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2003

Prof. Dr. Jale İnan
ve
Ord. Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal'ı kaybettik,
saygıyla anıyoruz...

OLBA'nın Basılması İçin Vermiş Olduğu Desteklerden Dolayı
Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörü Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a
Teşekkür Ederiz.

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İçindekiler/Contents

CILICIA AT THE CROSSROADS: TRANSFORMATIONS OF BATHS AND BATHING CULTURE IN THE ROMAN EAST

(LEV. 7-21)

Fikret K. YEGÜL*

ÖZET

Bu bildiri, yerel mimari ve bu mimarinin kültürel dokusu arasındaki ilişkileri incelemeye yöneliktir. Kilikia, "Salonlu Tip" dediğimiz hamamların (genellikle sosyal amaçlar için kullanılan çok işlevli salonları ile nitelenen hamamlar) gelişmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Çalışmada, bu hamamların Kilikia'da gösterdiği özelliklerden yola çıkılarak, bölgenin doğu ve batı Roma arasındaki kendine özgü ve ayrıcalıklı durumu, özellikle de Antakya ve Kuzey Suriye ile kurduğu yakın ilişkilerin altı çizilmeye çalışılmıştır. Roma hamam ve yıkanma alışkanlığının doğu ülkelerinde Geç Antik dönemde kaybolmaya başlaması, sonradan değişik şekil ve kalıplarda yeniden doğması, Klasik çağ kültürel kurumlarının, Erken Hıristiyanlık ve gelişen İslam'ın değer ve kültür dünyasında yarattığı yeni örneklere ve yeni ilhama tanıklık eder.

The subject of bathing in antiquity holds a certain appeal to both the specialist and the lay person because of the warmth, richness, and immediacy of the human activities it represents. The leisurely and sensuous world of Roman baths – bathing, eating, drinking, massage, exercise, or simply the pleasure of companionship in an intimate and luxurious setting – interests and intrigues us. We are intrigued because antiquity has taken what is, to us, a basic and prosaic function – bathing – and elevated it to the level of a cultural and recreational act, a civic institution for which there is no real counterpart in modern Western civilization.

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Bathing in the Roman world involved far more than the functional and hygienic necessities of washing. It was a personal regeneration and a deeply rooted social habit. Like the arena and the circus, bathing was a major recreational activity, but unlike them bathing was not a spectacle; it involved the direct participation of the individual in a daily event. For the average Roman, whether in Rome or in a caravan city at the edge of the desert, a visit to the public baths in the afternoon was a necessary and delightful part of the day's routine. Bathing helped to integrate the individual into the mainstream of national culture. Not to bathe would have been un-Roman.

Bathing was important to the Roman society because it was rooted in the rhythm and structure of the day, a keeper of time, and a collective habit that bolstered national identity. It was also a physically and psychologically satisfying experience. The warm, clear water, the shiny marble surfaces, the steamy atmosphere of vaulted rooms, the murmuring and echoing of genial sounds, the intimacy of massage and nudity – all created feelings of relaxation, comfort, well-being, and happiness. Bathing also was a prelude to and a part of the preparation for the pleasurable experience of dinner, an artful and highly social affair that was the culmination of the Roman day. The dream world created by public baths, large or small, was open to all, and enjoyed by almost all. Even in the remotest border provinces, *especially* in the remotest border provinces, where pleasures were few and life was hard, the baths enabled the individual to escape the dusty streets for a few hours a day, feel a part of the system, and share the Empire's wealth, and perhaps, ideologies. Baths gave the Romans the world they wanted, a world in which it was pleasant to linger[1].

The popularity of bathing and a community's delight in its baths were common in both the Western and Eastern halves of the Empire. In Antioch, the preeminent center of the Roman East, the restoring and rebuilding of damaged baths and aqueducts were the highest on the city's agenda[2]. At the end of the 2nd-century, Antioch's misfortune in supporting Perennius

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1 For bathing in the Roman world in general: Yegül 1992, esp. 1-5 and 30-47.

2 Liebeschuetz 1972,148-49; Liebeschuetz 1992, 1-49; Downey 1961, 451-53, 476-78, 520-25; Yegül 1992, 324; Yegül 2000, 146-51. See also Malalas, 339.17-18; Libanios, Or. 26.5-6, 27.13, 44.31; Ep., 748.

Niger, Septimius Severus' rival to the throne, ended in the loss of its coveted rank as the metropolis of Syria. The symbol of the new emperor's clemency was the gift of bathing: the building of a new imperial bath called the *Severianum (# 7)*[3]. Two centuries later, during the Great Revolt of 387, when Antiochenes angrily and foolishly reacted to the newly imposed taxes by breaking the imperial images in the public baths, the revocation of the city's metropolitan rank and closing down of all its baths as punishments, were the harshest and the most humiliating[4]. When the great earthquake of 458 damaged or destroyed all the buildings on the Orontes Island, the "old palace bath," dating from the reign of Diocletian, was the first to be repaired and put back to use. According to Evagrios' 6th-century *Church History*, it "rendered important service for the health and comfort of local survivors ... who must have sorely needed an opportunity to rid themselves of the dust produced by the earthquake."[5]

In the eyes of the Church it was not the earthly, or earthquake, dust but the morally and spiritually soiled self that needed cleansing that no ordinary bath could do: "He who has bathed in Christ has no need for a second bath" wrote Saint Jerome.[6] Despite this forceful injunction, in the real world of late antique and Byzantine cities of the East, baths remained a popular civic institution. Antioch even received a mild sort of rebuke from Julian who criticized the citizens for preferring fancy dress and warm baths rather than being virtuous.[7] Yet, the Church's position never escalated to a universal ban against bathing. Even though it tried to create the impression that pagan baths and bathing culture was somehow linked with the devil, this did not stop the public, even ecclesiastical, use of the many existing baths after they were purified. Mainly, bathing as a symbol of a luxurious and indulgent activity (like "fancy dress"), was clearly against the Christian notion of spirituality achieved through the negation of the body and the senses. The Church was tolerant towards bathing if the

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3 Malalas, 294.17-19.

4 John Chrysostom, *On the Statues,* 13.2-6, 17.2; Libanios, Or., 22.2-7.

5 Downey 1961, 476-78; Evagrios, *Church History,* ed. Bidez—Parmentier, 2.12, 63-64. Yegül 2000, 146-47

6 "Sed qui in Christo semel lotus est, non illi necesse est iterum lavari," Jerome, *Letters,* 14.10 (CSEL, 54-56).

7 Julian, *Misopogon,* 342C

component of pleasure was taken out of it – that is, if bathing was conceived as a functional, hygienic and medicinal activity.[8] Many thermo-mineral facilities in the West and the East continued to function through the Middle Ages despite occasional reprimands from Church elders. The libertine world represented by Hammat Gader on the Jordan River, the most popular spa in the Eastern Empire, was described by Epiphanius as a place where the devil sets his snares because men and women bathed together.[9] Thomas, the donor of a humble bathing establishment in the village of Al-Anderun, in Syria, was more cautious, and shrewd. The inscription carved on the lintel of the entrance expressed his pride as the owner of the small establishment and encouraged its use at Christ's own bidding and partnership: "What is the name of these baths?" the lintel asked, and answered wistfully: "Health. Through this door Christ has opened for us the bath of healing."[10]

Among the religious, moral, and economic forces that defined the position of baths in the post-classical world, the urban economic crisis of the 6th and 7th centuries were the more important than any ideologically based injunction. Except for the baths in wealthy villas and imperial palaces, there are definite signs of paucity in the construction of new baths and the repair of old after the 8th century. In the West, particularly in Italy, this decline emerged a couple of centuries earlier than the East due to largely the civic and economic disorders caused by the Lombardic invasions of the 6th century. It was during this period the famous imperial thermae of Rome were severely curtailed or stopped functioning. Small neighborhood baths, the balneae, might have continued functioning much longer without leaving an distinct trace or memory. Archaeological and literary records attest to the continued existence of small and medium sized establishments in Constantinople into the 12th and even 13th centuries, a period when the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia came increasingly in contact with the Byzantine capital. Even with such limited representation, the "bathing culture" was

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8 Yegül 1992 , 314 ff. Pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 540-604) articulated the difference that baths were "for the needs of the body," not "for the titilation of the mind and sensuous pleasure: Gregorius 1891-99.

9 Epiphanius, *Panorion Haereticorum,* 30.7 (*Epiphanios von Konstantia,* ed. K. Holl (Leipzig 1915). Also see Jerome, *Letters,* 45.4.1; Augustine, *Contra Academicos,* 2.2.6.

10 Robert 1948 , 80, no.918.

kept alive among the Byzantine, Arabic, and later Turkish societies of the East, which inherited the institutions of the classical world.[11]

Baths in late antique world, however, evolved in different ways and there were regional variations in their design, structure, materials and usage. Many of the complexes in the West and Asia Minor, besides the primary bathing rooms, contained secondary functions such as lecture halls, libraries lounges, club rooms, cult rooms, promenades, and exercise courts. In the Roman baths of Syria and the eastern provinces, the palaestra increasingly disappeared even before the well known Christian opposition to nudity and exercise. None of the baths recovered in the Antioch excavations seems to have had an exercise courtyard, nor is there any mention of palaestra in the copious ancient references to baths. The reason for this may be that in the eastern societies the gymnasium and hence the palaestra had always occupied a relatively superficial position. It may also be that open courtyards and physical exercise were unsuitable to hot climates.[12]

Another distinguishing characteristic of eastern baths, especially during the late Roman era was that the frigidarium tended to be reduced in size and importance, or rather, it was transformed from a major hall containing vast cold-water pools to a spacious lounge-apodyterium combination that assumed a wide variety of social and ceremonial functions. The creation of a prominent multi-purpose hall in the context of bath architecture may not be unique to the Roman East, although some of the most remarkable examples of what I have described as the "hall type" come from Cilicia and its leading city Antioch. In this paper, I would like to emphasize the critical role played by this region, the geographical and cultural focus of this gathering, in the transformation of an institution from its classical beginning to its reformation and regeneration in the Byzantine and Islamic worlds.[13]

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11 Yegül 1992, 314-15.

