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MERSİN
2003

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ROMAN INFLUENCE IN CILICIA THROUGH ARCHITECTURE

(LEV. 1-5)

Marcello SPANU*

ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın hedefi, Kilikia'nın Roma'ya bağlanmasının mimarideki etkileri konusunda bazı ön değerlendirmeler yapmaktır. "Romanizasyon" aslında sadece yeni yöneticilerin atanması anlamına gelmemekte; bunun ötesinde, birçoğu mimariye yansıyan derin değişimlere tanıklık etmektedir.

Askeri birliklerin ve ticari malların sevkini sağlayacak bir yol ağının ve limanların oluşturulmasının yanısıra, Romalılar'ın gelişi ile birlikte bir bayındırlık programı da başlatılmaktadır. İ.S. 1. yüzyılın sonlarından başlayarak, su kemerleri, hamamlar, zafer takları ve benzeri anıtlar yapılarak, bunlarda yeni inşaat teknikleri uygulanmaktadır. *Opus caementicum* ve tuğla yerel kabul görmekte ve bölgede bulunabilirliği oranında kullanılmaktadır. Bunun ötesinde, İmparatorluk Dönemi içinde bazı yeni malzemeler de Kilikia'ya getirilmektedir: bölgede bulunmamakla birlikte, mermer tipleri ve granit tanınmaya başlanmakta ve yaygın biçimde kullanılmaktadır.

Biçimsel olarak, Kilikia kentleri tonoz ve kubbe formunu hızla kendi mimarilerine uyarlamakta ve bu da kentlerin genel görünümünü değiştirmektedir. Bununla birlikte, yenilikler karşısında gösterilen bu kabul, örnek alınan modellerin donuk bir taklidini ya da edilgen bir kabullenışı yansıtmazlar: gerçekte, yerel mimarlar yeni çözümlerle deneyim sahibi olma şansına sahip olmaktadır.

Cilicia differs from the other Asian provinces on many aspects. Its peripheral location, its geographical separation from the inland –due to the Taurus range– and the lack of important natural harbours influenced the historical events of the region, thus fostering the survival of local linguistic, onomastic and religious elements until the beginning of the Imperial age¹.

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¹ On this cf. Houwink Ten Cate 1961; Jasink 1991; Borgia 1999.

These features (together with others of different kind) strongly affected also the archaeological studies in the region. Despite the state of preservation of many monuments and the renown of some cities (such as Tarsos) –at odds with many other provinces in Asia Minor–, the 19th century travellers were not so numerous (and unfortunately not aimed by the desire to supply with detailed documentary evidence the ruins visible at the time)² and still today a substantial lack of extensive excavations as well as of topographical surveys is reported³.

Regardless of the scarcity of data available at present, this account aims at providing some considerations about the effects of Roman annexation of Cilicia on architecture, or rather, it tries to point out the changes introduced as well as how they were locally welcomed and interpreted⁴.

* * *

A first general consideration concerns the type of settlements in the region. Compared to others regions of Asia Minor, Cilicia –before the Roman involvement– was scarcely urbanized. For the Achaemenid period, there are only a few cities but their number grows in the early Hellenistic age thanks mainly to the Seleucids⁵. The Ptolemeans played a marginal role, as they only founded Arsinoe⁶ and probably Berenike (whose location is still uncertain)⁷.

² For a picture on early travellers in Cilicia see the paper by E. Borgia in these proceedings.

³ Excavations and surveys concerning the Hellenistic and Imperial periods are still scarce with regards to the important and rich archaeological heritage of the region. The different buildings mentioned refer to the main topographical editions of the sites: Gough 1952 for Anazarbos, Huber 1967 for the sites in Rough Cilicia.

⁴ For the above mentioned reasons studies on architecture and Roman influence in Asia Minor have only marginally treated Cilicia. See, for example, Ward-Perkins 1958, pp. 82-95; Ward-Perkins 1978; Yegül 1991. Due to the lack of data, this article will focus only on “monumental architecture” since at present information on domestic architecture is extremely scarce.

⁵ In general, on the building activities carried out by the Seleucids see Cohen 1978; Cohen 1995. In particular on Cilicia, Sayar 1999.

⁶ For the well-known inscription on the relationships between Arsinoe and Nagidos now at the Museum of Mersin see Opelt, Kirsten 1989; Jones, Habicht 1989; in general Cohen 1995, pp. 363-364.

⁷ On Berenike, see Cohen 1995, p. 364 and, most recently, Zoroğlu 1999 who places the city near Büyükeceli.

Apart the uncertain foundation of Aigeai (which claimed Alexander the Great's foundation⁸), the urbanistic activity of the Seleucids resulted into the foundation of Seleukeia pros Kalykadno⁹ and –doubtingly– Alexandria kat'Issos¹⁰ by Seleukos I Nikator. Besides these brand new foundations, there are also the renamings occurred under the rule of Seleukos I (Tarsos-Antiocheia on the Kydnos¹¹ and perhaps Magarsos-Antiocheia on the Pyramos¹²) and under that of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (Adana-Antiocheia on the Saros¹³ and –probably– Epiphaneia-Oiniandos¹⁴, Kastabala-Hierapolis¹⁵, Mopsuestia-Seleukeia on the Pyramos¹⁶, with the recent addition thanks to some numismatic evidences of Seleukeia near Issos¹⁷).

On the occasion of such numerous changes of name, in all probability also some architectural interventions, or better, some proper urbanistic programmes were carried out. Such activity most likely involved other Cilician cities as well, thus leading to a widespread Hellenization of the region, even under an architectural point of view. Unfortunately, on the whole, we cannot put forward any detailed hypothesis on this aspect, as in fact we do not know nearly anything about the Hellenistic phases of these cities, with regard to both their internal organization and the appearance as well as the typology of the single monuments.

⁸ The only -late- source in this sense is the Romance of Alexander: Bergson 1965, sec. 2,23, pp. 123-124; van Thiel 1974, p. 104.

⁹ Founded by Seleukos I Nikator: App., *Syr.* 57; FrGrHist 273 f 132; Amm. Marc. 14,8,2; Cohen 1995, pp. 369-371.

¹⁰ On this, see perplexities in Jones 1971, p. 197.

¹¹ See, most recently, Cohen 1995, pp. 358-361.

¹² Steph. Byz., s.v. "Antiocheia"; Cohen 1995, pp. 365-366.

¹³ Cohen 1995, pp. 362-363

¹⁴ Pl., *NH*, 5,93; Cohen 1995, pp. 365-368.

¹⁵ Robert, Dupont-Sommer 1964, pp. 17-18; Cohen 1995, pp. 366-368.

¹⁶ See, most recently, Cohen 1995, p. 371.

¹⁷ Cf. Ziegler 2001.

In fact, strange but true, the only Hellenistic monuments of which some evidences remain in Cilicia, are some temples (the temple of Zeus Olbios at Diokaisareia¹⁸, the one near the Korykion Antron¹⁹, and the temple of Hermes in Çatı Ören²⁰), funerary mausolea²¹, watch-towers and strongholds²². We know nothing about proper urban monuments.

However, on the whole, during the early Hellenistic age there were not so many cities, and they were mainly located in Plain Cilicia. In fact, in Rough Cilicia, the “urban phenomenon” remained unknown for a long time (due to both the geographical features of the region and its role of frontier it played for a long time). Throughout the Hellenistic period the typology of the settlements corresponded to small inhabited areas spread over the territory, whether they were located near important crowd-pulling sanctuaries or rural villages exploiting local agricultural resources.

A new urbanistic activity with some significant changes began under Pompey the Great’s conquest, with land distribution to pirates, recorded by the literary sources at Adana, Mallos and Epiphaneia²³ and mainly at Soloi –renamed Pompeiopolis on that very occasion²⁴. The data available cannot establish whether this “urbanism” (perhaps involving also Zephyrion, Mopsuestia and Alexandreia since their coins bear the year 65 b.C. as their urban era) went along with some kind of town planning and architectural projects. Undoubtedly from this period onwards, a change in the

¹⁸ The datation of the temple has been broadly discussed: among the others see Keil, Wilhelm 1931, p. 47; Börker 1971; Williams 1974; MacKay 1990, pp. 2082-2113; Wannagat 1995, p. 145; Wannagat 1999. A chronological evidence of the complex is provided by the inscription of Seleukos I Nikator: see Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, pp. 85-86, nr. 166.

¹⁹ The temple is generally ascribed to the mid 2nd century b.C.: cf. Weber in Feld, Weber 1967, pp. 256-268; Börker 1971, p. 45; MacKay 1990, pp. 2103-2110, Wannagat 1995, p. 145.

²⁰ Bent 1891, pp. 210-211.

²¹ Due to heavy plunder and to the scarcity of dedicatory inscriptions the datation of Hellenistic mausolea relies strongly on the building technique which is, above all, the *opus polygonalis*. For some examples and the related problems, see Machatschek 1967, pp. 65-67.

²² For this type of buildings and their building techniques, see (among others) Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, pp. 52-53 (Kanytelleis), Durugönül, Gabelmann 1997; Durugönül 1998; Durukan 1999. Besides such settlements, there is the recent discovery of the Seleucid stronghold on Mount Karasis, to the north of Anazarbos: Sayar 1995.

²³ App., *Mithr.* 96.

²⁴ Dio Cass., XXXVI,37,6; cf. Boyce 1969.

attitude towards the “city” is recorded. These earlier, faint signals took shape in the following century, with the foundation of a large number of new cities. In Plain Cilicia, Anazarbo a minor centre until that moment—was probably re-organized in 19 b.C. under Tarkondimotos II and renamed Kaisareia pros to Anazarbo²⁵ while in 20 A.D. the era of Augusta²⁶—very probably Neronias-Irenopolis²⁷ (51-52 A.D.) began under Antiochos IV of Commagene. During this period in Rough Cilicia the controversial foundation of Titioupolis²⁸ took place, while under the rule of Antiochos IV of Commagene²⁹ Iotape and likely Antiocheia epi Krago³⁰ were founded. Also Elaiussa –becoming Sebaste³¹ under Archelaos of Cappadocia— can be added to this list.

It is noteworthy to observe that nearly in all cases, we cannot really talk about Roman complexes, but of urbanistic projects carried out by client-kings ruling over the most part of the region. Certainly, these works were fostered by the *pax romana*, by the time spread all over the Mediterranean. The only exception was Klaudiopolis, a colony founded by the Romans at least starting from Claudius’ rule³².

²⁵ For a historical picture of the city, see Gough 1952, pp. 91-98 and, most recently, Sayar 2000, p. 5.

²⁶ For the city’s era recorded on coins cf. last, Karbach 1990, p. 36. The foundation of the city, which took place after the death of Philopator II, is controversial. In fact, it remains uncertain whether the city’s territory underwent direct Roman control.

²⁷ Jones 1971, pp. 204-205.

²⁸ Jones 1971, p. 195; Levante 1982.

²⁹ Also the foundation of Philadelpheia -probably located near Germanikoupolis in Rough Cilicia—might be attributed to Antiochos of Commagene.

³⁰ Cohen 1995, p. 357.

³¹ Cf. Strabo XII,2,7; XIV,5,6; Jos., *AntJ* XVI,131. The amount of works carried out by Archelaos -maybe limited only to the ancient island- is totally uncertain as pointed out by Kirsten 1974, p. 782 (*contra* Berns 1998, pp. 144-145, but without strong evidences). Building activity in the city under Antiochos of Commagene is now proved by the finding of a dedicatory inscription on an architrave belonging to a monument of large dimensions.

³² Amm. Marc. XIV,8,1-2. Mitchell 1979, pp. 426-435. Partially different are the cases of cities renaming during the imperial age (for example: Epiphaneia-Traianoupolis, Zephyrion-Hadrianoupolis): surely, they were embellished but without the arrival of new citizens and a direct western architectural influence.

Beside this single episode, in which Rome was directly involved with the foundation of one of the few colonies of *cives Romani* in Asia Minor, the urbanization occurred between the mid-1st century b.C. and the mid-1st century A.D. is undoubtedly very important. Obviously, this is not the only case in Cilicia (compare with what happens in Judaea³³ at the same time), but it is noteworthy to observe how this episode occurred in not so large kingdoms, in a short lapse of time and in a large number of cities. In this period, in fact, the region reached the highest density of cities during the course of its history. Therefore we have to lament that at present we do not know anything about the appearance and the features these cities had when they were founded. Thus we cannot evaluate whether they were based on town-planning programmes following the Hellenistic tradition or if these new cities were somehow influenced by Rome.

As to the influence during the Imperial age, the definitive Roman annexation of the entire Cilicia under Vespasian did not modify the pre-existing settlements. In fact, only a new city name appears, that of Flavioupolis, which is not clear whether it is a brand new foundation or, more likely, a title conferred to a pre-existing inhabited site³⁴. The lack of new foundations does not correspond, in any case, to the lack of interest of the conquerors who started, instead, a systematic plan of building large structures³⁵.

In the years immediately following the Roman conquest the construction of a road network and structures connected to it was carried out. The disappearance of client-kingdoms called for better and smoother communication routes, in order to link the different cities and facilitate the movement of troops as well as of goods. Some epigraphical evidence –such as the milestones at Yeğenli (along the road connecting Diokasareia and Olba)– at Yenisu (along the road connecting Seleukeia and Klaudiopolis)³⁶ and the inscription of the bridge over the Kalykadnos river in Seleukeia³⁷,

³³ On the urbanistic programmes carried out under Herod the Great, in general see: Roller 1998; Lichtenberger 1999; Japp 2000 (with earlier bibliography).

³⁴ Data on this settlement are still extremely fragmentary: cf. Bossert, Alkim 1947; Gough 1952, p. 94.

³⁵ On urban development in Cilicia during the Imperial age: Kirsten 1974; Hellenkemper 1980.

³⁶ French 1988, nr. 461, pp. 162-163; Sayar 1992.

³⁷ Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 54, p. 357.

reveal that these works were among the earliest to be carried out under Vespasian's rule.

As Cilicia increased its importance as a region of transit towards the further Eastern provinces, these early works were followed by a constant interest on the part of central power in structures connected with transportations. The maintenance of the road network had regularly been carried out under the care of the emperors throughout Cilicia and such activities are recorded on several milestones found in the region³⁸. Obviously, the works undertaken were not only limited to the maintenance of the roads, but they also included the care of the structures connected to them, among which, above all, the restoration or the construction of bridges, as clearly recorded by the inscriptions found by Harper at the *pylai Kilikiai*³⁹.

Historical events led Cilicia to become more and more a region of transit by land and –above all– by sea. In fact, the harbour of Soloi-Pompeiopolis –still under– estimated despite its dimensions and technical features –represents one of the most impressive constructions belonging to the mid-imperial age. It was one of the largest harbour basins of the Eastern Mediterranean, intended to receive both commercial ships and the imperial navy⁴⁰. The central power unquestionably intervened in financing, planning and carrying out the construction of the complex. Roman concern in structures related to sea transportations –both of commercial and of military type– is evidenced by the Aigeai lighthouse and by the entire harbour of this important naval base serving the imperial navy. There are no monumental evidences for the lighthouse, yet reproduced on coin issues⁴¹ (fig. 1.1).

³⁸ For a picture on milestones found in the region: French 1988; Sayar 2002.

³⁹ Harper 1970. The two inscriptions lie outside the borders of Imperial Cilicia but it seems obvious that works involving the *Via Tauri* under Caracalla's rule had to include also the section inside the region.

⁴⁰ On the harbour of Soloi-Pompeiopolis, besides travellers' descriptions, see Boyce 1958; Vann 1993a; Vann 1995. The harbour basin (of elliptical shape, more than 500 m long, tightly connected with the great columned street which crossed the city) was probably begun under Hadrian and completed under Antoninus Pius. Surely, other works were carried out to develop other sea harbours (for example, Elaiussa Sebaste) and river harbours (for example, Tarsos), too.

⁴¹ Cf., for example, SNG France, nr. 2344 (Macrinus) and SNG Switzerland, nr. 1784 (Decius); for a comparison with representations of other lighthouses see Reddé1979.

Romans attention on road networks and structures in order to facilitate the displacement of troops and patrol the territory is easily comprehensible, but architectural changes are also recorded inside the cities where, from the early years of the Roman annexation, a programme of urban refurbishing was carried out.

A significant evidence is offered by the aqueduct at Anazarbos, whose early construction –carried out under Domitian in the years 90/91 A.D.– is proved by its dedicatory inscription⁴². Although this structure was located in the extra-urban area, it was radically to change the city’s everyday life.

There are no other evidences for the construction of similar structures but all the cities in the region –although such works required great efforts and expenses⁴³– in a short period of time were furnished with aqueducts of which substantial ruins survive. This is the case of Elaiussa Sebaste and Korykos (this aqueduct is generally ascribed to the Flavian period)⁴⁴, Selinus, Anemurion, Seleukeia, Mopsuestia⁴⁵, Epiphaneia⁴⁶ and Rhosos about which there are not precise chronological data.

Such an early interest in the construction of aqueducts –grown soon after the Roman conquest– leads to some considerations. Firstly, a new typically Roman conception of the city began to spread. This more practical view – aiming at realizing both an aesthetical and functional urban refurbishing corresponds to the *utilitas necessaria* peculiar to

⁴² Of the aqueduct of Anazarbos the last arches near the city still remain. The structure is made of *opus caementicium*, with piers and arched lintels made of larger blocks, with buttressing walls of smaller rubbles pierced by arched windows. This was a fine technique which provided major static elasticity and the spare of materials. For the inscription mentioning the aqueduct as *σεβαστον υδραγωγειον* see, most recently, Sayar 2000, p. 30 no. 20; for the description of the ruins, see Gough 1952, pp. 109-110; Verzone 1957a, pp. 12-13; Hellenkemper, Hild 1986, pp. 1128-1129.

Significant seems the comparison with other more important cities: Miletos had its first great aqueduct probably in the mid 1st century A.D. (it was then replaced by that built in the years 79-80 A.D. under the proconsulate of emperor Trajan’s father: ILS 8970); Alexandria Troas began the construction of an aqueduct only under Hadrian (Philostr., *VS* 2,1, p. 548).

⁴³ Cf. the sum -badly invested- spent for the aqueduct of Nikomedia (3,318,00 + 200,000 sesterces) in Pl., *Ep*, X,XXXVIII.

⁴⁴ Cf. Hellenkemper, Hild 1986, pp. 123-127.

⁴⁵ Cf. Hellenkemper, Hild 1986, p. 127 (where it is regarded as “spätromisch-frühbyzantinische”).

⁴⁶ Cf. Hellenkemper, Hild 1986, pp. 127-128.

Roman architecture. Secondly, the construction of both extra-urban road networks (including infrastructures such as bridges and harbours) and the aqueducts involve a great deal of technical skills for their planning as well as for their execution. In this respect, it is difficult to think they were carried out only by local workmanmanships. Given the dimensions of the structures, the participation of local manual skills had to be massive⁴⁷, but the planning and the supervision must be ascribed to foreign highly trained, experienced technicians.

With regard to this, we can quote Pliny the Younger's requests to the emperor Trajan⁴⁸ in order to obtain technicians (such as *aquileges*, *architecti* or *libratores*) for his province of Bithynia and Pontus. It is well known that the administrator's requests were not fulfilled. What matters is that, according to Pliny, such skilled technicians came from Moesia, where the Roman army was quartered, because military technicians could guarantee discipline, accuracy as well as a proved (reliable) experience.

In addition to Pliny's evidence, Ulpianus also expressly mentions that the duties of a provincial governor included the furnishing of *ministeria quoque militaria* for civic buildings⁴⁹. In the light of all we have said, it is very likely that early constructions following the Roman annexation of Cilicia were carried out by technicians coming from the legions, presumably from those quartered along the eastern *limes*⁵⁰.

In addition to the constructions themselves, the most important consequence of building yards –presumably planned and directed by foreign technicians (whether they were military or not) together with local labour– was the early and rapid birth of an architectural mixture, especially in the areas of the big cities and –to a smaller degree– in the minor settlements farther from direct contact and therefore more conservative. In the course of time the process of urban refurbishing expanded everywhere so that,

⁴⁷ On the role the local civic communities had in road-building in Asia Minor: Mitchell 1987a, p. 19; Mitchell 1987b, pp. 336-337; Mitchell 1993, pp. 124-129 (with earlier bibliography).

⁴⁸ 1 Pliny the Younger and Trajan: Lehmann-Hartleben 1936; Tosi 1977..

⁴⁹ Dig. I,16,7.1.

⁵⁰ On the role of the army in the building activities of the provinces: MacMullen 1959, pp. 214-217.

during the Severan age, also a suburban centre scarcely inhabited as Olba, was furnished with an impressive construction faced by a monumental *nymphaeum*⁵¹. In the same way, the settlement recently discovered near Küçük Burnaz was endowed with an aqueduct, although it was probably a *mansio*⁵².

From a technical point of view, aqueducts were realized similarly to open channels, such technique involving the construction of substructions so to create a gentle gradient. The only exception in this sense is the aqueduct at Klaudiopolis. Although no monumental evidences ascribable to this aqueduct survive, between the modern houses of Mut, along the Erdem Sokak (a street retaining one of the main road axes of the Roman settlement) several blocks of stone with a hole cut through the middle with a lip and a socket are visible (fig. 2). These elements unquestionably belong to the last section of the pipeline of a urban aqueduct running very likely underground and carrying water under pressure according to a technique widespread among other cities in Asia Minor⁵³. The ensurance of water supply –as we know about the other Asian cities– was boasted with pride by means of *nymphaea* located at the end of the aqueducts. Beside the above mentioned case of Olba, *nymphaea* of this kind in Cilicia are known at Diokaisareia and at Selinus (Building 3)⁵⁴. A further example is provided by a smaller *nymphaeum* discovered at Elaiussa Sebaste to the south of the theatre⁵⁵ and other ones are known from coins⁵⁶.

⁵¹ The aqueduct was perhaps constructed in 198 A.D. thanks to the generosity of a certain Herakleides: Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 38, p. 331. For the *nymphaeum* see Keil, Wilhelm 1931, pp. 82-84; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, pp. 251-252.

⁵² On the settlement of Küçük Burnaz: Tobin 1995; Tobin 1999.

⁵³ In general, on aqueducts in Asia Minor, see Coulton 1987.

⁵⁴ For the *nymphaeum* at Diokaisareia, Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, p. 178. Although not seen before (cf. Huber 1967, p. 33) the western side of Building 3 (side A) in Selinus was undoubtedly a monumental *nymphaeum*. It decorated the building lying behind that must be identified as baths: such complex was located at the end of the city's aqueduct.

⁵⁵ Elaiussa Sebaste II, forthcoming.

⁵⁶ A *nymphaeum* is represented on coins of Tarsos (see, for example SNG France, 1505) and of Anazarbos (SNG Switzerland, 1450).

The availability of running water (whose distribution inside the cities was eased by availability of lead⁵⁷ in the region) had as its immediate consequence the construction of several baths of either big or small dimensions. This kind of complex is typically Roman both from a building and from a social point of view.

As for the aqueducts, baths also involved high skills that local workmanships could not supply without foreign help. A precious evidence in this sense comes from the excavation –about to be completed– of a bath at Elaiussa Sebaste, that was carried out with the typically Roman building techniques (that is to say using a mixed technique made of *opus reticulatum* and roofing-tiles) ascribable to the early 1st century A.D. This evidence proves, apart from the reasons why it was constructed, the unquestionable presence of foreign workmanship on the site, even before the Roman annexation took place⁵⁸.

