics in building plan and architecture of colonnaded streets in South–Eastern Anatolia, we find some clear references to Syrian models of which local architects were undoubtedly aware. We are able also to perceive the adoption of peculiar regional features, which implies the local adaptation of an imported model. An overall stylistic and chronological overview reveals that it is highly possible, even if not demonstrable, that Cilicia and Pamphylia may have played a role of intermediary in the transmission of models between Syria and Asia Minor. Colonnaded avenues in Plain Cilicia are closer in their layout to the Syrian ones, whereas moving towards the west we discover a progressive 'marmorisation' and an adaptation to more Asiatic trends. Therefore, the analysed monuments perfectly fit within the framework of a mixed and composite culture and lead us to consider South–Eastern Anatolia as a real crossroads also from this perspective. At any rate, the creation of colonnaded streets in Cilicia and Pamphylia perfectly fits within the general eastern Mediterranean trend of the first centuries of the Roman Empire, when there emerged a new architectural language that employed monumentalism to make political and ideological statements on a grand scale.

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The Bath Buildings of Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia in Roman Times: Characteristics, Layout, and Peculiarities

Emanuele Casagrande Cicci[1]

Abstract

Archaeological investigation is constantly adding to our knowledge of the broader historical, architectural, and social development of Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia under Roman rule. The bathing complexes of Cilicia and Pamphylia constitute a particularly rich source of information not only for urbanization and socio-economic changes over centuries in these areas, but also for the political status of their inhabitants. The following paper reassesses questions regarding the layout and characteristics of the bath buildings of these regions. The topographic position and the dimensions of the structures in relationship to the urban layout will be also taken into consideration. The bathing complexes of Lycia, which have been well studied in recent decades, will be presented as relevant comparanda. This contribution will describe several baths of Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia in order to highlight some of these concepts. Specific layouts and architectural elements will be analyzed, revealing regional construction trends and the relevant Imperial building models. The so-called 'Little Baths' of Elaioussa Sebaste (in the Roman province of Cilicia), which are the subject of an ongoing excavation, will be presented as an example of the overall building category. Bath complexes are arguably that category of ancient public architecture that best illustrates the impact and dissemination dynamics of Roman rule throughout the peripheral territories of the Empire.

Key Words: *Baths, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Anatolia*

Introduction

The thorough study of the bathing complexes of the western part of the Anatolian Peninsula[2] has demonstrated a great variety of building models arising from the strong socio-cultural *mélanges* that have characterised the entire territory since Antiquity. Amongst these must be reckoned both Hellenistic and Imperial Roman models.[3]

A peculiar building typology defined as bath-gymnasium[4] unified the great colonnaded *palaestra* typical of the Greek world with the Roman-style thermal block consisting of several vaulted and apsidal rooms.[5] The gymnasium-bath type buildings functioned as athletic, educational, hygienic and recreational places:[6] each building, according to local desires and needs, could give more space to one activity or the other. The gymnasium-baths of the western part of the Anatolian peninsula, with the exception of the Baths of Capito at Miletos,[7] displayed the axial and symmetrical layout observed in the Imperial Baths

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[2] In the present contribution only a brief assessment of the most relevant questions and a starting-point for future research on the baths of Pamphylia, Lycia and Cilicia can be noted. Apart from the study of the civic bath buildings of western Anatolia, a relevant new preliminary reconsideration of the category of the thermo-mineral spas of Asia Minor has been published by E. Borgia in 2019 (Borgia 2019). The above-mentioned research sheds new light on specific bathing structures that have been neglected in recent years and are almost unknown at the moment.

[3] Farrington 1987: 50.

[4] I. Nielsen's study of the Roman gymnasium-baths identifies forty-six recognized examples, twenty-six of which were located in Asia Minor (Nielsen 1990); F.K. Yegül, on the other hand, recognized only seventeen examples (Yegül 1992).

[5] Farrington 1995: 22.

[6] Yegül 1992: 156.

[7] Torelli and Gros 2007: 462.

of Rome; the main rooms as a rule were situated within a rectangular enclosure that regularized the general plan.[8] The baths of the western part of the Anatolian peninsula, and in particular the gymnasium–baths, preferred a simple alignment of the walls inserting only the apses within the inner structures.[9]

The Anatolian bathing complexes of the Imperial age were designed according to the architectural fashion to be found in buildings in the western provinces, especially as regards axial and symmetrical development.[10] In terms of layout, however, several types of ground plan have been recognized. These were primarily due to the varied cultural influences arising from the multiple contacts that the entire region had with different social and political entities.

In Asia Minor a large number of baths were built with rows of rooms arranged on parallel elongated axes. This system could be modified by the insertion of transversal, parallel or angular spaces with respect to the main axis constituted by the main bathing rooms. This type was used until the 5th century AD for small and large buildings. Significant examples worth mentioning include the baths of Sillyon and the 'Gymnasium' of Termessos (Pamphylia), the latter of which is dated to AD 212 by an inscription.[11]

On the other hand, apart from the main relevant examples located mostly within the Asia Minor area, many buildings foresaw an asymmetric arrangement of the rooms. Built as small structures, they were generally provided with square or rectangular rooms. The insertion of transversal elements within thermal complexes arranged in a row was a layout stratagem widely used in the southern provinces of Asia Minor such as Pamphylia and Cilicia. The Southern Gymnasium of Perge and the Harbor Baths of Side[12] constitute two of the most noteworthy examples. The result of the juxtaposition of the main block with the transverse block was an asymmetric and irregular plan development: the Great Baths of Side (3rd century AD) and the baths of Herakleia on the Latmos (2nd century AD) constituted two of the best examples of the monumentalisation of this particular building category.[13]

A small number of baths were provided with a central element consisting of a roofed gallery (usually rectangular) that served as a connection between the bathing rooms, which were subdivided into warm and cold blocks. This type, arranged to specific changes in layout that were due to the orography and topography of the territory in which they were inserted, was frequently realised in Pamphylia and in Cilicia.[14] The gallery facilitated bathers' circulation by allowing direct access to the desired area of the baths (cold or warm rooms). It has not been possible to determine with precision the chronology of this typology, but comparative studies carried out on some Greek baths (the Baths of Isthmia and the North–Eastern Baths of Epidauros) suggest a chronology starting in the 2nd century AD.[15]

Many of the examples belonging to this category have been identified in the provinces of Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia.

[8] One of the rare exceptions is that of the so–called Harbor Baths of Ephesos, where the *caldarium* had protruding elements.
[9] Yegül 1992: 251.
[10] Farrington 1987: 50–51.
[11] For the baths of Termessos, see Çelgin 1997: 111–144.
[12] See Mansel 1978.
[13] Farrington 1995: 33.
[14] Farrington 1995: 34.
[15] Farrington 1995: 35–36.

The Baths of Cilicia

The principal cities of Cilicia witnessed the construction of several bathing complexes during the Imperial age; smaller baths were built in the secondary settlements of the province.[16]

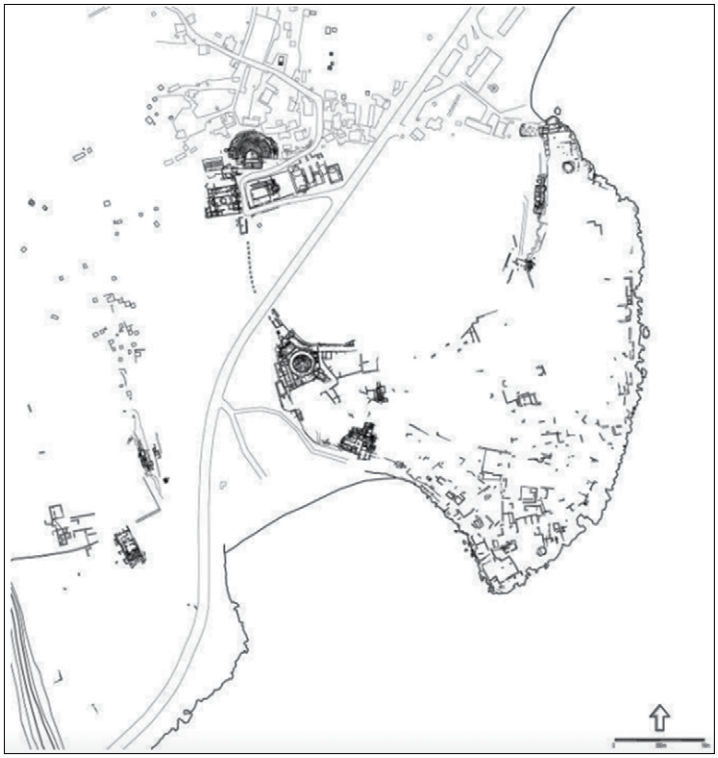

Figure 1: *Elaioussa Sebaste. General Plan (Archive of the Italian Mission of Elaioussa Sebaste)*

Most of the bathing complexes of Cilicia that have been identified were built during the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, and only a very small number date to the period between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (first and second phase of the Harbor Baths of Elaioussa Sebaste). A relevant factor which must be taken into consideration is the lack of archaeological investigation for the majority of the Cilician sites, which may mean that we are not only unaware of some of the region's significant baths, but also poorly informed about the layout and chronology of those that have been identified. In fact, the thorough study of the Harbor Baths at Elaioussa Sebaste (**Figure 1**) revealed the presence of phases prior to the well documented 2nd century AD building (the third phase of the complex).[17]

The bathing facilities of many centers of Cilicia reached a limited development in order to respond to specific functional and economic needs. This is the case, for example, for the Asar Tepe, Göçük Asarı and Lamos[18] complexes, for which a structural resemblance with some buildings of Lycia and Pamphylia has been recognized.[19]

From a structural point of view, the baths of Cilicia, with the exception of some large structures such as those at Anemourion (III.2.B), Korykos (Great Baths), Elaioussa Sebaste (Great Baths, **Figure 2**) and Anazarbos (Northern Baths), were rather small in dimension.

Better documented are the heated rooms most often covered with vaults such as those to be seen, for example, in the so–called Little Baths of Elaioussa Sebaste. The two rooms of this building (with apses along the western side), like nearly all the examples studied, were east–west oriented and located to the south–west of the cold rooms. *Tepidaria* and *caldaria* were equipped with several basins and pools. The rooms were enriched and decorated with numerous elements such as, for example, the niches that housed statues or other decorative elements (like in the Little Baths of Elaioussa). Near the bathing facilities in most cases there were cisterns, a large part of which received water from the city aqueducts

[16] Hoff 2013: 155.
[17] Borgia and Spanu 2003.
[18] Rauh *et al.* 2009: 295. In particular, the very similar layout and the dimensions of the Asar Tepe and Göçük Asarı baths could indicate the same workmanship.
[19] See Farrington 1995: Yegül 1992: 301–304.

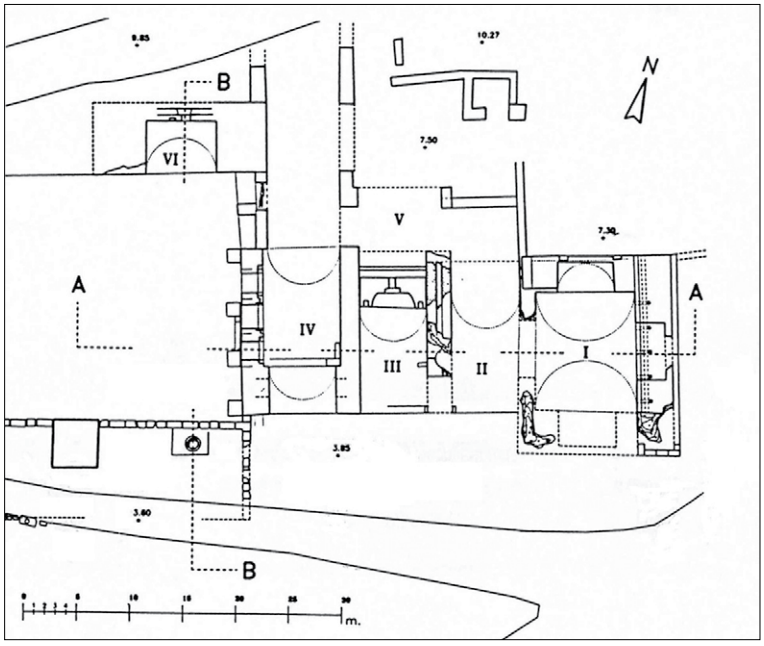

Figure 2: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Plan of the Great Baths (Equini Schneider 1999)*

but in some cases also collecting rain water.

Within the province at least[20] 43 baths have been recognized so far (Tab. 1). The majority of the bathing complexes of Cilicia were provided of a series of rectangular rooms (most often three) parallel to each other; the outermost room was provided with an apse along one of the two short sides. This layout has been recognized in many provinces of the Empire and was widespread between the third quarter of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Many variations on the plan have been highlighted. In some cases, a fourth space was added to the three parallel rooms, while a porticoed space (*palaestra*) might be found on one of the sides of the bath block. In many cases the complex was provided with two apses that were symmetrically positioned on one side of the building and provided with water basins. The heated rooms were usually arranged opposite to the entrance. The interior circulation involved passing through the *palaestra* (where present), the *frigidarium*, the *tepidarium* and the *caldarium*.

A few complexes in the province had main rooms covered with barrel vaulted ceilings accessible through a large rectangular hall/gallery located at the center of the building. The rooms were located around the central space that was sometimes provided with a basin for cold water; the southern wing of the building usually housed the heated area.[21] Some small–sized baths, with a rectangular layout, were built with each individual room positioned as a distinct block, thereby resulting in a highly irregular plan (e.g. the Little Baths).

The construction of gymnasium–bath complexes in Cilicia has long been doubted in the past because of the absence of clear material remains.[22] In recent years, however, new archaeological investigation in some of the main centres of the province has clarified this relevant topic. The Cilician complexes associated with this typology must have been much more numerous than those currently identified: the bath complex III.2.B of Anemourion is only the first of these to have been archaeologically investigated and topographically recognized. Furthermore, over the last few years, recent investigation carried out within the so–called Great Baths of Elaioussa Sebaste has clarified the existence, along the western side of the bath block, of a wide porticoed open–air area used as a *palaestra*. The absence of systematic investigation inside the buildings and the fact that the open spaces do not preserve easily recognized structures in elevation have undoubtedly contributed to the lack of documentation of this particular

[20] The number of 43 baths recognised in the province of Cilicia must be extended again: survey analysis conducted by the present author in the region together with ancient sources revealed the presence of other baths still partially visible, still not excavated or known only thanks to 19th century travelers notices.

[21] Huber 2013.

[22] See Yegül 1992.

structural element. Among these buildings the so–called Great Baths of Selinous[23] may have hosted a modest–sized *palaestra* that was located along the southern side of the actual bath block. The large rooms located in the center of the I.12.A baths of Antiocheia on the Kragos and the baths II.7.A of Anemourion, moreover, may have performed recreational and congregational functions similar to those hosted in the *palaestra* proper.[24]

Most of the bathing complexes of Cilicia show the widespread use of limestone blocks for the facing of the walls,[25] but in a few cases bricks and tiles, or more rarely *opus reticulatum* were used . Bricks and tiles were used for specific structures of the baths such as the warm rooms and the ceilings.[26] Specific modifications, due to regional peculiarities, can be demonstrated from a metrological point of view. The bathing complexes of the province attest to the adaptation of *opus latericium* and concrete construction techniques to particular patterns. In fact, the Cilician bricks, with a side of 30 cm,[27] are approximately equal in value to the Roman foot (*pes*).[28] This widespread use of the *pedales* may derive from a transposition of the Cilician unit of measure onto the Imperial metrological system,[29] confirming how regional practices persisted even after the Roman conquest.

A recently uncovered example of Cilician baths: the so–called Little Baths at Elaioussa Sebaste

The so–called Little Baths (**Figure 3**) are located between the Byzantine Palace and the domestic and productive area of Elaioussa Sebaste.[30] Excavation, which started in 2012 when only the roofs of the warm

Figure 3: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Little Baths: Aerial View of the complex in 2017 (Archive of the Italian Mission of Elaioussa Sebaste)*

[23] Hoff 2013: 150.
[24] Yegül 2010: 178.
[25] Spanu 2010: 397–409.
[26] Equini Schneider 1999: 103.
[27] The measures of the Cilician bricks are comprised between 25cm and 35cm.
[28] See Adam 2006.
[29] Spanu 2010: 404.
[30] For preliminary research on the complex, see Casagrande Cicci 2019.

Figure 4: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Little Baths in 2017 (Author)*

rooms were partially visible, has allowed us to uncover and document almost entirely the complex (**Figure 4**).

Apart from the previous Hellenistic building phase that predates the construction of the complex,[31] the exact construction chronology of the Little Baths still remains uncertain. The material evidence coming from the lower stratigraphic levels has been dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, but it is still unclear whether these layers are associated with the bathing complex or with an earlier building having a different function.[32]

Technical, architectural and structural comparisons with the other baths of the city, however, have suggested an initial chronology of the 2nd century AD. Well known, moreover, is the second phase of the complex that dates to the 4th century AD. It was then that some spaces pertaining to the service area underwent transformation and the impressive 'four seasons' mosaic of the *apodyterium* (room VI) was created (**Figure 5**).[33]

As mentioned above, the complex was built in a previously occupied area. The southern walls of the baths were leant against an already existent long northwest–southeast polygonal wall which constituted the northern limit of an important street linking the central area of the promontory to its westernmost part close to the sea.

Each room of the building was conceived as a single architectural block (a solution widely used elsewhere

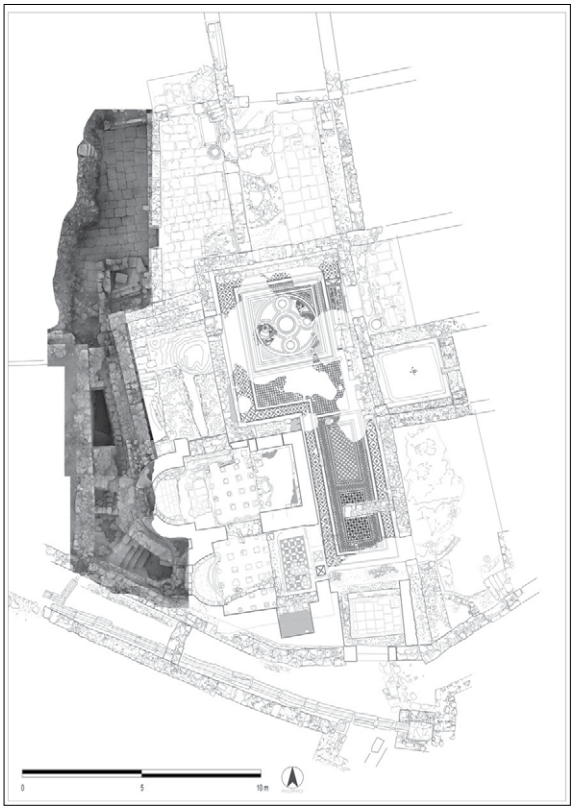

Figure 5: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Little Baths: Plan with Orthophoto of the excavated area in 2017 (Archive of the Italian Mission of Elaioussa Sebaste)*

[31] The Hellenistic phase of the area has been determined by the presence of polygonal walls enclosing this part of the promontory. The function of these structures (apart from the retaining wall section of the Hellenistic defensive city–wall) is still uncertain and requires future investigation for clarification.

[32] Casagrande Cicci 2019: 344–345.

[33] Casagrande Cicci 2019: 342.

Figure 6: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Little Baths: Mosaic of the corridor VIII after restoration (Author)*

in the province) with a double–faced curtain in ashlar masonry and a core in conglomerate. The outer walls of the warm rooms were covered with a thin, pink hydraulic mortar surface.

In the 4th century AD phase, the complex was accessible from the east via an ashlar paved street whose route is not completely clear. The *apodyterium* (room VI), a square room with two steps at its entrance, was the biggest of the complex. This room, together with the corridor (room VIII, **Figure 6**) situated further south, was paved with a polychrome figured mosaic. The mosaic had an outer frame constituted by coloured squares with floral decoration and four main decorative motifs, two in the square space and the other two in the corridor itself.

At the entrance the mosaic pavement had a Greek inscription in three rows which is partially preserved and includes the participle of the verb *hygiaino*, which could possibly indicate a wish for the hosts of the complex (**Figure 7**). The central carpet of the *apodyterium* pavement contains the 'four seasons' mosaic, a motif well known all over the Mediterranean. On the eastern part of the carpet a veiled figure has been recognized.[34] Its label, ΧΙΜ, has been interpreted as Χ(Ε)ΙΜΩΝ, meaning Winter (**Figures 8–9**). Further west has been found the Autumn panel with the legend ΜΕ[..]ΠΟΡΙΝΕ (it has been interpreted as an orthographic error for Μετωπορινή).[35]

The corridor (room VIII) was paved with two different rectangular floral motifs. The outer frame to the south ended in a slightly embossed, rectangular *opus sectile* decoration, which gave access to a square brick paved immersion tub (room III). The water that filled the tub probably came

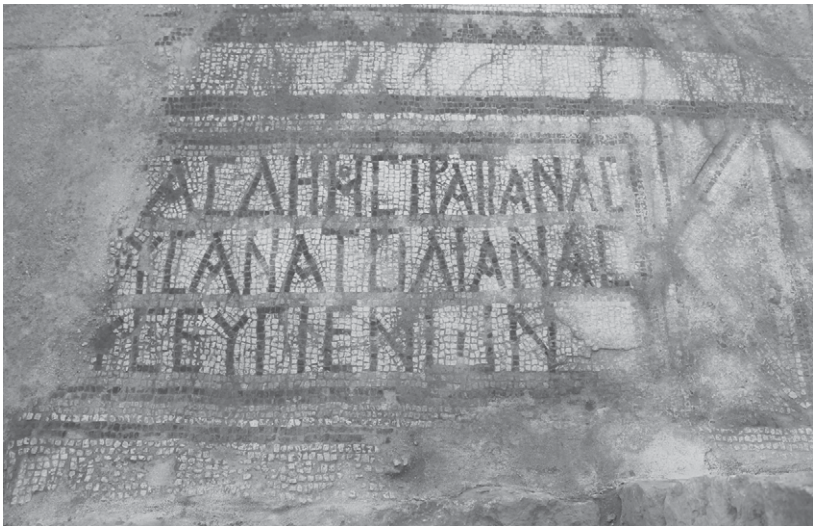

Figure 7: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Little Baths: Detail of the mosaic at the entrance of the Apodyterium (Author)*

[34] Casagrande Cicci 2019: 345–346.

[35] For the inscription see Equini Schneider and Ritti 2015: 23–29.

Figure 8: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Little Baths: Mosaic with Seasons: Winter (Author)*

from the channels running over the vaults of the warm rooms. There a well, fed by the city aqueduct or rainwater flowing northward into a cistern cut into the bedrock, has been identified. The corridor probably also gave access to an area situated further east which has not yet been investigated. The first warm room of the complex, the *tepidarium* (room II), was accessible from the western part of the corridor. The internal space of the room was divided in two by a north–south ashlar wall. The easternmost part of the room, unheated, was paved with a geometric polychrome rectangular mosaic, while to the south a niche was decorated with a white mosaic floor and frescoes covering the inner walls. The central part of the room lacks any kind of pavement, and only the *pilae* pertaining to the hypocaust system are visible. In the western part of the room a tub located inside the inner space of the apse was recognized. A similar layout has been noted in the *caldarium* (room I), which was accessible to the south from the *tepidarium*: marble square tiles covered the tub opening into the inner space of the apse, while the central area of the room had an unknown paving. The easternmost part of the *caldarium*, partially paved with a white mosaic floor, probably hosted a tub. Two niches were inserted in the northern wall of the room, both destroyed as a result of the various phases of the complex. The westernmost one, the larger of the two, was built on top of the tile duct of the *praefurnium* (room VII) located further north. West and northwest of the warm rooms was the service area of the complex. Further north but not accessible from the warm rooms, the *praefurnium* has been recognized; it was entered from a door opened to the west. Behind the apses of the *caldarium* and the *tepidarium* another vaulted roof room (room IV) has been identified, which was likely situated on a lower level and served as a service area for inspection of the hypocaust floor; to the west of this the perimeter wall of the bath building was found.

Figure 9: *Elaioussa Sebaste. Little Baths, Apodyterium: Detail of the mosaic decoration after restoration (Author)*

The complex was abandoned around the second half of the 6th century AD, probably as a result of the collapse of the city aqueduct (AD 530). Several later phases (above all the Byzantine and the Early Medieval ones) have been recognized within the complex, modifying its internal spaces and functions. Partially or totally

destroyed, some areas (in particular the vaulted rooms) were re–used for domestic purposes or as shelters for animals until its final abandonment and the subsequent formation of the sand dune.

The Baths of Pamphylia

Offering a general overview of the baths in Pamphylia[36] is rather difficult, especially in light of regional specificities and the high number of isolated cases and particular solutions imposed by the topography of each site.[37] I will mention here only a few paradigmatic examples. The construction of the Pamphylian gymnasiums followed traditional Hellenistic models, especially as regards the use of limestone as a building material and the addition of large niches and pillars.[38] Most of the province's baths, however, were built with limited dimensions differing from the larger complexes of Asia Minor.

The baths of Pamphylia were in most cases composed of vaulted warm rooms arranged in a single row and at right angles to the slightly larger rooms and were usually enriched by numerous limestone arched windows. The importance of the *caldarium* was underlined by the construction of protruding apses with vaulted roofs; generally, these chambers were also higher than the other rooms. The spectacular view is one of the distinctive elements of these complexes, which are located for the most part in mountainous and steep areas. It was for this reason that the highly functional use of space did not result in further development of these structures.

Side,[39] one of the main centers and metropolises of the province, reckoned among its buildings of the Imperial age four structures identified as baths. These are the so–called Gate Baths, the Great Baths, and the baths to the north–west and south of the Agora.[40] The baths located to the northwest of the Agora had a peculiar structure compared to the others because they were provided with a *palaestra.*[41] The bathing structures started to be built at Side between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD, and they were structurally modified during the Byzantine period; moreover, a new small Byzantine thermal building was built in the center of the city.[42]

The Northern Baths of Perge (2nd–3rd century AD) consisted of rectangular rooms and a long rectangular gallery. A triple *caldarium* was arranged at the western end of the bath block.[43] The use of this peculiar arrangement on a block has been observed (albeit with some innovative solutions) in the Agora Baths of Side, which date to the 4th and 5th centuries AD. This complex had a single route for interior circulation and all of the rooms were heated, with the exception of the pool located in the northeastern corner of the building. Alternative solutions have been observed in the Great Baths of Aspendos located at the feet of the acropolis. To the simple block was added a row of rooms, thereby creating an extremely unusual building layout. Aspendos also possessed another bath complex, smaller in size, to the west of the bigger one (the so–called Small Baths). Both complexes show the extensive use of bricks in both the vertical walls and the elements of the roof.[44]

[36] For Pamphylia, see Grainger 2009; for the baths see Abbasoğlu 2004: 1–9.
[37] See Hild and Hellenkemper 2004: 77–293.
[38] Yegül 2010: 174.
[39] Hild and Hellenkemper 2004: 373–394.
[40] Hild and Hellenkemper 2004: 383.
[41] Mansel 1978: 143–156.
[42] Hild and Hellenkemper 2004: 383.
[43] Farrington 1995: 30.
[44] Yegül 1992: 266.

The Baths of Lycia

Finally, it is important to consider as a comparison the baths of Lycia,[45] which have been particularly well studied and documented in recent decades. Of the more than 30 bath complexes discovered within this province, a large number display uniformity: the main block was usually composed of three or four adjacent rooms of rectangular shape situated so that their longitudinal axes were parallel with one another; the rooms, all of a similar size, were usually in direct communication with one another.[46] The larger rectangular spaces were sometimes internally divided with transverse walls. Not all of the Lycian baths had a *palaestra*: it was generally added as minor element by comparison with the bath block and in many cases constituted an additional space. In other cases, instead, it was inserted later within the pre–existing complex. The element was in many cases reduced and decentralized.[47]

The Lycian baths attained smaller dimensions than contemporary examples in the western part of Anatolia.[48] Apses were usually added in the short sides of the heated rooms. Many of the rooms had large rectangular windows. These generally occupied a quarter of the space on the short side where they were inserted and provided all the light for the room and adjacent spaces. The hypocaust system was composed of pillars formed by square tiles or circular bricks. The ventilation of gases was facilitated by pipes located within the inner sides of the perimeter walls. Many baths were equipped with chimneys such as the baths of Tlos.[49]

Starting from the Severan Age many baths of the region underwent numerous alterations that tended to extend interior spaces through the insertion of new rooms in a transversal position (in comparison with those already existing), as can be seen in the Vespasian Baths of Patara,[50] in the complexes of Nysa[51] and Pinara[52] and within those of Arykanda[53] and Kadyanda.[54]

The studies conducted on the baths of the region suggest a period of maximum development comprised between AD 70 and the 2nd century AD. This takes into consideration some Hadrianic and post–Severan refurbishments that are to be attributed to the restoration of pre–existing structures.

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[45] For Lycia see Hild and Hellenkemper 2004.

[46] Farrington 1995: 3.

[47] Farrington 1995: 48–49.

[48] Farrington 1995: 20–40.

[49] Gülşen 2012: 129.

[50] The Vespasian Baths of Patara are located in the south–eastern corner of the city, not far from the theatre; the complex, built around AD 68–69, belongs to the canonical 'row' type. Three other baths are known in the city: these are the Southwestern Baths, the Central Baths and the Northern Baths. Moreover, a *gymnasion* is known only from some epigraphic sources (Farrington 1995: 156–157).

[51] The Baths of Nysa are situated to the south–west of what remains of the ancient city theatre. The building, built between 70 BC and the beginnings of the 2nd century AD, belongs to the 'row' type; a *gymnasion* is only known thanks to epigraphic sources (Farrington 1995: 154–155).

[52] The Baths of Pinara are located on the eastern slope of the lower Acropolis of the city: the complex, designed according to the 'row' type, was built in its first phase between 70 BC and the beginnings of the 2nd century AD (Farrington 1995: 159–160).

[53] There are two Baths in Arykanda: the Northern Baths located north–west of the city agora and dated between 70 BC and the beginnings of the 2nd century AD; the Meridian Baths, located outside the city center and located near the eastern necropolis, are also dated between 70 BC and the beginnings of the 2nd century AD. Both complexes, from a planimetric point of view, belong to the 'row' type. A third complex, the so–called 'Yazıtlı Ev Baths', was built in the Byzantine period (before the 6th century AD) (Farrington 1995: 150).

[54] The Baths of Vespasian of Kadyanda, built between AD 69 and 79, are located in the middle of the southern side of the main street of the city: the building, belonging to the 'row' type, underwent several transformations during the Severian age. A *gymnasion* is known in the city only thanks to an inscription (Farrington 1995: 151–152).

Conclusive Remarks

A brief analysis of the bathing complexes of Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia reveals the most relevant characteristics and distinctive features of this building category within three regions of southern Anatolia. Here only some aspects have been highlighted.

The first common aspect of the three areas is the landscape, which is formed mainly by rocky hills and few flat areas. That fact determined urban development and subsequent building strategy. It is not the case that the majority of the baths of these regions never reached large dimensions (apart from a few examples built in flat areas or in central urban monumentalized areas such as the Great Baths of Elaioussa Sebaste).

A second common feature of the three territories under examination is the value of open areas included in the baths. Highly different from the concept of the Greek *gymnasium*, the *palaestra* recognized in Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia had only a practical function as a gathering point and exercise area within the building. The socio–cultural idea of the *gymnasium* lost its significance within these three regions. It is not an accident that several bath buildings probably never had a *palaestra*.

The bathing complexes analyzed display multiple variations from the standard models. The Roman hypocaust system was applied to all the structures studied, but the construction elements changed according to the raw materials available (stones or bricks) in each specific region. Travertine, limestone or other local stones generally prevailed over bricks, the latter mostly used for the hypocaust elements and the vaults. Areas rich in clay made extensive use of bricks and tiles for their civic structures.

Comparing the data for Cilician, Pamphylian and Lycian baths helps to clarify and highlight the strict relationship between them. The analysis of their contexts and above all the bathing architecture principles is far from concluded. The present contribution represents only a first step towards a wider understanding of this building category in southern Anatolia by means of a detailed and thorough comparative study.

Table 1: *A summary of the bathing complexes of Cilicia*

Site/city	Name of the complex (when known and attributed)	Date of the complex (where known or tentative)	Main bibliography
Aigeai	Baths	Roman period	Bloesch 1989
Akkale	Baths	5th century AD	Eyice 1981
Anazarbos	Southern Baths	Roman period	Casagrande Cicci 2013
Anazarbos	Northern Baths	Roman period	Gough 1952; Verzone 1957; Casagrande Cicci 2013
Anemourion	Baths III.2 B	Mid–3rd century AD	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Russell 1987; Campbell 1998
Anemourion	Baths II.11 B	/	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Huber 2013
Anemourion	Baths II.7 A	Second quarter of 4th–beginning of 5th century AD	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Huber 2013
Anemourion	Baths III.15	Late 5th century AD	Russell 1987; Campbell 1998; Huber 2013
Antiocheia on the Kragos	Baths I.4	End of 2nd century–beginning of 3rd century AD	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Huber 2013
Antiocheia on the Kragos	Baths I.12 A	/	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Huber 2013
Asar Tepe	Baths	/	Hoff 2013; Huber 2013
Augusta Ciliciae	Western Baths	2nd–3rd century AD	Gough 1956; Akok 1957; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990
Augusta Ciliciae	Building B	2nd–3rd century AD	Gough 1956
Catabolos	Building no. 2	Roman period	Tobin 2004
Catabolos	Building no. 1	Roman period (later than building no. 2)	Tobin 2004

Elaioussa Sebaste	Harbor Baths	1st century BC–1st century AD	Borgia and Spanu 2003; Equini Schneider 2008;
Elaioussa Sebaste	*Opus Mixtum* Baths	Late 1st–mid–2nd century AD	Keil and Wilhelm 1931; Spanu 1999
Elaioussa Sebaste	Great Baths	2nd–3rd century AD	Spanu 1999; Equini Schneider 2008
Elaioussa Sebaste	Dune Baths	Roman period	Equini Schneider 2008
Elaioussa Sebaste	Little Baths	1st–2nd century AD (?) – main phase 4th–5th century AD	Equini Schneider and Ritti 2015; Casagrande Cicci 2019
Epiphaneia	Baths	Late Roman period	Tobin 2004
Göçük Asarı	Baths	3rd century AD (?)	Rauh *et al.* 2009; Hoff 2013; Huber 2013
Hierapolis Kastabala	Baths	Roman period	Verzone 1957
Holmoi	Baths	Roman period	Hild and Hellenkemper 1990; Hellenkemper and Hild 1986
Iotape	Baths 5B	End of 2nd century AD	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Huber 2013
Iotape	Baths 6	Beginning of 2nd century AD	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Huber 2013
Kelenderis	Harbor Baths	Beginning of the 3rd century AD	Hild and Hellenkemper 1990; Tekocak 2008
Korasion	Baths	Roman period	Keil and Wilhelm 1931; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990
Korykos	Great Baths	Roman period	Hild and Hellenkemper 1990; Umar 2000
Lamos	Acropolis Baths	3rd century AD	Townsend and Hoff 2009; Hoff 2013
Lamos	Baths close to the Necropolis	/	Townsend and Hoff 2009; Hoff 2013

Magarsos	Baths	Roman period	Hild and Hellenkemper 1990
Mopsouhestia	Baths	/	Langlois 1861; Bossert 1958; Bossert 1959
Mylai	Harbor Baths	Roman period	Hild and Hellenkemper 1990; Eyice 1988; Hellenkemper and Hild 1986
Nagidos	Baths	Roman period	Hild and Hellenkemper 1990
Narlikuyu	Baths	Late Roman period	Budde 1972; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990
Pityoussa	Baths	Roman period	Hild and Hellenkemper 1990; Varinlioğlu 2012
Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos	Baths	Unknown	Unpublished
Selinous	Great Baths (Hoff 2013)/ Building 3 (Rosenbaum *et al.*1967)	Second quarter of the 2nd century AD	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Hoff 2013; Huber 2013
Selinous	River Baths (Hoff 2013)/Building 8 (Rosenbaum *et al.*1967)	Late 1st–2nd century AD	Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967; Hoff 2013; Huber 2013
Soloi–Pompeioupolis	Baths	Roman period	Langlois 1861; Ehling *et al.* 2004
Tarsos	Altından Geçme–Kemeraltı Baths	End of 2nd–beginning of 3rd century AD	Adak–Adibelli 2007
Titioupolis	Baths	2nd century AD	Bean and Mitford 1970

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The Religious Life of Tarsus in the Light of Numismatic Evidence: Some Observations

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Abstract

The civic coinage of the cities of Asia Minor is an important historical source for understanding various aspects of their lives that are often unknown from other evidence. Numerous images placed on the reverses (and sometimes also obverses) of these coins present deities which were worshipped in the various cities. The author uses the civic coinage of Tarsus to portray the religious life of the city, the largest in Cilicia, its characteristic features and the changes that took place there over time, from gaining the right to mint its own coins during the rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes until the end of the mint's operation under Gallienus.

Key words: *Cilicia, Tarsus, pantheon, civic religion, Sandan, Perseus, Herakles, Kydnos*

Owing to Cilicia's geographical location, this small region of Anatolia was and remains an important 'bridge' between Asia Minor and Syria, as the shortest land route between the two runs through it. The exceptional significance of this route results from the conditions of the geographical environment of the eastern part of Cilicia. The Taurus mountain range creates a natural and scarcely passable barrier between Cilicia and Anatolia. In antiquity, the only road linking the interior of Anatolia with the Mediterranean Sea and Syria cut through these mountains,[2] which aided the development of the cities lying along it. The military and economic importance of Cilicia, and especially its southern, flat part, known as Cilicia Pedias or Cilicia Campestris, resulted from both the fertility of the soils in the extensive plains, which are suitable for intensive farming, and the presence of many convenient ports there.[3] These constituted an important factor in development of the economy and urban life. Its influence on these areas of life was particularly visible in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, when masses of soldiers passed through Cilicia on the way to Syria and large amounts of essential equipment for them came through its ports.[4]

Cilicia's history in antiquity was tempestuous and eventful, yet the lack of sources on the topic means that we know more about it in some periods than in others. Thanks to the surviving narrative, epigraphical, numismatic and archaeological sources, we know slightly more about those in which Cilicia was under Persian rule as well as that of the Hellenistic kings and Rome. Particularly valuable for scholars of the region's history in these periods are the coins minted by the various cities, as these provide data that sheds light on the process of cultural changes occurring in Cilicia over time.[5]

So much has already been written on the usefulness of coinage of Greek cities for historical research that there is no need to occupy ourselves with this subject at greater length here. It is merely worth noting that the concept of 'civic coinage' in this paper refers to all types of coins struck in city mints, the contents of whose legends contain either the name of the issuing city or iconographic elements permitting them to be attributed to a specific city's mint.[6]

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[2] Cf. Arr., *An.* 2.4.4–5; Jones 1971: 191.
[3] Cf. Str., 14.5.1 (668); Ziegler 1985: 13–17.
[4] Cf. Stauner 2005: 32–38.
[5] See Dąbrowa 2019.
[6] Cf. Nollé 1997: 11 nt. 1.

The large number of coins deriving from mints in the cities of Cilicia poses questions regarding how useful numismatic sources are for research on the religious life of these places in various periods of their history.[7] Despite the limitations caused by the very nature of this type of source, such research is worthwhile since it might provide the answers to many questions, such as when new gods appeared in their pantheon, what was their character, and how did the change of rule over Cilicia influence the religious life of the cities. Since we can date many of the issues of civic coins with varying degrees of accuracy, it is possible to determine the probable time of emergence of new religious phenomena in the various cities. It would not be possible here, however, to analyse the production of the more than 40 civic mints operating in Cilicia during their heyday. We will therefore confine ourselves to the production of coins in the largest Cilician city, Tarsus, which comprises many hundreds of issues constituting an extremely valuable source for the history of this city.

Religion played an important role in the life of Greek *poleis*. Their residents endeavoured to ensure that images of the deities they worshipped were present in the private as well as public sphere (chapels, temples, and statues), as well as including their images on objects associated with religious cult, such as amulets, intagli and seals. Their images were also commonly depicted on coins. Since these were issued by various types of rulers, they also had varying degrees of control over the contents placed on the obverses and reverses, which means that these expressed values close to them. On the coins of the cities of Cilicia one can find a large gallery of images of gods and heroes, and we can therefore assume that inclusion of an image of a given god or related iconography resulted from the popularity of the deity's cult and place in the local pantheon, perpetuated in the public perception.[8] This makes it possible to specify the canon of deities of particular cities. Using coins to popularise city cults also served to shape local patriotism and to identify their adherents with the world of a specific culture or set of historical traditions.[9]

Owing to the limited size of this article, it must be restricted to general conclusions resulting from analysis of numismatic data, at the cost, for example, of discussion of the types of representations and iconographies of the various deities, attempts to identify less well-known gods and goddesses, tabular lists, etc. The objective of these reflections is to recreate an image of the religious life of Tarsus over time from the perspective of the portrayals of gods and mythological figures as the objects of religious cult most commonly depicted on its cities' coins. However, we exclude Tyche, the tutelary deity of cities, who is portrayed on the coins of countless issues.

The history of Tarsus, lying inland on the River Kydnos (today Berdan), stretches far back into the past.[10] The city's development and importance was determined by virtue of its geographical location at the crossroads of important land and sea routes. Even under Persian rule, Tarsus was a significant economic and administrative centre. This importance is demonstrated by the fact that a mint was located there, striking coins for the needs of the Persian satraps who resided there as well as for the local market.[11]

[7] For more on the usefulness of civic coinage for researching the history of the cities of Asia Minor and their religious lives, as well as methodological problems associated with this type of source and a presentation of positions in the debate on this subject, see Nollé 1997: 12; 20–26; Nollé 1992: 78–81; cf. Haymann 2014: 144–148.

[8] Cf. Nollé 1992: 81–86; page 81: 'Die Darstellungen auf den Münzen hingegen berücksichtigen nur eine öffentlichen Kulte und ermöglichen uns seine Bestimmung des Stellenwertes einzelnen Kulte im religiösen Gefüge einer städtischen Gemeinde'; Haymann 2014: 143–145.

[9] Cf. Haymann 2014: 144; 214; Jones 1971: 191–197.

[10] For more on Tarsus' history, see: Sayar 2013: 175–176; Hild 2002: 37–38; Cohen 1995: 359–360; Magie 1950: 272; 1146–1148 nt. 28; Ruge 1932: 2413–2439.

[11] Cf. Haymann 2014: 144, 214; Jones 1971: 191–197.

Tarsus owed its further development under Seleucid rule to its port.[12] One of the state mints operated there, but Tarsus earned the right to mint its own coins beginning with the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Under Roman rule, the city not only retained its previous importance, but also gained even greater possibilities of development. Around 64 BC, Tarsus became the capital of the province of Cilicia and the residence of the Roman governor, and it continued to serve as the provincial capital even after 72 AD, when Vespasian united all the parts of Cilicia in one administrative structure.[13] The emperor Augustus endowed the city with the title of *metropolis*.[14] The assets of its location became particularly important in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, during Rome's wars with the Parthians, which contributed to Tarsus' economic and urban development, making it the most populous and important city in the whole of Cilicia.[15] Tarsus' historical heritage was its multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character. Even after the city had been Hellenised, traces of its origins in the sphere of Luwian culture remained visible.[16] Tarsus' economic contacts with other areas of the Mediterranean basin, and especially with the cities of Phoenicia and Syria, contributed to the advent of groups of people originating from these regions.[17]

The beginnings of Tarsus' civic coinage date back to the 4th century BC, it achieved its greatest – albeit short-lived – flowering in the first half of the 3rd century AD and came to an end during the reign of Gallienus. Yet Tarsus's city mint did not operate uninterrupted throughout this period. As mentioned above, the first issues that could be called civic were minted during Persian rule.[18] Subsequently, for a few centuries, coins of this type were issued under Seleucid rule and also after it fell and the city became the capital of the Roman province. During the 1st century AD, the activity of this mint was somewhat limited, and only individual issues are known from the reigns of Augustus[19] and Tiberius.[20] Only from the time of Domitian can a more regular and steadily increasing production be observed.[21] The increasing economic and strategic importance of Tarsus under the emperors is confirmed by the vast amount of civic coinage introduced to circulation, encompassing hundreds of types of coins of various denominations minted in both silver and bronze. A large proportion of this high number of types of obverses and reverses consists of depictions of deities. Their gallery is the largest of those to be found on the coins of the cities of Cilicia.

Issues of coins in the period from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD are difficult to date precisely, except for those minted during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. On the coins dated to the 4th century BC, only depictions of Athena and Herakles can be seen, while those dated to between the 2nd century BC and 1st century AD show Sandan (the most important god in Tarsus' pantheon), Kydnos (the god of the river of the same name, on which the city lay), Zeus,[22] Zeus Nikephoros[23] and Pegasus.[24] The images of Sandan and Kydnos first appear on coins from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (**Figure**

[12] On the natural conditions of the port of Tarsus, cf. Str., 14.5.12 (673); Callander 1904: 62.
[13] Borgia 2017; Haensch 1997: 267–268.
[14] *RPC* I: no. 4004; Str. 14.5.13 (674); Guerber 2009: 118.
[15] See D.Chr., 33.17; 34.7–8.
[16] Cf. D.Chr., 33.48–52; Callander 1904, 64–65.
[17] Cf. X., *An.* 1.4.6. See Özyar 2016, 136–142.
[18] Bodzek 2014.
[19] *RPC* I: no. 4004.
[20] *RPC* I: no. 4005.
[21] *RPC* II: nos. 1727–1728.
[22] *SNG* Switzerland 1: nos. 913–914; 918–923; 939.
[23] *SNG* Switzerland 1: nos. 971–987. The issue of these coins is dated to Tiberius' reign. Their iconography of Zeus Nikephoros is similar to the pattern known from the Seleucid coins.
[24] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 917.

Figure 1: *Bronze coin struck under Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Obv.: Turreted and veiled head of Tyche to right / Rev.: Pyre of Sandan (SNG France 2: nos. 1339-1341)*

1).[25] Thereafter they often appeared on Tarsus' civic coinage (almost until the moment at which its mint ceased to function) as well as on the coins struck by the royal mint.[26] Apart from those mentioned, only the depiction of Zeus Nikephoros is known from the Hellenistic period.[27]

It was only during Hadrian's reign that the city mint of Tarsus began to see more intense activity.[28] It was then that images of Zeus Nikephoros again appeared on the coins, and those of Apollo Lykeios, Apollo, Herakles, Perseus and Dionysus did so for the first time. Apart from these, Artemis and Demeter probably also appeared, although the identification of their portrayals is not entirely clear-cut. On the coins minted during the rule of Caracalla, in addition to those known from the coins of Hadrian's time, images of another group of gods, goddesses and heroes also appear: Triptolemus,[29] Scylla,[30] Helios,[31] Pallas Athena[32] and an unidentified goddess.[33] This was when the new types of images of Herakles first appeared on the reverses of Tarsus' coins: 1) Herakles striking at Hydra (**Figure 2**)[34] and 2) Herakles fighting Antaeus.[35] The second was next repeated on the coins minted during the reigns of Maximinus

[25] During the Roman period, an image of Sandan only appeared for the first time on coins minted under Hadrian (*RPC* III: nos. 3266–3268), and from this time it was often reproduced until Hostilian (*SNG* France 2: nos. 1782–1783). Starting with Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*SNG* France 2: nos. 1295–1299), a depiction of Kydnos accompanying Tyche could be seen on the coins of Tarsus until Valerian (*SNG* France 2: no. 1824; *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1188).

[26] An image of Sandan is visible not only on the coins struck in the Tarsus city mint, but also on those from the royal mint. It first appeared on royal coins during the reign of Alexander I Balas (*SC* II,1: no. 1778), then on numerous occasions on the coins of his successors, and last during the reign of Seleucus VI (*SC* II,1: no. 2407). On the reverses of royal coins, there appeared the same types of images known from the civic mints: the figure of Sandan standing on a winged and horned animal and a monument (altar) to him with a conical ending.

[27] First on coins minted with the name of Alexander II Zebinas (*SC* II,1: no. 2210), then on the joint coins of Antiochus XI and Philip I (*SC* II,1: nos. 2435–2437), Demetrius II (*SC* II,1: no. 2444), and again Philip I (*SC* II,1: nos. 2459–2460).

[28] Cf. *RPC* III: nos. 3258–3310.

[29] *SNG* France 2: nos. 1499; 1509–1510; *SNG* Switzerland 1: nos. 1038, 1049 (cf. no. 1050: Caracalla as Triptolemus).

[30] *SNG* France 2: no. 1505; *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1045.

[31] *SNG* France 2: no. 1504; *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1044 (cf. no. 1053: Caracalla as Helios).

[32] *SNG* Switzerland 1: nos. 1037; 1042

[33] *SNG* France 2: nos. 1502; 1532.

[34] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1051.

[35] *SNG* France 2: no. 1520; *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1057.

Figure 2: *Bronze coin (AD 214-217). Obv.: Laureate head of Caracalla to left / Rev.: Herakles and the Hydra (SNG Switzerland 1: no. 1051)*

Thrax,[36] Balbinus,[37] Pupienus (**Figure 3**)[38] and Philip I the Arab.[39] Under Maximinus Thrax there appeared a new type of image of Herakles, showing him holding the apples of the Hesperides.[40] This can also be found on coins with the name of Gordian III (**Figure 4**)[41] and Philip I the Arab.[42] The largest gallery, which has more than 20 images of gods, goddesses and heroes, is represented by issues of the coins of Tarsus from the time of the rule of Maximinus Thrax. These featured Sandan, Kydnos, Athena, Athena Nikephoros, Apollo Lykeios, Apollo, Perseus, Demeter, Herakles, Sarapis, Dionysus, Telesphorus, Perseus,

Figure 3: *Bronze coin (AD 238). Obv.: Laureate bust of Pupienus to right / Rev.: Herakles struggling with Antaeus (SNG France 2: no. 1639).*

[36] *SNG* France 2: no. 1589.
[37] *SNG* France 2: no. 1629.
[38] *SNG* France 2: no. 1639.
[39] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1152.
[40] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1097 = *SNG* France 2: no. 1588.
[41] *SNG* France 2: nos. 1667; 1669; 1681.
[42] *SNG* France 2: no. 1741.

Figure 4: *Bronze coin (AD 238-244). Obv. Radiate bust of Gordian III to right / Rev.: Herakles with the apples of Hesperides in right hand, serpent entwined tree to left (SNG France 2: nos. 1667; 1669; 1681)*

the Three Graces, Hygieia, Asclepius, Nemesis, Helios, Ariadne,[43] Aphrodite, Hera, and Paris.[44] This was the first time that images of Sarapis, Hygieia, Asclepius and Nemesis appeared on coins. On the coins from the time of Pupienus and Balbinus, Gordian III and Philip I the Arab, there were also images of Selene-Hecate, Dikaiosyne and Mithra.[45] Only slightly smaller is the gallery of gods depicted on issues from the reigns of Traian Decius, Valerian and Gallienus. This shows that the considerable increase in the number of issues entering circulation from the time of Caracalla probably created conditions for the inclusion on coins of images of ever newer gods and deities.

Alongside the aforementioned Sandan and Kydnos, the most frequently depicted gods and deities during the Empire included Athena, Athena Nikephoros, Apollo, Apollo Lykeios, Dionysus, Perseus and Herakles.[46] Representations of Zeus Nikephoros, Artemis and Demeter were barely less popular. Dio Chrysostom mentions the cult of Apollo as a very popular one in Tarsus alongside the cult of Herakles, Sandan and Athena.[47] The reason for this can be found in the fact that the Seleucids regarded Apollo as the patron of the dynasty, as a result of which his image was among that most commonly used on their coins (including those minted at Tarsus). It is also significant that this city was refounded by one of the rulers of Syria in the 3rd century BC, with the result that its name changed to Antioch on the Kydnos (Ἀντιόχεια πρὸς τῷ Κύδνῳ).[48] This event was no doubt a factor encouraging the development of the cult of Apollo. The popularity of the cult of Athena in her various forms resulted not only from the goddess' traditionally high place in the Greek pantheon, but also from her mythological connections to Perseus, who was regarded as one of the city's founders. The combination of the cult of those two deities for the same reason is confirmed by the example of Aegeae.[49] The cult of Zeus Nikephoros also had a long-lasting

[43] *SNG* France 2: no. 1610; cf. *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1104: Ariadne is presented together with Dionysus.
[44] The last three deities, together with Athena, are depicted as one group: *SNG* France 2: no. 1587. Aphrodite was also presented independently on the reverse of another coin: *SNG* France 2: no. 1600.
[45] *BMC* Cilicia: 213 no. 258.
[46] The image of Herakles in Tarsus' coinage appears in numerous iconographic variations alluding to his work and other achievements, descriptions of which survive in mythological tradition. Since all the types of these images have Herakles in common, we treat them as one group.
[47] D.Chr., 33.45.
[48] Cf. Cohen 1995: 358–360.
[49] Haymann 2014: 152–153.

tradition in Tarsus.[50] To the gallery of those mentioned we should also add those deities and mythological figures whose images on Tarsus' coins appeared only sporadically (Asclepius, Elpis, Helios, Hermes, Hygieia, Kybele?, Nemesis, Panthea, Scylla, Telephos), or just once (Aphrodite, Amphilochus, Ariadne, Harpokrates, Kronos, Mithra, Sarapis, Selene-Hekate, Triptolemus). We should also add that some of these deities were portrayed on the reverses of coins in multiple-figure scenes which were very popular in the coinage of Tarsus from Caracalla's time onwards. Despite the modest number of issues with images of this second group of deities, their presence enriches the picture of Tarsus' religious life in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD and is evidence for the changes taking place there.

The gallery of deities most often depicted on the coins of Tarsus appears not to be markedly different from that known from the coinage of other cities of Cilicia, and is in accordance with the Greek pantheon. A closer inspection of the figures of the gods worshipped by the residents of Tarsus, however, tells a different story, as the images most often present on the coins include a large group of deities whose cult was local in nature and strictly limited to the territory of the city.

The deity emblematic of Tarsus was Sandan.[51] Historical sources show that this god was worshipped in eastern Anatolia and in Syria and Phoenicia.[52] His cult enjoyed great popularity in Cilicia, and in Tarsus itself Sandan occupied a very important place in the civic pantheon.[53] Sources show that his cult in Cilicia functioned at least from the 7th century BC until the 4th century AD.[54] The origins of Sandan's cult have long been the subject of discussion, as has the character of the god himself. Scholars agree that this cult derives from the Anatolian-Mesopotamian cultural area, as this is also confirmed by the iconography of his depictions.[55] He is portrayed as a figure standing atop a winged, horned lion (**Figure 5**), holding

Figure 5: *Silver tetradrachm (AD 117-138). Obv.: Laureate bust of Hadrian to right / Rev.: Sandan standing on a horned lion walking to right (SNG France 2: no. 1407–1409)*

[50] It is worth adding that, in contrast with the completely different iconography of the images of Apollo on Tarsus' city coins, the iconography of the images of Zeus Nikephoros reproduces the pattern known from Seleucid coins.

[51] Müller 2001; Zwicker 1920: 2264–2268; Höfer 1909–1915: 319–333.

[52] Zwicker 1920: 2265–2266; Höfer 1909–1915: 323–330; Callander 1904, 63.

[53] We have no evidence to suggest that this resulted from Sandan's treatment as the founder of Tarsus, although an unknown tradition ascribed this role to him. Its existence is mentioned only by Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc., 14.8.3).

[54] Zwicker 1920: 2265.

[55] Cf. Chuvin 1981: 319–324; Goldman 1949: 165–168; Zwicker 1920: 2267; Höfer 1909–1915: 330–333. Historical sources and archaeological data prove a strong influence of Assyria on the formation of religious and cultural life in Cilicia, which found itself in the orbit of Assyrian influences during Sennacherib's rule in the late 7th century BC. It was also at this point that Sandan's cult in Tarsus gained a strong position: Dalley 1999: 73–78. The Assyrian legacy in Cilicia's historical tradition is indicated by a source suggesting that the founder of Tarsus was the Assyrian ruler Sardanapalus: Arr., *An*. 2.5.4.

various types of objects in his hand, armed with a sword or bow, his head covered in a *kalathos*.[56] Yet the question of his divine attributes and competences is unclear.[57] The problem with defining the nature of Sandan's cult in the Hellenistic and Roman period stems from the fact that we do not have any sources on the subject. The only certain element of the ritual associated with him, apart from regular sacrifices, was the periodic ceremony of burning a pyre commemorating an important episode from his divine fortunes, probably his earthly death.[58] Archaeological artefacts suggest that his cult was connected to a characteristic object with a conical shape with an image of Sandan placed inside. This is confirmed by the iconography of the reverses of the coins, both those struck in the Seleucids' royal mint located in Tarsus[59] and those of the civic mint of the city (**Figure 1**). The form this object took is the subject of discussion, but there is no doubt that it stems from pre-Greek religious traditions.[60]

Greek authors of late antiquity agree that Sandan should be equated with Herakles.[61] Although it was in fact Dio Chrysostom who was the first to do this, in the mid-2nd century AD, only much later did it become a more widespread view. Dio Chrysostom was only a guest in Tarsus, and his opinion on this question is probably based on one of the elements of cult that both deities had in common, viz. burning their worldly remains on a funeral pyre.[62] If, however, the Greek residents of Tarsus did indeed identify Sandan with the Greek hero, it is hard to understand why the image of both appeared on the city's coins for several centuries. We can therefore assume that the equation of Herakles with Sandan only took place in the Late Antique literary tradition and that was popularised by authors who probably relied on second-hand information about Sandan.

Another characteristic and popular deity worshipped in Tarsus was Kydnos, the god of the river of the same name, on which Tarsus lay. It was to the river that the city owed its importance and prosperity. Its navigability in its lower section meant that seagoing vessels could reach the port in Tarsus. The abundance of water in the river allowed residents to breed livestock on a large scale,[63] and the silt it carried at its mouth created fertile agricultural lands.[64] As a result, Kydnos is always depicted on coins together with Tyche (**Figure 6**).[65] The popularity of this type of cult in Tarsus is not extraordinary, however. The cult of river deities was popular in many cities in Cilicia, as is confirmed by the coinage.[66]

A phenomenon not encountered elsewhere in Cilicia on the same scale is the great popularity in the coinage of Tarsus of depictions of Perseus, Herakles and Apollo Lykeios. The likely reason for this was the important place these deities occupied in the city's historical tradition, and it is therefore worth paying some attention to the literary sources on the city's origins that remain largely indefinite. The

[56] In its basic elements, Sandan's iconography is essentially uniform, although the details of some of his depictions vary, cf. Dalley 1999: 74–75; Imhoof–Blumer 1898: 169–171.

[57] On the views expressed on Sandan's character, see Dalley 1999: 75; Zwicker 1920: 2266–2268.

[58] Cf. D.Chr., 31.47.

[59] Royal coins with a reverse depicting Sandan were first minted during the rule of Alexander I Balas (*SC* II,1: no. 1778). Thereafter, this type of reverse was repeated in the coinage of the kings of Syria until Seleucus VI (*SC* II,1: no. 2407).

[60] Goldman 1949; Goldman 1940.

[61] These sources are listed by Höfer 1909–1915: 320–332. This view is also shared by Chuvin 1981: 319–324.

[62] D.Chr., 31.47. Cf. Goldman 1949: 164–165; 167–168; 174.

[63] Cf. Str., 14.5.12 (673); Arr., *An.* 2.4.7; Amm.Marc., 14.8.3.

[64] Cf. Jones 1971: 206.

[65] On the reverses of coins issued in the period from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD, Tyche sits turned to the right, while the figure of Kydnos, lying at her feet, faces in the same direction (*SNG* France 2: nos. 1373–1383; *SNG* Switzerland 1: nos. 978–987). This type of depiction of Tyche was in use until Hadrian's time (*RPC* III: no. 3258). This was when the most popular iconographical depiction of the sitting Tyche appeared, turned to the left, with Kydnos also facing left at her feet (*RPC* III: nos. 3259–3262).

[66] Among the particularly popular river deities of Cilicia were Pyramus, Calycadnus, Lamus, Sounias; see Tekin 2001.

Figure 6: *Silver tetradrachm (AD 117-138). Obv.: Laureate head of Hadrian to right / Rev.: City goddess, turreted and veiled, seated to left; at feet to left, river-god Kydnos. (SNG France 2: nos. 1401–1404)*

founders of Tarsus mentioned in these sources are both non-Greek figures and those known from Greek mythology. Ammianus Marcellinus counts Sandan among the former,[67] whereas Berossus, apparently using Assyrian sources, credits the Assyrian king Sennacherib for this, saying that he founded Tarsus during a military expedition to Cilicia against the Greeks who were attacking its coast.[68] Citing Berossus, Abydenos gives a similar version of the events.[69] Aristobulus, on the other hand, gives a slightly different account of the Assyrian beginnings of the city,[70] and it is to this that Strabo,[71] Arrian[72] and Athenaeus all refer.[73] The protagonist of this version of events is the Assyrian ruler Sardanapalus. The king was said to have built two Cilician cities in one day – Anchialus, lying close to Tarsus, and Tarsus itself – and to have commemorated this event by erecting a statue and a stele with an *ad hoc* inscription in cuneiform script. However, no material evidence exists to confirm this version. Rather, archaeological data confirm that the beginnings of human settlement at Tarsus stretch back much further into the past, to the period of the Neolithic. It is important to note that none of these traditions about the city's Assyrian origins enjoyed popularity among its Greek residents. For them, the beginnings of Tarsus were unmistakably associated with the heroes of Greek tradition, with whom they identified. Paradoxically, they were nonetheless unable to make an unequivocal choice regarding the founder of the city.

The literary sources in fact contain the names of several mythological founders of Tarsus. In a passage on the city, Strabo mentions that it was founded by a group of Argives led by Triptolemus.[74] Yet there is no evidence for the popularity of his cult. An image of this hero appeared on the coins of Tarsus only once, during Caracalla's reign,[75] but the context of this issue does not suggest that he was worshipped as one of its founders.

[67] According to Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc., 14.8.3), Sandan came from Ethiopia.

[68] Berossus, *BNJ*: 689 F7c. On the credibility of this tradition and the beginnings of the Greek presence in Cilicia, see Jones 1971: 193–197; Goldman 1949: 168–170.