12 On the disappearance of the palaestra and the reduction of the frigidarium see: Yegül 1992, 326-29.

13 I have introduced for the first time in print the terminology "hall type bath" to designate a significant group of public baths whose design is characterized by large, multi-purpose, social halls in: Yegül 1992, 301-04, and expanded on the social and architectural description of the type throughout eastern Mediterranean in Yegül 1993, 101-03.

The building of baths in the Roman East followed the general pattern of urban expansion seen elsewhere in the Roman empire, their numbers increasing from the time of Augustus onward, and their fortunes closely tied to the development of water supply systems. Based on literary, and to some extent, archaeological evidence, Antioch provides us with a powerful urban paradigm that may reflect the establishment and development of public baths in the larger region. The historian Malalas, writing in the mid-6th century, named a dozen or so public baths dating from the imperial period in Antioch and its suburbs.[14] These, ranging from the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus to Justinianus and Valens, have been hypothetically restored on the topographical map of the city (numbers 1-10).[15] (Fig. 1) Unlike the comprehensive records of Constantinople and Rome, Malalas did not provide official numbers. He seems to have chosen his examples at random, but mainly from those built or subsidized by emperors or high-ranking local administrators. There is little doubt that by the end of the 5th century the actual number of baths in Antioch far exceeded those mentioned by Malalas. There must have been dozens of small, neighborhood baths not covered in the records, such as the eighteen baths belonging to the eighteen tribes of the city, "each tribe trying to make its baths the finest" as reported by Libanius (*Orations* 11.245). Or, the Baths of Ardabuirus, built between Antioch and Daphne by a 5th-century military commander. It is illustrated and identified by an inscription, on the elaborate topographical border of a mosaic that depicts in linear fashion what

14 Malalas, 306.22-307.2; Downey 1961, 325; Liebeschuetz 1972, 98, 133-36; ; Liebeschuetz 1938, 1-15; A. Berger 1982, 46-49, 52-53.

15 Two baths were built by Agrippa, probably occasioned by Augustus' visits of Antioch, in 31-30 B.C., and 20 B.C. (#2) (Malalas, 227.17-20). Tiberius built his baths near the East Gate, at the northeast end of the colonnaded street (#3). Domitian's baths were located on the slopes of Mount Silpios but in the southern quarter of the city, near the amphitheater of Julius Caesar (Malalas, 263.11-17) (#4). The Baths of Trajan, probably the same one rebuilt by Hadrian, were the first connected to a major aqueduct, bringing water from Daphne (Malalas, 276.1-3, 277.20, 278.19) (#5). The baths built by Commodus, the Commodiana, appears to have been the centerpiece of a new sports complex occasioned with the inauguration of the Olympic Games in Antioch (Malalas, 290.14-20; Libanios, Or., 10) (#6). Severiana was the name of the larger baths built by Septimius Severus, of unknown location; but, the Livianum, the smaller of the two baths he built, was located on the flat grounds near the river (#7). One of the five baths cretdited to Diocletian was part of the palace of the emperor on the Orontes Island (#8). How these baths related to the baths built by Valens also near the palace some sixty or seventy years later, is unkown (Malalas, 33.917-18) (#9). See also Yegül 2000, 148-49.

appears to be a tour of the city suburbs and its monuments. The Baths of Ardaburius are shown next to the Olympic stadium, a substantial building with an imposing door, tiled roofs and many domes.[16] (Fig. 2)

Justinian was the last emperor whose name is connected with baths, not for starting new facilities, but for restoring and renovating existing ones that had been damaged in the devastating earthquake of 526, just one year after Justinian had assumed the throne. Antioch never quite recovered from this calamity, and bathing customs (and the taste for fancy dress, we presume) probably were never the same.[17]

What about the archaeological, field, evidence from Antioch? The results of the Princeton Antioch Expedition of 1930s are somewhat disappointing their inability to expose the urban wealth and urban structure of this renowned metropolis but it managed to uncover no less than six public baths (designated A through F) (Fig. 1) – "Somewhat to our dismay it was another bath," lamented C.F. Fisher, the expedition architect, upon finding Bath B.[18] None of the baths can be identified with those mentioned in literary sources, and all except Bath C are small. Bath C, an opulent establishment, is the only "imperial type" bath in Antioch whose plan we know.[19] Like the Baths of Diocletian (# 8), Bath C was located immediately south of a rudimentary stadium named by the excavators as the "Byzantine Stadium." The plan of the bath is distinctive: twenty vertically congruent rooms are grouped symmetrically about the main north-south axis crossed by a pair of east-west axes (Fig. 3). The large octagonal halls covered by domical vaults, and flanked by clusters of smaller apsidal rooms, create two clearly defined spatial zones in a perfectly balanced composition. The northern octagon had a large pool in the middle; it served as the *frigidarium* and entrance hall. The southern octagon, at the end of the main axis, was the *caldarium*. With its broad

16 Yegül 2000, 148; Downey 1961, 659-64. See also Lassus 1932 in: Antioch 1934, 114-56; Levi 1947, 323-26; Morey 1938, 18-19. See also Kondoleon 2000, 3-11, fig. 6.

17 Yegül 2000, 149; Downey 1961, 520-25.

18 For a general account of the six baths uncovered by the Princeton Expedition see: Antioch 1934; Antioch 1938; Antioch 1941, Levi 1947.

19 For Bath C: Antioch 1934, 19-31, pl.5; and Levi 1947, 289-91. For Bath B see: Antioch 1934, 8; Yegül 1992, 325-27; Campbell 1988, 7-11, 13-17, 23-24, 36-38, 49-50, fig.2.

flight of stairs and open colonnaded porch between tower-like vestibular blocks, the frontage of Bath C must have projected a remarkable sense of civic grandeur.[20] Its extroverted facade invited the street into the building, and beckoned the fickle, street-loving Antiochenes to indulge in their beloved bathing habit.

Among the smaller baths excavated at Antioch Bath E (first half of 4th century) and Bath A (early 3rd century) correspond to a group of baths in Greece and Asia Minor as well as others in Syria (Figs. 4, 5). These similarities can be noted not only in the tightly packed groupings and quasi-axial formation of the small, vaulted apsidal units of the heated zone, but especially in the annexed spaces that appear to have functioned as halls for reception, lounging, and entertainment. Dominating the plan with broad, oblong, prismatic volumes opening into large, apsidal pool units, these spaces (such as the one in Bath E named "Main Social Hall" by the excavators) and one in Bath A of similar size, proportion and disposition, must have served a variety of loosely defined and generalized functions - including that of a frigidarium. A direct comparison can be made between the annexed halls of the Antioch baths and those of Bath E-3 in Dura-Europos.[21] (Fig. 6) These tall and boxy halls, that often form the core of the bath complex, become the most distinctive and characteristic design feature in late Roman and Byzantine baths from northern Syrian sites.

The baths at Serdjilla, a prosperous agricultural and trade town in northern Syria, were built by a leading citizen named Julianos and his wife Domna in 473 (Fig. 7). An exceptionally well-made and well-preserved civic institution still dominating the ruins of this hauntingly beautiful late antique ghost town, one of many in this region which once must have thrived and supplied the life blood of Antioch, the baths were intended for

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20 The plan of Bath C bears a close relationship to the mid-2nd century South Baths at Bosra. Both are distinguished by domical vaults constructed of light aggregate. Nothing remains of the octagonal domes of Bath C, but a close comparison could be made with the almost perfectly preserved dome of the Bosra Baths. However, the peculiar, distinctive manner in which the octagon, and architectural form primarily developed in the West, was isolated and monumentalized in Bath C appears more characteristic of eastern usage and suggests a date in the mid-3rd century. Yegül 1992, 326-28, fig. 415.

21 Levi 1947, 260-76; Yegül 1992, 338-40, figs. 423-26; Yegül 2000, 150; Yegül 1993, 103; Brown 1936, 84-106.

the use and enjoyment of the town's Christian population. The sharply-outlined, all-stone building is composed of two core elements: on the north a large and lofty rectangular hall (B) with an interior balcony supported on Corinthian columns, probably used as a lounge and changing room; on the south, a number of smaller spaces serving the functions of hot and cold bathing. A smaller, two-storied structure, to the southeast and at right angles to the main building, has been interpreted as a "cafe" or hostel. It is separated from the baths by a paved, open courtyard with a handsome wellhead and a free-standing reservoir.[22] (Fig. 8)

The massing of the bath complex at Serdjilla is characterized by a masterful handling of scale, juxtaposing high, prismatic elements with smaller, lower ones. Since no vaulting was used, the hipped and lean-to roofs with their gabled ends, small boxy volumes clustered around larger ones, impart the complex a crisp, hard-edged but almost domestic appearance significantly different from the soft, rounded, vaulted forms of Western, even western Anatolian, baths. The architect of the Serdjilla complex achieved a great vitality of volumetric expression with subtly varied and fractured concatenations, much as the skillful composer of the Erechtheion had achieved on the Athenian Acropolis nearly one thousand years earlier. The new bath image, an expression of local materials and regional, historic masonry traditions, can also be seen in this very small 3rd-century bathing establishment at Brad, a market town some 15 miles north of Serdjilla (Fig 9). Here, even allowing for the externally expressed, but tightly composed tiny domes and semi-domes, hard-edged masonry forms dominate. A small, square courtyard and its spatial extensions screened off by double columns *in antis*, are fully integrated into the bath structure.[23]

Far more elaborate versions of the last two buildings, displaying the same visual aesthetic and the same planning sensibilities, can be seen at Babiska, another northern Syrian town only 50-miles southeast of Antioch. The Large and Small Baths at Babiska, dating from the 5th century, form a group that includes elaborate facilities for lodging and entertainment of the patrons (Figs. 10, 11). Many of them were probably wealthy, itinerant merchants whom the town welcomed as honored guests. The Large Baths

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22 Butler 1920, 300-03; Butler 1903, 165; Tchalenko 1953, 26-28, fig. 3; Yegül 1992, 329-33.

23 Butler 1920, 300-03, fig. 331; Yegül 1992, 334.

form the north end of a pair of contiguous, two-storied, peristyle courtyards, whose northern extension is a tall, boxy, rectangular hall (B), covered by a gabled roof, and a lower tri-partite bathing suite projecting north. This middle courtyard, superficially resembling a palaestra, was a spatial and functional extension of the rectangular 'social hall' shared between the baths and the inn.[24] At Serdjilla and at Babiska one can imagine these semi-open spaces bustling with activity and noise as pack-animals were unhitched and travelers' and merchants' goods were unpacked by servants fighting for the best place while their masters refreshed themselves inside the baths.

