## Evidence for the re-dating of the N8 Mausoleum at Ariassos\*

## Tarkan Kahya

To Diotimos son of Samos and his sweetest homeland

This paper discusses the re-dating of the Mausoleum 8 (N8) from the North Necropolis of Ariassos in the light of a coin found in the filling of the robbed *hyposorion*. The building was previously studied (Cormack 1989).

Since Pisidia, the mountainous region which also includes Ariassos, was not a province until Diocletian, it should be taken as a geographical designation (Bracke 1993: 15). The region was bordered by Lycia in the southwest, Isauria in the east and Phrygia in the west.

Ariassos first appears around 100 BC, among the thirteen Pisidian cities listed by the Ephesian geographer Artemidoros, in which it is named Aarassos (Mitchell – Owens – Waelkens 1989: 63; Strabo, *Geography* XII.7.2, 570). Later, Ptolemy V.5.6 placed it in Kabalia, and the city is found in the Byzantine religious lists (Hirschfeld 1895: 821-822; Mitchell – Owens – Waelkens 1989: 63). In modern times, it was first visited by O. Schönborn, who named it as Kretopolis. His proposal was also accepted by Lanckoroński (Lanckoroński – Niemann 1892: 123-126). But V. Bérard's studies in 1892 showed that the city was indeed Ariassos¹.

The city is located 50 km. north of Antalya, 1 km. west of Antalya-Burdur highway (Lang 2003: 189). Like Sia and Panemoteichos, it is an the north of the range that descends steeply to the Pamphylian plain. The city lies on the southernmost part of the Taurus (Vandeput – Köse – Aydal 1999: 133) (Fig. 1) and is near the Via Sebaste, which rans from Pamphylia and after leaving the Döşeme Pass, crosses the plain between Ariassos and Panemoteichos

 $<sup>^{\</sup>star}$  I am indebted to Prof. Oğuz Tekin for his information concerning  $\,$  ancient numismatics and to T.M.P. Duggan for proof reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Horsley – Mitchell 2000: 123; Karakaya 2007: 222 "This inscription, dealing with the imperial priest, indicates the existence of the imperial cult in the city."

in a northwestern direction and reaches Komama after the narrow pass of Eşek Devrent and Kızılkaya (Mitchell 1994: 144).

The fact that Anatolian funerary architecture and burial practices have deep roots and peculiar characteristics is the chief reason for the rich and various examples of funerary architecture seen in Pisidia, ranging from simple graves to monumental tombs (Yılmaz 2007: 155). In the Roman period, local Anatolian burial practices were blended with Roman religious architecture. The tombs from Ariassos also remained loyal to the local tradition, as if reflecting the isolated position of the region (Cormack 1996: 25).

Cicero mentions that as in the Greek cities, burials within the borders of the city of Rome were forbidden except if they belonged to very important and successful persons (Cicero, *de Legibus* II. 58). However that may be, the major necropoleis of Anatolian cities can extend into the inhabited areas indicating the population was not afraid of living together with the dead or catching a disease from the rotting bodies. This phenomenon can be clearly observed in Ariassos (Mitchell 1995c: 69), the neighbouring Pisidian cities of Sia and Panemoteichos, and Termessos (Abbasoğlu 1988: 222). At Sia there is no clear-cut distinction between the inhabited and burial areas. Some graves suggest that the family members were buried near to their houses. This is also seen in rural Pisidia (Mitchell 1996: 20). At Panemoteichos, most of the rockcut tombs are located in the inhabited areas, which means there is no distinction between two areas as elsewhere in Pisidia (Mitchell 1995b: 16).

In fact during the Hellenistic period necropoleis were kept outside the city walls. Augustan peace and prosperity decreased the importance of defence systems and sometimes caused their removal. As the cities expanded, the necropoleis also extended in every direction and thus they diffused into the inhabited areas. The cities of the living mixed with the cities of the dead. Ariassos is a good example of this. The city is surrounded by necropoleis to the north, south and east. Nine mausoleums in the north necropolis belong to the elite citizens of Ariassos (Yılmaz 2007: 157), (Fig. 2).