[69] Abydenos, *BNJ*: 685 F 5.

[70] Aristobulos, *BNJ:* 139 F 9a–c.

[71] Str., 14.5.9 (671–672).

[72] Arr., *An.* 2.5.2–4.

[73] Ath. 12.530b–c; cf. 529e. This version is also known to us thanks to Stephanus of Byzantium (St.Byz., s.v. Ταρσός), but he does not quote his source.

[74] Str. 14.5.12 (673); cf. 16.1.5 (750).

[75] According to Louis Robert (Robert 1977: 107), this issue can be linked to the gift of Egyptian grain which Caracalla gave to Tarsus.

In one passage of his so-called *First Tarsic Discourse*, Dio Chrysostom mentions many founders of Tarsus, whom he generally calls heroes and demigods,[76] but elsewhere in that same speech he explicitly attributes this act to Herakles.[77] The popularity of the assumption that Herakles played a part in the foundation of Tarsus is indicated above all by the aforementioned large number of issues of coins with several types of depictions of him on the reverses.[78] Apart from the standard image in the coinage of Tarsus portraying the figure of the reposing Herakles with all his attributes, we also know of numerous issues with reverses from the scene of Herakles' battle with Antaeus[79] as well as Herakles holding the apples of the Hesperides.[80] A scene depicting Herakles subduing the Nemean Lion[81] and striking at the Hydra is also known.[82] On two issues from the reign of Maximinus Thrax, there was also an image of Telephus, son of Herakles.[83]

Perseus is also credited with founding Tarsus,[84] hence the popularity of his cult[85] and the large number of his images on coins,[86] where he is often accompanied by Herakles and Apollo Lykeios (**Figure 7**).[87] According to tradition, he came from Argos, with which city Herakles and Triptolemus were also

Figure 7: *Bronze coin (AD 235-238). Obv.: Laureate bust of Maximinus / Rev.: Apollo standing nude on right, clasping hand with Perseus on left (SNG Switzerland 1: no. 1102).*

[76] D.Chr., 33.1; cf. Callander 1904: 64 nt 20.

[77] D.Chr., 47; cf. 33.45. See also *SNG* France 2: no. 1547. It is probably in connection with Caracalla's stay in Tarsus that the coins minted in this period depict him together with Perseus and Herakles as the 'new founder' of the city: *SNG* France 2: nos. 1534; 1539 (= *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1069).

[78] The great popularity of his cult in Tarsus is also mentioned by Dio Chrysostom (D.Chr., 33.45).

[79] Cf. *SNG* France 2: nos. 1520–1521; 1590; 1629; 1639.

[80] Cf. *SNG* France 2: nos. 1588 (= *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1097); 1667; 1669; 1681; 1741.

[81] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1126.

[82] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1051.

[83] *SNG* France 2: no. 1613; *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1098.

[84] *AP.*, 9.557; Luc. *Phars.* 3.225; Amm. Marc. 14.8.3; Malalas, 2.18 (36–37). According to local tradition in Cilicia, Perseus stopped there during his expedition to get Medusa's head. Our knowledge of this tradition comes from an inscription from Argos: Vollgraf 1904: 421–424 no. 6 (cf. Vollgraf 1905) = Robert 1977: 120–122.

[85] D.Chr., 33.45.

[86] A few types of this image are known. On some, Perseus is presented on his own, while on others he is a participant in a collective scene: Robert 1977: 98–106; Imhoof–Blumer 1898: 174–178. An unknown episode relating to Perseus' foundation of Tarsus is also presented on coins; cf. *SNG* France 2: nos. 1574; 1647 (= *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1118), etc.; Imhoof–Blumer 1898: 178.

[87] Cf. Robert 1977: 101–106.

associated.[88] Near to this city, a sanctuary dedicated to Perseus[89] and the grave of his daughter Gorophone were also located, in the vicinity of a mound in which the head of Medusa was buried.[90] The popularity of this figure went beyond the borders of Tarsus, and according to scholars the reason for this was the Hellenisation of local, pre-Greek traditions.[91] One of the main gods of Tarsus, Apollo Lykeios, also came from Argos.[92] In the local tradition the introduction of his cult was closely tied to Perseus, and this is in fact underlined by the iconography of some reverses on which he is presented with a figure of Apollo on his outstretched hand.[93] The Argive origin of the cult of Apollo Lykeios and his prominent place among the city's gods are confirmed by the epithets used to describe him. These are known both from epigraphical evidence[94] and from coins.[95]

The memory of the Argive lineage of the founders of Tarsus in the consciousness of its Greek residents was deeply rooted and nurtured, but the limitations of the historical and archaeological sources make it hard to identify the moment when Greeks appeared in Cilicia.[96] Interesting as this question is, it is of secondary importance for the main subject of this discussion. Much more important is the fact that the memory of the Argive origin of the founders of Tarsus not only defined the identity of Tarsus' Greek residents, but also influenced and shaped their beliefs and religious practices for very many generations.[97]

The gods characteristic of the Greek world depicted on the coins of Tarsus right up until the time of Maximinus Thrax were Athena, Athena Nikephoros, Athena Pallas, Apollo,[98] Dionysus, Demeter and Helios. Only in the period from Maximinus Thrax until Valerian did the list increase, with the addition

[88] Cf. Haymann 2014: 192–196; Chuvin 1981: 315–319.

[89] Paus., 2.18.1.

[90] Paus., 2.21.5–6. The link between Perseus and Argos is also mentioned by Malalas, 2.20 (37). One of the protagonists of the myth of Perseus' expedition to get Medusa's head is Pegasus, who supposedly jumped out of her body after her head was cut off. The episode with Pegasus is also a component of the local tradition of Tarsus and Cilicia. According to Alexander Polyhistor (*BNJ*: 273, F 135 = St.Byz., s.v. Ταρσός), Pegasus, landing with Bellerophon on the plain near Tarsus, broke that part of the leg known as *tarsos i*n Greek. One of the etymologies of the city's name derived from this word in antiquity. Further evidence of Pegasus' connection with Tarsus is the use of his image on a coin minted during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes: *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 917. It seems that the use of Pegasus' image might constitute a reason for supposing that even in the Hellenistic period, the tradition of the Argive lineage of Tarsus formed in the city around Perseus.

[91] Haymann 2014: 186–188.

[92] Paus., 2.19.3.

[93] Cf. Robert 1977: 126.

[94] Robert 1977: 88. This inscription was dedicated to M. Aurelius Gaianus Kosonaios, a citizen of Tarsus who held many public functions and was also, in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD, the priest of Apollo Lykeios (*ll.* 7–11: ... ἀπὸ ἀρχιερωσύνης ... το[ῦ] Πατρῴου καὶ Ἀργείου Ἀπόλλωνος ... Cf. also *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1087.

[95] Cf. *SNG* France 2: nos. 1573–1574.

[96] Cf. D.Chr., 33.1. The moment of the Greeks' appearance in Cilicia has long been the subject of debate. Basing their opinions on Homer, some scholars think that they arrived as early as the 12th century BC (cf. Niemirovsky and Safronov 2018). However, archaeological data raise questions surrounding this view, cf. Novák and Fuchs 2021; Lehmann 2017 (esp. 242–247, where the positions represented by various scholars are also presented); Jean 1999; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987. According to A. Özyar (Özyar 2016: 42–46), traces of reasonably clear Greek influences in Cilicia can be dated only to the 8th/7th centuries BC. Cf. also Boardman 1965: 12–15.

[97] The nurturing of the memory of the Argive origin of the founders of Tarsus cannot be linked to the phenomenon, popular among the residents of the cities of Asia Minor in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, associated with the so–called Second Sophistic, the search for mythological founders: cf. Cohen 1995: 360 nt. 5. One example is Mallos, where the tradition associated with the name of Amphilochus and the Argive colonists who settled there was alive even prior to the arrival of Alexander the Great: Arr. *An.* 2.5.9.

[98] Apollo is most often portrayed together with Perseus, sometimes in collective scenes, and less often on his own, cf. Imhoof–Blumer 1898: 171–174. This form of presentation undoubtedly alludes to their role in the formation of Tarsus, although in these scenes Apollo does not have any of the elements characteristic of depictions of the Apollo Lykeios, cf. *SNG* France 2: no. 1410.

of several Egyptian gods,[99] Artemis, Telephus, the Three Graces, Kybele (?), Roma, Scylla, Elpis, Hygieia, Asclepius, Nemesis, Hermes, and Panthea.[100] Especially noteworthy is the presence of Egyptian deities, Mithra, Roma,[101] and Elpis. Their appearance on the coins of Tarsus proves that new cults which came to other regions of the eastern part of the Mediterranean world much earlier were infiltrating the city's religious life. These deities were still not among the most popular in Tarsus around the mid-3rd century AD, as they are depicted only on individual or a small number of issues. Yet this is not to say that Tarsus' coinage does not contain another, more distinct trace of the religious transformations taking place in areas within the Roman Empire. There is no doubt that their most characteristic manifestation was the cult of the ruling emperor.

The first temples associated with the cult of the Roman emperor were built in Asia Minor during the time of Augustus.[102] The cities of Asia Minor soon began to treat having a provincial temple dedicated to the Emperor as a prestigious privilege, which they beseeched successive Roman rulers to bestow on them. A city receiving this honour, apart from the temple, also had the privilege of using the title *neokoros*.[103] Tarsus first received this title during the reign of Hadrian, to whom it also owed the epithet *Hadriana*[104] and the capital of the *koinon*, an important centre of local provincial administration.[105] It seems that the first temple of the imperial cult in Tarsus was probably associated with the emperor's favourite Antinous, who drowned in the Nile in autumn 130 during Hadrian's stay in Egypt and was soon thereafter deified on the emperor's orders.[106] This event was reflected in the coinage of Tarsus. The

Figure 8: *Bronze medaillon (AD 130 c.). Obv.: Antinous bust to left / Rev.: River Kydnos (RPC 3297.2)*

[99] The reverse of one coin from the reign of Maximinus Thrax (*SNG* Deutschland 6: no. 1381; *SNG* France 2: no. 1608) presents Sarapis, Isis and Horus, while another from the reign of Pupienus shows Harpocrates (*SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1114). Egyptian deities were also worshipped in other cities of Cilicia Pedias. In their coinage, the cult of these deities is attested only in the 3rd century AD, cf. Haymann 2014: 183–185.

[100] This list is not complete, as not all the deities and goddesses have been identified unequivocally. In some cases, the proposed identifications are only hypothetical.

[101] There is a problem with identifying the image of Roma, as her iconography often hardly differs from the image of Athena. This is the reason for the differences in attributions made by scholars, cf. Haymann 2014: 186.

[102] Cf. Tac., *Ann.* 4.37.3; D.C., 51.20.7. Cf. also Ameling 2011: 32–36.

[103] Cf. Guerber 2009: 116–120.

[104] Cf. *RPC* III: no. 3271: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΤΑΡCΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC.

[105] *RPC* III: no. 3274. Rev.: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΤΑΡCΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩC / KOINOC (sic) ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑC; Guerber 2009: 101–103, cf. also 120–121; Wesch and Klein 2008: 290; Haensch 1997: 268–270. For an analysis of temples on coins from Tarsos, cf. Spanu 2003: 496–500.

[106] Cf. D.C., 69.11.2–4; *Hist. Aug.*, Hadr. 14.5–7.

deification of Antinous was marked by several issues of coins with his bust facing right or left depicted on the obverses. On some of them, symbols of his divine status were placed at the level of his forehead: a star, uraeus or ivy wreath, with the legend ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ (**Figure 8**).[107] Particularly noteworthy, though, is the full version of the legend on the reverses of these coins: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗΣ ΤΑΡΣΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΟΥ. The content of this legend obviously suggests that the temple of the imperial cult in Tarsus was dedicated not to Hadrian, but to Antinous.[108] Among the evidence that this was the case is the fact that all the references to the first neokorate of Tarsus are known exclusively thanks to these issues. A depiction of the temple itself, meanwhile, appeared on a different issue of coins from Hadrian's rule, with the legend ΚΟΙΝΟC ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑC (**Figure 9**).[109] An image of a similar temple also appears on the coins of Tarsus to mark the city receiving the epithet *Commodiana* and the permission to have a second temple of the imperial cult.[110] This demonstrated the equal status of the two temples

Figure 9: *Silver Tetradrachm (AD 117-138). Obv. Laureate bust of Hadrian to left / Rev.: Decastyle temple of the Koinon of Cilicia (RPC III: no.3274)*

Figure 10: *Bronze medaillon (AD 177-192). Obv.: Crowned bust of Commodus to right / Rev.: Two decastyle temples of the KOINOI KIΛIKIAC (BMC Cilicia: no. 168)*

[107] See *RPC* III: nos. 3285–3297.

[108] Cf. Guerber 2009: 101–102 nt. 105; Ruge 1932: 2425.

[109] *RPC* III: no. 3305. Rev. 'Decastyle temple in pediment, eagle standing r., wings spread; on architrave, ΚΟΙΝΟC ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑC'. The same type of image and legend also appeared on issues during the reign of Antoninus Pius: *SNG* France 2: nos. 1444–1447. Cf. Spanu 2003.

[110] *SNG* France 2: nos. 1462–1464. Rev. 'Façade d'un temple décastyle, un aigle sur le fronton; sur l'architrave, ΚΟΜΟΔΕΙΟC; sur le pourtour ΤΑΡCΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΔΙC ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ'.

(**Figure 10**). Henceforth, they were both always presented together, owing to the activity of the provincial assembly (*koinon*), whose tasks included organising and funding religious and sporting ceremonies connected to the imperial cult and care for the temple(s) in which it was carried out.[111] The religious functions of the *koinon* are also indicated by the combination of KOINOBOVΛION (*koinoboulion*), a figure who embodied this institution, with the temples of the imperial cult.[112] The duty of performing the cult in the name of the *koinon* rested on the high priest in charge, the *kilikarches*, whose charge the *Kilikarchia* is depicted on coins by a female figure,[113] and the highest city official (*demiourgos*), who is also represented by a female figure.[114] Receipt of the title of *neokoros* sometimes involved the *koinon* organising periodical athletic contests, which attracted large numbers of athletes from the entire Roman world.[115] The coinage of Tarsus is full of evidence of such contests taking place from the time of Hadrian even until Valerian and Gallienus.[116] These show that Tarsus received the title of *neokoros* for the third time during Valerian and Gallienus' rule.[117]

The context of the references to the imperial cult that appeared on the coins of Tarsus in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD means that it can hardly be regarded as a civic cult. The temples of the imperial cult, possession of which entailed having the title of *neokoros*, were regional and provincial.[118] Owing to the role of Tarsus' residents in ceremonies related to this cult and despite its political nature, however, it should also be seen as an element of the city's religious life.[119] The efforts of the authorities of Tarsus to have temples of the imperial cult located there came not just because of a desire to demonstrate their loyalty to Rome and attract the favours of its officials, but also from a desire for their city to gain in significance and prestige in the rivalry with others in Cilicia. This is confirmed by the increasingly intensive minting activity from the time of Caracalla.[120] This question, however, lies outside the field of our investigation here.

A practice known from Tarsus as well as other cities that is worth examining is the depiction of emperors and their wives in the form of known deities. Although representations of this type were not explicitly associated with the ruler cult, their contents suggest clear religious connotations of emperors and their

[111] Cf. Rosamilia 2015: 211; Ameling 2011: 36–42; Haensch 1997: 271–272; Ziegler 1985: 10–11; 61–64.

[112] Cf. *SNG* France 2: no. 1492; *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1034.

[113] *SNG* France 2: no. 1494; *SNG* Switzerland 1 Suppl.: no. 264; *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1031; cf. also nos. 1033; 1078–1079; cf. Borgia 2018: 295–308.

[114] Cf. *SNG* Switzerland 1: nos. 1078, 1080; Ziegler 1985: 58–61. This function was considered very important and honorary. D.Chr., 34.31; Ziegler 1977: 49. This is confirmed by the fact that in *c.* AD 190 Commodus agreed to hold it (cf. *SNG* France 2: nos. 1463; 1464; 1468; Ziegler 1985: 68–71), followed in 216 by Caracalla (*SNG* Switzerland 1: nos. 1040–1041; cf. nos. 1057–1060; 1067 (Caracalla represented as *demiourgos*) and in 231 by Severus Alexander (Sayar 2016: 177–180); see Ziegler 1977: 38–50. According to R. Ziegler (Ziegler 1984: 228 nt. 46), the office of *demiourgos* was combined with the function of priest of Apollo Lykeios.

[115] Cf. Guerber 2009: 132–133; 256–299.

[116] Ziegler 1993: 146–147; 151; Ziegler 1985: 21–26; 64–66.

[117] *SNG* France 2: nos. 1814–1825 (Valerian); 1826–1832 (Gallienus); 1833–1837 (Salonina); SNG Switzerland 1: nos. 1185–1188 (Valerian); 1195–1197 (Gallienus); 1198–1200 (Salonina); cf. Ziegler 1985: 26–32; Weiss 1979: 530–531.

[118] Cf. D.Chr., 34.47.

[119] The periodic religious ceremonies in honour of the emperor were very socially influential. They attracted large numbers of participants, who took part in various types of sporting competitions and artistic events funded by the provincial *koinon*, cf. Ameling 2011: 42–44.

[120] Cf. Haensch 1997: 268; Ziegler 1985; Jones 1971: 206–207. The growing production of civic coinage was caused to an even greater extent by the demand for such currency resulting from large movements of troops heading for the eastern front as well as the visits of emperors, cf. Ziegler 1993: 67–129; 142–143. Evaluation of the consequences of such marches as well as the longer–term presence of a large number of soldiers for the local economy is a controversial question. Scholars point to not only its positive economic effects, but the negative ones too, which could be troublesome especially for small cities; see Stauner 2005: 21–40 (with bibliography).

Figure 11: *Silver Tetradrachm (AD 35 c.). Obv.: Laureate head of Tiberius to right / Rev.: Livia as Hera enthroned to right (RPC I: no. 4005)*

wives as popular gods and goddesses, indicating that the figures presented in this way possessed some of the same characteristics.[121] Livia was presented during the rule of Tiberius as Hera (**Figure 11**);[122] Hadrian's wife Sabina as Artemis;[123] Antinous was associated with Dionysus,[124] Apollo,[125] and even Kydnos.[126] Commodus was equated with Herakles, in keeping with his own endeavours to be so perceived.[127] Caracalla was also depicted as Dionysus, and his wife, Plautilla, was portrayed as Demeter. In the case of this last imperial couple, their association with deities popular in Tarsus had distinctly political connotations.[128] Caracalla was also presented as Helios[129] and Triptolemus.[130] Finally, Macrinus was equated with Herakles, like Commodus.[131]

An overview of the images of gods and mythological figures featuring on the coins of Tarsus indicates that for a long time the city's pantheon did not undergo any visible changes. Its core, apart from traditional Olympian gods, comprised gods and deities of local and Argive lineage.[132] The first noticeable change came only with Hadrian's reign, during which Tarsus was accorded the privilege of possessing a temple of the imperial cult and became home to a *koinon*. With time, the athletic contests associated with this privilege began to have a distinct impact on the city's religious life, as confirmed by the number of issues of coins with reverses bearing references to the imperial cult. Further honours of this type received from Commodus, and later from Valerian, intensified and accelerated the process of assimilation of this cult within the sphere of the city's religious life. The turning point in this respect proved to be

[121] Cf. Ziegler 1984: 228–229.
[122] *RPC* I: no. 4005.
[123] *RPC* III: no. 3276.
[124] *RPC* III: nos. 3288–3291; cf. also nos. 3285–3287.
[125] *RPC* III: nos. 3292–3293.
[126] *RPC* III: nos. 3294–3397. We know of one unique example of this coin in terms of its weight and dimensions: *SNG* France 2: no. 1418 (98.11 g; ø 76 mm); cf. *RPC* III: no. 3297.
[127] *SNG* Deutschland 6: no.1348; cf. Ziegler 1985: 70.
[128] Cf. Ziegler 1985: 143–146; Ziegler 1977: 51–52.
[129] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1043.
[130] *SNG* Switzerland 1: no. 1050; cf. Ziegler 1984: 222; 224.
[131] *SNG* France 2: no. 1547; cf. Ziegler 1985: 70 nt. 28.
[132] Olympian gods enjoyed varied popularity in the cities of Anatolia. The competences attributed to them also differed, and for this reason it is not always possible to compare the nature of the cults of the same gods in different cities. For example, the characteristics of the cults and iconography of the Olympian gods of Tarsus are not the same as those known from Etenna; cf. Nollé 1992: 86–91.

the period of the Severan dynasty, when athletic contests associated with provincial temples of the imperial cult, both in Cilicia and in other provinces of Asia Minor and Greece, gained enormous popularity among residents and resulted in competition between cities over the right to host them.[133] There is no doubt that the imperial cult in Tarsus became an important factor in the Romanisation of religious and social life.[134]

The coinage of Tarsus also indicates that the process whereby cults popular in the Roman world were assimilated to the city's religious life was slow, for its reflection in coins occurs only at a rather late date. The reason for this must have been the strong attachment of Tarsus' Greek residents to their own religious traditions, which effectively prevented them from adopting new cults,[135] even though the economic and administrative role of their city made it a place in which groups of new arrivals from various parts of the Roman world with various religious beliefs came together. The question of whether there was a similar religious situation in the other cities of Cilicia must remain unanswered for now. Only after systematic analysis of their coinage will we be able to offer a response.[136]

Abbreviations

BMC Cilicia = Hill, G.F. 1900. *British Museum.Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia.* London: The Trustees.

BNJ = Brill's Neue Jacoby. https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/bnjo/ (accessed 12 February 2022).

RPC I = Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Ripollès, P.P. 1992. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. 1. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius* (*44 BC – AD 69*). *Part 1: Introduction and Catalogue.* London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.

RPC II = Burnett, A., Amandry, M. and Carradice, I. 1999. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. 2. From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69 – 96). Part 1: Introduction and Catalogue*, London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.

RPC III = Burnett, A., Amandry, M., Mairat, J., Metcalf, W. and Bricault, L. 2015. *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. 3. Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian (AD 69 – 138). Part 1: Introduction and Catalogue*, London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.

SC = Houghton, A., Lorber, C. and Hoover, O. 2008. *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part II: Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII*. New York, Lancaster and London: The American Numismatic Society and CNG.

SNG Deutschland 6 = Nollé, J. and Ziegler, R. 2001. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland. Pfälzer Privatsammlungen. Bd. 6: Isaurien und Kilikien*, München: Hirmer Verlag.

[133] A city that competed with Tarsus for the right to have temples of the imperial cult was Anazarbus, cf. Guerber 2009: 180–191; 331–334; Ziegler 1993: 23–24; Ziegler 1985; Ziegler 1984: 232–233.

[134] The phenomenon of advancing Romanisation and the strong influence of the imperial ideology can be associated with the appearance on the coins of Tarsus, as well as other cities of Cilicia, of images including those of Dikaiosyne and Elpis, cf. Haymann 2014: 199–202.

[135] Chuvin 1981: 326.

[136] Issues concerning the religious life of many cities of Cilicia have been explored by scholars in the context of publications of coins or inscriptions from these cities, but to date they have not been analysed in full. An exception is Aegeae. We owe the complete picture of its religious life viewed from the perspective of urban coinage to F. Haymann (Hayman 2014: 143–210). R. Ziegler's (Ziegler 1993) analysis of the coinage of Anazarbus only concerns the religious life of the city to a limited extent.

SNG France 2 = Levante, E. 1993. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. France 2. Cabinet des Médailles: Cilicie*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale; Zürich: Numismatica Ars Classica.

SNG Switzerland 1 = Levante, E. 1986. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Switzerland 1: Levante – Cilicia*, Berne: Crédit Suisse Numismatic Department.

SNG Switzerland 1 Suppl. = Levante, E. 1993. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Switzerland 1: Levante – Cilicia, Supplement*, Zürich: Numismatica Ars Classica.

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The Doric Order in Rough Cilicia: Local Identities or Cultural Interactions?

Beatrice Fochetti[1]

Abstract

This contribution discusses architectural decoration in South–Eastern Anatolia as an expression of local identities and cultural interactions in Asia Minor. It focuses on the Doric buildings built in Rough Cilicia between the late Hellenistic period and the Imperial age (2nd century BC – 3rd century AD), examining cases of sacred and funerary architecture. This analysis of the Doric order demonstrates the existence of local tendencies and well–established workshops active in Rough Cilicia, as well as the interaction with neighbouring regions (especially with Lycia, Commagene and north Syria).

Keywords: *Doric order; Cilicia; Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor; Roman provinces; funerary architecture.*

Introduction

The diffusion of Doric architecture in Cilicia in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods offers interesting insights into local identities and cultural interactions in South–Eastern Anatolia.[2] In this paper we will analyse a small group of Doric buildings dating between the 2nd century BC and the 3rd century AD and belonging to sacred and funerary architecture. It should be noted that our knowledge of Doric architectural decoration in Cilicia is characterised by a lack of evidence. The number of Doric buildings known in literature is in fact extremely fragmentary and essentially limited to Rough Cilicia (**Table 1**).[3] This lack of data is especially evident for the Hellenistic and late Hellenistic periods. During these periods, the employment of the Doric order in Cilicia was apparently limited to buildings of uncertain chronology, such as the funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia,[4] and buildings that are only partially known, such as that under the Church–Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla)[5] and that near the Korykion Antron (Cennet Cehennem).[6] The anomalous nature of this situation is clear when it is compared to that of other regions of Asia Minor, where the use of the Doric order was prevalent during the Hellenistic age, with a period of greater diffusion especially from the 3rd century BC to the late 2nd century BC.[7] When we take into account the geographical and political situation of Rough Cilicia, the fragmentary nature of this data must be viewed as reflecting the region's urbanisation. The limited urbanisation that characterised this region during the Hellenistic period and the process of founding or re–founding

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[2] The Doric buildings cited in this paper have been analysed in light of the existing literature. Apart from the presented images, where possible, a photographic reference of the buildings mentioned is given in the form of a web–link to Arachne (https://arachne.dainst.org), the central object database of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and the Archaeological Institute of the Universität zu Köln. I am grateful to the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut for giving me the permission to publish the illustrations from the photographic collection of the DAI Istanbul (Figures nos. 1-2; 4; 8-9 of this paper, whose reproduction, whole or in part, is prohibited). I am also grateful to the Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo – L'Aquila and the Italian Ministero della Cultura for the authorization to publish the image of the Doric frieze preserved at L'Aquila Archaeological Museum (Figure 10). I finally thank Carole Raddato for the image of the Tumulus at Karakuş (Figure 7).

[3] In general for Cilicia: Hoff and Townsend 2013 (with a focus on Rough Cilicia); Hild and Hellenkemper 1990.

[4] On the funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia, see note 15.

[5] On the Church–Cave of St. Thecla, see note 80.

[6] On Korykion Antron context, see note 79.

[7] On the Doric architecture in Hellenistic Asia Minor: Rocco 1994: 93–119; Rumscheid 1994: 302–315; Coulton 1976: 55–74, passim. For the Doric order in the Imperial age, see principally: Ismaelli 2009. Regarding the use of Doric order in the province of Asia between the Hellenistic time and the Roman Imperial period, also see: Fochetti 2020: 119–132.

certain settlements that marked this area in the late Republican period make it difficult to view the degree to which the Doric order was used in Hellenistic Cilicia.[8] Instead, the advent of the Roman Imperial age saw the use of the Doric order mainly limited to funerary and sacred building contexts (**Table 1**).

Figure 1: *Remains of a peristyle house at Imbriogon kome, Demircili/Dösene (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R6858. Autor A. Peschlow, year unknown. arachne.dainst.org/entity/333452)*

The cases which will be discussed in detail below, cover the period between the 2nd century BC and the 3rd century AD. A number of private peristyle dwellings at Imbriogon kome (Demircili)[9] (**Figure 1**) and Emirzeli/İmirzeli are also known, all of which date to the Imperial age.[10] By contrast, monumental and public buildings are poorly represented. Worth noting is the *propylon* in the *temenos* of the Sanctuary of Zeus–Olbios at Diokaisareia, which dates from the Hellenistic period.[11] Furthermore, the existence of a monumental Doric building can currently only be hypothesised for Elaiussa–Sebaste, where an excavation in the 'Byzantine Palace' brought to light Doric order elements attributable to a building that was dismantled in the 4th century AD.[12]

[8] With reference to architecture and urbanism in Cilicia, see most recently Krüger 2020: 195–213 fig. 2.

[9] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 275 fig. 195, s.v. 'Imbriogon kome'. Arachne, *römisches Peristylhaus (Imbriogon kome)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9680 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[10] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 249 fig. 171, s.v. 'Emirzeli'.

[11] The identification is based on Doric architectural elements re–employed in a modern house: Wannagat 2003: 198–200. On the Sanctuary of Zeus–Olbios, see Wannagat 2005: 117–165 (middle of the 2nd century BC); Rumscheid 1994: 33; 86–91 (3rd century BC). Arachne, *Tempel des Zeus Olbios*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8820 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[12] As mentioned in: Tempesta 2016: 223 nt. 30.

Table 1: Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia

Building	Typology	Material	Chronology
Funerary tower tomb – Diokaisareia	tower tomb	local limestone	Beginning 2nd century BC – middle 1st century BC (Berns 2003)
Tomb West L4 – Diokaisareia	*arcosolium* niche tomb	local limestone	Beginning – middle 1st century AD (Linnemann 2013)
Tomb West L57 – Diokaisareia	*arcosolium* niche tomb	local limestone	Beginning – middle 1st century AD (Linnemann 2013)
Tomb West N9 – Diokaisareia	*arcosolium* chamber tomb	local limestone	Beginning/middle 1st century AD (Linnemann 2013)
Tomb – Kümbet (district of Silifke)	tomb with monumental column	local limestone	2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005)
Tomb – Yukarı Hüseyinler (district of Silifke)	tomb with monumental column	local limestone	Second half 2nd century AD / first half 3rd century AD (Durukan 2005)
Tomb – Cennet Cehennem (district of Silifke)	tomb with monumental column	local limestone	2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005)
Tomb – Sakızlıklı Harman (district of Silifke)	tomb with monumental column	local limestone	2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005)
Tomb – Sancıören (district of Hasanaliler)	tomb with monumental column	local limestone	2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005)
Tomb – Tülü/Kızılisalı (district of Tülü)	tomb with monumental column	local limestone	2nd–3rd century AD (Söğüt 2005)
Temple tomb – Kanytelleis (Necropolis N9)	temple tomb, three prostyle columns	local limestone	Late 2nd–3rd century AD (Berns 2003) – late 3rd century AD (Machatschek 1967)
Tomb D2 – Imbriogon kome (Demircili)	temple tomb, four prostyle columns	local limestone	3rd century AD (Durukan 2006)
Monumental tomb – Yeniyurt Kale (Mersin Province)	monumental tomb	local limestone	2nd–3rd century AD (Evgen 2020)
Temple – İsmailli (Mersin Province)	tetrastyle temple	local limestone	Reign of Vespasian (Şahin 2014)
Temple of Hermes – Çatıören (Mersin Province)	temple *in antis*	local limestone	Imperial age (Hicks 1891: pp. 232–233, n. 13)
Doric building (?) – Korykion Antron (Cennet–Cehennem)	temple *in antis* (?)	local limestone	2nd – 1st century BC (Tempesta 2016)
Doric columns under the Church–Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla)	uncertain	local limestone	Hellenistic age (Tempesta 2016)
House – Imbriogon kome (Demircili)	peristyle house	local limestone	Imperial age
House – Emirzeli (Province of Mersin)	peristyle house	local limestone	Imperial age

This lack of data must also be seen in the light of the political changes that affected the region during Roman times. The annexation of Cilicia as Roman province was fully formalised only during the reign of Vespasian. After this process the region experienced a substantial increase in building activity.[13] However this increase took place during a period in which the Doric order had a marginal use in public

[13] For a discussion on the Roman province of Cilicia and its formation process: Borgia 2017: 295–317.

buildings of Asia Minor: both in the Roman province of Asia and in the neighbouring Pisidia, Lycia and Pamphylia in the period between the early 1st century BC and the Flavian age, the Doric order experienced a long decline that led to the almost general abandonment of this architectural style after the 2nd century AD.[14] From this point of view, it is interesting to observe the construction of two small Doric temples in Rough Cilicia, at Çatıören and İsmailli (**Figure 9**), during the early Imperial period (see below).

The analysis of the Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia reveals the existence of two trends regarding architectural decoration: on the one hand, the adoption of purely regional architectural and formal languages; on the other, the existence of interactions with neighbouring regions, above all with Lycia, Commagene and north Syria. In both cases, the analysis of the evidence proves the existence of well–established local workshops that make the Doric style of this region unique. The cases analysed are summarised in Tables 1–3.

Doric funerary architecture

In Cilicia, the evidence for funerary buildings in the Doric order is concentrated mainly in Rough Cilicia, a region that is itself rich in preserved funerary monuments (**Table 1**).[15] Here, Doric tombs for the most part date to the Roman Imperial period (1st–3rd century AD) and, from an architectural point of view, show the existence of local traditions mixed with external influences.

The tower tomb of Diokaisareia

The tower tomb of Diokaisareia (Uzuncaburç) is probably the oldest example of a funerary building using the Doric order in Rough Cilicia (**Figures 2–3**).[16] This monumental structure was erected on a hill *c.* 1km south of Diokaisareia. Built in *opus quadratum* with local limestone, the tower stands *c.*15m high and consists of a square base (5.40 x 5.40m) with a pyramidal roof at its summit. Between the body of the tower and the pyramidal roof, the façade was decorated with a Doric entablature that ran on all four sides of the building and was supported by angular pillars. Conservative in style, the entablature presents the canonical alternation of metopes and triglyphs associated with well carved *guttae*. Similarly, mutules with *guttae* decorate the Doric *geison*, as is usual in Hellenistic architecture. On the four sides of the building there are *antae* pilasters,[17] which are a recurring element of the Doric order in Cilicia (**Table 2**).

The chronology of the tower tomb of Diokaisareia is still uncertain. For stylistic reasons Berns has dated it between the beginning of the 2nd century BC and the middle of the 1st century BC.[18] This chronology

[14] See: Fochetti 2020: 119–120. For the monumental buildings built in the Doric order in the late 1st century AD or later, see the example of the so–called Via di Frontino at Hierapolis in Phrygia, dated to the principate of Domitian (Ismaelli 2009), or the Forum–Basilica at Kremna in Pisidia, which is dated by inscriptions to the principate of Hadrian (Mitchell 1995: 56–69).

[15] Funerary architecture in Rough Cilicia has recently been discussed by Er Scarborough 2017. Among the many other studies dedicated to this subject, see also: Rönnberg 2018: 173–207; Linnemann 2013; Durukan 2005: 107–126; Söğüt 2005: 103–154; Berns 2003: 82–118; Spanu 2000: 169–177; Machatschek 1967.

[16] For this building see: Er Scarborough 2017: 39; 131–134 figs. 4.1–2; Berns 2003: 241–242 no. 32A1 fig. 42; Fedak, 1990: 88; Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 5–60 pl. 31 fig. 90. Arachne, *Grabturm (Diocaesarea)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9675 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[17] Gider Büyüközer 2020: figs. 6 a–b.

[18] Berns 2003: 241–242 no. 32A1, with further literature.

Figure 2: *Funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia, Uzuncaburc (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R6802. Autor A. Peschlow, 1973. arachne.dainst.org/entity/333408)*

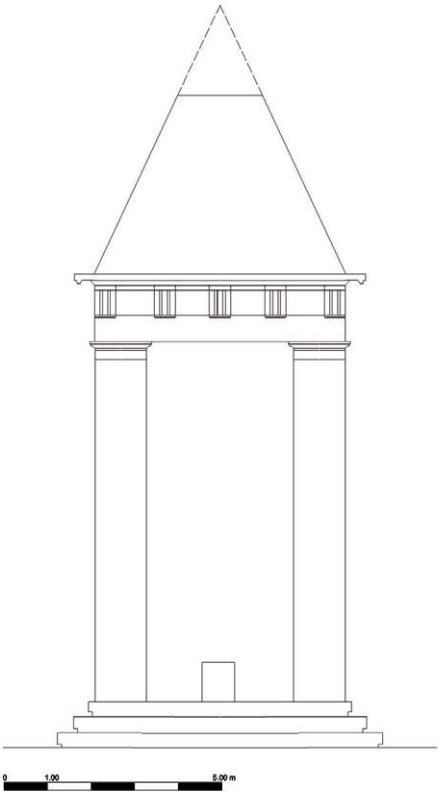

Figure 3: *Funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia, Uzuncaburç (reworked from Berns 2003: fig. 42).*

is debatable: Durukan suggests dating it to the 1st century AD,[19] while Z. Gider Büyüközer has proposed a stylistic date between the end of the 3rd century BC and the middle of the 2nd century BC.[20]

The question of the architectural model also remains open. In Asia Minor tower tombs are attested in the eastern part of Rough Cilicia. In addition to the one in Diokaisareia, two other tower tombs are known, both located in the ancient settlement of Imbriogon kome (Demircili), and both dating to the Imperial age (**Figure 4**).[21] However, in neither case is the Doric order used. Therefore, the one at Diokaisareia is unique. On the other hand, it has been observed that the architectural type of tower tombs is widespread in northern Syria (especially at Palmyra as of the 1st century BC) and in the middle Euphrates near Dura–Europos.[22] The geographical proximity to Syria leaves open the hypothesis of a reciprocal influence between the two regions.[23] However, this is a problem that cannot be easily resolved since it is directly connected to the debated dating of the funerary building. We shall return to these aspects later.

[19] Durukan 2003: 220–238 pl. 36–40. See also: Durukan 2019: 113–129.

[20] Gider Büyüközer 2020: 134–135 pl. 1.

[21] One had a still *in situ* pyramidal roof and is dated to the late 1st century AD: Berns 2003: 223–224 no. 16A1 ('Kleiner Grabturm'); cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 134–135 figs. 4.7–9. Arachne, *Grabturm (Imbriogon kome)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9684 (accessed 28 June 2022). The second one, with Corinthian capitals, is dated to the first half of the 1st century AD: Berns 2003: 224 no. 16A2 ('Großer Grabturm'); cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 134–135 figs. 4.10–11; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 275. Arachne, *Grabbau (Imbriogon kome)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9667 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[22] On the funerary tower tombs at Palmyra: Henning 2013; Gawlikowski 1970. On those at Dura–Europos: Toll 1946.

[23] This topic is discussed by Er Scarborough 2017: 131–137.

Figure 4: *Funerary tower tomb of Imbriogon kome, Demircili /Dösene (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R6912. Autor A. Peschlow, year unknown. arachne.dainst.org/entity/219959)*

Tombs with Doric architectural façade at Diokaisareia's West Necropolis

At Diokaisareia (Uzuncaburç) further evidence of the use of the Doric order for funerary contexts is offered by rock–cut tombs from the West Necropolis. Here, three tombs with a Doric architectural façade are to be found: the so–called 'Dorischen Gräber', which are identified as West L4,[24] West L57,[25] and West N9[26] in Linnemann's catalogue (**Figure 5**). With respect to their typological classification, two of these rock–cut tombs belong to the type '*arcosolium* niche tomb' (L4, L57), whereas the third belongs to the '*arcosolium* chamber tomb' type (N9).[27]

Stylistically, the Doric rock façade of these tombs was decorated with two *antae*, above which lay the Doric entablature. The tombs L57 and N9 also have a triangular *tympanum*, which in both cases is decorated in the centre with a six–leaved rosette that is carved inside a circle. The presence of a *tympanum* cannot be determined for tomb L4, but is quite likely.[28]

[24] Linnemann 2013: 93–97; 212 (West L4), pl. 53.5; cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 37–38 figs. 3.31–32.
[25] Linnemann 2013: 218 (West L57), pls. 52.1; 53.1–2; cf. Er Scarborough 2017: 38 figs. 3.33–34.
[26] Linnemann 2013: 227 (West N9) fig. 9 pls. 52.2; 53.3–4; cf. Er Scarborough 2017, 38.
[27] These tomb typologies are discussed in Linnemann 2013: 73–85.
[28] As proposed by Er Scarborough 2017: 37 on the basis of a comparison with tombs L57 and N9.

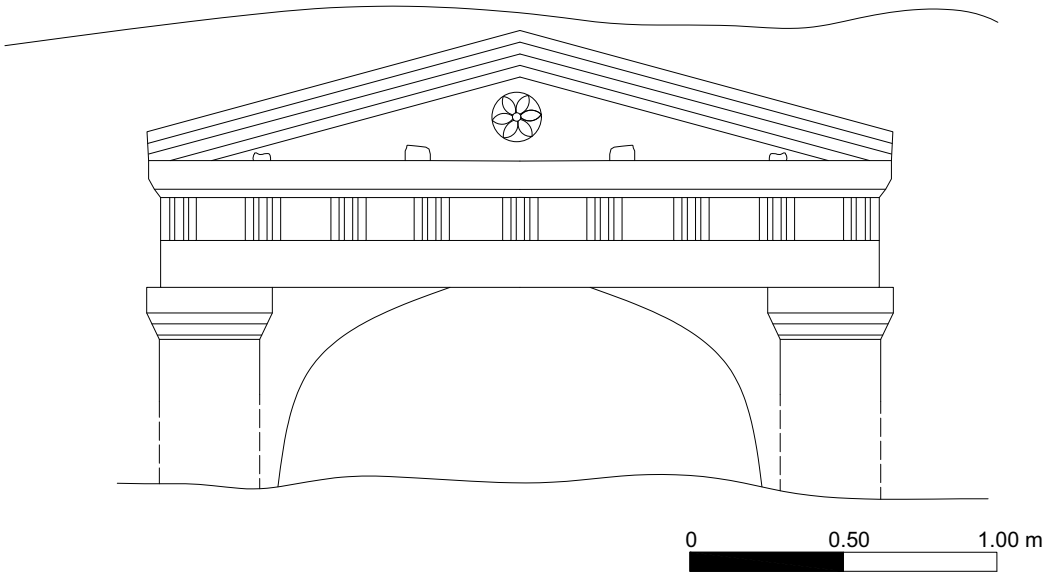

Figure 5: *West Necropolis, Diokaisareia, Uzuncaburç. 'arcosolium niche tomb' L57 (reworked from Er Scarborough 2017: fig. 3.34 - original drawing by B. Söğüt)*

In Rough Cilicia, those of Diokaisareia are the only known rock–cut tombs in the Doric order. This is not in itself surprising since the use of the Doric order for rock tomb façades is also rare in other regions of Asia Minor, where the Ionic order (or in some cases the mixed order) was more widespread.[29] Moreover, the rare examples of the Doric order are also limited to the Hellenistic period and no later than the 2nd century BC.[30] The three Doric tombs of the West Necropolis of Diokaisareia, on the other hand, are later in date. Based on the archaeological finds discovered in the *arcosolium* chamber tomb N9, Linnemann was able to establish the existence of two periods of use: the first in the early/mid–1st century AD and a second in the Severan period.[31] Due to common stylistic features, a dating to the early/mid–1st century AD can therefore also be assumed for the *arcosolium* niche tombs L57 and L4. This chronology is of great interest as it allows the use of the Doric order in tombs with architectural façades in Asia Minor to be extended to the early Imperial age, whereas it was previously considered to be exclusively used during the Hellenistic period.[32]

The monumental tomb of Yeniyurt Kalesi

A recently published monumental tomb at Yeniyurt Kalesi allows us to discuss the influence of Lycian architecture.[33] Built in *opus quadratum* using the local limestone, this monumental tomb had a rectangular

[29] Linnemann 2013: 95–96 nt. 1320. For example, the mixed Doric–Ionic order is attested in a rock–cut tomb at Daidala (İnlice Asarı) at the border between Lycia and Caria, which is characterised by a Ionic cornice with dentils over the Doric entablature: Roos 1972: 75 nt. 54. Arachne, *Tempel-Grab (Daidala)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1962005 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[30] Among the Hellenistic rock–cut tombs in the Doric order are the tomb at Gerdek Kaya in Phrygia: Arachne, *Portikusgrab Gerdek Kaya*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/9151 (accessed 28 June 2022); the tomb at Antiphellos (Kaş) in Lycia: Arachne, *dorisches Grabhaus (Kaş)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8531 (accessed 28 June 2022) that is dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC in Fedak 1990: 79. Perhaps dating to the 2nd century BC is the Doric temple tomb C 50 at Kaunos in Caria: Roos 1972: 38–39; 97 pls. 38; 52.

[31] Linnemann 2013: 96.

[32] Er Scarborough 1991: 174; 411–412.

[33] The architectural features of this tomb are published in: Evgen 2020: 1–10 figs. 2–8. The building, incorporated in the Late Antique/Byzantine defensive wall, is dated by the author to the 2nd–3rd century AD. It is mentioned in: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 462.

plan (*c.* 4.00 x 4.20m) and a vaulted inner ceiling. The top of the building was decorated by a Doric entablature, whereas pilasters were probably erected at its corners, as was the case with the funerary tower tomb of Diokaisareia mentioned above.

The architectural decoration of this funerary monument shows a mixture of regional solutions and influences from Lycia. First, the Doric frieze–architrave is characterised by the elimination of the canonical *regulae*, with six well defined *guttae* carved directly under the *taenia.*[34] In Cilicia, this rare and unconventional solution can be found in the frieze–architrave of the Temple of Hermes at Çatıören, which dates to the Roman period.[35] Another parallel is provided by a limestone frieze–architrave block found at Sidyma in Lycia.[36]

The influence of Lycian architecture is also evident in the use of a Doric entablature combined with an Ionic cornice without the canonical *mutules* and *guttae*. The adoption of the mixed Doric–Ionic order is indeed not common in Cilicia. In Rough Cilicia, Ionic features embedded into the Doric order can be found in some tombs dating to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD at Kanytelleis/Kanytella (Necropolis N9)[37] (**Figure 8**) and Imbriogon kome (Tomb D2),[38] where, however, the formal languages of the canonical Doric order were no longer adopted. By contrast, the general tendency in Asia Minor of the use of the mixed Doric–Ionic order was usually a distinctive character of architectural decoration in the Imperial period.[39] In the south–eastern regions the combination of an Ionic cornice over a Doric entablature can be found in Doric buildings dating between the Flavian period and the 2nd century AD. In Lycia examples include the triumphal arch built by Sextus Marcius Priscus at Xanthos[40] and the arch of Mettius Modestus at Patara;[41] or again the Forum–Basilica at Kremna in Pisidia.[42]

In the funerary architecture of Rough Cilicia, the use of the Doric entablature can be found both in buildings of the late Hellenistic age and in those of the 1st century AD (**Table 2**). A dating of this tomb to the Imperial period is also supported by a comparison with the stylistic features of the Temple of Hermes at Çatıören (see below), whereas in light of the use of the mixed order a date to the late 1st century AD–mid–2nd century AD can be proposed.

Tombs with monumental column and Doric capital

Regarding funerary architecture, another context of extreme interest is a group of tombs from the Olba region, the so–called Tombs with monumental columns (**Figure 6**).[43] The characteristic element of this category of funerary monument is a smooth–stemmed monumental column (in either the Doric or Corinthian order) located at a short distance from the tomb. A T–shaped corbel, which could be either smooth or carved with relief busts, can also be found above the capital.

This type of funerary monument is apparently only attested in the Olba region, for which at least ten cases are known: six tombs with a monumental column and Doric capital and four tombs with a

[34] Frieze–architrave bocks: Evgen 2020: figs 7–8.
[35] On the frieze–architrave blocks at Çatıören: Mörel 2017: figs. 10 f–g.
[36] Arachne, *dorischer Friesblock (Sidyma)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1169883 (accessed 28 June 2022).
[37] See note 59.
[38] See note 62.
[39] This topic has recently been addressed by Fochetti 2020: 122–129. On the use of the mixed order during the Hellenistic age: Rumscheid 1994: 355–356.
[40] Dated to the Reign of Vespasian: Des Courtils and Cavalier 2001: 159 fig. 6.9.
[41] Dated in principate of Trajan, *c.* AD 99–102, or during the principate of Hadrian: Barresi 2003: 505 with further discussion.
[42] Epigraphically dated to the principate of Hadrian: Mitchell 1995: 56–69.
[43] This subject has been explored by: Söğüt 2005.

Table 2: *Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia, details of the architectural decorations*

Building	Column	Capital carved on column shaft	Entablature	*Antae* pilaster
Funerary tower tomb – Diokaisareia	absent		Doric	X
Tomb West L4 – Diokaisareia	absent		Doric	X
Tomb West L57 – Diokaisareia	absent		Doric	X
Tomb West N9 – Diokaisareia	absent		Doric	X
Tomb – Kümbet (district of Silifke)	unfluted	X	absent	
Tomb – Yukarı Hüseyinler (district of Silifke)	unfluted	X	absent	
Tomb – Cennet Cehennem (district of Silifke)	unfluted	X	absent	
Tomb – Sakızlıklı Harman (district of Silifke)	unfluted	X	absent	
Tomb – Sancıören (district of Hasanaliler)	unfluted	X	absent	
Tomb – Tülü/Kızılisalı (district of Tülü)	unfluted	X	absent	
Temple tomb – Kanytelleis (N9)	unfluted with base		Ionic/other	X
Tomb D2 – Imbriogon kome (Demircili)	unfluted with base	X	Ionic/other	(?)
Monumental tomb – Yeniyurt Kale (Mersin Province)	absent		Doric with Ionic cornice	X
Temple – İsmailli (Mersin Province)	unfluted/rough shaft; capital with flutes	X	Doric	X
Temple of Hermes – Çatıören (Mersin Province)	unfluted	X	Doric	X
Doric building ? – Korykion Antron (Cennet–Cehennem)	fluted on 2/3 of the shaft	(?)	(?)	(?)
Doric columns under the Church–Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla)	fluted		(?)	(?)
Peristylhaus – Imbriogon kome (Demircili)	unfluted	X	Ionic/other	X
Peristylhaus – Emirzeli (Province of Mersin)	unfluted		Ionic/other	(?)

monumental column and Corinthian capital (**Table 3**). In terms of topographical distribution, most of the examples with Doric capitals are found in the district of Silifke (Kümbet, Yukarı Hüseyinler, Cennet–Cehennem, Sakızlıklı Harman), one case comes from the district of Hasanaliler (Sancıören) and one from the district of Tülü (Tülü/Kızılisalı).[44] It should also be noted that these buildings are only found in suburban contexts, usually near a farm settlement. This supports the hypothesis that these tombs belonged to the owners of the farm.[45] Another possible instance of this typology of funerary monument – if one accepts Mert's identification – may be a figured capital from the Museum of Iconium (Konya) in

[44] The funerary monuments with Corinthian capitals are situated in the administrative district of Silifke, at Imbriogon kome, Kümbet Beleni, Beyören; and at the Direktaş district, near the village of İmamlı: Söğüt 2005: 115–120 and table 1.

[45] See also Er Scarborough 2017: 157.

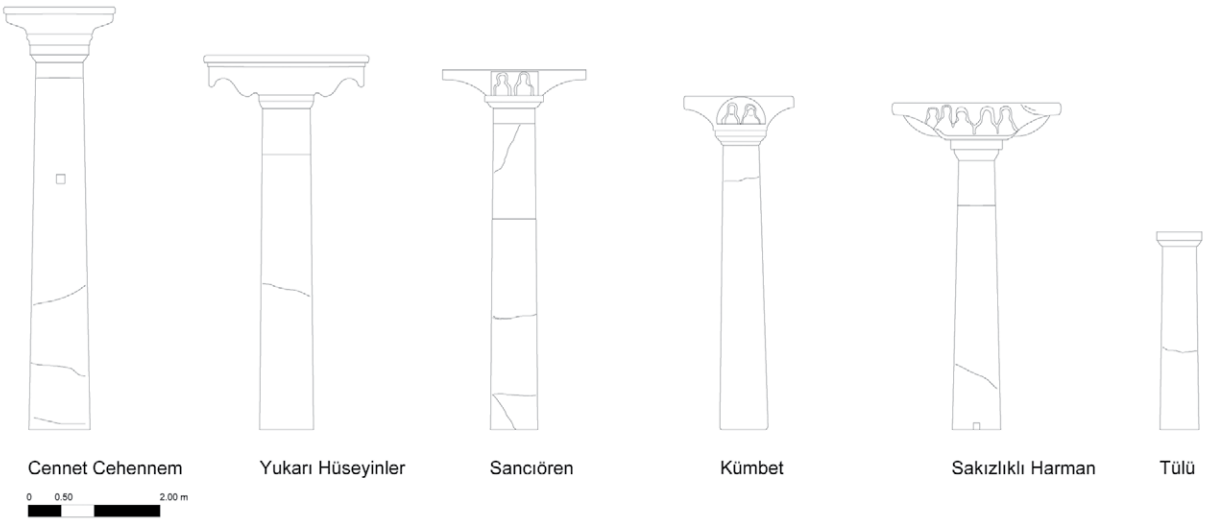

Figure 6: *Olba region, tombs with monumental column and Doric capital (reworked from Söğüt 2005, table 1)*

Galatia, stylistically datable to the Julio–Claudian period.[46] With caution, the presence of this tomb typology has been hypothesised for the East Necropolis at Diokaisareia, where fragments of a monumental unfluted column in limestone were found, albeit unfortunately without a capital.[47]

The majority of tombs with columns and Doric capitals belong to the U–plan *aedicula* tombs, both vaulted and barrel–vaulted types. The burial type associated with this funerary monument is sometimes a sarcophagus, but more often a *chamosorium*. The material used is local limestone, for both architectural

Table 3: *Olba region, tombe with monumental column and Doric capital (from Söğüt 2005)*

Settlement	**Grave type**	**Burial type**	**T–shaped corbel ***	**Statue****
Kümbet (district of Silifke)	vaulted *aedicula* tomb	*chamosorium*	concave profile, decorated by two relief busts in a semi–circular niche	unknown
Yukarı Hüseyinler (district of Silifke)	*aedicula* tomb with altar	three *chamosoria*	cyma recta profile, undecorated	unknown
Cennet Cehennem (district of Silifke)	barrel–vaulted *aedicula* tomb with columns between antae	*sarcophagus* or *chamosorium*	cyma reversa profile, undecorated	a seated male figure
Sakızlıklı Harman (district of Silifke)	*chamosorium* tomb with a gabled roof	*chamosorium*	concave profile, decorated by five relief busts	unknown
Sancıören (district of Hasanaliler)	unknown	*chamosorium* (?)	concave profile, decorated by two relief busts in a rectangular niche	a seated female figure
Tülü/Kızılisalı (district of Tülü)	unknown	*chamosorium* (?)	none	a seated female figure

* Corbel associated with an unfluted column without base and Doric capital carved in the upper part of the column shaft.
** Seated statues found at the ruins of the cited monuments (Söğüt 2005: 126–128 and figs. 15, 16, 26, 29).

[46] Mert 2016.

[47] This hypothesis is, however, difficult to prove as the identity of the building to which it belonged is uncertain. Alternatively, it could in fact be a column erected in front of a temple façade monument such as the 'Tempelfaçade' Ost H12: Linnemann 2013: 118 pls. 63.4–6. On the 'Tempelfaçade' Ost H12: Linnemann 2013: 99 pl. 56.1.

Figure 7: *Tumulus of Karakuş, column with relief (courtesy of Carole Raddato)*

elements and statues. From a stylistic point of view, there are some recurring elements. Firstly, the column is always unfluted, without a base and worked either as a monolith or in two blocks. The Doric capital is generally short in height, with a geometrically profiled *echinus* and a smooth *abacus*. As a characterising element, the capital is worked into the shaft of the column. With the exception of the funerary monument in Tülü/Kızılisalı, in all cases a T–shaped corbel is placed above the Doric capital. Note that the corbels with a *cyma recta* profile are undecorated, while those with a concave profile are carved with relief busts of figures. These figures are probably to be identified with the deceased and his family members. In some cases, a seated statue found next to the monument's ruins testifies to the presence of a statue likely placed atop the column (**Table 3**).[48]

In the search for the architectural model behind the development of this small group of tombs, a comparison with the funerary architecture of Commagene and northern Syria is once again necessary.[49] In this sense, of particular interest is the funerary monument at Tülü/Kızılisalı, the only example in which a statue was likely placed, without a corbel, directly on top of the Doric capital.[50] This same solution is attested in Commagene, in the *Hierothesion* of Mithridates I Kallinikos (100–70 BC) at Arsameia on the Nymphaios (1st century BC). The comparison is more evident with the so–called Tumulus of Karakuş, where there are free–standing columns with smooth shafts and Doric capitals, which supported reliefs (**Figure 7**) or statues of animals.[51] In Commagene, a similar monument is also found at the Tumulus of Sensönk (Dikilitaş), located about 60 km south west of the Euphrates.[52] The tumulus, however, is of uncertain date (1st century BC – 1st century AD). Architecturally the monument has two smooth shaft columns with bases and Doric capitals. The columns in this case supported an architrave on which statues of human figures were placed, so

[48] As proposed by Söğüt 2005: 126-131. A seated male statue was found at the ruins of Cennet Cehennem (Söğüt 2005: figs. 15-17), while a seated female statue was found at those of Tülü (Söğüt 2005: figs. 29-31) and Sancıören (Söğüt 2005: figs. 26-28), where the presence of four dowel holes on the corbel's top surface suggest the presence of a statue atop the column. Nevertheless, given the constant presence of the top corbel, it is possible that a statue was present in all of the known examples as an integral part of the architectural model.

[49] Söğüt 2005: 125–126.

[50] Söğüt 2005: figs. 29-30.

[51] On the *Hierothesion* at Arsameia on the Nymphaios: Brijder 2014: 238-298; Hoepfner 1983; Waldmann and Vermaseren 1973: 80–122 pl. II, 1–4; III.3; IV.3; Dörner and Goell 1963. On the Tumulus of Karakuş see also: Blömer and Winter 2011: 96–99; Waldmann and Vermaseren 1973: 38 pl. II.3, III.1–4; Arachne, *Karakus Tepe (Adlerhügel)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/5987442; https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/5913626 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[52] On the Tumulus of Sensönk: Blömer and Winter 2011: 173–176; Waldmann and Vermaseren 1973: pl. IV.1,3.

that the architecture of this monument is reminiscent of the Aemilius Reginus monument at Qatura in northern Syria, which dates to AD 195.[53]

The use of the so–called tombs with monumental columns covers a very broad time frame, from the early 1st century AD to the 3rd century AD. According to Söğüt, the type was introduced in the Olba region at Imbriogon kome, in the early years of the reign of Antiochus IV of Commagene, around AD 38–72 or shortly earlier.[54] Later, during the 2nd century AD, the monument type with a Corinthian capital spread to sites around Imbriogon kome (Beyören, Kümbet Beleni, Direktaş). Funerary monuments with Doric capitals were built later, during the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. However, regarding the Doric type, the similarities between the funerary monument of Tülü/Kızılisalı and the Tumulus of Karakuş in Commagene suggest that the presence of the architectural model in the Olba region can be dated back earlier than the 1st century AD. It can also be assumed that later, through local schools influenced by the architecture of Commagene,[55] the model was probably revised to create a style of its own, with the introduction of the corbel as a characterising element.

A date between the 2nd–3rd centuries AD for the Doric type is also supported by the architecture of these tombs. As mentioned above, in most of the cases known to us, the grave is of the *aedicula* tomb type, with a *chamosorium* or a sarcophagus as the burial type.[56] *Aedicula* tombs are widespread mainly in the Olba region and in the eastern part of Rough Cilicia during the Roman period, with a period of use dating between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century AD.[57] For these reasons, a date between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century AD, as suggested by Durukan, is likely for the Doric funerary monument of Yukarı Hüseyinler in the district of Silifke.[58]

Doric temple tomb at Kanytelleis

In the Olba region the influence of northern Syrian architecture on the Doric style can also be seen in the N9 Necropolis of Kanytelleis/Kanytella/Kanytelideis,[59] a context mostly characterised by sarcophagus burials dating to the late 2nd–3rd century AD. Here we can find a small temple tomb ('Grabtempel') in *opus quadratum* with three prostyle columns on its façade (**Figure 8**).[60]

The building has an extremely provincial character. The architectural decoration also differs from all the examples described so far. The funerary monument has columns with a smooth shaft and base, which latter element is not part of the canonical Doric order. The same kind of bases are also present in the corner pillars. They consist of a plinth and a torus with a listel at the top, which are, however, extremely low in height.[61] Similarly, both columns and pilaster *antae* have a totally unstructured capital, with a low

[53] As a main reference see: Tchalenko 1953: 189–192 pls. 61; 62.6. Arachne, *Grab des Aemilius Regines (Qatura)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/6069837 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[54] The grave type associated to Imbriogon kome tomb (no. 2.1) is unknown. The Corinthian capital is dated by the author in the first half of the 1st century AD: Söğüt 2005: 116; 130–131.

[55] As suggested by Söğüt 2005: 130.

[56] With reference to the use of sarcophagi and *chamosoria* in Rough Cilicia: Er Scarborough 2017: 22–25.

[57] On the barrel–vaulted *aedicula* tombs: Er Scarborough 2017: 154–155; Durukan 2005: 119–122.

[58] Durukan 2005: 120–122 figs. 23–24.

[59] On Kanytelleis/Kanytella, a settlement placed around 5 Km north of Elaiussa–Sebaste: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 285–286.

[60] Machatschek 1967: 29 no. N 9; 116–117 pl. 56 fig. 71. Arachne, *Grabbau mit drei prostylen Säulen (Kanytelis/Kanytella)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8146 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[61] This type of column bases, not common in the region, finds a comparison in the *temenos* of the Sanctuary of Jabal Shaykh Barakat, in north Syria: Berns 2003: 87–89 nt. 224; tab. 3 no. 12 fig. 11c; pl. 30.1.

Figure 8: *Tomb at Kanytelleis/Kanytella/Kanytelideis (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R539. Autor A. Peschlow, 1967. arachne.dainst.org/entity/110920)*

abacus and a torus–like underdeveloped *echinus*. The type is comparable to Doric capitals from northern Syria that date to the late 2nd century AD–3rd century AD, a fact that supports its stylistic dating.[62] Otherwise, as regards the architectural style of this tomb, in the Olba region comparison can be made with the so–called Tomb D2 at Imbriogon kome, a prostyle temple tomb in *opus quadratum* dating to the 3rd century AD.[63]

The above examples show a marked tendency towards regionalism, which is supported by the existence of local workshops and characterises the Doric funerary architecture of Rough Cilicia. This phenomenon of regionalism is also attested in other instances in the region. As already pointed out by Spanu, the geographical isolation of the territory, the presence of local limestone, and the peculiar political formation of the Roman province led to the creation of local schools and/or tendencies.[64] These tendencies are manifested at various levels in the architectural production of Rough Cilicia, insofar as the existence of regional trends in Doric architecture is not limited to a funerary context.