These solidly built baths of small market towns on main trade routes illustrate the transformation and adaptation of an institution to a new geography and culture. No longer serving primarily the quotidian urban habit of bathing and exercise, they offered the well-earned comforts of a thorough cleansing, and the pleasures of relaxation and refreshment after a day's hard journey – thus, echoing the precepts of bathing of Homeric times. Their deep porticoes and 'social' halls, cool and inviting by day and cozy and warm by night, became the best – and possibly the only – gathering place for the townsfolk and their guests to share social pleasures and business intimacies. A few merchant-travelers might even whiled away the darker hours of the night in these halls, or at the "annex" before they commenced their journeys at daybreak. The desert was making an inn of the Roman bath. Or, rather, the bath was becoming an oasis in a world where the gratification of creature comforts (and its architectural setting) was concretized with a special sense of significance and luxury. It was savored with conscious deliberation, and was offered to guests a gesture of desert hospitality.

We can highlight a group of architecturally related baths from eastern Cilician sites that closely share the broadly defined characteristics of the Syrian baths described above. Located in small, provincial towns such as Anemurium and Iotape, some display asymmetrical layouts with small and medium-sized, barrel-vaulted, apsidal halls (as Bath 5B of Iotape and Bath II-11B of Anemurium). Like their famous Lycian counterparts at Tlos, Patara, or Arycanda, their outer walls and apses open through large windows

24 Butler 1920, 170-75, fig. 180, pl. 19; Tchalenko 1953, 11, 26-28, fig. 3; Yegül 1992, 334.

towards mountain and sea views. These are local variations of the larger family of southwestern Anatolian baths – not critical to our discussion. Others, such Baths II-7A in Anemurium, Baths I-2A in Antioch-ad-Cragnum, and Baths II-1A in Syedra, however, show distinct and specific design characteristics of the "hall-type" bath.[25] (Figs. 12, 13, 14) In these examples, the middle of the building is occupied by a large and lofty hall, or gallery, into which the heated, parallel rooms or halls open on one side, and unheated, smaller rooms, on the other. Their entrances are into the main halls by way of a vestibule or corridor. The cold pool of the frigidarium may be an extension of this dominant hall, or somewhat more elegantly, an independent unit separated from it by a colonnaded screen. As in northern Syrian examples, these "hall-type" baths of Cilicia have no palaestra. Yet, there is one exception: the 3rd-century Bath III-2B at Anemurium displays a symmetrically placed and prominent palaestra and vaulted bath block with an axial quadriporticus of Hellenistic derivation.[26] (Fig. 15) This is a special case. Clearly, the vogue for such classically inspired design was still alive and well in the middle of popular, vernacular architectural styles of this fairly remote, but reasonably sophisticated, provincial city.

I need to clarify and qualify this apparent contradiction of concepts, provincialism and sophistication. Geographically isolated, and sharing relatively little with the Hellenistic traditions of western Anatolia – consider the famously sophisticated Hellenistic centers of the Meander Valley – Cilicia maintained, from the days of the Republic, a surprising degree of cultural and architectural ties with Italy. This historical connection, highlighted by the direct and critical concerns of the Rome's Senate about Cilician coastal piracy and Pompey's and Caesar's successful campaigns against it (consider Mustafa Aslan's paper), extended to the realm of building and architecture. It may explain the unique similarity between emerging Italian building technology in *opus caementicium* and the buildings of Cilician coastline cities such as Elaiussa Sebaste, Korykos, Seleucia, Soloi-Pompeiopolis, and Anazarbos (Consider the papers by Eugenia Equini and, particularly, Marcello Spanu, "Roman Influence in Cilicia through

25 Rosenbaum 1967, 69-80; Huber 1969) 47-50; E. Alfoldi (Rosenbaum) 1966,", 5-8; Smith 1967, 137-40; Yegül 1992, 301-04, n.36, figs. 398-402; Yegül 1993, 101. See also Farrington 1987, 51-54.

26 Russell 1975, 121-24; Russell 1973, 916-20.

Architecture"). One intriguing, spectacular, group are the unexcavated baths in Anazarbos, whose impressive vaulted remains constructed in Italian-style brick-faced-concrete, may well hide local, Cilician, variations of Italian ideas (Fig. 16). Likewise, the walls of the small baths at Elaiussa Sebaste (Ayas) are built in sturdy Roman concrete, complete with *opus reticulatum* facing, a rare application of this patently Italian construction in Asia Minor.[27] (Fig. 17)

By the middle or the end of the 2nd century, even the remote Cilician coastline was reasonably affected and altered by the growing influence of an international Mediterranean classicism with its imported marble architecture. There is much in the urbanism of Cilician towns that is familiar to the eye trained in the niceties of the Greco-Roman city. Were the "hall-type" baths that we encounter in such healthy concentrations in Cilicia importations from western Asia Minor, or even Greece, as illustrated by such prominent examples as the Hadrianic Baths in the Sanctuary of Poseidon in Isthmia? One could also suggest a social and thematic, though less morphological, comparison with the ubiquitous *ambulacra* of the great bath-gymnasia of Asia Minor. These are distant relatives and distant ancestors, though. In the regional picture Cilicia was at the crossroads, it looked to the West and the East. But more directly and immediately it was a part of northern Syria and its great capital Antioch. The colonnaded streets, the columnar brackets, the 'wind-blown' capitals of Antioch are gone, but those preserved pictorially on the topographical border of the Daphne mosaic, or more concretely, in Soli-Pompeiopolis, are but one of the many instances of the prevalent regional style exemplified in better-known Palmyra and Apameia, and provide a dramatic testimony to what many of the smaller Cilician cities must have looked like (see Suna Güven's essay "Evolution of Colonnaded Avenues in the Roman Cityscape").

An artistic and cultural metropolis and one that always maintained close contacts with the western capitals, Antioch must have been a more accessible and immediate center for Cilicia and northern Syria than Constantinople or Rome. The real importance of a regional center like Antioch is less in its role as an originator of ideas and forms – or, less as

27 Ward-Perkins 1981, 304-05; Ward-Perkins 1978, 881-91; Dodge 1990; Spanu 1994, 923-39.

being the ultimate artistic source – than its ability to create and sustain a cultural arena in which cross-fertilization between local and imported traditions and practices could occur.

These small late Roman bathing establishments such as Bath E or Bath A in Antioch (Figs. 4, 5), or Bath III-2B in Anemurium (Fig 15), were as much the product of convergent traditions straddling centuries as they were the product of their time and place. Their vaulted spaces and apsidal projections are deeply rooted in the formative history of bath buildings in the West and Asia Minor. Yet, their design is also a vital part of widely diffused contemporary tendencies and tastes: structurally expressive spatial clusters proliferate in late antique architecture across Italy and the Mediterranean. Their hard-edged masses, and boxy, prismatic, spacious, high-ceilinged "social halls," on the other hand, have a strikingly regional flavor. More importantly, these halls functioned as community centers and reflected a new emphasis on political and social concerns for assembly and entertainment. These concerns, actually, were familiar aspects of public baths from their inception, but in the Late Antique world of the Roman East, they were elevated to a new level of significance and sophistication at the edge of a rising desert culture.[28]

The extent to which the late Roman baths and bathing traditions of Cilicia, Antioch, and Syria inspired and shaped the next generation, the early Islamic and Arabic bathing cultures of the desert frontier, and provided the inspiration for the shape of things to come, can be demonstrated by comparing some of the baths discussed above with a number of remarkable public or quasi-public baths of the Umayyad period. For example, there is a fundamental similarity of design between the any of the three baths in Dura (take Bath E-3,) (Fig. 6) with the small, public baths in Kasr al-Hayr East, an 8th-century walled city between Palmyra and Damascus, even though the two buildings are separated by four centuries.[29] (Fig. 18) Frank Brown, who as a young excavator at Dura, had perceived that the Dura baths were an "early variant of the Eastern bath type which persisted into the Umayyad period," would have been gratified to know of the baths at

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28 Yegül 1992, 329-39, esp. 328-29; Yegül 2000, 151. See also Kennedy 1996, 181-98.

29 Yegü l 992, 338-49. For the Umayyad baths at Qasr al-Hayr East see Grabar 1970, 65-86, fig. 31; Holod-Tretiak 1970, 221-31.

Kasr al-Hayr.[30] Of particular interest is the porticoed court, or probably a wooden-roofed hall, with large pools and fountains annexed to the baths on the north side. Quite apart from the technological *tour de force* of the extensive, classically inspired, water supply system, the presence of a spacious and elaborately designed hall at Kasr al-Hayr illustrates the importance accorded to a bath-centered social function in early Islamic society.

At Kasr al-Amra, an Umayyad "hunting lodge," located at the edge of the desert in southern Syria, the architectural form assumed by this social function is a tall, squarish, basilical hall (B) divided into three barrel-vaulted aisles of equal width (Fig. 19). The central aisle terminates in a square ended apse or alcove flanked by a pair of apsidal chambers. The entrance into this space is strictly axial. Annexed to this spacious basilical hall, and comprising less than one-half of the total area, is a bath suite of three minuscule chambers. The total isolation of the building from any human settlement or community suggests that it was a hunting lodge/bath combination built for a prince or commander.31 The extent and the extraordinary variety of the paintings that decorate the walls and vaults of Kasr al-Amra (for which the building is mainly known) support this hypothesis. Besides bathing, hunting, and athletic scenes, the decoration freely mixes themes and motifs of pagan and Islamic background. There are representations of the "six ancestral kings of the Umayyad dynasty," figures of Poetry, History and Philosophy, dancing girls that look like lanky, late-antique Dianas, and chubby Cupids. The element of eroticism, always an appropriate one for baths, was definitely intentional as witnessed by representations of male and female nude figures. This was a setting for worldly entertainment that featured bathing as its primary attraction, no doubt, but worldly entertainment for an aristocratic and learned audience. There could also be no question as to who was being honored – even occasionally present – in this paradise of earth: on the back wall of the central apse, is a portrait of an enthroned prince or caliph; the side walls show female attendants standing between stately colonnades.[32] (Fig. 20)

Although the architectural models for the late antique/Islamic "bath hall" may ultimately come from western Anatolian sources via Cilicia and

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30 Brown 1936, 60-61; Levi 1947, 260-76.