The N8 mausoleum is located at the centre of the necropolis and faces east. This monumental tomb is markedly different from the other tombs in regard to its appearance (Fig. 3). Like Pisidian temple-tombs (except those at Sia) it has no organic connection with the surrounding temenos wall or any other building. For the outer surface hard limestone ashlar blocks were used; the core and the inner walls of the upper storey were built with rubble and mortar (Cormack 1989: 32). Below the the 2.30 m.-high podium and a square *cella*, there is a vaulted *hyposorion* (Fig. 4).

The absence of an entrance to the main burial chamber is suggested by the lack of steps of a ramp leading to the podium. The inaccessibility of the mausoleum implies that this type of tomb is the house of the heroised dead<sup>2</sup>. The eastern face, i.e. the main façade must have been decorated with sculptures and columns. There is no evidence for the superstructure of the monument (Cormack 1989: 36). It is an eclectic structure, bringing together Persian, Lycian and Hellenistic architectural features (Cormack 1996: 25; Yılmaz 2007: 165).

The architectural tradition in Ariassos was conservative (Cormack 1996: 6). As Mitchell points out, the main problem in interpreting the architecture in the city is that no clear evidence for the absolute chronology of city has been discovered. The architectural decoration is simple and perfunctory, and only the Roman triumphal arch is datable, due to its inscription (Mitchell 1991: 172; Mitchell 1992: 101). The absence of any evidence that could help dating, led Cormack to place N8 in the 2<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, before the economically and socially tense period of late 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century (Cormack 1989: 40).

From the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, Gothic and Sassanid invasions, earthquakes, plagues and banditry disturbed this part of Anatolia<sup>3</sup>. The effects of disastrous imperial monetary policy and inflation due to the shrinking economy was felt, for example, at Side (Nollé 1990: 244-265). The statistical analysis of 3<sup>rd</sup> century coins indicates an increase in silver and bronze coin production. This phenomenon, however, has something to do with the debasing of currency in the empire and especially in Roman Anatolia<sup>4</sup>.

Yet, it is not easy to evaluate the effects of the disturbances. The economic began crisis must have caused problems in the city, since it is known that Termessos to decline in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and lost its importance in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Abbasoğlu 1988: 216). The surveys at Melli near Ariassos however, depict a different picture. The city possessed monumental temple-tombs in the Late Roman period, i.e. in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (Vandeput – Köse 2002: 152; Vandeput – Köse 2001: 143). Certainly these tombs are indicators of the citizens' wealth in a period of general economic crisis. The rural populations in Anatolia was not disturbed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century crisis (Mitchell 1995a;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cormack 1989: 36; Yılmaz 2007: 165; "Although Cormack thinks that N8 is the final resting place of a hero, the absence of steps betrays the heroon interpretation".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For the defence systems in Anatolia in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD see Esch – Martin 2008: 105-106; Özsait 1985: 101; Duggan 2004: 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mitchell – Katsari 2005: XXV. The use of coins continued in the daily minor transactions despite the crisis. Intense bronze coin circulation eased commodity exchanges.

for the empire in general see Freeman 2003: 550). These examples are important as they show that it can be misleading to take only the circumstances in the empire in general as a criterion for dating the monuments of Pisidia.

Coin found in the soil that was removed by illegal excavation in the *hyposorion* of N8<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 5), confirms the date given by Cormack, but narrows it. Ariassos struck coins from the Late Hellenistic to the Augustan period (Olcay 1969: 289-304), when it was annexed to Galatia, and between the reign of Antoninus Pius and Gallienus/Salonina (von Aulock 1977: 26-8 ve 67-76; SNG 1964: Nr. 5001-5007).

On the obverse of this coin is the dressed bust of Philippus I with a cuirass, his ray-crowned head is looking right. The legend reads IMP. PHILIPPVS AVG. On the reverse is the legend FELICITAS IMPP. surrounded by a laurel crown<sup>6</sup>. It is a silver coin struck by a Roman mint (for 1956 Philippus coins from the west Anatolian hoards see Esch – Martin 2008: 98, Pl. 3). The date (247-249 AD) of this very common type (Fig. 6) provides a *terminus ante quem* for the tomb (Tekin 1997: 44). Cormack's proposition for comparing N3 from the same necropolis with the arch of Severus Alexander on the basis of architectural detail seems to confirm this date (Cormack 1996: 6, note 9).