[62] Compare with Berns 2003: 95. For the Syrian capitals: Strube 2002: 15–16, tav. 6c. A dating in the late 3rd century AD is instead proposed with caution by Machatschek 1967: 116–117.

[63] The tomb, notable for a strong Ionic character, is dated to the 3rd century AD due to the stylistic comparison with the Ionic tomb D1: Durukan 2006: 127–130 figs. 13–16.

[64] Spanu 2013: 99–100.

Doric temples in Cilicia

Similar trends can also be found in religious architecture. Two small Doric temples from the Roman period, one in Çatıören and the other in İsmailli, which are distinguished by the combination of the Doric order with traditional building techniques, merit discussion.

Doric temple at İsmailli

An early Imperial date can be suggested for the temple of İsmailli/Kurşunlu Kalesi (Asar) that is located between Kalykadnos and Lamos, some 4km to the south of the aqueduct of Olba. Built with local limestone, it was a small tetrastyle temple realised in *opus quadratum* and polygonal masonry.[65] The formal style of the Doric temple of İsmailli shows some similarities both with the funerary tower of Diokaisareia and the Roman temple tombs in Rough Cilicia.[66] The building also preserves the complete canonical sequence of Doric architectural decoration: capitals with smoothed *abacus* and *echinus* in a curvilinear profile; architrave with low profile *regulae* decorated with six well carved *guttae*; friezes with metopes and triglyphs that end in horizontal terminations; canonical Doric *geison* and *sima.* An aspect of interest is that the column drums have a rough surface, whereas flutes characterised by semi–circular terminations are carved only in the *hypotrachelion* of the capital. Şahin dates the temple to the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, but various other possible chronologies have been proposed in the literature.[67]

Temple of Hermes at Çatıören

The Temple of Hermes at Çatıören, a site in the hinterland of Elaioussa–Sebaste, should also be dated to the Roman period.[68] Here, an undated Greek inscription reports that Pomponios Nigeros, priest of Hermes, financed the construction of the *naos*. The text not only identifies the building as a temple dedicated to Hermes, but also gives a hint for its dating in the Roman period as the dedicant bears a Latin name.[69]

The Temple of Hermes is a Doric temple *in antis* built in polygonal masonry (**Figure 9**). As for the temple at İsmailli, the building material used here is a local limestone. Stylistically, however, some Hellenistic Doric elements observed at İsmailli are abandoned here in favour of local solutions. In particular, the column, with a smooth shaft, is associated with Doric capitals with a geometric profile that have been worked in the same piece as the upper shaft. This solution has already been observed in other Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia, for example in the tombs with a monumental column and Doric capital in the Olba region dating to the 2nd–3rd century AD.

The Doric architrave–frieze is surprising. The architrave is characterized by the elimination of the *regulae*, with six *guttae* carved under the *taenia.* As mentioned above, in Cilicia, a parallel for this solution occurs

[65] On this building see principally: Şahin 2014: 85–121 figs. 2–28. On the settlement: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 277, s.v. 'İsmailli'.

[66] As previously proposed by Durugönül 2001: 158–159 pls. 36.1–2.

[67] Şahin 2014: 85–121. A date in the Flavian age is cautiously supported by Gider Büyüközer 2020: table 1; Durukan 2003: 231–234. Previously Durugönül 2001: 158–159 proposed a date in the early Empire. By contrast Tempesta 2016: 233–234 proposed a date in the late Hellenistic period, due to stylistic parallels with the funerary tower of Diokaisareia and the Doric elements at Korykion Antron.

[68] On the Temple of Hermes at Çatıören see: Mörel 2017: 381–420 figs. 10 a–g; Tempesta 2016: 234 figs. 30–31. See also: Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 224–225, s.v. 'Catiören'. Arachne, *Tempel des Hermes (Nimet Mahallesi)*: https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/8823 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[69] For the inscription: Hicks 1891: 232–233 no. 13.

Figure 9: *Temple at Çatıören (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Negative nr. D-DAI-IST-R2727. Autor O. Feld, 1969. arachne.dainst.org/entity/455768)*

only in the monumental tomb of Yeniyurt Kalesi.[70] Furthermore, in the frieze a fragmentary metope is embellished by the relief of an animal that resembles a bird, according to the author.[71] To my knowledge in Asia Minor there are no direct parallels to this solution. Decorated metopes are generally uncommon in the Doric architectural decoration of Asia Minor and, where used, floral motifs were preferred.[72] Occasionally a decorative apparatus depending on the context could be adopted: in Lycia the Ptolemaion at Limyra (3rd century BC) has a Doric frieze with metopes decorated with a centauromachy.[73] Likewise, the triumphal arch built at Xanthos by the governor of Lycia Sextus Marcus Priscus (AD 68–70) in honour of Vespasian had metopes adorned with busts of the major divinities of the city (Leto, Apollo, and Artemis).[74]

As regards the subject of cultural interaction in Cilicia, it is also interesting to observe that metopes with animal figures were widespread in Doric funerary monuments of central Italy during the 1st century BC.[75] In this respect an interesting parallel is provided by a frieze–architrave (50–30 BC) from the

[70] See note 32.
[71] Unfortunately the element is fragmentary: Mörel 2017: figs. 10 f–g.
[72] On this topic: Ismaelli 2009: 370; Rumscheid 1994: 313.
[73] Borchhardt 1991: 309–322 fig. 4.
[74] The Leto's head is still *in situ*: Des Courtils and Cavalier 2001: 159 fig. 6.9. On the dedicatory inscription: *TAM* II, 270.
[75] Maschek 2012: 180.

Figure 10: *Doric frieze-architrave from the Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo – L'Aquila, Italy (copyright of the Ministero della Cultura – Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo – L'Aquila)*

Archaeological Museum at L'Aquila (*Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo*), which has metopes decorated with birds alternated with *bucrania* (**Figure 10**[76]).[77] At Çatıören the adoption of iconographic schemes inspired from Italic architecture can only be supposed, although it should be stressed that Pomponios Nigeros, who financed this work, may have had Italic origins and was in fact a Roman citizen.[78] In this regard it must also be considered that, in the wake of the province's re–organization by Vespasian, building activities and evergetism practices increase in the region.[79] For all these reasons, a date subsequent to the reign of Vespasian (i.e. some moment between the late 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century AD) can be proposed.

Korykion Antron

Finally, evidence from the late Hellenistic period seems instead to come from the sanctuary of Korykion Antron (Cennet Cehennem) near Korykos. Here, fragments of a Doric building reused in the Byzantine basilica are known. On the basis of these one can assume the existence of a Doric prostyle temple *in antis* (like that of Çatıören) and with a *temenos* in polygonal masonry. The building is probably to be dated to the late Hellenistic period (2nd–1st century BC).[80] The use of fluted columns for only two–thirds of the shaft should be noted. This typical Hellenistic Doric element, however, is rarely attested in Cilicia: an example can be found in the six Doric columns under the Church–Cave of St. Thecla (Ayatekla) south of Silifke, which probably belonged to a Hellenistic building (**Table 2**).[81]

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[77] Maschek 2012: DF 105 pl. 25.6. The original provenience of this frieze is unknown. At Çatıören a *bucranium* is carved on the *antae* wall: Mörel 2017: fig. 10e. Other examples in Italy are found at Benevento (Maschek 2012: DF 21, DF 145), Amiternum (Maschek 2012: DF 23), and Amelia (Maschek 2012: DF 159). See also the tomb at Benevento (35–10 BC), which has metopes decorated by an eagle: Maschek 2012: DF 12, pl. 2.3.

[78] The influence of the Italic architecture in Asia Minor during the Imperial time has been recently addressed by Ismaelli 2020. Also worthy of note is Spanu 1996, where emphasis is placed on the role of the armies in the introduction of Roman building techniques in eastern provinces.

[79] On this subject, see Borgia 2010: 27–38.

[80] Tempesta 2016: 232–233 fig. 26. Arachne, *Tempel-Kirche (Cennet-Cehennem),* arachne.dainst.org/entity/1967870 (accessed 28 June 2022).

[81] Tempesta 2016: 232 nt. 80 and fig. 21.

The most distinctive characteristic of the temples discussed here is the use of the Doric order in conjunction with Hellenistic building techniques well established in the region, e.g. polygonal masonry and *opus quadratum*. This shows the preference of Cilician workshops for local traditions.[82] Furthermore, a Roman date for the temples of İsmailli and Çatıören proves a continuity of use of the Doric order associated with Hellenistic techniques into the Roman period, thereby highlighting the regional character of this architecture.

Conclusions

This analysis of Doric buildings in Rough Cilicia illuminates the existence of regional trends, which give the Doric style a unique character.
In spite of the lack of data from the Hellenistic period, it has been possible to highlight how the advent of the Roman period led to the progressive abandonment of canonical elements of the Doric order and favoured a minimalistic or totally revised architecture. The canonical Doric entablature, for example, is for the most part used in buildings from the late Hellenistic or early Imperial periods, e.g. the funerary tower tomb at Diokaisareia and the Doric rock–cut tombs at Diokaisareia's west necropolis or the temple of İsmailli. Alongside this, the exclusive use of local limestone, which was readily available thanks to the territory's geomorphology, is noted.[83] The use of local stone is accompanied by stylistic implements characteristic of the regional style. One of these is the predominant use of the unfluted column in the Imperial period in place of the canonical fluted column of Hellenistic tradition. This solution was also accompanied by another formal detail typical of Rough Cilicia: the capital carved in the same block of the upper part of the column drums. The same tendency towards regionalism can also be seen in the widespread and protracted use of Doric pilaster *antae*, which are used alone[84] or in association with a Doric entablature. In the case of the tombs with monumental column and Doric capital in the Olba region, it has been observed that the canonical Doric entablature was abandoned, and the use of the order limited to the column–capital. This re–elaboration produced a unique style with no direct parallels in Asia Minor. The widespread use of stylistic solutions distinctive of the region attests to the existence of well–established local workshops that were still active in the Roman period. This is also evident in the use of Hellenistic building techniques used in the Doric temples of İsmailli and Çatıören.

Finally, the study of Doric buildings has facilitated discussion of influences coming from neighbouring regions. Our analysis highlights a combination of regional tendencies and external influences from Lycia, Commagene and Northern Syria, which demonstrate a mixture of local identities and cultural interactions in the Doric architectural decoration of Rough Cilicia. The combination of these aspects gives the style and architectural forms of the Doric order of Rough Cilicia a character that is distinctive from those found in the other provinces of Asia Minor.

[82] With reference to the building techniques in Cilicia during the Roman age: Spanu 2010: 397–409.
[83] On the geological morphology of Cilicia: Spanu 2003: fig. 4.
[84] Compare with the s.c. 'Kubische Grabhaus mit Gesims G19' at Elaiussa Sebaste necropolis N4: Machatschek 1967: 26 pl. 32.

Abbreviations

TAM = Kalinka, E. (ed.). *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (Wien 1901–1941).

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Antiochia ad Cragum in Western Rough Cilicia: From Pirate Base to Hadrian

Michael Hoff[1]

Abstract

This paper introduces the Roman-era city of Antiochia ad Cragum, and traces the evidence concerning the site's known history from the era of the Cilician pirates in the late Hellenistic period through the Roman Empire. In addition, it presents the reader with a comprehensive guide to archaeological research from its discovery by Francis Beaufort in the early 19th century to the current excavation being conducted by the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (USA).

Key Words: *Antiochia ad Cragum, Rough Cilicia, Antiochus IV of Commagene, ancient harbours*

Introduction

The Roman–era city of Antiochia ad Cragum is one of several ancient urban sites located in western Rough Cilicia, between the ancient cities of Coracesium (modern Alanya) and Anemurium (Anamur) (**Figures 1 and 2**). Other ancient cities in the region include Selinus, Cestrus, Lamus, Nephelis, Charadrus, and also Anemurium. Antiochia is neither the oldest (possibly Selinus) nor the largest (Anemurium) city, but in terms of archaeology Antiochia has become the most investigated city of the region. Excavations at the site have been ongoing since 2005 under the aegis of the University of Nebraska–Lincoln (USA), bringing to light many of the city's buildings and slowly disentangling the site's development from a

Figure 1: *Major coastal sites of southern Turkey from Pamphylia to Cilicia (Map created by Brian Cannon)*

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Figure 2: *Western Rough Cilicia. Ancient cities and major river basins (Map created by Brian Cannon)*

pirate base to an imperial city. This paper summarizes the site's history, geographical setting, and excavations and research that have occurred to date.[2]

Historical Considerations

The site where the later city of Antiochia ad Cragum would be founded was already known to early Roman geographers, primarily because of its geographical distinctiveness and its use as a pirate base in the late Hellenistic period. Our earliest reference to the site is by Strabo, an Augustan–era geographer. In his description of the west Cilicia coast Strabo refers to a place east of Selinus (modern Gazipaşa) as the 'Cragus, a rock which is precipitous all round and near the sea' (**Figure 3**).[3] It is indeed curious that in spite of the fact that Strabo had just discussed in the previous paragraph the origins and nature of the infamous Cilician pirates (14.5.2), he omits to mention that the site served as one of their bases, and was conceivably one of the largest. That piece of information instead comes from Appian in the 2nd century AD who claims that there are in fact two geographical features at that place, the Cragus and the Anticragus, and that they were both utilized by the pirates as 'citadels'.[4]

[2] I am grateful to Emanuela Borgia for organizing the conference and providing a venue for these papers. I would like to thank the Archaeological Directorate of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism for awarding us the annual excavation permits; Seher Türkmen, the director of the Alanya Museum, for her guidance and the assistance she has graciously provided us over the years; and the various mayors and other city officials of Gazipa a for their generosity with time and materials in helping our work continually happen. I would also like to extend our deepest appreciation to our project's sponsors over the years, including the Loeb Foundation of Harvard University, the Merops Foundation, the Hixson–Lied College of Fine & Performing Arts of the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, the U.S. State Department/Embassy in Turkey, and the many individual donors who generously provided funds to keep the project in operation. I would also like to extend my appreciation to Mr. Konrad Gerats, resident of Gazipaşa who has come to our aid in so many different ways over the years that it is difficult imagine the excavation without his presence. Finally, I would like to thank the many Turkish, American, and international students and volunteers without whose generosity and labors this project would not have dug deep into the ground.

[3] Str., 14.5.3 (669): 'Κράγος πέτρα περίκρημνος πρὸς θαλάττῃ.'

[4] App., *Mith*. 96: 'μὲν οἳ Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκραγον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα.'

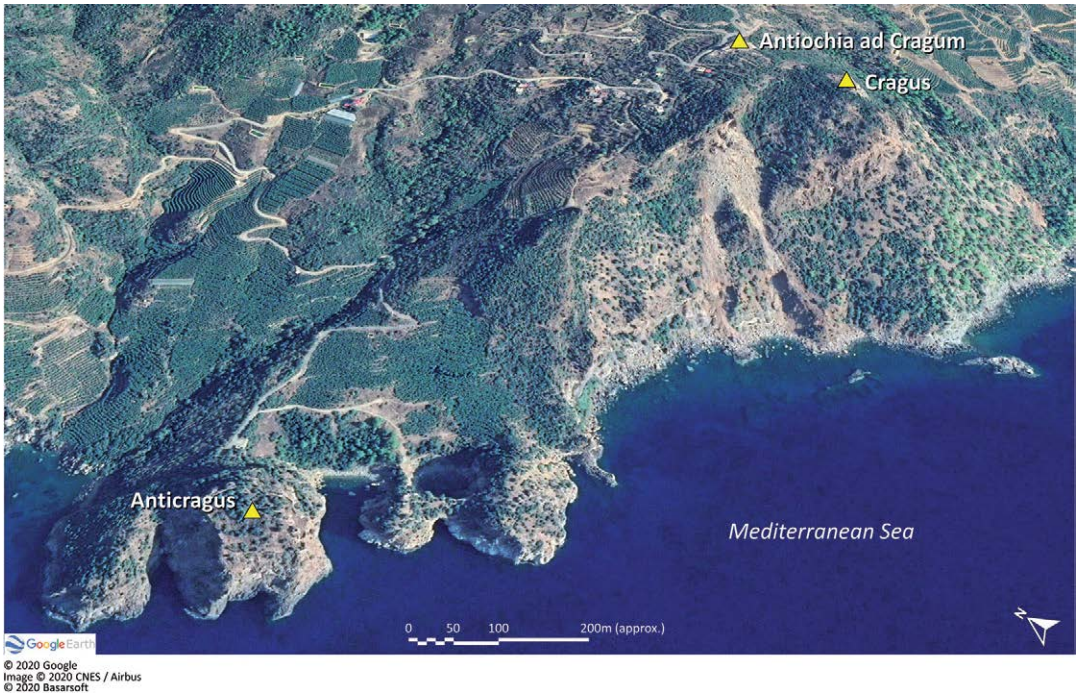

Figure 3: *Satellite view (Google Earth) of* Cragus *(right) and* Anticragus *(left) (Photo: ACARP archives)*

The Cragus of Strabo and Appian is actually a rocky precipice with nearly sheer cliff faces on three sides, features that correspond to Strabo's description, and approximately 300m high, overlooking the sea below (**Figure 4**). The Cragus served as the acropolis (or *kale*) and southernmost tip of the later Roman–era city constructed at this highpoint. Excavations atop the acropolis have so far uncovered late Roman/Byzantine structures, including a Christian complex. Pre–Christian buildings have so far not been detected, but the site enjoys a commanding 180–degree view of the surrounding sea. Large,

Figure 4: *General view of* Cragus, *from west (Photo: ACARP archives)*

Figure 5: *General view of* Anticragus*, from west (Photo: ACARP archives)*

roughly–hewn limestone blocks of the Late Roman/Byzantine structures could have served as building material for earlier constructions, such as a watch tower or fortlet.

The Anticragus, on the other hand, is identified as the rocky promontory, surrounded by cliffs, located approximately 1100m west of the Cragus that contains natural cliffs; there are Byzantine–era fortifications constructed on the highpoint (**Figure 5**). In spite of the distance between these two features, the assumption that they are the Cragus and Anticragus is based primarily on the promontory's natural defensive position plus the late fortifications. No other geographical feature close to the Cragus (known locally as Kaleş Tepe) with a comparable defensive quality could have served as Appian's 'Anticragus.' The body of water immediately to the west of the promontory served as an anchorage prior to the city's foundation, including the late Hellenistic pirate base, and later as the harbour for the Roman–era city.

The promontory (no known local name) is ringed with a Byzantine–era fortification wall, but no standing structures datable to the Hellenistic or Roman era are observable anywhere; preliminary pedestrian surveys in the area of Antiochia conducted in the late 1990s failed to locate pre–Roman habitation concentrations.[5] Such lack of remains is not surprising given the transitory nature of the pirate occupation. Buildings were not likely to be constructed of durable stone, but more likely to be built of more perishable materials such as wood which would naturally leave less visible footprints, even to the

[5] More intensive pedestrian surveys are scheduled for the 2022–2023 seasons. The pedestrian survey was conducted under the auspices of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP); for a summary of the RCSP work, see Rauh *et al.* 2009: 274.

well–trained eye. In fact, Plutarch informs us that the pirates maintained fortresses in the higher elevations of the Taurus mountains, where their families and treasures could be relatively safe.[6] Appian also speaks of the 'mountaineers of Cilicia'.[7] It is safe to assume therefore that the higher sites likely served as the more permanent domiciles.

In 2004–2005 and again in 2014 and 2018, underwater survey was undertaken in the small bight adjacent to the Anticragus to the NW that likely served as the harbour of the Roman–era city.[8] These investigations produced an assemblage of anchors that range in date from the Bronze Age through the Ottoman periods, although the majority of material dates from the Roman Empire. The 2004 survey located several finds that may be associated with the period of pirate activity: they include a fragment of a Will Type 10 amphora that is generally dated to the 1st century BC and a bronze socket decorated in the form of the winged–horse Pegasus, a type that is often attached to the ends of ship timbers. Vestiges of wood recovered from the socket indicates an approximate calibrated radiocarbon date of 125 BC, which would place the socket during the period of the pirates.[9] Viewed collectively, these finds offer significant evidence that the anchorage–and thus likely the site as well–was in use at the time that Appian places the pirates here.

The pirate era came to an end in 67 BC when Pompey the Great arrived with a formidable fleet to end the Cilician–pirate threat that had been plaguing primarily the east–west commercial waters of the northern Mediterranean. Appian informs us that when Pompey arrived with his fleet the fortifications on the Cragus and Anticragus, the pirates' 'largest citadels', were among the first to capitulate; the rest of the pirates either surrendered peacefully or were dispatched forcefully in the bay off Coracesium soon thereafter.[10]

Although evidence of any immediate post–pirate occupation of the site has yet to be observed, it can be safely assumed that, after the dissolution of the pirate threat by Pompey, the site continued to be occupied. The anchorage that had been utilized at least since the Bronze Age likely continued to shelter ships, and it is reasonable to assume that the site once used by pirates could still continue to be occupied by pirate survivors or local opportunists. Especially now that Cilicia had come under direct though absent control by Rome, it was likely seen as land that could be occupied without fear of Roman opposition. The abandoned site was also sufficiently far away from the already established cities of Selinus and Anemurium so as not to pose any sort of economic threat.

In 36 BC, M. Antonius gave the land of western Rough Cilicia to Cleopatra so its vast stands of cedar trees could be used to construct her fleets, but after Octavian's victory in 31 BC the land was given to a series of client kings, who served as Rome's surrogates against problem populations.[11]

[6] Plu., *Pomp*. 28.1.

[7] App., *Mith*. 96.

[8] The underwater survey, an aspect of the Rough Cilicia Survey Project, and under the directorship of Cheryl Ward, recorded an assemblage of anchors, ranging in date from the early Roman through Ottoman periods, that indicated that the anchorage had been in continual use; see Rauh *et al.* 2009: 273–274. Later maritime surveys in the harbor conducted in the 2014 and 2018 seasons, directed by Hakan Oniz, Akdeniz University (Antalya, Turkey) and Michael Hoff, located Bronze Age and possible Neolithic anchors; this material is currently under preparation for publication.

[9] See Rauh *et al.* 2009: 274.

[10] App., *Mith.* 96.

[11] Str., 14.5.3 (669) and 14.5.6 (671). For discussion on Roman rule in Rough Cilicia following the dissolution of the pirates, see Rauh *et al.* 2009: 276–285. Also see Hoff *et al.* 2021; Borgia 2013: 87–98; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 32–33.

Eventually the territory of Rough Cilicia (*Cilicia Tracheia*) was given to Antiochus IV of Commagene by the emperor Gaius in AD 37 or 38; although shortly afterwards Gaius had a change of heart and removed the territory from Antiochus' control. But this setback was only temporary as it was restored to him by Claudius in AD 41.[12] In addition to embellishing already–established cities along the Rough Cilicia coast (Selinus, Anemurium, Celenderis, Corycus, Lacanatis, and Elaiussa Sebaste), Antiochus also founded new cites in the hinterlands of the Taurus range within his client–kingdom (Eirenopolis, Germanicopolis, and Philadelphia) and along the coast (Iotape and Antiochia).

The ancient sources do not specifically mention that Antiochus founded these cities, but the association of their names with Antiochus renders the identification almost certain. Iotape, located 15 km northwest of Selinus (modern Gazipaşa), is named after Antiochus' sister–wife or, less likely, his daughter. The other city, and the focus of this paper, is eponymously named.

After its foundation, the earliest mention of the city is by Ptolemy in the late 2nd century AD who includes the city in a list of the coastal cities of western Rough Cilicia. He specifically names the city as Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Κράγῳ, using both its eponymous name and toponymic epithet.[13] Curiously, Ptolemy is the only known source, geographical or historical, to link the eponym, Antiochia, to the city with that epithet. One other source, the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, a third–century AD maritime survey of Mediterranean shores, refers to the city as χωρίον Κράγον.[14] Perhaps the unknown author of the *Stadiasmus* is linking the name to the older and likely more traditional toponymic of the site used by Strabo.

The first European traveller to visit Antiochia's shores was the early 19th–century Irish geographer, Sir Francis Beaufort, who had been ordered by the British Admiralty to chart the harbourages of the Turkish coastline. In addition to his military duties Beaufort was also keenly interested in ancient topography and made use of this opportunity to visit the ancient sites he encountered during his survey. In the published account Beaufort refers to the city he visited in 1812 as 'the Antiochia ad Cragum of Ptolemy'.[15] Undoubtedly Beaufort came equipped with a copy of Ptolemy as a necessary reference for his survey, and his use of Ptolemy's nomenclature for the city is therefore understandable.

Subsequent 19th and 20th century archaeologists, such as the Austrian Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm who visited in 1891, and the Italians Roberto Paribeni and Pietro Romanelli in 1914, either directly or indirectly, refer to Ptolemy and Beaufort for the designation of the city as Antiochia ad Cragum, utilizing the Latin form as Beaufort did.[16] The 1960s saw two survey teams researching the region of western Rough Cilicia. The epigraphers George Bean and Terence Mitford, who recorded inscriptions throughout the region from 1962 to 1968, also accepted Heberdey and Wilhelm's use of the Latin city name, as did Elizabeth Rosenbaum and her team.[17] It seems likely that starting with Beaufort the Latin name Antiochia ad Cragum has become the established name of the ancient city within scholarship and popularly as well. Even modern touristic road signs situated on the south coast highway (D–400) designate the site using the Latin toponymic epithet.

[12] On Antiochus' rule in Rough Cilicia see Borgia 2013; cf. Hoff *et al.* 2021: 136.
[13] Ptol., *Geog.* 5.7–8.2.
[14] For the relevant text of the *Stadiasmus*, see Müller 1855: 486 (200). For a discussion of the *Stadiasmus'* description of the coastal sites of western Rough Cilicia, see Karamut and Russell 1999: 365. The term *Chorion* in the *Stadiasmus* appears to mean an inhabited place and may include cities and towns; Nephelis is referred to similarly.
[15] Beaufort 1817: 185.
[16] Paribeni and Romanelli 1914: 172–174; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896: 151–155.
[17] Bean and Mitford 1970: 184–187; Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967: 18–29; Bean and Mitford 1965: 34–42.

New research has shown, however, that the city had a different and perhaps 'official' epithet rather than 'ad Cragum'. The civic coinage provides an entirely different toponymic epithet, referring to the city as Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Παραλίου (Antioch–on–the–Coast).[18] Recent epigraphic discoveries during excavation appear to confirm this name and suggests that Ptolemy's use of ἐπὶ Κράγῳ may refer to the more popular and established toponym rather than the novel epithet created by Antiochus for his new city.[19]

Antiochus maintained control of his realms through the remainder of the Julio–Claudian period likely by virtue of his good relationships with both Claudius and Nero. Antiochus' rule in Cilicia Tracheia lasted for 31 years, but it came to an end in AD 72 when Vespasian removed him from his rule of both Commagene and Cilicia.[20] Emanuela Borgia suggests his removal was not made because of a general displeasure with Antiochus' performance, but rather because of a generalized political strategy of removing client–kings from provincial control to allow Rome to exert now direct authority over its provinces.[21] As such, the province of Cilicia is formed in AD 72.

Once founded by Antiochus, the city slips into anonymity as it remains unmentioned by the ancient historical and geographical sources until the Late Roman/Byzantine period.[22] Only through epigraphy and archaeology are we able to discern snippets of historical events. Epigraphers, such as Heberdey and Wilhelm, and Bean and Mitford, published the majority of inscriptions found at the site.[23] These have all now been collected and in some cases re–edited by Stefan Hagel and Kurt Tomaschitz in their 1998 catalogue of inscriptions from Rough Cilicia.[24] They include in their catalogue all 27 previously published inscriptions from the ancient city, from which we learn the titles of various city officials including *patroboulos, demiourgos, gymnasiarchos,* and *agonothetes*. The last two official titles are significant because a number of extant inscriptions refer to agonistic games (known as the *Leonideia*) that appear to have been held in the city. Curiously no identifiable venues for athletic contests have yet been found.

Cities of western Rough Cilicia – Antiochia included – minted coins from either Trajan or Hadrian until the mid–3rd century. Antiochia's known coins demonstrate that the mintage was not a prolific one. Only 43 coins are represented in the most recent catalogue by Edoardo Levante, who notes also that the second–century AD coinage, beginning under Hadrian, is much more scant than those produced in the 3rd century AD.[25]

Recently uncovered epigraphic material includes two reused statue bases, one dedicated to Hadrian and the other to Sabina. The presence of these bases in the city, in conjunction with other Hadrianic statue bases at nearby Cestrus and Lamus, has led us to consider that Hadrian may have visited the region and, in particular, Antiochia.[26] Most likely this visit occurred when Hadrian and Sabina travelled through Cilicia while returning to Athens from Egypt in AD 131. It is indeed possible that the right to mint coins may have been granted by Hadrian during this visit.

[18] Levante 1991: 205–207.
[19] See now Hoff and Howe 2020: 163–167; Hoff *et al.* 2021.
[20] Suet., *Vesp.* 8; J., *BJ* 7.219–243, especially 238.
[21] Borgia 2013: 90.
[22] E.g., Antiochia in Isauria (Hierocl., *Syn.* 709.3), Antiochia of the Lamotis (episcopal list of the Council of Chalcedon, AD 451), Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μικρά and assorted derivatives intended to distinguish it from 'greater' Antioch on the Orontes; for these and additional references, see Rauh *et al.* 2009: 255 n. 10; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 191–193; Müller 1855: 486 (200).
[23] Bean and Mitford 1970: 184–187; Bean and Mitford 1965: 34–42; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896: 151–155.
[24] Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 34–43.
[25] Levante 1991: 205–207.
[26] Hoff and Howe 2020: 164; Hoff *et al.* 2021: 140–148.

One final historical reference to Antiochia reflects a profound event that undoubtedly shaped the city's course for generations. After defeating and capturing the Emperor Valerian in AD 260, the Sasanian King Shapur I invaded the Roman–controlled territory of Cilicia, attacking and pillaging the coastal cities. Antiochia is included among those cities raided by Shapur I that are listed on the monumental inscription on the Ka'be–ye Zardosht (SKZ) in Naqsh–e Rustam dated to AD 262.[27] Hastily–made walls, containing damaged statue bases, that were constructed around the city and are preserved today at the Main Gate, may have been put into place in the aftermath of Shapur's raid.

Geographical Considerations

At Antiochia, a spur from the coastal ridge paralleling the coast juts out creating a relatively level landscape terminating at the Cragus cliffs. Antiochus' city occupies the entirety of the spur which served as Appian's 'Cragus'. The majority of public buildings are constructed at approximately the 320 meters above sea level mark. To the west and east of the spur, there is a considerable slope leading down toward the coastline. In antiquity these slopes would have been terraced to provide for local agriculture.[28] No traces of ancient terracing survive along these slopes, probably as a result of modern terracing that covers much of the seaward side of the coastal ridge which are now densely packed with banana plants, the most prevalent cash crop of the Turkish south coast.

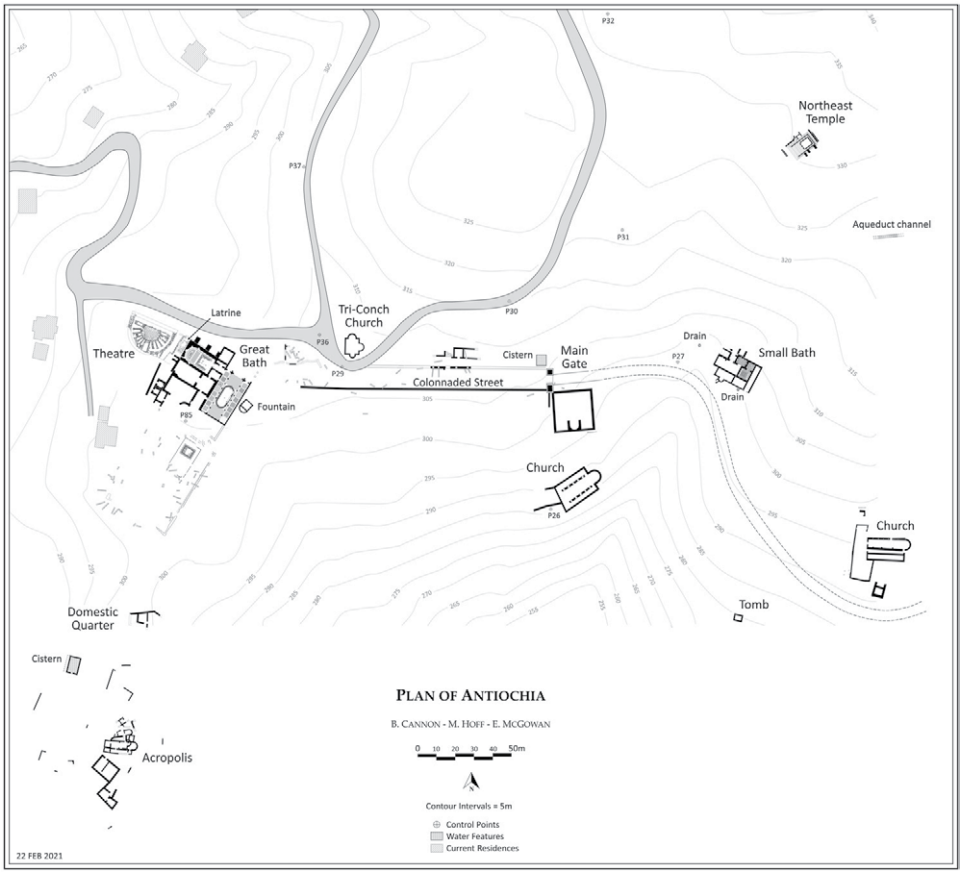

Figure 6: *General plan of Antiochia ad Cragun (Plan created by Brian Cannon)*

[27] *Res Gestae divi Saporis* 2.27–31 (for the text, see Maricq 1958: 295–360). Cf. Daryaee 2018: 1282–1283; Rauh *et al.* 2009: 301; Dodgeon and Lieu 1994: 57.
[28] Dodd 2019: 25–33.

More generally, in this region of western Rough Cilicia, there is a high ridge line running close to and roughly parallel to the coastline, stretching from Selinus (today Gazipaşa) at the northwest towards Charadrus at the southeast (**Figure 2**). The amount of terrain between the crest of the ridge and the coastline varies considerably. The coastal cities and villages constructed during the Roman period are placed either along the top of the ridge line (e.g., Cestrus) or upon the gentler slopes on the seaward side (Nephelis, Antiochia, Charadrus). Two other ridges running in parallel further inland and at increasingly higher elevations also host large sites (e.g., Asar Tepe and Lamus).

Clear indications of the road that would have brought visitors like Hadrian into Antiochia are seen at the Main Gate that marks the entry into the city at its eastern side. Traces of the road are observed immediately outside the Gate where other buildings are located (**Figure 6**). The road passes by each of these buildings (Basilica and Small Bath) as it follows the contour of the ridge heading generally towards the southeast. A previously–published milestone dating to the Severan period was located in close proximity to the road along the contour approximately 370m from the Main Gate (**Figure 6**).[29] Although the road largely disappears from view from this point as a result of soil deposition from higher elevations, it may be possible that a trace of the road parallels the line of the city's aqueduct, a line also placed along the seaward side of the ridge.[30] Although there is little doubt of the road's existence leading northwestward from the city towards Nephelis, and attempts have been made to locate it, no discernable traces are observed.

History of Research

In the late spring of 1812 Francis Beaufort, commanding a British naval frigate that was charting the Aegean and Mediterranean Turkish coast, entered into the harbour of Antiochia. Beaufort had been trained in the classical languages and took this opportunity to identify the ancient sites he visited. He published his report, *Karamania*, in 1817, which served as the first description in the West of the ancient sites of south coastal Turkey. When in the harbour, Beaufort notes: 'We next came to the ruins of an ancient town, which, I apprehend, must have been the Antiochia ad Cragum of Ptolemy'.[31] There is no indication from the text that Beaufort left the ship to explore the remains high above the harbour. However, accompanying Beaufort was a young Charles Robert Cockerell, the future architect and archaeologist, who did make the steep climb from the harbour to the preserved remains of the ancient city where he observed the remains of a large building which he considered to have been 'a senate–house or a gymnasium'. It must certainly have been the Great Bath that he encountered as it is the largest structure at the site. Cockerell's report of his travels, published by his son in 1903, serves as a delightful pendant to that of Beaufort.[32]

For much of the 19th century the site was rarely visited by western travellers and scholars who considered much of the western Cilician coast to be lacking in relevance compared to the older Classical and Hellenistic cities of nearby Pamphylia. But late in the 19th and the early 20th century we begin to see interest in the cities of western Cilicia re–emerge, particularly with respect to their inscriptions. The Austrians Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm visited the site in 1891 as part of an epigraphic survey of

[29] Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 37–38 AntK 17; Bean and Mitford 1965: 35–36 no. 40.

[30] Local inhabitants of the countryside have indicated that the ancient road was still in use at least partly for modern wheeled traffic as late as the 1960s until the modern south coastal road (D–400) was constructed. That construction also removed any surviving traces of the aqueduct bridge that once stood east of the village of Güney.

[31] Beaufort 1817: 185.

[32] Cockerell 1903: 181.

the Cilician coast from Antalya to Mersin. Since inscribed blocks were their main concern, notes regarding any standing architecture they encountered were made simply in passing.[33]

As the rugged terrain of western Rough Cilicia was the primary driver allowing generalized banditry to persevere during the Roman Empire and beyond, the inaccessibility also accounts for how the region has generally escaped scholarly attention until relatively recently. Visitors until the 1950s found it difficult to access even the coastal areas much less the hinterlands. But starting in the late 1950s the Turkish government began to construct roads that connected communities all along the south coast, in particular the D–400 highway.[34] As a result, these new roads attracted a new generation of scholars to seek out ancient sites; some were still epigraphers, but others were drawn to the architectural remains.

Foremost in the new wave of epigraphic forays are the British team of George Bean and Terence B. Mitford who surveyed the regional sites between 1961 and 1968. Their combined publications formed a catalogue of most known inscriptions from the cities of western Rough Cilicia, including Antiochia.[35] Also, at nearly the same time that Bean and Mitford were carrying on their research, an architectural survey in the region was also underway.

The first architectural survey of the region was undertaken from 1962 to 1965 by a joint Canadian, Austrian, and Turkish team led by Elizabeth Rosenbaum. The resulting publication, which included descriptions of the major cities of western Rough Cilicia (including Anemurium, Selinus, Iotape, Syedra, and Antiochia), served as the primary source for the archaeology of the region until the 1990s.[36]

Over the next 30 years sporadic publications appeared, generally regarding the archaeology of the region.[37] But the next major research program delving into Rough Cilicia archaeology was a long–term survey project that began in 1996 under the direction of Nicholas Rauh. For over a decade the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP) surveyed the region's landscapes to create a diachronic catalogue of the ancient sites by investigating the historical, geomorphological, ceramic, and architectural evidence.[38] The areas surveyed stretched from Alanya in the northwest to Antiochia, from the coast into the mountainous hinterlands.

Current Archaeological Research: Selected Highlights

The RCSP survey fulfilled its mission in sampling the archaeology over the wide region of western Rough Cilicia. Excavation of a single site became the next phase of the regional study. In 2005 the Rough Cilicia Archaeological Research Project (ACARP) was inaugurated as an offshoot of the RCSP in order to begin excavations at a site within the previous survey zone.[39] Through negotiations with the Archaeological Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the project was granted an excavation permit at

[33] Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896: 152.

[34] On the opening up of the transportation network of the region, see Bean and Mitford 1970: 9–10. Bean and Mitford also at the same time saw greater evidence of looting as a result of freer accessibility to the sites.

[35] Bean and Mitford 1970, 184–186; Bean and Mitford 1965: 34–42.

[36] Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967. It should be mentioned that the buildings are only described, without any attempt to offer an interpretation of their function.

[37] Regarding Antiochia, see in particular Erdemgil and Özoral 1975; and on the civic coinage see Levante 1991.

[38] Yearly reports of the RCSP were published in the annual *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantisi* by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. For an interim summation of the Project's results, see Rauh *et al.* 2009. Also, see Blanton 2000.

[39] ACARP, a research project under the aegis of the University of Nebraska–Lincoln (USA) is a consortium of American and Turkish researchers that currently includes Michael Hoff (project director; University of Nebraska–Lincoln), Rhys Townsend (Clark University), Ece Erdoğmuş (Georgia Tech University), Birol Can (Uşak University), Tim Howe (St. Olaf College), and Asena Kızılarslanoğlu (Kastomonu University).

Antiochia ad Cragum. For the first three seasons (2005–07) ACARP conducted joint research under the auspices of the Alanya Museum. Beginning with the 2008 season, the permit was awarded to ACARP solely and has continued on an annual basis. Under the terms of the initial excavation permit, research at the site commenced with the Northeast Temple. That study continues to this day.[40]

Excavations elsewhere at Antiochia (**Figure 6**) began in 2011 with a sondage conducted on the Colonnaded Street in which elements of the colonnade and commercial shops were unearthed. In the following season (2012) work began on the Great Bath Complex that was first noticed by Cockerell exactly 200 years earlier in 1812. There are two aspects to the Complex (**Figure 7**). One is the Great Bath itself, the northern flank of which survives completely intact. The second is the Court adjoining the Great Bath at the east. Under the direction of Birol Can, we first began clearing the Court where the Alanya Museum had uncovered traces of a mosaic a few years earlier. By the end of the 2012 season over 50% of the court had been cleared, revealing a large, mainly covered Court and a floor paved with a single large mosaic. The area was completely cleared by the end of the 2013 season, revealing an open–air *natatio*, paved and lined with marble. The mosaic was decorated in separate panels with geometric designs (**Figures 8 and 9**). Preliminary evidence points to a date in the early 4th century for the construction of the Court and *natatio*.

The Great Bath itself is the single largest structure in the city, so large in fact that it will take many more years to reveal the entire structure. In 2014 and 2015 seasons we cleared the northernmost chamber which is now identified as the *frigidarium*, and since 2016 we have been working to clear the next chamber to the south which is the *tepidarium*. In the bottom of the *frigidarium* we found the floor paved in a mosaic which unfortunately has been greatly disturbed. Within the *tepidarium* evidence of the hypocaust system appeared in the form of several examples of *pilae* composed of terracotta bricks.

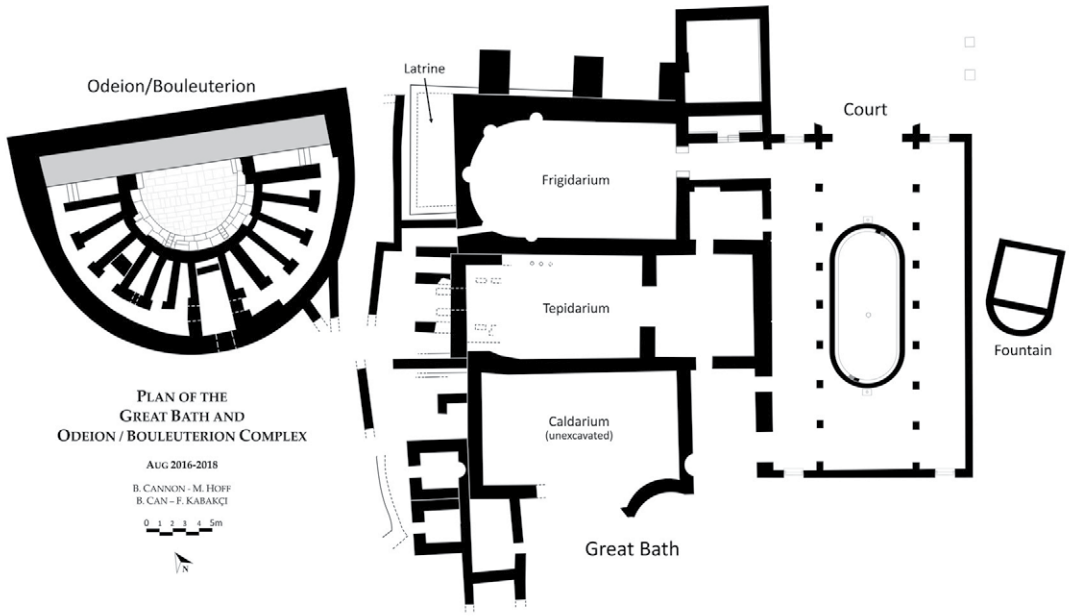

Figure 7: *Plan of Great Bath/Odeion Complex (Plan created by Brian Cannon)*

[40] For annual excavation reports see *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* and *ANMED. News of Archaeology from Anatolia's Mediterranean Areas* (Suna & Inan Kiraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations, Antalya). On the Northeast Temple, see the contribution of Rhys Townsend and Ece Erdoğmuş in these proceedings.

Figure 8: *View of Great Bath Court, from east (Photo: ACARP archives)*

In both chambers that we excavated we discovered several well–preserved ceramic kilns and in the Courtyard the remains of a glass workshop. All together these industrial establishments illustrate how a major building was re–purposed for industrial use in the Late Roman period after its original bathing and recreational functions ceased. We look forward to uncovering additional industrial re–use as we begin clearing the *caldarium*.[41]

In 2015 we began exploring the area adjacent to the Great Bath to the west. The empty space had the appearance of a half–bowl, with a downward slope from south to north. The first sondage in that season

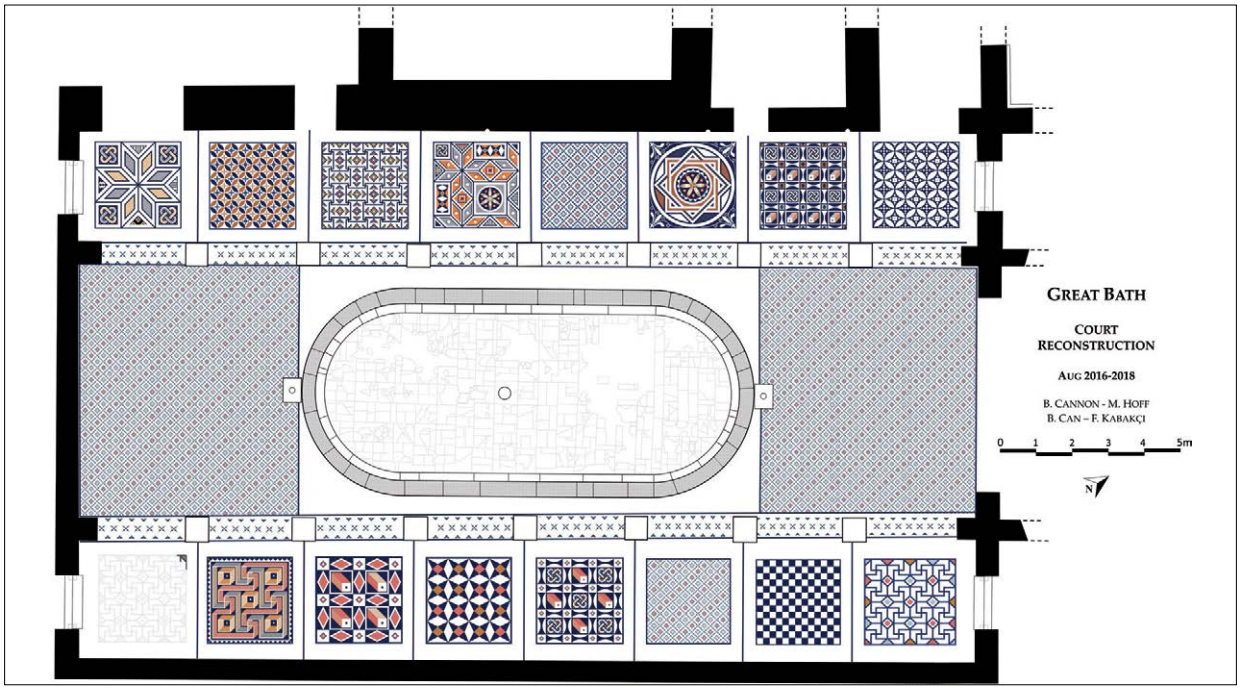

Figure 9: *Reconstruction of the Great Bath Court (Brian Cannon)*

[41] Along the northwest flank of the Northeast Temple a Late Roman wine press was constructed, which combined with the production amphorae in the kilns of the Great Bath, indicates that there was a robust wine production center active in the late Roman/Early Byzantine period. On wine production at Antiochia, see Dodd 2019.

Figure 10: *View of the Odeion/Bouleuterion, from north (Photo: ACARP archives)*

revealed a small, theatre–like structure; the rest of the structure would be revealed in an additional two seasons. The 17m wide structure (**Figure 10**) is built in a hemicycle with a wall that encircles the *cavea* and *pulpitum*, and the discovery of hundreds of roof tile fragments indicates that the structure was roofed, at least over the *cavea*. Only the lowest row of the *cavea* consisted of marble seating; the rest of the seating, based on an estimated 10 total rows, was constructed of wooden planks supported by walls radiating outwards from the paved orchestra. Several iron brackets that supported the wooden plank–seating have survived, confirming the seating method. It is estimated that about 325 people could be accommodated.

The structure includes the hallmarks of an odeion: a *cavea* fully ensconced within walls and roofed. However, since inscriptions at the site have shown that there existed a *boule* at Antiochia, it is likely the structure pulled double duty, serving as both Bouleuterion and Odeion. Is it possible that the structure could have performed triple duty, serving in addition as a theatre? The RCSP has noted a marked absence of outdoor theatres among the cities of western Rough Cilicia, which is a jarring omission considering the monumental theatres of neighbouring Pamphylia, e.g., Aspendos, Perge and Side.[42] Although the closest monumental theatre in Cilicia would be that of Anemurium, nevertheless the lack of dedicated theatres remains a mystery. Though lacking in theatres, many of the cities in western Rough Cilicia cities are equipped however with *bouleuteria*.[43] It has been suggested that these council–houses, e.g., those at Selinus and Nephelis, may have entertained theatrical performances in addition to their normal responsibilities.[44]

In the space between the *frigidarium* of the Great Bath and the *Odeion* was discovered a Latrine with a mosaic pavement (**Figure 11**). The seating would have been on the south and west sides only; wastewater

[42] Rauh *et al.* 2009: 296.
[43] E.g., Asar Tepe, Nephelis, Selinus; see Rauh *et al.* 2009: 288.
[44] Selinus: Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967: 31; Nephelis: Karamut and Russell 1999: 361.

Figure 11: *Overhead view of the Latrine with figural mosaic (Photo: ACARP archives)*

flowed continually from the *natatio* through an underground drain, then entered into the Latrine's waste channel, providing a constant water flow for flushing. The pavement of the latrine is decorated completely with figured mosaic panels, surrounded by an ivy leaf border. Originally there were three panels, but at some point the northern panel was damaged; repairs to the mosaic in the form of all–white tesserae can be seen in the spaces where the original decorative border and panels once stood. The surviving panels depict variations on themes in Greek mythology: Narcissus gazing at his reflection, and Ganymede being seized by Zeus. But these well–known scenes have been altered to add a humorous effect, a helpful remedy for the non–whimsical environment such as a latrine. So, in the case of Narcissus, instead of looking at his handsome visage, he lovingly regards his prodigious penis. And Ganymede is shown being seized not by Zeus in the form of an eagle, according to canonical depictions of the scene, but by a heron who dabs at his penis with a sponge, and the lad holds a stick in his hand that carries another sponge for cleaning oneself while in a latrine.

Located approximately 100m east of the Main Gate, directly adjacent to the road, the Small Bath is among the better preserved remains of the ancient city as most of its plan could be discerned, even before excavation (**Figure 12**). The plan of the bath is a relatively unusual one, a type that has been localized in western Rough Cilicia and the eastern area of Pamphylia. The plan consists of a long, central hall that serves as conduit allowing bathers access to all rooms and not in the canonical *en–suite* fashion.[45] We have identified the four chambers along the north flank to be cool rooms, and those along the south as warm rooms. We began excavating the bath in 2018, starting with the chamber in the northwest and a sondage in the central hall. Within the chamber, closely below the surface we discovered two large deposits of coins, apparently purposely buried in cloth or leather bags. This hoard consists of over 3000 coins, mainly silver but with some gold and bronze coins as well. Although the majority of the gold and smaller coins appear to be Ottoman, the larger silver issues were of various major European mints, the latest of which appear to date *c.* 1620. These coins are still in the process of being cleaned, thus any conclusions regarding the circumstances for the deposits and final dating must remain for the future.

[45] The Small Bath was first examined by G. Huber in the 1960s; see Rosenbaum *et al.* 1967: 26–27 (Baths I. 12 A). Huber compares the bath to one in Anemurium (II. 7A) and another in Syedra (II.1A). Fikret Yegül labels this variant as the 'hall type,' with similarities with baths mentioned above, and also at Seleucia in Pamphylia; see Yegül 1992: 301–304; also, see Farrington 1995: 34–35.

Figure 12: *View of the Small Bath, following 2018 season (Photo: ACARP archives)*

The adjacent chamber, also a cool room, was excavated in 2019 along with the continuation of the central hall sondage. In all three chambers mosaics, mainly geometric, have been found at the bottom. The excavation of the Small Bath is on–going and we anticipate several more years remain until the structure is completely cleared.

In 2014, work began uncovering the remains visible on the crown of the Acropolis. At the end of the season, two large structures had been delineated, one long and apsidal at the eastern end (Building 4) and the other rectangular and divided into two large rooms (Building 5). A monumental bas–relief cross found in the doorway of Building 5 and small incised crosses on the inside walls near that doorway, indicated Christian use. From 2015 to 2017 both structures were fully excavated. At this time the Building 4 could clearly be identified as a Christian basilica, with an internal staircase leading to the apse and chambers off the central nave. Ceramic oil lamps, fragmentary glass bowls with bronze wick–holders, and carved marble panels, likely from an iconostasis, were uncovered in the apse, attesting to the liturgical functions of the structure. In 2018 a *baptisterium* was discovered to the north of Building 4, connected to it by a large staircase of *spolia* blocks. Also in 2018, a Late Roman tower was excavated to the south–east of Building 5.

Concluding Remarks

In the 15 years since excavation commenced at Antiochia there has been a rich array of extraordinary finds that have been uncovered at the site. And with this new data, combined with the survey results gleaned from the RCSP, significant new insights have been made regarding both the region of Rough Cilicia and the site of Antiochia ad Cragum.[46]

[46] In recognition of the 15 years of research at the site, an interim report on the findings of the excavation is currently under preparation.

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Veterans of the Roman Army in Cilicia

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Abstract

Cilicia has influenced the course of historical events for centuries. Although isolated by the Taurus Mountains and the Mediterranean, it was also a region of acculturation that acted as a conduit for sociocultural communication between the Near East and the Mediterranean World through the Anatolian peninsula. Cilicia is divided into two geographical subregions: the mountainous western part is called Rough Cilicia (Kilikia Tracheia in ancient Greek and Cilicia Aspera in Latin), while the eastern part, now Çukurova in Turkish, is called Plain Cilicia (Kilikia Pedias in ancient Greek and Cilicia Campestris in Latin). Rough Cilicia and Plain Cilicia reveal contrasting geomorphological and geographical properties.

Keywords: *Cilicia, Roman army, veterans, Roman provinces*

The settlement of retired soldiers in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire is considered to be a measure meant to ensure these regions' cultural assimilation as well as their safety. When we look at the regions where veterans were situated, we can see that veteran settlements were designed in line with a certain security policy. Especially during Hadrian's reign, veterans were settled along the inner side of the borders of the Empire, in order to provide protection to these areas. This situation is completely different if compared with the rapid and long–range military operations carried out by the Roman army during Trajan's reign. It is better understood during the long crisis period of 3rd century AD that certain Roman colonies in the eastern part of the empire were both serving Roman security policies and socially supporting veterans. Veteran settlements are usually located on or near strategic roads and in the vicinity of harbours, in order to defend important strategic areas (**Figure 1**).

While rearranging the status of the dominions of Rome in the East, in AD 72 Vespasian accused Antiochos IV of Commagene of disloyalty and made all his territory converge into the Roman Empire.[2] That portion of Antiochos' land which was in Commagene was included in the province of Syria. The east and western portions of Cilicia, on the other hand, were united to form the new province of Cilicia. The eastern frontier of this new province, separating it from Syria, had its focal point and the main road passageway at Kodrigai (near to present day Sarıseki Kalesi) that is located a couple of kilometres to the north of İskenderun. Its western frontier, even if the topic is largely debated due to the imprecision of ancient sources, was the Sedre river. Its capital was Tarsos. The province was directly subordinate to the emperor through the appointment of a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. However, no Roman legion was stationed in this province.

Through the centuries various routes arose in accordance with the natural landscape on the one hand and political and commercial developments on the other (**Figure 1**).[3] North–south routes across Rough Cilicia followed the courses of rivers, for instance the ancient Kalykadnos (modern Göksu) and Lamas rivers, connecting the Anatolian plateau with the Mediterranean coast. The east–west connection following the coastline and mountain passes is well described by the accounts of ancient sources concerning military campaigns.

[1] İstanbul Üniversitesi, Turkey, mhsayar@istanbul.edu.tr.

[2] Spanu 2020; Borgia 2017; Borgia 2013: 87–98.

[3] Sayar 2019: 147–165; Sayar 2002: 451–471.

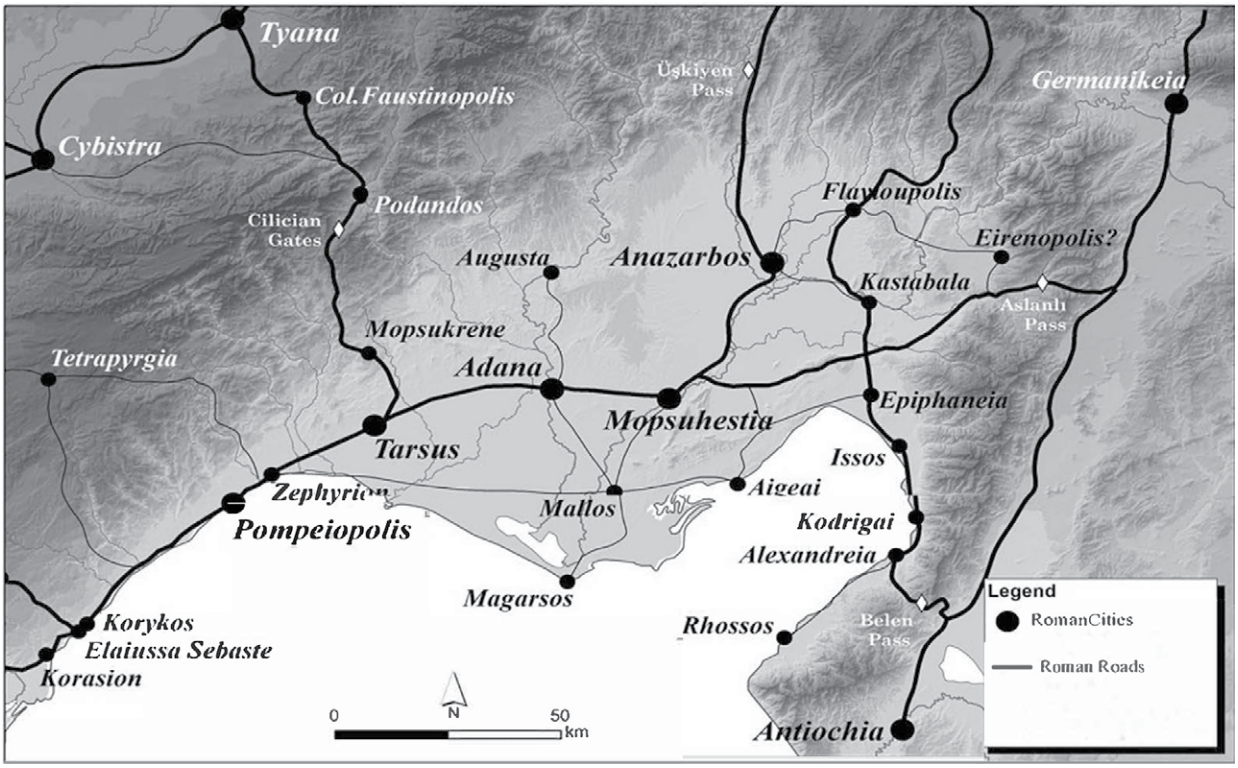

Figure 1: *Map of eastern Cilicia*

In the span of time between AD 72 and the invasion of Cilicia by the Sassanid king Shapur I, who took the emperor Valerian captive and plundered the cities of the province up to Selinus in AD 260, Cilician cities developed, even if with differences between the eastern and western portion of the region.[4] During the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD they went through socio–economic and administrative changes that parallel the political and military events occurring at the time. These changes are mainly reflected in building activities aiming to have regular and well organised city centres, provided of all the buildings that characterised a Roman city. When the process of urbanization of Cilicia is observed over the centuries, it becomes evident that cities were, since the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, concentrated on the shores and the neighbouring regions in Cilicia Tracheia, and in the vast plain of Cilicia Pedias. This was because sea transportation was easier and faster than land transportation, also because the road system before the Roman period was very poor. Cicero mentions various roads in the letters written during his governorship in Cilicia in 51 BC. However, it was not until AD 72, when the emperor Vespasian created the unified province of Cilicia, that real works connected to the creation of roads started. Since then the region was progressively provided of roads that could be used all year round to move between Asia Minor and Syria as well as between the major cities in Cilicia.[5]

When the whole Cilicia became a Roman province in AD 72, on the other hand, the possibility of overland transportation to the interior improved significantly as a result of the peaceful atmosphere. This led to the foundation of new settlements in the upper parts of Cilicia both in Cilicia Tracheia and Cilicia Pedias. In particular, in the inland areas of Cilicia Pedias urbanization and monumentalisation evolved as of the

[4] For the historical geography of Cilicia, see Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 22–29; for the historical geography of the region between Kalykadmos and Lamas Rivers, see Pilhofer 2018: 13–25

[5] Eck 2012: 35.

beginning of the 3rd century AD, also due to eastern military expeditions of Rome. This situation left the old settlements of the shores behind, even if of course they didn't decline. The evolution of settlements during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire can be determined by means of the ancient literary sources as well as the archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence to be found in Cilicia.