31 Musil 1907 ; Harding 1967, 156-59, fig. 9. See also Yegül 1992, 341-44.

32 Grabar 1954, 185-87. See also. Blazquez 1981, 157-90; Blasquez 1983, 169-96 ; Zayadine 1978, 19-29.

Antioch, it is hard to say what motivated the acceptance of the social functions of this space in early Islamic cultures, or how consciously the upper echelon of the Islamic society followed the old Mediterranean, or classical, tradition of entertaining and socializing in baths. Clearly, a form of social gathering linked with the ultimate luxury of water and hot bathing in the desert provided the new urban aristocracy not only with the physical comforts but also with the symbols of a princely lifestyle. As pointed out by Oleg Grabar, certain Islamic texts dealing with Umayyad life and ceremonies, particularly the concept of *majlis al-lahwah,* or a gathering of friends, may provide a clue:

A number of accounts indicate that next to the formal majlis *for receptions there was also a* majlis al-lahwah, *a place for entertainment and pleasure. The main activities were drinking, singing, listening to poetry recitals, watching dancers, and listening to musicians; meals were occasionally involved as well. At times there was a slightly orgiastic quality to these ceremonies. At other times they were merely eccentric, as when the future al-Walid II had a curtain drawn across a pool and jumped in after each song performed by a singer on the other side of the curtain; if the singer was good, he or she was invited to join the prince in the swimming pool.*[33]

Eccentricities and notoriety often enjoy a better chance of making history than ordinary events. The image of a reveling *nouveau riche* Arab society might have been exaggerated in the sources and in the orientalizing tendencies of later European art and literature. After the enjoyment of hot baths, and along with reveling, one should imagine long evenings of cultured entertainment in the cushioned comfort of these luxurious bath halls – music, poetry reading, and storytelling – a true gathering of friends savoring an ideal but unreal world encapsulated into an evening, foreshadowing the sophisticated and subtly sensuous society portrayed so well in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

In a variety of important ways the Roman East was the bearer of a torch it had received from the classical world and passed on to medieval Islamic and Turkish societies of Anatolia and the Middle East. The diffusion and definition of baths and bathing as a social and cultural institution was one among the many important ways this torch was passed on. It is gratifying to acknowledge that Cilicia was, for a while, an important player at the crossroads.

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33 Grabar 1975, 153-59, esp. 156; Yegül 1992, 348-49.

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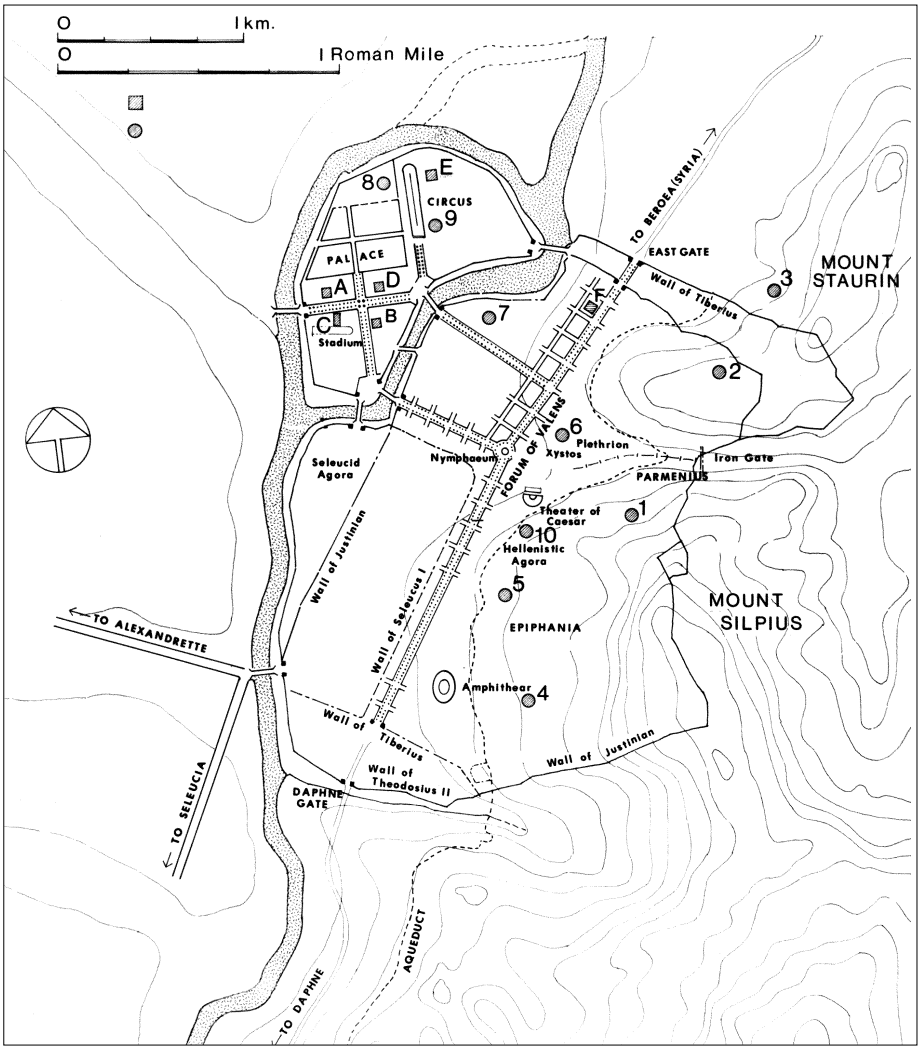

Fig. 1 Restored plan of Antioch with real and hypothetical locations of public baths (Yegül)

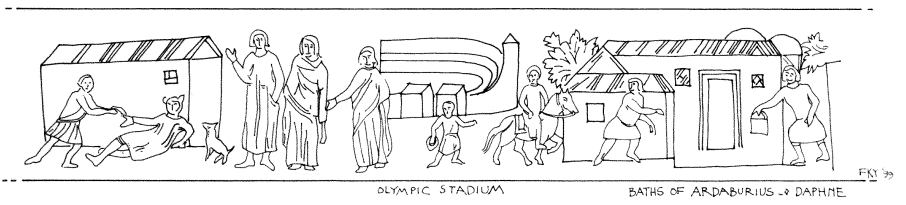

Fig. 2 Baths of Ardaburius, detail from the topographical border of a mosaic from Daphne (Yegül)

LEVHA 8

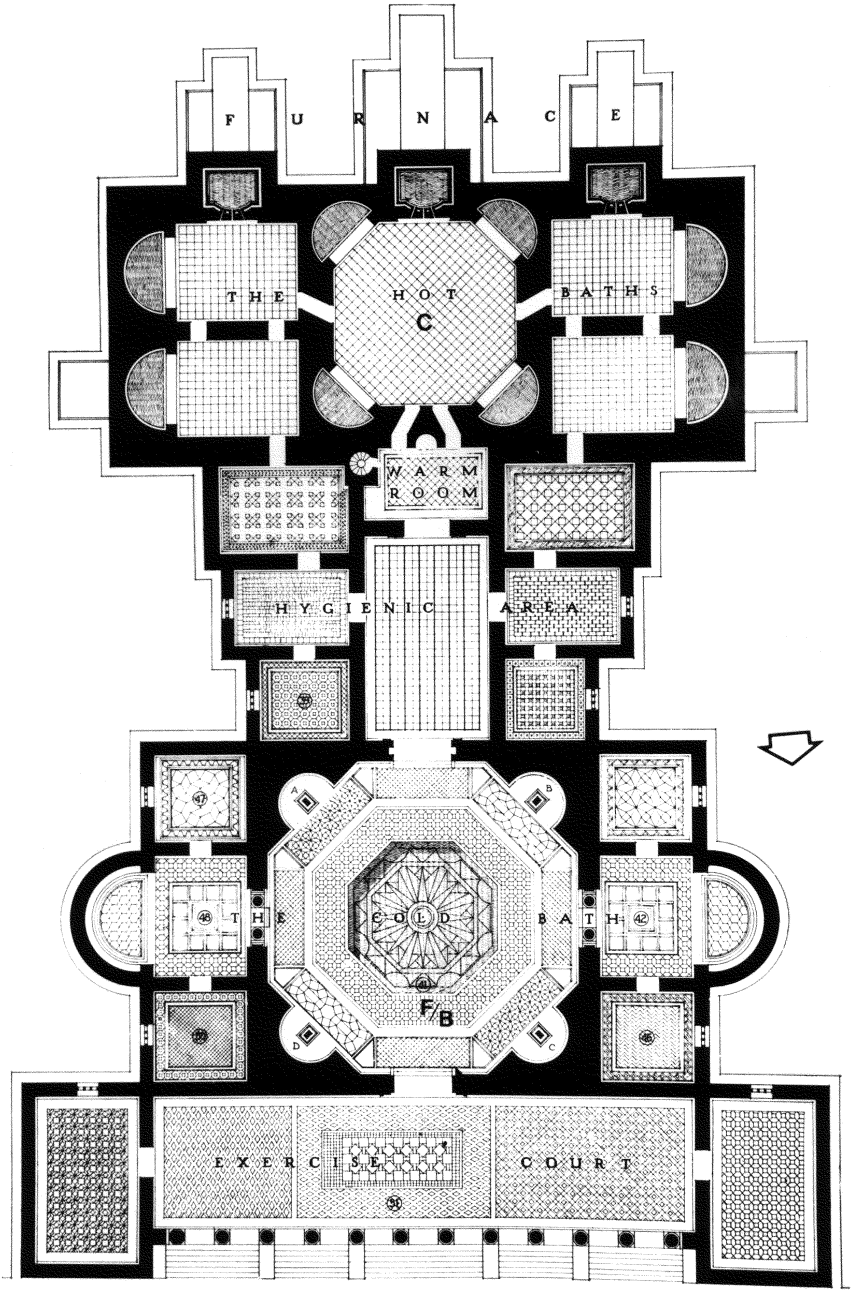

Fig. 3 Plan of Bath C, Antioch (Yegül 1992, fig.414)