Its greater dimensions and overall impressive appearance suggest that this mausoleum belonged to an aristocrat, perhaps a local city magistrate (Cormack 1989: 32, 40). The name of the owner is unknown, though he was certainly an important person, which is also confirmed by tomb's closeness to the public buildings (Cormack 1996: 12). We may imagine that it belonged to a person of high status, such as the Diotimos son of Samos (Mitchell 1991: 162) known from many inscriptions in the city as a beneficient man, who erected the arch at the eastern end of the main street in honour of Severus Alexander in 231-233 AD, and who became a *gymnasiarkos* in 238/239 and later an imperial priest despite his age (Horsley – Mitchell 2000: 126).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The coins were delivered to the museum by the author. I would like to thank H. Ali Ekinci, the director of the Burdur Museum, who kindly allowed me to publish the coin, and also to Kayhan Dörtlük, the director of AKMED who cleaned it and shared his opinions with me.

<sup>6</sup> Mattingly – Sydenham – Sutherland 1962: 75 Pl. 6/17. The coin weighs 3.75 grams and has a diameter of 2.3 cm.

In consequence the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD can be proposed as the construction date for the mausoleum. Available historical and archaeological data does not provide the name of the owner, but it is possible that N8 belonged to Diotimos.

Tarkan Kahya (M.A.) Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü (AKMED) Kocatepe Sok. No: 25 07100 - Kaleiçi, Antalya / Türkiye tarkank@akmed.org.tr

## Ariassos N-8 Mausoleium'unun Yeniden Tarihlendirilmesi İçin Bir Kanıt

Bu metin, soyulan hyposorion'undan dışarı atılan toprakta ele geçen bir sikke vasıtasıyla Ariassos Kuzey Nekropolü 8 no.lu Mausoleium'unun (N-8) yeniden tarihlendirilme önerisini içermektedir. Yapı daha önce bilimsel bir araştırmaya konu olmuştur.

Ariassos'un da içinde bulunduğu dağlık bir bölgenin antik adı olan Pisidia, Roma İmparatoru Diocletianus Dönemi'ne kadar münferit bir eyalet olmadığından, temelde bir coğrafi kavram olarak görülmelidir. Pisidia Bölgesi güneybatıda Lykia, doğuda Isauria, kuzeyde Phrygia bölgeleriyle sınırlanmıştır.

Ariassos'un ismi, yazılı kaynaklarda ilk kez, yaklaşık M.Ö. 100 civarında Ephesos'lu coğrafyacı Artemidoros tarafından listelenen 13 Pisidia şehri arasında Aarassos şeklinde görülür. Daha sonra Ptolemaios tarafından Kabalia'da gösterilen kent, Bizans Dönemi dini listelerinde yer almıştır. Modern çağda ilk olarak O. Schönborn tarafından ziyaret edilmiş ve Kretopolis olarak isimlendirilmiştir. Onun bu önerisi Lanckoroński tarafından da onay görmüştür. Kentin adının Ariassos olduğu V. Bérard tarafından yapılan 1892 yılındaki çalışmalarla anlaşılmıştır.

Kentin kuzey nekropolünün merkezinde yer alan, doğuya yönlenmiş, N8 Mausoleium'u olarak anılan anıtsal mezar görünüş açısından kentteki diğer mezarlardan farklıdır. Pisidia tapınak mezarlarında olduğu gibi (Sia hariç), mezarı kuşatan bir temenos duvarı yoktur. Dış yüzeylerde yerel sert gri kireçtaşı kesme bloklar, podyumun çekirdeğinde ve üst kattaki odanın iç duvarlarında harçlı moloz taş kullanılmıştır. 2.30 m yüksekliğinde podyuma ve kare formlu cellanın altında tonozlu bir *hyposorion*a sahiptir.

Mitchell'in belirttiği gibi kentte mimarinin yorumlanmasında ana zorluk kentin kesin kronolojisi için bir kanıtın sağlanamamış olmasıdır. Ariassos'un mimari geleneği konservativdir. Mimari dekorasyon basit ve baştan savmadır ve kentte sadece Roma Takı yazıtlarla doğrudan doğruya tarihlenebilmektedir. Tarihlendirmeye yardımcı bir kanıtın olmaması Cormack'ı, N8'i, İmparatorluğun genelinde yaşanan ekonomik ve sosyal gerilemenin olduğu

geç M.S. 3. yy ve 4. yy'dan önceye, 2. ve 3. yy gibi geniş bir zaman dilimi içinde tarihlendirmeye zorlamıştır.