Cilicia, with its location between Anatolia and the Near East, played an especially important role in the logistics of the region in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, for it was a key corridor for the movement of military units and commercial activities.[6]

Cilicia was also important in the Roman imperial period as a region where retired soldiers were settled. Veterans were settled in the province of Cilicia in the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. This can be seen from some inscriptions mentioning the retired soldiers and their families both in Cilicia Pedias and in Cilicia Tracheia. As far as Cilicia Tracheia is concerned, the funerary inscriptions belonging to veterans and their families found in Olba and its surroundings give an idea of the settlement of retired soldiers in the eastern portion of this region. In the territory of Olba, a sarcophagus is located on the road from Uzuncaburç to Olba. From the funerary inscription, inside a *tabula ansata*, it is clear that this monument is the grave of a veteran called Lucius Agusius Marinus.[7] Another funerary inscription found at the entrance to a burial chamber in the Korykos necropolis area, located along the coast to the southeast of Olba, is that of a veteran named Zenor.[8] It is understood from the inscription of a sarcophagus in the Kanytellis necropolis area, a village east of Elaioussa–Sebaste, southeast of Olba, that the veteran Helvius Konon and his wife Helvia Tyche were buried here.[9] Both must have been named after Publius Helvius Pertinax, who was killed in 193 after a reign of a few months.

The veteran Helvius Konon had served in the *Legio II Parthica*, which had been sent to Albanum in Italy by Septimius Severus and was therefore also known as *Severiana Albana*. The *Legio II Parthica* participated in the enthronement of Elagabal in Antiocheia, in Septimius Severus' expedition to Britannia between AD 208 and 211 and then joined the Parthian campaign with Caracalla on the eastern front in AD 216–217, and also joined the struggle between Macrinus and Elagabalus in AD 218.[10] The legion, which played an important role in Severus Alexander's Parthian wars between AD 231 and 233, participated in Maximinus Thrax's Dacian and German campaigns between AD 235 and 238, and also participated in Gordian III's Parthian expedition between AD 242–244.[11]

Another veteran of the Second Parthian legion is known thanks to a funerary inscription found in the Sivasti/Gevinde Castle village, which was under the sovereignty of Claudioupolis. The name of Aurelius Neon is mentioned in the inscription.[12]

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[6] Mitchell 1995: 232; 238; Ziegler 1993: 19–24; 157–160; Ziegler 1985: 124–126.

[7] Λουκίου / Ἀγουσίου / Μαρείνου / οὐετρανοῦ. Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 88 no. 105: J. Keil and A. Wilhelm date this inscription to the 2nd or 3rd century AD. Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 338 no. OlD 81; cf. Pilhofer 2015: 178; 252.

[8] Θήκη Ζήνορος οὐετρανοῦ. Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 198 no. Kry 33; Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 154 no. 366. On this inscription, see also Pilhofer 2015: 255.

[9] Ὧδε κῖτε Ἔλουιος Κό/νων οὐετρανὸς στρα/τευσάμενος λεγε/ῶνος Ἀλβανῶν / τὴν δὲ σορὸν κατεσ/κεύασεν Ἑλουία Τύ/χη ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ. Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 136 no. Kan 18; *IGR* III, 865; *ILS* II, 8877; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896: 55 no. 125. Cf. Pilhofer 2015: 245 (*c.* AD 193).

[10] On the Second Parthian legion, see: Sheldon 2010: 167; 213; Handy 2009: 105; 111–113; 139; 142; 145; 147; 176. Ricci 2000: 397–410.

[11] For the connection between the festivals and military campaigns in the cities of Plain Cilicia, see Watson 2019: 121; 179–183; Ziegler, 1985: 67–123; 130–143.

[12] Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Νέων [οὐετρα]/νὸς λεγιῶνος β΄ Παρθεικ[ῆς] κτλ. Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 384 no. Siv 2; Bean and Mitford 1965: 30 no. 33; cf. Pilhofer 2015: 182; 252.

Figure 2: *Inscription of C. Lucius Valens from Anemourion*

It is understood from an inscription found near Mara (Kırobası), a small site north of Olba, that the veteran named Aelius Vianor had built the tomb for his wife Aeliane.[13]

In addition, inscriptions document the presence of veterans in the western part of Cilicia Tracheia at Anemourion (Caius Lucius Valens) (**Figure 2**),[14] Kalınören (Papas Killis),[15] Ayasofya (Kolybrassos) (M. Aurelius Posidios Obrimos),[16] Dalisandos (Caius Iulius Celer),[17] Kestros (C. Munatius Vales),[18] Ezvendi (Valerius Fronto),[19] Görmel (Aurelius Nonus Tydius),[20] Hacılar (Gavurbeleni/Pissarissos),[21] Syedra, and Laertes.[22] At Anemourion a *vexillatio* was stationed.[23]

Among the many rock reliefs to be seen in the territories of the ancient cities around Olba, there are those defined as warrior or soldier reliefs.[24] However, to date, no concrete connection has been established between them and the veterans who settled in the region.

The funerary inscriptions of veterans and their families found in Olba and its surrounding settlements prove that the settlements of Olba, Diokaisareia, and Kanytellis on the north–south and east–west roads, during the Roman imperial period were considered suitable places for the settlement

[13] Αἴλιος Βιάνω/ρ οὐετρανὸς / ἅμα Αἰλια[νῇ] / τῇ συ[μβίῳ] / ἐποίησε. Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 316 no. Mar 1; *IGR* III, 843. Cf. Pilhofer 2015: 233; 252.

[14] On this inscription, see Russell 1997, 181–185; cf. Pilhofer 2015: 204; 254 (1st-2nd century AD).

[15] A veteran belonging to the *Cohors I Damascenorum*. On this inscription, see Pilhofer 2015: 254 (AD 136–137).

[16] On this inscription, see Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 50 no. Aya 13; Bean and Mitford 1965: 15 no. 15: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἐτείμησεν Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρή/λιον Ποσίδιον Ὄβρι/μον, οὐετρανὸν λεγ(εῶνος) / δ΄ [Σκυθικ]ῆ[ς] κτλ. Cf. Pilhofer 2015: 182; 252. For the Scythian legion, see Speidel 2000: 327–337; Speidel 1998: 163–204; Wagner 1977: 517–539.

[17] On this inscription, see Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 64 no. Dalisandos 6; *IGR* III, 816. Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Κέλερ / οὐετρανὸς κτλ. Cf. Pilhofer 2015: 197; 253.

[18] The text concerns the veteran C. Munatius Vales of the *VII Legio*. On this inscription, see Pilhofer 2015: 61 n. 32, 207, 254.

[19] On this inscription, see Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 92 no. Ezv 1; *IGR* III, 824; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896: 129 no. 217. Οὐαλέριος Φρόντων οὐετρανὸς κτλ.; cf. Pilhofer 2015: 232; 255.

[20] On this inscription, see Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 97 Gör 1. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νωννος Τυδ[ιος (?) Αὐρ(ηλίω) Ν]ανουα (?) οὐετρανῷ κτλ. Cf. also Pilhofer 2015: 241; 252.

[21] For this inscription, see Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 102–103 Hac 4a; Tomaschitz 1998: 23–24. [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος] / [ἐτείμησεν Αὐρήλιον] / Κονωνιανὸν Σόλωνα οὐε/τρανὸν κτλ. Tomaschitz speculates that this veteran did his military service in an auxiliary unit rather than a legion, since the name of the military unit in which he served is not mentioned.

[22] On this inscription see, Pilhofer 2015: 253 (AD 138).

[23] Eck 2014: 87; Eck 2009: 137.

[24] Durugönül 1989; Pfuhl and Möbius 1979: 496–499.

of veterans. Several inscriptions inform us of the legionary affiliation of these veterans.[25] It is known, for instance, that the veterans of *legio IV Scythica* and their families lived in Kolybrassos and the veterans of *legio II Parthica* in Kanytellis. Both legions are military units known to have stayed on the eastern front for a long time and to have participated in the Parthian and Sassanid campaigns. These inscriptions prove that some of the soldiers serving on the eastern front were stationed in Cilicia when they retired.

Inscriptions document veterans settled in Cilicia Pedias, specifically at Hierapolis–Kastabala in the cases of C. Iulius Longinus and C. Iulius Firmus,[26] and at Anazarbos in the case of Calventius Silvanus.[27] Perhaps the region of Cilicia was already the homeland of several veterans.[28] The Roman state knew very well the strategic importance of Cilicia, which was transformed into a province in 64 BC in the last years of the Republic,[29] and reorganized as a *provincia inermis* in AD 72 without the deployment of legions,[30] and since this region was the neighbour of the provinces that were in the front position during the Parthian wars, the Roman state placed great emphasis on keeping it under control.[31] Especially in the Olba region, which has a close relationship with the sea even if being on the mountains, one of the measures to be taken both to increase commercial mobility and to support local production and to keep the region between Kalykadnos and Lamos rivers under control – it is an important transition region between the Mediterranean and Central Anatolia – was to settle veterans in the region. Cilicia seems to have belonged to the regions where the veterans are settled since the age of Augustus.[32] Despite the disapproval of the soldiers with the distribution of land, the *missio agraria* was interrupted by Hadrian. Under the Severan dynasty, because of the increasing campaigns especially against the Parthians, the land grant seems to have been taken up again.[33] As far as we know, veteran colonies have been established in the eastern provinces, such as Mallos that became a Roman colony under Severus Alexander.[34] Mallos is at the crossroads of sea and land connections in Cilicia Pedias for the distribution of the tasks to veterans in army logistic.[35] With the few inscriptions found so far, it is not possible to determine how many veterans were located in the region during the Roman imperial period.[36] However, with other veteran inscriptions that are likely to be found in the future, it will be possible to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of how the Roman state controlled the province of Cilicia with veterans in those areas where legions were not deployed.[37]

[25] At Kolybrassos a veteran from the *legio IV Scythica* is documented (cf. nt. 16) and in Kanytellis a veteran from the *legio II Parthica* is documented (cf. nt. 9). Both legions stayed long time on the Euphrates frontier. According to epigraphic evidence the veterans of these legions were settled in Cilicia.

[26] Pilhofer 2015: 199; 253.

[27] Pilhofer 2015: 166; 224; 252.

[28] Concerning those who were recruited from Anatolia to the Roman army and served in the legion units, see Kennedy 1987: 60; Speidel 1984: 45–63; Speidel 1980: 730–746.

[29] Eck 2007: 190; Freeman 1986: 253–275; Levick 1967: 21.

[30] Sherk 1955: 400–414.

[31] On the methods applied and especially the considerations taken during the resettlement of veterans, see Filges 2011: 131–154; Tweedie 2011: 458–473; Broadhead 2007: 148–163; Keppie 2000: 301–316; Mann 1983: 43–44. For the resettlement of retired soldiers in the eastern provinces, see Stoll 2015: 53–207.

[32] Krilczyk 2004: 85–107.

[33] See Handy 2009: 226.

[34] Ziegler 1992: 181–183.

[35] For the location of Mallos, see Ercan 2007: 103–106.

[36] For the contributions of retired soldiers to the economy and shipping activities in the Roman Period, see Wierschowski 1982: 31–48.

[37] For the lives of soldiers after their discharge from the Roman army and the localisation of veteran colonies, see Wesch–Klein 1998: 179–200.

Abbreviations

IGR III = Cagnat, R. 1906. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*. Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur.

ILS II = Dessau, H. 1902. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berolini: Weidmannos.

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Marble in Cilicia in Antiquity as Evidence of Import of Building Material and Architectural Interaction

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Abstract

Cilicia is a region lacking marble quarries, so for many centuries its tradition in architecture was strongly connected with the local stones, especially limestone, frequently of bad quality and difficult to be worked. This situation changed totally in the Imperial age, when imported marble arrived widely in the region. The new stone was massively employed in magnificent programs of architectural renewal and certainly it caused a real revolution from many points of view. The introduction of this building-stone corresponds to the general trend of 'marble-style' occurred in all the provinces of the Roman Empire and specifically in the Anatolian provinces, but this new availability implied a deep impact and a radical cultural interaction. The first consequence was the tendency of adopting an architectural common language. But it wasn't a 'passive reception', since a continuous evolution of local architecture occurred in Cilicia, where local stones continuied to be used. The result is the frequent occurrence of the combined use of marbles and limestone in the same monuments. Moreovoer, as the large part of marble architectural elements arrived in a partially-worked level, the workmanships were obliged to complete and to follow these models, but they were also able to propose new trends in architectural decoration.

Key Words: *Cilicia, marble, architecture, local stone, sarcophagi*

Cilicia and Pamphylia share certain features that differentiate them from the other regions of Asia Minor. Situated in the southern part of Anatolia, from a historical point of view they were among those regions least affected by Greek colonisation; during the Republican period, Pamphylia was already part of the Roman Empire, whereas Cilicia (as a whole) was among the last of the provinces to be annexed (**Figure 1**).[2]

Obviously, there are many significant differences between these two regions, but, in view of the primary goal of the present contribution, there is another common aspect: geologically, in fact, both are devoid of marble. In both regions, there are no known marble quarries whatsoever, contrary to what is characteristic of the neighbouring regions of Asia, Caria, and Phrygia (**Figure 2**).[3] Nonetheless, during the imperial period the cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia witnessed (even if in differing degrees) the arrival of marbles and granites that were meant to be employed in new monuments according to that phenomenon of profound urban and monumental renewal that characterised the whole of Asia Minor as of the 1st century AD.[4]

The archaeological presence of marble can be analysed from a variety of perspectives, e.g. artistic, stylistic, or to highlight its reuse, but in this contribution I would like to highlight another aspect: the

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[2] For the formation process and evolution of the province of Cilicia, see Borgia 2017.

[3] The bibliography on the quarries of Asia Minor is immense and constantly increasing. Noteworthy contributions include: one of the first contributions to highlight the various questions directly or indirectly linked to the marbles of Asia Minor (Ward Perkins 1951) and two more recent works on the subject (Russell 2013; Ismaelli and Scardozzi 2016, where further bibliography is to be found); also to remark are the many contributions that have appeared in the acts of the conferences of the Association for the Study of Marble & Other Stones in Antiquity (ASMOSIA).

[4] This is an extremely complicated and well known topic; for its general outlines, cf. Barresi 2003.

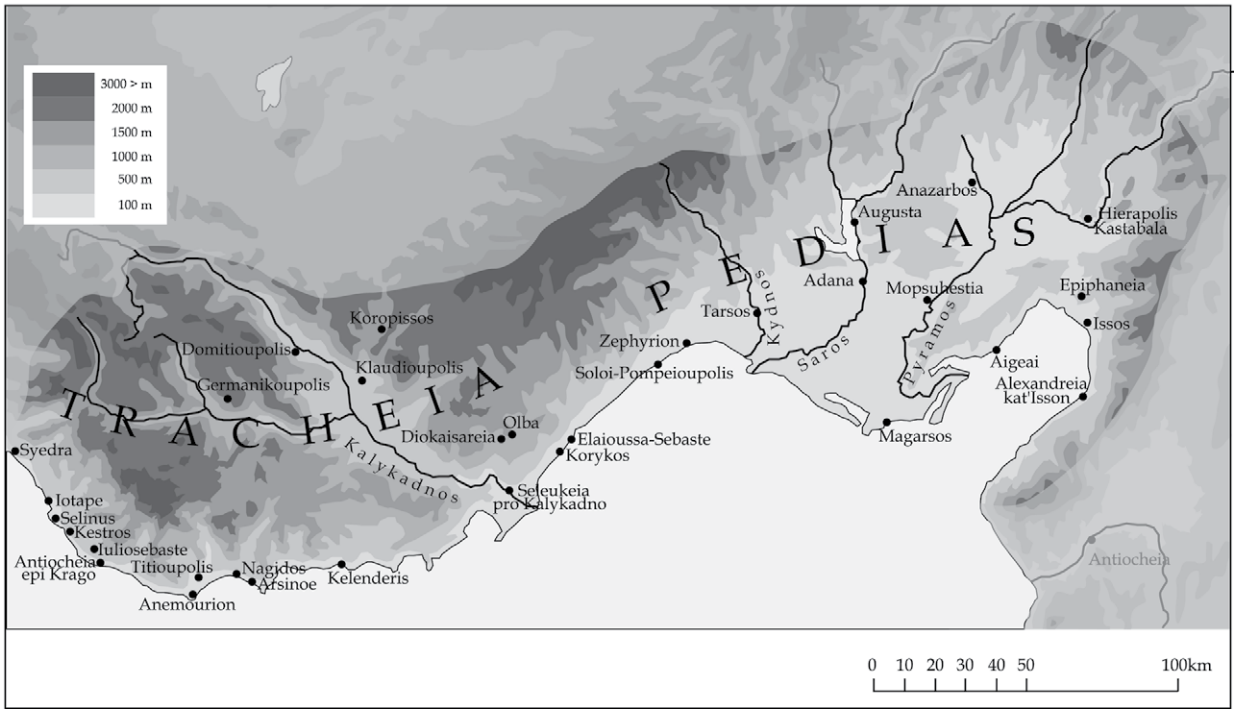
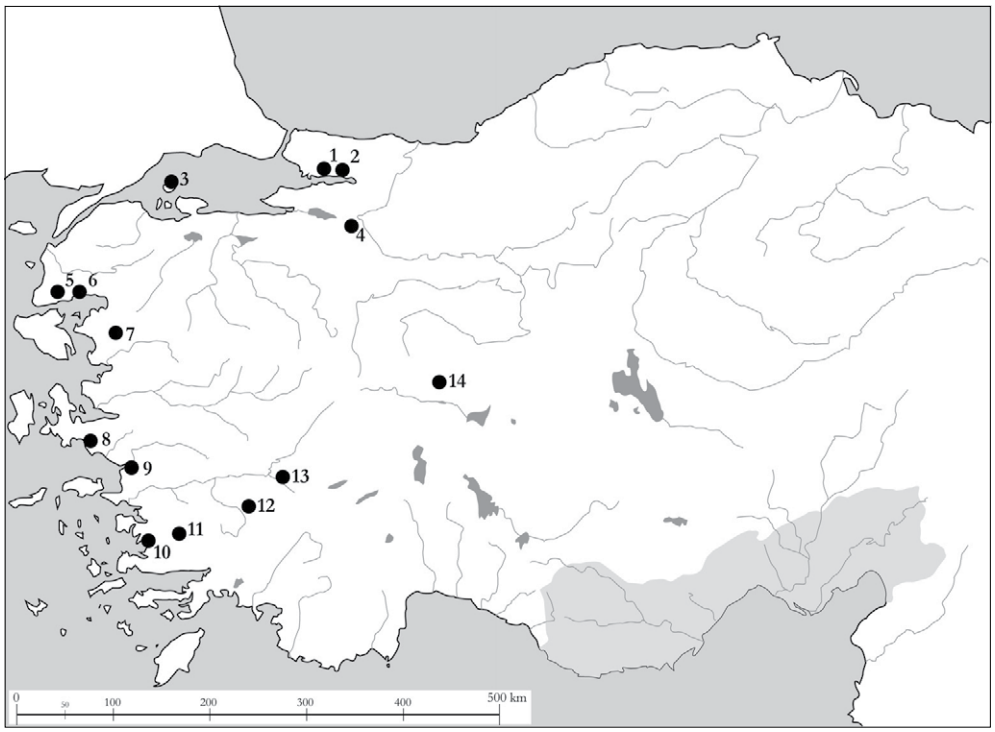


Figure 1: *Map of Cilicia (Author)*



1. Hereke.
2. Kutluca (Gebze). Occhio di Pavone (*marmor triponticum*)
3. Prokonnesos. Proconnesian marble (*marmor proconnesium*)
4. Vezirhan (Bilecik). Breccia corallina (*marmor sagarium*)
5. Çivri Dağ. Troad Granit (*marmor troadense*)
6. Assos. *Lapis sarcophagus*
7. Kozak (Pergamon). Misian granite
8. Teos. Africano (*marmor luculleum*)
9. Ephesos. White marble
10. Iasos. Red Carian marble
11. Mylasa. White marble
12. Aphrodias. White marble
13. Hierapolis. Alabaster (*marmor hierapolitanum*)
14. Dokimerion. Pavonazzetto (*marmor docimenium*)

Figure 2: *Map of the principal quarries in Asia Minor (Author)*

presence of marbles (and granites) as an index of material culture and as evidence for importation and thus for architectural interaction.

In this contribution I intend to focus on analysing the presence and use of marble in Cilicia, assuming as an essential premise the fragmentary nature of the overall situation and, in particular, the present state of our knowledge of Cilicia, especially as regards the periods prior to the Roman imperial period. Our knowledge is still extremely lacunose as a result of the limited number of extensive excavations, and this situation is even more critical for contexts of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, which have rarely been reached by investigations conducted thus far. The overall state of our knowledge, therefore, is essentially owed to accidental discoveries and offers a very limited number of instances of the use of marble. These, most certainly, are destined to increase in number with the publication of additional materials preserved in museum storages and with new acquisitions, but, important though such additions are sure to be, it is difficult to imagine that the general situation to be outlined here will undergo significant modification.

The first thing to take into consideration is the utmost rarity of marble in Cilicia until the very end of the Hellenistic period. For this period we still know very little about the layout and appearance of the cities, but, all the same, signs of the use of marble are extremely infrequent in the whole of the region prior to the Roman annexation.[5] An exception to this may have been constituted by the cult statues of the temples and sanctuaries, which arguably ought to have been made of an expensive material (e.g. bronze or marble), but no physical nor literary evidence has survived to provide an indication.[6]

Reviewing the published material[7] and taking into account the difficulties of chronological context and above all the lack of context for most of the finds (some of which are of uncertain dating and the moment of their arrival in Cilicia is likewise uncertain, since it may not necessarily coincide with that of their working),[8] it is important to highlight how this pre–Roman evidence in marble consists of material not particularly large in terms of dimension and corresponds to two categories: sculpture and (to a much lesser degree) inscribed bases. For the artistic productions, there is above all a very limited number of

[5] For more ancient periods the few known instances have the appearance of being quite exceptional. At present we can note: the archaic *kouros* made of marble from Mersin (Laflı and Recke 2005); a marble base with a dedication to *Zeus Soter* coming from the excavations of Meydancıkkale (to be assigned to the Achaemenid period) and now in the Museum of Silifke (Durugönül 2013:155–156 no 119); parts of a 'Greco–Persian' frieze with a probable provenance from Korykos, which were published together in Durugönül 2013: 92; Fleischer 1984: 92–98. Even more extraordinary is the single case of the block decorated with a scene of *dexiosis* within a funerary context at the Museum of Silifke (Durugönül 2013: 92–93 no. 57; Doksanaltı and Özgan 2008).

[6] At the moment, for all of Cilicia, only one statue of a deity has been attributed to the late Hellenistic period, belonging to a replica of the Aphrodite of Knidos (Tarsos Museum, Inv. 994-4-1), Durugönül 2016: 86-87 no. 13 . There are doubts about the chronology advanced up to now and, even more, about its original location.

[7] The contextualization of the materials is hindered by the current state of the museum collections of Turkey, which often have not been published in an adequate manner and have inventory lists that not only are difficult to access, but also provide only partial information (when it exists) regarding the place and circumstances of rediscovery. For Cilicia, this can even be seen in recent publications dedicated to the region's museums (cf. for the Roman material of the Museum of Anemourion: Laflı and Christof 2015a; for the Museum of Silifke: Durugönül 2013; for the Hellenistic and Roman *stelai* of the Museum of Tarsos: Durugönül 2016; Laflı and Christof 2015b; these same museum's other collections remain unpublished, just as is the case with the entire collection of the Museum of Mersin). Especially problematic is the case of the oldest of the region, the Museum of Adana, which at first hosted extremely heterogeneous material coming from eastern Cilicia, north–western Syria, and even Cappadocia, provenances that were not always adequately recorded.

[8] Probably the most important instance of sculptural elements that are hard to contextualize (which in turn is an obstacle to its understanding) is that of a herm preserved at the Museum of Silifke. Coming from Anemourion, the piece is in marble and displays a style and formal characteristics that point to the Archaic period, but numerous details are incompatible with such a dating and this has led to the attempt (rather bold) to explain this situation as due to the work's being 'une sculpture grecque archaïque retravaillée et transformée en pilier hermaïque à l'époque romaine' (Siebert 1982).

Figure 3: *Grave stele with a banquet scene, Marble. Tarsos Museum, Inv. 984-7-112, provenance: unknown; first half of 2nd century BC (Author)*

stelai of a funerary nature, of small dimensions, that arrived in Cilicia at a stage when they were nearly finished, except for the epitaph that was inscribed on site (**Figure 3)**.[9] To be added to these sepulchral instances is a lone instance of Hellenistic portraiture, which is doubtful for various reasons.[10]

To this sculptural material, for the same period, is to be added an exiguous quantity of inscriptions in marble, consisting of three bases belonging to public honours shown to benefactors by the *demoi* of Antioch–on–the–Pyramos and Mallos and belonging to the 2nd century BC.[11]

Drawing some preliminary conclusions with regard to this specific type of commerce, the first aspect to note is that the importation of products in marble for the Hellenistic period must have been comparable

[9] At present the following marble pieces are known: Attic grave stele dating to 375–350 BC (Adana Museum, Inv. 3926, from Kuyuluk, near Pompeiopolis): Dagron and Feissel 1987: 59 no. 23bis; Hermary 1987; Attic grave stele dating to the second quarter of the 4th century BC (von Gladiss 1973–1974); grave stele with a banquet scene, first half of 2nd century BC (Tarsos Museum, Inv. 984–7–112, provenance: unknown): Durugönül 2016: 111-112 no. 25; Laflı and Christof 2015b: 126 no. 2; grave stele of a girl with a dog, 1st century BC (Tarsos Museum, Inv. 07–2–1, provenance: unknown): Durugönül 2016: 116 no. 29; Laflı and Christof 2015b: 128–129 no. 4. To be added to these are: a grave stele of a man with a bird (Anamur Museum, Inv. 2.938.90, from Elaioussa–Sebaste, first half of 3rd century BC, re–worked in 1st century BC): Laflı and Christof 2015a: 191–192 no. 14; a grave stele of a man standing (Anamur Museum, Inv. 5.25.86, from Nagidos, half of 2nd century BC, re–worked in 1st century BC): Laflı and Christof 2015a: 192–193 no. 15). To be excluded, on the other hand, is a relief with the busts of Cleopatra Thea and her son Antiochos VIII Grypos, at the Adana Museum, which is considered a modern forgery: Fleischer 1984: 101–104.

[10] This is a very small portrait bust attributed to Antiochos VI Epiphanes Dionysos, apparently made of marble (the material is not indicated in its publication), preserved in the Museum of Mersin, where it arrived as a result of purchase: Meischner 2001.

[11] Honorific Base for Hermokrates (Louvre Museum, Inv. Ma 2919, from Karataş): Dagron and Feissel 1987: 112–113 no. 68; honorific base for Demeas (Adana Museum, provenance: unknown): Dagron and Feissel 1987: 113–114 no. 69; honorific base for Iason (Adana Museum, provenance: unknown): Dagron and Feissel 1987: 114–115 no. 70.

to luxury items, much sought out and difficult to find. The chief reason for that lay – also – in the political and historical context of the period, which ought not to have made easy (but rather to have impeded) the arrival of materials coming from kingdoms and states (often) in conflict among themselves in the eastern Mediterranean, an area that was progressively also affected by the phenomenon of piracy, an aspect that was not confined exclusively to Cilicia.[12]

The sculpture in marble that reached Cilicia in the Hellenistic period must, therefore, have been sought out and purchased by individuals of a certain level (both economic and cultural), who were strongly motivated to purchase products in this material. Hypothetically, we can imagine that they were members of the local élites and that the spaces in which these materials were deployed will have been in the cities, especially in Cilicia Pedias, where the urban phenomenon was older and more widespread, whereas the phenomenon might have been limited in Cilicia Tracheia to Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos and perhaps Kelenderis, a settlement with a long Greek tradition. [13]

A second aspect connected to the limited nature of the arrival of marble in the region is the likely delay and simplification of forms and styles that must have occurred with the local artists, especially when compared with what is to be found in other areas of Asia Minor. Certainly, the scarceness of the models of reference did not allow for a capillary diffusion and a constant updating of new artistic trends that were progressively arising (for instance, the Pergamene School). As a consequence, Cilicia played a very marginal role in the profound changes (even conceptual) in Hellenistic sculpture.

In this discussion, another aspect, more concrete and material, can be added. The substantial unavailability of a material such as marble, that offered higher possibilities to be worked in a detailed way (owing essentially to a grain with crystals of small dimensions) in comparison with the vast majority of the local stones, must have constituted a circumstance that determined the perpetuation by the local stone–masons of means and executive techniques that were used repeatedly and constantly without special innovations. This situation had as it outcome a certain traditionalism in the handling of surfaces and in the working of stone, the consequence of which was a relative standardisation and simplification of production.

Naturally, it is impossible to generalise in a rigid manner (indeed, we can hardly postulate the absolute cultural isolation of Cilicia from the surrounding Hellenistic world) and there will certainly not have been a lack of attempts at innovation, but these will have made use of the material that was available in the region – especially limestones – with all of its natural and intrinsic imperfections.

A sector where experiments did take place is that (altogether special) of architectural decoration, a field in which I do not know of any element – from capitals to entablature – made of marble during the whole of the Hellenistic period. The absence of marble in this sector is all the more justified if one keeps in mind the complex dynamics of its importation. Both in the case of the arrival of unworked pieces and in the purchase of items that were at a more or less advanced stage of finish, aside from the difficulties mentioned above, there was also the fact that, as a rule, it was not a matter of individual pieces, but of

[12] This difficulty in the movement of commercial goods, especially those requiring greater effort (e.g. marbles), is clearly not exclusive to Cilicia or to this period. Observing the necessary differences, we can find analogies with what happens in Rome during the Republic. After the construction of the Temple of *Iuppiter Stator* (the first marble temple at Rome, which was dedicated in 131 BC) in the *Porticus Metelli* (subsequently transformed into the *Porticus Octavia*), Rome did not witness the systematic employment of marbles in buildings for the remainder of the Republican period. Things only changed with the Augustan age beginning around a century later. The situation is surely to be explained not as a cultural refusal for the 'new' material, but rather as due to the difficulties in supply.

[13] Works of synthesis dedicated to the evolution of cities in Cilicia are to be found in: Spanu 2020; Hellenkemper 1980.

decorative elements for an entire building or for a conspicuous part of one and therefore needing for a special commission.

In view of these premises, the Temple of Zeus Olbios at Diokaisareia therefore constitutes an extremely meaningful case. The absence of adequately contextualised data from epigraphy and excavation and the characteristics of many parts of the monument have resulted in a wide scientific debate, especially as regards its date, which is probably to be assigned to the middle of the 2nd century BC.[14] The location of the sanctuary, far from the sea and 1200 m above sea level, made the arrival of imported stone particularly difficult. Thus the strong desire to build a structure of great significance in that particular location led to a construction completely made of limestone, with formal and compositional solutions that were quite singular. Among these, of particular note are the elegant Corinthian capitals, which were probably inspired by contemporary models outside the region, but re–elaborated with a local spirit, even in view of the nature of the material being employed (**Figure 4**).

Experiences akin to that of the Temple of Zeus Olbios (for which today we do not have clear evidence) must have possessed a great importance at the local level, providing models in the history of the regional architecture, which is to say sources of inspiration coming from the local craftsmen for other works (in public and private settings) that used the same material, viz. limestone.

In general, the situation of Cilicia (surely not unique in the Mediterranean) at the close of the Hellenistic period had as its outcome the natural and spontaneous advent of a regional tradition in figurative and non–figurative sculpture, which was strongly rooted and destined to endure in time, strictly dependent upon and conditioned by the locally available stone.

Signs of a change in the dynamics of the importation of marble are visible as of the Augustan period, when a number of factors contributed to the attainment of profound changes in the spread of marble.[15] An important contribution to the appraisal and searching out of this material was undoubtedly made by the arrival of imperial portraits, a type of product the importance of which went far beyond its artistic prestige, involving the sphere of political propaganda and the spread of the power of images.

In spite of all the limits imposed by the state of the discoveries, eloquent testimony of this changement is offered by the fact that already at the start of the imperial period there is evidence for the presence (to day unique) of a marble portrait of Augustus,[16] the first evidence for a series of imperial portraits and statues in marble (and therefore certainly products that were imported) attested in Cilicia.[17]

[14] On account of the absence of reliable data, the datings proposed have been based essentially on historical considerations and the stylistic analysis of parts of buildings and (above all) architectural decoration, with all the consequences that derive from that. In favour of dating the temple to the 2nd century BC: Wannagat 1995: 145; Williams 1974; Börker 1971; for a chronology in the reign of Seleukos I (306–281 BC): Herzfeld and Guyer 1909: 439–441, which hypothesis is accepted in Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 47; for a date in the second half of the 3rd century BC: Rumscheid 1994: 86–91.

[15] Detailed studies on the presence of marbles and granites in Cilicia have not been undertaken to date, in part because of difficulties in having access to the deposits and storerooms of the region's museums. It is also for this reason that the maps (even those that are recent) showing the distribution of individual types of marble are incomplete or in some cases actually omit Cilicia: see for instance Lazzarini 2009 with the data published Spanu 2003a: 26–29.

[16] This portrait of Augustus now at the Museum of Tarsos (Inv. 1.3.991) was acquired by purchase and is therefore without information regarding the context of its discovery, but in all likelihood comes from Tarsos itself: Durugönül 2016: 72-73 no. 8; Çalık 1997.

[17] Aside from a marble portrait of Hadrian (slightly larger than life–size) coming from Pompeiopolis and now in the Museum of Mersin (Çalık 1996), in Cilicia official images include three cuirassed statues, all of which are unfortunately acephalous. Two of these are at the Museum of Adana (coming from Silifke and Diokaisareia, Keil and Wilhelm 1931: 9 fig. 19, 20; 63 fig. 100) and the third is at the Museum of Silifke (which is the site of its provenance, cf. Durugönül 2013: 72 no. 33).

Figure 4: *Diokaisareia: Corinthian Capitals of the Temple of Zeus Olbios (Author)*

The association between these imperial images and the nature of the material in which they were produced must have conferred almost naturally an official connotation to imported marble, beyond the limits of the *provincia* of Cilicia as it existed in the Augustan age. On this purpose I do not believe that it is an accident, but rather significant, that at least one inscription that can be attributed to the sphere of the client–kings (who will endure in the region until the definitive annexation of Cilicia under Vespasian) is carved on marble, which was clearly different and readily recognisable if compared to the local material.[18]

The nobility's prerogative of this material, the stability of the sea routes arising from the *pax Augusta*, together with an overall more prosperous economic picture, are the elements that facilitated the progressive increase in the arrival of sculptures in marble in Cilicia as of the very start of the Imperial

[18] We know two marble inscriptions concerning Augustus (Dagron and Feissel 1987: 71–72 no. 27 (Museum of Tarsos); 88 no. 43 [Museum of Adana], both of unknown provenance) and an honorific inscription to the daughter of Tarcondimotus II (Dagron and Feissel 1987: 67–71 no. 26, from Tarsos). In addition, there is a dedication to a Seleukos (1st century BC or 1st century AD?), likewise in marble (Dagron and Feissel 1987: 120 no. 76, from Aigeai).

Figure 5: *Statue of a Priest, Marble. Adana Museum, from Soloi-Pompeiopolis (Author)*

period. Undoubtedly these pieces must have always been costly and not within the reach of everyone, but the increase in imports was surely noteworthy. To this must furthermore be added an aspect of no little importance in this new phase: it was no longer only (or almost exclusively) a matter of small products of a funerary nature as in the Hellenistic period, but swiftly alongside the official images of the emperors there also appeared new types of sculpted products that were extremely heterogeneous in terms of type and dimensions, which must have been used to adorn not only public buildings but also domestic spaces, as seems to be suggested by the striking presence of statuettes and reliefs of lesser dimensions.[19]

With the current state of our knowledge, it is hard to determine what effect the arrival of these imports had upon local craftsmen. In fact, sculptures are known that were quite likely brought to completion in Cilicia, but it is not clear if they are works that were completely executed in the region or if instead it was a matter of the finishing of artefacts that had arrived in the region already partially worked.[20] (**Figure 5**)

In any case, the picture that seems to emerge is one in which, in the Imperial period, Cilicia saw an increasing quantity of marble objects and sculptures, which in one way or another influenced the traditions and tastes of the local craftsmen, even if to a limited and modest degree, especially when compared with other regions.

These aspects are even more evident and clear in another context, that of the use of marble in architectural decoration or as a building element.

Even though some points still need to be better clarified, it can be affirmed that, as of Augustus, the control of the extraction and distribution of marbles became virtually an exclusive imperial monopoly. Such operations occurred especially by means of 'imperial agencies' (first and foremost was the *ratio marmorum*) that operated from the places of extraction as far as the *stationes marmorum*, whence the

[19] This contribution does not aim to provide a complete list of the marble sculptures of the imperial period that have been found in Cilicia (many of which are kept in deposits and still unpublished). Therefore, readers are referred to the partial publications of some museum collections: Durugönül 2016: *passim*; Laflı and Christof 2015a: 180–186 no. 1–7 (Museum of Anamur); Laflı and Christof 2015b: 129–131 no. 5–6 (Museum of Tarsos: funerary *stelai*); cf. Durugönül 2013: *passim*. It is necessary to add to these publications the information that can come with new studies, e.g. a Dionysos and Satyr group from Akkale (which is the result of spoliation): Mörel 2020.

[20] On this topic, it is still necessary to deal in a detailed manner with the level reached in the Imperial period by the local artisans in the working of marble, especially as regards portraiture, which field is documented by a rather limited number of items. For a general overview, cf. Inan and Alföldi–Rosenbaum 1979: 177–182 nos. 248–283; Inan and Rosenbaum 1966: 203–206 nos. 278–283.

material reached its final destination in the framework of architectural or sculptural programmes favoured, financed (even partially), or approved by the emperor.[21]

Thanks also to this dynamic, the aspect of many cities underwent radical change. This took place in the West already as of the Augustan period with the spread of the marble of Luni, which not only meant the large adoption of a new material, but to which corresponded the introduction of new decorative themes and iconographic subjects.[22] Albeit with modes and times that were different, similar outcomes can be seen in Asia Minor, especially as of the late Flavian period, with the creation of monuments in marble (not only in marbles extracted locally, but also in imported ones), ever more imposing and rich, which completely transformed the urban landscape of the cities of Asia.

Undoubtedly, also in Cilicia the cities progressively knew an increasing level of monumentality and architectural engagement. The phenomenon involved (obviously to differing degrees) all of the urban centres, whether large or small, that were situated in Cilicia Pedias or Tracheia. It involved all types of monuments, whether they were public or even private, but the situation seems to be different from what occurred in other regions of Asia Minor.

In Cilicia, in fact, the arrival of marbles (and granites) used for these monumental programmes appears rather limited. As far as religious buildings are concerned, at the moment only one building is in fact known that possessed architectural decoration entirely made of imported marble: the great temple of Tarsos, known today as Donuktaş, which was surely one of the largest in Antiquity. Even though the elements available are meagre, it appears that the temple is to be identified as that dedicated to Hadrian by the *koinon* of Cilicia and serving the imperial cult, likely to be connected with the granting of the first *neokoria* to the city. What survives today is part of the podium in concrete for a colossal decastyle, pseudodipteros temple with the dimensions 133.5 x 60.5 m, but an extremely limited number of fragments that escaped systematic post–antique plundering reassures us that it must have possessed a decoration in Proconnesian marble (**Figures 6–7**).[23]

The social–religious role of the temple in Cilicia and its magnificence must have constituted a point of reference also for architects and local craftsmen, notwithstanding the fact that it was an isolated and extraordinary case. The other cult complexes of the region, in fact, whether large or small, in important or minor cities, continued to see a preference for the use of limestone. I shall limit myself to citing, as examples, the best known or preserved instances of the temples of Elaioussa–Sebaste, Seleukeia (**Figure 8**), and Antiocheia ad Cragum, which were completely different as regards their dimensions, the divinities to which they were dedicated, and their chronological distribution across the 1st and 2nd century AD, but which are all characterised by the systematic use of limestone and the absence of decorative elements in marble.[24]

[21] The literature on this subject is vast and marked by a variety of perspectives with numerous questions that remain open. Of particular note are: Pensabene 2015 (which provide additional bibliography); Russell 2013; Barresi 2003; Fant 1993.

[22] Aside from the well–known passage of Suetonius (Suet., *Aug.* 28.3), probably even more striking is the widespread use of Carrara marble (*marmor lunensis*) as a building and decorative material in many of the cities in the West, including Caesarea in Mauretania, the capital of a client–king: for a comprehensive treatment, see Pensabene 2016.

[23] On the Donuktaş, see Burwitz 2015; Held, Burwitz and Kaplan 2014; Held 2008; Baydur and Seçkin 2001. For the fragments of architectural decoration in Tarsos Museum, see Durugönül 2016: 169-170, 176-177 nos. 79-70, 75-76 (but incomplete).

[24] For the temple of Elaioussa–Sebaste: Borgia 2020 (with further bibliography); for that of Silifke (most recently): Kaplan 2006: 92–93; for that of Antiocheia ad Cragum: see the contribution of R.F. Towsend in this volume. This case raises the question of name used for the material employed, since it is an extremely crystalline limestone that – at least according to usual archaeological standards – is not to be considered a marble in the strict sense of the word, even if at a chemical–physical analysis it can be assimilated to marble.

Figure 6: *Fragment of the architectural decoration of the Donuktaş, Proconnesian Marble. Tarsos Museum (Author)*

This virtually exclusive reliance upon stone that was available on site was not limited to temple construction, but can be found widespread in other categories of public architecture of note and of dimensions more than significant. It is the case with honorific arches present in the region, such as those at Anazarbos, Korykos, and the two known at Diokaisareia,[25] or in the numerous colonnaded streets that progressively became an element ever more common in the urban landscapes of Cilicia.[26] Completely analogous is the discourse regarding monumental funerary architecture in the region, the evidence for which – as is known – is quite substantial in terms of quantity and state of preservation, but which was realised by essentially making exclusive use of stone available in the neighborhood of those sites where the individual monuments were erected.[27]

From an overall perspective, the abundant prevalence of limestone as a material for construction and decoration had as a consequence a high presence of Corinthian capitals that were left unfinished, mouldings and decorative motifs often left smooth, and

Figure 7: *Fragment of a big frieze, probably belonging to the Donuktaş, Proconnesian Marble. Tarsos, Ulu Camii (Author)*

[25] For the arch of Anazarbos: Kadıoğlu 2013; for those of Korykos and Diokaisareia: Spanu 2013a.

[26] For the colonnaded streets, see the contribution by E. Borgia in this volume and Borgia 2019. Cf., among other works: Aşkın 2012 (Korykos); Posamentir 2008 (Anazarbos); Peschlow–Bindokat 1975 (Soloi–Pompeiopolis). For some general aspects regarding construction and the related costs, see Borgia 2010.

[27] The bibliography regarding necropoleis and funeral monuments in Cilicia is vast, even if in this instance I limit myself to citing some contributions that provide orientation for the subject: Scarborough Er 2017; Durukan 2005; Townsend and Hoff 2004; Equini Schneider and Morselli 2003; Wegner 1974; Alföldi Rosenbaum 1971; Machatschek 1967.

Figure 8: *Silifke: Temple (Author)*

other, similar aspects. This, however, was not due to unexpected causes that that did not allow for the eventual completion of work, but rather to the affirmation of an actual taste that was characteristically local.

In the great and profound monumental renovation of Cilicia in the Imperial period, however, the arrival of marbles and granites did occur, but close investigation reveals that it must have been restricted and in a certain sense specifically targeted. Given the partial state of our current knowledge, there are no monuments known at this time where the architectural decoration consisted entirely of elements in marble and granite, whereas in many cases we do see their use in a partial manner, together with other parts in limestone. Examples of this building procedure include: the Theatre of Anazarbos (basically unpublished), where an important phase (Severan?) of the *frons scaenae* adopted column shafts in the granite of Syene as opposed to an entablature in limestone (**Figure 9**); the *Tychaion* of Diokaisareia (perhaps Hadrianic) with column shafts in the Troad granite, capitals and bases in marble, and an entablature in limestone; and the colonnaded street of Antiocheia ad Cragum with column shafts that were likewise in Troad granite whereas the other parts were (probably) of heterogeneous materials.

These instances of the mixing of imported materials with those of local provenance (which are certainly destined to increase in number with the undertaking of new research) invite a series of observations. The first is tied to the difficulty of being able to understand monuments that were spoiled in the past (or, unfortunately, excavated in an inappropriate manner). The difference in the materials employed,

Figure 9: *Anazarbos, Theatre. On the left: column in Granite of Syene; on the right: fragments of the architectural decoration in limestone (Author)*

in fact, can be an impediment to reconstructing the general structure of a building, just as the attribution of elements very different among themselves can be. Further complicating the situation are materials out of context: this is the case with the vast majority of capitals (for the most part made of Proconnesian marble) today to be found in Cilicia either lying in a secondary deposit or re–used or, which is comparable, gathered in museums but without a proper recording of their provenance. Accordingly, today it is difficult to explain evidence that is particularly significant for the importation of marbles into the region (for instance the column shafts in verde antico re–used in the Laal Pasa Camii in Mut) for which it is difficult if not impossible to reconstruct their original location (**Figure 10**).[28]

Even though partial, however, the juxtaposition of imported and local materials had other consequences, above all as regards the possibility of having available 'updated' models that might be copied or emulated.[29] Even if it may today seem difficult to understand and hard to accept, a monument might simultaneously employ materials that were very different, as it has been possible to verify – for instance – in the theatre of Diokaisareia, the *frons scaenae* of which was decorated with a limited number of columns (capitals, shafts, and bases) in marble together with others in limestone that imitated somehow the imported models.[30]

[28] Spanu 2003a: 28.

[29] The arrival of architectural elements and other items (such as sarcophagi) made of marble was possible only from the West, i.e. from the Anatolian provinces where there were marble quarries or, at the most, from nearby Pamphylia, which was where imports could be sorted out. This is why I have already expressed my belief that eventual artistic influences in Cilicia need to be sought there and not – as is sometimes thought – from Syria, whence models to emulate could not have arrived, given that region's absence of marble (Spanu 2013b: 106–108).

[30] Spanu 2011: 76–83. The joint presence of heterogeneous materials has been postulated as well for the theatre of Elaioussa–Sebaste, with an entablature in limestone, column shafts in Troad granite and capitals made of Proconnesian marble: Spanu 2003b: 79–86.

The juxtaposition of different materials must have been rather normal in public monuments even those of a certain importance, in which the presence of marble elements (even though partial) must have been seen as a sign of magnificence that conferred importance and prestige upon the building. From what we can see today, this juxtaposition cannot have been accidental, but must instead have been due to necessity and well defined requirements. Indeed, for architectural decoration use was made of standardised marble pieces that were easily transported and (most important of all) able to be adapted to quite different architectural projects and that could arrive already fully worked (or almost so), corresponding above all to the columns, whereas for the parts having exact size requirements of specific cases (viz. those of the entablature) they were made of limestone.

This combination of the two materials – limestone and marble – seems to have been customary in Cilicia, as is suggested by what can be seen in the region's numerous monuments that remain to be analysed in detail. There is a nearly constant presence of elements of the entablature in local stone (architraves, friezes, and cornices) that are often found lying together with elements in marble belonging to columns (bases, shafts, and capitals). It is these elements of entablature that point to what was the overall result of the juxtaposed use of marble and limestone: on the one hand we see the need and desire to follow stylistic and formal tendencies in architectural decoration that were widespread in the whole Empire (deriving from imported capitals), on the other hand we see free play given to the originality and creative license of the local craftsmen. In other words, it is possible to hold that the local craftsmen continued to make a predominant use of limestone, using it with capabilities, styles, and renderings that differed according to the abilities of the individual ateliers, but evolving a taste and characteristics that were regional, even though having the possibility to compare themselves with 'updated' models and references consisting of a number (limited though it may have been) of imported marble elements.

Figure 10: *Shafts of columns in Verde Antico. Mut, Laal Pasa Camii (Author)*

Figure 11: *Unfinished sarcophagus with garlands, Proconnesian Marble. Silifke Museum (Author)*

To all appearances (but obviously this can be demonstrated in greater detail only after systematic study), the presence of marble architectural elements seems to be far less than was the case in nearby Pamphylia, where instead many monuments are known to be built entirely from imported materials. The reasons for this apparent difference are not clear: excluding an economic reading (in both regions there were prosperous and affluent cities), one possible answer might lie in the location of the cities. In Pamphylia, the principal cities were on the coast or easily reached from the sea and moreover the ports were very functional and active, whereas in Cilicia the larger centres were situated to the interior and the ports were decidedly inferior in terms of importance and capacity.

More complicated, on the other hand, is the case of another type of use of marble, namely for wall encrustation and for pavements in public and private architectural complexes. In view of the partial nature of our knowledge, it is extremely difficult to estimate just how many buildings may have foreseen work of this sort in the Imperial period, but, considering what we said above, it can be affirmed that marble wall dressings were considered a particularly distinctive mark of elegance, even though it must be said that the slabs employed to this end were not particularly expensive and their deployment ought not to have been especially difficult from a technical perspective.

In some ways more similar by analogy to the use of marbles and granites in architecture is instead the discourse of sarcophagi. In this case, indeed, they have characteristics that are even more specific, involving as they do a product that might have various levels of artistic quality, type of material, and stage of working. Naturally, the more substantial difference regarding marbles in architecture is that in this case it is a matter of artefacts belonging to the private sphere (to be bought via private channels of distribution), the purchase of which depended essentially on the economic resources of the patron.[31]

In spite of this radical difference, even for sarcophagi it would appear that in Cilicia there was a restricted number of imported products, or so the rather low number of marble examples that have been found in

[31] For a synthesis of this and connected issues, see, most recently, Russell 2011.

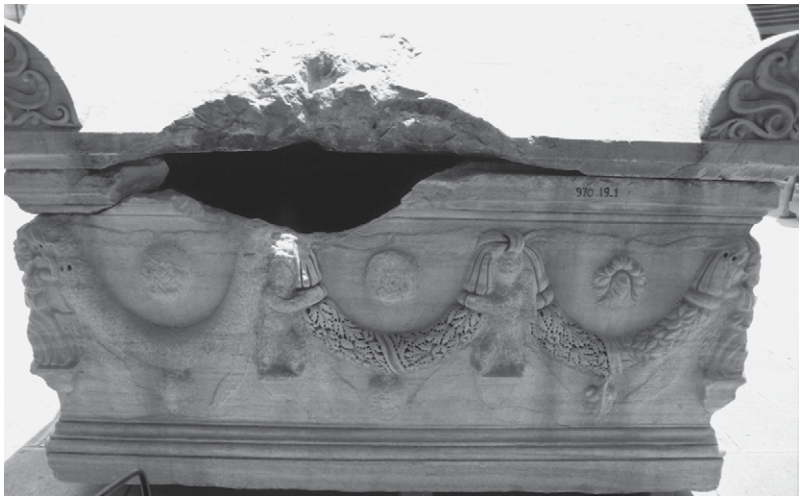


Figure 12: *Almost finished sarcophagus with garlands, Proconnesian Marble. Tarsos Museum (Author). Inv 970-19-1; 2nd century AD;* Durugönül 2016: 144 no. 44

the region would seem to suggest. As regards those sarcophagi that are manifestly imports, it is a question of products that are very different in terms of quality and provenance (both Attic and Asiastic sarcophagi have been identified), even when considering cases of marked quality.[32] The largely attested type seems to be that with garlands (above all made of Proconnesian marble) which, as is known, is to be viewed as a veritable instance of mass production.[33] These sarcophagi were often sold prior to being completely finished or when they had simply been roughed out (**Figures 11–12**).

However, even if there was no lack of instances of imitation, in the necropoleis of Cilicia the prevalent (almost exclusive) presence was that of sarcophagi in limestone, smooth or at the most decorated with *tabulae ansatae* or very reduced ornamentation, much easier to produce by virtue of the limits and working conditions of the material (**Figure 13**).

Figure 13: *Sarcophagus with garlands, limestone. Elaioussa-Sebaste, Necropolis (Author)*

To sum up, in Imperial Cilicia marble products were (as elsewhere) a reference point and an indicator of quality and prestige, even if various reasons (economic or linked to commercial routes) caused a preponderant use of local stone, whose almost exlusive use for public and private architecture gave to the region's monuments a very different taste if compared to other provinces of Asia Minor.

[32] Also for the sarcophagi, it is to be regretted that there does not exist any *corpus* for the region. For a general overview, see Koch and Sichtermann 1982: 550–554 (where Cilicia is considered with geographic boundaries that are quite extensive, including even parts that do not directly belong to it), whose list will need to be updated with new findings.

[33] On the half–finished garland sarcophagi: Asgari 1977, with a list of examples and types in Cilicia. In this case, too, the number of garland marble sarcophagi is likely destined to increase as a result of systematic research in the museums and various necropoleis.

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Funerary Practices in Karpasia (Cyprus) and Kelenderis (Cilicia) during the 4th–3rd Century BC: a Comparative Analysis

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Abstract: *In recent years, scholars of Cilician and Cypriot archaeology have both given a central place to the study of regional relations linking the Anatolian mainland to Cyprus. Nevertheless, there have been no studies investigating possible cultural parallels in the funerary practices of these two regions. This article provides the first comparative analysis of burial practices in these two regions on the basis of the excavated graves dating to the 4th–3rd century BC from Kelenderis and Karpasia.*

Key Words: *Funerary practices, necropolis, Cyprus, Cilicia, Karpasia, Kelenderis*

Introduction

Cilicia provides Cyprus with its closest access to the mainland. Anemurium is merely 50 miles distant from Kyrenia. Even today the sea route from the mainland is the lifeline of Cyprus, not only for the supply of commodities but also for freshwater. This heavy dependence may have been the consequence of current political circumstances, but the geographical proximity of the island of Cyprus to the south–eastern coast of Anatolia resulted in close relations in antiquity as well. Throughout its history Cyprus has often been politically unified with Cilicia. Cilicia and Cyprus were both parts of the Assyrian Empire and later incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire, and they remained continuously within the Persian influence until the decisive battle at Issus in 333 BC.[3] While the Satrapy of Cilicia had centralized authority in Tarsus, the so–called 'city kingdoms' in Cyprus enjoyed an autonomous existence. In the post–Alexander period, Cyprus and Cilicia remained the bone of contention between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. When Cyprus was incorporated into the Roman Empire it was first added to the *provincia* Cilicia in 58 BC.[4] This administrative unification of Cyprus with Cilicia lasted approximately one decade, until Julius Caesar in 47 BC restored the island to Ptolemaic rule. Cyprus was incorporated into the Roman Empire after the battle of Actium, became an imperial province in 27 BC and was later ceded by Augustus to senatorial rule in 22 BC. These attempts to unify Cyprus with the Anatolian mainland through Cilicia provide a clear indication of geographical, cultural, and economic ties between these two neighbouring regions.[5]

Political associations during the Persian domination are known from written sources and numismatic evidence.[6] The economic interdependence in the Roman period has been remarked in pottery studies, especially by Caroline Autret.[7] As early as the late 2nd century BC, sigillata ware from Cypriot workshops dominated the Cilician markets. The two regions produced both wine and oil and exported them using similar types of transport amphorae.[8]

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[3] On Cypro-Cilician relations during the Iron Ages see more recently Fourrier 2003.

[4] Morrell 2017: 115-128; Westall 2017: 288.

[5] On a brief history of Cyprus during the Hellenistic period with special emphasis to its connection with Cilicia in relation to Ptolemaic and Seleucid struggles see Hill 1972: 156-158, 186-190. Durugönül 2002, 57-69 carried out on the Karpas peninsula a survey with the aim to compare arcaheological landscape of Ptolomaic Cyprus with the Seleucid Cilicia. For the Roman incorporation of the island see Hill 1972: 226-230 but also Borgia 2017: 303, nt. 31; Westall 2017: 288-290; Morrell 2017: 116-122 for further reading.

[6] Russell and Weir 2000: 111-122.

[7] Autret 2012.

[8] Komar 2016: 155-185.

Given this conformity in the two regions' geographical, historical and economic conditioning, comparative studies might be expected to show parallels also in cultural traits. Indeed, comparisons were previously drawn by several studies which mainly focused on the material from Cilicia and used Cypriot data as comparanda[9] whereas true comparative studies in this field generally lack.[10] The present paper aims to balance this lacuna in the research by devoting a study to the tomb architecture and burial assemblages from the two regions to reveal possible commonalities, variations and differences. It will investigate how far wider regional and maritime connections are also evident in burial practices.

However, the uneven state of the research on Cyprus and Cilicia sets tight limits on what can be compared. In search of excavated and more or less well–published cemeteries the necropolis of Kelenderis in the modern village of Aydıncık and the necropolis of Karpasia at the coastal site, known in common parlance as Tsambres, appeared the best suitable for this study as they both provide datasets

Figure 1: *Map showing Cilicia and Cyprus with sites mentioned in the text (Kaba)*

[9] Zoroğlu 2008a: 1239-1240, 1242; Çokay Kepçe 2006: 84-85.

[10] In her preliminary survey-report on the Karpas peninsula Durugönül 2002, 57-69 drew parallels between the settlements of Seleucid Rough Cilicia and Ptolemaic Cyprus. Regarding the use of space both as quarry and necropolis the author (Durugönül 2002, 65) sees puzzling similarities between Cyprus and Asia Minor.

from the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods (**Figure 1**). Relying on the premise that choices in grave design and artefact deposition are embedded in local traditions and regional patterns of cultural practices, this study aims to investigate similarities and differences in the funerary practices of the two communities from Cilicia and Cyprus.

Material, Methodology and Limitations

From the two necropoleis under consideration, a total of 43 tombs are included in the analysis. Of this total number, 12 tombs are from Karpasia/Tsambres and the remaining 31 from Kelenderis/Aydıncık. The analysis of the tombs and their inventories will be realized along multiple trajectories that will necessarily follow a multi–directional methodology.

One part of the analysis is concerned with the architectural design and technique of the tombs. The second part will involve a quantitative methodology for comparing the tomb inventories. Doing so, the disparate data will be organised and ratios of deposited artefacts will be visible. The quantitative analysis will also help to understand burial and post–burial activities. The final part of the analysis will include spatial organisation of the tombs and pre–interment and post–interment use of the space to shed light on the process of burial and artefact deposition.

The authors rely exclusively on the published data from two necropoleis. The dataset from Tsambres was retrieved from a single publication[11] whereas the materials from Aydıncık had to be compiled from scattered sources such as the annual excavation reports and some scholarly articles by Levent Zoroğlu, the former director of the Kelenderis excavations.[12]

Nevertheless, the study has several limitations. One concerns the varying quantity and quality of the data, especially as regards the tomb inventories.[13] Despite the richness of the data, Kelenderis surprisingly brought more difficulties for this study since it is insufficiently published and only a few maps of the burials are available.[14] In addition, some graves are only tentatively dated and lack an established chronology.[15]

A general problem is the presence of multi–phase graves, which often makes it impossible to distinguish between primary and successive depositions. A related difficulty is that of clearly distinguishing between intentional and coincidental depositions in a grave.

In addition, looting often disturbed the original context in both necropoleis.[16] Of the 31 tombs in Kelenderis, only six were intact (19.3% of the whole), whereas 12 were looted to a great extent (38.7%) and 13 had been completely stripped of their inventories (41.9%). In Tsambres, nearly all tombs were intact (with their inventories preserved), whereas a single tomb (Tomb 28) had been robbed.[17]

[11] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949.

[12] For excavation reports on the necropolis of Kelenderis see: Zoroğlu and Tekocak 2011; Zoroğlu and Tekocak 2009; Zoroğlu 2008b; Zoroğlu *et al.* 2001; Zoroğlu 1999; Zoroğlu 1998; Zoroğlu 1997; Zoroğlu 1993; Zoroğlu 1991; Zoroğlu 1988. For scholarly articles that are fewer in numbers, see Zoroğlu 2012; Zoroğlu 2008a; Zoroğlu 2004; Zoroğlu 2000; Zoroğlu 1994.

[13] For instance, in many of the cases in Kelenderis, inventories simply referred to as 'lekythos fragments' without any clear indication on presumed amounts of complete vessels: Zoroğlu 1997: 388; Zoroğlu 1991: 302-303; Zoroğlu 1988: 137.

[14] The exceptions originate from only three tombs: Zoroğlu 2008a: figs. 3, 6; Zoroğlu 1998: 489, plan 2.

[15] For instance a tomb could be first dated to Hellenistic (Zoroğlu 1991: 304) and later to Late Archaic-Early Classical within another publication (Zoroğlu 2000: 120, nt. 15).

[16] Zoroğlu 2000: nt. 8; Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 32, 57.

[17] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 39, 51. For the totally robbed Tomb 28, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 55-56.

Interestingly, in both necropoleis, *dromoi* were usually found undisturbed with their assemblages intact even though the tomb chambers had been looted.[18]

The above–mentioned limitations gave rise to some imbalance in comparative analysis. In terms of the plans, size and shapes of graves comparisons can be easily drawn, but the particular placement of the artefacts within the grave chambers and their assignment to the individual burials remain difficult to establish. Nevertheless, analysis of the data thus obtained still allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions about the funerary practices of these two neighbouring regions.

Grave Architecture

As both necropoleis provide well–published datasets related to the typological classification[19] a detailed discussion of grave types is not necessary in this paper. Instead, it is sufficient to draw direct comparisons regarding the designs, orientations, sizes and (most importantly) interior furnishings of the tombs.

As noted above, the site called Tsambres was the cemetery of Karpasia, which was one of the most prominent ancient cities of the Karpasia peninsula.[20] It stretches from the rocky seashore on the north southwards into the arable and hilly interior (**Figure 2**). The full extent of the necropolis is unknown. Nevertheless, based on our field observations, we can estimate that the necropolis extended on *c.* 2.4 km^2 during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Period. The Tsambres necropolis was excavated in 1938 when 29 tombs of the Cypro–Classical and Hellenistic period were discovered. The tombs were

Figure 2: *Aerial view of Tsambres on which the location of funerary areas is marked (Image: Google Earth©, arrangement Kaba)*

[18] In Kelenderis this is due to the robbers' having reached the chamber not through the *dromos*, but through a hole opened at the top of the chamber: Zoroğlu 2000: 121, nt. 20.