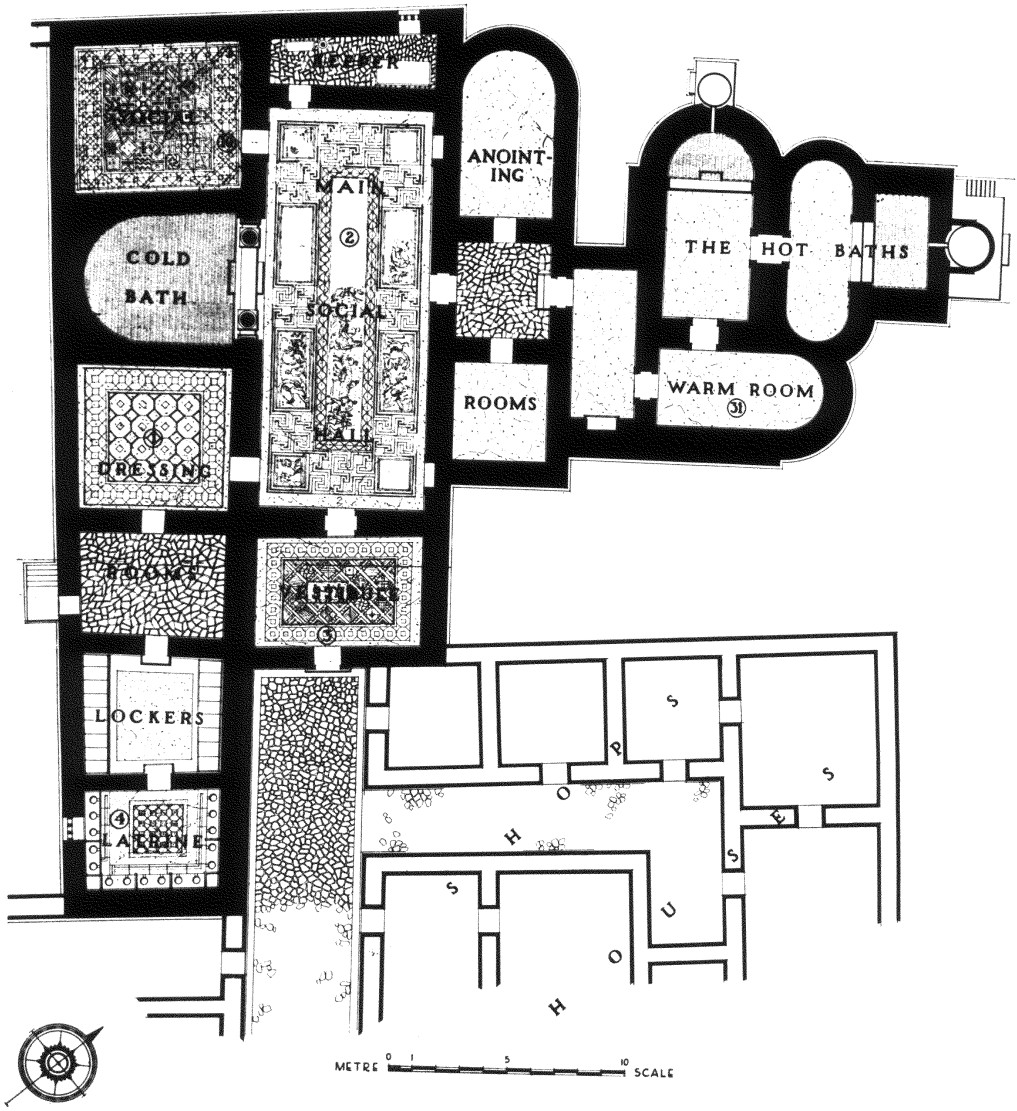

Fig. 4 Plan of Bath E, Antioch (Levi 1947, fig.5)

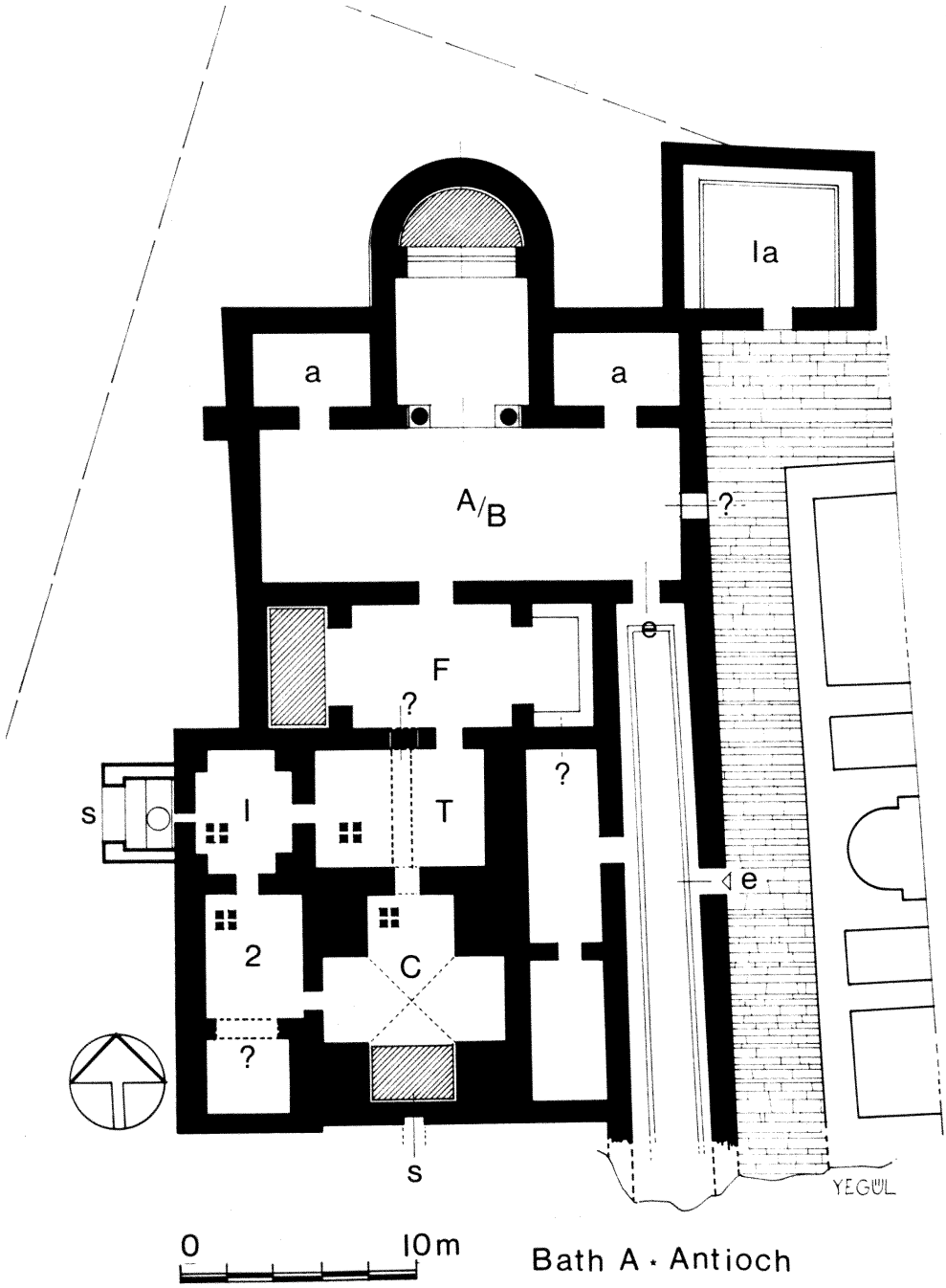

Fig. 5 Plan of Bath A, Antioch (Yegül)

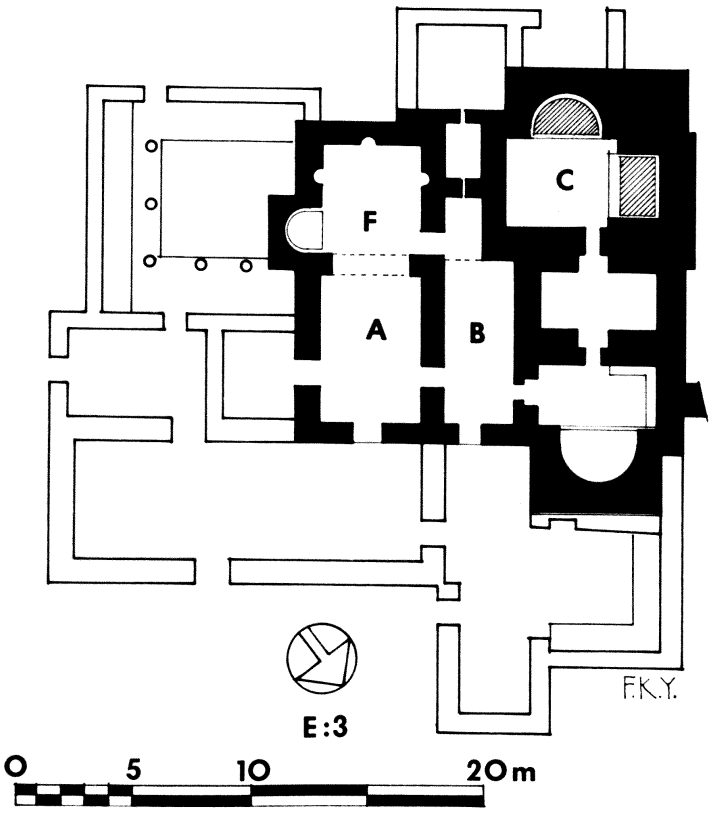

Fig. 6
Plan of Bath E-3, Dura-Europos (Yegül)

Fig. 7
View of Baths (looking north), Serdjilla (photo: Yegül)