This example can be associated with other very well known baths in the same city, which were built in a different but typically Roman technique (that is to say a mixed technique made of *opus reticulatum* and courses of bricks) ascribable to a later period, probably between the end of the 1st and the mid 2nd century A.D.⁵⁹

These two monuments thus provide meaningful examples where both foreign and local workmanships cooperated. Similar experiences probably took place at different times and in different ways throughout Cilicia, local workmanship directly learning the know-how in the construction of this kind of architectural typology. Of course, it wasn't a passive and monotonous learning faithfully reproducing the same model. After a short period of time different conditions (for example the climate, the availability of money and materials) led to the construction of numerous thermal complexes. Once more, Cilicia stands out because it is almost completely

⁵⁷ In fact, near Zephyrion (modern Mersin) *molybdaena* - a compound of lead and gold - was quarried: cf. Pl., *NH* XXXIV,173.

⁵⁸ The building (so-called “Harbour Baths”) is a very important example in the history of Cilician architecture both for its building technique and for its early datation. Broad preliminary notes will be soon published in the forthcoming volume *Elaiussa Sebaste II*.

⁵⁹ On this monument and on its related chronological problems see Spanu 1999 (with earlier bibliography).

forgotten by the scientific world, therefore attestations of thermal complexes in the region rarely appear in recent repertories⁶⁰. This is due to the fact that –despite the number of very well preserved examples⁶¹– most of them are awaiting to be excavated and lack accurate planimetries. For

⁶⁰ Up to now Cilician thermal complexes ascribable to the Roman period -published or even simply mentioned- are the following:

- IOTAPE: Building 6 (Huber 1967, pp. 41-42);
- ANTIOCHEIA EPI KRAGO: Baths I 12 A (Huber 1967, pp. 26-27); Erdemgil, Özoral 1972, pp. 56-57;
- NAGIDOS: Baths at the end of the aqueduct (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990, p.363);
- ANEMURION: Baths II 7 A; Baths II 11B; Baths-Palaestra III 2 B (Huber 1967, pp. 4-14);
- TITIOUPOLIS: Baths (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990, p. 448);
- AYVASIL: Baths of uncertain period, maybe late-Roman/early Byzantine (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990, p. 205);
- KELENDERIS: Baths near the harbour (Zoroğlu 1994, pp. 44-45);
- BÜYÜKCELİ: Baths near the river (Zoroğlu 1999, p. 377);
- PITYUSSA: Baths (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990, p. 380);
- ELAIUSSA-SEBASTE: “Great Baths”; “Opus mixtum” Baths (Spanu 1999, pp. 94-114); “Harbour Baths” (Elaiussa *Sebaste II*, forthcoming);
- TARSOS: Baths near Eski Camii;
- İÇME: Baths near the mineral springs (Langlois 1861, p. 267; Davis 1879, p. 17);
- AUGUSTA: Baths (Gough 1956, pp. 173-175);
- AULAI: Baths seen in the 19th century (Langlois 1861, pp. 254-255);
- AIGEI: Baths (Budde 1972, figg. 53-55; Hild, Hellenkemper 1990, p. 162);
- ANAZARBOS: Baths (Building g) to the north of the Church of the Apostles (Gough 1952, pp. 104-105; Verzone 1957a, p. 22); baths to the south of the Church of the Apostles (Hellenkemper 1980, p. 1269, note 32);
- HIERAPOLIS KASTABALA: Baths to the south of the theatre (Verzone 1957b, p. 57); Baths in the north-western sector (Hild, Hellenkemper 1990 p. 294). Beside these complexes, I mark out other evidences:
- SELINUS: Building 3 (see notes 54);
- KORYKOS: Small Baths (maybe late-Roman) to the south-west of the “Kathedrale”; Great Baths to the south of the “Kathedrale” (cf. the city’s plan in Herzfeld, Guyer 1930);
- EPIPHANEIA: Baths near the theatre.

⁶¹ In fact, in many of these monuments elevations are preserved well over the springers of the roofings, thus providing reliable and undisputable information (for example the ventilation and the flux of steams and smokes: cf. Spanu 1999, pp. 97-98 about the “Great Baths” of Elaiussa Sebaste). In this regard it is certain that a systematic survey campaign and the analytical study of the surviving structures might widen the general knowledge about the functioning of thermal complexes.

this reason we must be cautious when we say we have recognized types of buildings and common features. If we leave out some baths in Rough Cilicia where a common scheme –the so-called “hall type” where a series of bath-rooms are grouped around a rectangular covered gallery⁶²– has been recognized, the lack of information can lead to misunderstandings and mistakes. An example of this can be given by the claim made in the past about the absence of baths-gymnasia in Cilicia. This kind of building is a fairly common architectural type in Asia Minor combining a Roman bath with a *palaestra*, an element coming from the Hellenistic *gymnasion*. The most famous buildings are located along the Aegean coast (Ephesos, Miletos, Sardis, Alexandria Troas etc.), and they share some common features both under an architectural and social point of view. An example of this is given by large hall (the so-called “Kaisersaal”) associated with the Imperial cult⁶³.

It is clear that the presence of such buildings in Cilicia cannot be deductively denied. As to the *palaestrae*, once abandoned, they do not leave strong evidences on the ground while the rich decorations their halls had (included their sculptural arrangement) might have been removed or might lie buried inside buildings yet to be excavated. The inscriptions mentioning the office of the gymnasiarch in the region during –almost exclusively⁶⁴– the Imperial age seem to support the existence of multifunctional structures. From such evidences it seems quite trivial to presume the existence of an architectural complex that more than any other structure expressed the social liveliness of a Greek-speaking city: that is to say the *gymnasion*.

As well as in the whole Roman world, Cilician baths enjoyed a particular success thanks to their multiple functions among which those of providing a gathering area and hygienic and healthy facilities.

⁶² See Farrington 1987, pp. 54-55; Farrington 1995, pp. 34-36 (Anemurion II.7.A, Antiocheia epi Krago I.12.a including comparisons with Pamphylia).

⁶³ About bath-gymnasia, see Nielsen 1990, pp. 104-108; Yegül 1992, pp. 250-313.

⁶⁴ The office of the gymniasarch during the Imperial age is recorded at: Iotape (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 1a, p. 122; nr. 1c, p. 123; nr. 3d, p. 125; nr. 9, p. 127; no 23b, p. 131); Kestros (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 4a, p. 146; nr. 19, p. 150); Antiocheia epi Krago (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 14b, p. 37); Anemurion (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 65, pp. 360-361); Diokaisareia (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 103, p. 345); Elaiussa-Sebaste (Borgia, Sayar 1999, nr. 2, pp. 328-329; nr. 5, pp. 331-332); Tarsos (Ramsay 1883, nr. 54, pp. 325-327).

Completely different were the reasons why another architectural typology –the honorary arch of the Roman tradition– was introduced in Cilicia. Monuments of this kind are still visible at Antiocheia on the Kragos⁶⁵, Korykos⁶⁶, Diokaisareia⁶⁷ and Anazarbos⁶⁸. It is noteworthy that at the time of their construction, all these arches were isolated, not connected to the city walls, and virtually functioning as city gates. For the most part, they belonged to the typology of the commemorative arch.

There are also extra-urban monuments: one at Karanlık Kapı⁶⁹, another one, known for a long time as Jonas' Pillars, near Merkes-Kalessi or Sarikesi⁷⁰ and another one, with three archways, located at one of the extremities of a bridge over the Pyramos river, known from coin issues of Mopsuestia⁷¹. With regard to these monuments no dedicatory inscriptions survive, so their chronology remains uncertain. Very probably they were

⁶⁵ See Huber 1967, p. 19 (Building I. 9); Erdemgil, Örozal 1972, p. 58.

⁶⁶ For the arch of Korykos -which has recently undergone a disastrous reconstructive restoration- see Herzfeld, Guyer 1930, pp. 173-176, where it is ascribed either to the second half of the 2nd century A.D. or to the 3rd century A.D.

⁶⁷ There are evidences of at least two honorary arches at Diokaisareia. The former, near the temple of Zeus Olbios, consisted of two rows of six columns bearing brackets and topped by a rectilinear architrave with an arch in the middle. The latter, located to the north-eastern border of the city, had three archways, the central one being taller and larger. It bears an inscription by Arcadius and Honorius which -although the arch is being defined as built *εγ θεμελίου-* was inscribed without any doubt long time after the monument was constructed. On the two arches, see Keil, Wilhelm 1931, pp. 48-56; 71. To these evidences we must add coins of Otacilia Severa depicting an arch with brackets inwards: Staffieri 1985, nrr. 25-25c; p. 14, 37-38; figg. 39-42 (with other references), where it is identified with the north-eastern arch. Instead, there are not sure proofs to ascribe this representation to one or to the other monument.

⁶⁸ On the arch of Anazarbos with three openings (the western one collapsed in the last forty years), see Gough 1952, pp. 104-105, 110-113; Verzone 1957a, pp. 15-23. The datation of the monument is controversial: the more likely hypothesis dates the arch back to early 3rd century A.D. (perhaps the arch was built to honour the emperor Macrinus, as put forward by ROBERT 1961, pp. 176-177). Instead, the datation-suggested by Verzone-to the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D. cannot be accepted.

⁶⁹ Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, p. 17; Hellenkemper, Hild 1986, pp. 101-102, abb. 158-159.

⁷⁰ Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, p. 19; Hellenkemper, Hild 1986, pp. 108-111. The monument still visible today near Sağlıklı was not an honorary arch dating back to Roman times: in fact it belonged undoubtedly to a later period.

⁷¹ See Donaldson 1859, p. 249; SNG AULOCK Kilikien, no 5747, table 194: the coin issued under Valerianus bears the indication ET ΓΚΤ thus referred to the year 323, corresponding with the years 255/256 A.D. For the relationship with the emperor Valerianus, see Pekary 1966.

to be dedicated to the emperors who had happened to visit the region on the occasion of military campaigns against the Parthians⁷² and not to affluent local personalities⁷³.

The emperors' journeys (including the retinues)⁷⁴—and more generally the continuous presence of Western people (whether they were legionaries, auxiliaries, governors and their staffs)—made it possible the introduction of other architectural typologies unknown to local tradition and rare throughout the Roman East. Public spectacle buildings are significant in this sense.

If we leave out theatres and *stadia* (which were anyway connected to the Greek speaking world) Cilicia stands out, among the other Asian provinces. In fact, during the Imperial age, this province had one amphitheatre (at Anazarbos) and at least three proper circuses. These must be distinguished (but they are usually grouped together) from the monuments of Greek tradition such as *stadia*, meant for athletic games, since circuses—having the spina at the centre of the track—were meant for chariot races. Direct documentation is known for Anazarbos and Seleukeia, a further example being that of Aigeai (known from literary sources). The circus at Adana might belong to the Byzantine period⁷⁵.

The presence of these buildings is noteworthy, since such monuments required both economical resources and building efforts, and they were intended exclusively for the performance of gladiatorial combats, wild beast hunts and chariot races. Their construction—due to a strong demand—

⁷² Several emperors had the chance to sojourn in Cilicia: maybe Trajan (113 A.D.), Hadrian (maybe in 129 A.D., coming back to Rome), Lucius Verus (162 A.D.), Marcus Aurelius (176 A.D.), Septimius Severus (194 A.D., after the battle of Issos), Caracalla (215 A.D.), Gordianus III (around 242 A.D.), Valerianus (255-256 A.D.), Aurelianus (272 A.D.); for an analysis of historical sources, see Halfmann 1986, pp. 187-188; 206; 212; 215; 219-220; 224; 234; 236; 239.

⁷³ In Asia Minor there are a few arches dedicated to private individuals during the Imperial age, as clearly shown by the inscriptions such monuments bore: cf. the Arch of Apollonios and Demetrios at Perge (İnan 1989) and the Mettii Arch at Patara (Kalinka 1930, nr. 421, pp. 157-158).

⁷⁴ Significant in this sense are the inscriptions of the *equites singulares* found at Anazarbos: see Sayar 2000, pp. 56-67, nrr. 63-68.

⁷⁵ On these buildings see, last, Spanu 2001 (with earlier bibliography). The few chronological elements available seem to suggest that several theatres were built in Cilicia during the Imperial age.

is undoubtedly unrelated to local tradition, and it should be considered exceptional because only very few amphitheatres and circuses⁷⁶ are found throughout the Roman East.

When we take into consideration urban and architectural planning in the region, we cannot forget the historical and social conditions under which monuments were erected. Then the construction of several monuments was conditioned by various factors: beside the increased economic prosperity of the cities and the presence of the emperor with the legions, we must consider municipal competition too. Municipal competition was a phenomenon of *aemulatio* typical of the cities in Asia Minor, that was criticized by the Romans, and leading sometimes to disastrous economic consequences⁷⁷.

We have an echo of such hectic building activities in Cilicia, not only from dedicatory inscriptions survived⁷⁸ but also from the numerous coins issued by the cities providing important data about buildings that did not survive.

⁷⁶ Against that, it is well known that the lack of monuments intended for that purpose in the East did not hinder the success enjoyed by gladiatorial combats and -perhaps- by chariot races (at this regard, see Robert 1940; Golvin 1988, pp. 239-245).

⁷⁷ Another essential, basic aspect of the architectural history of the region -that is to say that of the responsibility and finances allowing the construction of buildings which presumably involved direct commitment of municipal elites- cannot be included in this context. The subject should be specifically treated on a different and specific occasion.

⁷⁸ Here is a partial list of epigraphical evidences clearly recording the construction of buildings during the Imperial age (funerary monuments are not included):

IOTAPE: Temple (dedicated to Trajan?) and statues; Trajanic period; financed by Toues, son of Irdaouexos (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 9, p. 127). Temple of Poseidon with statue, *balaneion*, temple of the Moires with statues; end of the 2nd century A.D.; financed by Momposos, son of Kendeos (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, p. 122, nr 1a).

SELINUS: Two columns of a not specified monument; 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.; financed by Apatouris, son of Iambios (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 20, p. 382).

KESTROS: Parts of a sanctuary (four columns, a metal door and cult objects); Trajanic period; financed by Neon, son of Ingeos (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 1, p. 145)

KLAUDIOPOLIS: *Tristoon*; around 197 A.D.; uncertain commissioner (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 1, p. 158).

DIOKAISAREIA: *Tychaion*; 1st or maybe 2nd century A.D.; financed by Oppios, son of Obrimos and by Kyria, daughter of Leonida (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, no 6, p. 325)

OLBA: Aqueduct; 198 A.D.; financed by Herakleidos; (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 38, p. 331).

The great majority of buildings represented are temples, either dedicated to poliad gods or constructed with a strongly propagandistic aim, as it happened with Tarsos and Anazarbos which competed for the title of the neocory connected with the imperial cult⁷⁹ (fig. 1.5-9).

From a merely formal point of view, it would seem that temples faithfully followed tradition showing a purely Hellenistic appearance⁸⁰, but they also saw (although structures were obviously more traditional and conservative) important formal and compositive innovations. The major monumental evidences survived reveal the introduction of an element typical of Roman templar architecture: *the podium*. This is visible in the Donuk Taş at Tarsos, in the temples at Elaiussa Sebaste and Seleukeia on Kalykadnos, whose chronology, based at the moment on stylistic considerations, lies between the Augustan age and the mid-1st century A.D.⁸¹

As for other formal aspects, Cilicia seems to have taken part into the curvilinear formal revolution that interested the East Mediterranean during the imperial age. In Cilician architecture, the success enjoyed by curvilinear shape –both in elevation and in plan (that only indirectly can

CATI ÖREN (the inscriptions refer to the temple of Hermes): *Naos* and *mageireion* (kitchen); unknown period; financed by Pomponios Nigeros (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 3, p. 156). *Propylaion*; probably 2nd century A.D.; financed by Agosia Tertia daughter of M. Tertius, (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 6, pp. 156-157). *Anaklisiin* (bench) of the *naos*; unknown period; financed by Menodotos (Hagel, Tomaschitz 1998, nr. 7, p. 157).

EPIPHANEIA (probably): Agora *seitike* (wheat-market); 1st-2nd century A.D.; financed by Dionysos son of Alexandros (Dagron, Feissel 1987, nr. 124, pp. 209-211).

ANAZARBOS: *Sebaston ydragogion* (aqueduct); 90-91 A.D.; financed by the *demos* of the city (Sayar 2000, nr. 20, p. 30). Temple of Dionysos Kallikarpos; Domitianic period; financed by L. Valerius Niger L.f. (Sayar 2000, nr. 21, pp. 30-31).

⁷⁹ For a picture of direct or indirect evidences on the Imperial cult in Cilicia, see Price 1984, pp. 272-274. Beside the neocory temples in the greatest towns, we don't forget the realization of temples for the imperial cult also in other sites, like Kestros, about which: Bean, Mitford 1970, pp. 157-161.

⁸⁰ This seems to regard the interesting example at Lamos (about which see the preliminary notes in Söğüt 1999) that had probably to be ascribed to the Flavian period as proved by the dedicatory inscription of L. Octavius Memor found nearby (Bean, Mitford 1962, nr. 32, p. 208).

⁸¹ For the Donuk Taş: Koldewey 1890; Verzone 1957c; Baydur 1986-1992; Hild, Hellenkemper 1990, p. 435. For the temple at Seleukeia, see Keil, Wilhelm 1931, pp. 7-8; Hellenkemper 1995; Berns 1998; Pohl 2002, p. 214. For the temple of Elaiussa Sebaste see Gough 1954; Berns 1998 (where it is ascribed to the Augustan age); Baldassarri 1999 (where it is ascribed to the mid-1st century A.D.); Pohl 2002, p. 17; p. 145.

be defined as Roman)— was really noteworthy as evidenced by images on coin issues. Starting from the 2nd century A.D., in fact, we can notice that the appearance of the temples (as well as the reconstruction of the arch at Anazarbos) was often characterized by the presence of the arcuated lintel, the so called “Syrian pediment”, that is to say a pediment interrupted at the base by an arch, an architectural element whose origins are generally recognized in Syria but which became widespread throughout Asia Minor⁸² (fig. 1.2).

The increasing familiarity with the construction of vaults and domes was sensibly to change the appearance of town landscapes, with deep changes either in spatial forms as shown by representations of *sacella* or shrines with extradossed vaults resting directly on columns, or in the construction of richly elaborated *nymphaea*. It is interesting to observe that such phenomenon became so widespread that involved also much earlier buildings: the pyre of Herakles-Sandan at Tarsos⁸³, reproduced on coins until Hadrian’s times with its traditional appearance, but from Marcus Aurelius onwards appearing with a dome resting on columns (fig. 1.3-4).

The assimilation of such innovations did not have to be a mere replica of models. Undoubtedly, local architects had the chance to experiment with new solutions. In the course of this brief article on Cilician architecture during the Imperial age, architectural development of funerary *mausolea* has not been taken into account. With regard to it, generally speaking, a constant conservatism substantially following traditional schemes can be observed. Anyhow, within the single necropoleis some sporadic examples of new experimentations can be found. They were probably eased by the fact that monuments did not suffer from a daily, intense life. For example, new formal solutions can be found in some isolated cases in the necropolis at Anemurion (conical buildings and tombs with domes on squinches)⁸⁴, in a mausoleum shaped as a *tetrapylon* at Kelenderis⁸⁵ or inside a tomb in the necropolis of Elaiussa Sebaste covered by a peculiar elliptical vault⁸⁶. A

⁸² For the “Syrian pediment”: Crema 1961.

⁸³ For the representations of this monument and the cult, see Goldman 1949.

⁸⁴ Alföldi Rosenbaum 1971, pp. 94-97.

⁸⁵ Zoroğlu 1994, pp. 41-45 (with earlier bibliography).

⁸⁶ Machatschek 1967, pp. 114-116, taf. 55.

tomb in the necropolis of Elaiussa Sebaste –published by Machatschek⁸⁷– can be regarded as an example of a search for new formal and spatial solutions (fig. 3). Such mausoleum shows a peculiar covering consisting of two overlapped and lowered vaults – not easy to build as they required two centerings with different arcuations. Apparently the monument did not undergo any restoration but it had to be constructed in only one building phase. Such innovation did not seem to catch on, therefore it must be regarded as an isolated example. Yet, conceptually it is very similar to the “Moorish arch” which later will enjoy great success in Islamic architecture.

The picture presented so far (which is extremely incomplete due to the present state of knowledge) thus reveals the vivid interest of Cilicia in welcoming both new architectural typologies and formal solutions. Most of these innovations were made possible thanks to the new ways of building unquestionably introduced by the Romans. From a building point of view in fact, Hellenistic techniques essentially meant ashlar masonries (*opus polygonalis* and *opus quadratum*) used both in monumental edifices (such as temples, fortresses and towers) and minor buildings (among which funerary mausolea)⁸⁸.

The most conspicuous documentation for the Hellenistic period known so far comes from Rough Cilicia, while Hellenistic Plain Cilicia is poorer. The reason of such difference lies in the geological structure of the two regions: in the fertile alluvional plains of Plain Cilicia the availability of limestone is very scarce, causing a major recycle of material and the almost total lack of evidence for this period.

Ashlar masonries – made without the use of mortar have been the object of recent studies⁸⁹. However, we must observe that their chronology (when missing dedicatory inscriptions or well-known contests) can be hardly fixed. In fact, especially in extra-urban sites and for various reasons, they

⁸⁷ Machatschek 1967, p. 83, taf. 56.

⁸⁸ It is necessary to remember that the present state of knowledge must be limited to monumental architecture: the lack of excavations prevents us from getting to know something about “minor” architecture, that is to say which buildings techniques were employed in domestic building or in lesser public buildings.

⁸⁹ Tırpan 1994, Söğüt 1998.

were still used for a long period of time until the Imperial age. This is suggested by examples dated epigraphically known in Italy⁹⁰, Lycia and Pamphylia⁹¹. As for Cilicia, we have some monumental evidences of the continuity of use of such techniques in areas where the materials were largely available (that is to say in Rough Cilicia)⁹² but we must consider that still in the 6th century A.D. Byzantine authors defined the Isaurians as the best stone-cutters and very good construction workers⁹³.

Despite such continuity, these techniques were quickly supplanted by a new creation from the Romans, the *opus caementicium* or mortared rubble. It was thanks to this new revolutionary building technique with flowing masses that also in Cilicia it became possible to build structures with curvilinear plans, covered with vaults and domes, with less invasive but strongest walls as well as huge constructions such as the Donuk Taş at Tarsos that, although faced with blocks, had its core of mortared rubble made of river boulders and pebbles, materials available on the site.

As suggested before, the introduction of this new building technique took place in “mixed” building yards, as those involved in the construction of baths at Elaiussa Sebaste and of the aqueduct at Anazarbos.

Mortared rubble together with all its advantages was positively welcomed within a short period of time, with different applications and uses according to the materials available. On this subject, we must remember that while Strabo refers of two different Cilicias (the Rough and the Plain), on geological grounds three regions can be distinguished: a

⁹⁰ To this regard, the most famous example is the amphitheatre of Alba Fucens, epigraphically ascribed to the Julio-Claudian dynasty: de Visscher 1957.

⁹¹ For example, the baths at Simena or the aqueduct at Patara (Coulton 1983, p. 9). For many other cases and in general, on the persistence of polygonal masonry in the construction of baths and other buildings in Lycia and Pamphylia, see Farrington 1995, pp. 52-66.