[19] For the architectural analysis of the Tsambres tombs, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 28-30, and for Kelenderis most recently, see Zoroğlu 2000: 120-125.

[20] Nicolaou 1976: 436.

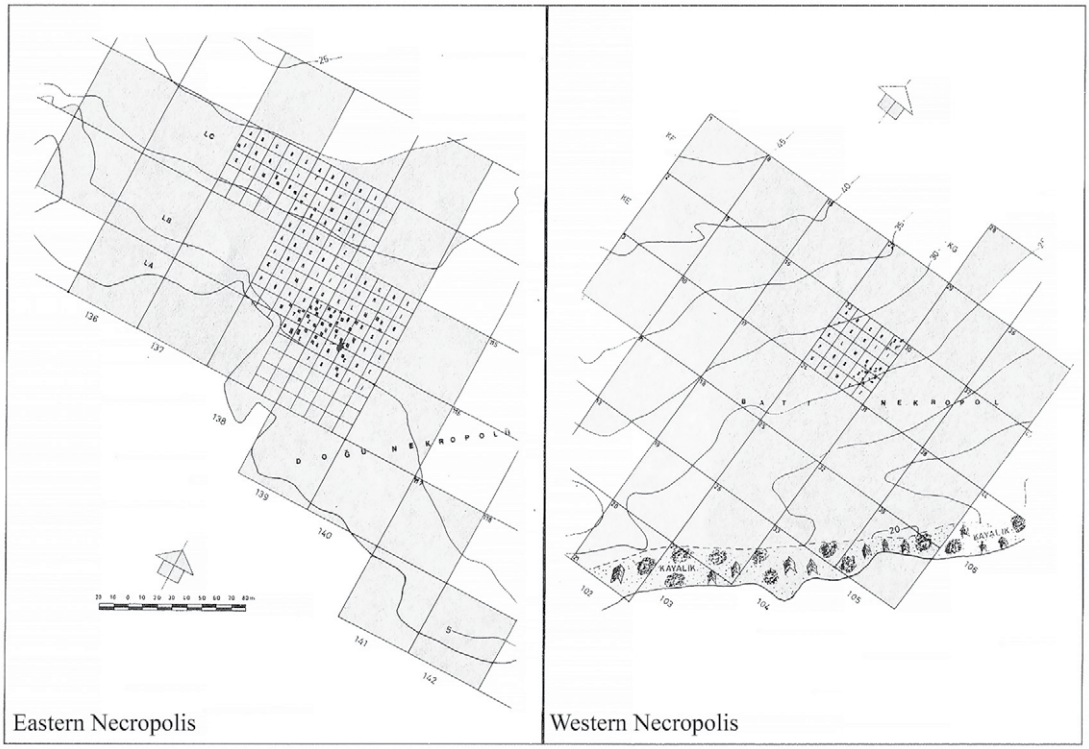


Figure 3: *Maps showing the western and eastern necropoleis of Kelenderis (Zoroğlu 1994: Plans 2–3)*

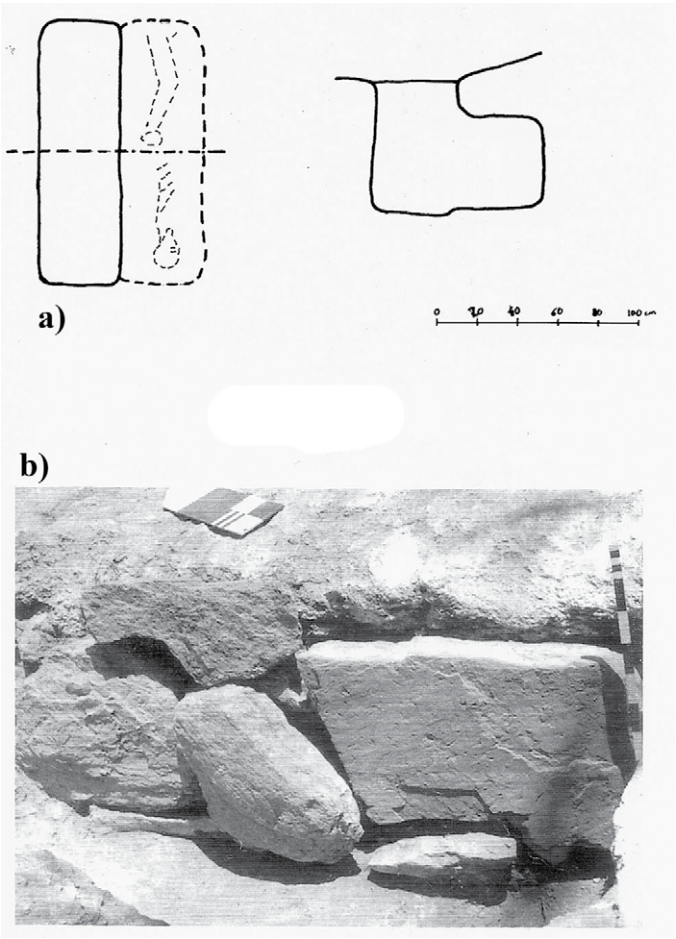
hewn into the bedrock known locally as *chavara*. All tombs including their assemblages were promptly published by Dray and du Plat Taylor.[21] The same year, only three weeks after the excavation at Tsambres, 19 rock–cut graves were further unearthed in the neighbouring necropolis of Aphedrika, the cemetery of ancient Urania, which lies about 8.5km towards the east of the former. The principal tomb type of Tsambres is characterized by a long *dromos* leading to a single chamber. Major typological variations are evident both in the *dromoi*, (either stepped or sunken) and chambers (rectangular or round, with or without benches or *arcosolia*).[22] Yet, the tombs from Tsambres exemplify a common type attested in Cyprus as early as the Cypro–Archaic period and continuously used until the end of the Hellenistic era.[23] They are distinctively grouped into seven types by their excavators according to their architectural particularities. Examples that are included in this study fall within five of these groups.[24] Tombs 17, 18, 22 and 26 belong to Group I (dating to the 5th century BC); tombs 12, 23 and 25 fall under Group II (same as the previous); Tomb 19 is alone in its setting by being the single exemplar from Group III (400–350 BC); tombs 11 and 16 are from Group V (late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC) and lastly tombs 15 and 28 are from Group VI (contemporary with Group V).[25]

The necropolis of Kelenderis lies at a distance of 1.5 km from the ancient city and today's village of Aydıncık (**Figure 3**). It reflects a different topographical character than Tsambres by being located nearly

[21] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949.
[22] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 28.
[23] On the rock cut chamber tombs in Cyprus especially, see Carstens 2006.
[24] Other two groups of tombs are not included within the study as they are not contemporary with the period of interest of this paper.
[25] For the dating of the groups see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 28-29. For the latest evaluation of Tsambres tombs, see Carstens 2006: 146-147.

200–300 m inland from the shore. The exact limits of the necropolis remain uncertain. Looking at the published maps, we suggest that it once covered a much larger area than the necropolis at Tsambres. The necropolis of Kelenderis is divided into different burial grounds: Eastern Necropolis, Western Necropolis and Northern Necropolis. Situated close to the modern habitation the graves were repeatedly looted and partly destroyed between the 1960s and 1980s.[26] From the scattered information published in different reports it emerges that some 50 tombs were excavated. These are classified according to their architectural particularities. Notably, in contrast with Karpasia, the necropolis of Kelenderis reflects a more variegated tomb typology that ranges from rock–cut tombs, built chamber tombs, and monumental tombs to sculptured sarcophagi. Nevertheless, the 4th century graves are mainly rock–cut tombs hewn into the calcareous rock which are comparable with Karpasia. They consist of six pit tombs and 25 chamber tombs with *dromos*.

The so–called 'pit tombs' represent a rare type for Kelenderis that is not attested at Tsambres (**Figure 4a**).[27] This tomb type was actually a rectangular opening with an adjacent small side–cavity.[28] This particular burial is generally thought to be unique. According to Zoroğlu the side–cavity received the dead whereas artefacts were deposited inside the rectangular opening. The burial was sealed by stone plaques filling the rectangular opening of the side–cavity (**Figure 4b**).[29] This unique tomb is not well understood. On the base of a single find it is tentatively assigned to the 4th century BC.[30]



Chamber tombs with *dromoi* from Kelenderis hardly differ from the Cypriot exemplars in terms of their general layout.[31] They are sub–grouped into three types as 'chambers with stepped *dromoi*', 'chambers with ramp *dromoi*' and 'chambers with sunken *dromoi*'. The first type is evident from all burial grounds of the necropolis whereas the second and the latter were found only in the

Figure 4a: *Drawing and cross section of a typical pit tomb from Kelenderis (Zoroğlu 2000: Fig. 1)*

Figure 4b: *Photograph showing how the cavity of a pit tomb was sealed (Zoroğlu 2000: Fig. 2)*

[26] Zoroğlu 2000: 118, n. 8.
[27] Pit tombs in Cyprus do not last later than the Cypro-Geometric Period: Gjerstad 1948: 29.
[28] Contrary to Zoroğlu's identification, similar tombs are generally referred to as 'pit-cave tombs' within funerary archaeology: Antoniadis 2012: 49; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 191, fig. 43.
[29] Zoroğlu 2000: 120, figs. 1, 2.
[30] Zoroğlu 2000: 121.
[31] For Zoroğlu's arguments on this, see Zoroğlu 2000: 125.

Western Necropolis.[32] Rock–cut chamber tombs of Kelenderis were used from the Archaic to Roman era with a slight decline in numbers during the latter.[33]

In the two necropoleis, variations in the size and orientation of the tombs were obviously not correlated with the status of their owners,[34] since smaller or carelessly carved tombs could have richer assemblages compared to those of the same period that are bigger and more elaborately carved.[35] The chronological continuum also does not seem to have had any effect on tomb size or orientation. However, in Tsambres bigger tombs are especially in evidence as of the start of the 3rd century BC. Many tombs from Tsambres that are adjacent to collide with one another show that the size and design of a tomb largely depended on the available space.[36]

In Kelenderis, geology seems to have been an important factor, especially as regards the size of the chambers of the Classical tombs and the quality of workmanship. Tombs from the so–called Eastern Necropolis are more elaborate and larger due to the durable rocky ground than the ones in the Western Necropolis.[37] As for the orientation of the tombs, it appears to have been largely determined by the overall organization of the burial ground, with a strict relationship to topography and the arrangement of plots or even roads that once gave people access to the tombs.[38]

When evaluated structurally, rock–cut chamber tombs from Tsambres and Kelenderis reflect both similarities and differences. Nearly all the tombs from the Classical period in Tsambres stand out as the products of rather careless workmanship. This characteristic slightly changes with the beginning of the 3rd century BC, initially giving way to more elaborately carved tombs.[39] On the contrary, tombs from Kelenderis follow a generally stable quality of workmanship through the whole lifetime of the necropolis. This is best shown by the straight walls of the chambers and *dromoi* as well as by angular corners and well–calculated proportions.[40] Even many of the less elaborately carved tombs of the Western Necropolis are of higher quality than most of the Tsambres tombs (**Figure 5**).

Major differences are visible in the design and size of the *dromos* and chamber. It appears that trapezoidal–shaped *dromoi* were the principal type in Tsambres, being evident in all specimens of the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC. In Kelenderis, on the other hand, the *dromoi* can have both trapezoidal and straight shape. All *dromoi* in Tsambres were equipped with steps, even if they were sunken into the bedrock (for instance in tombs 17, 22 and 26). On the contrary, in Kelenderis the stepped *dromoi* appear rarely and only in cases where they are neither ramped nor sunken. The *dromos*–steps were cut carefully in the elaborately worked tombs of Kelenderis.[41] The *dromos*–steps of Tsambres tombs display also well–cut steps even if the chambers are irregular.

Strikingly, the *dromoi* of the Tsambres tombs are generally as wide as the chamber, especially at their end where they meet the *stomion* (**Table 1**). Thus, five out of 11 tombs fall within this category (45.5 %)

[32] Zoroğlu 2000: 122.
[33] This decline is mainly related to the occurrence of other tomb types in the necropolis (e.g. built chamber tombs, sarcophagi): Zoroğlu 2000: 119-120.
[34] On this aspect of the Kelenderis tombs, see Zoroğlu 2000: 121.
[35] In the case of Tsambres, the exceptions would be tombs 15 and 28, which were interpreted as belonging to the richer stratum of the community at Tsambres (mainly on the basis of the architectural traits of these tombs): Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 29.
[36] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 38; 52; 56.
[37] Zoroğlu 2000: 123.
[38] Zoroğlu 2000: 121; Zoroğlu 1997: 386-387; Zoroğlu 1991: 305.
[39] Carstens 2006: 146-147; Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 29-30.
[40] Zoroğlu 2000: 123.
[41] Zoroğlu 2000: 122.

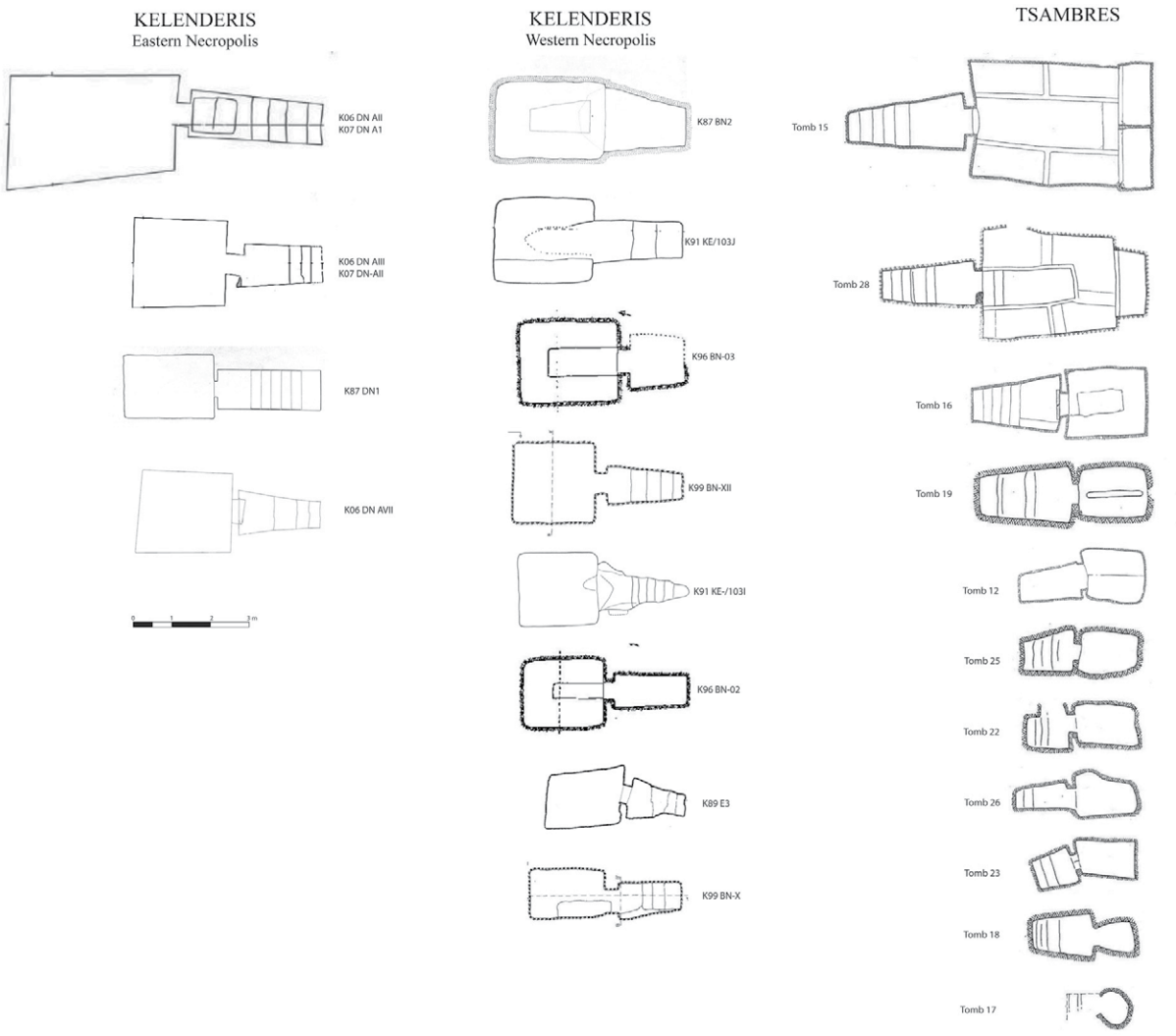


Figure 5: *Scaled comparison of the tombs from Kelenderis and Tsambres (Kaba)*

whereas the *dromoi* of four are narrower than the chamber in their widest point (36.3 %). Only two tombs have *dromoi* that are wider than the chamber itself (18.2 %). On the contrary, in Kelenderis the *dromoi* are always narrower than the chambers (**Table 2**). The only exception is in the case of K87 BN2, which had the end of its *dromoi* as wide as the chamber.

In terms of size, the *dromoi* in Tsambres are generally smaller (**Figure 6**). A tight concentration appears around the 1–2 m range in length and 0.5–1 m range in width. On the other hand, most of the *dromoi* of the tombs in Kelenderis group together around the 1.5–2.5 m range in length and 0.5–1.5 m range in width. *Dromoi* that are larger in size are generally represented in similar amounts in two necropoleis. Tomb 15 in Tsambres and K89/J1, K07 DN AI with K06 DN AV from Kelenderis represent the largest *dromoi* of the whole Classical Period both in length and width. Two tombs from Tsambres, Tomb 18 and K87 BN 2, stand out from others, especially with their *dromos*–width that simply eclipses the length.

The larger *dromoi* of Kelenderis provide thus 1 m^2 more space in average than those in Tsambres. Nevertheless, despite their smaller size, the *dromoi* from Tsambres reflect a stronger tendency towards being used for some activities during the burials. Widening *dromoi* leading towards *stomia* which are

Table 1: *Compared measurements of Tsambres tombs (Authors)*

Tomb	*Dromos* Steps	Benches	*Arcosolia*	Measurements							
				Dromos			*Stomion*		Chamber		
				l	*w*	*h*	*w*	*h*	*l*	*w*	*h*
Tomb 12	-	1	-	1.7	0.8	2	0.7	0.8	1.5	1.4	1
Tomb 15	5	6	1	3	1.4	1.5	0.6	1	4.5	3	1.7
Tomb 16	5	3	-	2.6	1.5	0.6	0.7	1	2.3	2	1.6
Tomb 17	2	-	-	1.06	0.6	1.06	0.6	0.9	1	0.9	0.6
Tomb 18	4	-	-	1.9	1.8	1.3	0.5	0.6	1	0.8	0.8
Tomb 19	3	2	-	2.5	1.4	1.6	0.6	0.6	2	1.4	1.2
Tomb 22	2	-	-	1.1	0.9	1.4	0.4	0.6	1.6	1	0.8
Tomb 23	3	-	-	1.3	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.7	1.6	0.9	0.9
Tomb 25	4	-	-	1.4	1	1.4	0.4	0.6	1.5	1.1	0.6
Tomb 26	2	-	-	1.5	0.7	1.2	0.6	0.4	1.7	1.2	0.8
Tomb 28	5	4	1	2.4	1	-	0.8	-	3.9	2.6	1.7

commonly encountered in Tsambres are indeed a characteristic of the Cypriot rock–cut graves.[42] This broad space provides more room than is expected for a passageway. Therefore, it may have been used to perform some activity. In the line of this argument, we may also mention that the traces of abrasion and better workmanship of the steps in Tsambres suggest a specific and peculiar use of the *dromoi*.[43]

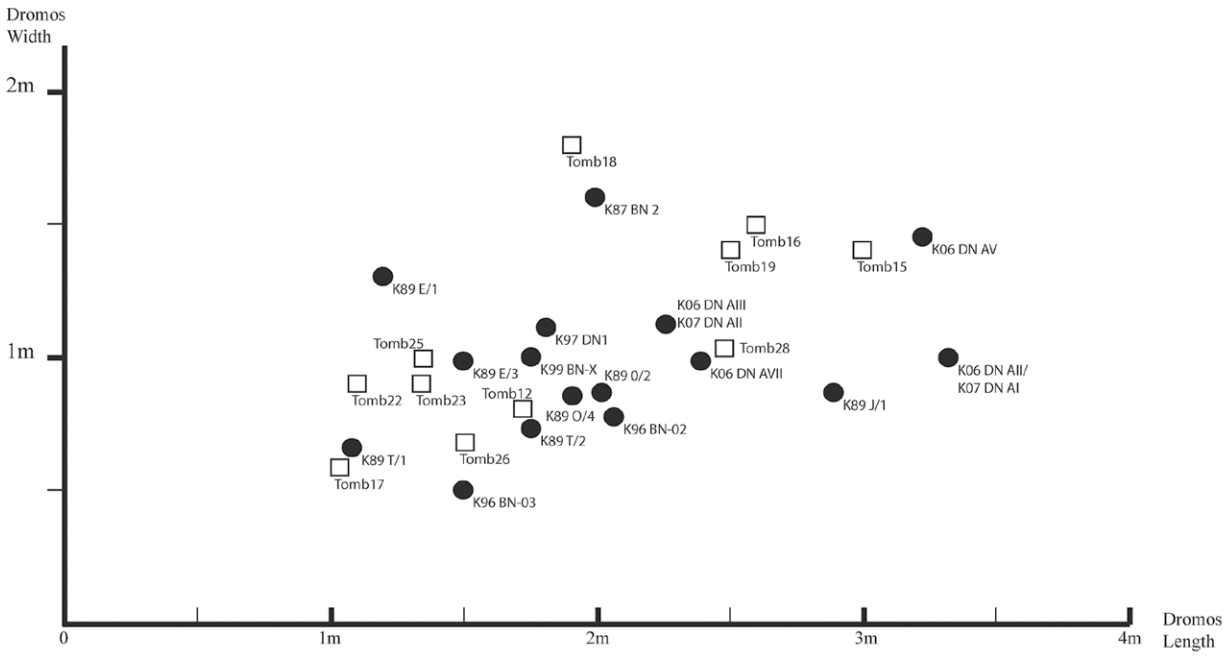


Figure 6: *Graphic showing comparative measurements of the* dromos *sizes of the chamber tombs from Tsambres (white square) and Kelenderis (black dot) (Authors)*

[42] Summerer and Kaba 2020: 129, with previous literature.
[43] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 40; 43; 45; 56.

Table 2: *Compared measurements of Kelenderis tombs (Authors)*

Tomb	Necropolis	*Dromos* Steps	Benches	Measurements (m)							
				Dromos			*Stomion*		Chamber		
				l	*w*	*h*	*w*	*h*	*l*	*w*	*h*
126-71	Eastern Necropolis	5	3	-	-	-	0.60	1	-	-	0.80
K87 DN1		5	-	-	-	1.5	0.5	0.5	2.25	1.58	-
K97 DN1		4	-	1.8	1.1	0.6	1.1	0.75	2.4	2.1	1.24
K98 DN1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1	1.45	-
K06 DN AII / K07 DN AI		4	-	3.3	1	1.62	0.6	0.94	4.2	2.60	1.58
K06 DN AIII / K07 DN AII		3	-	2.2	1.10	-	0.54	0.52	2.45	2.30	1.38
K06 DN AV		3	-	3.2	1.47	1.35	0.65	1.21	4.5	3.30	1.9
K06 DN AVII		3	-	2.4	1	1.25	0.54	0.8	2.5	2.15	2.1
K87 BN2	Western Necropolis	-	3	2	1.6	1.1	-	-	-	-	-
K88 BN1		-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
K89 E/1		3	-	1.2	1.28	1.6	-	-	2.35	1.48	1.3
K89 E/3		3	-	1.5	1.05	1.2	0.7	0.45	2	1.45	-
K89 J/1		4	-	2.8	0.8	1.43	0.92	0.57	2.26	2.26	1.19
K89 O/2		Ramp	-	2	0.8	0.8	-	-	1.84	1.5	1.1
K89 O/4		Ramp		1.85	0.85	1.13	0.95	0.75	2.2	1.43	1
K89 T/1		1 Ramp	-	1.12	0.68	0.9	0.91	0.55	1.85	0.9	0.93
K89 T/2		Ramp	-	1.75	0.7	1.12	0.68	0.57	2.12	1.35	1.16
K91 KE/103 I		6 Ramp	-	2.61	-	-	-	-	2.2	1.9	0.9
K91 KE/103 J		2	1	2.7	-	-	-	-	2.6	2.3	1
K96 BN-02		Ramp	3	2.05	0.86	0.7	0.55	0.6	2.3	1.85	1.1
K96 BN-03		Ramp	3	1.5	0.5	0.85	0.5	0.5	2.68	2.15	1.2
K99 BN-III		-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	2.55	1.25
K99 BN-VIII		-	1	-	1.1	1.05	0.65	0.7	2.4	1.45	1
K99 BN-X		3	2	1.7	1	-	-	-	2	1.25	-
K99 BN-XII		4	-	-	-	0.9	-	-	2	2	-

Stomia are in both necropoleis generally narrow and low in height, even in the grandest tomb (**Tables 1–2**). Thus, they were merely passageways connecting the *dromos* with the chamber.

The chambers do not show many common features. In Tsambres, chambers can be round in shape and therefore referred to as 'cave–like' (Tomb 17), irregularly shaped (tombs 18 and 26), trapezoidal (tombs 12 and 23), square (Tomb 16) and rectangular (tombs 15, 19, 22 and 28). The chambers either widen or taper towards the rear wall. In Kelenderis, the chambers are usually evenly carved, whereas a single specimen shows a trapezoidal shape (K89 E3).

In terms of the chambers' dimensions, the two necropoleis show considerable differences (**Figure 7**). Nearly all the chambers in Tsambres are tightly packed in a small area measuring 1–2 m in length and 0.5–1 m range in width. It seems that the chambers occupy the minimal area needed for burial. Nevertheless, in the second half of the 4th century BC, the dimensions of the chambers increase; a trait which becomes even more pronounced in the 3rd century BC.[44] Tomb 16 presents the earliest of

[44] Carstens 2006: 147; Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 29.

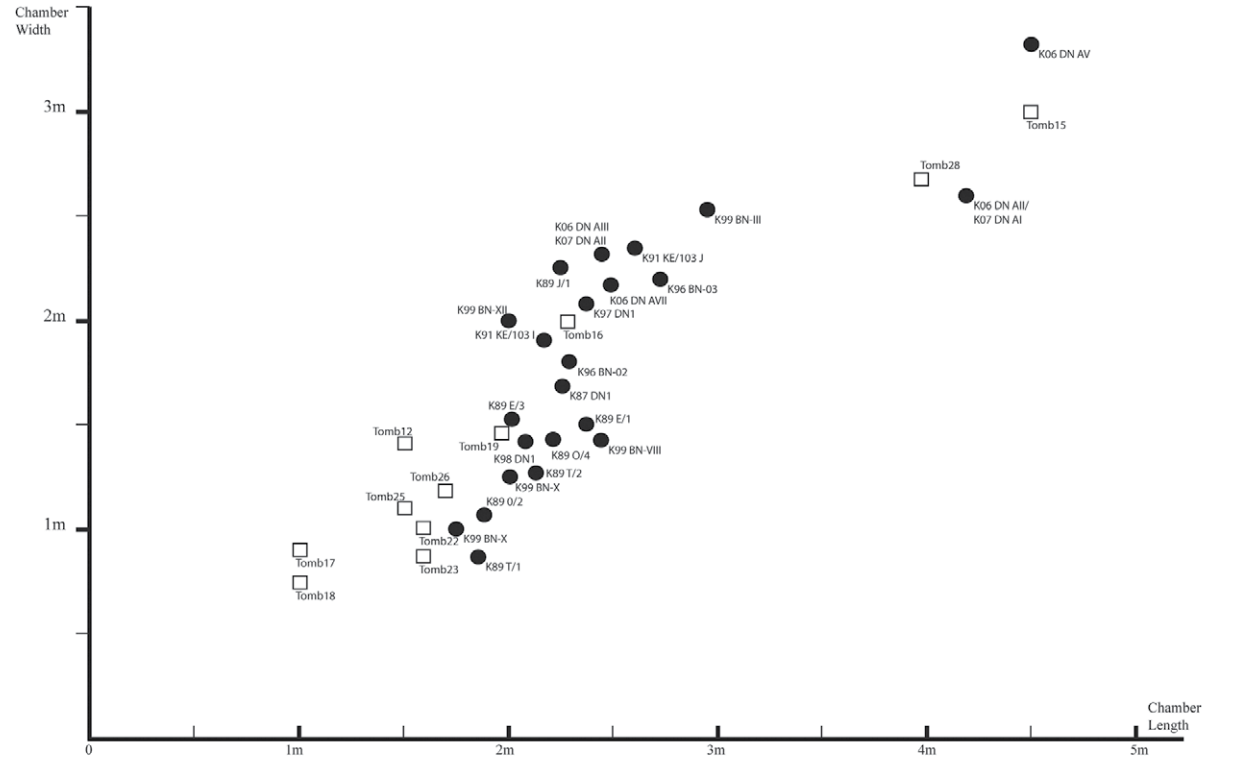


Figure 7: *Graphic showing comparative measurements of the chamber sizes of the tombs from Tsambres (white square) and Kelenderis (black dot) (Authors)*

such large chambers, whereas tombs 15 and 28 were the last with their Late Classical–Early Hellenistic date.[45]

On the other hand, the chambers in Kelenderis are scattered within the graphic as a result of variations in length and width. Chamber lengths differ less and generally cluster between the 2–3 m range, reflecting a rather standard pattern. However, chamber widths are subject to more variation, covering the 0.5–2.5 m range. The main concentration is in the 1–2 m range, to which a total of 14 tombs belongs. K07 DN AI and K06 DN AV remarkably stand out from all their contemporaries with measurements that are over 4 m in length and 2.5 m in width. Together with tombs 15 and 28 from Tsambres, these two tombs form a separate nucleus within the graphic as they are the biggest in size for their period.

Chamber roofs do not differ considerably in height and in execution between the two necropoleis. Sloping roofs are as numerous as the barrel–vaulted examples. However, Kelenderis yields a flat roof type with right–angled corners that is absent in Tsambres.[46] There seem to be no strict correlation between size and quality of the chamber and the preferred roof type. The smaller and less elaborately carved tombs have generally lower roofs. The roofs are generally quite low, in Kelenderis rising to 1.9 m and in Tsambres to 1.7 m in maximum.

As regards the interior furnishing, the chambers from both necropoleis yield at most 'benches'. In Tsambres they are evident in 5 tombs out of 11 (45.5 %) and in Kelenderis in nine tombs out of 25 (36%). They appear within each chamber in varying numbers. The most common feature presents three benches

[45] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 45-48 (Tomb 16), 42-44 (Tomb 15), 55-56 (Tomb 28).
[46] Zoroğlu 2000: 123, pl. 22, fig. 3.

along the three walls, but some chambers yield a single bench (K91 KE 103/J and K99 BNX from Kelenderis; Tomb 12 from Tsambres). The form and structure of the benches differ considerably. The simplest in form is not carved as a bench, but rather occurs as a deepened rectangular section in the middle of the chamber. This technique prevails in Kelenderis in all chambers with benches.[47] In Tsambres such benches occur only in Tomb 16 and Tomb 19. In Tomb 12 the bench was consciously carved, but only slightly elevated above the floor of the chamber. The most elaborate benches in Tsambres are encountered in tombs 15 and 28, which seem to be rather 'late' examples. On the other hand, such elaborate benches are absent in Kelenderis even in the following Hellenistic period.

In Tsambres, some chambers were also supplied with *arcosolia* by the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC. The number of *arcosolia* varies. In Tomb 15 they are two, while in Tomb 28 a single *arcosolium* was preferred.[48] *Arcosolia* are not to be found in the rock–cut chambers in Kelenderis, not even in the Hellenistic period.

Small platforms and niches within the chambers occur in Tsambres in a few cases. Tomb 15 is the sole instance in which a small and relatively low platform was carved in front of the bench at the rear wall.[49] *In situ* finds clearly indicate its ritual use which will be explained more in detail further below. Niches were found in Tombs 12 and 19. They are in the form of small cavities carved at the highest point of the end wall of the chamber. Thanks to the *in situ* finds we know that they received lamps to illuminate the chamber.[50]

Although the chambers from Kelenderis are generally larger, their furnishing appears poorer, whereas even the comparatively small–size chambers in Tsambres are equipped with benches, lamp niches and platforms.

Find Assemblages: Types, Amounts and Ratios

When comparing the assemblages, we will focus on artefact types that were deposited in the *dromoi* and chambers and how their amounts and ratios vary between the two necropoleis. Find assemblages from both necropoleis show differences and variations as was the case when comparing the rock–cut grave architecture.

Among the types of grave goods the most common group in both necropoleis is pottery, since almost every grave contains at least some fragments of clay vessels. The pottery assemblages from Tsambres contain mainly local forms of jugs, juglets and storage vessels, but lack a variegated inventory of Greek vases, in the opposite to Kelenderis where examples of *lebes gamikos*, *lekythos*, *pyxis*, *olpe*, *oinochoe* and *amphoriskos* are quite common (**Figure 8**). *Unguentaria* are encountered only in a few grave assemblages in Tsambres, but in considerable amounts in Kelenderis. Metal utensils, e.g. *kyathos*, bowls or strigils, are also absent from the grave inventories in Tsambres, but do appear in Kelenderis even though in smaller amounts. Nevertheless, the assemblages of Tsambres reflect a somewhat richer repertory, including figurines, lamps, toiletry and jewellery. Coins[51] and diadems[52] (known as items of the death ritual) are present in Tsambres but absent in Kelenderis.

[47] Zoroğlu 2000: 23.
[48] See Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 43 (Tomb 15), 56 (Tomb 28).
[49] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42-43.
[50] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 39, 51.
[51] For wider and more up-to-date interpretations on the role of especially the coins within the funerary ritual see Dimakis 2016: 52-53; Tzifopoulos 2011; Stevens 1991.
[52] Dimakis 2016: 60.

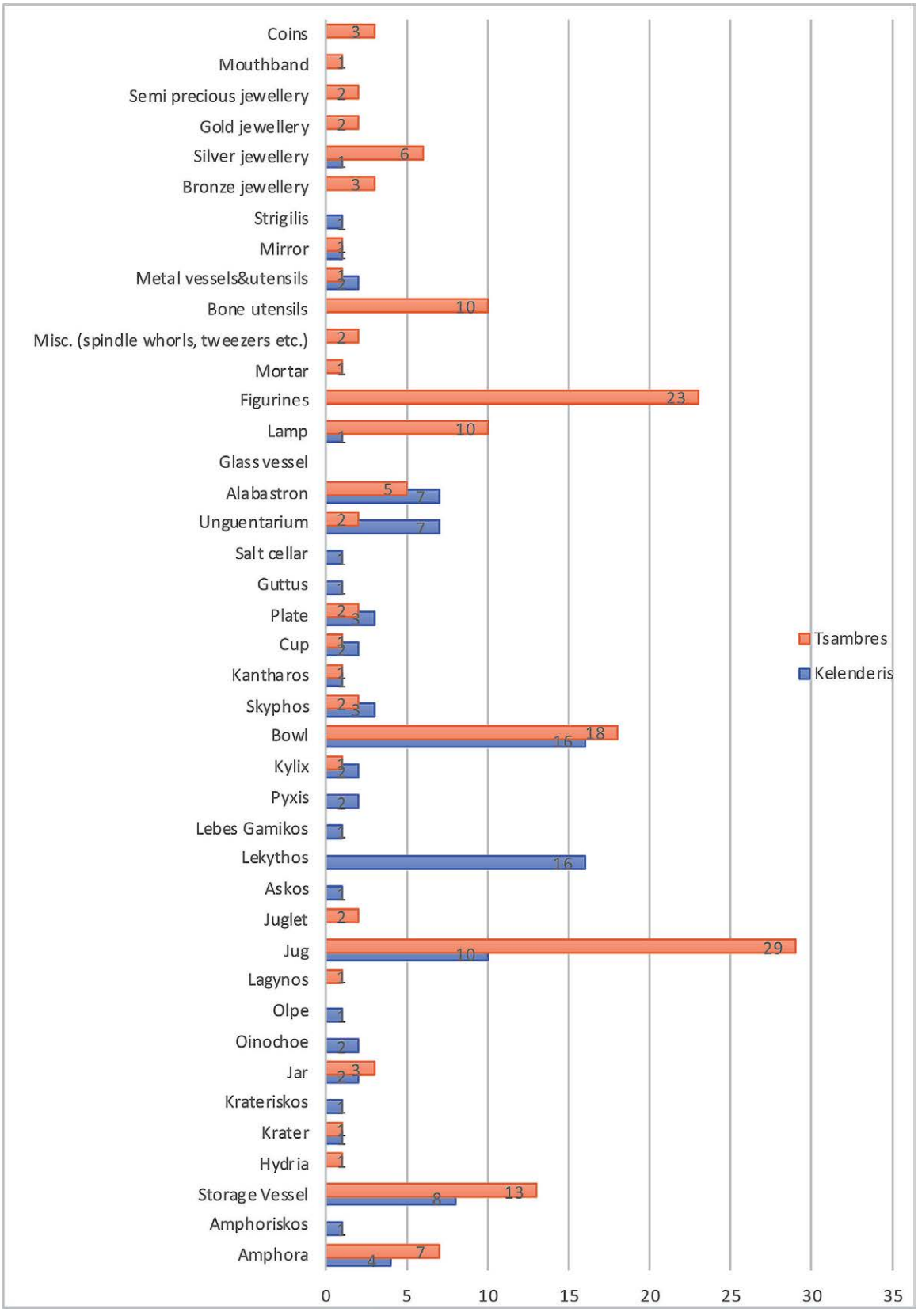
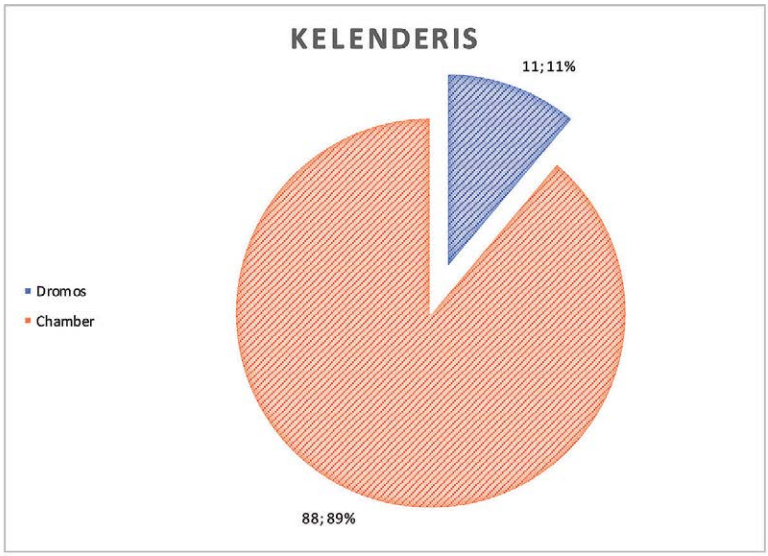


Figure 8: *Graphic showing the general assemblages and their amounts from the tombs at Tsambres and Kelenderis (Authors)*



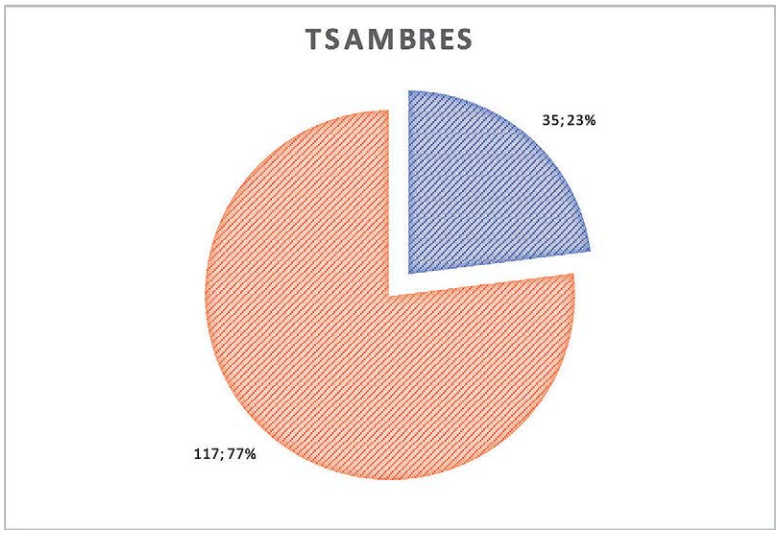


Figure 9: *Graphics showing the distribution of artefacts and their ratios among the* dromos *and chamber assemblages of Tsambres and Kelenderis (Authors)*

The use of *dromoi* as the place for artefact deposition is of particular interest. In Tsambres, six out of 12 tombs had artefacts deposited in the *dromoi* (50%). In Kelenderis, on the other hand, during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period, only three tombs out of 26 yield artefacts deposited in the *dromoi* (8.69%). Since the *dromoi* were found intact in both necropoleis, this lesser ratio in Kelenderis is telling. In Tsambres, vessels deposited in *dromoi* may have been considered as residues of pre– or post–interment rituals. The *dromoi* of six chamber tombs in Tsambres provide 35 artefacts in total, comprising 23% of the artefacts from all tombs, an average of nearly six artefacts per *dromos*.[53] The *dromoi* of three chamber tombs from Kelenderis, on the other hand, yielded a total of 11 artefacts comprising 11.1% of the artefacts from all tombs, an average of nearly three artefacts per *dromos* (**Figure 9**).

Regarding the artefact deposition in *dromoi* and chambers, further attention needs to be devoted to the quantitative analysis of types. At this point, we see that ratios of preference vary considerably between the two necropoleis. The *dromoi* of the Kelenderis tombs only received food vessels,[54] pitchers[55] and storage vessels.[56] This inventory displays notable variation in the *dromoi* of Tsambres, as they contained liquid vessels, oil vessels and figurines in addition to previously listed artefacts (**Figure 10**).[57] This difference also occurs in ratios. In Tsambres, of the six *dromoi* five yielded mainly food and liquid vessels (83.3% of preference ratio). Among those, three had more than one vessel (tombs 15, 16 and 23) whereas the remaining had only a single

[53] The values expressed here are not absolute. Absence of proper quantitative data in many cases must be taken into consideration. During such cases explanations like 'sherds of lekythoi' were calculated as '2 lekythoi' similarly for each type of artefact and each necropolis for the establisment of a consistency at least between the error margins.

[54] 'Food vessels' stand for any tableware related to the consumption of food from bowls and plates to saltcellars.

[55] 'Pitchers' stand for any vessel that was used for serving of liquids such as Greek forms of *oinochoe*, *olpe* or others, like jug, juglet etc.

[56] 'Storage vessels' include torpedo shaped vessels as well as *amphorae* or *pithoi*.

[57] 'Liquid vessels' stand for all ceramics that were used for the consuming of various liquids whereas 'oil vessels' refer to containers of scented oil (both *unguentaria* and *alabastra* in our case).

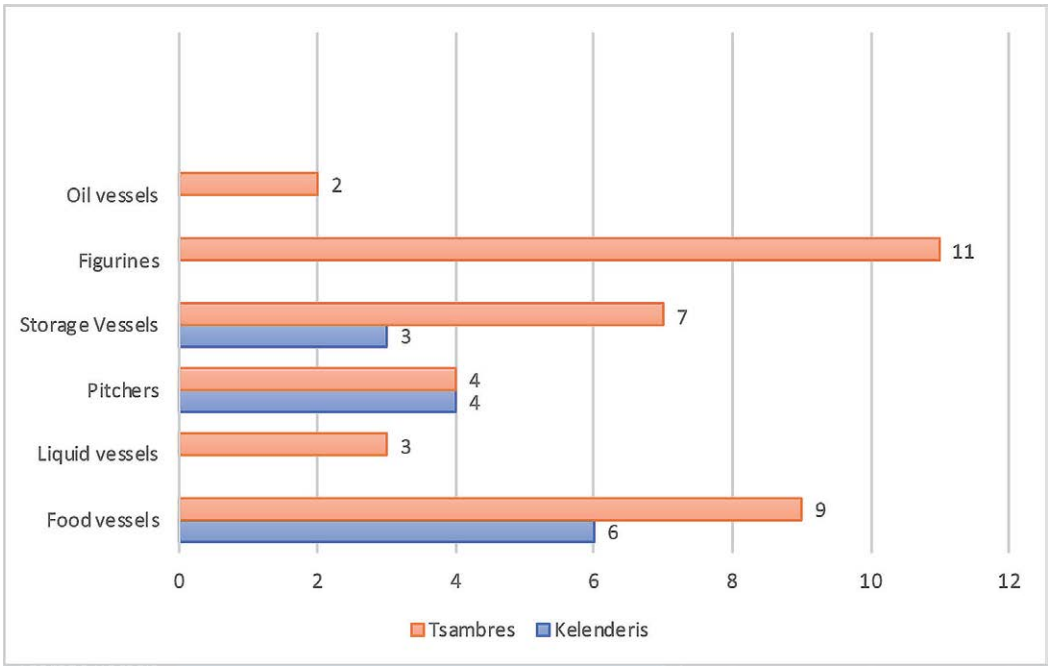


Figure 10: *Graphic showing the amounts of artefacts from the* dromos *assemblages of Tsambres and Kelenderis (Authors)*

specimen. Food and liquid vessels deposited in the *dromoi* is similarly attested in Kelenderis in varying amounts: in two *dromoi* appeared only one vessel and in an exceptional case a *dromos* yielded four vessels (tomb K06 DN V). Pitchers and storage vessels were found in four *dromoi* out of six in Tsambres (66.6%) whereas in Kelenderis in two *dromoi* out of three (67%). Among the two, pitchers stand out by being deposited only once in each *dromos* in Tsambres and twice in each *dromos* in Kelenderis reflecting a somehow consistent ratio. Storage vessels were rarely deposited in the *dromoi* in Tsambres, for example in Tomb 19 and Tomb 28. This somehow inconsistent picture also occurs in Kelenderis as one of the *dromoi* had yielded two storage vessels whereas the other only a single amphora (**Tables 3–4**).

Table 3: *Artefact distribution within the* dromoi *of Tsambres tombs (Authors)*

	Food Vessels	Liquid Vessels	Pitchers	Storage Vessels	Oil Vessels	Figurines
T11						
T12				1		
T15	2	1	1		1	1
T16	3	2	1		1	9
T17						
T18						
T19	1		1	3		1
T22						
T23	2			1		
T25						
T26	1					
T28	1		1	3		

Table 4: *Artefact distributions within the* dromoi *of the Kelenderis tombs (Authors)*

	Food Vessels	Liquid Vessels	Pitchers	Storage Vessels	Oil Vessels	Figurines
126-71						
K87 DN1						
K87 BN2						
K88 BN1						
K89 E/1						
K89 E/3						
K89 J/1						
K89 O/2						
K89 O/4						
K89 T/1						
K89 T/2						
K89 S/2						
K91 KE/103 I						
K96 BN-2						
K96 BN-3						
K97 DN1						
K98 DN1						
K99 BN-III						
K99 BN-VII						
K99 BN-VIII						
K99 BN-X						
K99 BN-XII						
K06 DN II	1		2			
K06 DN III						
K06 DN V	4		2	2		
K06 DN VII	1			1		

Chambers from both necropoleis reflect a similar character regarding the types of deposited artefacts (**Figure 11**). Among the artefacts found in chambers, food and liquid vessels appear in both necropoleis in high amounts. The striking difference occurs in figurines, coins and funerary jewellery that are entirely absent in Kelenderis and in metal vessels and utensils that in turn are absent in Tsambres. The quantitative distribution of other kinds of artefacts in two necropoleis is difficult to detect as the number of each artefact category considerably varies.

This variation gets even more complicated when certain artefact types appear only in one grave but are absent from the others. This extremely low ratio of local preference (9%) brings the necessary caution for interpretation of funerary customs. In Tsambres, figurines and coins were found only in Tomb 16 in notable amounts and funerary jewellery only from Tomb 15. Metal vessels in Kelenderis were found also in a single tomb. Thus, we face a particular feature in grave assemblages that is unique even in its own setting. As previously noted this singularity of evidence makes it difficult to draw conclusions from it for funerary customs.

When artefacts from chambers are considered clear differences appear in liquid vessels, ceremonial vessels (*lebes gamikos* or *loutherion*) and lamps. In Tsambres, liquid vessels and ceremonial vessels were

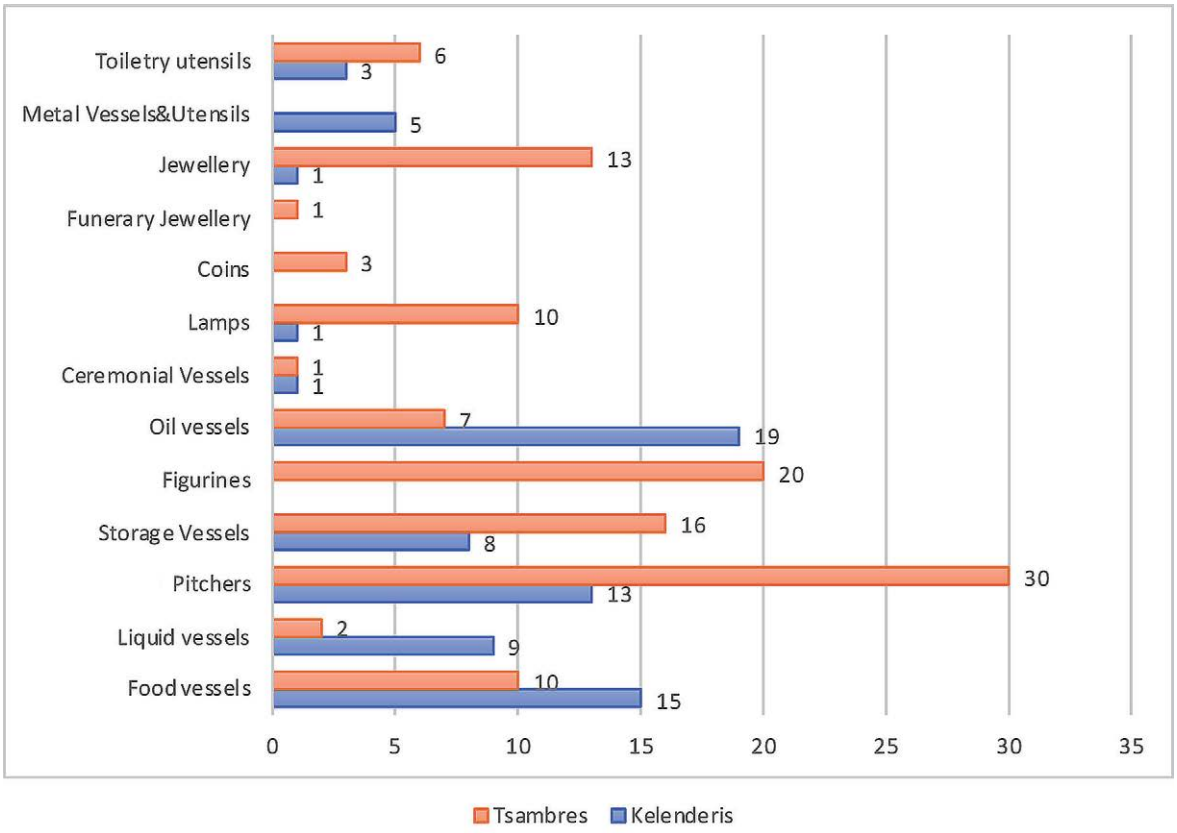


Figure 11: *Graphic showing the amounts of artefacts from the chamber assemblages of Tsambres and Kelenderis (Authors)*

deposited only in a single chamber out of 12 (8.3%) whereas in Kelenderis liquid vessels were found in five chambers (33%) and ceremonial vessels in two chambers (13%) out of 15. This picture is the opposite when the lamps are considered, as they occur in seven chambers out of 12 in Tsambres (58.3%) while only one chamber yielded a lamp in Kelenderis (9%). Among the other vessels, pitchers were the most often deposited in the chambers of Tsambres, appearing in nine chambers out of 12 (75%). On the other hand, pitchers were found in only six tombs (40%) in Kelenderis, thus nearly half of the ratio is attested in Tsambres. Food vessels were found in six chambers out of 12 (50%) in Tsambres. Kelenderis reflects a close preference as food vessels were evident in seven chambers out of 15 (46%). Oil vessels and jewellery follow by being deposited in five chambers out of 12 in Tsambres (41.6%). Oil vessels in particular show a relatively higher tendency in Kelenderis as they occur in 11 chambers out of 15 (73%). On the contrary, jewellery was found in only two chambers out of 15 (13%). Storage vessels appear in lesser ratios of preference in Tsambres burials as they were deposited in only three chambers. In Kelenderis, storage vessels reflect an opposite tendency by being deposited in seven chambers out of 15 (46%). No difference is evident regarding toiletry utensils as they were equally found only in two tombs both in Tsambres and Kelenderis (**Tables 5–6**).

Burial Types and Patterns of Artefact Deposition

Comparing the burial types and artefact depositions helps to identify shared features and differences in the funerary records of the two necropoleis. Identifying patterns in object deposition can provide answers to questions related to the practices of burying and mourning the dead.

Table 5: *Artefact distributions within the chambers of the Tsambres tombs (Authors)*

	Number of Burials	Food Vessels	Liquid Vessels	Pitchers	Storage Vessels	Oil Vessels	Figurines	Ceremonial Vessels	Lamps	Coins	Funerary Jewellery	Jewellery	Metal Vessels and Utensils	Utensils of toiletry
T11	1		2			1								
T12	1	2		6								4		
T15	6	3			7	2		1	1		1	1		2
T16	8	2		7	9	1	10		4	3		5		2
T17	1	1		1		1						1		
T18	1			6								5		
T19	1	1		3	1				1					
T22	1	1		2					1					
T23	1			1		1			1					
T25	1								1					
T26	1			3										
T28	-								1					

Table 6: *Artefact distributions within the chambers of the Kelenderis tombs (Authors)*

	Number of Burials	Food Vessels	Liquid Vessels	Pitchers	Storage Vessels	Oil Vessels	Figurines	Ceremonial Vessels	Lamps	Coins	Funerary Jewellery	Jewellery	Metal Vessels and Utensils	Utensils of toiletry
126-71		1	1	2	2	3		1				1		
K87 DN1														
K87 BN2														
K88 BN1	2		4	1	1	3								
K89 E/1						1								
K89 E/3			2		1									
K89 J/1														
K89 O/2														
K89 O/4														
K89 T/1														
K89 T/2														
K89 S/2														
K91 KE/103 I														
K91 KE/103 J		2												1
K96 BN-2														
K96 BN-3						2								
K97 DN1		1	1		3	10			1			1	1	1
K98 DN1		2		1		2								
K99 BN-III						2								
K99 BN-VII														
K99 BN-VIII		1		1		1								
K99 BN-X			1											
K99 BN-XII						1								
K06 DN II		2			1	3								
K06 DN III		5												
K06 DN V				2	1									
K06 DN VII	3	2		2	2	2		1						

The choice of burial types in both necropoleis was inhumation, with the exception of a single case at Tsambres in Tomb 15. This tomb yielded the cremated remains of the deceased in a *hydria* sealed by two bowls fitted into each other, all vessels belonged to the early 3rd century BC.[58] The *hydria* appears to have been carelessly placed next to the other burials at the corner of the chamber.[59] It is hard to say whether or not this cremation burial is really an exception, for nearly all Hellenistic tombs in Tsambres were stripped of their inventories. On the other hand, since cremation was not so common in Cyprus throughout the Classical to Roman periods, it is highly likely that it is an exception.[60]

[58] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 41-42.
[59] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42.
[60] On the unpopularity of cremation in Cyprus, see Parks 2009: 214.

The placement and orientation of bodies within the chambers show variations between two necropoleis. In Tsambres, in seven out of 12 tombs the burials were laid directly on the floor (58.3%).[61] The use of benches was limited to three burials only (25%), whereas the exceptional use of *arcosolia* occurs in only two tombs that date to the very end of the Late Classical period or to the beginning of the 3rd century BC.[62]

The chamber tombs of Kelenderis show a similar tendency. In 15 out of 26 chambers, the body was laid directly on the floor (57.6%). Entombment on benches appears in Kelenderis, with a total of 11 instances (42.3%).[63] A similar entombment was also used in the so–called 'pit tombs' of Kelenderis by placing the body on the ground within the small cavity that was carved to the side of the rectangular opening.[64] In both necropoleis, entombment on a specially prepared pavement is rarely observed, whereas the preparation was by sand in Tsambres[65] and by small gravels in Kelenderis.[66] The relatively small number of this kind of floor entombment in both regions points to a peripheral phenomenon rather than to a common funerary practice.

Bodies were always laid in dorsal position in both necropoleis, with the lower limbs being stretched. It is difficult to know how the upper limbs were arranged since they were found disarticulated. In an exceptional case in Tsambres the arms of the deceased were crossed on the chest.[67] Orientations of the body differ remarkably between the two necropoleis. In Tsambres, all bodies were mainly positioned along the two side walls of the chamber.[68] The heads were always oriented to the entrance regardless of the compass directions. Bodies that were positioned at the rear of the chamber, on the other hand, had their heads directed to the right side of the chamber when approached from the *stomion*.[69] In Kelenderis, in a few surviving but well–documented graves, the bodies were generally oriented with their heads towards the rear wall of the chamber. The opposite direction towards the entrance, as was usual in Tsambres, is attested in Kelenderis only in one single case.[70] Thus, in both necropoleis, not the compass direction, but the grave entrance did matter for the orientation of the body´s head.

The patterns recognizable in the recorded placement of artefacts in the *dromoi* and the chambers will be evaluated separately since similar artefact groups deposited in different spaces may have had different meanings.

It is difficult to recognize patterns of how the artefacts were proportionally distributed between the *dromoi* or the chambers. A tomb that received six burials with a total inventory of 24 artefacts (including jewellery and ceramic vessels) might have only four artefacts in its *dromos* (e.g. Tomb 15 from Tsambres).[71] A similar situation is observed in Kelenderis in tomb K06 DN VII which had three burials with a total of nine artefacts, but only two vessels in its *dromos*.[72] By contrast, a tomb with a single burial

[61] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 49-54.
[62] For tombs with benches, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: figs. 9-11. For the tomb with *arcosolia*, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 43, fig. 10.
[63] Zoroğlu 2012; Zoroğlu *et al.* 2001: 312; 314; 315; Zoroğlu 1998: 484-486; Zoroğlu 1993: 168-169; Zoroğlu 1988: 137.
[64] Zoroğlu 2000: 120.
[65] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 54-55.
[66] Zoroğlu 2008b: 525, 528.
[67] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42.
[68] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: figs. 9; 10; 11; 15-18.
[69] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: figs. 10-11.
[70] Zoroğlu 2008a: 1244-1245, figs. 3, 6; Zoroğlu 1998: 489 plan 2.
[71] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42-44.
[72] Zoroğlu 2008a: fig. 6.

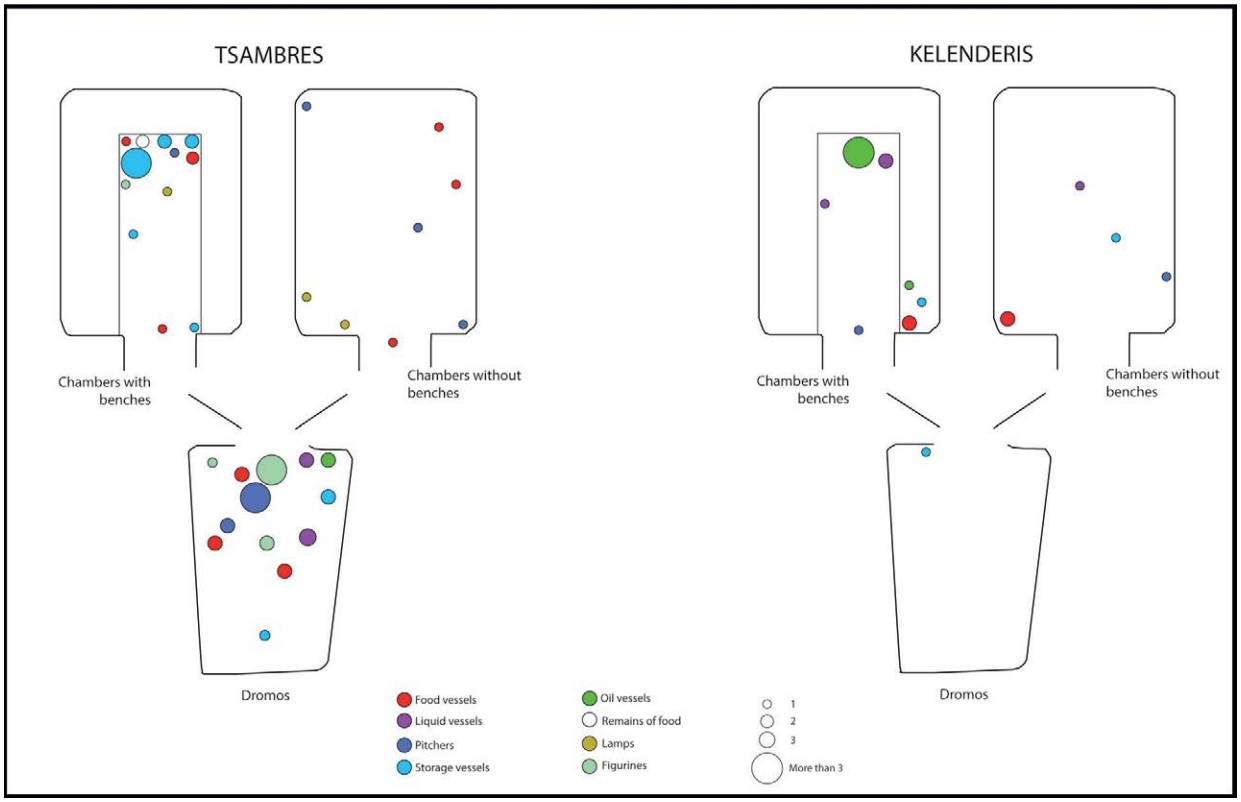


Figure 12: *Distribution and ratio maps for the artefact depositions within* dromos *and chamber in Tsambres and Kelenderis (Kaba)*

whose assemblage consisted of ceramics only might have a richer artefact assemblage of figurines and ceramic vessels in its *dromos* (Tomb 19 from Tsambres).