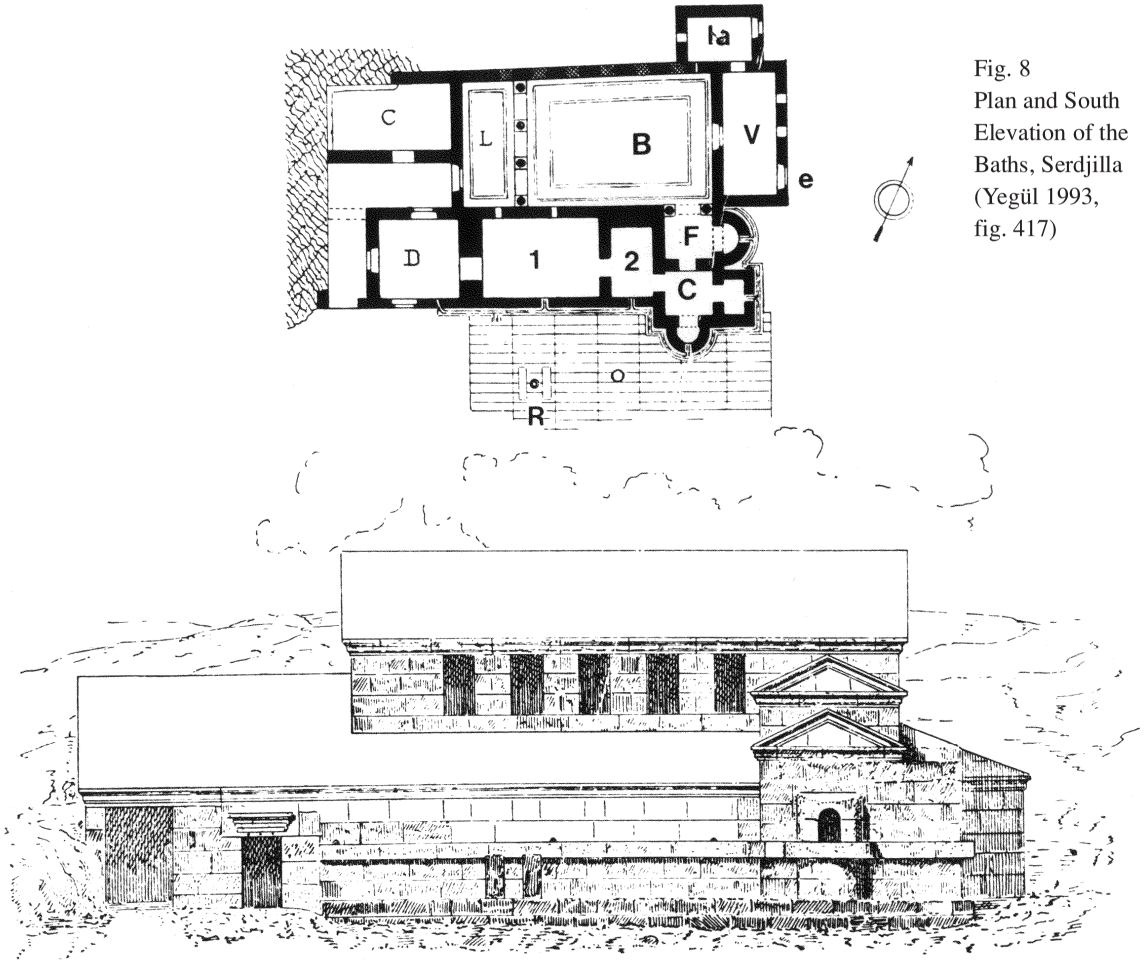

Fig. 8
Plan and South Elevation of the Baths, Serdjilla (Yegül 1993, fig. 417)

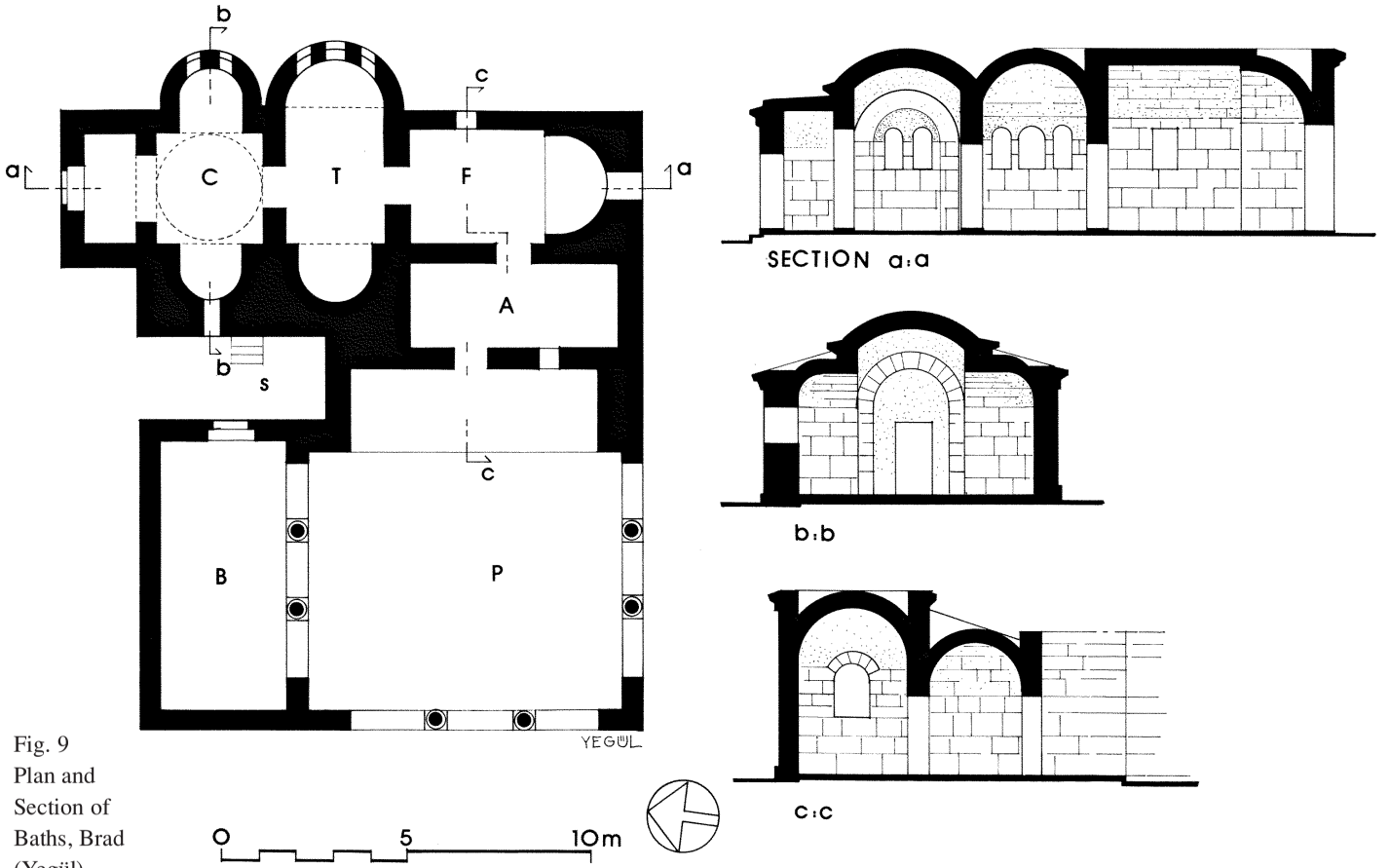

Fig. 9
Plan and
Section of
Baths, Brad
(Yegül)

LEVHA 14

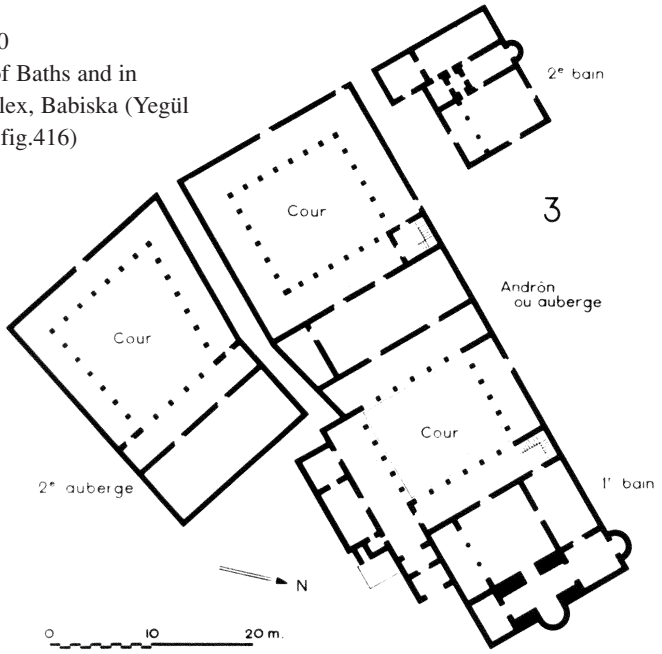

Fig. 10
Plan of Baths and in Complex, Babiska (Yegül 1993, fig.416)

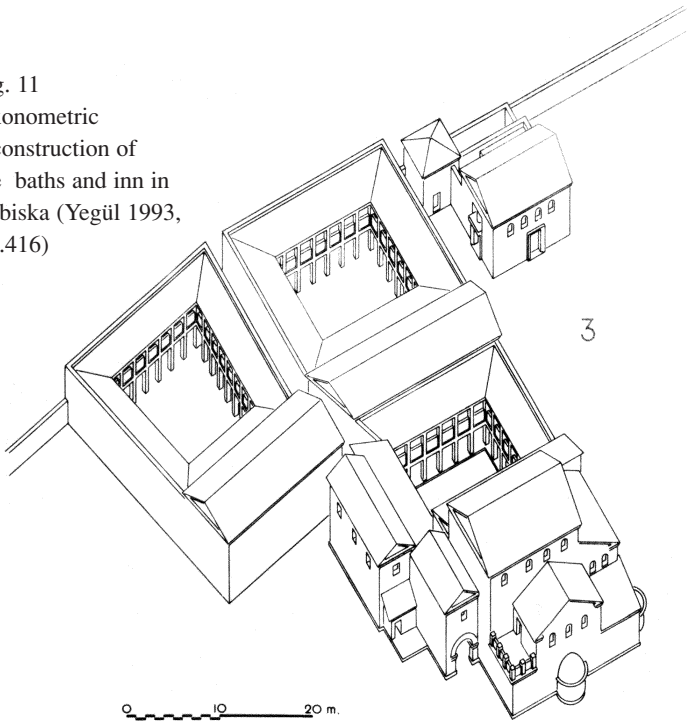

Fig. 11
Axonometric reconstruction of the baths and inn in Babiska (Yegül 1993, fig.416)