⁹² Besides the numerous cases of uncertain datation -due to the lack of inscriptions or of excavation data- the tombs at Imbriogion built during the Imperial age can be pointed out as examples of ashlar techniques carried out without the use of any binder: Heberdey, Wilhelm 1896, pp. 82-83; Keil, Wilhelm 1931, pp 23-26; Machatschek 1974. Now a perimetral wall of the so-called “commercial agora” at Elaiussa Sebaste (Morselli 1999) can be added to some other -and more uncertain- examples. Despite its height, the wall -which is under excavation- is made in ashlar masonry without the use either of mortar or iron clamps.

⁹³ See Mango 1966.

Cilicia with alluvional plains, a Cilicia with calcareous massifs and scists and a “black” Cilicia characterized by the presence of lavic stones (fig. 4).

The existence of this volcanic Cilicia has provided for a long time the idea that the region was favoured in the introduction of the Roman techniques because it had the same geological structures as central Italy where in fact mortared rubble come from⁹⁴. Such statement must be re-evaluated because, apart from a few exceptions, the materials involved were those available in the close nearby.

Such statement regards mainly the facings, but the very strong presence of mortar in buildings located well outside volcanic Cilicia, leads us to the conclusion that concrete was made without volcanic sand, but with sands locally available.

Facings in Rough Cilicia were almost entirely made of small blocks of local stones more or less regularly cut, as clay was scarcely available and therefore it was used mainly in the production of tiles and imbrexes or of particular bricks, with a limited production of proper bricks. On the contrary, in Plain Cilicia, a fertile land poor in building stones, the facings of mortared rubble were almost entirely made of bricks, made with the excellent clay coming from the alluvional plains. “Black” Cilicia, not mentioned by ancient sources, mixed the two facings with a predominance of small blocks of black volcanic stone (fig. 5).

If quarrying blocks of local stone caused small changes in the pre-existing quarrying system, the massive brick production in Plain Cilicia enabled this region, poor in building stones, to build several great

⁹⁴ An opinion about the good quality of Cilician mortar was expressed in Ward-Perkins 1958, p. 82 (but without mention of volcanic sand use) and then in Boëthius, Ward-Perkins 1970, p. 387. This opinion has been gradually modified (see, for example, Waelkens 1987, p. 99) and recently it has been completely distorted. A coarse example at this regard is in Cormack 1997, pp. 152-153: “At certain sites in Cilicia where a local equivalent of *pozzolano* (sic!) was readily available (for example Iotape, Elaiussa Sebaste and Selinus), tombs are constructed with barrel vaults which are quite distinct from the ashlar vaults of neighbouring mountainous regions.” This opinion (probably borne only by the observation of some photoes) is completely wrong: some tombs of imperial age in these sites present walls with stone blocks but they are only the facings for a core in *opus caementicium*. For these reason, there is not a real building technique difference between the walls and the vaults: it is only an aesthetic change. Furthermore, Iotape, Elaiussa Sebaste and Selinus have not local availability of volcanic sand.

architectural complexes⁹⁵. This was made possible only thanks to the rise of a complex industrial system (that involved collecting the clay, preparing the bricks and baking them in kilns) about which there is neither archaeological nor epigraphical evidence so far (as far as I know no brick stamps of Roman period are found in Cilicia)⁹⁶.

Some observations must be made about the *opus testaceum*, the first one regarding its technique. Romans (in Italy as well as in the Western Empire) used bricks as facings destined to contain the core of concrete: for this reason bricks were square shaped (but also to make their transportation easier) and once in the building yard they were broken in triangular or trapezoidal shapes and then laid so to better stuck into the flowing mass of concrete.

In Cilicia (as in many areas in Asia Minor)⁹⁷ this reliable and cheap building technique was not appreciated by local workmanships. Also in this region bricks were square shaped but at the beginning, they were laid either whole or longitudinally broken, therefore rectangle shaped. In Cilicia too, sometimes the brickwork was used in a different way with respect to the Western Empire, running right through the core.

Despite the different techniques according to which bricks were laid, brick production in Cilicia for a long time directly derived from the early models of Roman influence: the grooves were scored on fresh clay to facilitate the division of bricks into triangles. Also when the lines did not have a meaning anymore, we still find them in many cases –as, for example, at Hierapolis Kastabala (baths near the theatre), at Elaiussa Sebaste (the so-called “*Opus mixtum* Baths”) and at Küçük Burnaz– together with bricks more rationally bearing a transversal line scored to divide them into rectangles.

⁹⁵ For a Roman as Pliny the Younger, *opus testaceum* was easier and cheaper than building stones (*facilius et vilius*: Pl., *Ep.*, X.XXXVII.2, referred to Nikomedia aqueduct). This had to be very true in Plain Cilicia where the scarcity of good building stones led to high costs of transportation.

⁹⁶ There are early-Byzantine brickstamps instead: Dagron, Feissel 1987, pp 251-252. Another brickstamp (presumably late-Roman/early-Byzantine as well) found several times at Elaiussa Sebaste can be added to these examples: Elaiussa Sebaste II, forthcoming.

⁹⁷ A systematic study on *opus testaceum* has been long announced by H. Dodge. On the subject see Dodge 1987.

Another important consideration on bricks produced in Cilicia, showing the adaptation of a foreign technique to local requirements, concerns measures (fig. 6). In Italy, as well as in most of the Western provinces, during the imperial age, bricks were made on standard sizes: *bessales* (two thirds of a a foot square = 19,7 cm each side), *sesquipedales* (one and a half foot = about 44,4 cm each side) and *bipedales* (two feet = about 60 cm each side), one foot bricks do not exist.

In the monuments surviving in Cilicia bricks of such measures are very rare: in fact they were made on local standards and therefore they varied a lot⁹⁸. In general, we can say that *bipedales* (or very large bricks) are

⁹⁸ As a mere indication, here the dimensions of some bricks of Roman buildings still visible in Cilicia are given:

ANAZARBOS:

- 1) cm 33 x 33 x 3,5 (building in the north-eastern sector: wall-facings)
- 2) cm 24 x 34 x 3 (baths to the south of the church: wall-facings)
- 3) cm 40 x 40 x 4 (baths to the north of the church: wall-facings)

ANEMURION:

- 1) cm 26,5 x 26,5 x 3,3 (Baths III.2.B: *suspensurae*).
- 2) cm 28,5 x 28,5 x 3,3 (Baths II.7.A: vaults, wall-facing and basins).
- 3) cm 31 x 31 x 3,7 (Baths II.7.A: *suspensurae*).
- 4) cm 69 x 69 x 7,5 (Baths II.7.A: *suspensurae*).

ELAIUSSA-SEBASTE:

- 1) cm 25 x 25 x 3,5÷5,2 (“Opus mixtum” Baths: wall-facing; Harbour Baths: wall-facing; vaults; bricks with X and I scores).
- 2) cm 35 x 35 x 6 (“Great Baths”: vaults and arches).
- 3) cm 38 x 38 x 2 (Water reservoir: vault).

EPIPHANEIA:

- 1) cm 30 x 30 x 4 (Baths near the theatre: courses).
- 2) cm 30 x 30 x 4 (Building opposite the theatre: wall-facing).
- 3) cm 38 x 38 x 5 (Building opposite the theatre: wall-facing)
- 4) cm 35 x 35 x 4 (Building opposite the theatre: courses).

HIERAPOLIS KASTABALA:

- 1) cm 25 x 25 x 3 (Baths opposite the theatre: wall-facing, with X scores).

KÜÇÜK BURNAZ:

- cm 32 x 32 x 3÷4 (Baths, bricks with X and I scores).

TARSOS:

- 1) cm 22 x 22 x 5 (Baths: wall-facing).
- 2) cm 69 x 69 x 5 (Baths: in the arched lintels).

To these the data published for AUGUSTA (Gough 1956) are added:

- cm 42 x 29,5 x 4,5 (West Building; Baths).

exceptional (maybe because very expensive) while the most common measure is between 26,5 and 35 cm (that is to say more or a less a foot) which is missing in Italy⁹⁹.

As for the metrological aspect it can also be noticed that measures vary from city to city and from monument to monument: this can prove that single brick kilns supplied a local market and that frequent changes in the brick production took place in the course of time¹⁰⁰.

From these observations we can see that, on one hand, brick production in Cilicia was connected to models (as proved by the X signs scored to facilitate the division into triangles). On the other hand, there is a substantial difference (e.g. the dimensions) due to local adaptations.

Such local adaptations of the *opus testaceum* of Roman influence are extremely evident in Rough Cilicia, where the scarcity of clay required both the use of small blocks of local stone as facings (sometimes with alternate courses of bricks) and an almost exclusive production of roofing-tiles and imbrexes. Brick production in Rough Cilicia was in fact exceptional, based on specific requests: bricks being placed at particular points of a building such as arches and vaults. Kilns could also supply, when requested, a limited number of particular bricks as for example circular bricks for *suspensurae* or wall tubuli for baths. This exceptional brick productions are easily recognizable because they are unique. In a pool of the baths II.7.A at Anemurion, instead of standard *bipedales*, bricks measuring 69 cm each side, and thick 7,5 cm were placed on *suspensurae*. They are fired slabs and I suppose they are among the biggest bricks ever made in the Roman world.

Another example, where the need of adaptation is evident, is found in the baths at Anemurion. The great majority of buildings in the city are faced with small calcareous blocks, limestone being available on the site. An exception to the rule is given by *suspensurae* and extradossed apses that required an accurate regularity. In fact they were faced with bricks,

⁹⁹ Such measure, anyway, seems to be the average of most bricks in Asia Minor: Dodge 1987, p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ Due to such a local production, I think it is difficult to establish a dating criterion based on measures -and especially on the thickness- of the bricks, as it has been tempted for Rome.

while other sections were faced with ordinary tiles that, before being fired, were scored with lines to be used either for the roof or, once broken, as bricks (fig. 7).

These observations about the two examples from Anemurion are obviously very detailed, but they undoubtedly give an idea of how Cilicia interpreted Roman influence on building technique. The analysis of the surviving monuments in this perspective can also provide unexpected information about both the building skills achieved by local architects and the relationships between the various regions in Cilicia. An example of this is given by the analysis of the vaults in some monuments. In order to make vaults lighter, architects decided to use a material which differed from that one used for the walls. In Rough Cilicia, instead of limestone and scists, sandstone—a much lighter stone available locally or in the close nearby¹⁰¹—was used in the vaults.

The examples of the baths at Hierapolis Kastabala, Anazarbos and Tarsos are different. The load bearing walls were made of calcareous *caementa* or pebbles, while the vaults of large rooms were made of volcanic scoriae. The choice was the right one, since this kind of stone guaranteed lightness and it is practically the same solution adopted in the dome of the Pantheon in Rome¹⁰². Thus it is noteworthy that volcanic stone is not available in the surroundings of Hierapolis Kastabala, Anazarbos and—especially—Tarsos, so it was a precise choice requiring a specific import from far areas, from the black volcanic Cilicia located to the south-east¹⁰³.

¹⁰¹ Significant in this sense is the recent discovery of a sandstone quarry near the seaside between Selinus and Kestros (Blanton 2000, p. 35, figg. 3-8). It lies far from large settlements, but it was extremely functional to the loading of materials directly on the ships so that it could be transported for long distances, thus solving the problem of land transportation, particularly difficult in the mountainous territory of Rough Cilicia.

¹⁰² On the use of different materials in the vault of the Pantheon according to their location, see De Fine Licht 1968. Generally, the use of volcanic scoriae (latin *sfungia*) in the vaults had to be common in imperial architecture, at this regard cf. Isid., *Origin.*, XIX,X: *Sfungia, lapis creatus ex aqua, levis ac fistulosus et cameris aplus.*

¹⁰³ The mortar employed in the walls of these structures does not seem to include volcanic sand, therefore the import of volcanic material was limited only to the scoriae for the vaults or for other particular employments. At this regard the use of volcanic stones can be observed in the Roman road in Tarsos: Zoroğlu 1997; Zoroğlu, Doğan, Adıbelli 1998; Zoroğlu, Adıbelli, Doğan 1999.

Last but not least, another consideration about architecture in Cilicia during the imperial age regards architectural sculpture, mainly including marbles and granites. It is well known that the progressive Roman conquest, and the acquisition of the great majority of quarries on the part of the imperial family made it possible a process of “marble style” in architecture throughout the provinces. Private and public buildings were faced with materials not locally available, purchased or granted by the emperor¹⁰⁴. The study of this phenomenon directly, or indirectly, records the wealth or the importance achieved by settlements which were very far from the quarries the materials came from¹⁰⁵.

The study of the distribution of decorative stones has been recently developed, but once more Cilicia has been forgotten, being unattested¹⁰⁶ on the maps showing the distribution of the different materials. This is really surprising, since geologically Cilicia lacks crystalline complexes and metamorphic stones¹⁰⁷, therefore the presence of marbles and granites was due only to imports.

Despite the scarce archaeological activity in the region, the remains show that Cilicia saw the employment of large quantities of marbles.

As for architectural sculpture (but there are also records of sculptures made of imported marble, as shown by a small statue made of pavonazzetto –the Dokymenian marble¹⁰⁸– displayed in the Tarsos museum), the most

¹⁰⁴ Without explicit sources describing the way marbles and granites were purchased and considering the important imperial interventions in the food-grant field in Cilicia, it seems obvious to suppose that such materials were direct donations by the emperor to the region.

¹⁰⁵ The bibliography on the subject is very rich, among the various contributions (with further bibliography): Dodge 1988; Dodge 1990; Dodge 1991; Ward-Perkins 1992; Fant 1993. On the marbles and their main features see Gnoli 1988.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Dodge 1988; Dodge 1990 (with distribution maps of Proconnesian marble, Troad granite and Egyptian red granite), Dodge 1991 (with distribution maps of Troad granite, “verde antico”, “pavonazzetto”, Proconnesian marble): in these maps Cilicia is almost completely unattested. An updated revision -with very different results- on the distribution of Troad marble is in Pensabene, Bruno 1988, p. 22, pict. 19, showing that the stone is fairly present in Cilicia.

¹⁰⁷ For a geological picture of Turkey see Brinkmann 1976; Hertz 1988.

¹⁰⁸ Tarsos Museum, nr. inv. 120.6. The problems related to white marbles and above all to statuary cannot be included in the present work. Due to the lack of marble in the region, it is easy to understand how local workshops were influenced by the imports of marble sculpture. A significant example -awaiting a systematic study- is that of sarcophagi, on which see Ward-Perkins 1992 (updated with respect to the edition published in the Papers of the British School at Rome, 48, 1980) and Waelkens 1982, pp. 88-90: the distribution maps show the presence in Cilicia of Phrygian sarcophagi (there are over 15 examples of the “garland type” at Silifke, Mersin and Adana); Proconnesian sarcophagi (more than 15 examples at Korykos and 5-9 at Tarsos); Attic sarcophagi (more than 15 examples at Korykos, Elaiussa Sebaste and Tarsos). Anyway, the picture is incomplete.

common marble is the Proconnesian. It is found everywhere in the region, in columns, entablatures, facing and flooring slabs¹⁰⁹ (fig. 8). The second most imported stone in Cilicia was Troad granite, the grey plutonic rock coming from the surroundings of Pergamon¹¹⁰ used for columns shafts (fig. 9). This stone probably began to be widespread in Asia Minor from Hadrian's times onwards¹¹¹. Proconnesian and Troad granites were often

In the following notes focusing on the presence of coloured marbles and granites in Cilicia, the fragments seen by the present writer during my seven years of excavations at Elaiussa Sebaste have not been included. Among these I include: "rosso antico" (from Tenedos island), "giallo antico", (from Simitthous-Chemtou, in the north-western Tunisia), "verde antico" (from Thessaly), "serpentino" (from Krokeai, Greece), red porphyry and Syene granite (from Egypt), "pavonazetto" (from Dokymeion) and alabaster.

¹⁰⁹ The following list includes the most evident presences of Proconnesian marble in Cilicia:

SELINUS. Near Harbour: column shaft.

ANTIOCHEIA EPI KRAGO. Columned street: some column shafts; Building I.2: column bases.

KELENDERIS. Baths: slabs.

KLAUDIOUPOLIS-Mut. Kale: slabs; İlköğretim Okulu: capitals and frieze element.

SILIFKE. Müze: column shafts and capitals.

DIOKAISAREIA. Theatre: column bases, shafts and capitals.

ELAIUSSA-SEBASTE. Column bases, shafts and capitals.

TARSOS. Ulu Camii: column shafts and architrave-frieze.

ADANA. Müze: column bases, shafts and capitals.

AIGEAI. Column shafts and capitals.

RHOSOS-Arsuz. Private houses, Belediye Lara Park: column shafts.

¹¹⁰ For the Troad granite, see Gnoli 1988 p. 153; Dodge 1988, p. 75; Dodge 1991, p. 40; Peacock 1993, pp. 66-68.

¹¹¹ Here are the most important presences of Troad granite in Cilicia:

SELINUS: Building 6 (porticoes): column shafts.

ANTIOCHEIA EPI KRAGO. Columned street: most part of column shafts.

ANEMURION: Near the Bouleterion: column shaft.

SILIFKE. Müze: small column shaft.

DIOKAISAREIA, *Tycheion*: column shafts (with regard to this monument, the datation put forward by MacKay 1990, p. 2096, to the second half of the 1st century A.D. seems contradictory with the presumed beginning of the use of such stone. A chronology of the temple in the 2nd century is proposed in Heilmeyer 1970, p.105, based on stylistic comparisons of the capitals).

ELAIUSSA-SEBASTE. Theatre: column shafts.

TARSOS. Columned street: column shafts. Near the Baths: small column shaft.

ADANA. Müze: column shafts; milestone and catapult balls.

ANAZARBOS. Honorary arch: column shafts. Columned street: column shaft.

HIERAPOLIS KASTABALA. Columned street: column shaft.

AIGEAI. Column shafts.

RHOSOS-Arsuz. Belediye Lara Park: column shaft.

used together but they were not very expensive stones¹¹², as they both came from Asia Minor.

More exceptional—due to the emperor’s direct involvement—is the presence of other marbles: besides the more common “cipollino” or Carystian marble (from Eubea)¹¹³ and “serpentino”—the Laconian porphyde (from Krokeai, in Greece)¹¹⁴. The presence of much more expensive stones such as the Syene granite (from Aswan in Egypt)¹¹⁵, the red porphydus (from Mons Porphyrites, Gebel Dokhan in Egypt)¹¹⁶ or Hereke pudding-stone¹¹⁷ are noteworthy.

Despite the present state of knowledge, it is important to say that this process of “marble-style” did not involve only coastal centres, favoured by sea transportation, but also internal cities such as Diokaisareia¹¹⁸, Anazarbos¹¹⁹ and the very far Klaudiopolis where, with high costs of—mainly river—transportation, columns in the so-called “verde antico” quarried in Thessaly were imported¹²⁰.

¹¹² Proconnesian was one the cheapest marble: in *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis*, 31, the price of one cubic foot was 40 denarii, against 250 for the same size of porphydus, 150 for thessalian marble and 100 for carystian. Ward-Perkins 1992, p. 65 discussed the possibility that Troad granite and Proconnesian marble were shipped together, within a sort of joined production (Pensabene 1997, p. 279).

¹¹³ See Gnoli 1988, pp. 181-183. Columns of this material are visible in the commercial agora at Elaiussa Sebaste and in other Cilician areas.

¹¹⁴ See Gnoli 1988, pp. 141-144.

¹¹⁵ See Gnoli 1988, pp. 145-147. The Syene granite is recorded in Cilicia at: Selinus (Terrace 6: column shafts, Ø cm 59); Adana (Müze: column shaft); Mopsuestia (column shafts); Anazarbos (Theatre: column shafts).

¹¹⁶ See Gnoli 1988, pp. 122-123. Besides the presence of small quantities, I point out the exceptional discovery of a column made of such stone, now inside a restaurant garden at Yumurtalık—ancient Aigeai—meant undoubtedly for a very important building.

¹¹⁷ This stone was used especially during the Byzantine period. A column found in the waters at Aigeai and visible on the sea-shore must be also recorded.

¹¹⁸ The opinion in Plommer 1969, p. 190 about the lack of marble in the city cannot be absolutely accepted: Troad granite (Tychaion), Proconnesian marble (Theatre) and others stone have been always visible.

¹¹⁹ The theatre of the city was decorated with very tall columns in Syene granite.

¹²⁰ Four big column shafts (0,50 m large, 2,50 m tall) decorate the facade of the Laal Pasa Camii built in 1444. The numerous columns seen in the 19th century at Mut had to be made in the same stone. Nowadays only some fragments survive inside modern houses.

This brief account on the distribution of stones imported in Cilicia shows how architectural appearance in the region changed despite the lack of marbles and granites. The new taste for polichromy led to the appreciation of local stone, as shown by the production of columns made of conglomerate and of veined grained limestone employed –for example– for the columned streets at Hierapolis Kastabala and Augusta¹²¹. Nevertheless, material locally available continued to be used, whether it was limestone or lavic stone, the hardest to cut.

Apart from the quality of imported materials, it is clear that especially semifinished elements (such as capitals, bases and entablatures) were to influence strongly local sculptors who met and got updated with a taste and a style very far from their tradition. These evidences show that the region developed its peculiar style and taste yet to be studied¹²².

Despite the quantity of surviving elements, a study of architectural decoration in Cilicia during the imperial age has not been undertaken yet. This research could certainly provide some important information about the artistic history of the region.

¹²¹ The availability of coloured limestones undoubtedly contributed to develop the presence of polichrome mosaics in the region (cf. Budde 1972). Such mosaics were probably created by local workmanships that used materials available on the site.

¹²² Significant in this sense is the perplexity expressed by Plommer 1969, p. 190, about the architectural decoration of Diokaisareia, especially about that of the theatre, considered almost Diocletianic!

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EVOLUTION OF COLONNADED AVENUES IN THE ROMAN CITYSCAPE: ROLE OF CILICIA

(LEV. 6)

Suna GÜVEN*

ÖZET

Gerçek anlamda birer bina sayılmamakla birlikte, sütunlu caddeler Roma kent peyzajının çok önemli bir ögesini oluştururlar. Bu bağlamda, William MacDonal'dın da irdelediği gibi, Roma kenti içinde bulunan sütunlu caddeler yalnızca iletişim ve bağlantı araçları olmanın çok ötesinde bir işleve sahiptirler. Mimari ayrıntıları ile birlikte kentsel doku içerisindeki vurgulu ve yaygın görünümleriyle, kentin görsel imgesi ve iskeletinin (*armature*) kurgulanmasında temel bir rol oynarlar. Bu bakımdan, sütunlu caddelerin ortaya çıkması ve gelişmesinin Roma kent kavramının oluşumunda önemli birer basamak taşı olduğu söylenebilir. Bildiri Kilikya'nın bu oluşumdaki rolünü ön plana çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır.

In one of his presentations for the Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures¹, George M.A. Hanfmann began his talk on Roman urban renewal with a light-hearted quotation from Catullus: “Ad claras Asiae volemus urbes (46.6)/let us fly to the famous cities of Asia”.² In doing so, like the Latin poet himself, Hanfmann also had in mind the spectacular flourishing cities in the Roman province of Asia like Sardis, Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamum and others. Another great student of Roman architecture in the twentieth century, the British scholar J.B.Ward-Perkins felt no different. According to him, “the cities of southern Asia Minor, though rich in buildings of the Roman period, are architecturally far less important than those of the

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¹ These lectures were delivered in Ann Arbor and Rome during 1971 and 1972

² Hanfmann 1975, 41

western coasts and valleys”.³ In this regard, what Ward-Perkins had to say about architecture and cities in Roman Pamphylia was quite short and not very exciting. On the other hand, his opinion about the architecture of Cilicia on the south-east corner of Asia Minor, was even more disparaging. In the absence of excavations, he simply felt “one could be even briefer”⁴ about the architecture in this region.