The placement of artefacts in the *dromoi* reveals different patterns in each necropolis. Unfortunately, the lack of evidence from Kelenderis makes comparisons impossible. In the only case that is well documented the storage vessels were leaning against the sidewall of the *stomion*. By contrast, at Tsambres, storage vessels were leaning against the sidewall of the *dromoi* or, in one instance, at the very beginning of the *dromos*. Drinking vessels and oil vessels deposited close to the lateral walls of the *stomion* are documented in several cases in Tsambres, whereas figurines only in a single case. Interestingly, pitchers and figurines were densely deposited in front of the *stomion* in Tsambres (**Figure 12**).

Artefacts deposited in the chambers are usually associated with the deceased, placed as they were around the body. However, artefacts also appear scattered in chambers and may have been displaced from their original setting as a result of later use or by water and earth penetration. The artefacts are mainly placed in the aisle, often close to the lower corners of the benches.[73] In Tsambres, artefacts appear in an exceptional case on a raised platform carved out of the rock in front of the bench.[74] In Kelenderis, in one of the chambers, a group of artefacts were deposited at the corner of the right bench just after the *stomion* even though it was not occupied by a body.[75] Whether this phenomenon reappears in other graves of Kelenderis is unknown. In any case, the deposition of artefacts on an unused bench is not attested in

[73] For Tsambres, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42, fig. 10; 45-46, fig. 11. For Kelenderis, see Zoroğlu 2008a: 1244, fig. 3.
[74] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42 fig. 10.
[75] Zoroğlu 2008a: 1244, fig. 3.

Tsambres.[76] Thus, we can assume that in Tsambres, unlike in Kelenderis, there must have been strict rules to prevent the deposition of artefacts on unoccupied benches that were reserved for future burials.

In chambers without benches, artefacts were simply deposited anywhere on the floor around the bodies (**Figure 12**). Nevertheless, in Tsambres a certain tendency to deposit artefacts at the corners is recognizable. Thus, we have three cases from Tsambres, among which one had a lamp and the other two had pitchers deposited intentionally at the corners even though other free spaces were available within the chambers.[77] In another grave, again a lamp was placed close to the corner of the chamber. In Kelenderis, artefacts deposited at the corners of grave chambers are recorded twice, whereas artefacts were usually placed in the central part of the aisle.

Artefact depositions around the bodies appear likewise in the two necropoleis. Nevertheless, we cannot draw a particular pattern of this category since personal belongings like jewellery and clothes on the bodies are self–evident.[78] The only exception is the similar deposition of food vessels above the head of the deceased in both necropoleis (**Figure 13**). In Tsambres, this reappears in more than three cases,

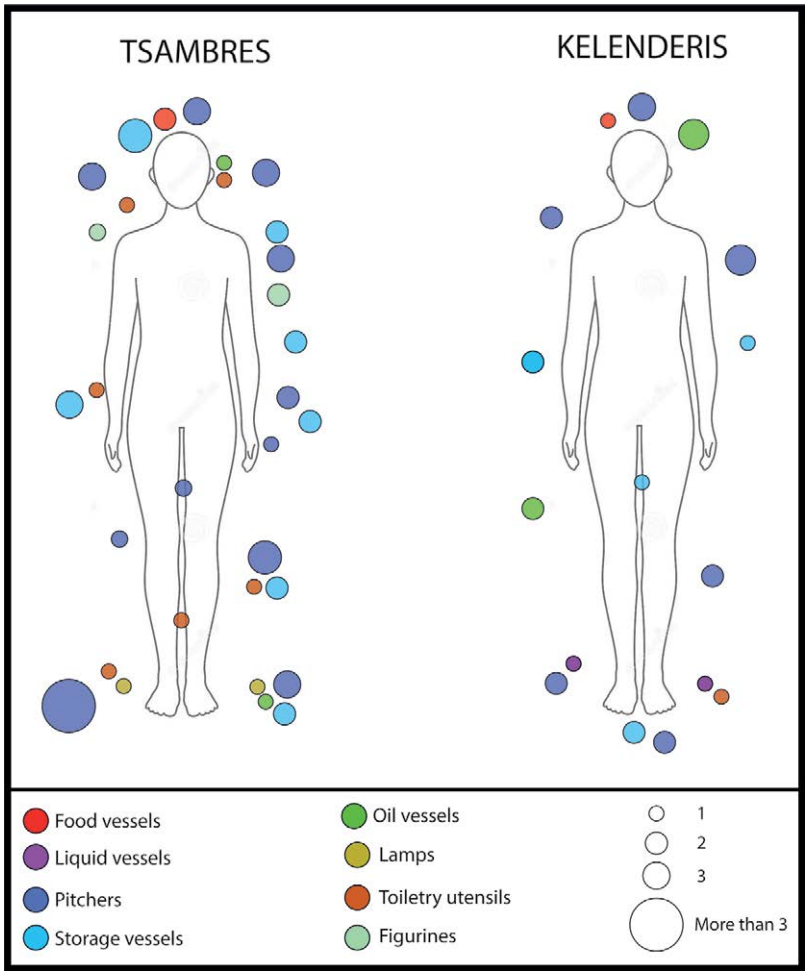


Figure 13: *Distribution and ratio maps for the artefact depositions around bodies in Tsambres and Kelenderis (Kaba)*

[76] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 43, fig. 10.
[77] See the plans in Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 53-54.
[78] For the commonality of this trait wthin Cypriot burials from Late Classical to Roman era, see Parks 2009: 215, 217.

whereas in Kelenderis it is attested only by a single case. A peculiarity can be observed in Tsambres where the artefacts were deposited at least in 30 cases to the left of the bodies. In more than 15 cases the artefacts were placed around the heads. In 14 cases the artefacts were accumulated at the feet, whereas the right side of the bodies received artefacts only in 11 cases. On the other hand, we see that the areas around the head (in 6 cases) and the feet (in 10 cases) were preferred for artefact deposition in Kelenderis. In Kelenderis, a preference for the right or left side of the body for artefact deposition is not discernible since artefacts were more or less equally distributed around the body.

The artefacts found in the aisle might have been associated with the burials even if they were not personal belongings of the deceased, but parting gifts or leftovers from the rituals.

The general tendencies observed in both necropoleis point rather to local funerary customs. It seems that both communities had developed their own customs in artefact deposition. We encounter in Tsambres more regularity: food vessels appear always around the head, figurines regularly close to the upper limbs, and lamps at the feet. Another consistent preference is observed in the placement of pitchers around the head and feet. In Kelenderis a similar pattern is recognizable in the location of liquid vessels which were solely placed at the feet. The artefact depositions observed may be due both to practical reasons as well as behaviours within the death rituals.[79] These observations suggest that there were indeed rules for the deposition of ceramic vessels. This is the best evident for drinking vessels that were for the most part left at the feet in both necropoleis. The same can be suggested also for the placement of lamps around the feet. This way of depositions may be due to practical purposes rather than eschatological beliefs.[80] The availability of more space around the body through the lower limbs, especially in multiple burials, must have been an important determinant.[81]

Burial Process, Customs and Rituals

Burying and mourning the dead required a series of complex acts which involved spaces and artefacts.[82] The material remains of these acts involved in the burial and commemoration of the dead within the grave are only fragmentary. Consequently, our understanding of these acts can be only disconnected, incoherent and sometimes even fictional.[83]

Quantitative analysis shows that the burial inventories of Tsambres lack many vessels characteristic of a 'Greek' burial, such as *lekythoi*, *lebetes gamikoi*, *askoi* or any *loutheria* (**Figure 14**).[84] On the other hand, the material evidence from the burials in Kelenderis includes not all but most of those forms reflecting an inventory with clear 'Greek' elements (**Figure 15**).[85] Nevertheless, the lack of 'Greek' funerary vessels in the burials of Tsambres does not mean the unusualness of Greek vases there, since other vessel forms such as *kantharoi*, bowls, *skyphoi* or even *hydriai* do exist. The absence of *lekythoi*, *lebetes gamikoi*, *askoi* or *loutheria* in the funerary record must have somehow been rooted in local customs rather than in a refusal of Greek vases in general. For instance, juglets with their extremely small volumes might be used

[79] On this matter especially, see Dodds 2004: 136.
[80] Liquid vessels were similary deposited in other Classical period burials too around the ancient Greek world: cf. Hall 1998: 579.
[81] For consideration of this within the Classical burials of other Greek centres, see Hall 1998: 578; 581-582.
[82] For a brief telling of this whole process with further notes on various sources see Dimakis 2016: 63-69.
[83] Morris 1992: 104. Using especially the example in David Macaulay's 'Motel of the Mysteries', Morris (1992: 105 fig. 53) warns of the possibility of false interpretation if the archaeological information from the burial is read too literally.
[84] On the role of such vessel within the context of Greek burial, see Mirto 2012: 90; Vlachou 2012: 375-376; Clark *et al.* 2002: 70; 110-111; 112-115; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 149-152; 213.
[85] Zoroğlu 2000: 124, n. 26-28. Moreover, even locally produced vessels that were deposited to burials were all imitations of Greek forms: Zoroğlu 1994: fig. 70.

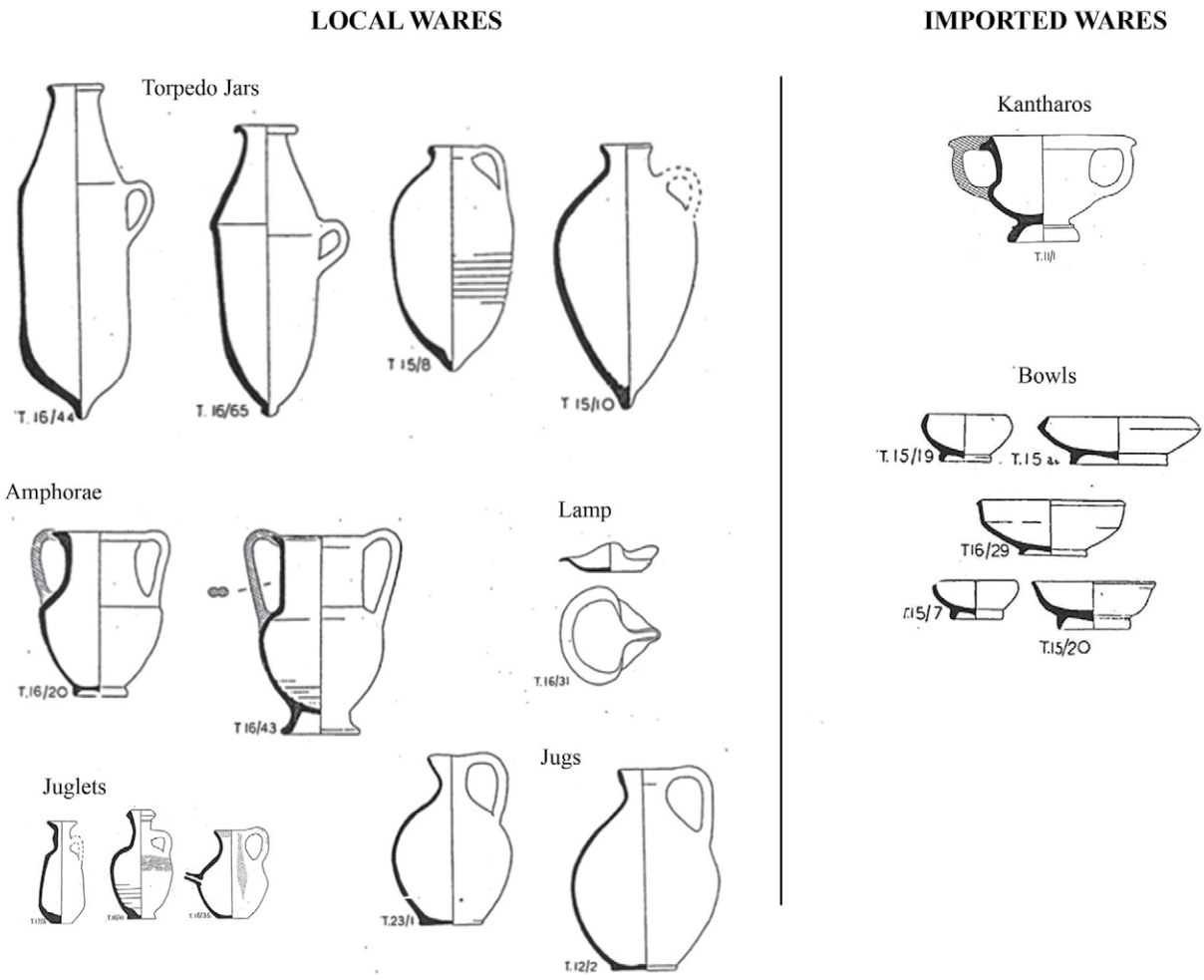


Figure 14: *Selected pottery from the Tsambres tombs compiled with no scale (Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 81; 84-85; 99; 102-103; 111)*

inappropriately as containers of perfumed oils, rather than serving as pitchers for wine, thus corresponding to the function of *lekythoi*.[86] This particularity in Tsambres deserves to be referred to as 'Cypriot' in terms of custom rather than 'Greek'.

A striking feature in Kelenderis is the dominance of vessels imported from other Mediterranean centres, especially the torpedo–shaped vessels.[87] This preference must have been connected with the ingredients of those imported vessels, for example wine or oil. Although there is no evidence for a similar preference from domestic contexts, we may suggest that the community of Kelenderis mainly preferred imported liquids for funerary libation ceremonies. In Tsambres, on the other hand, locally produced vessels of similar shapes were preferred.[88]

[86] Unfortunately the functions of most of the Cypriot local forms are still not clear due to the absence of proper and detailed studies dedicated to them. However general opinion favors the use of such small capacity vessels of Cypriot production for oil and unguents: Georgiadou 2016.

[87] Zoroğlu 1994: 63 figs. 77-79.

[88] Gjerstad 1948: 288. Einer Gjerstad (1948: 313-315) even further points to the introduction and even production of those types in Cilicia by the Cypriot potters.

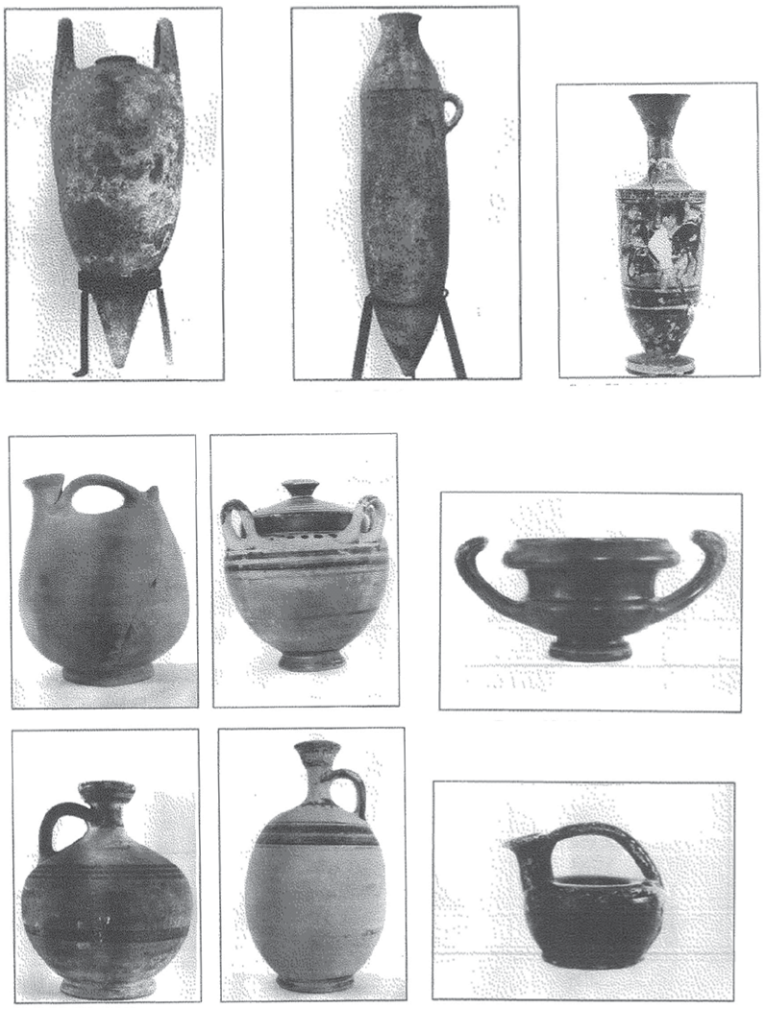


Figure 15: *Selected pottery from Kelenderis tombs (Zoroğlu 1994: Figs. 57; 68-69; 72-74; 78-79)*

For understanding funerary rites, data regarding artefact depositions in chambers are essential since the burial commenced with the entombment of the dead and the placement of related artefacts in the chamber.[89] The following stages of burial must have been the chamber rites, the sealing of the *stomion*, *dromos* rites and finally the backfilling of the *dromos*. As will be discussed below, the published data on two necropoleis provide some clues for understanding how certain phases of this process could have been realized, whereas in some other points it remains scarce and only allows us to put forward mere suggestions.

The sepulchral architecture from both necropoleis indeed shows that not just the process of burial but even its preparation was an organized act in most cases. Chambers with multiple benches both from Tsambres and Kelenderis, but also *arcosolia* tombs from Tsambres, clearly show that tombs were designed and organized from the beginning to host multiple burials. Indeed, multiple burials were popular in both necropoleis with considerable ratios. Archaeological data show that most of the multiple burials in Tsambres were made in close time–lapses.[90] In Kelenderis, there are cases in which chambers were used

[89] Since we do not have any concrete proof on those two early stages of burial from both respective necropoleis, their evaluation will be simply discarded from the study.

[90] For instance the longest period of burial in Tsambres is only 75 years evident from Tomb 16: Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 46.

in close time–lapses, as was the case in Tsambres, but some chambers were in use for longer periods.[91] Multi–burial graves might be intended as family graves. Unfortunately, the lack of proper data does not help us in understanding the real motives (e.g. lack of space for new tombs, family tombs) behind the long–term use of the same chamber. An interesting example in this respect is Tomb 28 in Tsambres, where two benches were labelled by the carved personal names in Cypro–syllabic on the ledges that stand on top of each bench. A single name reading 'ro–po–ku–to–se–ke–a' was carved on the front portion of the rear ledge. Additionally, two other names as 'vo–ki–to–si–ri–a' and 'lo–si–na–o' could be read on the south ledge.[92] These names are understood as the names of the deceased laid on the bench situated under the respective inscription. There could be various motives behind carving the names of the deceased on the ledges of certain benches. Nevertheless, all possibilities in this aspect bestow interesting features of mortuary behaviour. Basically, we can suggest that the names were carved while cutting out the chamber to indicate where each deceased should be laid at the time of the burial. But they could have been also carved later to indicate the 'identity' of each deceased for their relatives of later generations who were supposed to conduct rites for commemoration. On the other hand, as noted above, the Tsambres tombs were generally not used for successive burials. Therefore, an intentional organisation of burial places in the chamber from the beginning appears more likely. The individuals buried in Tomb 28, possibly the commissioners, might have wanted to perpetuate their ownership by inscribing their names. This might be considered as a guarantee to secure the place of burial and to ensure its privacy for not being disturbed by secondary burials.

When we turn our attention to the artefacts deposited in *dromoi* and chambers we recognize more differences between the two necropoleis. It should be, however, noted that the association of these artefacts with burial rituals largely depends on their interpretation. Scholars generally agree on the classification of such artefacts as either personal belongings of the deceased or grave offerings (i.e. objects deposited to the burials as parting gifts or involved in rituals).[93] These two levels of meaning may, however, overlap. For instance, a *kylix* could be left in a tomb to accompany its owner to the afterlife as personal belonging of the deceased, but another *kylix* could be deposited in the same burial after being used by an attendant during the libation ceremonies. What is important at this point is to avoid absolute designations and over interpretation.[94] Within this study, this fact will mainly apply to the artefacts from the chambers.

The chambers, as the space designed to receive burials, could house artefacts that were personal belongings of the deceased and artefacts deposited as parting gifts, together with others that were left behind after being used during the funerary rites. Thus, it is unlikely that each artefact from the chambers was consciously placed to play a specific role in the consistent belief system. However, the situation differs in case of *dromoi*. As a passageway between the worlds of living and dead the objects deposited in the *dromoi* must be valued differently than those in the chambers. All activities related to burying and mourning the dead commenced and ended there. In the case of tombs with multi–phase burials, the *dromoi* were of course also repeatedly reused.[95]

[91] Zoroğlu 1994: 37-38.

[92] For the description of the inscribed names, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1937–1939: 55. On the linguistic interpretation of the names further, see the Appendix A. Inscription from Tsambres Tomb 28 by T.B. Mitford in Dray and du Plat Taylor 1937–1939.

[93] Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008: 7; Dimakis 2016: 53; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 100-2.

[94] Morris 1992: 104-105; Dimakis 2016: 53-54.

[95] For this process in Cypriot tombs, see Carstens 2006: 131. This process is expected to be evident in both necropoleis, but its secure tracing through the archaeological record is possible only in Tsambres: Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42, 45. For a brief consideration of this in the case of Kelenderis, see Zoroğlu 2000: 122.

As previously noted, artefacts deposited in the *dromoi* had no direct connection with the number of the deceased nor with the richness of tomb inventories. This aspect must have been related rather to the number of mourners who attended the funerals. It should be also kept in mind that in case of sequential multiple burials the dromoi could have received new artefacts or the older ones could have been moved. The results of quantitative analysis have shown that *dromoi* were assigned a special role in Tsambres. It seems that the *dromoi* offered space for gift offerings (figurines?) or libations.[96] On the other hand, the amounts of artefacts from the *dromoi* of Kelenderis, despite their well–preserved contexts in numerous tombs, are small which may indicate to their subordinated role. However, the elaborately carved spacious *dromoi* of Kelenderis would have offered a perfect area in which to perform rituals.

As the reported evidence in Tsambres indicates, the rites performed in the *dromoi* must have included offerings with food and drink, but also perfumed oils. Storage vessels, recorded in all *dromoi*, must have been used to carry wine and water for libations whereas perfumed oils must have been filled in smaller vessels like juglets, *alabastra* or *unguentaria*. The presence of pitchers and storage vessels in every *dromos* together with the absence of other drinking vessels, such as bowls, *kylikes* and *kantharoi*, shows that the original function of vessels could be converted according to local preference.[97]

According to comparative analysis, the tombs with only food offerings and those with both food and liquid offerings are equal in amount,[98] whereas there is no evidence for tombs with only drink offerings. Figurines representing mother and child (*kourothropoi*), rams, goats, bulls and so–called horse–and–rider figures[99] must have been symbols of rituals related to parenting, or metaphors for animals of sacrifice.[100]

The limited amount of finds in the *dromoi* of Kelenderis points to less complex funerary rituals. Liquid libations must have been realized employing pitchers as no other liquid vessels were found. As previously explained, the clear preference for imported storage vessels[101] points to a preference for exotic wines as libations. In Kelenderis, exclusive food offerings were limited to a single case only (33.3%), whereas the synchronous employment of both food and drink offerings is more frequent (66,7%). On the other hand, there is no evidence for rituals involving perfumed oils or the dedication of figurines.

A comparative evaluation of artefact deposition in the *dromoi* is not possible since in Kelenderis data on the exact positioning of such finds is simply lacking. However, for Tsambres we can state that the forefront of the *stomion* was the main location where offerings were realized by libations and figurine dedications.

A comparison of the chamber finds is even more challenging. However, some interesting observations can be made. Although a secure separation of objects from around or on the bodies is not possible, a pattern of distribution is still recognizable. The repeated placement of certain objects around the deceased points to a ritual performed during the burial. As previously noted, in both necropoleis, food vessels were deposited in chambers more often than liquid vessels (75% to 25% in Tsambres and 100%

[96] This way of using the *dromos* dates as back as the Late Geometric period in Cyprus: Janes 2008: 313.

[97] It is unlikely that the vessels that were used were taken back home. The Greek way of burial was sensitive to such matters as the pollution of the attendants, and *miasma* was a big concern: Vlachou 2012: 371, 375. For consideration of this within Cypriot contexts, see Parks 2009: 215.

[98] Unfortunately, the lack of proper documentation prevents from the exact detection of where these offerings took place concurrently or independently.

[99] On a recent and detailed analysis of figurines from Tsambres, see Ulbrich 2019: 150-154.

[100] Ulbrich 2019: 153-154.

[101] Zoroğlu 2008a: 1239-1240, 1242.

to 0% in Kelenderis). Funerary rituals involving food and drinks seem to be commonly shared by the two ancient communities. On the other hand, we can assume that jewellery, metal vessels and utensils together with utensils of toiletry were not involved in rituals as they most likely found their way into the burial as the personal belongings of the deceased. The occurrence of such artefacts within chambers in small and unique amounts, as shown by the quantitative analysis, seems to be related simply to the economic status of the deceased rather than to any custom. Personal belongings in varying numbers and their correlation to the economic status of the dead might be explained in various ways. First, it can be connected to the overall wealth of the settlement and its reflection to the personal belongings of its habitants.[102] Second, the inclusion of personal belongings within the tomb inventory could simply be related to the deceased's expenditure on the tomb. Thus, greater expenditure so as to have a more grandiose tomb would not necessarily leave less behind to spend for lavish grave furnishing.[103] This is perhaps best illustrated by Tombs 16 and 15 from Tsambres. Tomb 15, despite being grander in size and better in quality of workmanship, yielded an inventory which was less rich both in variety and values of artefacts than Tomb 16.

As quantitative data clearly show lamps played an important role within the burials of Tsambres. The particular placement and condition of the lamps recorded in the chambers are helpful to understand the function they fulfilled. We note that none of the lamps from Tsambres bore any marks of long use, e.g. dense traces of fume.[104] This indicates that they were acquired prior to the burial for use during the funeral. Lamps must have been extremely useful in the dim atmosphere of any chamber tomb. This rather practical role of the lamps in burials of Tsambres is further supported by the existence of lamp niches in some of the tombs. Strangely, lamps were recorded only in a single case in Kelenderis where possibly other devices like torches could have been used for lighting. The single lamp from Kelenderis, a bronze specimen, must have been deposited in the tomb as a precious belonging of the deceased for accompanying its owner in the afterlife.[105] If this assumption is true, the deposition of clay lamps in Tsambres would have rather a practical function[106], whereas in Kelenderis the bronze lamp would have been deposited for eschatological reasons.[107]

Coin deposition is evident only in a single chamber (Tomb 16) in Tsambres that had multiple burials.[108] Thus, in Tsambres there was not a habit for use of coins in the tombs. In Kelenderis no burial coins are attested during the period under consideration.

A similar picture is also revealed by the funerary jewellery. From Tsambres a single chamber contained a golden diadem.[109] The relatively late date of this burial suggests that the use of funerary jewellery must have been introduced to the community of Tsambres by the end of the Classical period.[110] The absence

[102] In the case of Cyprus this is best argued by Daniela Parks for the overall burials but with an emphasis on Hellenistic period: Parks 2009: 215.

[103] A detailed analysis of this matter is realized through a case study of the Classical necropolis of Pantanello which at many points embraces the general facts of ancient Greek burial. This case study in the end becomes a pilot analysis for evaluation of such traits of ancient Greek burial and tomb furnishing: Hall 1998: 587-590.

[104] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 111-113.

[105] Zoroğlu 1998: 458 fig. 4.

[106] The deposition of lamps within the tomb could be related to the performance of burials as a rule before sunrise: Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 211.

[107] For such interpretation of lamps within burials, see Bailey 1963: 12.

[108] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 44, 48, nos. 56, 63.

[109] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: no. 1.

[110] More recently on this issue, see Summerer and Kaba 2020: 133-135.

of funerary jewellery from Kelenderis could be related to the earlier date of the graves. Yet, it must be noted that such jewellery is also absent from the Hellenistic tomb inventories of Kelenderis. On the other hand, the use of funerary jewellery in the form of diadems in graves appears in increasing numbers over the course of the Hellenistic period in Tsambres.[111]

The function of food and drink in funerary practice is still a matter of scholarly discussion. A few observations made in this study about food depositions can hardly produce new evidence. In Tsambres, there is sufficient data mainly from the multiple burial tombs with better recorded contexts (tombs 12, 15, 16, 19, 22, 26). In Kelenderis, published data is available from only two tombs (K88 BN–1 & K.06 DN VII). Although the distinct separation of artefacts that were deposited on or around the bodies as personal belongings or objects involved in the rituals is not possible, we may presume that oil vessels found in multiple numbers in both necropoleis played a role during the rituals.[112] In addition, artefacts or artefact assemblages that were found scattered in the chamber could have been remnants both from burial rites or any other practical use.

Considering the spatial particularities of grave good assemblages in Tsambres, rituals performed in the chambers appear different from the ones that were realized in the *dromoi*. Bowls deposited in the *stomion* (Tomb 12), storage vessels in the aisle of the chamber (Tomb 15), bowls and storage vessels placed close to the entrance (Tomb 16) and pitchers leaned at the corner right after the *stomion* (Tomb 26) are clues for the reconstruction of food and drink offerings in the graves.[113] The position of the artefacts points that the related rites were most likely performed at the end of the burial as otherwise they would be impractical and in the way of mourners within the crowded atmosphere of the chamber. In Tsambres, the focus of chamber rites, especially in chambers with benches, was the opposite end of the entrance. Lamps that illuminated the chamber (tombs 15–16), storage vessels (tombs 15–16) and pitchers (Tomb 16) that carried the liquids, bowls with food offerings (tombs 15–16) and figurines (Tomb 16) are all remnants of complex rites performed at the rear wall of the chambers.

Similar rituals must have been performed also in Kelenderis, where we encounter the practice of liquid libations evidenced by numerous storage vessels and pitchers that were deposited immediately after the *stomion*, at the corner of the door wall or unguent offerings utilized similarly next to the entrance.[114] Parallels that are evident between Kelenderis and Tsambres are recognisable both in vessel type and the way of placement. The same can be said for the use of the rear wall of the chamber. Tomb K.88 BN I in Kelenderis shows a setting similar to that in Tsambres, where a specific location was chosen for the liquid and (most importantly) unguent offerings. Interestingly, when storage vessels come into consideration a different picture emerges in Kelenderis, where storage vessels appear in lesser numbers but pouring vessels are dominant. This observation results in the assumption that in Kelenderis an opposite practice must have been realized in which ingredients from a single container were offered with multiple vessels.

Another interesting observation is related to the remains of food that were found only in some chambers in both necropoleis. These include the remains of eggs in Tsambres (Tomb 15)[115] and oyster shells in

[111] For funerary jewellery from Hellenistic burials at Tsambres, see Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 60; 62 nos. 2; 4 and 5; 63; 65 no. 3.
[112] For such use of oil vessels within Greek burials, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 209.
[113] Much concrete data emerge from Late Hellenistic contexts of Tsambres in the form of bird and animal bones which were found in the chambers inside the food vessels: Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 61.
[114] Zoroğlu 2008a: 1244-1245, figs. 3, 6.
[115] Dray and du Plat Taylor 1949: 42; 44 no. 6.

Kelenderis (K89 E3).[116] The question, whether or not they were leftovers from ritual banquets or had an eschatological meaning, is open to discussion.[117]

Conclusions

This article provides a detailed comparative analysis of graves and grave goods between Cilicia and Cyprus. On the base of excavated graves in Kelenderis (Cilicia) and Tsambres (Karpasia, Cyprus) dating to the 4th and 3rd century BC it is aimed to assess the nature of cultural connections linking Cilicia to Cyprus by examining shared features and differences in local funerary practices. Unfortunately, the current state of research provides only limited datasets for the purpose of comparison: 43 tombs in total. 12 from Tsambres/Karpasia and 31 from Kelenderis/Aydıncık, are examined in terms of funerary architecture and artefact deposition. In brief the following results can be drawn. Both communities in Karpasia and Kelenderis buried their dead in rock–cut tombs performing various funerary and post–funerary rituals. Nevertheless, comparison between architecture, design, size and furnishing of the grave highlights the dissimilarities rather than parallels between the two regions. The grave design in Tsambres with irregular chambers and stepped or sunken trapezoidal *dromoi* follows an Archaic Cypriot tradition. In comparison with Tsambres, the graves of Kelenderis were more regularly and elaborately carved and equipped with larger chambers and *dromoi*, but lack furnishings like niches and *arcosolia* and rarely yield benches.

The presence or absence of certain grave goods as well as their particular placement in the examined graves suggest that the funerary rites were performed in different ways in Karpasia and Kelenderis. The variable combination of artefacts and differences in their placement must reflect the dissimilarities in mourners' actions and the sequences of these actions that resulted in the deposition of the artefacts within the grave. In terms of spatial use in graves there appears a significant difference. The *dromoi* were intensively used for depositions in Tsambres, but almost unutilized in Kelenderis. In the case of assemblages, on the other hand, when tombs in Kelenderis yield more vessels for eating than for drinking and pouring, the rituals performed there must be different from those in Karpasia, where both vessels for eating and pouring are overwhelmingly predominant while drinking vessels are few. Another major difference is the total absence of figurines, lamps and funerary jewellery in Kelenderis, whereas they frequently appear in Tsambres.

Finally, we can state that, although each community generally tended to preserve its local traditions, they also continued to incorporate external beliefs and goods which were presumably fostered by their cross–cultural contacts. This is best illustrated by the use of torpedo–shaped vessels in acceptable numbers within both necropoleis.

Nevertheless, more data from well documented grave contexts in both Cilicia and Cyprus is needed to better analyse local funerary rites. It is to be hoped that future comparative studies in funerary archaeology will help to contextualize local and regional particularities of funerary culture as well as cross–Mediterranean impacts.

[116] Zoroğlu 1990, 303.

[117] Saprykin 2001: 110; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 77, 149, 215; Bruneau 1970: 529-530; Robinson 1942: 198-199; Deonna 1917: 406-408.

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Tiny Kingdoms of Prophetic Ideals
The Impact of the Melting Pot of Roman–dependent South–Eastern Anatolia on the Ideological and Political Concepts of the Roman and Early Byzantine World

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Abstract

This chapter reassesses the pre–Roman and Roman history of Cappadocia, Cilicia and Commagene, promoting South–Eastern Anatolia into a revealing case–study for the importance and interplay of perceptions and identities in the classical past and in its modern study. It experiments with the longue–durée perspective and the decentring of the 'West' in discourse on 'globalization' and imperialism, with the aim of contributing new perspectives regarding the identities, position, and role of this region. Refraining from the fruitless efforts of adding ethnic or cultural colours that augment the stereotyped grouping of these elites as 'odd Orientals' and 'primitive Natives', the chapter builds a new argument that they might be perceived instead as important agents of the 'globalization' process in antiquity. It proposes the bold hypothesis that the elites of the tiny kingdoms of South–Eastern Anatolia played a central role in conserving, preserving, reimagining, and reinvigorating the ideals and concepts of the united oikoumene of the Hellenistic period, and their utilization in the transformation of Roman identities and the creation of a new 'Roman World'. Thus, I suggest that their prophetic ideals overpowered the geopolitical forces and transformed this region from a central area in the Hellenistic oikoumene into a central area of the new post–Hellenistic or neo–Hellenistic Rome that we frequently refer to as Byzantium.

Keywords: *client kingdoms, ancient globalization, post–Hellenistic dynastic network, cosmocrator.*

Anatolia. The name translates into English simply as 'the East'. It represents an essential and omnipresent *topos* of the classical narrative. One need look no further than the founding myths of the classical world, such as those of the Iliad and the Aeneid, to understand its true importance.[2] Not merely these stories, but also the numerous historical, mythological, or literary narratives related to or built upon them are inconceivable without Anatolia. At the same time, without this *topos*, it is seemingly impossible to tell the story of the Persian Wars, the Peloponnesian War, the battles of Granicus and Issus, or the confrontations of Sulla and Pompey with Mithridates and the meeting of Cleopatra and Mark Antony that changed both Rome and the Mediterranean so dramatically. Moreover, Anatolia is unavoidable in any narrative of later Roman imperialism.

However, in stark contrast to the 'European' Greece and Rome, which turned into the preeminent symbols of the classical epoch as well as modern western identity, the perception of Anatolia, remained ambivalent through antiquity and later periods. Lingering in historical sources between the 'sophisticated' and 'cosmopolitan' on the one hand, and 'barbarian' and 'primitive' on the other, it got trapped somewhere between the classical and the oriental in modern perceptions and misconceptions. Thus, it resembles most closely a classical symbol for the border to the otherness, or rather the otherness among us.[3]

[1] Goce Delčev University, Stip, Macedonia, tevdovski@yahoo.com.

[2] See Erskine 2001; cf. McMahon 2011: 15–32

[3] Versluys 2017: 249–254. Cf. also: Tevdovski and Masalkovski 2021; Tevdovski 2020: 7–8, discussing more extensively the 'classicism' and 'orientalism' in classical antiquity and in ancient Anatolia.

The illustrations or allusions of this ambiguity are so numerous and prominent throughout all historical epochs that one might claim it represents the most immanent characteristic of this important region. Thus, for example, while Anatolia is intimately connected to the genesis and triumph of early Christianity via the figures of St. Paul and Constantine, with its New Rome built by the 'first Christian emperor' and the Nicene Creed, the region has been portrayed as a decadent alternative to Rome and was even one of the causes determining the fall of the West. In addition, Anatolia was the birthplace of some of the key theologians and leaders of the early Church, and, through the efforts of the Byzantine institutions and scholars, crucial for the transferral of classical knowledge and traditions to the West. And yet, because of Byzantium and its traditions, it remains perceived as the birthplace of a different, non–western, type of Christianity and civilization. Furthermore, the region was (and still is) associated with the early spread of Islam and 'oriental culture' in parts of the European continent.

The roots of this subtle, and yet persistent, 'otherness' of Anatolia can be traced to the perceptions and stereotypes created in classical antiquity and in later periods. Due to the overwhelming influence of the classical traditions, later periods have obsessively used and abused this and other classical *topoi.* Yet, any closer look into the classical sources immediately dispels this image of Anatolia, exposing the significant amplification of the 'otherness' from the western to the eastern edges of this peninsula. Thus, while the western coast of Anatolia remains in close relations with the Greek world, as well as its augmented Roman version, classical Greek and Roman perceptions of its easternmost areas varies from the almost unknown and odd or arcane to the simply barbarous.

The context of pure classical 'otherness' of the easternmost areas of the classical East promotes South–Eastern Anatolia into a revealing case–study for the importance and interplay of perceptions and identities in the classical past and in its modern study. This contribution aims to reveal important aspects of the identities and position of this region in the ancient world, through a reassessment of the pre–Roman and Roman history of three different, yet closely interrelated, entities of ancient geography: Cappadocia, Cilicia and Commagene.

These prominent eastern edges of the Greco–Roman world scream alterity through the perceptions of classical and non–classical authors, epigraphy, monuments, and even more through the approaches and attitudes of numerous modern researchers. The inhospitable environment of the Taurus mountain chain is introduced early through the narratives about the dangerous Cilician pirates, and it is increased by the image of the odd temple states in Olba in Cilicia and Comana in Cappadocia, as well as the mysterious cults in the high mountains of Commagene. Its un–classical nature is revealed in the 'Syrian otherness' or Assyrian identity of the elites of Cappadocia and Commagene, and the 'eastern appeal' of the famous Cilician teachers such as Apollonius of Tyana or Paul of Tarsus.

The un–western nature of this region was further entrenched by the numerous theories, assumptions, and misconceptions of the researchers of the 19th and early 20th century. Relying heavily on racial theories, these early studies emphasized the strong Semitic presence in Eastern regions of the otherwise 'Indo–European Anatolia', and the variations of the skin colour of people living beyond the Taurus mountains. In addition, a more subtle degradation and concealed rudiments of racism and Eurocentrism still linger in contemporary analyses through the argument that huge areas of South–Eastern Anatolia unreceptive to the basic principles of the 'Greco–Roman civilization'. They emphasize that around the Anti–Taurus mountain chain even during the Hellenistic period there are: coins with legends in non–classical languages, lack of epigraphic habit and bigger polis–type urban centres, as well as megalomaniac monuments that simply ignore the 'Winkelmann canon', making 'travesty' of Classical art through its 'Oriental' dynastic 'hybridity'.[4]

[4] Versluys 2017.

Yet, no one offers a more convincing picture of the 'conniving, greedy and immoral' Orientals of South–Eastern Anatolia, than the self–styled champion of traditional Greco–Roman morality, Cicero. This early prominent governor of the Roman far east, Cilicia, describes the political ambitions of leaders like Archelaus, a chief priest with 'quasi–royal powers', 'who had command over a large body of slaves' in the temple at 'the golden' Comana in Cappadocia. This 'exotic vista' of Cicero practically constitutes the 'oriental *mise en scène*' of the dominant Gibbonian tale of the decline and fall of the rational Roman world under the influence of the decadent 'connection between the throne and the altar', the manipulative priests and superstitious Orientals.[5] In addition, Cicero's cynical and arrogant comments on the king of Commagene, constitute the essence of modern western attitudes towards the Eastern elites.[6] As a western administrator, Cicero, laughs at king Antiochus' 'phony credentials, rituals, attire and symbols', exposing cynically his 'dependence on Roman recognition and good will'.[7]

It is exactly at this point of Ciceronian cynicism, reflecting so conspicuously all the misconceptions of the Greeks and Romans, that this study gains its arguments for re–exploration of South–Eastern Anatolia and the identities of its elites. This chapter experiments with the *longue-durée* perspective and the decentring of the 'West' in discourse on 'globalization' and imperialism, with the aim of contributing new perspectives regarding the identities, position, and role of this region. Refraining from the fruitless efforts of adding ethnic or cultural colours that augment the stereotyped grouping of these elites as 'odd Orientals' and 'primitive Natives', the chapter builds a new argument that they might be perceived instead as important agents of the 'globalization' process in antiquity.

It proposes the bold hypothesis that the elites of the tiny kingdoms of South–Eastern Anatolia played a central role in conserving, preserving, reimagining, and reinvigorating the ideals and concepts of the united *oikoumene* of the Hellenistic period, and their utilization in the transformation of Roman identities and the creation of a new 'Roman World'. Thus, I suggest that their prophetic ideals overpowered the geopolitical forces and transformed this region from a central area in the Hellenistic *oikoumene* into a central area of the new post–Hellenistic or neo–Hellenistic Rome that we frequently refer to as Byzantium.

The Pre–Roman Identity of South–Eastern Anatolia

Despite the Romans' early perceptions (or representations) of South–Eastern Anatolia as the pitiful edges of 'their world', the identity of its elites, and many aspects of the social, political, and religious life of this area were deeply rooted in its peculiar position and inheritance from the pre–Roman past. Thus, before the coming of the Romans, South–Eastern Anatolia represented an area with a central and privileged position in the wide *oikoumene* that exchanged and united the ideas, knowledge and materials of the Old World from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean.[8] Developed upon the millennial traditions of the Near East, this ancient globalizing world was gradually forged into a functional imperial system under the Neo–Assyrians, Persians, and Macedonians.[9]

[5] Kumaniecki 1960: 225–241.

[6] Yet these stereotypes are not particularly connected to the 'un–Roman' concept of royalty. Instead, in his speeches and letters Cicero produces a wider and rather coherent picture of the 'oriental' elites of Asia Minor, whose 'levity (*levitas*), fickleness (*inconstantia*), and cupidity (*cupiditas*)' are in direct contrast to the identities and values of classical Greece and Rome. This stigmatization is most visible in Cicero's warning to his brother Quintus 'not to socialize with the inhabitants of his provinces (in Anatolia)'. Cic., *Flacc.* 26.62–27.66; Cic., *Q.fr.* 1.1.15–1.1.27.

[7] Cic., *Q.fr.* 2.12.2–3. Facella 2006.

[8] Liebert 2011: 533–560.

[9] On the phenomena of ancient 'globalization', see Nederveen Pieterse 2015: 225–237; Versluys 2014: 2–14; Gills and Thompson 2006: 127–138; Wilkinson 1987: 31–59.

In the last three pre–Roman centuries, viz. the Hellenistic period, the Near Eastern imperial model went through specific adjustments that were critical for its impact over the ideology and history of Anatolia and the wider *oikoumene*. Although the Macedonians inherited the global model of rule from the Persians, the specific developments of the early stages of Macedonian imperialism brought minor, yet crucial changes.[10] Thus, the swift success of king Philip in making the Macedonian kingdom dominant in Europe and the subsequent, epic decade of the conquests of Alexander the Great were followed by an extended period of instability under the aegis of the new Macedonian global empire. Yet, after two decades of internal rivalry, coalition–building and quest for primacy among the Macedonian regents, aristocrats and generals, the situation was resolved in central Anatolia. There the most influential Macedonian general of the time, Antigonus, who had been by Alexander himself appointed to govern this region, lost an important battle with a coalition of the most powerful Macedonian generals and administrators of Asia, Europe, and Africa.[11]

The elimination of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus in 301 BC, officialised the *status quo* of the end of the 4th century, where different Macedonian generals who effectively ruled immense swathes of territory in Europe, Asia and Africa unilaterally proclaimed themselves as the rulers of the world, primary descendants of the Macedonian Argead dynasty and Alexander's global empire.[12]

These developments were crucial for the transformation of the Persian imperial system into a specific imperial model that I frequently refer to as 'multiversal rule'.[13] Thus, in the extended *oikoumene*, all the newly proclaimed Macedonian dynasts and their court elites, shared the belief that there was one Macedonian ruler of the universe, who was a divine descendant of Alexander, Philip, the Argead dynasty and their divine ancestors and gods (e.g. Herakles, Dionysos, and Helios).[14] Yet, the propaganda of all the Macedonian dynastic courts offered a slightly distorted perception of the universe, presenting their own dynast (e.g. Seleucus, Ptolemy or Antigonus) as the new Alexander and ruler of the universe and ignoring or altering at will the narratives of the competing dynastic centres.[15] Therefore, every dynast from each of the dynastic centres was continuously obliged to reaffirm his position as a new Alexander and ruler of the universe and obsessively preparing his 'Macedonian phalanxes' for military engagements with his dynastic relatives. Yet, from the outset the dynasts married women who were prominent in the Macedonian aristocracy, in order to create stronger alliances and increase dynastic primacy through a strong lineage from the Macedonian kings, and this behaviour continued throughout the Hellenistic period. Thus, even if one dynast lost the war with his related competitor, in most cases the result was marriage to an influential Macedonian princess from the winning dynastic centre.[16]

While the continuous interrelation of the different dynastic centres became the backbone of the new imperial model, other inherited practices from the Near Eastern (and especially Persian) imperial traditions continued throughout the Hellenistic period. Thus, like the Great Kings of Persia, every Macedonian dynast was also promoted as the universal benefactor of all temples, peoples, and cities in his realm, thereby creating a strong bond with the local and regional elites.[17] Yet, Macedonian dynasts, unlike the Persian kings, were proclaimed gods, and the sons and companions not just of the Macedonian

[10] Tevdovski 2020; Ma 2003: 178–179; Briant 1996.
[11] Billows 1997.
[12] Strootman 2014a: 307–322; Billows 1997: 316–324.
[13] Tevdovski 2020: 9–10; Tevdovski 2019: 114–126.
[14] Strootman 2014a: 307–322; Ma 2003: 186–91; Huttner 1997.
[15] Kosmin 2017: 85–94; Strootman 2014b: 38–61.
[16] Müller 2021: 84–90; Tevdovski 2020: 10.
[17] Collins 2000; Schironi 2018: 1–29.

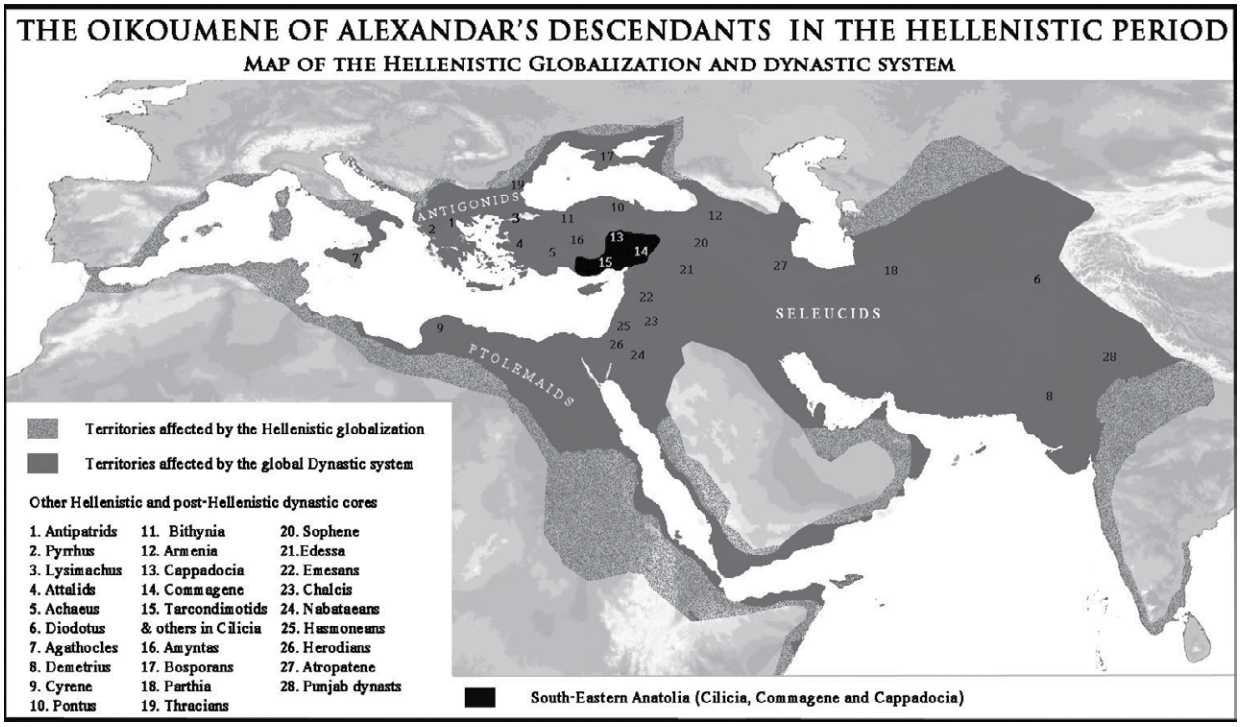

Figure 1: *The Oikoumene of Alexander's descendants in the Hellenistic Period (Author)*

gods, but also to all the gods of the *oikoumene*. What is more, although they had global pretentions, the Macedonian dynasts and their influential queens ruled concrete regions and entered into even closer relations with concrete religious elites. Thus, the ruler cult of the Hellenistic period was closely related to the process of religious syncretisation of the Macedonian ancestral gods (including Zeus, Herakles, Dionysos, and Apollo/Helios) with the different local and regional gods and religious traditions.[18] However, this globalizing process varied in its intensity, providing greater privileges, exposure and promotion to the local elites and religious and cultural traditions from the areas of strategic interest of the dynasts. Among them were certainly those from the contested territories, who were building relations with more than one of these competing rulers of the universe (**Figure 1**).[19]

South–Eastern Anatolia in the Hellenistic oikoumene

Anatolia and its elites achieved noteworthy prominence from the moment of their integration into the Persian imperial system and early on entered into close relations with the Macedonian royal elites. During the Hellenistic period their importance and status increased even more. A central region of the most influential Macedonian general Antigonus in the late 4th century BC, Anatolia became one of the most contested territories for the different Macedonian dynasts in the 3rd century BC. Situated within the triangle of the most powerful dynastic centres of the Hellenistic period (Pella, Seleucia on the Tigris and Alexandria), Anatolia became an important nexus for the political, economic, cultural, and religious 'globalization' of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.

This contested status provided various elites with an opportunity to develop close relations and procure privileges from different Macedonian dynasts.[20] This process culminated in the middle of the 3rd century

[18] Chaniotis 2011: 157–456; Chaniotis 2003: 431–443; Ma 2003.
[19] Kosmin 2017: 85–94; Strootman 2014c: 325–341.
[20] Cohen 1991: 41–50.

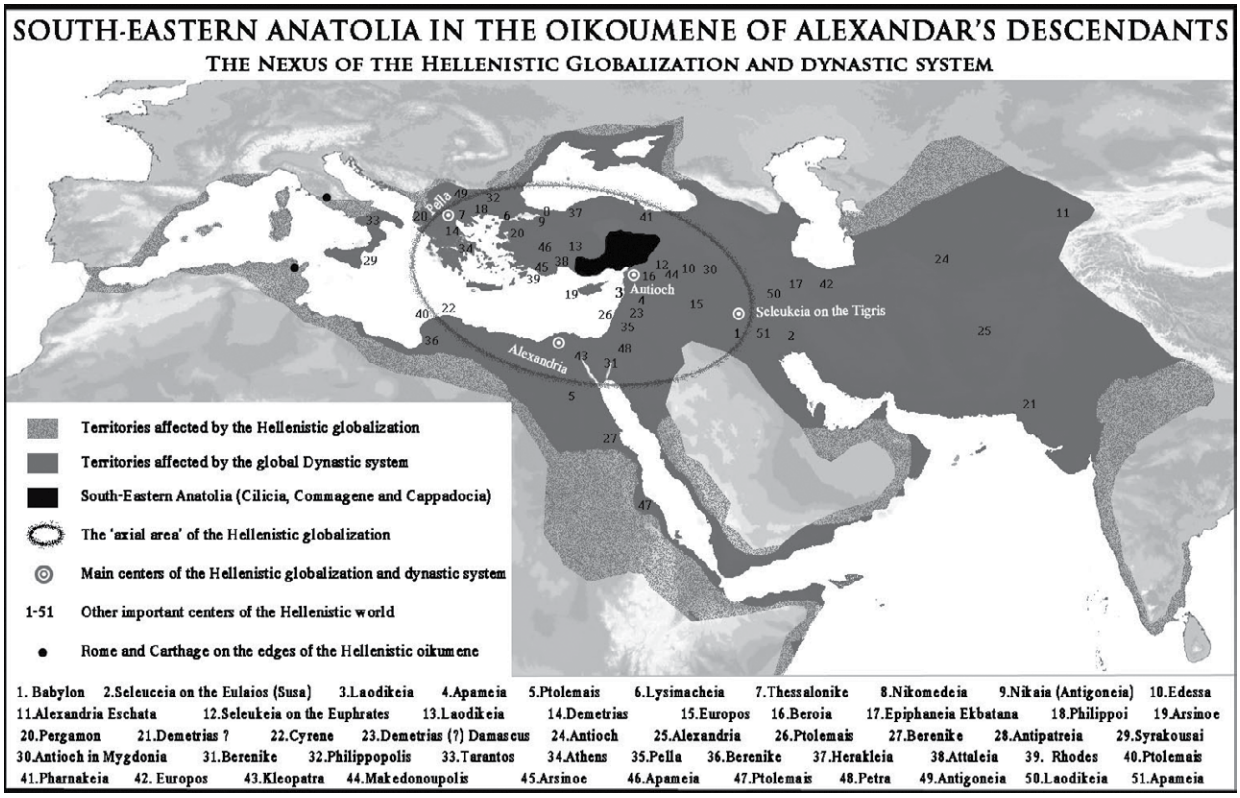

Figure 2: *South–Eastern Anatolia in the oikoumene of Alexander's descendants (Author)*

with the 'War of the Brothers', in which conflict two Seleucid princes competed for the throne of the biggest realm of the Macedonian dynasts in Asia. While the confrontation involved almost all Macedonian dynastic branches, including the Ptolemies, Antigonids and the local branches of Attalus and Achaeus, the real winners were the local elites.[21]

As a capable and irreplaceable military resource of the Seleucid princes in Anatolia, the local elites of eastern and northern Anatolia were for the first time integrated on a high level into the Macedonian dynastic model. Thus, the Macedonian princesses that married the leaders of local elites of Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia in the 3rd century created a precedent that turned into a key component of the new post–Hellenistic dynastic model and the central role of South–Eastern Anatolia in its implementation. Unlike the experiments on the edges of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, in the cases of Agathocles in Sicily and the princes of India, the integration of the local elites from the central region of Anatolia in the Macedonian dynastic network turned into a permanent feature of the system.[22]

These developments over the 3rd century transformed the region of South–Eastern Anatolia into a miniature, colourful mosaic, that reflected some of the most specific characteristics of the elites' identities and relations in the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. With its eastern and southern corners, Commagene and Cilicia, this region bordered the core areas of the Seleucid realm. Filled with important urban centres founded by Macedonian settlers and named after cities and regions in their homeland (e.g. Beroea, Chalcis, Cyrrhus, Larissa, Dura–Europos or Edessa), this 'Macedonian heartland' in northern Syria acquired even greater importance for the Seleucids after the secession of the eastern areas of their

[21] Tevdovski 2020.
[22] McAuley 2017: 189–212; Wenghofer and Houle 2016: 191–208.

realm.[23] The main road passing through this heartland connected the Mesopotamian metropolis of the Seleucids (Seleucia on the Tigris) with their Mediterranean metropolis Antioch and its harbour Seleucia Pieria. In this context, the roads passing through Cilicia, Commagene and Cappadocia represented important extensions of this line of communication, connecting Mesopotamia and regions as far away as Bactria and India with the West through the Mediterranean and with Europe through Anatolia.

Yet, each side of the Taurus (and Anti–Taurus) mountain chain contained its unique characteristics that were strongly connected to the global developments of the *oikoumene*. While the fertile lands of Commagene were open to the Seleucid heartland, Cilicia was one of the most contested territories between the two dynastic cores, for it was here that the huge Asian land potential of the Seleucids was contested by the Ptolemaic thalassocracy in the Mediterranean.[24] Finally, the Cappadocian plateau was the main continental avenue where the Seleucid dynasty was trying to extend and stabilize its central rule over the semi–dependent local dynasties and Macedonian elites in Anatolia that were manoeuvring between the ambitions of the Seleucids, Ptolemies and Antigonids. This important central artery of the Seleucid continental influence over Anatolia provided Cappadocian (and later Commagenian) elites with a lasting privileged position in the imperial policies of the Seleucids. Thus, combining Commagene, strongly related to the dynastic core land, Cilicia, constantly contested by the two dynasties of Seleucids and Ptolemies, and Cappadocia, as an early example of the localization of the imperial model and empowerment of the local elites, the region of South–Eastern Anatolia represents one of the most characteristic elements of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* and cultural and political *koine* (**Figure 2**).

The Roman impact

In stark contrast with South–Eastern Anatolia, at the start of the Hellenistic period, Rome was developing on or beyond the edges of the globalizing *oikoumene*. Being practically invisible from the perspective of the Macedonian dynasts and Hellenistic core areas provided Rome with the advantage of the unexpected and underestimated factor. In addition, its early development was related so closely to the cultural and political impulses of the less globalized edges of the Hellenistic world in southern Italy that many Hellenistic observers perceived it as a 'aspiring' Greek polis.[25]

Yet, their rapid military successes during the 2nd century BC dramatically transformed the Romans' self–perception as well as how they were viewed in the Hellenistic world. Although many elites and centres in the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, especially its eastern areas, still had no knowledge of the new western factor, the central areas in the eastern Mediterranean were strongly impressed by Roman successes against those who were considered then the rulers of the world. Thus, the new troublemakers from the West, early acquired the reputation for being 'capable and useful in crushing kings and central authority, while not creating kings ... (themselves) ... or not interested in the purple for themselves'.[26] This image of the newcomers appealed to many of the smaller players in the centres of the *oikoumene,* and they joined forces with the Romans against the powerful Macedonian dynasts or considered doing so.[27] However, during the 1st century BC, once it had become clear that the Romans aspired to much more than a partnership and protecting the smaller players, Roman expansion towards the East met with widespread opposition.

[23] Ball 2000: 156–157.

[24] Hölbl 2001: 60.

[25] I have written extensively about the early development of Rome from the Hellenistic perspective in other papers. See Tevdovski 2020. See also Nederveen Pieterse 2015: 225–237; Liebert 2011: 533–560.

[26] Rawson 1975: 150–151.

[27] Eckstein 2008.

At the same time that Roman military interventions started to intensively transform the centres of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, the cultural and political exposure to the sophisticated, complex and interrelated culture of the ancient globalized world inevitably started to work profound changes on the identity of Rome and its elites. Roman military leaders and many elements of the Italian population were increasingly impressed by the 'marvellous world of the eastern kings'.[28] Yet, important segments of Roman traditional elites discovered their identity in the new Roman tradition as the leaders of those who defied the kings and values that united the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.

This transformation of the identity of members of the Roman elite had its roots in the classical Greek worldview, which was predicated upon a binary antithesis between the Greeks within the city and the 'barbarians' outside its walls. This conception was strengthened through the initial xenophobic reactions to the 'globalization' process. These are visible in the works (and speeches) of early Latin authors, such as Cato the Elder, and were intensified through confrontations with the Hellenistic East.[29]

However, when the Romans conquered one of the Macedonian realms, the Antigonids, in the Balkans in the 2nd century BC, they had to reimagine themselves through the values of the world that had been globalized by the Macedonian dynasties. Under the noticeable ideological guidance of their new Greek subjects, who transmitted the traditions of the classical poleis, but had also lived under godlike kings for centuries, a new Roman identity emerged.[30] It was a globalizing tendency trying to strike a balance between the early elements of the xenophobic and antiglobalist identity of the civic elites on the one hand and the ideas of global *homonoia* dominant throughout the Hellenistic *oikoumene* on the other.[31]

Through this new 'Greco–Roman' discourse, Romans were not illegitimate intruders in the world of the kings. Rather, they were legitimate leaders of the new world of the free Greeks and Romans that was built upon the ideas and traditions of its smaller predecessor envisioned by classical Athens for the needs of its 5th century BC hegemony in the Aegean. Thus, the territories of the Hellenistic world that the Romans had recently acquired were transferred into their own morally superior world, while the wider areas of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* of the 'despotic kings' and their 'slavish' elites as well as their likeminded peers among the Romans were stereotyped as despicable barbaric otherness.

In the 1st century BC, just before Romans' coming to South–Eastern Anatolia, that otherness acquired its conspicuous face with the Roman archenemy from eastern Anatolia, Mithridates.[32] This, descendant of the 'rulers of the universe', from the early localized dynastic branches in Anatolia, challenged the credentials of the new emerging power, describing them as greedy pirates and a 'motley rabble of refugees' that challenge the order of the world and its legitimate rulers, because of the 'very low rank' of their ancestors.[33] While Mithridates' propaganda appealed to many elites in the emerging world of Roman Asia and called into question the legitimacy and internal strife created by the Romans, this

[28] On the process of progressive 'basilization' of the Roman generals' image, see: Fowler and Hekster 2005: 23; also, an extensive overview from Scipio Africanus to Germanicus in: Tevdovski 2020.