Bu yazının konusunu oluşturan ve hazine avcılarınca yapının *hyposorion*unda yapılan kaçak kazılar esnasında dışarı attıkları toprak yığınında tespit edilen 3.75 gr ağırlığında, 2.3 cm çapındaki sikke Cormack'ın yapı için verdiği tarihlemeyi teyit etmekte ancak, kesin tarihi sayesinde bu geniş zaman dilimini daraltmaktadır. Sikkenin ön yüzünde giyimli ve göğüs zırhlı İmparator I. Philippus'un sağa bakan şua taçlı portresi vardır. Lejand, **IMP. PHILIPPVS AVG.** şeklinde okunmaktadır, arka yüz lejantında ise üç satır halinde defne çelengi içerisinde **FELICITAS IMPP.** yazmaktadır. Sikke gümüştür ve Roma darphanesinde basılmıştır. Yaygın olan bu tipin basım tarihi M.S. 247-249, yapı için de *terminus ante quem*dir. Cormack tarafından, N8 ile aynı nekropolde olan N3'ün, Alexander Severus Dönemi kent takı ile mimari detay açısından karşılaştırılma önerisi, bu tarihlendirmeyi destekler görünmektedir.

Nekropolisteki diğer yapılardan daha büyük ve daha etkileyici olması, bu Mausoleium'un kesinlikle bir aristokrata, belki yerel bir kent memuruna ait olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Mezar sahibinin adına dair bir bilgimiz yoktur. Muhtemelen Ariassos'ta seçkin bir şahıs olmalıdır. Önde gelen bir vatandaşa ait olması görüşünü, mezarın kamu binalarına yakınlığı da desteklemektedir. Bu mezarın, Ariassos ana caddesinin doğu bitimindeki takın olasılıkla 231-233 yılında Severus Alexander için zafer anıtı olarak dikilmesini sağlayan, M.S. 238/9 yılında gymnasiarkhos olan, heykeli dikilen, daha sonra ilerlemiş yaşında imparator rahibi olan ve Ariassos yazıtlarında sıkça ismi geçen hayırsever Samos oğlu Diotimos gibi, sosyal statüye sahip bir şahsiyete ait olduğu düşünülebilir.

Sonuç olarak M.S. 3. yy'ın II. çeyreği, Mausoleium'un yapım tarih olarak önerilebilir. Eldeki tarihsel ve arkeolojik veriler, mezar sahibinin kesin bir şekilde tespitini şimdilik imkânsız kılmaktaysa da, N8 Mausoleium'unun Diotimos'a ait olması bir olasılıktır.

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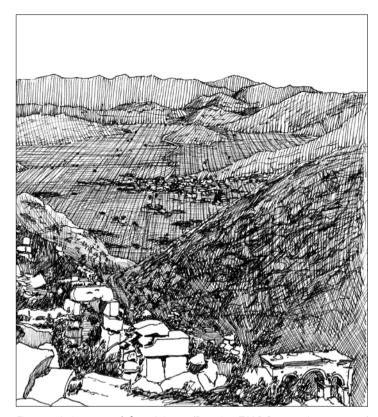


Fig. 1 A view to north from Ariassos (Drawing: T.M.P. Duggan January 1989).

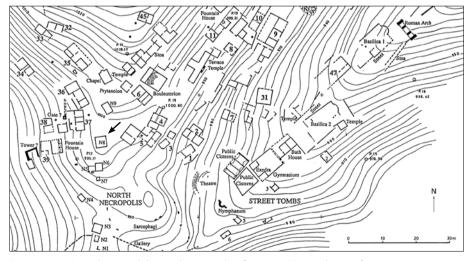


Fig. 2 N8 Mausoleum and the north necropolis of Ariassos (Cormack 1996, fig. 1).



Fig. 3 N8 Mausoleum, general view.



Fig. 4 The vaulted hyposorion of N8.



Fig. 5 The coin from Tomb N8.



Fig. 6 Comperable coin (Mattingly – Sydenham – Sutherland 1962, pl. 6/17).