In a similar vein, George E. Bean excludes Cilicia in his book *Turkey's Southern Shore* although he does admit that “the title of the book seems to promise more than is actually provided” and that “not all the south coast is covered”⁵. He continues by saying: “For this I ask the reader’s indulgence, and his patience: I hope, if I am spared to do something before long to repair the deficiency”.⁶ Nevertheless, while Bean suggests that there is more to the region than his book includes, he obviously did not feel it to be of an importance to deserve priority.

Yet one has to admit that, in the late sixties and mid-seventies when all these eminent scholars wrote, Roman surveys and excavations in this area fell far short of the ever –increasing number of field expeditions that are in action today– not the least of which are the several new projects in Cilicia initiated and conducted by the young archaeologists of Mersin University in particular, in addition to other local and international projects.

The idea of the city

In the Roman Empire, by the end of the first centuryAD, it may be said that the city had become both the symbol and definition of civilization as pointed out by Kathryn Lomas in her insightful presentation in 1993.⁷ If we accept this, it then follows that an understanding of the city, hence urbanization is absolutely necessary to comprehend the method and apparatus of Roman rule and the processes of cultural synthesis under the

³ Ward-Perkins 1970, 406.

⁴ Ward-Perkins 1970, 409.

⁵ Bean 1968, 8.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ Lomas1997,21. The Symposium at the University of Leicester was published in 1997 with additions and revisions.

Empire. Therefore, an understanding of the city also implies understanding of the Roman society in a global perspective.⁸

Therefore, in a world where cities, urbanization and civilization appear to be synonymous, the obvious question that comes to mind is: What actually constitutes a city? Buildings, size, scale, or what? When does a city become a city, and not something else? In general, ancient testimony appears to be ambivalent on the subject. While Vitruvius⁹ in his *De Architectura libri decem* feels that it is necessary to provide a slate of well-built public buildings for his ideal Augustan city Pausanias¹⁰ is unwilling to regard Panopeus –a small mountain town in Phokis, northern Greece– as a city because it lacked public buildings, a gymnasium, a theater, a public square and fountains. Similarly, both Dio Chrysostom¹¹ and Aelius Aristides¹² tend to regard the presence of buildings in a city –or their absence– as a veritable index for defining city status.¹³

Model cities and colonnaded avenues

Given the new, unfolding archaeological evidence, it would seem that Cilicia was certainly not a backwater of urbanism during the Roman period. What is more, southern cities in this region possessed special urban features. Literary testimony also acknowledges the presence of cities that had attained an esteemed reputation –as a desired model of urbanization. When Dio of Prusa described for the benefit of the city council what might be looked upon as “model” cities of the late first century, he singled out four cities citing their impressive public buildings. These were: Smyrna, Ephesos, Tarsus and Antioch on the Orontes.¹⁴ It is interesting that only two of these are in the province of Asia, while the other two are in the east

⁸ The 50th anniversary of the excavations at Cosa was celebrated by a conference at the American Academy in Rome during 14-16 May 1998 which investigated “the idea of the city as an instrument of Romanization”. The insightful contributions are published as Fentress 2000. For a more provocative view of the experience of the Roman city see Laurence 1997.

⁹ Vitruvius, Preface, 3; Hesberg 1989.

¹⁰ Pausanias 10.4.1.

¹¹ Dio Chrysostom 31.159-60

¹² Aelius Aristides 14.93-6.

¹³ Lomas 1997, 23ff.

¹⁴ Orations, 40.11.

along the Cilician shore. I am quite aware of the fact that –technically speaking– there is a difference between Syria and Cilicia. But in more practical terms, I think there is a blurring of boundaries in a cultural sense–between western Syria and Cilicia which continues today.¹⁵

Dio’s choice of four impressive cities is interesting enough. But what is more interesting is his enthusiastic recommendation of what he calls “Syrian colonnaded streets” for his native Prusa (modern Bursa) to follow as a desirable example.¹⁶ These are not public buildings or monuments in the traditional sense. Yet their impact in the urban fabric must have been such that Dio deemed them worthy of mention. Moreover, the label of “Syrian” colonnaded streets suggests a regional importance, if not a point of origin. Hence, we might surmise that what made cities like Tarsus and Antioch on the Orontes special were the colonnaded streets. In other words, colonnaded streets would appear to be an eastern innovation whereby certain cities in Cilicia followed suit –becoming upfront representatives of a new urban trend that caught the eye of Dio. In fact, what appears to be a trend of colonnaded streets in this region of the Roman Empire, became part of a general monumentalization that characterized all cities of the Roman east later during the second and third centuries including cities further west in Pamphylia, like Perge.

Hence, it may be said that the monumental colonnaded avenue did not only become an urban institution and the basic structuring device of city form but it also came to be regarded as a significant component of an impressive urban image.¹⁷ In this regard, impressive urban features are certainly not lacking in Cilicia. In addition to the remarks of Dio above –regarding praiseworthy “Syrian colonnades”– Cilicia boasts several well-known examples including the colonnaded streets at Olba-Diokaisareia¹⁸,

¹⁵ The difference may be said to correspond to Strabo’s (14.5.1.668) Cilicia Pedias and Cilicia mpestris (or Tracheia and Aspera). For political boundaries involving Syria and Antioch see Mitford 1980, 1238-1241, figs. 1, 2.

¹⁶ Orations, 47.16.

¹⁷ Studies highlighting the street as an important component of the modern city image have appeared in recent years. See especially Jacobs 1995. The role of the street in the image of the Roman city was no different.

¹⁸ Paribeni, Romanelli 1914, 90.

Soli-Pompeiopolis,¹⁹ Tarsus²⁰ and Antiocheia ad Cragos²¹ where the colonnaded street runs not far from the west side of the bath, starting with a ceremonial gate and ending at the agora. Several columns are discernible but considerable fieldwork is necessary to be able to say more. Another colonnaded street also requiring archaeological clearance is at Hieropolis Kastabala²². This example stretches for approximately 300m and part of it is visible from the modern asphalt road that links Kastabala to Karatepe-Aslantaş. The evidence for colonnaded streets at Anazarbus, Anemurium, Augusta, Elaioussa Sebaste, Korykos, Mopsuestia, Selinos, Seleukeia and Syedra is also tantalizing.²³

More generally speaking, however, while archaeological and literary evidence concerning the presence of colonnaded streets in Cilicia –and by extension Syria, or rather western Syria– is available, even ample, it is insufficiently documented. As a result, the unclear state of the material remains has caused a lack of consensus among modern scholars on some basic matters. The different opinions center mainly around two issues. These two issues are interrelated. One is the date of the colonnaded street. Which is the earliest colonnaded street? Where did it originate? The second is the nature of the colonnaded street: Does any paved walkway with a few erect columns qualify as a colonnaded thoroughfare? Or are there more specific requirements? The intention here is certainly not to provide answers –but to state the problem and some of its aspects with a balanced view in order to clarify the position and role of the Cilician contribution to Roman urbanism. Before doing so, a brief glance at the modern discourse on our contemporary cities will be in order.

¹⁹ Peschlow-Bindokat 1975.

²⁰ The completion of the ongoing excavations under Levent Zoroğlu will provide an important addition to the corpus of colonnaded avenues in the region.

²¹ Umar 2000, fig 30, 31.

²² Sayar 2000, fig 5; Umar, fig 122, 123;

²³ For more information based on the travelers accounts of archaeological remains in Cilician cities in general see the contribution by Emanuela Borgia titled “Archaeology in Cilicia in the 18th and 19th Century Travellers’ Notes” in this volume.

Role of streets in the urban fabric

The importance of the Roman colonnaded street is paralleled in modern urban discourse too. To this day, the street appears as the most significant element of urbanism and has been the consistent focus of a number of studies and debates since the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁴ First in 1910, then in 1933 and again in 1951, The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) formulated some of the most ground-breaking theoretical premises concerning the street. These have provided guidelines and a conceptual framework influencing the practice of architects and urban planners during the twentieth century.

In this respect, the more recent collaborative work of Californian scholars titled *Streets: Critical Perspectives of Public Space* which provides both a historical and contemporary perspective on the role of streets is a pioneering work worth mentioning.²⁵ Following in this trend, 'great' streets, on their own, have become the subject of monograph length studies.²⁶ More conceptual studies on the role of streets in the classical world too, Roman in particular, have begun to highlight the importance of the street in the ancient urban fabric.²⁷ Whether ancient or modern, it is now clear that not only are streets themselves monumentalized but, in turn, they serve to-using Ball's words-"make the city a single monument" by bringing about an overall architectural unity.²⁸

In an experiential sense, there is no doubt that Roman streets provided both psychological and physical freedom from the congestion of the city fabric. Unfortunately the present material state of Roman streets today is rather misleading. More often than not, "the walkway roofs are gone, together with the bordering shops or other buildings".²⁹ As MacDonald so perceptively points out, the actual experience cannot be compensated by

²⁴ Barlas 1994; Barlas 1998.

²⁵ Çelik, Favro, Ingersoll 1994; see also Jacobs 1995.

²⁶ See Driggs et al. 2001.

²⁷ Pekary 1968; Yegül 1994a and 1994b.

²⁸ Ball 2000, 262.

²⁹ MacDonald 1986, 43.

partially preserved entablatures. In this respect, there is a major loss of structural and formal context –because the staccato rhythm of columns appear not subordinate to a larger urban concept, but rather, lined up for their own sake in architectonic isolation. MacDonald also points out how “the kinetic implications of steps made a thoroughfare an outdoor building, more architectural and more in keeping with the forms of the surrounding buildings, than streets undifferentiated from the road levels besides them.”³⁰ Unlike their more limited role in the Greek city, streets assumed an importance in their own right both in the projection and formation of the urban fabric during the Roman period. This new form derived, to a certain extent, from a synthesis of the Greek stoa and the *viae porticatae*.³¹

The evidence

The colonnaded streets of the Roman East either extant, or known from archaeological, literary and graphic evidence have been variously listed and discussed by many.³² As revealed by numerous examples, they could take different forms as shown by Segal in the evolution of the colonnaded streets in Antioch on the Orontes, Hellenistic Apamea, Palmyra and Roman Apamea.³³ While opinions differ because standardization is not common –if one could suggest a prerequisite for identifying a Roman colonnaded thoroughfare– and not just a side street –this might be that 1) The colonnades run on both sides –not just on one side, or partially along the way, and that 2) They traverse the entire length of the town or city in question.

Going back to the thorny issue of dating colonnaded avenues³⁴, we are confronted by the incomplete state of the archaeological testimony. Some

³⁰ MacDonald 1986, 46.

³¹ Coulton 1976, 177-178.

³² Ball 2000, 261-272; Erol 1992; Lehmann-Hartleben 1929, 2109-2110; MacDonald 1986, 33-51; Segal 1997, 5-53; Anadolu 1980; Waelkens 1989, 77-88.

³³ For the graphic comparison of Antioch on the Orontes, Hellenistic Apamea, Palmyra and Roman Apamea see Ball 2000, 265, fig. 67. See also the classification by McDonald 1988, 33 (criteria), 41-42 (comparison).

³⁴ Robertson 1983, 291.

of the evidence –such as Augusta Ciliciae– has disappeared altogether.³⁵ While most extant colonnaded avenues date from the second and third centuries, the earliest one built is still open to debate. As revealed by the inscriptional and literary evidence, the earliest instance of the colonnaded avenue may not be extant.³⁶ The question of whether the colonnaded avenues at Olba and Pompeiopolis belong to the time of Augustus or Tiberius –as suggested by the inscriptions– depends on ascertaining that the inscriptions were set up as the streets were built. On the other hand, Antioch on the Orontes is also often pointed out as the earliest instance of the colonnaded thoroughfare going back to the time of Herod the Great, King of Judea in 30/20 BC.³⁷ The argument evolves around the testimony of Josephus and Malalas.³⁸ Once again, the question is based on how the literary testimony is interpreted. Nevertheless, while Herod was indeed responsible for commissioning the main street, whether he was also responsible for the roofed colonnade as well is questioned. Some modern scholars claim it seems likely that while Herod actually paved the street, the roofed colonnades may have been built by Tiberius later. Yet Roller³⁹ considers Herods' role in facilitating the synthesis of Greek and Roman forms to be formative. According to this view, the Herodian project at Antioch combines the Pergamene or Alexandrian type of portico along the length of a street. As such, it constitutes the genesis of the colonnaded avenue as a new building type of Imperial synthesis. Not far from Antioch, the promising excavations of Prof. Levent Zoroğlu are bringing to light the monumental avenue at Tarsus. The final results of this excavation may shed light on the vexing question of early origins.

Among the surviving colonnaded streets, none are said to be earlier than the first century. Hence, the northern part of the Ionic *cardo maximus* at Gerasa (modern Jarash) dated to the late first century AD is usually regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest colonnaded avenue.⁴⁰ Yet

³⁵ The fragmentary evidence mentioned by Gough 1956, 175 is now under water.

³⁶ Heberday and Wilhelm 1896, 84, 87; Peschlow-Bindokat 1975, 377-379.

³⁷ Downey 1961, 173-174; Lassus 1972, 140-151; MacDonald 1986, 43-44; Segal 1997, 9.

³⁸ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 16.148; *Jewish War*; 1.425; Malalas, 223.17-19.

³⁹ Roller 1998, 100.

⁴⁰ Ball 2000, 266; Segal 1997, 5, 49.

if Hanfmann's date⁴¹ for the Main Avenue of Sardis –built soon after the great earthquake in 17 AD– is correct, this would precede the colonnade at Gerasa.

Regardless of the problems concerning the date and nature of colonnaded avenues, some scholars like Warwick Ball will go so far to state that “colonnaded streets perhaps constitute the most common element of Roman eastern architecture, sharply defining the difference with the west more than any other feature”.⁴² On the other hand, MacDonald emerges with a more balanced view maintaining that colonnades were not entirely limited to eastern provinces; he supports his contention with the evidence in western cities like Stobi, Lepcis Magna, Timgad, Djemila, Vaison la Romaine and others.⁴³ Given pragmatic considerations though, the sheltering function of covered colonnades in arid climates would seem to have a more compelling reason for existence.

Setting aside the rather artificial binary polarities of East and West, I would recapitulate to say that the colonnaded streets at Olba-Diocaesareia and Soli-Pompeiopolis in Cilicia are still considered amongst the early examples of colonnaded thoroughfares (figs. 1-3). These are also the ones that boast idiosyncratic features of Syria such as consoles and the so-called wind-swept capitals at Pompeiopolis. What is more, Pompeiopolis represents an extraordinary example of an axial colonnaded avenue that is combined with a curvilinear harbor facade thus highlighting the role of Cilicia in advanced urbanism.⁴⁴ Excavations here continue under the able direction of Dr. Remzi Yağcı of Mersin University.⁴⁵ Hopefully his results –together with those of Prof Zoroğlu at Tarsus– will have important implications for clarifying dating sequences, as well as more specific issues pertaining to the connections, layout and form of the colonnaded avenues, hence, further clarification of the Cilician contribution to urban development in the Roman Empire.

⁴¹ Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975, 31; Hanfmann 1975, 49.

⁴² Ball 2000, 261.

⁴³ MacDonald 1986, 44.

⁴⁴ Güven 2001.

⁴⁵ Yağcı 2001; Yağcı 2002.

The colonnaded avenue in Pompeiopolis

Because of its wide ranging implications I would like to concentrate a bit more on the colonnaded ensemble at Pompeiopolis.⁴⁶ The city received the name of Pompeiopolis (from Soli) after being re-founded by Pompey the Great who settled pirates there. In due course, Pompeiopolis received all the rights of a free city and developed into a magnificent port town reaching its peak in the second and third centuries of Roman rule. The city stands as an example of numerous success stories that were both the evidence and the witness to the application of Pax Romana. During the reign of Hadrian an ambitious urban renewal scheme –when the harbor and the colonnaded street received a face-lift– was carried out. Hadrian’s visit to the region during 130 AD had sparked a flurry of building activity in several southern cities of Asia Minor. The grandiose maritime project at Pompeiopolis was probably a response to the same impetus for building.

While Asia Minor is no stranger to spectacular curvilinear design in the imperial era –as seen in the magnificent ensemble symmetrically set against the curved rock at Antioch in Pisidia– its marvellous fulfillment in the context of a port at Pompeiopolis⁴⁷–complete with a bold, axial, colonnaded avenue– signals the apotheosis of this kind of architectural extravaganza. Today only thirty-three columns are still standing of the original 200 in an avenue 14.50 m. wide and stretching 450 m.⁴⁸ While the grand urban conception is Roman, many idiosyncratic stylistic features point to a more local provenance –culturally and geographically. Consoles that once carried statues are a feature of the Roman East closer to Syria, rather than the west. Whether the consoles carried the statues of dead or alive persons, these images were constantly and unavoidably integrated with the daily life as the citizens walked back and forth, day after day under vigilant gaze. One might compare this experience by that of standing under dozens of portraits in funerary temples of Syrian cities such as Palmyra.

⁴⁶ Verzzone 1957, 58-59; Beaufort 1817, 240ff.; For views (some romanticized) and references of early travelers in Soli-Pompeiopolis see Erten 2002. An almost ecstatic experience of the colonnade and the Corinthian order in the 50s is conveyed by Gough 1954, 133-135.

⁴⁷ Lehmann-Hartleben 1923; Vann 1993a; Vann 1993b; Vann 1995; Peschlow-Bindokat 1975.

⁴⁸ Peschlow-Bindokat 1975.

Close parallels of the consoles placed on columns at Pompeiopolis may be seen in neighboring Olba Diocaesareia or in the magnificent colonnaded avenues in Bosra, Gerasa⁴⁹, Palmyra,⁵⁰ Petra⁵¹, Damascus in Jordan and Syria today. Other features like arches above colonnades –if the masonry stubs above the capitals may be interpreted as such– or the so-called wind-swept style in which the acanthus leaves of some Composite capitals are petrified in an elegant swirl also belong in this region.⁵²

Maritime urbanism

Returning to the implications of the urban project at Pompeiopolis, it was considered to be important enough to be engraved on a commemorative coin issue, currently in the Newell Collection of the American Numismatic Society. The date of the harbor coin has been convincingly set by Aline Boyce as a commemorative issue simultaneously honoring both the bicentenary foundation of the city by Pompey the Great as well as the completion of the harbor project begun by Hadrian, in the time of Antoninus Pius.⁵³ The coin may be compared with those of Ostia and Side that depicted similar subjects.⁵⁴

At Pompeiopolis, the seaward embellishment –the maritime front of the city– gave visual articulation to the colonnaded avenue that lay behind. We know that imperial munificence, in this case expressed in building, was an integral feature of imperial office and the necessary public image. Hence, the magnificent harbor at Pompeiopolis sparkling with its marble colonnades became the mnemonic for the benefits of Roman rule, while the coin constituted the visual that disseminated the message in a form reduced to its essentials. The rhythmic march of straight and erect columns leading to and encircling the harbor thus became the metaphor for the sustained

⁴⁹ Browning 1982, figures 24, 25, 27, plates 2, 4a.

⁵⁰ Browning 1979, figures 100, 101, 113, 114, 115.

⁵¹ Browning 1995, 142 ff., cover, map 4.

⁵² There are also examples of the wind-swept style at Qalat Siman in Syria which were pointed out to me by Charles Gates during a tour. A few examples are seen in the garden display of Urfa Museum.

⁵³ Boyce 1958; see also Imhoof-Blumer 1898.

⁵⁴ Donaldson 1966, 332-340, no. LXXXIX and XC.

march of the bearers of Pax Romana. These distilled veterans shaped in stone also helped to shape the desired image of Romanitas. They had the dual role of developing consciousness while also impressing, in order to give visual and tangible authentication to Roman peace and power.

On a more overall note, the evidence of cities like Pompeiopolis attest to a brilliant flourish in avant-garde eastern urbanism in Cilicia. Being far from Rome but close to Syria, imparted a local flair and free licence in shaping the Romanized outlook in this area. While the sinister encroachment of modernization continues to take its toll, new excavations may provide further clues to elucidate the role of Cilicia in the eastern urbanism of the Roman Empire.

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

(LEV. 7-21)

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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 örneklerle 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 linger¹.

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 agenda². At the end of the 2nd-century, Antioch's misfortune in supporting Perennius

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 humiliating⁴. 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 Evagrius' 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

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; Evagrius, *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

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 (*Epiphanius 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

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 credited 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 unknown (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

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

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-Pompeïopolis, 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

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

²⁹ Yegül 1992, 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

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. Blasquez 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 orientaling 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.

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

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TEMPLE-CHURCH IN OLBA AND THE REUSE OF ANTIQUITY MONUMENTS IN LATE ANTIQUITY

(LEV. 22-26)

Burcu CEYLAN*

ÖZET

Kilikya bölgesinde önemli bir yerel kült merkezi olan Zeus Olbios Tapınağı, Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemlerinin önemli olgularından biri olan yapıların ikinci kullanımlarına önemli bir örnek oluşturmaktadır. Bildiri, Zeus Olbios Tapınağı'ndan yola çıkarak Antik dönem yapılarının Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemlerinde ikinci kullanımının yöntem ve nedenlerin ortaya konmasının yanı sıra, ikinci kullanım yapıların dönem mimarisi içindeki yerlerinin belirlenmesini de amaçlamaktadır. Mimari anlamda ikinci kullanım, zaman içinde değişen sosyo-ekonomik koşullar nedeniyle yapıların veya yapı elemanlarının, gerekli mimari uyarlamalarla, yeni işlevler yüklenmesi olarak tanımlanabilir. İkinci kullanım, yapı elemanlarının diğer bir yapıda malzeme olarak kullanılmasından (spolia), yapının tamamının başka bir işlev yüklenmesine kadar geniş bir uygulama yelpazesi içinde, dönem mimarisine damgasını vurmuştur. Geç Antik dönem üzerindeki çalışmaların çoğunda ikinci kullanım olgusundan söz edilirken yarı yarıya yok olmuş Klasik dönem şehirlerin yapılarının maruz kaldığı ilkesiz bir talan görüntüsü çizilir. Ancak, M.S. 320 yıllarından başlamak üzere imparatorluk kanunlarıyla, yapıların ve mimari malzemenin ikinci kullanımlarına bir düzen getirilmeye çalışılmıştır. 3. yüzyıl içinde bozulan ekonomi ve Hıristiyan imparatorluğun ideolojisi, anıtların ikinci kullanımını iki ana nedeni olarak ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Öte yandan, dönem koşulları incelendiğinde ikinci kullanımın, sur duvarları arkasında, kıyasla daha az bir alana çekilmek zorunda kalan şehirlerde yeni yapılar için gerekli arazinin sağlanması, mimari alandaki uzman sayısının yetersizliği, artık işlevini kaybetmiş antik dönem anıtlarının korunması, Hıristiyan tarihi ile ilgili antik dönem yapılarının kullanıma açılması gibi çok çeşitli sorunlara da çözüm getirdiği anlaşılmaktadır. Yapıların ya da malzemelerin ikinci kullanımlarının, dönem mimari aktivitesinin sürdürülmesine katkısının yanı sıra dönemin değişen estetik

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anlayışı ile etkileşim içinde, Geç Antik ve Bizans dönemleri mimarilerinde de belirleyici rolü olmuştur. Mimari elemanların devşirilmesi bina ölçeğinde mimariyi etkilerken, yapıların ikinci kullanımının da şehir ve genel görünümü bazında etkileri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Temple of Zeus Olbios in the ancient town of Olba is one of the remarkable antique monuments of Cilicia, owing its reputation both to its historical value, for being one of the earliest temples in Corinthian order, and its good state of preservation. It is a peristyle Corinthian temple with 6 columns on short sides and 13 on the long sides (fig. 2). Today not much can be seen of the spatial layout of the temple since it went through a conversion process in late antiquity during which all the walls of the building was torn down to form a large basilical church.¹

The church was composed of a nave and two side isles, a three-part narthex, an internally semi-circle externally straight apsis and side-chambers on both sides with their *apsidae* (fig 3,4). Entrance was provided by three doors on the axis of the building. In addition, there are two arched gateways on the north and south walls. Again, three doors from the parts of the narthex open to the nave and isles. Galleries above the narthex and isles were reached by a staircase on the northeast corner of the narthex. Beam holes of the gallery can be seen on the upper parts of the columns (fig 5). Although the majority of the Christian elements of the building was cleared in 1950's without a record; the stylobates of the colonnades, which once carried the galleries, and the floor of the slightly raised bema can partly be seen. (fig.6) A foundation on the eastern end of the isles either belongs to a chancel screen or western walls of the extensions of side chambers.² There is no trace of an atrium, however the temenos must have been used for the gathering of the congregation as it is frequently seen in other temple conversions in Anatolia.³

¹ The temple phase of the building is beyond the scope of this paper since the aim is to examine the Christian phase of the building and through it, to discuss the reuse of the classical monuments in Late Antique period. For the descriptions, dating and bibliography on the temple see Keil-Wilhelm 1931, Börker 1971, Williams 1974 and Wannagat 1999

² Feld 1963/1964 s.97-98, Hild, Hellenkemper, Hellenkemper-Salies 1984 s.242-244, Hild, Hellenkemper, Hellenkemper-Salies 1990 s.240, Hill 1996 s.252-254.