[29] Passet 2020; Isaac 2004; Astin 1978.

[30] On Polybius theories of the Roman 'almost entire' *oikoumene* see: Strootman 2019: 179–182.

[31] Strootman 2014b: 38–61; Tarn 1932: 136–138.

[32] Mayor 2010; Højte 2009; Kallet–Marx 1996. While numerous ancient (Greek and Roman) authors portray Mithridates in different shades of black, his most consistent attribute in the sources certainly is enemy of the Romans, see: Cic., *II Verr.* 2.51 or Cic., *Arch.* 21, as well as App., *Mith.*; Memn., 22.9; 26.2; Plu., *Sull.*; Plu., *Luc.*; Vell., 2.18.1.

[33] Pompeius Trogus (Pomp.Trog., *Ap. Iust.* 38.4.91-99) presents to us an illustrative version of Mithridates arguments, that: 'They (Romans) themselves had had kings who were such that even their names made them blush: shepherds from the Aborigines, soothsayers from the Sabines, exiles from Corinth, slaves from Etruria, captured or bred at home, or–the most distinguished name of them all–the Superbi. By their own account their founders were suckled at a she–wolf 's teats! That is why their

anarchic power of Rome also carried vitality and prevailed in the confrontations with the dynasts from the centres of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. Thus, almost two centuries after the eastern Anatolian military elites were integrated in the dynastic network of the Macedonian kings, the efficient Roman generals got their chance as well. This new relationship of the Romans with the dynasts culminated in the second half of the 1st century BC when the sons and daughter of the Roman generals Caesar and Mark Antony were enthroned together with their mother, the last Macedonian queen Cleopatra (VII), as the legitimate descendants of Alexander and co–rulers of the universe.[34]

Yet, the elite class in Rome, strengthened through the accumulation of great resources acquired from the conquered Hellenistic centres, and strongly embracing its identity as challenger of the power of kings, was not ready to give up its privileged position, not even to kings with Roman blood. Thus, supporting the young Octavian in the battle of Actium against the East and its 'wicked ways', the conservative elites of Rome managed to impede the integration of Rome with the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.[35] Instead, the new Roman leader Octavian (Augustus) had to make compromises with the old elites of the 'free city', while the remnants of the old defeated and humiliated world were left in ruins on the edges of the new Roman one. They were personified by petty kinglets, some of which with questionable legitimacy and deficient stability, used by Roman elites as examples of the military and ideological supremacy of their empire.

South–Eastern Anatolia in the post–Hellenistic *oikoumene*

Nothing better illustrates the discrepancy between the Roman perception of the elites of South–Eastern Anatolia and their own understanding of their identity and position in the world than the elaborate sepulchral monument of Antiochus Theos of Commagene. Immortalizing himself in a purely Hellenistic manner, through an ambitious architectural, political and religious project, Antiochus presented himself as a living god.[36] His colossal temple–tomb displays a row of relief *stelae* depicting his Macedonian ancestors, including Alexander the Great, the founder of the Seleucid dynastic family, Seleucus I Nicator, and eleven descending dynasts (amongst which Antiochus VIII Grypus, the father of the princess Laodice Thea), who represented the key component of the global and local legitimacy of Antiochus Theos of Commagene and his local dynastic branch.[37] An important addition to his Macedonian royal lineage, who is also presented in his dynastic 'ancestor gallery', is the mother of princess Laodice Thea: the Ptolemaic princess Cleopatra Tryphaina.[38]

The monument of Antiochus also utilizes the pattern developed by previous local dynasts of eastern Anatolia and some Anatolian satrapies that had used a standardized narrative to transform their humble

entire population had the temperament of wolves, with an insatiable thirst for blood and a ravenous hunger for power and riches'. See: Adler 2006: 400. I have recently provided a wider analysis on the impact of Mithridates and the conflict with Mithridates on the ideology and identity of Rome (Tevdovski 2020), and I also refer to my forthcoming article in (Versluys and Lilley) for further theoretical background on 'the rulers of the universe' and ancient globalization/glocalization; see also: Ñaco del Hoyo and Sanchez 2018; Lerouge–Cohen 2017: 223–233; Madsen 2009: 191–202. For a wider overview on Mithridatic worldview/propaganda see Rizzo 1980: 185–196; see also Price 1968: 1–12.

[34] Strootman 2010: 140–157.

[35] Hekster 2011: 113–114.

[36] 'The Great King Antiochos, the God, the Righteous One, the Manifest (Deity)'. Cf. Versluys 2017: 255; Schwentzel 2010: 119–136; Goell *et al.* 1996: 206–217.

[37] Versluys 2017: 63–64; Fleischer 2002: 59–60.

[38] Versluys emphasizes the universal presence of the commemorations through ancestor galleries among different Macedonian dynastic branches, placing it in the Hellenistic ideological context, where 'descent was one of the most crucial factors in the legitimacy'. See Versluys 2017: 130–133.

local origin into an argument in favour of their royal genealogy. Presenting these minor local elites as descendants of the Persian kings who ruled before Alexander, Antiochus Theos, like other local dynasts before him, thereby enhanced his credentials as a global ruler.[39] Like any other dynast of the Hellenistic period, with this monument Antiochus is not only honouring, but also actively communicating with his 'deified ancestors' and 'all the ancestral gods from Persia and Macedonia' (on the one hand Zeus, Herakles, and Helios, and on the other local deities, including Commagene represented as a goddess).[40] In addition, many of them are represented as 'syncretized' gods in a purely Hellenistic manner, while the new 'local goddess' Commagene resembles closely the iconography of its model, the goddess Tyche of Antioch, which had been commissioned by the early Seleucid dynasts as a personification of their Mediterranean metropolis.[41]

In contrast to the sceptical approach of Roman senatorial elites such as Cicero, the ancestry of this 'local ruler' was not part of a local despot's extravagant self–image, but rather the reflection of a 'belief system' shared in the centres of the Hellenistic world.[42] When Pompey eliminated the main lineage of the Seleucid dynasts, the Seleucid princess Laodice Thea (who was married to the ruler of the strategically important Commagene, Mithridates Kallinikos and became the mother of Antiochus Theos[43]) and her children became very credible heirs to the Seleucid throne. In addition, as the daughter of a Ptolemaic princess, Laodice Thea endowed her son Antiochus of Commagene with high status, linking him also to the Ptolemies.

The prestige of this pedigree of Antiochus Theos (of Commagene) was recognized early by the Parthians, who by his time had taken over the greater part of the Seleucid Empire, and yet they were eager not just for his cooperation, but also for legitimization of their global rule through his descent. Thus, in marrying the Parthian king Orodes (II), Antiochus' daughter Laodice became an official queen of the new 'Parthian empire', which by the 1st century BC had spread through most of the eastern areas of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. The importance of this marriage for the image of global prominence that the Commagenian dynasty wanted to display might be illustrated through her own burial monument in Commagene, where she shakes hands with her brother, the ruler of Commagene, and thus imitates the relationship of her grandmother, a Seleucid princess, with her brothers sitting on the Seleucid throne.[44]

At the same time, other major contenders for global dominance over the *oikoumene*, including Romans such as Mark Antony, had also anticipated the importance of this South–Eastern Anatolian bloodline.

[39] Lerouge–Cohen 2017: 223–233; Strootman and Versluys 2017.

[40] Versluys 2017: 260; Fleischer 2002: 59–60; Goell *et al.* 1996: 206–217.

[41] The syncretism of the important local/regional cult of Mithras, prominent in many of the names of the post–Hellenistic dynastic elites of this region with Helios and Apollo, the central symbol of the Seleucid dynasts and the Macedonian imperial iconography, represents another important example of 'glocalization' of narratives, that will resurface in the Roman period or at least be utilized in the construction and portraying of the 'Roman Mithras'. See Versluys 2017: 8–9; Strootman 2007: 247–248; Goell *et al.* 1996: 206–217.

[42] Versluys 2017: 19.

[43] In his great cult inscription Antiochus represents himself as the son of Laodice Thea Philadelphus. The emphasized epithet of 'brother–loving' in the Hellenistic context was connected to co–ruling siblings. Thus, it might suggest, in some Commagenian or even wider narrative, her importance (if not the equal status) in the long–running battle of her brothers for possession of the Seleucid realm that took place in the neighboring core lands of Northern Syria and Cilicia. See Goell *et al.* 1996: 206–217.

[44] The reconstruction of one of the four female members of the gallery of Macedonian ancestors on the Antiochus Theos monument as his daughter Laodice, princess of Commagene and queen of Parthia, together with Antiochus grandmother, the Ptolemaic princess, his mother, the Seleucid princess, and his wife, the princess of the early localized dynastic branch in Cappadocia, (if accurate) provides another interesting glimpse in the process of legitimization of the new local dynasties. See Versluys 2017: 63–64.

Thus, princess Iotape, the granddaughter of Antiochus Theos of Commagene born to another of his daughters, was the wife presented in Alexandria to Alexander Helios, the son of Mark Antony by Cleopatra. This recognition of the Commagenian dynastic branch is even more significant, as it is included in the visions of the *oikoumene* projected by the court of the last major living Macedonian dynast and Antiochus' cousin, Cleopatra VII. It was thanks to her bloodline that Iotape was deemed suitable to govern together with this 'new Alexander' vast eastern areas extending from Armenia and Parthia as far as the fringes of the *oikoumene* in India. It is further to be remarked that Alexander, who in the Donations of Alexandria was given the *oikoumene* to share with his siblings Ptolemy Caesarion, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Cleopatra Selene, unlike his brothers was not dressed in the traditional Macedonian dress, but in a 'Persian' one. While this ceremonial iconography resembles the romantic histories of the adoption of Persian customs at the court of Alexander the Great, it also closely reflects the globalizing narrative of a Persian and Macedonian legitimizing heritage that was developed and utilized by the new dynasts in eastern Anatolia and other rulers in western Asia.[45]

Thus, early on the credentials of this local dynastic lineage from South–Eastern Anatolia were unanimously viewed by all the major players of the centres of the ancient 'globalized' world as important for future projects for the great eastern parts of the *oikoumene* as far as India. However, Antiochus' ambitions, like those of any other dynast of the Hellenistic period were not focused exclusively on the East. Instead, his descendants were also awarded with the heritage and legitimacy provided by one of the oldest localized branches of the Hellenistic dynastic lines, viz. that of Cappadocia. Marrying princess Isias, one of the last direct descendants of this dynastic line, Antiochus enlarged his control on one of the royal traditions of South–Eastern Anatolia that would become an important heritage for the wider *oikoumene*.

However, Antiochus was not the only local dynast of South–Eastern Anatolia whose importance grew with the coming of the Romans. While the old local dynasty of Cappadocia (Ariarathes/Ariobarzanes) could claim strong connections and a bloodline legitimized by Seleucid princesses, the new dynasty, which profited greatly from the eastern policies and ambitions of the Roman general Mark Antony, had even wider pretensions for global rule. The new dynast in Cappadocia, Archelaus, bore a dynastic name that was not connected to the traditional Macedonian dynasties in the East, but rather to the earlier traditions of the Macedonian kingdom.[46] His first known ancestor was the prominent general Archelaus, who together with his brother was leading the efforts of Mithridates VI of Pontus to take over the territories of the Antigonid dynasty in the Balkans from the 'illegitimate rule' of the western newcomers, viz. the Romans. However, like many other Macedonian nobles, later on he grew closer to the Romans, facilitating the reconciliation between Sulla and Mithridates, and was given large estates and privileges. While this first Archelaus was probably married to one of Mithridates' daughters, his strong Macedonian dynastic lineage might be the real reason behind the marriage of his homonymous son to one of the last Ptolemaic princesses, Berenice IV.[47] Although Cappadocia was a smaller realm than the Ptolemaic one, his son and grandson, likewise named Archelaus, had equally big ambitions.

[45] The Seleucids did not promote their continuity with the Persians as credentials to global rule, and like all Macedonian dynasts (and probably more extensively than the Ptolemies) exposed the Macedonian identity of their rule. Yet, the propaganda of the Ptolemaic court, in the continuous confrontation with the Seleucids for global legitimacy over the Macedonian empire, implicitly connected the Seleucids with the Persians. This narrative was an official ideological effort to legitimize long–lasting confrontation with the Seleucids, alluding to the prominent narrative of the great Macedonian conquest of the East.

[46] Sullivan 1980: 1125–1168.

[47] While Berenice IV is less famous than her sister Cleopatra VII, she ruled the Ptolemaic realm independently and was involved in important dynastic intrigues, until their father Ptolemy XII reclaimed his throne with the assistance of A. Gabinius. See: Chaniotis 2018: 222–223; Bennett and Depauw 2007: 211–214; Hölbl 2001: 227–230; Sullivan 1980: 1151–1152.

Hostile Roman sources attribute the accession of Archelaus to the throne of Cappadocia to the efforts of his mother Glaphyra, who, like Cleopatra (VII), cultivated close personal relations with Mark Antony.[48] Be that as it may, Antiochus not only was a close ally of Antony, but also continued his policies and came much closer to realising the Hellenistic visions for unity and global rule than the Roman general (and maybe even closer than his grandfather).[49] Thus, when Antony and Cleopatra lost the battle of Actium to Octavian, Archelaus as well as Antiochus of Commagene and other local rulers changed allegiance and professed their loyalty to the new Roman leader and self–styled son of Caesar.[50]

However, unlike Antony and his ambitious attempt to include his (and thus Roman) bloodline in the line of the rulers of the universe, Octavian, relying on support from the Roman republican elites, had to tone down his ambitions and focus on stabilizing his authority in the city of Rome itself.

In this new global context, the eastern Anatolian rulers were left in a position to recreate the stability and legitimacy of rule in the centres of the Hellenistic world. Thus, while the ambitious vision of reuniting Alexander's empire (by Cleopatra VII and Antony) was stalled by the defeat at Actium, its programme was still prominent in the post–Hellenistic context. While Caesar's son, Ptolemy Cesarion was executed, and his brother Alexander Helios never managed to rule the East together with Iotape, the descendant of Antiochus Theos, their sister Cleopatra Thea did rule the West as a queen. Married to the king of Mauretania, her western realm included territories never ruled by the Ptolemies or any other dynast of the Hellenistic period.

In this context, Archelaus of Cappadocia, the former ally of Antony, and an experienced local dynast, managed to reconstruct the symbolic unity of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* even during the time of Augustus. While Augustus was trying to deceive the Roman elites and centralize his rule in the city of Rome, Archelaus in true Hellenistic tradition aimed at uniting the most prominent remnants of the dynastic networks in the Mediterranean.[51]

Thus, through his first marriage with an Armenian princess, Archelaus of Cappadocia strengthened his dynastic ties with the East, establishing links not only to the descendants of the famous Mithridates and Tigranes, but also to the powerful rulers of Parthia. Later, he married the powerful queen Pythodorida, who ruled independently in Pontus and many areas, around the Black Sea. Archelaus' new queen brought with her as inheritance not merely the vast domains extending to the north of Cappadocia as far as Tanais on the Azov Sea, but also an important addition in the dynastic bloodline. As Pythodorida Philometor was the granddaughter of the triumvir Mark Antony through his daughter Antonia, Archelaus was in effective realizing the vision of Caesar and Mark Antony of integrating Roman blood with the legitimate bloodline of the descendants of Alexander the Great and the rulers of the world. This tendency was further developed in Archelaus' policy to marry his daughter Glaphyra off to king Juba, who had previously been married to Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of the last Ptolemaic dynast Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony.[52]

An even more illustrative episode for this central role of South–Eastern Anatolia in the reconstruction of the dynastic network and legitimate rule is the marriage of Archelaus' daughter in Judaea. Judaea was

[48] Roller 2018: 51–53; Sullivan 1990: 182.
[49] For the Hellenistic concept of global rule, see: Tevdovski 2024; Tevdovski 2020.
[50] Jacobson 2001: 22–38.
[51] Sullivan 1990: 182–185.
[52] Sullivan 1990: 184–185.

another area that was contested for more than a century by the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasts, and its local elites and traditions were empowered by this global rivalry. Glaphyra of Cappadocia was first married to prince Alexander, who was the first–born son of the newly elected 'foreigner' king Herod and Mariamne.[53] Mariamne herself was a member of the previous local dynasty (the Hasmoneans), which had achieved prominence during the period of dissolution of the Seleucid realm. The role of this highborn Cappadocian princess in providing legitimacy to the new dynastic house in Judaea is well documented in the works of the prominent Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. He exposes her dominant role at the court of king Herod, highlighting the importance that the king and the princes attributed to her as well as the 'envy' of the other princesses on the court that were treated by her and others as commoners. Glaphyra, according to Josephus, was aware of her role and constantly (and pretentiously) emphasized her paternal direct descent from the kings of Macedonia and her maternal descent from the rulers of Persia.[54]

Josephus illustrates the importance and legitimizing nature for the cadet lines of the dynasty of Antiochus of Cappadocia on at least three occasions: the marriage of the first–born son Alexander with Glaphyra; the treatment of Glaphyra and her sons with great respect by Herod, even after his decision to execute his son Alexander; and the policies of Herod's successors. Thus, Herod Archelaus, after the death of his father and as the new ruler (ethnarch) of Judaea, decided to divorce his wife and seek his own global credentials through a marriage with the Cappadocian princess Glaphyra.[55]

The dynasty of Archelaus metamorphosed into a regional centre in the eastern Mediterranean that provided legitimacy for the emergent local dynasts and realms in the eastern Mediterranean. Archelaus in the manner of the Macedonian dynasts (re)built a town, naming it Archelais. He moved his court to the Mediterranean coast of Cilicia, in the city of Elaiussa, that he re–founded as Sebaste in the name of Augustus. Numerous princes and princesses of Cappadocian origins were sent to govern (independently or as spouses) kingdoms from Thrace to Judaea and from Mauretania to Armenia. During the rule of Augustus and the Julio–Claudians, the dynasts of South–Eastern Anatolia, played a central role in reconstructing a dynastic network around the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. Thus, a century after the fall of the last Macedonian dynasty with the death of Cleopatra VII, the dynasties of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Commagene were so connected with those of Emesa, Judaea, Thrace, Bosporus, Mauretania, Armenia, Media, and Parthia, that soon enough their descendants formed a sort of global class of dynastic descent.[56] This was not just a continuation of the Hellenistic model that connected the Ptolemies, Seleucids, Antigonids, Antipatrids, and the other Macedonian dynastic houses in one extended dynasty, but also a system that amplified the model and extended its outreach among diverse local elites around the ancient *oikoumene*.

All these dynasties carried more or less the same ideology. Their members were or believed to be descendants of Alexander the Great and the Macedonian dynasts, and as such they were legitimate, godlike rulers of their realm who aspired to rule over other realms and the *oikoumene*.

[53] Syme 1995: 150–151.

[54] Olbrycht 2021: 181. Thus, Josephus explains: 'Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented this hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy [from great persons], and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as being derived by her father's side from Temenus, and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family' (J., *BJ* 1.24.2).

[55] J., *AJ* 16.7.4; 17.13.1–4; J., *BJ* 1.28.1.

[56] Sullivan 1978d: 909–941.

In addition, the new post–Hellenistic developments dramatically extended the global system of rule developed by the Macedonian dynasts, making it even more flexible and enduring. Thus, 'while the decentralized model of the Hellenistic global system was united by the reference to the Macedonian identity and royal descent of the dynasts in all the dynastic centres, in the post–Hellenistic realities it was increasingly acceptable to trace the Macedonian roots to Alexander through lineage from dynasts of the Hellenistic period, while the other lines of descent could be related to lesser 'ethnically diverse' kings.'[57] This development introduced a process of 'globalization' of diverse local cultural and religious traditions that were supported and promoted globally by these numerous post–Hellenistic descendants of the rulers of the universe.

In addition to the central role of this aristocratic network in the Near East and the Mediterranean, it had a tremendous impact on the development of the new imperial centre of Rome. Although Augustus' reign preserved, at least nominally, some of the traditional institutions, even then Rome was being progressively transformed into an imperial centre, modelled upon the traditions of the Hellenistic metropoleis and through the knowledge and worldviews of the elites coming from these core areas of the Hellenistic world. Thus, while Mark Antony started one of his most ambitious imperial projects in the Cilician metropolis of Tarsus when he met there the last Macedonian dynast Cleopatra, his opponent Octavian was trained to govern himself and others by a prominent Stoic philosopher from the vicinity of this great Hellenistic intellectual centre.[58]

Yet, a much more important glimpse into the strong influence of the post–Hellenistic dynastic elites may be obtained in historical sources introducing the royal entourage and the circle of friends of Antonia Minor, the youngest daughter of Mark Antony.[59] Related to the new emperor Augustus through his sister Octavia Minor, Antonia became an important element of the newly–established Augustan court in Rome. At the same time, she represented a strong connection between this new dynastic centre and the pre–existing dynastic network in the Mediterranean, amended by her father, that soon included two of her half–sisters: Antonia Prima in Anatolia and Cleopatra Selene in Mauretania. In addition, the estates and relations she inherited in the East closely linked her to important representatives of the traditional Hellenistic elites, who were in close relations with the post–Hellenistic dynasts.

Prominent examples of these elites were Alexander the Alabarch and the famous adviser and astrologer Thrasyllus. They both came from a prominent probably aristocratic background that was connected to Alexandria and Ptolemaic Egypt, concluded marriages with the new emerging dynastic families and played a key role in the policies and development of the first Roman dynasty.[60] Thus, Thrasyllus married princess Aka II, the granddaughter of Antiochus Theos of Commagene by his daughter Iotape, who had once been engaged with the prince Alexander Helios, the son of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.[61] Through his advice and policies, this famous astrologer and influential advisor of the emperor Tiberius was directly involved in the Roman throne's passing to Caligula, the grandson of Antonia Minor and grand grandson of Mark Antony. The granddaughter of Thrasyllus and the Commagenian princess Aka II, Ennia Thrasylla was in intimate relations with Caligula, and her influential husband (the praetorian prefect Macro) was, according to Tacitus, responsible for ordering the execution of Caligula's predecessor Tiberius.[62]

[57] Tevdovski 2020: 11.
[58] While Athenodorus of Tarsus is the most prominent teacher of Augustus, Xenarchus the Peripatetic was another philosopher of Cilician origin on his emerging court. See: Parker 1946: 33.
[59] See: Segenni 1994: 297–331; Kokkinos 1992.
[60] Oliver 1980: 130–148; Sullivan 1978d: 932.
[61] Potter 1994: 158–160.
[62] Barrett 1989: 34–44.

The new emperor of Rome, Caligula, 'tutored to rule Rome' by his childhood friends Antiochus IV of Commagene and his ally Herod Agrippa I of Judea, gave new privileges to his dynastic allies and strengthened their influence in the eastern Mediterranean.[63] Thus, he gave great amount of tax money to the Commagenian king, as well as a portion of the territory of Cilicia, thereby transforming this dynastic centre into an influential actor in eastern Mediterranean relations. He also gave the husband of Antiochus' royal relative Ennia Thrasylla the important position of governor of Egypt, and their ally Herod Agrippa I parts of the territories of his grandfather Herod the Great.[64]

The next Roman emperor, Caligula's uncle Claudius, the son of Antonia Minor and grandson of Mark Antony, also owed his throne to the same advisers and lobbyists of the dynastic network. In addition to the close relations and privileges given to his royal friends and relatives, he was aided by Balbillus, the son of Thrasyllus and the Commagenian princess Aka II, who came from Alexandria in Claudius' support when he became emperor.[65]

Balbillus the Wise, as he is also known, accompanied Claudius on his expedition to Britain as commander of the military engineers, was given highest honours and became one of the longest standing advisers and court astrologers of different emperors of the line of Antonia Minor and even further. In addition, this prominent descendant of the Commagenian dynastic branch was appointed by Claudius and Nero as High Priest at the Temple of Hermes and Director of the Library in Alexandria, *procurator* of the Asia province in western Anatolia, as well as prefect of Egypt. Thus, he became one of the early cases of the numerous royal descendants of the rulers of the universe who ruled the core territories of the Hellenistic world not as kings, but as high officials of the Roman emperors.[66]

From centre of the *oikoumene* to 'centre' of the Empire

The traditional elites of Rome viewed with great diffidence the efforts of the Julio–Claudians, and especially the descendants of Antony, to rule from Rome according to the international standards established by the dynasts of the Hellenistic period and followed by their descendants in South–Eastern Anatolia and the wider areas of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. However, the strong coalition between Roman military leaders and eastern dynasts radically transformed the city and gained the support of many elements of the population of Rome and Italy as well, who supported and utilized the societal changes brought about by what I suggest to call 'globalisation waves' from the centres of the Hellenistic world.[67]

Thus, after the death of Nero, the last Julio–Claudian and the least popular in conservative Roman circles, some of the 'anti–monarchists' of Rome dared to believe in the return of republican *libertas*. Their hopes were in vain. The dynastic network of the eastern Mediterranean, which has grown strong in the period of the Julio–Claudians, was more than prepared for the challenge. In AD 69, while Rome was struggling to re–envision its new 'free world', the post–Hellenistic elites in the East selected the new ruler of the *oikoumene* in Alexandria and strongly supported his subsequent establishment in Rome. Through this

[63] See: Adams 2007: 202–203. Also, see Dio (D.C., 59.24.1) and his presentations of the attitudes of certain Roman city elites that 'were aware that the kings Agrippa and Antiochus were keeping company with him (Caligula) like a couple of tyrant teachers'. For a wider analysis on the influence of the *tyrannodidaskaloi* Antiochus IV and Herod Agrippa I and the other 'easterners', over Rome and its emperors, see: Andrade 2012: 441–475.

[64] Borgia 2013: 89

[65] MacMullen 1966: 140.

[66] Baslez 1994: 767–773; Sullivan 1978d: 932.

[67] Tevdovski 2024; Tevdovski 2020.

new Roman general, Vespasian, who, unlike Caesar and Mark Antony, was perceived to have insignificant descent not only in the Hellenistic centres, but also in Rome, the post–Hellenistic dynastic network was integrated into the highest positions in all areas of Roman governance and transformed the newly established Roman world to its core.

Among the key allies of Vespasian were the dynastic elites of southeastern Anatolia. The most powerful and wealthy of the dynasts to join forces with Vespasian was Antiochus IV of Commagene.[68] He was not only influential in Rome, but through his alliance with emperors such as Caligula and Claudius and local dynasts like Herod Agrippa of Judaea his influence had grown extensively in the eastern Mediterranean.[69] In addition to his kingdom of Commagene he was given by Caligula parts of the realm of his royal relatives of Cappadocia, thus establishing his presence in the important coastal areas of Cilicia.[70] His daughter Iotape was also given a smaller realm in Cilicia, where she ruled in the costal capital once built by Archelaus of Cappadocia (Elaiussa–Sebaste) together with king Alexander, Archelaus' grandson, from his daughter Glaphyra and her husband Alexander of Judaea.[71] In order to advertise his enlarged realm and strengthened legitimacy Antiochus IV gave the name of Antiochus Archelaus Epiphanes to his first–born son by Iotape. This ambitious Commagenian prince who bore the pretentious name of two Anatolian dynasties and the epithet of the Seleucid dynasts was, thanks to his army of 'Macedonians',[72] among the allies to help the future emperor Titus complete the important mission in Judaea.

Antiochus IV of Commagene shared his strong influence in the eastern Mediterranean with his close friend and ally Herod Agrippa of Judaea. Agrippa married his daughter Drusilla to Antiochus Archelaus, while her sister Berenice, after her first marriage with the wealthy Alexandrian Marcus Iulius Alexander, was married to the king of Pontus and Cilicia, Polemon (II).[73] Polemon (II) was another prince who, through the lineage of his mother queen Pythodorida, was a direct descendant of Mark Antony and thus a cousin of Roman emperors Caligula, Claudius, and Nero as well as the Roman empresses Valeria Messalina, Agrippina the Younger, and Claudia Octavia.

But, when, in the last year of his rule, Nero sent the general Vespasian and his son Titus to stabilize the situation in Judaea, Berenice's ambitions grew. She used all her 'wealth and influence' to support Vespasian on his campaign to become emperor and created a strong connection with Titus.[74] In July AD 69, the prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Iulius Alexander, the brother of Berenice's late husband Marcus Iulius Alexander, and son of Alexander the Alabarch, proclaimed Vespasian emperor in Alexandria.[75]

Therefore, it was simply logical that the coalition of a Roman general and the East would bring another 'Cleopatra' to Rome, as was the case of Caesar a century before. This Herodian princess and Cilician

[68] J., *BJ* 5.11.3.

[69] Osgood 2011: 120; 289.

[70] Borgia 2013: 89.

[71] Borgia 2013: 90.

[72] Josephus informs us that, like many Macedonian dynasts, the prince appeared in front of Jerusalem 'bringing with him, besides numerous other forces, a bodyguard (the king's companions) calling themselves Macedonians, all of the same age, tall, just out of adolescence, and armed and trained in the Macedonian fashion' (J., *BJ* 5.11.3). This is a typical continuity with the institutions of the Hellenistic period, when, 'attested for the courts of all Macedonian kingdoms, are the royal pages (*basilikoi paides*) – an age–group consisting of youths between the ages of about 14 and 18 and functioning as 'a training school for the commanders and officials of the Macedonians' (Curt., 8.6.6; cf. Strootman 2013: 45–46). Yet, in the post–Hellenistic context, Josephus makes a clear distinction between the heroic image of the prince and his companions, that were trying to embody the image of 'the genuine Macedonians', although 'most of them (were) lacking any claim to belong to that race' (J., *BJ* 5.11.3).

[73] Murison 2016: 83; Osgood 2011: 120.

[74] On Tacitus' joke of the seduction of Berenice's beauty vs. 'her money', see: Andrade 2012: 450; cf. also: Murison 2016: 83.

[75] Murison 2016: 80; Sullivan 1978d: 933.

queen, with a convenient Macedonian dynastic name, Berenice, with her influence and dynastic style greatly annoyed the anti–monarchist Roman elites, represented only the tip of the iceberg. The waves of intensive 'globalization' coming from the East were to transform Rome to its core during the period of rule by the Flavians.

During the Flavian dynasty the most influential post–Hellenistic kingdoms in the eastern Mediterranean ceased to exist, but their dynastic elites continued to influence the Roman global politics. The case of the Commagenian dynasty represents one of the most vivid illustrations for this ambivalent process. Thus, Antiochus Archelaus and his father were among the most influent dynasts that assisted with Titus' operation in Judaea and Vespasian's enthronement. Moreover, Antiochus Archelaus' royal father–in–law Balbillus the Wise (whom we have already met) not only was a former prefect of Egypt, but also went back to Rome as an important advisor of the new emperor Vespasian. However, the mounting global influence of these dynasts provoked fears among their regional competitors as well as the concern of some of their Roman allies as to the possibility of a dangerous coalition between these powerful dynasts and their Parthian relatives. While there is no direct evidence of such plans, Antiochus Archelaus and his brother Callinicus soon decided to oppose the Roman force and their relatives (the allied kings of Chalcis and Emesa) who were sent to Commagene to take over their realm and subsequently fled to the King of Parthia.[76] Yet, this did not put an end to the Commagenian rulers' cordial relations with Vespasian. He not only allowed their father (Archelaus IV) to come to Rome, but also welcomed back from Parthia Antiochus Archelaus and his brother with honour, according them extensive resources and privileges.

For example, Antiochus Archelaus' son Caius Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos was elevated to some of the highest positions in Rome. He and his cousins (the sons of Antiochus Archelaus' sister, queen Iotape) became members of the Roman Senate and served as suffect consuls as well as Roman administrators of important areas of the former Hellenistic *oikoumene*.[77]

In addition, Antiochus Archelaus' father–in–law and dynastic relative, Balbillus the Wise himself also enjoyed close relations with Vespasian, who, in the last period of his reign, even instituted games in his honour. Thus, as in previous centuries when cities in the Aegean organized games or built monuments to celebrate the privileges given by Seleucid, Antigonid or Ptolemaid dynasts, and Antiochus Theos of Commagene and other Anatolian dynasts later, the new Roman dynasty gave privileges to Ephesus so as to glorify the descendant of all these kings, Balbillus the Wise, and instituted the new festival of the Balbillean Games.[78]

The royal family of Commagene was now part of the extended imperial court of Rome, and their descendants would occupy some of the most important posts in the city and elsewhere in the empire. Legitimized by their lineage, the dynastic network of South–Eastern Anatolia metamorphosed into a key element of the development of the Roman imperial system as of the reign of Vespasian. If the dynasts in the time of Julio–Claudians were related to the new dynastic family in the capital city and crucial for its relations with the East, during the rule of the new Flavian dynasty their influence and culture was actively transforming all areas of the life of the city and the Roman empire.

[76] Facella 2010: 197; Levick 1999: 165–166; Bowersock 1973: 135. For the assistance provided by Aristobulus of Chalcis and Sohaemus of Emesa, see also: Levick 1999: 165; Sullivan 1978a: 320; Sullivan 1978b: 792–793; Sullivan 1978c: 218.

[77] For Iulius Alexander Berenicianus and Iulius Agrippa, see below.

[78] On Balbillus' ancestor, Antiochus I as benefactor of the people of Ephesus and the temple of Artemis, see: Fraser 1978: 359–360.

This process culminated around the end of the first century when a new representative of the military took power in Rome. If Vespasian was an outsider lacking a Roman pedigree, the new military leader Trajan was not even from Italy. Elevated to the imperial throne by the military in reaction to an emperor of Italian noble descent who had been installed by the Senate, Trajan relied on and strongly promoted the non–Italian elites, especially those coming from the centres of the Hellenistic world.

During his long and influential rule, he created a 'Roman world' that extended far in the East and included not only the centres of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* in Mesopotamia, but also one of the most prominent dynastic poles of the post–Hellenistic world, viz. the Parthian metropolis of Ctesiphon. Thus, at the beginning of the 2nd century, South–Eastern Anatolia was transformed from a center of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* that was subject to challenge by the Romans and the Parthians into a strategic region of what can be considered, on my opinion, the new Post–Hellenistic empire of Trajan.

In a single century, the kings of the eastern Mediterranean went from the petty remnants of the great kings whom Rome opposed and defeated to forming part of the core element of the new ruling class of the Roman empire. Even the Senate, that as the core of the traditional Roman elites, confronted strongly the 'eastern kings' and their Roman imitators, was transformed including also the post–Hellenistic dynastic elites in the time of Trajan. The conversion of the Senate into an 'Eastern club', as Hammond calls it, was a process initiated by Caesar, and represented the high accomplishments of the lasting coalition of the 'royal faction' in Rome, supported strongly by the military, with the dynasts of the Hellenistic and Post–Hellenistic world in the Mediterranean and the Near East.[79] In the time of Trajan this coalition had an increasing importance in Rome's government, which led to the thorough integration of Rome in the Hellenistic/post–Hellenistic *oikoumene* during the reign of the Severan dynasty.[80]

Thus, some of the descendants of South–Eastern Anatolian dynastic elites, and their extended dynastic network, at the end of the first and during the 2nd century were not bound anymore by the borders of their narrow realms (that were no more existent). More than a century after the last Macedonian dynast (Cleopatra VII) was eliminated as a contender for global rule, the rulers of the new post–Hellenistic dynastic cores, could already be acclaimed in Hellenistic fashion as 'descendants of so many kings'.[81] While they governed their ancestral lands and other realms as Roman administrators, they were also members of the Roman imperial court and Senate and therefore figured among the most prominent political, economic, cultural, and religious leaders of the Roman world.

For example, the sons of king Alexander and queen Iotape both entered the Senate in Rome in AD 94.[82] In addition, the younger prince Iulius Alexander Berenicianus was also elected as suffect consul and governed in western Anatolia as proconsul of the province of Asia, and his older brother Iulius Agrippa was suffect consul, member of the Praetorian Guard in Rome and quaestor in the same province of Asia.[83]

Their sister Iulia Iotape married another senator of similar dynastic descent. Her husband Iulius Quadratus Bassus was descended from the Galatian dynast Amyntas, who was himself a descendant of

[79] Syme 1988a: 23, 195.

[80] In the words of Syme, 'Trajan's favour went conspicuously to a dynastic group: the descendants of kings and tetrarchs' that took over many of the highest political, administratvie and military posts in the empire. See: Syme 1988a: 315. Cf. also: Tevdovski 2024; Hammond 1938.

[81] This ultimate attribute of legitimation of the 'global rulers' in the Hellenistic period is well summed up by Plutarch (Plu., *Ant.* 85.3) through the words of Charmion, the servant of the dead queen Cleopatra (VII), when approached by the Roman newcomers and their morals. See: Pelling 1988: 321.

[82] On the Roman consulship of 'king Alexander', see: Sullivan 1978d: 937.

[83] Bowie 2014: 76; Syme 1988a: 326–340.

the Attalids and the local elites of Galatia. While Amyntas' dynastic elevation was connected to the early eastern policies of Mark Antony, which helped his ambitions towards Cappadocia and Cilicia, his descendant Quadratus Bassus' ambitions and accomplishments, which were related to the policies of Trajan, were much more global. During his long career, he was consul, a member of the college of pontiffs, and governor of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Judaea (the lands of his ancestral kingdoms and those of his wife).[84] His prominence in the empire also led towards his appointment as governor of Syria, the central province of the Roman East, established over the core areas of the once Seleucid realm. Finally, as prominent general of the emperor Trajan, soon after its conquest, the governor of the new province of Dacia.[85] Thus, Quadratus Bassus came to rule territories never before ruled by his ancestors among the dynasts of the Hellenistic and post–Hellenistic *oikoumene*.

Numerous relatives of this extended dynastic network filled important Roman institutional positions and served as governors of Roman provinces in Anatolia as well as other areas of the former Hellenistic *oikoumene* such as Cyrenaica, Crete, Thrace, or Achaea.[86] Yet, their constantly growing position and newly acquired privileges in the Roman imperial system, did not replace their main credentials as descendants of the rulers of the universe. Instead, the dynastic identity of these new Roman elites was slowly turning into a standard precondition upon which they built their position in the evolving Roman imperial system. A real glimpse into the early stages of this assimilation is provided by a descendant of the Commagenian and Emesan dynasties by the name of Sohaemus. Although like many of his relatives he was a senator and had already served as consul in AD 144, as the descendant of kings he was assigned the realm of Armenia and ruled 'in succession to his ancestors' this strategically important kingdom for over two decades.[87]

Yet, the most striking example of the identity of these dynastic elites and their integration with Rome in the post–Hellenistic global system comes from the main line of the Commagenian dynastic branch. Thus, the first–born son of the famous king Antiochus Archelaus, Caius Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos, who served as Roman magistrate, suffect consul and senator, died in Athens while he was serving as the archon of the city. It is striking that Athens was ruled by a proud descendant of these Roman 'enemies'.[88]

Yet, once we are over the shock of the relatively rapid pace of the ideological changes, it might even seem appropriate and logical that the massive funerary monument of this ruler standing higher than the Acropolis, is built on the hill that was fortified and used by his Macedonian predecessors to rule the city in the Hellenistic period.[89] Even more important than its central location is the iconography of Philopappos' grandiose monument, which recalls, even if in smaller dimensions, the representation patterns developed on the funerary monument of his illustrious great–grandfather and the founder of

[84] Rémy 1989: 202–204.

[85] Syme 1988a: 14.

[86] Caius Iulius Severus, for example, another Roman senator and suffect consul of the 2nd century AD, proud of his ancestors, king Amyntas and the Macedonian dynasts of the Hellenistic period, served as governor in Germania Inferior. Syme 1988a: 342.

[87] D.C., 71.2.3. See: Birley 1999: 71; Chaumont 1976: 150–151.

[88] Smith 1998: 71; Baslez: 1992: 89–101; Sullivan 1978b: 792–795.

[89] The Mouseion hill was fortified by the Macedonian king Demetrius the Besieger, who came to Athens from South–Eastern Anatolia, just as Philopappos, and used the city as a landing ground in Europe, in his attempt to wrest the Balkans and Macedonia from the Antipatrids. Like previous Macedonian dynasts, he approached the Hellenes with the promise of 'freedom'. However, he later placed his Macedonian guards on the Mouseion hill and ruled Athens in Hellenistic manner as a god, frequently visiting the neighboring, lower hill of the Acropolis until he took over the throne of Macedon as the first member of the Antigonid dynasty.

the Commagenian dynastic branch, Antiochus (I) Theos. In a striking similarity with the conception developed on the Theos *hierothesion* (sacred tomb) in Nemrut Dağ, the Philopappos monument legitimizes him as a king (*basileos*).[90] Through a composition of a small gallery, 'the king Philopappos' statue is flanked with those of his dynastic ancestors: the Macedonian dynast Seleucus I Nikator, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, and his grandfather Antiochus IV, the last reigning dynast of Commagene. In addition, in the manner of all Hellenistic dynasts, both the style and iconography of the monument are sensitive to its local audiences and context.[91] Thus, in the same manner as that of Antiochus Theos, which integrates the Persian myth and the local traditions of Commagene, the hill–top monument overlooking Athens also adds to Philopappos' dynastic narrative his accomplishments and status in relation to the new Roman context and local traditions.[92] Yet, the Philopappos monument makes one important adjustment to the centuries–long tradition of legitimization of his ancestors. Unlike Theos' monument in Commagene, this dynastic monument avoids the ultimate legitimization symbol for global rule, Alexander the Great. While the name of this descendant of dynasts includes the attribute Philopappos, which in the Hellenistic context alludes to his activity as co–ruler, his Latin identity emphasizes his close relationship with the emperor Trajan, that I believe could be considered as the new 'Roman Alexander'.[93]

This elusive aspect of the *cognomen* of the dynastic descendant from the early 2nd century AD enables us to comprehend the level of integration of Rome into the post–Hellenistic *oikoumene*. Throughout the 2nd century the new global Roman elites who based their identity on and represented themselves as descendants of the rulers of the universe were still in a position to restrain their aristocratic pretentiousness and march under the flag of the ambitious western 'Alexanders' with a different background.

However, the second half of the same century provides important signs of the inevitable change. The clearest example of this transformation is the life of Avidius Cassius.[94] This great man of Rome in the middle of the 2nd century was Philopappos' grandnephew, by his first cousin Iulius Alexander Berenicianus. However, Avidius' mother Iulia Cassia Alexandra did not inherit from her father the senator Berenicianus merely the prominent dynastic bloodline of the Cappadocian and, Commagenian dynasties. Through the senator's marriage with Cassia Lepida, who came from a prominent Roman family, Alexandra was also a direct descendant of the emperor Augustus. On the other hand, Avidius' father Avidius Heliodorus, like the father of Balbillus the Wise, was a prominent scholar, 'philosopher' and administrator from the Macedonian colony of Cyrrhus, which was situated in the core lands of the former Seleucid realm in northern Syria, and now in a central position of the Roman province of Syria; he was later appointed prefect of Egypt.[95]

This post–Hellenistic and Roman 'Alexander in the making', like many of his dynastic cousins in the 2nd century AD, was also a Roman senator and governor, but, more importantly, with his armies he invaded Media, took Mesopotamia with its Hellenistic and post–Hellenistic centres such as Seleucia–on–the–

[90] As he was called by his friends: Plu., *Moralia* 628a.

[91] Kleiner 1983: 15.

[92] Smith summarizes that Philopappos is presented as a 'Macedonian king (righthand inscription), as an Athenian citizen, demesman, and archon (central himation statue with label), and as a Roman consul, praetorian, and personal acquaintance of the emperor'. Yet, he is presented on the monument with the titulary king, as the title of archon of Athens, known from other textual and epigraphic evidence, might not be appropriate in the context of his kingly monument: Versluys 2008: 342–356; Smith 1998: 70–73.

[93] Versluys 2008: 342–356; Smith 1998: 70–73.

[94] Jarvis 2015: 666–676; Aste 2011; Hekster 2002: 34–37; Ball 2000: 17; Millar 1993: 117; Syme 1988b: 689–701.

[95] Syme 1988b: 696–697.

Tigris and Ctesiphon, and there were even 'rumors' in Rome that he had crossed the Indus River. In close resemblance with Anthony and Germanicus, Cassius governed the Roman territories in Syria, went to Egypt with a successful mission, and was officially given the Hellenistic East to govern, as *rector Orientis*, by the emperor himself. It might have been only a misunderstanding, involving the empress in Rome as well, that he proclaimed himself ruler of the entire *oikoumene*. Although strongly supported in the centres of the former Seleucid and Ptolemaid realms, the bid for the throne was unsuccessful – this time.[96]

The triumph of the descendants of Alexander in Rome

The episode of Avidius Cassius and his short–lived 'rule of the universe' is often perceived as another showcase for the rapacity and megalomania of the 'Oriental elites'. However, it instead provides an important sign of the ideological change of the 2nd century AD and the high status and level of influence of the post–Hellenistic dynastic elites of the eastern Mediterranean over the 'Roman world' in this period. Let us not forget that Cassius proclaimed himself Emperor at the suggestion of the Roman empress Faustina the Younger, and that the emperor Aurelius even after Cassius' proclamation as emperor showed respect for his 'dear friend' and a willingness to reconcile their differences. That the Cassius affair was not an incident, but the spirit of the era, we are also reminded through the prominent life of another dynastic descendant from Syria and Anatolia of the same period. Thus, in AD 170 when Cassius, as *rector Orientis*, was given *imperium* over the entirety of the eastern section of the Roman empire by Marcus Aurelius, his 'dynastic relative' from Antioch and fellow commander from the wars against the Parthians married the empress of Rome, Lucilla, daughter of emperor Marcus Aurelius and empress Faustina the Younger.[97] Lucilla was not only the daughter of an emperor when she married the influential Roman senator, consul and general from Antioch, Cnaeus Claudius Severus, but also an Augusta of Rome, as the widow of the late emperor Lucius Verus. Unlike Cassius and perhaps influenced by the example of his fate, Cnaeus Claudius Severus, who lived in Rome as an influential senator, three times refused the offer of the imperial throne.[98]

Finally, a bit more than a decade after the Cassius affair, and in the last years of the long life of his dynastic cousin and potential emperor Claudius Severus, another general with the same *cognomen* Severus made a real difference for the Roman world. Septimius Severus was not descended from the Hellenistic and post–Hellenistic dynasts, and his origin was not even connected to the central areas of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* in the eastern Mediterranean. Thus, the 'Orient' did not initially support him, but rather Pescennius Niger a man that, on the contrary, had important individual ties to the East.[99] Severus was a military commander from the West, supported and enthroned by the military faction, like Antony, Vespasian, and Trajan.[100] But, like Antony and Titus, Septimius Severus also had his 'oriental' queen.

Iulia Domna's father was a high priest, like the father of Archelaus I of Cappadocia, and she had been foretold that she would marry a 'king'.[101] Thus, in order to gain credibility, Severus decided to take as

[96] Peachin supports the possibility that empress Faustina instigated the usurpation, following Dio's narrative. See: Peachin 2006: 139, Syme 1988b: 700.

[97] The other daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, Aurelia Faustina, had been married even earlier to Claudius Severus, the prominent philosopher and senator descending from the Anatolian (Galatian) dynasts. Syme 1988a: 18.

[98] This steadfast refusal perhaps enabled him to outlive his wife Lucilla, his father–in–law Marcus Aurelius, and his brother–in–law Commodus.

[99] Butor 2006: 143–153.

[100] Hekster 2008: 12–13.

[101] Ball 2000: 404–405. Cf. also: Langford 2013.

his second wife a prominent princess, much like Herod Archelaus did with the Cappadocian princess Glaphyra. Iulia Domna's dynastic branch had humble origins among the nomadic tribal chieftains that had once served the Macedonian kings.[102] Yet, soon after the coming of the Romans, these local elites who lived close to the core areas of the former Seleucid realm and the Roman province of Syria gained in importance and prominence. The marriage of their leader Sampsiceramus (II) with the Commagenian princess Iotape and the marriage of their son with princess Drusilla, the daughter the Ptolemy of Mauretania and great–grandchild of the last Macedonian dynast Cleopatra (VII) and Mark Antony, transformed Emesa into one of the most prominent centres of the dynastic descendants of the rulers of the universe.[103]

Domna, in the style of Caesar's Cleopatra or Titus' Berenice came to Rome with a Roman general 'destined to rule the universe'.[104] Yet, by the end of the 2nd century it was a different Rome, and in marked difference from Caesar, Antony or Titus, Septimus successfully placed his new '*despoina of the oikoumene', Isis* and Augusta upon the throne.[105] Thus, the new 'oriental' queen was there to stay and also there to change Rome forever. Through Domna, the post–Hellenistic elites of the eastern Mediterranean were finally able to accomplish the stalled vision of the last dynast of the Hellenistic period: to integrate the military might of Rome into the Hellenistic global system and stabilize once again the central areas of the ancient *oikoumene*.[106]

The new Roman emperors, thanks to their descent from the princess Iulia Domna, were not content to play the part of a latter–day Alexander the Great in the fashion of Roman generals and previous emperors. In the former Hellenistic world and perhaps for many in other areas of the Roman world, through their mother's lineage they were the legitimate, or at least very credible, heirs of Alexander the Great, just as Ariarathes Eusebes of Cappadocia, Mithridates of Pontus, Antiochus Theos of Commagene, Ptolemy Caesarion, and Alexander Helios before them.

Therefore, the consistent claim of the Severan emperors regarding their Hellenistic heritage, ideas and symbols was not just a personal affinity or megalomania, as some biased Roman and classical–minded modern authors have suggested. Instead, according to my opinion, this represented a well–developed ideological and religious global conception initiated in eastern Anatolia and promoted strongly for two centuries by its elites through the creation of a wider post–Hellenistic dynastic network.

This ideology adopted and utilized by the Roman emperors of the 3rd century AD was not just a successful, but also an inevitable phenomenon. It was widely acclaimed in the centres of the former Hellenistic *oikoumene*, which by that time had turned into central areas of the Roman world as well. This ideology was not just legitimization of the global rule of the emperor. Rather, its extensive use by the emperors was also aimed at legitimizing and strengthening the claims and aspirations of a large number of elites who had also based their credentials on the post–Hellenistic global dynastic network and its ideas.

[102] Birley 1999: 69.

[103] Sampsiceramus entered in coalitions with numerous dynasts and developed close relations with the Herod Agrippa I as well. He married his daughter, also named Iotape, to Herod Agrippa's brother Aristobulus, while his son married Agrippa's Drusilla. Birley 1999: 70.

[104] Ball 2000: 404–405; Tarn 1932: 135–160. On later developments of the concept, see: Tommasi Moreschini 2016; 190; Rowan 2012.

[105] Levick 2007: 153.

[106] Domna celebrated in Hellenistic manner as '(Tyche) Good Fortune of the Inhabited World' was, thus, like Cleopatra VII (the New Isis) before, predestined to return its universal concord, or the Hellenistic ideal of *Homonoia*. Strootman 2010: 140–157; Levick 2007: 153; Tarn 1932: 138–140.

Thus, with their post–Hellenistic credentials, Caracalla, Geta or 'Heliogabalus' were perceived by appropriate audiences as direct descendants of the Macedonian divine kings who had supposedly united the world and brought prosperity before.[107] At the same time, they were also descendants of the Cappadocian, Emesan, Mauretanian, Commagenian or Nabataean royalty, whose real or purported descendants from the East were now their new global dynastic court and prioritized contenders for the global rule.[108] Therefore, they were obliged to live up to the expectations of their extended court of 'eastern philosophers' and dynastic peers, frenetically trying, through 'Macedonian clothes', 'dynastic image and behavior', 'hair style', 'cups' or 'breastplates', and iconography that involved Heracles, Helios or Dionysus, to be the most authentic and most credible Alexander among Alexanders.[109]

Thus, Caracalla, on the borders of Macedonia, in the style of his dynastic relative, the Commagenian prince Antiochus Archelaus, and with the colossal taste of the prince's great grandfather Antiochus Theos, 'assembled a phalanx consisting only of Macedonians, sixteen thousand men, which he called 'phalanx of Alexander' and which he equipped with weapons which had been used in Alexander's time...'[110] In addition, walking 'around in Macedonian clothes, with a cap on his head and boots on his feet', in front of 'the Macedonian phalanx...he ordered their leaders to adopt the names of Alexander's generals.'[111] This, certainly, played well into the personal and family narratives of many post–Hellenistic dynastic elites that he was surrounded with, as they were based on the ancestry from the same Macedonian generals, who later became divine rulers of the universe.[112] One can only speculate whether their new military *cognomen* given by Caracalla, like Antiochus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Philip, Antipater, or Amyntas, related directly to their supposed lineage from different Macedonian dynasts, or they used it to make some new additions to their dynastic legacy.

Finally, there emerged in the 3rd century new Roman emperors who were born with dynastic names such as Alexander or Philip in the core areas of post–Hellenistic world and raised with their values. They were the descendants of the priest–princes who had supported and professed Roman emperors'

[107] Cassius Dio (D.C., 78.7.1–2), for example, in a critical voice, and through the traditional senatorial (Romanocentric) narrative, observes the new imperial ideology, saying that the emperor (Caracalla) 'was so obsessed with Alexander, that he used certain weapons and cups which he thought had belonged to him. Moreover, he put up a large number of statues of him in the army camps and in Rome, and he assembled a phalanx consisting only of Macedonians, sixteen thousand men, which he called 'phalanx of Alexander' and which he equipped with weapons which had been used in Alexander's time... Not yet satisfied he called that same Alexander 'the Augustus of the East'. He once wrote to the Senate that he [Alexander] had entered into the body of Augustus in order to have a longer life through him, having lived such a short life before... This is how he behaved and, by Zeus, he went around with a large number of elephants to create the impression that in this respect also he imitated Alexander, or rather Dionysus'. This new level of obsessive *imitatio Alexandri*, or rather renaissance of the Hellenistic imperial traditions, is extensively presented by other authors as well, Herodianus, the later Aurelius Victor and in *Historia Augusta.* See: Burgersdijk and van Waarden 2010: 78–80.

[108] Birley 1999.

[109] Thus, Herodian presents this reinvigorated Hellenistic pomp 'After having settled the problems with the garrisons on the Danube and having gone to Thrace, which borders on Macedonia, he (Caracalla) was suddenly Alexander and he breathed life into his memory in all possible ways. He ordered statues and images to be placed in all cities. Rome, too, he filled with these, in the Capitol and in other temples, to demonstrate his kinship with Alexander. He himself walked around in Macedonian clothes, with a cap on his head and boots on his feet. He selected a number of youths, whom he called 'the Macedonian phalanx'. He ordered their leaders to adopt the names of Alexander's generals' (Hdn., 4.8.1–2) (Trans. C.R. Whittaker).

[110] D.C., 78.7.1–2.

[111] Hdn., 4.8.1–2.

[112] It certainly played well, at the same time, in the ethnic narrative of 'the genuine Macedonians', as Josephus calls them. Although the Jewish historian made a serious effort to distinguish the Macedonians among all others that claimed this popular identity in the East, in many cases the distinction between these 'two categories', if they existed, might have been vague.

accession to power in the past. Yet, now, 'in accordance with the will of Gods, their predecessors', they were the new rulers of the universe (*cosmocrators)*.[113]

The most revealing image of the new ideal emperor and ruler of the *oikoumene* is furnished by the *Historia Augusta*. His name was simply Alexander, and he refused all the names of previous Roman emperors that the Roman Senate offered to add as his *nomen*. He did not need any other titles or credentials, because, as he kindly stated before the Senators: 'This very name which I now bear, albeit a foreign one (for the Romans), seems to weigh heavily upon me'.[114] That name, or rather symbol, certainly represented the ultimate credential and ideal for many elites and, through the sanctuaries, also for wider audiences of the ancient *oikoumene*, including some newly attached areas in the West. The author of *Historia Augusta* exposes vividly all the omens that assured the *oikoumene* that the new–born Alexander was predestined to be its idealized universal ruler. Thus, we read:

'The omens that predicted his rule were as follows: first, he was born on the anniversary of that day on which, it is said, Alexander the Great departed this life; secondly, his mother bore him in a temple dedicated to Alexander; and thirdly, he was called by Alexander's name. Furthermore, a dove's egg of purple hue, laid the very day he was born, was presented to his mother by an old woman; and from this the soothsayers prophesied that he would indeed be emperor. [–––] We must add, moreover, that a woman named Olympias acted as his nurse – this was also the name of the mother of Alexander the Great – and it happened by chance that he was reared by a certain peasant named Philip which was the name of Alexander's father. It is said that on the day after his birth a star of the first magnitude was visible for the entire day at Arca Caesarea, and also that in the neighbourhood of his father's house the sun was encircled with a gleaming ring. And the soothsayers, when they commended his birthday to the favour of the gods, declared that he would someday hold the supreme power. [–––] Also, a laurel sprang up in his house close to a peach–tree, and within a single year it outgrew the peach, and from this the soothsayers predicted that he was destined to conquer the Persians. The night before he was born his mother dreamed that she brought forth a purple snake, and on the same night his father saw himself in a dream carried to the sky.'[115]

For the author of this principal source for the history of Rome and Roman emperors in the 3rd century, there is no doubt that the new emperor was considered a reincarnation of Alexander the Great. While for the Hellenistic–minded audiences his credentials as a descendant of the Emesan, Commagenian and Judaean dynasts inevitably suggested such continuity of global rule, the importance of the *Historia Augusta* is that it was written in Latin and thus appealed mainly to western audiences. This text, through one of the longest of its imperial biographies, aspires to create a new picture of the ideal Roman emperor that is built upon the values and traditions of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* as they were shared and transmitted by the post–Hellenistic elites of its core areas. Therefore, its narratives, its mysterious tone and even its fictional elements are in direct relation with the ultimate 'Hellenistic' hagiography of the universal ruler, viz. the Alexander Romance, that was also translated into Latin in the same period. [116]

[113] The title cosmocrator was used early for Alexander of Macedon (greetings from Aristotle in Historia Alexandri Magni). Later through 'secular legends of Alexander the world–ruler (*kosmokrator*) were proliferating as a shining archetype of the Roman and Byzantine cosmocratic cosmopolitan'. In later Byzantine iconography it referred to Jesus, as king of heaven and earth, together with the related term *pantocrator*. Chin 2016: 137; Stoneman 2008: 96–97.

[114] *Hist. Aug.*, Alex. Sev. 1.8. (191–195) (trans. D. Magie).

[115] *Hist. Aug.*, Alex. Sev. 1.13 (201–205) (trans. D. Magie).

[116] Although *Historia Augusta* claims to be composed in the 3rd century, with its historical narrative ending then and its dedication to Diocletian modern researchers continuously argue in favor of a 4th century dating (Thomson 2012: 53; Dessau 1889). However, this dating discrepancy does not problematize its rootedness in the Hellenistic–minded narratives. Instead, it is

The emperor Alexander, like his famous Macedonian namesake and most of the dynasts from the Hellenistic period, and their post–Hellenistic descendants, had many tutors. This also prepared him to ascend the throne to Rome, and his *paideia* and the adopted Roman taste for simplicity and moderate behaviour made him more popular among the senatorial elites than many of his Hellenistic–minded imperial predecessors.[117]

Yet, a glimpse of the personal religiosity or value system of this 'Syrian boy', as portrayed by the *Historia Augusta,* exposes the value system constructed by the post–Hellenistic dynastic elites that triumphed over Rome in the 3rd century AD. Thus, we understand that:

'[in the] early morning hours he (Alexander Severus) would worship in the sanctuary of his Lares, in which he kept statues of the deified emperors – of whom, however, only the best had been selected – and also of certain holy souls, among them Apollonius, and, according to a contemporary writer, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and others of this same character and, besides, the portraits of his ancestors. [–––] But Alexander the Great he enshrined in his greater sanctuary along with the most righteous men and the deified emperors.'[118]

Thus, like his dynastic ancestor Antiochus Theos of Commagene and, most probably, also like Antiochus' grandson Caius Iulius Alexion, the priest–king of Emesa,[119] the 'Roman' dynast Alexander had his own sanctuary of hero–ancestors. There, as all post–Hellenistic dynasts, he displayed his dynastic lineage, which included the emblematic figures of the global rule (Alexander the Great and the Macedonian dynasts) as well as other figures who legitimized his dynastic inheritance in the new post–Hellenistic context.[120] Thus, according to the *Historia Augusta*, the sanctuary, like the monument of Philopappos, reflected its Roman context, integrating carefully selected predecessors from the new dynastic centre of Rome. Yet, Alexander's dynastic ancestors are also there, additionally delicately emphasized through the inclusion of their glocalized religious and ideological traditions. Thus, Alexander's sanctuary includes the famous Cilician philosopher and religious leader Apollonius of Tyana, who travelled throughout the *oikoumene* from India to Rome, as well as the prominent founding–father of the local religious traditions of Judaea, Abraham. The presence of Jesus, a living God, king and prophet from Judaea, strongly promoted in the centre of the *oikoumene* through the ideas and *paideia* of the prominent Cilician, Paul of Tarsus, and Orpheus, the legendary king, singer and prophet from Macedonia, whose religious

more than obvious that its Western (Latin) sources disappear after the narration of Caracalla's life, and the tone and style changes dramatically towards a Hellenistic one (Syme 1983: 15; Barnes 1978: 38). Thus, for example, the '*Life of Alexander Severus*' according to some researchers is not a historical narrative, but instead a fictional one (Syme 1983: 15; Baynes 1926: 57–67; 118–144). As Thomson argues *Historia Augusta,* made an important influence on the 'literary culture of the Roman elite', and, this, is not as much important as historical work, but as an ideological guideline for the elites living in the universe, united under the will and brilliance of the *cosmocrator* (Thomson 2012: 68–69).

[117] Many modern scholars have highlighted the bias of Cassius Dio, as author of the classical dichotomy between Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, as 'good' vs. 'bad' emperor. Yet, beyond Dio's personal interests and affinities there was a wider tendency among the senatorial and other conservative elites in Rome to portray the Hellenistic ideology or iconography of the emperors as non–Roman, 'bad' and even anti–Roman. The most obvious examples of such stereotyping are Caligula, Nero, Domitian, or Caracalla, while Alexander Severus is in a group of emperors, like Trajan, Philip the Arab, and even Augustus, able to manage more smoothly the globalization process and integration of Rome into the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. On Dio: Davenport 2011; Sidebottom 2007; Barnes 1984; Millar 1964. See also: Burgersdijk and van Waarden 2010; Alston 1998; Zanker 1988.