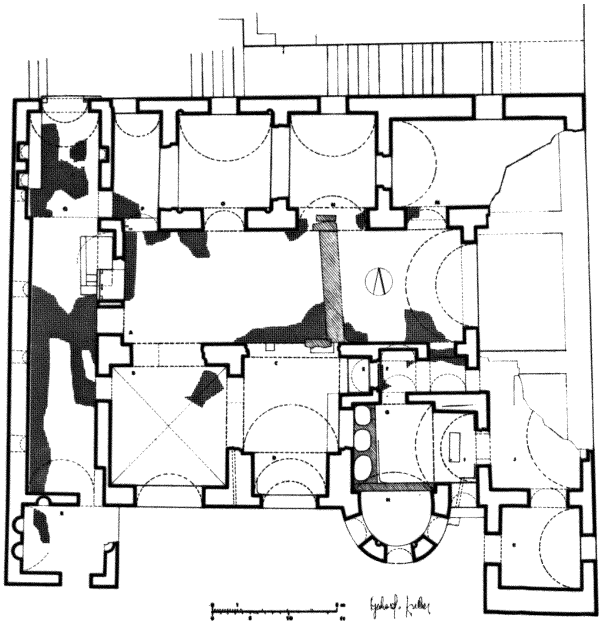

Fig. 12 Plan of Baths II-7A, Anemurium (Rosenbaum 1967, fig.3)

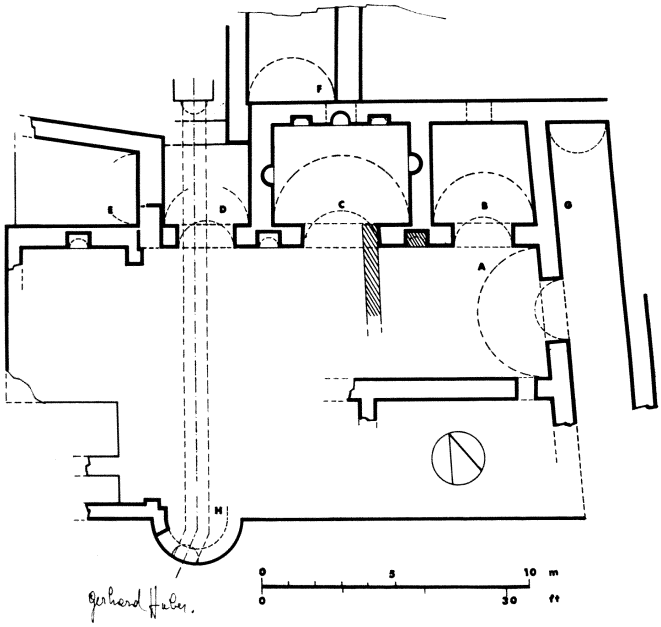

Fig. 13 Plan of Baths I-12A, Antiocheia ad Cragnum (Rosenbaum 1967, fig.21)

LEVHA 16

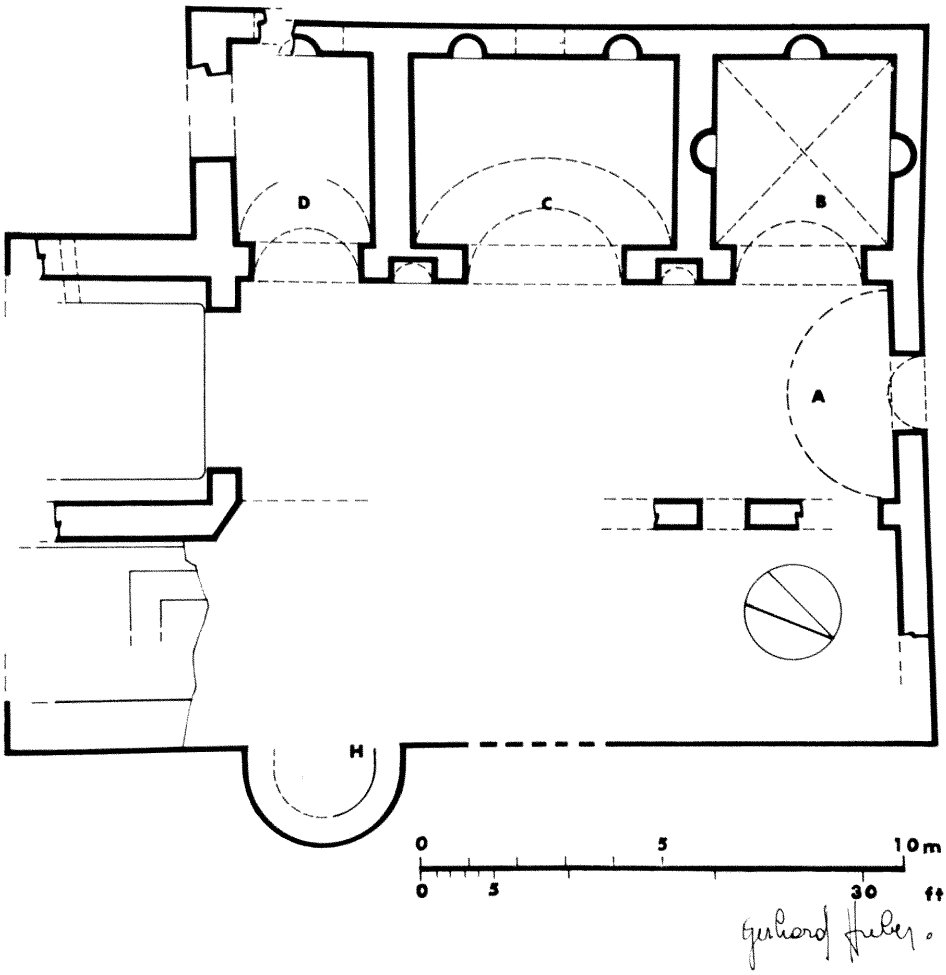

Fig. 14 Plan of Baths II-1A, Syedra (Rosenbaum 1967, fig.32)

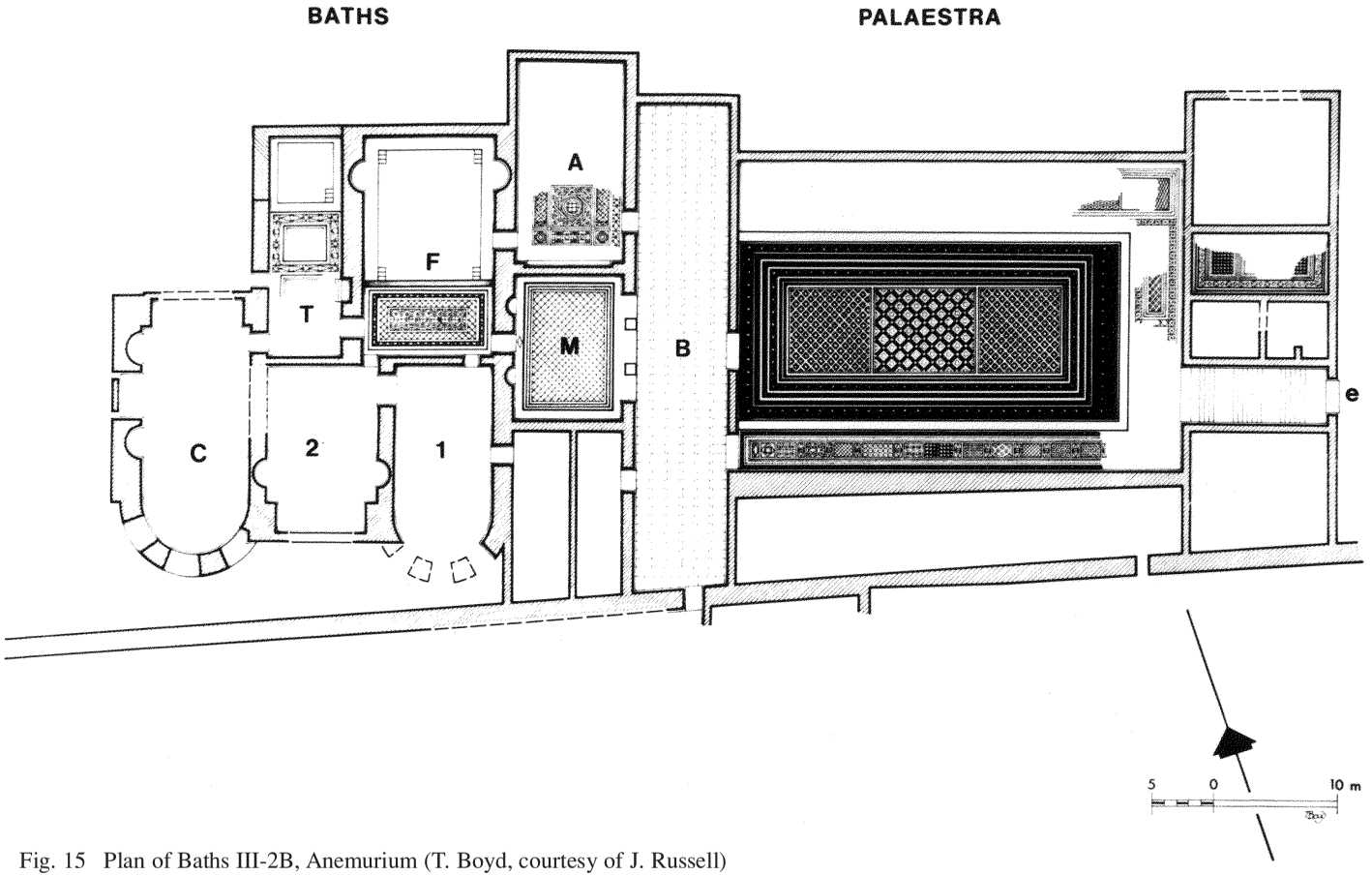

Fig. 15 Plan of Baths III-2B, Anemurium (T. Boyd, courtesy of J. Russell)