³ Ceylan 2000 s.212-21.

During the conversion process, the walls of cella was cleared and their material was reused to form the walls of the basilica by infilling the intercolumniations of the peristyle. All the columns were left in situ, except the two in the middle of east side, to provide room for the apsis. The steps reaching the temple stylobate were also taken away, leaving the row of stones under the column bases to form a profiled base for the walls of the church. While the narthex was formed within the limits of the peristyle by constructing a wall between the second intercolumniations of north and south sides, eastern part extends the boundaries of the temple. Therefore, the church is larger than the temple.

With features like triple west entrance, flat eastern facade, gallery above the narthex, the temple-church in Olba fit to the Cilician tradition of church planning⁴. Although the date of the conversion was given as 5th century AD by Hild, Hellenkemper and Hellenkemper-Salies,⁵ there is no firm evidence for dating the church. Yet, the stylistic character of the church is in accordance with the local churches of 4th to 7th centuries. Given the knowledge that the reuse of temples started to cease by 7th century,⁶ 5th-6th centuries appear to be a reasonable dating.

Architectural reuse can be described as the re-functioning of buildings or building materials with necessary modifications. Reuse, ranges from *spolia*, that is the reuse of building materials in new constructions, to complete conversions of buildings into new functions.⁷

Majority of the studies on late antiquity draw an image of architectural pillage on ruins of half-destroyed antique cities. However, starting from early decades of 4th century, there are several imperial decrees on the reuse of buildings and building materials. They demonstrate a policy of architectural conservation by which the authorities tried to maintain not only the monuments but also the civic pride that helped to produce them.⁸ Yet,

⁴ Hill 1996 s.16-25.

⁵ Hild, Hellenkemper, Hellenkemper-Salies 1984 s.244.

⁶ Ceylan 2000 s.245-246.

⁷ For the bibliography on architectural reuse see Ceylan 2000, s. 43-56. Also see Ward-Perkins 1999 and Milojevic 1997.

⁸ *Codex Theodosianus*, 15.1 and 16.10.

these measures proved to be ineffective and by 5th century, reuse became a regular phase of construction.

The phenomenon of architectural reuse can be approached in several different ways. For instance, the reasons behind it were discussed by numerous scholars and majorly related to economical and ideological factors. Those factors can be summed up as follows:

- decaying economic conditions of late Antiquity, forcing people to make advantage of older buildings;
- changing social conditions, causing a number of building types to be abandoned thus providing extra opportunities for reuse,
- lack of spaces in the towns which were forced to withdraw behind the walls due to the insecure conditions of Late Antiquity,
- the difficulty to find a suitable space for Christian buildings within the already densely built up city center,
- the insufficient number of skilled craftsmen as also recorded by imperial decrees,⁹
- ideological factors especially in the cases of temple conversions or buildings associated with the Christian history of the towns that is symbolizing the victory of Christianity over paganism,

In the majority of the cases, the reasons appear to be pragmatic rather than ideological. However, the ideological factors in the temple conversions cannot be denied, especially when they were converted into the cathedral churches of towns. Yet, it must be kept in mind that not all the temples were converted into churches and there are several examples where churches were converted from secular buildings.

In the case of Olba, more than one of the above-mentioned reasons can be valid. The Temple of Zeus Olbios had been an important sacred spot not only for Olba but also for the region. Therefore, its conversion into the

⁹ In a decree of 334, Constantine, due to a lack of the skilled man in the field of architecture, orders the local governor to encourage the youth to learn the art of building. Another decree, again of Constantine, exempting artists and artisans from public duties, points on the insufficient number of these specialists. Mango 1978, s.35.

cathedral church of the town must be important for the Christian community. Its central location within the city on the crossing of the two main arteries must have been considered a perfect place for the cathedral (fig 1). And, its outstanding appearance must have been another reason for its preference. By converting the temple, the Christians not only found a magnificent building for their cathedral, both in its scale and architecture, thanks to the artists and architects of Hellenistic period, but also managed to preserve a marvel of their city.

Another approach to the reuse of buildings can be the methodological classification. A study on the recorded cases revealed that there are certain architectural methods, which were employed in reusing the antique buildings. Most common method was adapting the entire building into a new function. In this case, to suit the building to its new function, necessary arrangements, ranging from simple furniture to big scale structural changes were made. Another widely used method was dividing the larger spaces of buildings into smaller units to house different functions. Allotment of large houses into smaller slums or blocking of the colonnades are examples which are the most common. Buildings with large open spaces like agorae or gymnasia were opened to new constructions, in which case the floors of these open spaces formed the floors of the new buildings. This forms another method of reuse.

Although there are numerous examples for all of the methods, in very rare cases, a complex structural alteration can be observed. Those changes majorly include newly built walls within the original structure of older building. Again, in very few cases the new building is bigger in scale than its predecessor. Temple-church in Olba is one of these exceptional examples. Two other important examples are from Aphrodisias, where the Temple of Aphrodite converted into the Church of St. Michael and from Ephesos, where the south stoa of Temple of Hadrian converted into the church of St. Mary.¹⁰

The issue, which has considerable importance and yet not studied in great deal, is the status of reuse within the aesthetic notion of the period. Because, the reuse of materials or buildings strongly affected the character

¹⁰ For the conversion of Temple of Aphrodite see Cormack 1990, Doruk 1990 and for the Church of Mary see Karwiese 1989, and Karwiese 1995.

of the architecture of the period. Approaching with classical values, reuse or spolia has been considered a sign of decline in the architecture and aesthetics of the period. However, it would be more proper to evaluate the architecture created by reuse, through the values of Late Antique period.

Although the professions related with building construction were in decline, the structural quality of reuse must not be underestimated. Constructing with materials of different sizes and shapes that are collected from different buildings requires a certain level of technical knowledge and skill. The same is also true for altering a building without destroying the elements, which were desired to be kept in place, as we see in the case of Olba. On the other hand, while criticizing the irregularity of spolian masonry; it must be kept in mind that these walls were intended to be covered internally by stucco, mosaic or by marble.

Another point is that the reuse was not a product of 4th century alone but rather an outcome of the developments in Roman architecture that occurred in 2nd and 3rd centuries. Roman architecture had never adopted the strong regulations of Greek architecture and it was open to improvisation. Resultant “baroque” of Roman architecture brought the utilization of structural elements like columns, architraves, arches or pediments in decorative purposes, examples of which can be seen all over Anatolia in stage buildings or *nymphaeae*.¹¹ Those elements, which have lost their structural functions, also lost the meaning they had had in classical architecture and they formed examples of an ordered collage. Therefore, their usage in unusual contexts and places, as it was the case in applications of reuse, might not seem that much illogical by 4th century.

Although it was based on the classical heritage, Christian Late Antique world created a new culture different from the Classical world. Using features of classical architecture not in accordance with classical tradition may be taken to symbolize this attempt. This can be observed in the churches of emperor Constantine, who introduced the earliest examples of reuse.

¹¹ Lyttelton 1974, s.9-16

It is not possible to make a concrete statement about the theoretical reasons behind architectural reuse. Yet, it is certain that an aesthetic understanding which praised the variety and diversity, evolved in the Late Antique period. Echoes of the same esteem for *varietas* can be found in the panegyrics of later Byzantine writers.¹² Same taste of *varietas* could also be searched in bigger scale. Reused buildings, which differ from the buildings of the period with their unique solutions of conversion, must have contributed to the desired diversity. For instance, temple-church of Olba itself must obviously had quite an unusual appearance with its columns showing on the facades.

These diverse appearances might not considered improper, if not desirable, due to a remarkable change in the public opinion toward outdoor spaces and urban aesthetics, in connection. Roman city of 2nd and 3rd centuries was developed for satisfying the civic pride. The whole city, not only the individual buildings but also the urban layout which brought them together by colonnades, arcades, avenues, and plazas, conceived as a showcase for displaying grandeur. The civic spirit demanded and also helped maintaining the stunning appearance of cities.¹³

However, by the 4th century, the activities supporting a dynamic city life, many of which were pagan origin and took place on outdoors, started to disappear. Moreover, citizens became more and more segregated from the government and lost interest in the affairs of the city. As a result of these changing social and political conditions, urban culture of antique world was replaced with an introverted lifestyle. A decrease in the use of urban spaces accompanied by a decrease in public interest in urban aesthetics.¹⁴ Moreover, for people who was transforming from an ordinary

¹² Konstantine of Rhodes mentions the beauty of the variety of columns, which brought together from several different places in the enkomion he prepared for the Church of Holy Apostles in Constantinople. Epstein 1982, s.81. A similar variety appears even in non-spolian architectural members in 6th century. Mango 1978, s.34. Also see Brenk 1987, s.105 and Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, s.53

¹³ For the architectural unity within the Roman cities, see MacDonald 1984, s.249-253

¹⁴ Kazhdan argues that transition from pagan religion, where most of the religious rituals took place in the open air, to Christianity which embraces the believer in the microcosmos of the enclosed church, found its reflection in the city aesthetics. Kazhdan 1982, s.432. He proposes that the church embraces some of the functions of the city and makes an analogy between the columns of churches and colonnaded avenues. Kazhdan 1982, s.454 and s.463. Also see Mathews 1971, s.178.

citizen to a member of large Christian community, the appearance of their native cities lost its importance.¹⁵ The architecture of reuse was quite distinct from the splendor of classical style and with its simple solutions, it must have been suitable for Christian ideals in aesthetics, which favored modesty and despised ostentation.

It is a known fact that antique culture including its architecture was admired in Late Antique and Byzantine periods.¹⁶ After the disappearance of antique traditions, the artists and architects of the period, lacking necessary cultural foundation, developed a new aesthetic understanding that was based on reuse. The result was not aesthetically backward but different with the conditions and facilities of Late Antiquity.

¹⁵ Citizens that had been proud of their native city started to call themselves as *Romaioi*, Romans by 3rd century. Hanfmann 1975, s.56. After the 7th century, even being a Roman citizen lost its importance, when being a Christian was enough within the limits of the empire. Mango 1980, s.31.

¹⁶ As late as 13th century, Theodore Ducas Laskaris admires the ruins of Pergamon as a creation of antique world. Mango 1972, s.245. For the interest of Byzantine elite in preserving the antique culture see Kazhdan 1982, s.475-4767.

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DER AMBON DER KİRCHHE “A” IN TAPURELİ

(LEV. 27-33)

Ayşe AYDIN*

ÖZET

Antik Isauria bölgesi içinde kalan Lamas nehrinin batısındaki Tapureli, Hellenistik-Erken Hıristiyan dönemi arasında yerleşim yeri olmuştur.

Erken Hıristiyan dönemine ait kiliselerden biri olan A Kilisesi içinde 2001 yılında yapılan kazı sonucunda parça halinde kireç taşıdan yapılmış bir ambon tabanı, merdiven yan kısımlarına ve ambon üst kuruluşuna ait küçük parçalar ve payeler bulunmuştur. Daire planlı, ortası içbükey tabanın üst kenarında dört yuva bulunmaktadır. Bunlar payeler için düşünülmüş olup, buluntular ambonun üst kısmının taban gibi daire değil çokgen planlı olarak düzenlendiğini düşündürür. Ambon tabanının dış yüzü ajur (deliği) ve kabartma tekniği kullanılarak bitkisel kompozisyonla bezenmiştir. Zaman zaman bitkisel kompozisyonun üzerinde görülen kırmızı boya izi, bu dış yüzeyin tamamen boyalı olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Dış yüzeyin küçük bir bölümü bezemesiz olarak bırakılmış merdiven başlangıcıdır. Tapureli A kilisesinin ambonu tek merdivenli ambonlar grubuna girmektedir. Bu tip ambonlar Kilikia ve Isauria kiliseleri yanı sıra Yunanistan, Salona ve Gerasa’da 5. yüzyıl sonu-7. yüzyıl ortasına tarihlenen kiliselerde de görülür. Tapureli A kilisesi ambonu ise kilise gibi 6. yüzyıl başında yapılmış önemli bir eserdir.

Tapureli liegt westlich des Lamos, nordöstlich von Seleukeia in Isaurien. In der Siedlung, die seit der hellenistischen Zeit besiedelt war, finden sich neben römischen Felsreliefs, eine Nekropole mit Grabhäusern und Grabkammern, außerdem Privathäuser und vier Kirchen, die in der frühchristlichen Zeit errichtet worden sind.

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Ich möchte den Direktor des Museum Mersin A. Yücel und den Mitarbeitern G. Gürkan, Z. Akcan und M. Ergün für Ihre Hilfe danken.

Auf der Spitze der Ostkuppe befindet sich die Kirche A, die eine dreischiffige Säulenbasilika ist (Fig. 1)¹.

Bei der Ausgrabung der Kirche A in Tapureli im September 2001 ist ein Ambonssockel aus Kalkstein gefunden worden, der in vier Stücke zerbrochen war (Fig. 2)². Der Sockel ist rund und in der Mitte vertieft. Auf dem oberen Rand des Sockels befinden sich zumindest vier rechteckige Löcher, die als Einlassung für kleine Pfeiler gedient haben.

Die Unterseite des Sockels ist glatt, und es gibt keine Vertiefungen oder Zapfenlöcher; deswegen wäre es denkbar, dass dieser Sockel als Basis des Ambons gedient hat. Dafür spricht auch, dass er die Form einer antiken Säulenbasis hat, mit Wülsten und Hohlkehlen, die alle mit verschiedenen Mustern überzogen sind (Fig. 3-4). Der unterste Wulst wird von Akanthusblättern bedeckt, die abwechselnd nach oben und unten laufen. Sie sind feingezahnt und à-jour gearbeitet. Darüber ist ein kleiner Wulst, der durch einen Perlstabfries gebildet wird. Die Perlen bestehen abwechselnd aus vielen kleinen Kügelchen und länglich eingeritzten Formen. Die darüberliegende Hohlkehle ist von einem Rankenwerk überzogen, dessen einzelne Felder jeweils mit einer verkümmerten Weintraube zwischen zwei Blättern gefüllt sind. Reste von roter Bemalung haben sich erhalten. Oben folgt ein weiterer Wulst, der von einem Blattfries gebildet wird. Auf dem glatten oberen Abschluss ist eine Inschrift angebracht, die nicht gut zu erkennen ist. Man kann sie nur teilweise lesen (Fig. 5)

ΗΘΗCO[T]OIC.....ΑΠANTWN ANH....

[βο] ἡθησο[ν τ] τοίς [δούλοις] πάντων ἀνή [θηκεν]

[Herr] hilf deinem [Sklaven (=Diener)] aller

Ein Teil des Sockels ist gerade abgeschnitten. Dort muss die Treppe angesetzt haben (Fig. 6).

Außer diesem Sockel sind (Teile von Treppenwangen), kleine Pfeiler, die mit einem ähnlichen Akanthusmuster wie der untere Wulst des Sockels verziert sind, gefunden worden (Fig. 7). Weitere Fragmente lassen sich

¹ MAMA III, 94f.; Feld 1964, 96f.; Durugönül 1989, Nr. 34-35; RBK IV 1990, 241f. Abb. 23; TIB 5, 426; Hill 1996, 246ff.

² B: 14cm; H: 29cm; Dm: 120cm.

zu schräg verlaufenden Treppenwangen ergänzen (Fig. 8). Viele kleine Fragmente werden von Schrankenplatten stammen. Da sie alle gerade verlaufen, wird das Oberteil des Ambons vieleckig gewesen sein (Fig. 9).

Lediglich ein Fragment ist leicht gebogen. Dieses könnte zu einer Platte gehört haben, die zwischen den Pfeilern des Sockels angebracht war.

Aufgrund der wenigen und kleinen Fragmente des Ambon ist eine Rekonstruktion schwierig. Der Sockel gibt einige Anhaltspunkte. In die rechteckigen Löcher auf dem Rand des Sockels passen die Zapfen der kleinen Pfeiler. Man könnte sich den Ambon also ähnlich vorstellen wie den der Kirche von Kapljuč bei Salona, von Ermione auf der Peloponnes oder von Elounda in Kolokythia auf Kreta (mit Säulchen)³.

Eine derartige Rekonstruktion ist auch für den Ambon der Kirche extra muros in Dağpazari in Isaurien und die Friedhofskirche in Uzuncaburç in Kilikien vorgeschlagen worden⁴. Ein Ansatz für eine Treppe ist beim Ambon der Kirche A in Tapureli nicht erhalten. Doch muss sie an der gerade abgeschnittenen Seite des Sockels zur eigentlichen Kanzel hinaufgeführt haben. Die anderen kilikischen und isaurischen Beispiele zeigen einen Treppenansatz, der aus dem Rund des Sockels vorspringt.

Die Wangenplatten der Treppe können in ihren Ausmaßen noch rekonstruiert werden. Ihr Rand zeigt ein sehr fein ausgearbeitetes Muster aus Akanthusblättern. Ein solcher übereinander gestaffelter feingezahnter Akanthusblattfries in à-jour -Arbeit ist in frühchristlicher Zeit, besonders im 6. Jh., im byzantinischen Raum verbreitet⁵. Der innere Teil der Wangenplatten muss sehr stark durchbrochen gewesen sein. Bei der Ausgrabung sind viele Bruchstücke gefunden worden, die zu der Treppenwangenplatte gehört haben können. Solche durchbrochen gearbeiteten Platten sind ebenfalls in frühchristlicher Zeit zu finden⁶.

³ Duval-Marin-Metzger 1994, 189 Pl. LXVI; Jakobs 1987, 248f. 270f., Taf. 8a. 13d, Pl. 35. 53.

⁴ RBK I 1966, 128; Gough 1975, 155; Feld-Henninger 1989, 124f. Taf. 15,1. M. Gough und C. Delvoye haben angenommen, daß die Stützen für den Ambon der Kirche extra muros in Dağpazari aus Holz bestanden, dagegen spricht O. Feld von einem steinernen Aufbau des Ambon. Die Stützen aus Kalkstein des Ambon der Kirche A in Tapureli zeigen, daß O. Feld wohl Recht hat. Auch in der Kirche von Elaiussa Sebaste ist ein oktogonaler Ambon mit drei Löchern für Stützen zu erkennen. Equini Schneider 1999, Tav. IV Fig. 230.

⁵ Jakobs 1987, Taf. 17a-d; Peschlow 1990, 217 Taf. 41,2; Soteriou 1993, 92 Abb. 114-116; Naumann-Naumann 1987, 331 Abb. 57-58.

⁶ Deichmann 1969, Abb. 61-63, 66-67, 77-79, 80-87; Deichmann 1989, Abb. 40-54.

Von der Podiumsplatte ist nichts erhalten. Sie wird mit Pfosten und Schrankenplatten ausgestattet gewesen sein. Ein Pfosten, in vergleichbarer Ausführung wie die unteren, aber etwas kleiner und mit einer Kugel als oberem Abschluss hat sich erhalten. Von den ebenfalls durchbrochen gearbeiteten Schrankenplatten haben sich mehrere Fragmente erhalten. Ihr glatter Rand ist mit eingetieften Punkten versehen. Einige dieser Fragmente sind mit einem Falz versehen, der in die seitlichen Schlitzlöcher der Pfeiler fasste. Da alle diese Fragmente keinerlei Wölbung zeigen, muss das Gelände der Podiumsplatte polygonal abgeschlossen haben.

Der Ambon der Kirche A in Tapureli hatte nur einen einläufigen Treppenaufgang. Wie die archäologischen Funde zeigen, sind solche Ambone in Kilikien und Isaurien häufig vertreten. Dieser Typ wird von E. Herzfeld-S. Guyer und H. Hellenkemper als der "löffelförmige" Ambon bezeichnet (Fig. 10-11)⁷.

Parallelen für den Ambonsockel der Kirche A in Tapureli sind in der Zenonkirche und der Nordkirche von Meriamlik, in der Kirche extra muros von Dağpazarı, in der Kirche von Ergenuşağı, von Işıkkale, von Karadedeli und von Elaiussa Sebaste (oktogonal), auf der Akropolis von Misis Mopsuestia und in Silifke zu sehen. Sie bestehen meistens aus Kalkstein. Es ist auffallend, dass außer Misis die übrigen Orte im Bereich der Metropole Seleukeia am Kalykadnos liegen⁸.

Der Ambon mit einläufigem Treppenaufgang, wie der in der Kirche A in Tapureli, beschränkt sich nicht auf Kilikien und Isaurien, sondern ist auch in Gerasa, in Salona und im griechischen Raum zu sehen. Dieser Typus ist vom Ende des 5. Jhs. bis zu der Mitte des 7. Jhs. zu datieren (Fig. 12-13)⁹.

⁷ MAMA II 69; Hellenkemper 1985/1986, 79.

⁸ MAMA III 62 Taf. 32 Abb. 94; Gough 1975, 155; Feld-Henninger 1989, 123f. Taf. 15, 1-2, Abb. 1-2; TIB 4, 98, Abb. 150; TIB 5, 251; Equini Schneider 1999, 310ff. Tav. IV Fig. 230. 232.