[118] *Hist. Aug.*, Alex. Sev. 2.29–31 (234–241) (trans. D. Magie).

[119] On Emesene royal tombs, see: Ball 2000.

[120] The Aboukir Medallions, frequently dated in the period of rule of Alexander Severus, represent a remarkable verification in the material culture of the resurrected Hellenistic ideology in the narrative of global rule of the Severan dynasty. See: Vermeule 1982.

interpretations and utilizations grew extensively during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, in such context, might also be illustrative of the syncretizing tendencies developed through the strong interaction of the elites from the Hellenistic and post–Hellenistic dynastic cores.[121]

Finally, if we still wonder whether the new standard for the ruler of the *oikoumene*, Alexander, leans more on the Roman glocalized value–system or rather on the continual discourse of the Hellenistic and post–Hellenistic dynastic traditions, the *Historia Augusta* provides the ultimate argument in Latin, explaining that:

'When Alexander himself consulted a prophet about his future, being still a small child, he received, it is said, the following verses, and first of all, by the oracle: "Thee doth empire await on earth and in Heaven".'[122]

This prophecy epitomizes the new Roman emperor, portraying Alexander as a universal ruler who is not only a god, but also a ruler in the heavens. This was a concept of divine kingship based on the court ideologies and ruler–cults of the Macedonian dynasts of the Hellenistic period as well as their post–Hellenistic dynastic descendants like Antiochus Theos of Commagene.[123] It exposes an enduring ideological, political and religious system that was continuously offered by the 'eastern elites' to the Roman leaders from Caesar and Antony to Vespasian and Septimus Severus. The triumph of this cultural, political and ideological *koine,* inherited and further developed by the post–Hellenistic dynastic elites, managed to integrate Rome into the globalizing *oikoumene* developed during the Hellenistic period.

Conclusions

In the year 51 BC, when Cicero, was sent far from Rome to govern the new province of Cilicia, he encountered aspects of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* that were less visible from its western fringes. While in the West, the Roman antiroyal ideas found fertile ground at least among some formerly independent or semi–dependent Greek *poleis*, the traditions of these regions and their elites were much more coherent with the ideology of the Macedonian and previous dynasties of the Near East.

He came back with even greater awareness for the upcoming dangers for the 'freedom of Rome' and the newly imagined Mediterranean *oikoumene* of 'free' cities and peoples led by the Romans. Cicero had a clear understanding that although Pompey won the military confrontation in the East, it was Mithridates and his Hellenistic concepts that won in the 'war of ideas'.[124] Aware that the Roman generals and

[121] The promotion of the life of Apollonius by Domna and other 'eastern' emperors of the 3rd century is documented by other sources. Yet, even if we interpret the presence of Jesus, as an addition of a hypothetical later author, or if we add to these religious traditions, or replace them with, the globally prominent Mithraism, and the cults of Sol Invictus, Isis and Serapis, or Iupiter Dolichenus in the 3rd century AD the arguments for their promotion in the context of the dominance of the traditions of the Eastern–Mediterranean elites remains. *Hist. Aug.*, Alex. Sev. 2.29–31 (234–241) (trans. D. Magie).

[122] *Hist. Aug.*, Alex. Sev. 1.13 (203) (trans. D. Magie).

[123] During the period of rule of Alexander (Severus) his famous historian Cassius Dio, another Roman senator from Anatolia, and administrator of different provinces of the empire, even revitalized the image of the Roman archenemy Mithridates (VI of Pontus). This early post–Hellenistic descendent of Alexander and dynastic relative of the new Roman emperor, in Dio's histories was not an oriental despot anymore, but an idealized charismatic, brave, and strong leader with royal dignity that people followed with passion. D.C., 36.9.2–3; 37.12.2; 37.1.7. For the Roman authors of the 3rd century Mithridates has a greatness recognized even by the skies, signalizing his birth with a comet. Iust., 37.2.2–3.

[124] The new Roman Alexander, Pompey, in his triumph was presented in close, or even obtrusive, resemblance to the Hellenistic universal symbol of rule, and even more instructively wore 'Alexander's cloak, which he had found among Mithridates' treasures'. The words of Elder Pliny (Plin., *N.H.* 7.95) on Pompey reveal the early appropriation of the formula of ultimate legitimation of the Macedonian divine dynasts: 'He (Pompey) matched the glorious achievements of Alexander the Great, yes, even almost those of Hercules and Dionysus'. Burgersdijk and van Waarden 2010: 70.

administrators in the East were intensively integrating in the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, as aspiring dynasts or establishing close relations with the dynastic network, he managed to come back to Rome from a period that he lived as a sort of exile and face them in the final battle for the Republic.[125] There, writing his famous *Philippicae*, styled after Demosthenes' speeches against the Macedonian aggression to the detriment of the freedom of the Greeks, he confronted the vision of the 'new dynasts' Caesar and Antony to integrate Rome and its elites into the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.[126]

While Cicero did not survive this last battle for the 'freedom of the city', his ideas were a key factor in stalling the vision of an integrated world professed by Cleopatra in the Alexandrian donations.[127] Yet, almost two centuries later another great orator felt the need to address Athens and Rome in a strong stance against the 'barbaric' Philip of Macedon. Although the Macedonian king had died almost half a millennium before the speeches of Aelius Aristides, his imperialist vision was very much alive.[128] Exclaiming that 'no one should show patriotic fervour for Pella or Aegae', Aristides harshly challenged the credentials of the dynastic descendants of Philip and the Macedonian dynasts, that by the 2nd century AD became not just archons of Athens, or consuls of Achaea, but also the closest associates and relatives of the Roman emperors.[129] Yet, by then it was already too late.

Rome was already strongly 'Macedonized', or rather globalized and strongly integrated in the *oikoumene* and cultural and political *koine* developed during the Hellenistic period.[130] The elites of South–Eastern Anatolia that Cicero once arrogantly derided and their dynastic relatives had turned into exponents of the *oikoumene* and the Roman empire. By the beginning of the 3rd century their belief system and the statues of their deified ancestors were neither hidden among the remote peaks of the Taurus mountains as in the time of Cicero nor proudly emerging over democratic Athens as in the time of Aristides. Instead, they dominated the main squares, palaces, and temples in all Roman provinces, and in the city of Rome itself.[131]

This experimental longue–durée perspective on the creation of the 'Roman world' that questions its embedded discourse does not try to create a coherent new narrative. Yet, it is bold enough to ask unusual questions. Who, for instance, won the global battle for the rule of the universe? The 'Mighty Republic'

[125] These elements of Cicero's republican discourse are particularly evident in his accusations for the Roman governors of Macedonia and Syria. He points out that these Roman representatives in the important centers of the Hellenistic world have acquired important elements of its ideology and culture. For Cicero 'Piso (governing Macedonia) was a tyrant: (and) Gabinius (governing Syria) is the servant of tyrants'. He exposes their close relations with the local elites and their values and system of rule and warns of the great danger for the city of Rome from this coalition of Roman leaders and the Hellenistic elites'. Cicero anticipates that these globalizing Romans are more threatening for the status quo in Rome than the Macedonian kings and their descendants in the East that they emulate or serve to. They have become an integral part of the *oikoumene* united in 'serving' the Great Kings and, thus, the 'non–Roman', 'non–Greek' and 'barbarian' 'consulships of Piso and Gabinius have been worse for the city of Rome than the invasion of Hannibal' and the invasion on the Roman world by Mithridates. Steel 2001: 47–52.

[126] Cic., *Off.* 3.83; Cic., *Phil.* 2; Cic., *Ad. Brut.* 2.3.4.

[127] Strootman 2010: 140–157.

[128] On Aristides' *imitatio* of Demosthenes' language in order to create the ultimate 'barbarian' and 'tyrant' of Philip, see: Asirvatham 2008.

[129] While Philopappos dynastic monument recently erected to overlook Athens from the dominant hill in the city, was certainly provoking Aristides classical idyll of Greece, his confrontation with Philopappos' dynastic relative Iulius Severus, elected to govern Achaea and, later, Asia (western Anatolia), was also of a personal character. In this context, Aristides manages in his speeches to portray not just the Persian, but also the Macedonian ancestors of these elites as 'barbarians', unrelated to the Greeks and hostile to the Romans. Asirvatham 2008; Behr 1981: 334.

[130] On the concept of ancient 'globalization' as 'Macedonized' world, modeled on relating to a 'culture only partly one's own', see: Liebert 2011.

[131] Hdn., 4.8.1–2.

with its generals or the petty kingdoms counting on legitimacy and continuity in the globalizing *oikoumene*?

In addition, it suggests that many answers to such questions conspicuously present themselves once we decide to put aside, for just a moment, our Eurocentric and Classical perspective. Thus, no one should be particularly surprised that the credentials, traditions, and capacities of the centrally positioned elites of the globalized Hellenistic world were strong enough to overcome, in the long run, a competitor from the outskirts of the *oikoumene.*

However, if the impact of South–Eastern Anatolia and its elites on the overall dynamics of the three initial centuries of Roman imperialism, presented in this study, are not convincing enough, we should look for clues in the next centuries. There, for approximately one millennium, the Roman empire, or rather *Basileia ton Rhomaion*, was led from Anatolia, by dynastic rulers, each portrayed as the new Alexander, and governing the world by the 'good will of God', in close relations with the powerful priest elites, frequently descending from the same dynastic lines.[132] Like their 'classical predecessors' from South–Eastern Anatolia, the new Roman *basileis basileōn*, although relying on the capacities of the traditional Hellenistic metropoleis, like Alexandria, Antioch and Thessalonica, and effectively governing only Anatolia during the most of this period, remained consistent in their universalist pretensions. They were praised through their court ideology as descendants of the Roman, Macedonian, and Armenian kings, and as such *pantocrators* on Earth and rulers of the entire *oikoumene.*

[132] The Byzantine emperors like the Persian kings ruled 'by the will of God(s)'. The development of this concept might be traced to Caracalla reforms in the 3rd century AD, who gave equal status to all people living in his empire, transforming *Pax Romana* (the Roman peace) into *Pax Deorum* (Peace of/with Gods). See: Hekster 2008: 3–10.

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Materials and Techniques of Construction in the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum

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Abstract

This paper describes the materials and techniques of construction employed in the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum in western Rough Cilicia. A small podium temple built around the early 3rd century AD, it is Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle in form. Since 2005, it has been excavated and studied by the Antiochia ad Cragum Research Project. Both chemical and petrographic analyses of the material used in the core of the podium reveal that it consists of a relatively low–grade mortared rubble masonry made from hydrated lime, sand, and an aggregate of fieldstone. Petrographic analysis and compression testing of the temple's superstructure establish that it was made from a low– to medium–grade marble that was mined from a local quarry about five kilometres distant from the temple. This marble was assembled in a dry stone ashlar masonry technique. Both clamps and dowels were used to strengthen structurally important elements of the temple, but they appear only in a restricted and irregular fashion. Similarly, the quality of craftsmanship is variable.

Both the use of marble and the technique of clamps and dowels are rare in the ashlar masonry of Rough Cilicia; their appearance here suggests a desire for a temple of high quality and distinction. A close examination of the construction, however, gives an impression of economy and hurried completion. An opportune historical moment that fits this narrative could be the potential visit of an emperor, perhaps Septimius Severus, who sailed past Antioch in AD 197 at the outset of his Parthian campaign.

Keywords: *Antiochia ad Cragum, Northeast Temple, Mortared rubble masonry, Marble, Construction techniques*

Introduction

This study[3] presents a preliminary analysis of the materials and construction techniques used in the Northeast Temple at Antiochia ad Cragum (hereafter Antioch) in western Rough Cilicia. Investigation of this building by the Antiochia ad Cragum Research Project (ACARP) began in 2005.[4] At that time the only sign of the temple was a low mound covered in dense maquis that completely masked everything with the exception of a few stone blocks poking out here and there. Over the course of the next several years, ACARP excavated the mound, surveying, measuring, photographing, and moving the blocks of the superstructure. The entire complex of remains – both the individual blocks and the temple platform – have been the object of detailed archaeological and scientific study in order to learn the design and

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[3] The authors would like to express their gratitude to Professor Michael Hoff and Professor Birol Can, Director and Co–director of the Antiochia ad Cragum Research Project, respectively. We are also grateful to the annual excavation and research permits granted by the Archaeological Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey. This work could not have been accomplished without the generosity of private donors and that of the Merops Foundation. Professor Erdogmus' work on this project for the past two seasons has been funded by the National Science Foundation award # 1559540. The opinions expressed here are those of the authors. Joshua Freedland, Director of Historic Preservation at Bulley & Andrews, Chicago, IL, contributed his expertise as a materials scientist to the analysis of the stone from the temple. We further recognize the many students and volunteers whose participation in the field school program has contributed to our research. Finally, we would like to thank Professor Emanuela Borgia, who both organized the original conference session where a preliminary version of this paper was presented and has ensured its publication here.

[4] For an introduction to the site and its history, see Hoff elsewhere in this volume.

Figure 1: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Aerial view from northeast (ACARP)*

historical context of the temple; to assess its physical properties; and to stabilize and conserve its several components. Today, the visitor sees the temple platform and the approximately 600 blocks of the superstructure arranged in groups to the west of the temple (**Figure 1**). An important goal of the project is to incorporate as many blocks as possible in a partial anastylosis so that visitors may understand the original form of the temple as well as its later history, including the building's collapse and reuse.[5]

Numerous temples of the Roman period in Rough Cilicia (Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera) have received scholarly attention, but relatively few have benefited from in–depth architectural autopsy and analysis.[6] The reason for this is essentially twofold. First, the development of the region under the Empire lagged behind that of Pamphylia to the west, where urbanization came somewhat earlier and with a more monumental effect. Archaeological investigation has also lagged behind that of neighbouring regions.[7]

[5] Professors Townsend and Erdogmus are co–directors of ACARP. Townsend, author here of the section on construction techniques, is charged with the archaeological study of the temple: the architectural autopsy of its parts and reconstruction of the temple on paper. Professor Erdogmus, author of the section on materials, has directed the structural study of the temple: examination of the physical properties of its materials and the reasons for its collapse; she also oversees the conservation of the temple. Together, Professors Erdogmus and Townsend are responsible for the planned anastylosis, Professor Erdogmus for its engineering aspects and Professor Townsend for the archaeological features.

[6] The temple at Elaiussa Sebaste is an important exception; for a recent summary of work, see Borgia 2020. Another is the so–called cenotaph of Trajan at Selinus, where Winterstein 2013 conducted a *Bauforschung* through a collaborative project of the Alanya Museum and the German Archaeological Institute; for discussion of the possible function of the building, see Hoff 2022. Giobbe 2013 presents a convenient summary of the temples across the region, with references to research on them.

[7] Spanu 2013: 99–101; Ward–Perkins 1994: 299–305.

This lacuna is gradually being filled, with increased investigation having occurred at various intervals at a number of sites in the eastern portion of Rough Cilicia.[8] To date, however, Antioch represents the only site in the western half that benefits from ongoing, long–term excavation and research.[9] Therefore, it is hoped that the Northeast Temple may provide a point of reference for future studies elsewhere.

The temples of western Rough Cilicia[10] are modest, even by comparison with those in the region farther east.[11] None is peripteral, and many (even those dedicated to the emperor) are made of mortared rubble masonry.[12] But Roman builders in the region did erect structures in ashlar masonry,[13] and some of these display very good workmanship. The small structure attributed to Tyche at Nephelis, only a few kilometres along the coast from Antioch, is an excellent example.[14] Inland at Lamus, two temple tombs also employ finely carved and assembled limestone ashlar blocks,[15] as does the *bouleuterion* at Asar Tepe perched atop this small hilltop community on a ridge opposite Lamus, with the two sites separated by the Hasdere/Adanda River.[16] It is notoriously difficult to date these buildings: the structure at Nephelis is placed in the reign of Antoninus Pius on the evidence of the inscription found within the building and on which the attribution to Tyche is based;[17] the temple tombs at Lamus have been dated to the second half of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd century AD, but this assessment relies on stylistic evidence, which is always open to question.[18] The *bouleuterion* at Asar Tepe ought to date to the end of the 1st century BC, if, as is likely, the site was founded by a client king of Rome in the late 1st century BC.[19] Whatever the specific dates of these structures, there is no doubt that Roman masons worked in ashlar masonry from the earliest period of their presence in the region during the late 1st century BC, until at least the beginning of the 3rd century AD, if not later.[20]

The Northeast Temple at Antioch lies on the outskirts of the city to the north and east of the city gate and colonnaded street, which undoubtedly marked the formal entrance and led to the urban centre.[21] While work on the dating of the building continues, ceramic and numismatic evidence offer a preliminary indication that it was built between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD. The

[8] For example, Anemurium, Celenderis, Seleucia on the Calycadnus, Corycus, Elaiussa Sebaste; Spanu 2010: 398 nt. 2.

[9] Periodic excavation and survey has occurred at Syedra.

[10] The boundaries of western Rough Cilicia are variable; they commonly correspond to the Charadrus River at the east and the Syedra River at the west, though the latter sometimes extended farther west to encompass the area around Coracesium (modern Alanya), as the border between Cilicia and Pamphylia changed over the course of time; see Rauh *et al.* 2009: 255 with additional references; Jones 1971: Map III B (facing 191).

[11] Compare, for example, the peripteral temples at Seleucia on the Calycadnus, Corycus, and Elaiussa Sebaste.

[12] E.g., the temples to Vespasian and Antoninus Pius at Cestrus and that attributed to Trajan at Iotape (Giobbe 2013: 128–130, with additional bibliography).

[13] Sometimes referred to as *opus quadratum* in terminology specific to Roman architecture.

[14] Karamut and Russell 1999: 357–360 fig. 8.

[15] Townsend and Hoff 2009 and Townsend and Hoff 2004, with references to earlier bibliography.

[16] Townsend 2013. For the location of these sites, see the map, Townsend and Hoff 2004: 252 fig. 1; Townsend and Hoff 2009: 19 fig. 1.

[17] Karamut and Russell 1999: 359.

[18] Townsend and Hoff 2004: 261–265.

[19] The argument regarding its founding is complex: for a detailed discussion, see Rauh *et al.* 2009: 280–283.

[20] It is likely that these stonemasons were relatively local rather than having come from Rome. There is no proof of this, but the temples of western Rough Cilicia were almost certainly municipal commissions, even if dedicated to an emperor. Moreover, they are so modest that it is doubtful they would have qualified to receive expert attention from the capital. It is possible that the workforce came from neighbouring regions, however. For instance, inscriptions dating sometime between the mid–1st and mid–2nd centuries AD from Lamus and nearby Direvli (its ancient name is unknown) list stonemasons from Selge in Pamphylia (see Townsend and Hoff 2009: 13–14, with earlier bibliography). And as late as the end of the 5th to early 6th century AD texts cite masons from Isauria in the interior of Rough Cilicia (Mango 1966). See also Spanu 2010: 399.

[21] For a plan of the city, see Hoff this volume.

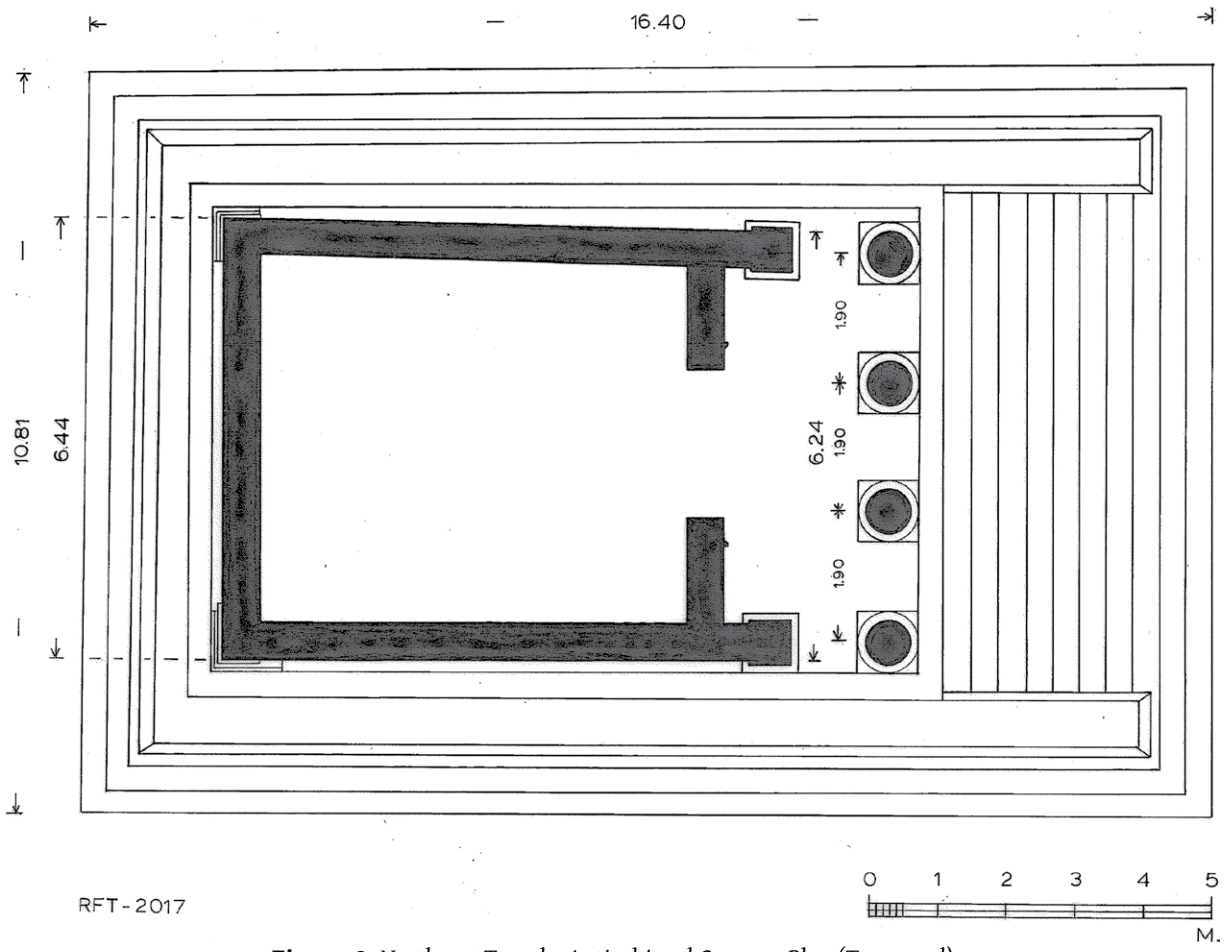

Figure 2: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Plan (Townsend)*

dedicatee is not known.[22] It is a podium temple, with tetrastyle prostyle porch in the Corinthian order; this led to a simple, one–room cella, which will have held the cult statue. The overall size of the structure, including the podium and surrounding steps, is ca. 16.40 x 10.80m (**Figures 2 and 3**). The podium, raising the *crepis* of the temple to the height of a full floor above the surrounding ground level, consists of a mortared rubble masonry core faced with ashlar blocks;[23] the superstructure of the temple above the podium is entirely of ashlar masonry. A portion of the podium, particularly at the rear of the temple, remains standing today; at the front, however, the structure is entirely missing, including the steps leading up to the cella. Of the superstructure proper, only the platform and the lowest course of the back wall are *in situ*. The walls, entablature, and porch all collapsed at some point in the history of the building.

[22] Bean and Mitford 1965: 34 suggest that the image in the pediment, within a medallion held by two flanking Victories, may be that of an emperor. From this, tentative identification of the building as an imperial temple has been made from time to time: e.g., Hoff *et al.* 2008: 96; Hoff *et al.* 2006: 101–103; Price 1984: 272 nt. 145. Erdemgil and Özoral 1975, by contrast, identify the structure as a temple tomb and the figure in the medallion as Artemis. While identification as a temple tomb is not impossible, its elaborate appearance would stand at odds in comparison with the other surviving tombs at the site. As for the identification of the figure as Artemis, the presence of a quiver, bow, and hanging hair fillets are at least, if not more, likely to be associated with Apollo (Hoff *et al.* 2006: 103). See also *infra* nt. 57 for the suggestion of a possible association of the temple with Septimius Severus.

[23] During the earlier stages of the project, the team considered the possibility of a vaulted substructure due to the height of the platform. After non–destructive assessments using ground penetrating radar and fiberscope, no evidence of such a substructure could be found: Erdogmus *et. al.* 2011; Erdogmus and Skourup 2007.

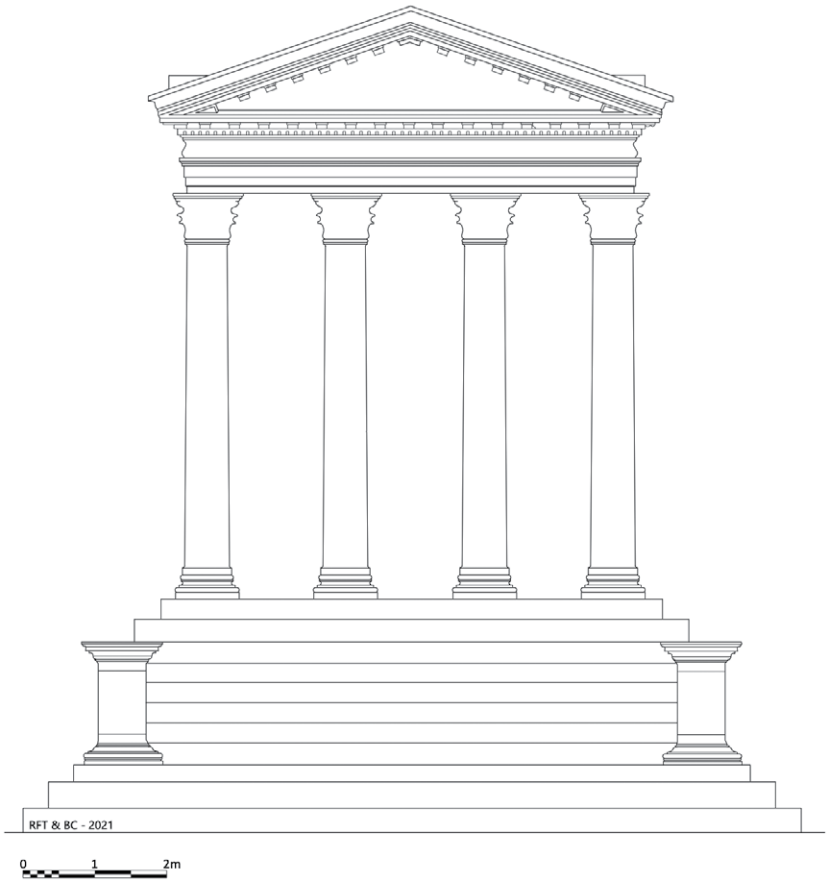

Figure 3: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Elevation (Townsend)*

Materials

Mortared Rubble Masonry: Mortar Characterization

The foundations of the podium of the Northeast Temple are of mortared rubble masonry. The aggregate consists of irregular fieldstones, and chemical analysis has identified the mortar to be one part lime to two and a half parts sand. Significantly, there are no traces of strong binders such as cement or pozzolana.[24] Vitruvius (2.5.1) prescribes a mortar with a ratio of 1:3, lime to pozzolana or similar hydraulic material (in this passage he uses the term *harena fossica*, pit sand) for structures on land; but if pozzolana is not available, and river or sea sand (*harena fluviatica aut marina*) must be used instead, then the ratio of lime to sand should be 1:2.[25] Since the mix used in the temple contains no trace of a pozzolana–like binder, the relatively elevated amount of sand results in a weaker mortar overall, especially when combined with the varying sizes and quality of the fieldstone. Further weakening the mortar is the absence of crushed potsherds that Vitruvius recommends for better use. That the foundations were not constructed to higher standards appears surprising given the overall elaborate appearance of the temple.

In a more recent study, mortar samples were collected and analyzed both from the temple foundations as well as the surrounding walls. The results of these tests are being presented in detail elsewhere in

[24] Erdogmus and Armwood 2008.

[25] For discussion of Vitruvius' standards for construction, see Adam 2010: 73–76; Lechtman and Hobbs 1986: 89; 111. For clarification regarding the term pozzolana, see Lancaster 2015: 20–23.

order to determine the relative construction style and age of the various surrounding walls,[26] but findings from the two mortar samples that are of interest here may be briefly summarized: M1 and M5 (**Figure 4 and Table 1**). Sample M1 comes from the foundations of the stairs at the front of the temple; M5 comes from the retaining wall directly behind and parallel to the back wall of the temple. In these cases, X–ray diffraction (XRD), Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM), and thin section petrographic analyses were used to analyze the mortar samples instead of chemical analyses, as above. These analyses further confirm that the mortar material includes only hydrated lime, and no evidence for hydraulic lime was found.[27]

One interesting finding from this comparison of mortar samples is that M1 has a relatively richer amount of calcite, as revealed in its whitish colour in thin section analysis compared to other samples, including M5. Therefore, in the original rubble stone foundation walls of the temple, lime content was likely higher. This original mortar also has the least number of voids. Finally, a different material, clinochrysotile, which is a type of serpentine known to be present in the Antalya region,[28] was noted in M5. This

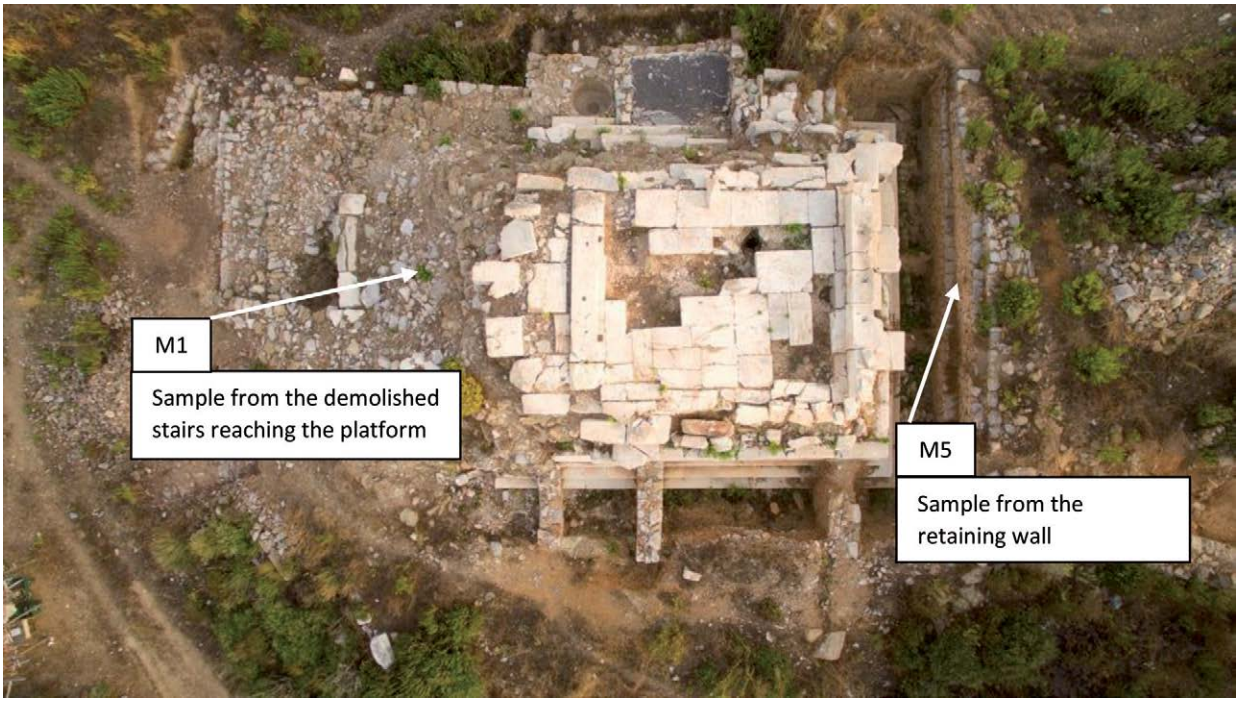

Figure 4: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Location of mortar samples M1 and M5 (ACARP)*

[26] Erdogmus *et al.* 2021.

[27] The difference between these two materials may be briefly explained as follows:
Hydrated lime: When limestone is burned to produce lime, it releases CO_2, leaving behind a highly alkaline 'quicklime.' Quicklime, also known as hot lime, is extremely reactive with water. The vast majority of lime produced from limestone is quenched or slaked, i.e., enough water is introduced so that the quicklime combines chemically with the water to convert to a safer, less caustic form known commercially as hydrated lime. Pure limes are not hydraulic and they will not set in water. They will cure over a long period by slowly reabsorbing carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.
Hydraulic lime: A hydraulic lime is made from a limestone that either naturally contains or has artificially introduced some form of amorphous silica in the burning process. This amorphous or 'free' silica fuses with some of the quicklime to form a clinker, a cementitious compound. The cementitious clinker is what makes the lime hydraulic, meaning that it will set with the addition of a certain percentage of water. In commercially available modern repair mortars, the designation 'hydraulic' typically means that the lime contains cement.

[28] Yalçın *et al.* 2015.

Table 1. *Mortar Samples: Description and Composition as Determined by Analyses*

Sample ID	Sample Type	Extraction Location	Composition
M1	Mortar	Under the front steps leading to platform	Hydrated lime-sand mortar
M5	Mortar	Toward the bottom of the retaining wall in the back	Hydrated lime-sand mortar

difference in the mortars can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it may be that the temple and retaining wall were contemporaneous, but the foundations of the podium were built with a mortar of higher quality, reflecting the significance of the temple, while a lesser grade of mortar was used in the retaining wall behind the temple because it was less visible and purely utilitarian. On the other hand, it may be that the retaining wall was constructed at a different time and/or by a different construction crew.[29]

Dry–Stack Stone Masonry,[30] Temple Superstructure: Characterization of the Stones

Several experiments have been conducted on the stone samples from the Northeast Temple as well as a nearby quarry to identify and compare their composition and mechanical properties. In addition, a stone initially identified as marble from a quarry near Izmir in Western Turkey, was also included in these experiments, to provide a comparison with the other stones.

Composition and Classification

Petrographic analysis was conducted by material conservation expert Joshua Freedland and colleagues at the laboratories of Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates (WJE).[31] In these experiments, four stone samples were tested (**Figure 5**). Two of these were from the temple (indicated by A), one was from the quarry nearby (indicated by Q), and one from a quarry near Izmir (indicated by I). These were examined in accordance with ASTM C1721.[32] While some variation was observed between the two samples from the

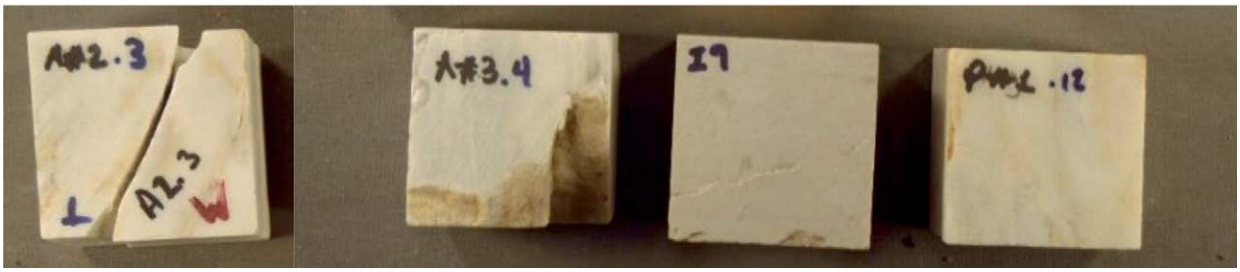

Figure 5: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Stone samples used for the petrographic studies (Erdogmus)*

[29] Further discussion of chronology based on analysis of mortar samples and geoarchaeological evidence can be found in Erdogmus *et al.* 2021.

[30] 'Dry–stack stone masonry,' a term used in modern engineering and construction, corresponds to the archaeological term 'dry masonry' (English), 'Trockenmauerwerk' (German), 'pierres sèches' (French), 'opera a secco' (Italian); see Ginouvès and Martin 1985: 104.

[31] Wiss, Janney, Elstner Associates is an American company with a global presence, providing architectural, engineering, and materials design and analysis of historic and contemporary structures (website: WJE, <https://www.wje.com>, accessed 11 February 2022).

[32] ASTM C1721: Standard Guide for Petrographic Examination of Dimension Stone, is a test used to determine the physical and chemical characteristics of a stone sample (website: American Society for Testing and Materials, Standards and Publications, <https://www.astm.org/Standards/C1721.htm>, accessed 11 February 2022).

a

b

Figure 6a: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. a: detail of wall block (Townsend);*
Figure 6b: *Detail of marble block from Sky Blue Quarry, Gazipaşa, Turkey (Demirtas Mining & Marble Co. Ltd., Alanya, Antalya, Turkey)*

temple (A2.3 and A3.4), both stones were found to represent a low to medium–grade metamorphosed calcite–rich limestone and therefore are classified as marble. While this classification can be confusing at first glance, it should be noted that limestone and marble are related within a spectrum, with the main difference between the two lying in the process of metamorphosis. Limestone is a sedimentary rock that forms when shells, sand, and mud are deposited at the bottom of bodies of water. They solidify over time into rock. Marble forms when the sedimentary limestone is heated and squeezed by natural rock–forming processes so that the grains recrystallize. Marble is usually light coloured and composed of crystals of calcite; it may contain coloured streaks that are inclusions of non–calcite minerals.[33]

The Antioch marble samples are generally white in colour. However, layers of red–brown and gray–coloured material are observed in some samples; and overall, the colour of the temple blocks ranges from white to blue, as does the stone from the local quarry (**Figure 6**).[34] The stone is highly reactive to dilute hydrochloric acid, and a qualitative test for magnesium conducted in the laboratory for Samples A2.3 and A3.4 was negative, indicating a highly calcitic marble. The discoloration, specifically the red–brown layering, is likely due to the presence of iron within the calcite. Fractures were present in Sample A2.3 oriented parallel to the natural foliation planes, although a fracture perpendicular to the foliation was also observed.

The sample stone from the nearby quarry (Q1.12, shown on the right in figure 5) is compositionally and texturally similar to the stone used in the temple, and most similar to Sample A3.4. This stone also represents a calcitic, fine–grained marble.

[33] 'How do you recognize limestone and marble?' USGS (United States Geological Survey) General Interest Publications: <https://pubs.usgs.gov/gip/acidrain/4.html>, accessed 11 February 2022.

[34] In figure 6, the newly cut stone from the quarry is fresh and polished, while that from the temple is weathered and dull; it also has undergone mild pitting or alveolization. The surface of the stone from the temple can look grey, a result of exposure and weathering, and this can produce the impression of the colour of the local limestone; but when newly exposed, as during excavation, it consistently varies from white to blue. In the late 19th century, when the stone would have been fresher, Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896: 152 identified it without comment as marble.

In contrast, the sample from the Izmir quarry (I) is visually and compositionally dissimilar to both the nearby quarry (Q) and the temple (A) samples. The stone comprises a metamorphosed micrite matrix containing fossils, and therefore is categorized here as a meta–fossiliferous limestone. The fossils are embedded in a very fine–grained calcite matrix. The original structure of the fossiliferous limestone parent rock remains intact. In other words, very little evidence of recrystallization was observed in the thin section. This stone, therefore, represents a very low–grade metamorphic rock closer to limestone than to marble.

Mechanical Properties

Compression testing was also conducted on the same three groups of stones (A, Q, and I), in accordance with ASTM C170/C170M – 17.[35] A total of 20 cubes, each measuring 0.05 x 0.05 x 0.05 m were separated into four categories: wet, dry, parallel to the grain, and perpendicular to the grain (**Figure 7**). The directions of grains were not always very visibly clear in the cube samples, but care was taken for accuracy as much as possible. Antioch and Quarry cubes were cut from three different original large stone blocks that showed a range of colours. It should be noted that in any given quarry a large range of stone qualities is expected; and variations in colour, condition, and strength are common. This variability was addressed by taking three different samples and by means of statistical analysis of the data. Results of the compression test are presented in **Table 2**. Once again, the Antioch temple (A) and the nearby quarry stones (Q) are very close in characteristics, and they show a great dissimilarity with the limestones from the Izmir quarry (I) (**Table 2**). The coefficient of variation[36] in these samples (30% and 35% for the Quarry and Antioch samples, respectively), along with the high and low values in the range, show that the two sources display a notable amount of variation in strength. In contrast, the Izmir quarry limestone demonstrates a lower coefficient of variation (20%) and a higher strength: an MPa[37] of 172 as opposed to the Antioch temple (MPa of 115) and the local quarry (MPa 118), the latter two being very close to each other.

Figure 7: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Left: prepared and labeled Antioch cube specimens (D=dry, W=wet, II= parallel to grain, ⊥= perpendicular). Right: compression test of a marble specimen*

[35] ASTM C170/C170M – 17: Standard Test Method for Compressive Strength for Dimension Stone (website: American Society for Testing and Materials, Standards and Publications: <https://www.astm.org/Standards/C170.htm>, accessed 11 February 2022).

[36] The coefficient of variation is the ratio of the standard deviation relative to the mean; the higher the coefficient of variation, usually expressed as a percentage, the greater the level of distribution or spread around the mean.

[37] MPa, Megapascal Pressure Unit, is a unit of measurement for higher range pressures.

Table 2. *Descriptive Statistics of Average Compressive Strength for Each Group: Izmir (I), Antioch Temple (A), Local Quarry (Q)*

Sample	Avg. Strength (MPa)	Standard Deviation of Strength	Coef. Of Variation	Maximum Strength (MPa)	Minimum Strength (MPa)
I-Avg	136	27	0.20	172	81
A-Avg	70	24	0.35	115	34
Q-Avg.	77	23	0.30	118	40

Another set of these stones had been tested in the past, albeit in a smaller sample size (three cubes each), with similar results: an average strength of 69 MPa for the local quarry marble and 83 MPa for the temple samples.[38] This same study also reported a summary of other literature with marble compressive strength values from sites in Greece and elsewhere; these values range from 55 MPa to 124 MPa. The Antioch and the nearby quarry marbles thus fit roughly in the middle of the range of values reported in the literature, further supporting the classification of 'a low to medium–grade' marble established by the petrographic analyses.

In conclusion, it can be stated that, based on this scientific evidence, the ashlar stones used in the construction of the temple at Antioch should be classified as marble, and there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these stones were obtained from the local quarry. This is located alongside the main road (D–400), approximately five kilometres to the west of the temple. Known as the 'Sky Blue Marble Quarry', it has been used intermittently in recent years.[39] In years past members of ACARP saw ancient blocks at the edge of the road directly below the quarry (e.g., a sarcophagus lid). In 1997 A. Çalık also noted these, remarking that the stone was the same as that used in the temple at Antioch.[40]

Construction Techniques

Ashlar construction, i.e., dry stone masonry consisting of rectangular blocks set tight against each other without mortar, of the type originally inherited from Greek stone working tradition, is used throughout the superstructure of the temple.[41] Study of the masons' execution of this system reveals something of the character of the building and perhaps offers a clue to the historical context in which it was built. The discussion is divided as follows: wall construction, clamping and doweling, and craftsmanship.

[38] Kousgaard and Erdogmus 2016.

[39] Sky Blue Marble Quarry website: https://www.stonecontact.com/quarries–2051/turkey–sky–blue–marble–quarry, accessed 26 February 2022.

[40] Her observations are worth noting in full (Çalık 1997: 101): 'Further to the east, the quarry to the north of Antiochia ad Cragum, situated 15km to the east of modern Gazipaşa, is an example of an ancient quarry from which stone is still being extracted. One cannot help noticing this quarry since the only modern road between Alanya and Anamur passes by the lower edge of the mine that slants up the hill towards the ancient city. Half–worked columns and sarcophagus lids lie along the side of the modern road. On one visit to the quarry, the workmen showed us the ancient cuttings, before continuing to remove slabs from the same spot. This quarry produces what appears to be marble, or a similar crystallised quality stone, the same substance as was used in the temple on Antiochia ad Cragum and is also seen on fragments in different places throughout the city. Of course, the labelling of this substance can only be speculative, as it is judged solely on physical appearance.' The authors thank M. Hoff for this reference.

[41] This discussion is restricted to the stone elements of the superstructure; it does not address the question of roof construction.

Wall construction

The walls of the cella are built in courses of isodomic masonry one block thick. The only wall blocks *in situ*, belonging to the lowest course of the back wall, are of the same dimensions as those of all other courses; the cella walls therefore did not have a distinct orthostate course. The wall courses did display a staggering of joints, but with no strict alternation. This is established by the fact that the lengths of the wall blocks vary, but according to no pattern. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the pilasters at the rear of the temple shows that the lengths of the blocks of the successive courses of this architectural member alternated between long and short (**Figure 8**). Although they did not adhere to strict dimensions, they nevertheless affected the start of an alternation of joints, both along the flank and rear of the building. Two blocks of the left pilaster, and one of the right, are 'stepped,' i.e., the part of the block that belongs to the rear of the temple is set slightly lower than that which belongs to the flank. This peculiarity shows that the masons had not sufficiently coordinated the heights of the wall courses between flank and rear, a discrepancy which required them to make an adjustment at the corners.

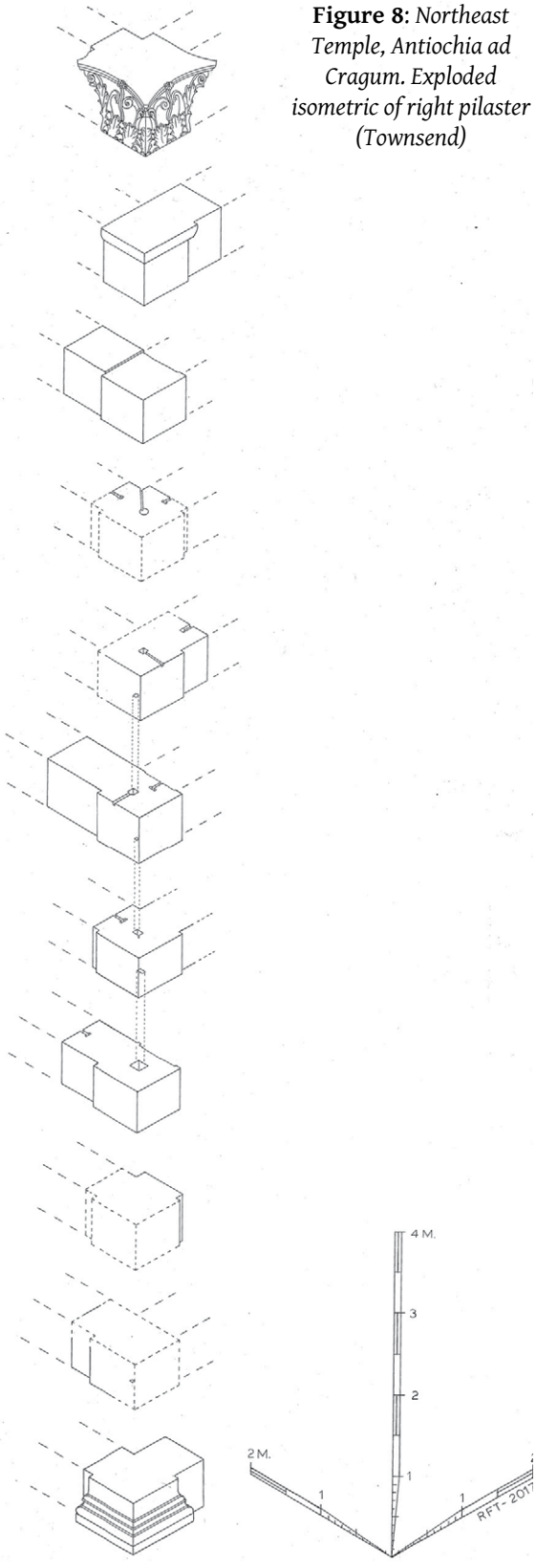

Figure 8: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Exploded isometric of right pilaster (Townsend)*

Clamps and dowels

Clamps and dowels were used very sparingly in the temple. They occur in conjunction with each other in two parts only: the pilasters at the rear corners and in the antae of the wall ends at the front. The architrave blocks of the porch were clamped but not doweled. There is evidence that dowels were intended for the columns of the porch but never employed.

Each pilaster (figure 8 shows the right pilaster) was made up of 11 blocks; fortunately, all 22 are extant, although not all top and bottom resting surfaces are fully preserved.[42] If all the blocks were secured top and bottom with dowels, the two pilasters would have contained 44 dowel holes, one in each top and bottom resting surface. In the right pilaster ten dowel holes are present in the 15 preserved surfaces; in the left

[42] The height of the pilasters was used to calculate the column height of the temple owing to the poor preservation of the columns themselves.

Table 3. *Clamps Used in Pilasters*

	Total possible clamp positions	Preserved clamp positions	Actual clamp cuttings
Left Pilaster	22	15	6
Right Pilaster	22	9	4
Total both pilasters	44	24	10
	100%	24/44 = ~55% of total possible positions	10/24 = ~42% of preserved clamp positions

pilaster 12 dowel holes are present in the 17 preserved surfaces. Thus, 69% of the preserved surfaces display dowel holes, demonstrating that the builders put an emphasis on this type of fastening.[43] Yet not all blocks received dowels. In at least one instance, a dowel hole exists in one surface but not in the corresponding surface of the next block. And in one case, on the upper surface of one block, the dowel hole has only the bare beginning of a pour channel, precluding the infusion of lead in the manner used in all other instances; this suggests hurried work. The dowel holes in the upper resting surface of the blocks were large and square, though a few are round, while those in the lower surface are small, either square or round; some are as small as 0.03 x 0.03 x 0.03 m. It is hard to imagine they provided much strength, but at least one preserves traces of lead in it, indicating it was used.

A similar situation applies to the clamps. Each pilaster block was to be clamped to the adjoining block along both the rear and flank of the temple, for a total of 44 clamps, 22 for each pilaster. Of the possible 22 clamps of the right pilaster blocks, evidence exists for 15, i.e., the surface where the clamp cutting would be placed survives; of these 15 places, only six display clamp cuttings. In the case of the left pilaster, of the possible 22 clamps, the positions for nine are preserved; in these nine positions four clamp cuttings actually occur. Thus, ten clamps are found in 24 positions, 42% of the available positions for which evidence exists; and these positions represent approximately 55% of the total possible number (i.e., 24 out of 44) (**Table 3**). If 42% is representative of the total number of clamps that originally existed, the masons employed fewer than half the number they could have. By comparison with the dowels used in the pilasters (where 69% of the possible total occur), it would appear that the masons may have considered clamps less crucial.[44]

Fewer anta blocks are preserved than pilaster blocks. Of the 22 that existed originally, only 14 remain (eight belonging to the left anta, six to the right); some blocks are complete, while others are broken to a greater or lesser extent. Because there are gaps, it has not been possible to restore the blocks in their original order, as could be done for the pilasters. Still, the information that can be gleaned from the surviving material reveals a situation similar to that which pertains to the pilasters. In the left anta, three of the eight blocks have both upper and lower dowel holes; three have neither; and the resting

[43] 22 dowel holes in 32 preserved surfaces: 22/32 = 0.6875 = ~69%.

[44] Structural analyses with and without clamps as well as alternating clamps (i.e., mechanically attached and unattached stones) are planned in order to study the impact of these connections on the structural behavior of the overall system.

surfaces of two are not sufficiently preserved to allow for judgment. The six remaining blocks of the right anta are more fragmentary. Of the 12 upper and lower resting surfaces, just five are sufficiently preserved for diagnosis, but all of them have dowel holes. Thus, in the 11 preserved surfaces of the two antae, 65% have dowel holes, a figure close to that in the pilasters. Also, as in the pilasters, large dowel holes with pour channels, both square and round, occur in the upper resting surfaces; small square and round dowel holes are found in the lower resting surfaces.[45]

The builders felt it important to clamp the antae to the wall behind and to the cella door wall set at right angles to the antae; but, here as elsewhere, they cut corners and left the work incomplete. Between the two antae, the evidence for this juncture can be observed in seven blocks: clamps were used four times; in three instances they were not. Of course, the adjoining wall blocks will have had corresponding clamp cuttings. Of approximately 145 extant wall blocks,[46] they are present in just ten. This statistic is sufficient in itself to demonstrate that the only wall blocks with clamps were those fastened either to the pilasters or to the antae. Moreover, in each of the ten blocks, clamps are found at only one end.[47]

The only other place where clamps are used on a consistent basis occurs in the five architrave blocks of the prostyle porch. Here clamps at either end secure each block to its neighbours. One of the two anta blocks on the return of the porch (that belonging to the right–hand side) has a clamp cutting for securing it to the first architrave block of the wall, that directly above the anta; the corresponding block on the other side lacks any such cutting.

The threshold block has two dowel holes, to secure the bottom blocks of the door jambs; but the jamb blocks themselves were not doweled to each other. Three tiny square dowel holes are found on top of the lintel block of the cella door. They are so small that it is difficult to believe they served any structural function; they are more likely to have aided in the positioning of this large block.[48]

The four columns of the porch were badly damaged in the collapse of the temple. As a result, it has not been possible to reconstruct any completely, but it is likely that each shaft consisted of two drums of approximately equal height; these were not doweled to each other. The upper resting surface of one top drum, however, has a dowel hole in its centre, indicating the likely intention for it to be doweled to the column capital. It may have been, but the one capital that preserves its lower resting surface has no dowel hole and therefore could not have been fixed to the column below; these two examples show once again that in this part of the temple, as elsewhere, fastening work was left incomplete. Furthermore, the capitals were not doweled to the architrave above. Three capitals preserve their upper resting surface, and none has a dowel; moreover, the soffits of the porch architrave blocks have none either. The column bases, like the anta and pilaster bases, were not doweled to the stylobate.

The blocks of the architrave over the cella wall, and all of the frieze and *geison* blocks were neither clamped nor doweled.[49] This may help to explain, at least in part, the enormous size of the *geison* blocks

[45] One block is an outlier, with a large round dowel hole in its lower resting surface.

[46] In addition, there are approximately 40 blocks whose function has yet to be determined. Undoubtedly, some of these will turn out to be wall blocks, the largest category of preserved blocks belonging to the temple. None, however, have clamp cuttings.

[47] As yet no attempt has been made to match the clamp cuttings in the wall blocks to those in the anta and pilaster blocks. No doubt, however, at least a few will align.

[48] There are also two dowel holes on the back, interior face of the lintel block, which were probably used in conjunction with the fastening of the door itself.

[49] One frieze block has the trace of a clamp cutting.

Figure 9: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Lateral geison block (Townsend)*

given the modest scale of the temple overall (**Figure 9**).[50] They had to hold the outward thrust exerted by the roof rafters (the cuttings to receive the rafter ends can be seen on the upper surface of the block in figure 9) and the weight of the terracotta tiles above; without the aid of clamps and dowels, the weight of the block is essentially all that will have held the roof in place.

In sum, the evidence demonstrates that the builders restricted the use of clamps and dowels to reinforce some of the structurally important elements of the temple, viz. at the four corners of the cella, the pilasters at the rear and the antae at the front. This work was not fully executed, however. It appears, too, that they intended, for the same reason, to strengthen the porch columns by means of doweling, but this was carried out only barely, or even not at all. Moreover, there were places where clamps and dowels would have been beneficial, as in the *geison* course, but which lack them entirely.

Crafstmanship

The construction of the temple reveals highly variable levels of craftsmanship. The masons understood the technique of clamping and doweling and its importance for the structural integrity of dry masonry. Their use of this technique in crucial parts of the building, at the four corners and in the architrave of the porch, attests to this. However, as already noted, clamps and dowels do not occur elsewhere where

[50] The block in figure 9, which is typical of the lateral *geisa*, weighs approximately two metric tons. I am grateful to Prof. Erdogmus for this calculation.

one might well expect them: they are entirely absent from the podium blocks that act as a veneer to the rubble mortared core; nor do they occur in the frieze or *geison* courses; they are absent from the pediment and from the walls; and the four columns of the porch lack them as well.

Tool marks left on the stone run the gamut from hammer work to a fine toothed chisel. Signs of polished surfaces are lacking, but that may be due to the corrosive effects of the soil in which the blocks came to be buried. The carving process of a majority of blocks had been completed by the time construction ended, but a substantial number were put into place with preliminary surfaces still present. In a few instances masons forgot to remove protective lips along the upper edge of a visible surface; and there are examples of mouldings that had been abandoned before completion. But these instances of incomplete work are common in buildings of all periods constructed in the technique of dry stone ashlar masonry. What is more unexpected is the presence of preliminary work on load–bearing surfaces. This does not occur frequently, but its appearance at all is surprising. While it may not have affected the overall stability of the building to any great extent,[51] it would at the very least have made more difficult the task of keeping the courses level.

Even among finished blocks, shortcuts abound. *Anathyrosis* on the ends of blocks occurs only on the vertical edges; there is no band across the top horizontal edge. And rather than smoothly finishing the entire horizontal surface in order to create tight joints with the course below and above, horizontal *anathyrosis* is employed, albeit on one surface only (usually the top). Other details, however, indicate a desire to prepare resting surfaces with care, such as the use of a relieving surface on column bases and capitals. And there are instances of accomplished carving, both on architectural details such as the dentils formed together in one block with the frieze course and in the decorative reliefs found on the underside of the porch architrave blocks as well as in the cassettes of the *geison*. The most noteworthy work of carved relief is of course the decorated pediment over the porch: two Victories holding between them a figural bust within a medallion.[52]

As for lifting and positioning blocks, numerous pry holes attest the shifting of blocks into place once on the temple. But no evidence exists to indicate how the blocks were lifted from the ground. As already noted, some blocks, e.g., those of the *geison* course and the lintel block, are very heavy. Yet there are no cuttings such as lewis holes, and there are no bosses. The lack of the latter is peculiar given the many other indications of unfinished work.[53]

A few anomalies point to careless measurement of basic dimensions of the temple. Attention has already been drawn to the misalignment of the height of courses along the flanks and across the rear, and the need to use the pilaster to make adjustments at the corner where the walls met. In the plan of the temple a discrepancy is apparent between the width of the wall at the back (6.44 m) and that at the front (6.24 m) (**Figure 2**). The difference (0.20 m) is the same as that between the width of the resting surface of the architrave at the front, which is necessarily the same as the wall width, and the resting surface of the horizontal *geison* at the front (6.44 m), which projects ca. 0.10 m beyond that of the architrave at either end of the entablature. The correspondence of the wall width at the rear and the width of the *geison* resting surface at the front (i.e., each 6.44 m) makes it tempting to hypothesize that the builders

[51] While some degree of roughness helps to create friction between blocks, if there is so much that the blocks are not in full contact, they will not be held tightly in compression. I am grateful to Professor Erdogmus for this information.

[52] Supra nt. 22.

[53] A possible explanation for the lack of evidence for the lifting of blocks onto the temple may be the use of the inclined plane, for the workings of which see Martines *et al.* 2016: 185–188.

Figure 10: *Northeast Temple, Antiochia ad Cragum. Architrave block, detail of soffit decoration (Townsend)*

set the width of the back wall on the basis of the measurement of the front *geison* rather than that of the architrave. Although the mistake is easily noticed on a modern plan of the temple, in point of fact one would hardly have perceived it observing the actual structure. More easily seen was the error made in placing the decorative band ornamenting the soffit of one of the architrave blocks of the porch. These decorative strips were meant to be centred between each of the porch columns, but that in the right–hand intercolumniation along the front had to be adjusted twice; and still it was not centred (**Figure 10**). In fact, even in its final position it barely missed being covered by the corner column capital.

Conclusion

A number of findings result from the study of the materials and construction techniques of the Northeast Temple at Antioch, of interest for its own history and for comparison with other architectural monuments of western Rough Cilicia. Very significant is the scientific analysis establishing that the temple is built of local marble. The common opinion has been that the only marble used in architectural construction in Rough Cilicia was imported and that in fact the region lacked sources for this stone.[54] The use of marble in the Northeast Temple does not diminish its rare occurrence in the region so much as it draws attention to the exceptional nature of its use in this building.

The Northeast Temple is unusual in another way. It has been observed that dry ashlar masonry in Rough Cilicia eschews the use of clamps and dowels. This absence is explained, early on, by a lack of iron ore deposits in the region, and later, in the Roman era, by deeply rooted habits that were hard to break.[55] However this may have been the case elsewhere, it does not apply in the instance of the Northeast Temple. While the use of fasteners was limited, the masons clearly knew the technique, and the evidence

[54] Spanu 2013: 99; Spanu 2003: 26.
[55] Spanu 2010: 399–400.

produces the impression that it was only some exigency that kept them from applying it more thoroughly. Perhaps the difficulty lay in the limited quantities of expensive metal available – iron – and the lead used to coat it; in other words, economic constraints may have played a role. A shortage of funds would account for the absence of clamps and dowels in the walls where gravity and friction could have been deemed sufficient to provide stability. But the irregular use of clamps and dowels where they are found (pilasters and antae) and the near or total lack of them in places where they were needed (porch entablature, columns, *geison*) instead suggests hurried construction. The building reveals hasty, careless work elsewhere as well. While there are ample examples of good to very good craftsmanship throughout the building, it is clear that the masons cut corners virtually everywhere.

The picture that emerges from this examination of the materials and techniques of construction is that of a building with aspirations of elegance and prestige. On the surface, it may have achieved some measure of that ambition; but it will have done so at the expense of true quality, seemingly the result of a need to rush the project to completion. Nothing more conclusive can be said at this point, but if – as has been tentatively suggested[56] – the building proves to be an imperial dedication, one might well look to the historical record for an unexpected royal visit; or at least the potential for one. For example, Septimius Severus undertook his Parthian campaign, beginning in AD 197, a date likely in accordance with the construction of the temple. He sailed from Brundisium to Syria, and thus past Antioch. Although he is supposed to have taken a direct route, this would not have precluded brief stops along the way; indeed, they would have been necessary for provisioning. Moreover, a connection of Septimius Severus with Antioch is known to have existed, since he was responsible for the construction of the road that passes through the city. If the city did wish to celebrate such an event with the building of a temple, it would have been more important to complete it on time rather than ensure it lasted a long time.[57]

[56] Supra nt. 22.

[57] See *Hist. Aug.*, Sev. 5.20 for his route; for the road, see Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 37–38 no. AntK 17; Bean and Mitford 1965: 35–36 no. 40. For a possible visit to Antioch by an earlier emperor, Hadrian, in AD 131 on his way to Athens from Alexandria, see Hoff *et al.* 2021.

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