Fig. 16 Roman Baths in Anazarbos (photo: Yegül)

Fig. 17 Roman Baths in Elaiussa Sebaste (Ayaş), *opus reticulatum* construction (photo: Yegül)

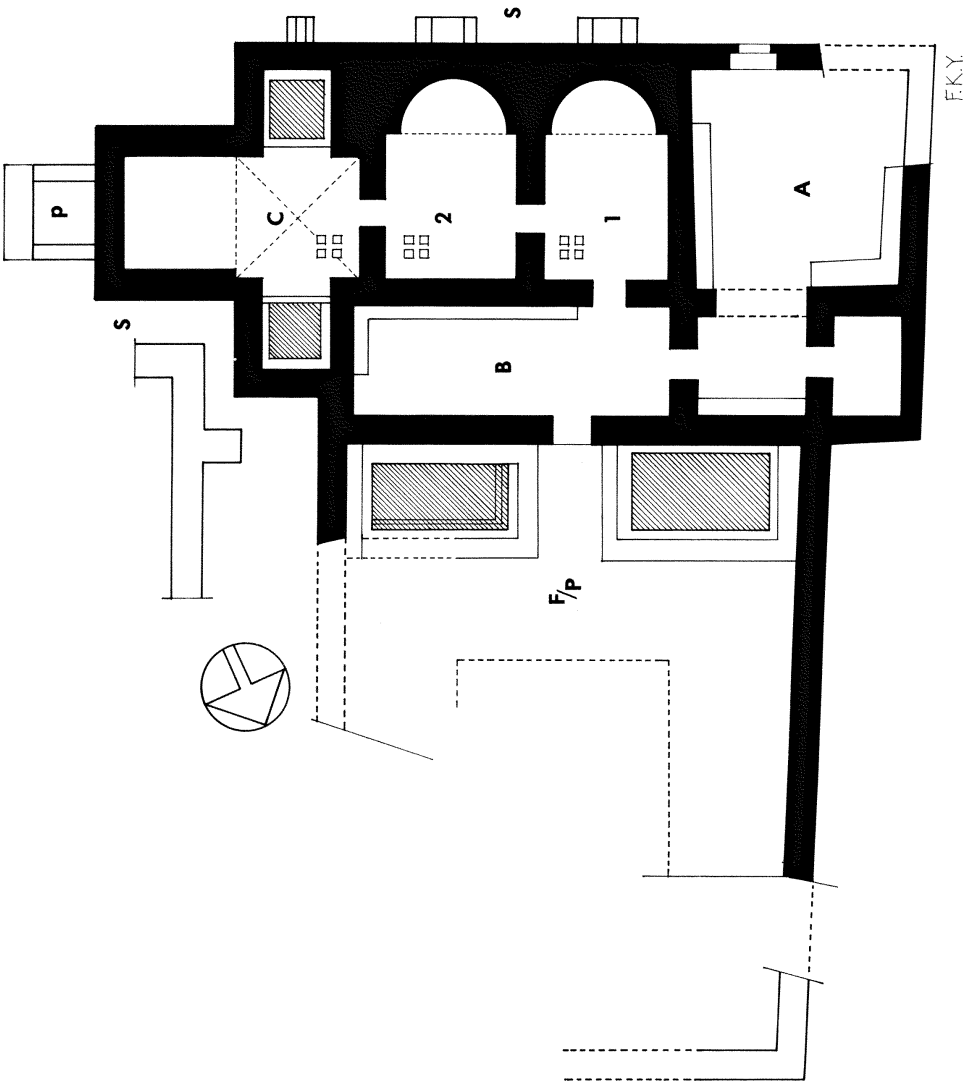

Fig. 18 Plan of Small Bath, Kasr al-Hayr East (Yegül)

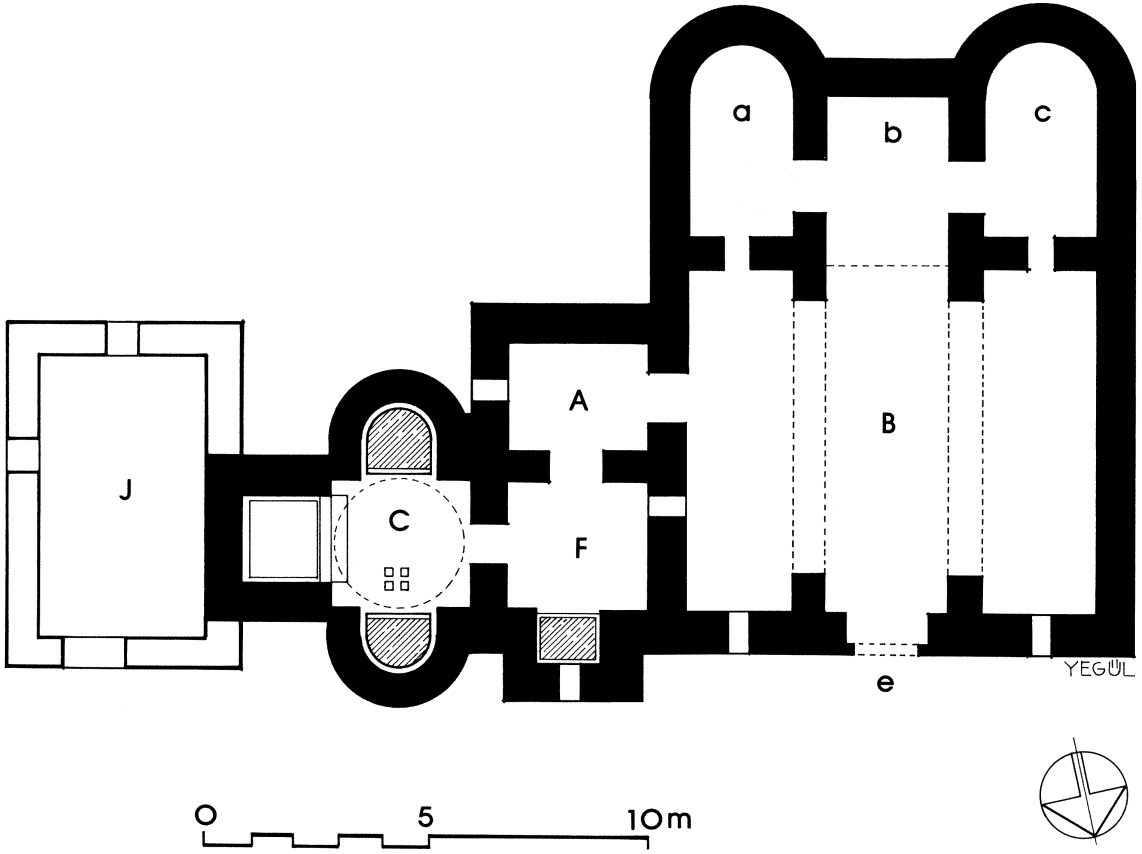

Fig. 19 Plan of Baths and Hunting Lodge, Kasr al-Amra (Yegül)

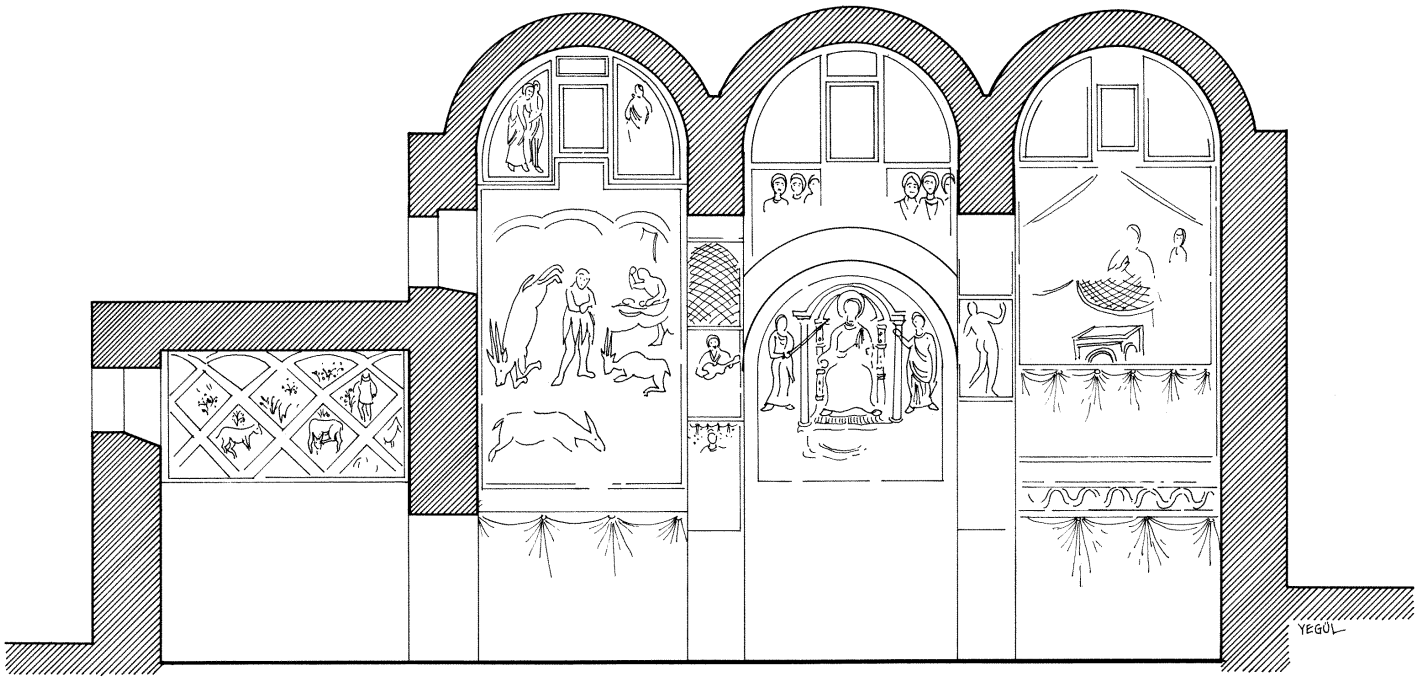

Fig. 20 Restored drawing of the wall paintings (south wall) from the Baths and Hunting Lodge, Kasr al-Amra (Yegül)