⁹ RBK I, 1966, 129; Jakobs 1987, 57 ff. die Acheripoietskirche 328f. Taf. 35a, Pl. 118; die Menaskirche 334f. Taf. 35b-c, Pl. 119; die Sophienkirche 336f. Taf. 39, Pl. 130-132; die Demetrioskirche 329f. Taf. 35b-c, Pl. 119; das Palast-Oktogon 336, Taf. 38c, Pl. 128.129 und die Basilika am Heraion in Samos 317 Taf. 31a-b; die Kirche "E" in Philippi 309f. Taf. 28d, Pl. 91-93 und im Oktogon in Philippi 307f. Taf. 27b-d, Pl. 83-84, die Kirche von Ermione 248f. Taf. 8a, Pl. 35, die Kirche von Elounda Kolokythia auf Kreta 270f. Taf. 13d, Pl. 53; die Kirche von Sikyon 320f. Taf. 32a, Pl. 101.102; die Basilika 'extra muros' in Delphi 245, Pl. 34; die Basilika Haphotes in Karpathos 255, Taf. 10b, Pl. 39; für die Kirche von Sikyon Orlandos 1952, 224 f, Abb. 7-8 und 548 Abb. 513; Duval-Marin-Metzger 1994, 189 Pl. LXVI.

Es wird angenommen, dass dieser Typus von dem syrischen Bema hergeleitet ist¹⁰, da die frühesten Hinweise in literarischen Quellen aus Syrien stammen.

In den Kirchen Nordsyriens befindet sich meistens in der Mitte des Mittelschiffes ein u-förmiges bzw. sigmaförmiges Podium¹¹, das dort als Bema bezeichnet wird (Fig. 14)¹². Für dieses Bema findet man eine Erklärung in der Apostolischen Konstitution, nach der sich in der Mitte der Kirche ein erhöhter Ort befinden soll, wo der Lektor die Schriftlesung hält. Dieses syrische Bema war meistens ein Steinsockel mit hölzernem Oberbau¹³. Es gab keinen Thronstuhl im Westen. Stattdessen befand sich ein thronartiges Pult in der Mitte des Bema, welches zur Aufnahme des Evangelienbuches, manchmal auch eines Kreuzes oder einer Ikone gedient hat. Für diesen Zweck war die Vorderseite des Pultes abgeschrägt¹⁴. Links und rechts von dem Pult sind zwölf Sitzbänke vorhanden. Auf dem Bema stand kein Altartisch und kein Ziborium¹⁵.

Diese Form des Bema beschränkt sich auf Nordsyrien, und zwar der Antiochene¹⁶. Es existierte vom späten 4. Jh. bis zum Ende des 6. Jhs.¹⁷.

Ausgehend vom syrischen Bema nimmt man an, dass die Ambonen mit einläufigem Treppenaufgang stellvertretend für den thronartigen Pult des syrischen Bema als Aufstellungsort für das Evangelienbuch gedient haben¹⁸.

¹⁰ Dinkler 1944, 13 ff. Die Bezeichnung "Bema" wird im Altertum für eine vom übrigen Fußbodenniveau abgehobene Tribüne benutzt. Im Neuen Testament ist mit dem Bema ein erhöhter Rednerplatz und der Sessel des Königs auf der Erhöhung gemeint.

¹¹ Descoedres 1983, 63. Im ostsyrischen Raum ist der Westabschluß des Bema gerade gebildet.

¹² Dauvillier 1952, 11; RBK I 1966, 131 f.; Taft 1968, 326.

¹³ Descoedres 1983, 38. 64. G. Descoedres meint, daß ein Ambon griechischen Typus von der Apostolischen Konstitution her nicht auszuschliessen ist.

¹⁴ Lassus-Tchalenko 1951, 80 ff., 102. 105. 121; RBK I 1966, 131; Strube 1996, 44.

¹⁵ Descoedres 1983, 61 Es gibt nur zwei Bemata mit Ziborium. Resafa und Behyo, wo es nachträglich hinzugefügt ist, also gehörte nicht zur Normalausstattung. Strube 1996, 43 Nach C. Strube ein Tisch mit dem Ziborium gehört in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. zur Ausstattung des Bema, was mit den Reliquienkult zusammenhängt.

¹⁶ Descoedres 1983 67, Anm. 30-31. G. Descoedres nimmt an, daß das syrische Bema sich wohl von einer entsprechenden Einrichtung in der Synagoge herleitet.

¹⁷ Lassus-Tchalenko 1951, 94. 113.; Descoedres 1983, 61 f. Das früheste Beispiel ist das Bema der Kirche in Fafertin, 372 und das späteste Beispiel das Bema der Kirche von Nord Beisch.

¹⁸ Jakobs 1987, 58. Nach G. Descoedres ist kaum anzunehmen, dass die Ambone mit einläufigem Treppenaufgang wie diejenigen Ambone mit zweiläufiger Treppenanlage zu feierlichen Prozessionsriten gedient haben. 59. 70; Descoedres 1983, 61.

In den Kirchen von Gerasa gibt es ebenfalls Ambonen mit einläufigem Treppenaufgang. Die Kanzel ist dort meistens rechteckig. Die Ambonen sind an der Südseite den Kirchen aufgestellt und waren durch eine Solea vom Bema aus zugänglich¹⁹.

Im griechischen Raum gibt es viele Beispiele für Ambonen mit einläufigem Treppenaufgang. In Thessaloniki bestehen sie aus einem monolithen Marmorblock²⁰, wie in der Acheiropoietoskirche, der Menaskirche, der Sophienkirche, der Demetrioskirche, dem Palast-Oktogon und außerhalb von Thessaloniki der Basilika im Heraion in Samos²¹.

Während der Aufstellungsort der Ambonen in den Kirchen in Thessaloniki nicht gesichert ist, waren sie in zwei Kirchen in Philippi, nämlich in der Kirche "E" und im Oktogon²², im Bema aufgestellt.

Die Ambonen der Kirche von Ermione, von Elounda in Kolokythia auf Kreta, von Sikyon, der Basilika 'extra muros' in Delphi und der Basilika Haphotes in Karpathos²³ befinden sich im nördlichen Teil des Mittelschiffes nahe des Bemas.

Der einläufige Ambon der Basilika von Kapljuč bei Salona befindet sich im nördlichen Teil des Mittelschiffes, in direkter Verbindung mit der Templananlage²⁴.

In Isaurien und Kilikien gibt es nur wenige Anhaltspunkte für die Aufstellung der Ambonen. In der Zenonkirche von Meriamlik ist ein Sockelplatte unmittelbar vor dem Templan gefunden worden, aber nicht

¹⁹ Crowfoot 1941, 39 ff., Fig. 8-13; Saller 1941, Fig. 11. 27; RBK I 1966, 128 f.

²⁰ Brandenburg 1980, 135f.; Jakobs 1987, 70.

²¹ Jakobs 1987, 57 ff. die Acheripoietoskirche 328f. Taf. 35a, Pl. 118; die Menaskirche 334f. Taf. 35b-c, Pl. 119; die Sophienkirche 336f. Taf. 39, Pl. 130-132; die Demetrioskirche 329f. Taf. 35b-c, Pl. 119; das Palast-Oktogon 336, Taf. 38c, Pl. 128.129 und die Basilika im Heraion in Samos 317 Taf. 31a-b; Firatlı 1990, 97f. 235 Pl. 58, 179a-b.

²² Jakobs 1987, 70. die Kirche "E" in Philippi 309f. Taf. 28d, Pl. 91-93 und im Oktogon in Philippi 307f. Taf. 27b-d, Pl. 83-84.

²³ Jakobs 1987, 63. 66. 70; die Kirche von Ermione 248f. Taf. 8a, Pl. 35, die Kirche von Elounda Kolokythia auf Kreta 270f. Taf. 13d, Pl. 53; die Kirche von Sikyon 320f. Taf. 32a, Pl. 101.102; die Basilika 'extra muros' in Delphi 245, Pl. 34; die Basilika Haphotes in Karpathos 255, Taf. 10b, Pl. 39; für die Kirche von Sikyon Orlandos 1954, 224 f, Abb. 7-8.

²⁴ Orlandos 1952, 548 Abb. 513; Duval-Marin-Metzger 1994, 189 Pl. LXVI.

mehr in situ. In der Kirche von Elaiussa Sebaste und in der Kirche 'extra muros' von Dağpazarı stand der Ambon etwas aus der Mittelachse der Kirche nach Norden verschoben, nahe der Templonanlage (Fig. 15)²⁵.

Im Testamentum Domini ist für die Schriftlesung (des Lektors) ein Platz außerhalb des Altarraumes²⁶, aber in seiner Nähe, vorgesehen. Man nimmt an, dass es sich dabei um einen Ambon des griechischen Typus handelte²⁷, obwohl dieser in den Kirchen der Antiochene bisher unbekannt ist²⁸. Der Standort des Ambon der Zenonkirche von Meriamlik und der Kirche 'extra muros' von Dağpazarı würde der Angabe im Testamentum Domini entsprechen. Ausgehend davon, ist anzunehmen, dass der Ambon der Kirche A von Tapureli auch vor der Templonanlage gestanden haben wird. Er ist wohl zusammen mit dem Bau der Kirche zu Anfang des 6. Jhs. ausgearbeitet.

²⁵ RBK IV 1990, 268 Abb. 35; Hill 1996, 29 Abb. 73; Equini Schneider 1999, Tav. IV Fig. 230. 232.

²⁶ Testamentum Domini 25 I/19.

²⁷ RBK I 1966, 127; Descoedres 1983, 46.

²⁸ Descoedres 1983, 38 Anm. 10.

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WAS PAUL A CILICIAN, A NATIVE OF TARSUS? A HISTORICAL REASSESSMENT

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ÖZET

St. Paul bir Kilikia'lı mıydı, Tarsus'ta mı Doğmuştu? Tarihsel bir Değerlendirme

R. Wallece ve W. Williams son zamanlarda yayınladıkları "*Tarsus'lu Paulus'un Üç Dünyası*" adlı yapıtlarında Paulus'un Tarsus'lu bir yurttaş olduğunu öne sürmektedirler. Bu çalışma, Kilikia'nın en ünlü evlatlarından birinin üç ayrı dünya yani, Yahudi, Yunan ve Roma ile olan ilişkilerini yeniden belirlemek iddiasını taşımaktadır. Paulus'un yaşamını yeniden kurgulamak konusundaki temel yazılı kaynak İncil'de yer almaktadır. Burada o genellikle "Kilikia'daki Tarsus'lu bir Yahudi" olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Antik çağda kayda değer bir Yahudi nüfusun Kilikia'da yaşamakta olduğunu gösteren veriler vardır. Diaspora'da yaşamakla birlikte, Paulus'un ailesi, Pharisees'in tutucu bir cemaatine aittir. Yahudiler olasılıkla Tarsus vatandaşlık hakkını kentin İ.Ö. 171'de Antiochus tarafından yeniden kuruluşu sırasında almış olması gerekmektedir. Paulus, döneminde Doğu Yunan sakinleri için alışılmış bir durum olmayan Roma yurttaşlığını da talep etmektedir. Octavianus (İ.Ö.42-30) tarafından yazılan mektuplar, Rhosus'lu Seleucus ve ailesinin Roma yurttaşlığının ve kamu haklarının ihsan edilmesi konusundaki bilgileri içerir. Bu bilgiler, Paulus ve ailesinin de benzeri biçimde tahmin yürütmeyi sağlamaktadırlar. Bazı Kilikia'lılara Roma yurttaşlık hakları triumvirler tarafından Roma taraftarı oldukları için verilmiştir. Bu bildiri de sunulan veri, Paulus'un yurdu Kilikia'daki Tarsus ile olan ve sadece çocukluk yıllarında değil, yetişkinlik döneminde de süren yaşamsal ilişkisidir.

Introduction

R. Wallace and W. Williams in their recent volume *The Three Worlds of Paul of Tarsus (Tarsuslu Pavlus'un Üç Dünyası)* assert that Paul as a citizen of Tarsus "need ever have visited the city, much less lived there."

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This, they assert, is based on the fact that ancient civic citizenship passed through descent and not through domicile. Further, Paul's return to Tarsus following his conversion suggests "only that some of the family still lived there, rather than it was Paul's home town." They conclude that attempts to develop a formative Tarsian context for Paul's character and teaching "are built on insecure foundations."¹ This controversial claim runs counter to most biblical and classical scholarship as it relates to the background of the apostle Paul. In fact, as Riesner notes, "It is striking in the larger sense how seldom this bit of Lukan information has been doubted by skeptical scholarship."² If true, it would significantly diminish the historical connection between Paul and Tarsus of Cilicia as one of its most famous native sons. This paper will seek to reassess Paul's connection to Tarsus and Cilicia in light of the comments by Wallace and Williams. In responding to their claims, we will first review the relevant biblical and historical background related to Paul's three worlds.

New Testament Literary Evidence

The book of Acts links Paul with Tarsus on three occasions. Jesus himself, in his instructions to Ananias following Paul's religious conversion near Damascus, is said to identify him as "a man from Tarsus."³ Later, following his arrest in Jerusalem Paul tells a Roman officer in Greek, "I am a Jew, from Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen (πολίτης) of no ordinary city."⁴ The Greek expression οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως is an example of Luke's use of litotes in his Gospel and the Acts. Here Luke uses a stock expression for a city one wishes to boast about.⁵

A few verses later in Acts 22:3 Paul addresses the crowd in Aramaic and tells them, "I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia but brought up in this city." Wallace and Williams in their earlier commentary on Acts allow that Paul had a connection with Tarsus: "Though he was born in Tarsus, he is

¹ Wallace and Williams 1998, p. 180.

² Riesner 1998, p. 264 n. 8.

³ Acts 9:11.

⁴ Acts 21:39.

⁵ Compare Euripides, *Ion* 8; Strabo 8.6.15; Achilles Tatius, *Clitophon* 8.3.1

not one of those Diaspora Jews who are dangerously tainted with Hellenism.”⁶ Yet Paul clearly puts a “spin” in his response by not mentioning his Tarsian citizenship to the Jewish crowd, which “would not have responded well to a boast about being a citizen of one of the centers of Hellenization in the Empire.”⁷ Rather Paul emphasizes that his pedagogical development was in Jerusalem, not in his hometown. At what age his training began there is unstated.

Later at the trial in Caesarea the governor Felix inquired what province (ἐπαρχεία) the prisoner came from. Paul responded, “From Cilicia.”⁸ Two issues are related to his answer. First, Cilicia was not a province at this time (c. AD 57), but rather a part of the greater province Syria. Cilicia Pedias was attached in 67 BC to the original province Cilicia after Pompey defeated the pirates. Dio Chrysostom states that Tarsus became the capital of the province about 64 BC.⁹ However, the province’s status was diminishing, as evidenced by the fact that Cicero was its last governor of consular rank. Around 39 BC Pedias was added to the province Syria and that affiliation continued into the early principate. It was not until the Flavian period that Vespasian created a separate and enlarged province of Cilicia in AD 72.¹⁰ Horsley has demonstrated through inscriptional evidence that eparcheia “requires a less widespread ‘district’ to be in view.”¹¹ Paul’s response clearly has this broader connotation. His declaration that Cilicia was his home province might even suggest pride in the historical circumstances of his native region.¹²

The second issue, according to Sherwin-White, is “the surprising fact that when he heard that Paul came from an alien province, Cilicia, Felix declared that he would hear the case, where we expect the opposite.”¹³ In

⁶ Wallace and Williams 1993, p. 116.

⁷ Witherington III 1998, p. 663.

⁸ Acts 23:34.

⁹ Or. 34.7-8.

¹⁰ This information was drawn from Syme 1939, pp. 299-300, 304-5, 326-27.

¹¹ Horsley 1982, p. 85.

¹² A reason not likely is that this is a Lukan anachronism suggesting a later date for the composition of Acts.

¹³ Sherwin-White 1963, p. 55.

the early principate, however, the Roman legal custom of *forum domicilii* was only optional; an accused person need not be sent back to the jurisdiction of his home province. Since both Judea and Cilicia were under the ultimate jurisdiction of the legate of Syria, Felix probably deemed it advisable to handle this minor case and not bother the legate. Further complicating Felix's involvement was the fact that Tarsus was a free city and its citizens normally exempt from provincial jurisdiction.¹⁴ On only one occasion in his own letters does Paul link himself to Cilicia. After his conversion and first visit to Jerusalem, Paul states, "I went to Syria and Cilicia."¹⁵ I have argued elsewhere that Paul, at this juncture of his life, spent five or more years in Cilicia. During this period he established the first churches in Anatolia at Tarsus, Adana, Mopsuestia, and perhaps Hierapolis Castabala.¹⁶ Evidence for this is found in Acts 15:41; at the outset of his second ministry journey Paul passed through Cilicia to strengthen the churches there. The Cilician churches likewise were visited at the beginning of his third journey to Ephesus.¹⁷ During this extended stay in the region Paul would certainly have strengthened his ties to Tarsus and Cilicia.

Paul's Jewish World

Various evidence exists for the presence of Jews in Cilicia. Acts 6:9 points to a sizable group of Jews from Cilicia who, with other Diaspora Jews, formed a Synagogue of the Freedmen in Jerusalem. Agrippa I confirms the presence of Jews in Cilicia in his letter to Caligula.¹⁸ A lead coffin in the Adana Museum, dating from late Antiquity and reportedly from Elaiussa Sebaste (Ayaş) in Tracheia, is decorated with four menoroth in relief.¹⁹ Building remains found in Mopsuestia (Misis) that contain a mosaic depicting Samson and Noah's Ark have been positively identified by Hachlili as a synagogue.²⁰ Although this evidence dates later than the

¹⁴ Pliny, N. H. 5.92; cf. Strabo, 14.5.14.

¹⁵ Galatians 1:21.

¹⁶ Wilson 2000, pp. 11–12.

¹⁷ Acts 18:23.

¹⁸ Philo, Leg. 281.

¹⁹ Hachlili 1998, p. 291; this coffin is now displayed outside the Adana Museum.

²⁰ Hachlili 1998, pp. 213–16; cf. Hachlili 1994, vol. 6, p. 261. Other scholars have identified it as a church; see Hill 1996, p. 236.

biblical period, it appears to point to a long-established Jewish community.²¹ Epigraphical evidence for Jews in Tarsus and Cilicia Pedias is sparse because of the inability to excavate its modern population centers. However, the significant amount of Jewish or Judaizing epigraphic evidence from Cilicia Tracheia suggests to Hengel and Schwemer that “the Jewish population of Tarsus and other Cilician cities must have been considerable.”²² What that population was can only be conjectured. The Jewish population of Anatolia in the first century has been estimated at one million.²³ If Broughton’s population estimates for Roman Asia Minor are accepted, Cilicia’s population during the Flavian period was 900,000 out of a total of 13 million residents.²⁴ Calculating by percentages, a Jewish population in Cilicia would number approximately 70,000. This number is probably too low since the Jewish communities were typically located in urbanized areas like Cilicia.

In Philippians 3:5 Paul asserts that he is “a Hebrew born of Hebrews; in regard to the law, a Pharisee.” The apostle’s apologetic rhetoric here is designed to show that his Jewish credentials equaled those of his Palestinian opponents. However, two questions related to Paul’s Tarsian connection are found in this statement. First, the word *Hebraios* in the first century was more a linguistic than an ethnic designation. For example, an early dispute in the Jerusalem church pitted Greek-speaking Jews against Aramaic/Hebrew-speaking Jews.²⁵ Yet here in the Diaspora, far from Palestine, Paul claims that his family has retained Aramaic and Hebrew as the primary languages in his home. This is particularly notable if we accept that his Tarsian citizenship was a Seleucid one dating to 171 BC. His family would have retained its linguistic heritage for nearly two centuries, an evidence of its strong cultural and religious ties to Judaism. Difficulty with this extended time span has prompted some scholars to adopt Jerome’s

21 The third-century synagogue at Sardis likewise represented a long-standing Jewish community that was present in the first century (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.149).

22 Hengel and Schwemer 1997, p. 161; see their review of the evidence on pages 161-67.

23 Van der Horst 1990, p. 126.

24 Broughton 1938, vol. 4, p. 815.

25 Acts 6:1. The majority of scholars believe that Aramaic was the popular spoken language of first century Palestine, while Hebrew was its religious language. This was due to the historical circumstances of the Babylonian exile following the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC; for example, see Witherington 1998, pp. 240-42.

explanation for the coming of Paul's family to Tarsus. Jerome recounts a story that Paul's parents were captured by the Romans in Gischala of Judea sometime in the first century B.C. and moved to Tarsus.²⁶ Although the details of Jerome's account has no basis in Paul's letters or in Acts and contradict themselves on key points, Murphy-O'Connor opts that the "simplest hypothesis is that Paul's ancestors had emigrated from Palestine within living memory."²⁷ That "memory" would be the latter half of the first century B.C. The difficulty with such a late date is how to explain Paul's Tarsian citizenship, unless one regards it as a Lukan fabrication.

A second concern is Paul's claim to be a Pharisee. The Pharisees were a pietistic sect centered in Jerusalem that arose during the Maccabean period (c. 160s BC). Ritual purity, particularly in diet, was a hallmark of their practices. It was difficult for Pharisees to live outside the Holy Land and maintain the required purity, hence there is no evidence for Pharisaic schools in the Diaspora. For this reason Murphy-O'Connor concludes that Luke's claim in Acts 23:6 that Paul was a son of a Pharisee "must be dismissed as a rhetorical flourish without historical value."²⁸ However, Hengel is not as pessimistic: "ways had to be found of being able to live as a Pharisee abroad" so Paul's parents raised their son in Gentile Tarsus but "sent him to Jerusalem relatively soon."²⁹

If we accept an early Tarsian citizenship for Paul's family, the family's conversion to Pharisaism would have come later. As Jews they would have participated in the regular pilgrimages to Jerusalem for the three required festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles.³⁰ During these visits they were undoubtedly exposed to the teachings of the Pharisees and eventually joined the sect. Accommodating their lifestyle to residence in a Gentile city like Tarsus must have proved difficult, but one the family was able to manage. However, it seems Paul's family did use its wealth to maintain a second residence in Jerusalem where Paul was taken later for rabbinical training under Gamaliel.³¹

²⁶ Comm. on Ep. ad Philem. vv. 23-24; De Vir. Ill. 5.

²⁷ Murphy O'Connor 1996, p. 37.

²⁸ Murphy O'Connor 1996, p. 58.

²⁹ Hengel 1991, p. 122 n. 173.

³⁰ Deuteronomy 16:16.

³¹ Acts 23:16; cf. 6:9; 22:3.

Paul's Greek World

Wallace and Williams acknowledge problems with Paul's claim to citizenship, but conclude that "nothing precluded an individual like Paul having citizenship of his native city."³² An epitaph found in Jaffa mentions a Jew named Judas, who is a son of Joses and also a citizen of Tarsus (Ταρσεύς).³³ Inscriptions found at the synagogue in Sardis mention Jews who are citizens (*Sardianoι*) and "no less than nine may use the privileged title *bouletes*, 'member of the city council'."³⁴ Although these inscriptions are late, they again represent long-standing Jewish communities.³⁵ But what such citizenship actually meant has been hotly debated. Tajra argues that πολίτης in Acts 21:39 "most likely refers to Paul's membership in the resident Jewish community at Tarsus rather than to any citizenship in the Greek πόλις" and "is a statement of domicile and not a proclamation of citizenship."³⁶ Rapske, however, rightly rejects Tajra's interpretation of πολίτης as meaning domicile only, asserting that "the text is in fact recording Paul's claim to a legally valid Tarsian citizenship."³⁷ Tarn and Griffith claim that the Seleucids gave the Jews only isopolity (ἰσοπολιτεία) –potential citizenship– and that a Jew could become a citizen "provided of course that he apostatized by worshipping the city gods."³⁸ Nock effectively refutes this notion of isopolity, stating that it is an unnecessary modern theoretical construct. He further demonstrates through inscriptions that there was only one condition to activating "potential" citizenship-residence.³⁹

Ehrenberg observes that Jewish communities "existed in many places, mostly in the form of a *Politeuma*."⁴⁰ But as Sherwin-White cogently notes, "πολίτευμα is not πόλις or πολιτεία: it is community not

³² Wallace and Williams 1998, p. 142.

³³ CIJ II, no. 925; cf. Hengel and Schwemer 1997, pp. 160, 415-16 n. 821.

³⁴ Seager and Kraabel 1983, p. 184; for *S#ardiano,@j boule#uth,j* see Robert 1964, No. 14; cf. Nos. 13, 16, 17.

³⁵ For example, the Jews of Sardis date from the Babylonian exile in 586 B.C.; see Obadiah 20.

³⁶ Tajra 1989, p. 80.

³⁷ Rapske 1994b, p. 76.

³⁸ Tarn and Griffith 1952, p. 222.

³⁹ Nock 1972, vol. 2, p. 961.

⁴⁰ Ehrenberg 1969, p. 153.

citizenship.”⁴¹ So were the Jews given citizenship as a group in their own tribe? Ramsay argues so: “There can never have been a single and solitary Jewish citizen of a Greek city. If there was one Jewish citizen, there must have been a group of Jews forming a tribe, holding together in virtue of their common Jewish religion.” He acknowledges that in many Greek cities they did not possess any rights as citizens; however, “the Jews of Tarsus were, as a body, citizens with full rights.”⁴²

When was that citizenship acquired in Tarsus? Seleucus Nicator granted Jews the citizenship in the cities that he founded.⁴³ Because of Judaism’s particular religious conventions, the Seleucids often awarded citizenship en masse to a body of Jewish settlers who were then given their own constitution. A probable period for such enfranchisement was the city’s refoundation around 171 BC by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It is likely that Paul’s ancestors received their Tarsian citizenship at this time.⁴⁴ Thus his family’s citizenship was long-standing and certainly preceded Roman citizenship, which was probably granted in the late Republican period. Paul’s mother was likely a citizen too since “[c]itizen descent on both sides was normally required.”⁴⁵ Citizenship and other privileges guaranteed by the Seleucids were maintained by the Romans. Both Lentulus (49 BC)⁴⁶ and Dolabella (43 BC)⁴⁷ issued decrees affirming these rights. Apollonius of Tyana infers that Jews were citizens of Tarsus during Titus’ reign.⁴⁸

The primary requirement for citizenship in a Greek city was a property one. Dio Chrysostom states that the enrollment cost for citizens in Tarsus was 500 drachmas.⁴⁹ Jones calls this one of the less well-known features of Greek city life, “the restriction of full citizenship to those of at least moderate wealth.” He goes on to say that this “must have excluded an

⁴¹ Sherwin-White 1963, p. 185.

⁴² Ramsay 1907, p. 180.

⁴³ Josephus, *Ant.* 12.3.1.119.

⁴⁴ For the classic treatment of the subject, see Ramsay 1907, pp. 169-86.

⁴⁵ Jones 1940, p. 160.

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 14.10.13.228-30

⁴⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 10.25.263-64.

⁴⁸ Philostratus, *Vita Ap. Ty.* 6.34.

⁴⁹ *Or.* 34.23.

ordinary artisan from citizenship, for a legionary in the same period earned roughly half this sum a year.”⁵⁰ Thus Paul’s family as tentmakers or leather workers (σκηνοποιοί)⁵¹ was not among the ordinary guild workers, but of the economically elite of the city. Paul’s affluence is evidenced in his later ministry as well. Speaking of Paul’s trial before the Roman governor Felix, Ramsay writes, “Paul, therefore, wore the outward appearance of a man of means, like one in a position to bribe a Roman procurator...we must regard Paul as a man of some wealth during these years.”⁵² Within the Roman system of justice one’s social status within the citizenship was important. “Ulpian advised that the *persona* of the accused, measured in terms of honour, great wealth (*amplissimae facultates*), dignity, and integrity, was to be scrutinized before custody was set.”⁵³ To the Roman procurator Felix Paul clearly bore the signs of privilege, a privilege derived not in Jerusalem but in Tarsus.⁵⁴

Wallace and Williams assert that for most Greeks “the primary method of self-identification would have been as citizens of one of a large number of *poleis*.”⁵⁵ Paul’s spontaneous response in Acts 22:39 to the Roman officer in Jerusalem suggests that his Tarsian citizenship was his foremost patriotic affiliation. To the modern reader the assertion of Roman citizenship at that dangerous moment would appear to be the more prudent action. But as Ramsay writes, “To the ancient Greek citizen his city absorbed all his patriotism. His city, not his country as a whole was his ‘fatherland’.”⁵⁶ Paul’s candid comment on this occasion demonstrates the apostle’s Greek mind-set as it pertains to civic affiliation.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Jones 1979, p. 81.

⁵¹ Acts 18:3. Rapske 1994a, p. 7, well makes the point that weaving tentcloth from goats’ hair or linen would have required bulky tools and equipment, whereas a maker or repairer of tents and other leather products required only a bag of knives, awls, etc. Given Paul’s highly mobile nature, the latter explanation for his occupation seems more in keeping with the New Testament picture, although this does not preclude Paul having the ability to do both.

⁵² Ramsay 2001, pp. 235, 237.

⁵³ Rapske 1994b, p. 57.

⁵⁴ Acts 24:26.

⁵⁵ Wallace and Williams 1998, p. 136.

⁵⁶ Ramsay 1907, p. 90.

⁵⁷ It also demonstrates the veracity of Luke’s account, which has been frequently attacked in modern scholarship.

Paul's Roman World

Both in Philippi and in Jerusalem Paul declared to the authorities that he was a Roman citizen.⁵⁸ Implicit also in the account in Acts 13:6-12 of the conversion of the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, is Paul's Roman status. For here in the Acts narrative Saul is now called Paul. Rapske explains that Luke's change of names "is making an important rather than a trivial observation; i.e., that Sergius Paulus and the apostle had the same official 'family name'."⁵⁹ This shared *cognomen* was the third of the three official names that all Roman citizens possessed. But how could a devout Jewish family like Paul's hold Roman citizenship? Tajra answers, "There was no incompatibility in a practicing Jew's accepting a grant of Roman citizenship as Jewish Roman citizens were exempt from those state duties which might conflict with their monotheistic faith."⁶⁰ Inscriptions from sites such as Acmonia mention Jews like P(ublius) Tyrronius Klados who are not only heads of the synagogue but also, as their triple name suggests, Roman citizens.⁶¹

Wallace and Williams suggest two routes to attain citizenship: military service, highly improbable for Jews, and slavery. The scenario they favor is that Paul's father or grandfather was taken prisoner of war, sent as a slave to Italy where he learned the craft of a leather worker, and eventually migrated back to the East and settled in Tarsus, a center of skilled crafts. Murphy-O'Connor concurs, "The simplest possibility...is that Paul's father had been a slave who was set free by a Roman citizen of Tarsus, and who thereby acquired a degree of Roman citizenship which improved with each succeeding generation."⁶²

If Paul's family were settled in Tarsus by Antiochus IV as free citizens of the city, it is problematic to speculate that they later became Roman slaves. A better solution is that citizenship was granted by the Romans

⁵⁸ Acts 17:37; 22:25-28.

⁵⁹ Rapske 1994b, 86.

⁶⁰ Tajra 1989, 77.

⁶¹ For a review of this and other Acmonian inscriptions see Sheppard 1979, pp. 169-80 and Trebilco 1991, pp. 58-64

⁶² Murphy-O'Connor 1997, p. 41; this opinion is shared by Wallace and Williams 1998, pp. 140-42.

sometime after the middle of the first century BC. The competition for support after 49 BC elicited generous offers of individual freedom in Cilicia from Pompey, Caesar, and Antony, all of whom had personal relations with Tarsus. Thus citizenship was granted in return for services rendered to the Roman cause. An example of such a grant is found in the letters of Octavian concerning Seleucus of Rhosus. Dating between 42-30 BC, they are written to the city of Rhosus, with copies to be sent to Tarsus and Antioch for their archives. Octavian granted Roman citizenship to Seleucus, his parents, children, wife, and descendants, along with a series of immunities ranging from taxation to military service. Octavian's largesse stemmed from the naval aid Rome had received from Seleucus, who had experienced great hardship and danger in his endeavors. Octavian cites the *Lex Munatia et Aemilia* passed in 42 BC as the legal basis for giving citizenship to Seleucus. This law granted the triumvirs the right to bestow Roman citizenship upon certain groups of individuals.⁶³ Paul's family probably received its citizenship similarly, perhaps after supplying the Romans with tents or related leather products.

Paul unique status as a dual citizen is affirmed by the final letter in the Rhosus inscription. Dated to 30 BC, Octavian in this letter of recommendation refers to Seleucus both as a citizen of Rhosus and as a Roman citizen. The separate mention of Roman citizenship and of various privileges in the Rhosus documents suggests this significance to Sherk: "It shows that the grant of citizenship to a provincial did not excuse him from the duties and responsibilities he owed to his native city."⁶⁴ Luke's portrayal of Paul as a Roman citizen with strong allegiance to Tarsus is therefore compatible with the historical evidence found in the Rhosus inscription.

⁶³ The inscription is IGLS III 1.718 and located at the Antioch Museum. This summary is drawn from Sherk 1969, pp. 299-301. Sherk suggests that Seleucia Pieria also received a copy. However, Andrea Raggi, a symposium participant and doctoral student at the University of Pisa who is currently working on the Rhosus inscription, disagrees. He believes that Seleucia is a restoration, and probably not the right one since its ethnic name on inscriptions always includes the additional designation *tēs Pierias*. He concludes, "Other authors think of Ephesus, but it is too short to fill the gap. I think it is better if one says that the copy was sent to a third city, but we do not know the name of it" (email correspondence).

⁶⁴ Sherk 1969, p. 304.

Conclusion

Returning to Wallace and Williams's claim that Paul need not have ever lived in Tarsus, their failure to cite any sources documenting this suggestion significantly weakens their case. A statement by Jones would appear to sustain their contention: "In all Greek cities citizenship was of course determined in principle by birth and not by residence."⁶⁵ Yet the evidence presented in this paper, though circumstantial, shows that Paul's relationship to Tarsus in Cilicia was more than in principle only; it was a vital one that began in childhood and continued throughout his years of adult ministry. In summation we agree with Rapske who observes, "If Paul had been born in Cilicia only to move away and never return, his Tarsian origin might not have been worth noting. This is, however, how he is often identified in his adult life."⁶⁶

In closing, I would like to present a useful historical analogy for discussing Paul's connection with Tarsus by examining another of Anatolia's famous native sons, Strabo of Amasia. I was reading Daniela Dueck's life of Strabo and was struck by the remarkable parallels between these two men. Strabo-born between 64-50 BC and dying after AD 23-was a contemporary of Paul, who was born around AD 1-10 and died in the Neronian persecution around 66. Strabo's civic background can provide insights about Paul's. The following chart highlights the parallels:

⁶⁵ Jones 1940, p. 160.

⁶⁶ Rapske 1994b, p. 75; he adds further, "Paul's connections with Tarsus and Cilicia...are neither tenuous nor expressions of an antiquarian interest; they possess a current social, missiological, and legal significance for him."

	Strabo	Paul
Home	Amasia	Tarsus
Family	Pontic aristocracy	Pharisaic Jews
Roman Citizenship	Born or Acquired ⁶⁷	Born
Name	Roman cognomen only	Roman cognomen only
Education	Carian Nysa, Rome	Jerusalem, Tarsus
Teachers	Aristodemus of Nysa Zenarchus of Cilician Seleucia Tyrannion of Amisus	Gamaliel of Jerusalem Unknown in Tarsus
Travels	Egypt to Rome	Arabia to Rome
Writings	History, 17 book Geography	13 New Testament letters
Manuscripts	2-3 rd century fragments 10-15 th century AD texts	2-3 rd century fragments 4 th century AD texts

Strabo was from Amasia and, in his discussions of the city, he calls it his home town (πατρίς, 12.3.15), his country (χώρα, 12.3.38), and his city (πόλις, 12.3.39). These are the only texts in his writings that give that information, yet few would doubt his connection with the city. As we have seen, there are even more texts linking Paul to Tarsus and Cilicia. Paul was indeed from Tarsus, a Cilician who was proud not only of his citizenship but of his ongoing relationship with the city.

⁶⁷ His biographer Daniela Dueck (2000, pp. 7-8) suggests three ways that Strabo's family might have received the Roman citizenship. First, Aelius Gallus, patron and governor of Egypt, gave Strabo the family name of his adopted son Seianus, whose biological father was Seius Strabo. Second, Servilius Isauricus, with family connections to the name Strabo, lived around Nysa when Strabo was studying there. Perhaps the two met there and their relationship resulted in a lifetime friendship, which included the bestowal of Roman citizenship. Third, Pompey's father was Pompeius Strabo, and Pompey's dealings with Strabo's family during the Mithradatic Wars resulted in citizenship. Whichever scenario is correct, we do not know. Neither is Strabo's nomen known, whether Aelius, Servilius, or Pompeius. Dueck concludes her discussion of Strabo's Roman citizenship stating, "The circumstances of this event remain vague."

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CILICIAN BISHOPS AND FOURTH-CENTURY CHURCH POLITICS*

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ÖZET

Dördüncü yüzyıl, eskiçağ Hıristiyanlığının en uzun dönemi olarak dikkate alınmalıdır, çünkü Hıristiyan kilisenin gelecekteki kaderini etkileyen en ciddi değişimler bu yüzyıl içerisinde ortaya çıktı. İlk olarak bu yüzyılın hemen başında imparator Diocletianus'un (284-305) yaklaşık on yıl süren büyük takibatına tanık oluyoruz. Takibatın sona ermesiyle Hıristiyan dünya, sadece piskoposların yaralarını sarmak için organize ettikleri konsillere değil, daha da önemlisi imparator Constantinus'un (306-337) ihtidasına da şahit oldu. Bir Roma imparatorunun Hıristiyanlığı benimsemesi haliyle kilise-devlet entegrasyon sürecini de başlatan bir gelişmeydi ki, bu entegrasyon en çok eyaletlerden gelen piskoposların oluşturduğu kilise konsillerinde görülebilmektedir. Narcissus, Silvanus ve Diodorus gibi piskoposların merkezinde oluşan bu çalışmanın amacı, IV. yüzyıl içerisinde Kilikyalı piskoposların bölgesel ve global kilise politikalarındaki rollerini incelemektir. Temel soru Kilikyalı piskoposların konsillerdeki mevcudiyetinin devamlılıklarının araştırılması ve politik kararların oluşmasında Kilikyalıların nasıl bir yol izlediklerini incelemektir. Bulgularımıza göre, Kilikyalı piskoposlar, Roma'nın diğer doğu eyaletlerine nazaran, incelediğimiz dönemde kilise politikalarında çok etkin roller üstlenmişlerdir. Bunun en önemli nedeni Kilikya ile Antakya arasındaki coğrafi yakınlığın politik işbirliğinde de ortaya çıkmasıdır.

I. Introduction

The fourth century is the most vital turning point of ancient Christianity, because many changes took place at that period regarding the future fate of the Church. First of all, the century begins with the 'Great Persecution'

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of the Diocletianus, which intermittently continued for about a decade. Secondly, the end of this persecution brought not only the conversion of Constantinus but also the councils of bishops to heal the wounds of the persecution. In spite of the fact that there were very sharp differences in the western churches, the conversion of a Roman emperor naturally resulted in the integration of the church and state in the East, and this was mostly achieved at the church councils. Thirdly, it was also a period, in which the most serious theological dispute, the Arian controversy, broke out and consequently led to a traffic of church councils to establish a generally accepted doctrinal definition in the middle years of the century. The Arian controversy was a major problem that the emperors had to deal with. However, there were also localized ecclesiastical problems, emerged from ascetic, theological and political concerns, such as local interpretations of the Arianism, the Meletians in Egypt, the Anatolian asceticism of Eusebius of Sebaste, and the Monophysite teachings of the Syrian theologian Apollinarius, which was condemned at the second ecumenical council of Constantinopolis in 381. In fact, the first two ecumenical councils of the early church took place in the fourth century and their decisions and definitions of the Creed are still used by present day Christians to declare their own faith.

In the fourth century Cilician bishops were visibly present at the increasing number of the church councils. They played a more active role in the politics of the church than the bishops of other provinces, such as Isauria, Pamphylia or Caria. The basic aim of this paper is to explore the presence and role of Cilician bishops in the ecclesiastical politics of the fourth century, mainly in the context of the Arian controversy. It also attempts to analyze the question, how far they were at the center of these activities. The localized ecclesiastical problems do not fall within the limited objectives of this article.

Names of Cilician bishops were already listed in the records of third and early fourth century church politics. Helenus of Tarsus participated in the council of Antiochia in 268/9 and presided at the last session of that council.¹ Helenus had also played a prominent role in the rebaptism controversy a generation earlier, before the crisis caused by Paulus of

¹ Eusebius, *HE*, VII.30.1.

Samosata.² In the fourth century, Cilician bishops were present at the councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea after the last great persecution, which forced the early Christians to heal their internal divisions. These councils, dated before Nicaea, included three Cilician bishops among their participants, Lupus of Tarsus, Narcissus of Neronias and Amphion of Epiphania.³ It is difficult to reconstruct the exact role that the three Cilician churchmen played at these gatherings, but we can speculate that while Lupus of Tarsus was representing the Cilician province, Narcissus and Amphion probably accompanied their bishop as discussants or advisers.

II. The Cilician Bishops and the Arian Controversy

The real weight of the Cilician bishops' presence in the church meetings of the fourth century emerged in the Arian political and theological crisis which dominated the middle years of the fourth century, between the 320s and 381. The controversy originally broke out in Alexandria and at once became a serious matter of contention all over the Mediterranean cities of the Roman Empire.⁴ The theological dimension of this controversy was the conflict of views about the nature of the Son of God. Arius argued that God the Father was not co-eternal with the Son of God. He was condemned first at a synod in Alexandria, then in Antiochia, and finally at the council of Nicaea in 325.⁵

The Alexandrian synod that condemned Arius had also forced him to leave the city at some point between A.D. 318 and 323. Arius, like Origen a century earlier, went to Palestinian Caesarea, where Eusebius the church historian was the bishop. Then Arius went to Nicomedia, where another Eusebius was the bishop, and having convened a regional synod of Bithynia this Eusebius gave Arius a full support.⁶ It was probably this event that led to an exchange of letters and propaganda pamphlets between

² Eusebius, *HE*, VI.46.3.

³ Mansi, II. 534, 549; Hefele 1871, 200.

⁴ Eusebius, *VC*, II.61; Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 69.1.1; Socrates, *HE*, I.5; Sozomenus, *HE*, I.15; Theodoret, *HE*, I.1.

⁵ There are several comprehensive accounts of the various stages of the Arian controversy in English literature. See for the most important works; Hanson 1988; Williams 1987; Luiheid 1982; Barnes 1981.

⁶ Telfer 1936, 60-63; Barnes 1981, 205.

the bishops of the Mediterranean cities.⁷ Two leading Cilician supporters wrote letters on behalf of Arius and they also requested the addressees to write to the bishop of Alexandria to reconsider his attitude against Arius and his teaching. One of the bishops who wrote a letter to the Alexandrian bishop was Athanasius, bishop of Anazarbus. According to the Arian historian Philostorgius this Athanasius had become a friend of Arius in the school of Lucianus the martyr in Antiochia.⁸ A fragment of Athanasius' letter is still preserved.⁹ Another Cilician who wrote a letter was Narcissus, bishop of Neronias. He had addressed at least three letters lobbying on Arius' behalf to Eusebius (of Caesarea), Euphronius and Chrestus.¹⁰

Meanwhile, in A.D. 324, Constantinus became the sole ruler of the Roman empire after defeating the eastern *Augustus* Licinius. Constantinus at once intervened into the Arian controversy and attempted to reconcile both sides. In order to achieve an ecclesiastical peace in the eastern Church Constantinus sent Ossius of Corduba (in Spain) to Alexandria as an intermediary with a letter.¹¹ However, Ossius' mission did not succeed. On the way back to Nicomedia, Ossius came to Antiochia, where a recent episcopal election led to disorder. Ossius assembled a synod of fifty bishops from the neighboring provinces of Syria in late 324 or early 325.¹² Among the participants of this synod, if I have correctly identified them, there were nine bishops from the cities of Cilicia.¹³ At this council, one of their number, Narcissus of Neronias, was provisionally excommunicated together with two other bishops, Eusebius of Caesarea and Theodotus of Laodicea. It is interesting to observe that Athanasius of Anazarbus did not

⁷ Eusebius, *HE*, II.62; Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 69.4.3.

⁸ Philostorgius, *HE*, III.15.

⁹ Opitz 1934, *Urkunde* 11, Athanasius' letter is dated about 322.

¹⁰ Opitz 1934, *Urkunde* 19.

¹¹ The text of the letter is preserved in Eusebius, *VC*, II.64-72.

¹² This council of Antiochia is not mentioned by Eusebius and it was an unknown meeting until E. Schwartz discovered and published its synodal letter in 1905. For the council of Antiochia see Schwartz *GS III*, 169-87; the synodal letter was published in Opitz 1934, *Urkunde* 18; the English version of the letter is in Cross 1938; for the historical background and the narrative of the meeting see Barnes 1981, 213-4; Hanson 1988, 146-51.

¹³ A complete list of the Cilician bishops who attended the church councils in the fourth century (up to the second general council) may be seen in the appendix of this paper.

come to Antiochia, though he went to the council of Nicaea later in the same year. If it is not an exaggeration of Philostorgius, there were twenty-two bishops who supported Arius at Nicaea. Three Cilician bishops' names appeared on his list, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Narcissus of Neronias, and Tarcondimantus of Aegae.¹⁴

It is obvious that like many eastern participants at the council of Nicaea, they had to sign the creed under the imperial pressure, because their disloyalty to the Nicene creed immediately after the council proves the weight of the imperial pressure on the signatories.¹⁵ The policy developed after Nicaea to remove the strong pro-Nicene bishops from their places was the first sign of the anti-Nicene reaction. The campaign started with the deposition of Eustathius from Antiochia, Asclepius from Gaza and later continued with Athanasius of Alexandria (after his election in 328) and Marcellus of Ancyra.¹⁶ Bishops mostly moved obliquely according to the direction of the winds of ecclesiastical politics. This can be best observed in the deposition of Eustathius. In early 325, at the council of Antiochia, Eustathius had led the Syrian bishops who provisionally excommunicated Eusebius of Caesarea and Narcissus of Neronias. The same Syrian bishops were also controlled by Eustathius of Antiochia at the council of Nicaea. However, when the anti-Nicene reaction surfaced soon after Nicaea, it had aimed to depose the strict pro-Nicene bishops. Now an almost identical group under the leadership of Eusebius and Narcissus turned against their leader Eustathius and brought charges against him. The outcome of the council of Antiochia may also be counted as the first success of Narcissus and his friends against the rival party, because two leading pro-Nicenes, Eustathius and Asclepius, had been removed. Narcissus was one of the central figures in the council, which had also attempted to transfer Eusebius from Caesarea to Antiochia.¹⁷ This did not succeed, but first Euphronius (a friend of Narcissus)¹⁸ then Flaccillus, a

¹⁴ Philostorgius, *HE*, I.8a.

¹⁵ Lane Fox 1986, 656; Elliott 1992, 169-94.

¹⁶ For the different chronologies of the deposition of Eustathius, see Chadwick 1948, 27-35, as 326 or 327 and Hanson 1984, 171-79, as 331.

¹⁷ Eusebius, *VC*, III.62.

¹⁸ Euphronius was probably one of the recipients of Narcissus' letters, written at the beginning of the Arian crisis.

friend of Eusebius, were elected as bishop. Later at some point in the first half of the 340s Narcissus and Flaccillus ordained another Eusebius as bishop of Emesa (mod. Homs).¹⁹

In 335 a council of sixty bishops met in Tyrus a Phoenician city, to judge Athanasius of Alexandria.²⁰ Two Cilician bishops, Narcissus and Macedonius of Mopsuestia played an active role at the council, which organized a commission of five bishops to investigate the accusations against Athanasius. Macedonius of Mopsuestia was one of the five bishops, who went to Egypt to investigate the accusations in the place., Narcissus, If not also Macedonius, was at the council of Jerusalem in the same year (A.D.335), when Arius was formally readmitted to the church.²¹ This council was not only a religious meeting but had also been an occasion for celebrating the *tricennalia*, the thirtieth year in the reign of Constantinus.²²

The activities of Narcissus and Macedonius were also attested during the early 340s. The council of Antiochia in 341, generally known as the Council of Dedication, was attended by at least six bishops from Cilician cities. Narcissus was one of the leaders at the council, because the addressees of letter of Julius, bishop of Rome, included him.²³ This council was held particularly to dedicate the Golden Church in the presence of about ninety bishops, and it produced important documents.²⁴ By now Constantinus was dead and the eastern bishops were free to produce new creeds to replace the Nicene one. Apparently the attitude of Constantius must have been encouraging. As he had already been an *Augustus* in the East, Constantius will have been aware of the fact that the Nicene creed was disliked in the eastern Church, and that the important bishoprics of the East were in the hands of anti-Nicene bishops. In order to get empire-wide acceptance of the new creed of Antiochia, at the instigation of Constantius the council organized a delegation of bishops and sent them with the creed

¹⁹ Socrates, *HE*, II.9; see also Hanson 1988, 387 ff.

²⁰ Socrates, *HE*, I.27, 30; Sozomenus, *HE*, II.25.

²¹ Eusebius, *VC*, IV.43.

²² The *tricennalia* of Constantinus is lavishly described by Eusebius, *VC*, IV. 43-47.

²³ Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos* (=Defence against the Arians), 20.

²⁴ The documents of the council is preserved in Athanasius, *De Synodis* (=On the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia), 22, 23, 25; Socrates, *HE*, II.10.

to the western *Augustus* Constans, who was then in Gaul. The eastern delegates included Theodore of Heraclea, Maris of Chalcedon, Marcus of Arethusa and Narcissus of Neronias.²⁵ The same Narcissus was also a leading bishop of the eastern party at the council of Serdica, the first ecumenical fiasco in 343.²⁶ The council of Serdica had primarily been intended to settle the cases of the exiled eastern bishops, but the eastern and western bishops were not even prepared to meet under one roof due to their political differences. So the outcome of Serdica was the first schism between the East and the West.²⁷ Both sides organized alternative encyclical letters to declare their position and the western bishops' letter included the name of Narcissus as being a leader of the Arian party of bishops. The list of the eastern bishops includes at least five Cilician representatives.

The fiasco at Serdica forced the eastern bishops to find a way of reconciliation with the western bishops in the following year and they organized another council in Antiochia in 344. Another creed, known as the long-lined creed, was promulgated. This was also sent to Constans, the western emperor, with a delegation of bishops. Narcissus was probably carefully excluded as he had already been excommunicated by the western bishops at the council of Serdica. Instead another Cilician, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, was among the members of the party.

It is nevertheless very likely that Narcissus was one of the most trusted bishops of Constantius, because we find him acting as one of the delegation which was sent to Constans by Constantius to justify the action against Paulus of Constantinopolis, who had forcibly seized the bishopric with the aid of his congregation and had lynched Hermogenes, the emperor's general (*magister equitum*).²⁸ Also according to Sozomenus, probably at the end of the 340s (349?) Narcissus and other leading Arian bishops (then called the Eusebians by their rivals) assembled at a synod in Antiochia and once more condemned Athanasius. Athanasius, who was very keen to present his case, as if it was no more than a theological conflict between the Arians and himself frequently accused Narcissus of being an enemy.

²⁵ Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 25; Socrates, *HE*, II.18; Sozomenus, *HE*, III.10.

²⁶ For the council of Serdica see, Barnard 1980, 1-25; Hanson 1988, 293ff.; Barnes 1993, 71-81;

²⁷ Kaçar 2002, 139-51.

²⁸ Socrates, *HE*, II.13, 18; Sozomenus, *HE*, III.7.

I hear that Leontius, who is now at Antioch[ia], Narcissus of the city of Neronias, George, who is now at Laodicea and the Arians with them are spreading much gossip and slander about me and charging me with cowardice because, when I was sought by them to be killed, I did not deliver myself up to be surrendered into their hands.²⁹

During the 350s Narcissus, as a trusted bishop for Constantius, continued to undertake leading roles in church politics. In A.D. 351, he was at a Sirmian council, which judged the theology of Photinus, a pupil of Marcellus of Ancyra. One of the authors of the creed written at that meeting was Narcissus.³⁰ In 356, Narcissus was one of the committee of the bishops who ordained George of Cappadocia as bishop of Alexandria.³¹ Then, in 358 Narcissus reported Basileus of Ancyra to Constantius as he was forming new theology,³² and in a work written at about the same time, Athanasius accused Narcissus, of having been degraded three times at the councils, and called him ‘the wickedest of the Arian party’.³³ The presence of Narcissus in the church politics ceases at this point. He probably died at some point between 358 and 359, because he was not present at the council of Seleucia on the Calycadnus in 359, a council which was manipulated by his own Arian party.³⁴

III. Changing Directions: Cilician Bishops in the Middle Way

In a work written in 359, Athanasius, the harsh pro-Nicene bishop of Alexandria, described a group of bishops which included Silvanus, bishop of Tarsus, as ‘brothers, who mean what we mean, and dispute only about the word’.³⁵ These bishops were labeled semi-Arians by Epiphanius of Salamis and they are regarded by modern researchers as taking a middle

²⁹ Athanasius, *Apologia de Fuga* (=Defence of His Flight), 1.1.

³⁰ Hefele, II.193.

³¹ Sozomenus, *HE*, IV.8.

³² Philostorgius, *HE*, IV. 10.

³³ Athanasius, *Apologia de Fuga*, 1, 28.

³⁴ For the council see Socrates, *HE*, II.39; Sozomenus, *HE*, IV.22; Theodoret, *HE*, II.22; A list of forty-three bishops of the Arian party preserved by Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 73.26.1-8, does not include Narcissus among them. Also see Hanson 1988, Brennecke 1988, 40 ff.

³⁵ Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 41.

way between the Nicenes and the Arians.³⁶ In fact, in the second half of 350s a new avenue opened in church politics with the introduction of a new creed, promulgated and accepted at the council of Sirmium in 357. This new doctrine centered on the unlikeness of the Father and the Son and it led to a further division among the anti-Nicene bishops of the eastern provinces. While some bishops gathered around Basileus of Ancyra, others grouped around Acacius of Palestinian Caesarea and Eudoxius of Antiochia.³⁷

One of the leading bishops in Basileus' circle was Silvanus of Tarsus, who was elected to the bishopric in the reign of Constantius probably before 351,³⁸ because Silvanus was one of the twenty-two eastern bishops who formulated the first Sirmian creed and deposed Photinus of Sirmium at that year.³⁹ Apparently the career of Silvanus began in anti-Nicene eastern episcopal circles. In fact, the very middle of the fourth century has rightly been called a 'period of confusion', during which numerous attempts were made to find a generally acceptable way of doctrinal reconciliation.⁴⁰ The anti-Nicene bishops of the eastern churches frequently produced alternative texts to replace the Nicene creed between 340 and 360. However these attempts also led to further theological divisions and political groupings among these churchmen especially after the theological discussion of 357, when another creed that defended the unlikeness of the Son to the Father was produced. While one group of ecclesiastics went further away from the Nicene doctrine and offered radical theologies, another group tried to keep a balance between the two polarized camps, and even approached the Nicene interpretations of Christianity, either because of sincere theological concerns, or because of the unavoidable political circumstances.

³⁶ Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 73; L(hr 1993, 81-100.

³⁷ Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 73.2.1 ff. preserves a letter of George of Laodicea to Basileus and Basileus' doctrinal declaration after a synod in Ancyra. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 73.23.2,4, 6, carefully groups Basileus' party including Silvanus.

³⁸ *DCB* IV, p. 669.

³⁹ Hilary, II.6.8. (=Wickham 1997, 78).

⁴⁰ Hanson 1988, 348 ff.

The place of Silvanus of Tarsus in this new development was in the second group. The first political sign of the division can be seen in the controversy between Cyrillus of Jerusalem and Acacius of Caesarea in 358. When Cyrillus was deposed by Acacius, he took refuge at the church of Tarsus, where he became a preacher. Although Acacius urged Silvanus not to protect Cyrillus, the bishop of Tarsus paid no heed, and continued to keep him in the city, as his teaching was very popular.⁴¹ Meanwhile Silvanus had already joined the homoiousian church party of Basileus of Ancyra, who, having held a synod in Ancyra, approached the emperor Constantius and persuaded him to call another general council to find a final theological reconciliation. This decision was made about 358. The emperor intended that the council should be an ecumenical one. Nicomedia was chosen as the location of the meeting. However, an earthquake on 24 August 358 made it impossible and the planned council was divided.⁴² The western council was held at Ariminum, and the eastern council at the Isaurian capital Seleucia on the Calycadnus. As this city housed a large garrison of the imperial army, the decision was carefully and deliberately made. The council of Seleucia was attended by a hundred and sixty bishops and two high profile imperial commissioners, that comes Leonas and Bassidius Lauricius the commander of the army in Isauria (*comes et praeses Isauriae*).⁴³

The council of Seleucia was immediately divided into two different camps between the semi-Arian and the strict Arian bishops. Silvanus was a leader of the semi-Arian group. When the council was dissolved by the imperial representatives a few days after it had been convened, both parties sent a delegation of ten bishops to Constantinopolis, where another council would be organized with the participation of these delegations. Silvanus became one of the representatives of the semi-Arian group (the majority party at Seleucia) at the court council in Constantinopolis.⁴⁴ However, Silvanus and the other leading figures of Basileus' party (including Basileus himself) were purged from their sees at that court council in 360. There is no question that the real ground behind these

⁴¹ Theodoret, *HE*, II.22.

⁴² Sozomenus, *HE*, IV.16; Hanson 1988, 371 ff.; Barnes 1993, 139.

⁴³ For the careers of Bassidius Lauricius and Leonas see *PLRE* I, 497-99.

⁴⁴ Theodoret, *HE*, II.27; Socrates, *HE*, II.39.

depositions was theology, but the nominal reason for the deposition of Silvanus was that he had illegally translated Theophilus, bishop of Eleutheropolis to Castabala.⁴⁵ Yet it is not certain whether Silvanus was effectively deposed, because the church historians never mention a replacement in Tarsus, although new appointments were made in the sees of Ancyra, Constantinopolis, Cyzicus, and Sebaste, whose bishops had also been deposed together with Silvanus. In fact, in the case of Silvanus the deposition may not have been carried out, because shortly after the decision to depose him had been taken, Constantius had died and the Roman empire fell into hands of a pagan emperor, Iulianus, who deliberately granted freedom to the bishops exiled under Constantius' rule. The ecclesiastical historians do not tell us anything about the activities of the semi-Arian group in the reign of Iulianus, yet we find Silvanus and his circle in the first group of bishops that petitioned Iovianus after the death of Iulianus, seeking to ensure the banishment of their rivals.⁴⁶ However political circumstances changed very rapidly, as the reign of Iovianus lasted less than a year, and Valens, an Arian, became *Augustus* of the East. He was under the strong influence of Eudoxius of Constantinopolis, who had baptized him.⁴⁷ During the early years of Valens, Silvanus was an opposition leader. He and his friends assembled at a synod in Lampsacus at some point between 364 and 366, and then they tried to find an alternative support to strength their positions. The synod of Lampsacus organized an envoy to Valentinianus, the western *Augustus*. There were two Cilicians in this embassy, Silvanus and Theophilus, bishop of Castabala, whom Silvanus himself had ordained. The envoys failed to communicate with Valentinianus, but instead managed to obtain the support of Liberius, the bishop of Rome. This too was not achieved easily. Liberius did not at first want to receive these eastern bishops, regarding them as Arians and enemies of the Nicene doctrine. In fact, Silvanus and the other bishops with him were not fully pro-Nicene though they were not Arians either. Although they were willing to accept the Nicene creed, they rejected the term *homoousios* (of the same essence), instead of which they had previously introduced

⁴⁵ Sozomenus, *HE*, IV.24.

⁴⁶ Socrates, *HE*, III.25.

⁴⁷ Epiphanius, Panarion, 69.13.1.

homoiousios (of similar essence) to explain the relation of the Son to the Father. However, when Liberius insisted on their acceptance of the Nicene creed as a precondition of meeting Silvanus and his friends, these had no choice but to agree. After they accepted the Nicene creed, they tended to explain the terms *homoiousios* and *homoousios* as meaning the same thing. Silvanus and the other bishops with him returned from the West with the full support of the bishop of Rome⁴⁸ and attempted a series of regional synods in various parts of Asia Minor. At a synod in Tyana it was agreed that a larger council should be held in Tarsus. This at least shows the prestige of Silvanus among the anti-Arian bishops. However, this synod never assembled, because Eudoxius of Constantinopolis had advised the emperor Valens to prevent it.⁴⁹ As the evidence about Silvanus in the sources stops here, his later career cannot be reconstructed.

IV. The Second General Council and the Cilician Impact

The most eminent churchman in Cilicia after St. Paul was Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus from 378 to 394, originally from a noble family of Antiochia.⁵⁰ There are many biographical details about the early career of Diodorus, who was born in Antiochia and educated in Athens with the emperor Iulianus.⁵¹ After the days at Athens he was attached to the church of Antiochia as a layman. The then bishop, Leontius, allowed Diodorus to introduce an antiphonal choir in the church.⁵² Theodoret notes how, as a layman, he worked zealously with his friend Flavianus to prevent the appointment of Aetius as deacon.⁵³ It is evident that Diodorus was politically active in the church. Basileus of Caesarea in a letter to another Cilician bishop during the early days of the Apollinarian controversy, called Diodorus the ‘nursling of Silvanus’ of Tarsus.⁵⁴ However, there is no further evidence on the origin of this connection, whether it was formed

⁴⁸ Basil [Basileus], Letter, 67.

⁴⁹ Socrates, *HE*, IV.12; Sozomenus, *HE*, VI.12; cf. Hefele 1876, 283-87.

⁵⁰ Theodoret, *HE*, IV.24.

⁵¹ Julianus, *Letter*, 55.

⁵² Theodoret, *HE*, II.19.

⁵³ Theodoret, *HE*, II.19. Aetius was a heretic, who played a central role in the promulgation of the Sirmian creed in 357, and it was this creed that divided the Arians.

⁵⁴ Basil of Caesarea, *Letter* 244.3. (To Patrophilus of Aegae).

in Antiochia or in Tarsus. Diodorus probably first began his church career as priest in 361, when Meletius was made the bishop of Antiochia

During his priesthood in Antiochia Diodorus founded a monastic school, called an asketerion, at which the most important figures of the next generation, including Ioannes Chrysostomus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, were educated, and it was here that an important theological controversy, Nestorianism, took root. As a matter of fact, Diodorus was regarded as the head of the Antiochene school of the late fourth century. His theology would later become controversial, because the Alexandrian theologians saw the origins of Nestorianism, which was condemned in the fifth century, in his doctrines. Briefly, the theology of Diodorus was as follows; he opposed the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, and put a strong emphasis on its narrative meaning. The Christology of Diodorus was also derived from the tradition of Antiochia that maintained the reality of the two natures in Christ.⁵⁵

Diodorus' patron, Meletius, was exiled in 361 after a very short tenure of the bishopric in Antiochia,⁵⁶ and could only resume his function after Valens' death in 378. It was this Meletius, who ordained Diodorus as bishop of Tarsus. He was active in the councils of Antiochia in 379 and of Constantinopolis in 381 as a credal author and as a touchstone of orthodoxy.⁵⁷ Both councils published documents to refute the Apollinarian theology.⁵⁸

Diodorus' role as a politician and a theologian became determinative at the second general council, which was assembled by the emperor Theodosius to re-establish Nicene orthodoxy in the eastern churches.⁵⁹ As earlier emphasized, his theological position is not considered here, and the discussion is only restricted to his role as a politician, because it was this political scheme that separated the East and the West, and led to hostile

⁵⁵ For the theology of Diodorus see, Grillmeier 1965, 352 ff.; Greer 1966, 327-341. For Antiochene and Alexandrian theologies also see Kelly 1977, chapters 11 and 12.

⁵⁶ Brennecke 1988, 66 ff.

⁵⁷ *C.Th.* XVI.1.3 (*Episcopis tradi*).

⁵⁸ The only single monograph on Apollinarianism in English literature is still Raven's work, which was published eighty years ago. Raven 1923, 126; For the council of Antiochia in 379 and its creed see Schwartz 1935, 198 ff.

⁵⁹ King 1961; Ritter 1965, 33-41; Geonakoplos 1981, 159 ff.; Staats 1996, 59 ff.

diplomacy between the Alexandrians and Antiochenes (or Constantinopolitans). During the sessions at the second general council, Meletius, bishop of Antiochia, died and his place was unexpectedly filled by Flavianus with the full support of Diodorus. Why did the full support of Diodorus for Flavianus lead to a further political crisis between the East and the West? In order to answer this question the ecclesiastical circumstances in Antiochia since early 360s must be recalled. When the emperor Iulianus granted freedom to the previously exiled bishops, the church of Antiochia entered a chaotic period, with several figures claiming to be the true bishop of the city. There were four main claimants: the Arian Euzoius, the Apollonarian Vitalis,⁶⁰ and two pro-Nicenes Paulinus and Meletius. By the time the Arians lost imperial support their bishop also lost his legitimacy. However, there arose a serious division between the two Nicene bishops. Meletius had been ordained by Arian bishops, and therefore the pro-Nicene bishops did not recognize him. Yet, when he was found to be pro-Nicene, he was immediately deposed and sent into exile by Constantius in 361. However, about a year later Iulianus came to power and published a decree which freed for the bishops, who had been previously exiled in the reign of Constantius.⁶¹ As the pro-Nicene bishops did not recognize Meletius on the ground that his ordination was an Arian one, they ordained Paulinus as the Nicene bishop of the city.⁶² Although Meletius declared himself a Nicene bishop, Paulinus did not step back for a while. Eventually they reached an agreement that there would not be a new election when one of them died, but the survivor would be sole bishop. However, when Meletius died, Flavianus was elected bishop of Antiochia contrary to this agreement, and it was Diodorus who had used his influence to ensure Flavianus' election. The connection between Flavianus and Diodorus goes back to late 350s, when they opposed the appointment of Aetius. The election of Flavianus simply deepened the schism in Antiochia. On the other hand the western church did not recognize the election and excommunicated both Diodorus and Flavianus.⁶³ There

⁶⁰ Raven 1923, 139-41.

⁶¹ Socrates, *HE*, III.11; Sozomenus, *HE*, V.5; Philostorgius, *HE*, VI.7, VII.4. .

⁶² Paulinus was ordained by an Italian bishop, Luciferius of Cagliari (a city in the islands of Sardinia), who was returning from exile in Egypt Thebaid immediately after the death of Constantius. Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenos* (=Letter to the People of Antiochia), 4; cf. Hanson 1988, 640 ff.; for the narrative of the events leading this ordination see Barnes 1993, 157-8.

⁶³ Sozomenus, *HE*, VII.11.

had already been a crisis of trust between the churches of Rome and of Antiochia since the early 340s and this crisis continued into the next century.

Another political move by Diodorus at the council of Constantinopolis was the election of Nectarius as bishop of the eastern capital. Nectarius was probably an unbaptised,⁶⁴ retired senator from the post of *praetorius urbanus* of Constantinopolis (originally from Tarsus). When Gregorius of Nazianzus resigned from the candidacy of the bishop of Constantinopolis because of the Alexandrian opposition,⁶⁵ the emperor Theodosius sought a new candidate. The opposition to Gregorius was nothing more than a result of the rivalry between Alexandria and Antiochia, as both sees tried to control the episcopacy of the capital. When Theodosius refused to accept the Alexandrian candidate, the cynic philosopher Maximus, the bishop of Antiochia, made a list of possible candidates. According to the historian Sozomenus, it was at this stage that Diodorus suggested Nectarius as a candidate and the emperor approved. If the story told by Sozomenus is true, the role of Diodorus was determinative. Apparently the occupation of the imperial see by a provincial associate would be of great benefit for any bishop.⁶⁶ However, it may also be speculated that it was Theodosius who wanted to appoint Nectarius as bishop, and he used an efficient theologian and leader like Diodorus as an intermediary. However, the shared Cilician origin of Diodorus and Nectarius (both from Tarsus) did not escape notice of the emperor. The determinative role of Diodorus at the election of Nectarius can also be seen the latter's baptism before his consecration. It was again Diodorus who instructed another Cilician, Cyriacus of Adana to teach all the required religious procedure to Nectarius.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Nectarius' ordination as the bishop of Constantinopolis was not unprecedented in the early Church. Ambrose of Milan, though an unbaptised imperial governor, had been ordained some years ago from the council of Constantinopolis to the bishopric of Milan. Socrates, *HE*, IV.30; Sozomenus, *HE*, VI.25.

⁶⁵ In the resignation of Gregory, the only factor was not the Alexandrian opposition. Gregorius had tried to prevent the election of Flavian to heal the schism in Antiochia, yet he was not successful. As Gregorius was not also a man of politics, he disliked the political games. Gregorius reflects his dislike in a letter to Anatolius the patrician written in 382, where he regards the councils as the platforms for contentions. Gregorius of Nazianzus, *Letter* 130; Kidd 1932, 112-13; cf. Stevenson 1989, 118-19.

⁶⁶ Cilician influence in the staff of Nectarius is in fact noted by Sozomenus, *HE*, VII.10.

⁶⁷ Sozomenus, *HE*, VII.10.

V. Conclusions

The above discussion has centered on three Cilician bishops, Narcissus, Silvanus and Diodorus, who played crucial roles in church politics between the 320s and 381. These figures were not only individuals who efficiently represented their sees in the councils or at the court, but they were also representing three different theological tendencies in the early church at the episcopal level. Narcissus was a serious Arian, Silvanus and his group were regarded as semi-Arian, and Diodorus was one of those who articulated the Nicene creed at the second general council, and established a standard for the new orthodoxy. Although the active participation of Narcissus might suggest that Cilicia was a stronghold of the Arian interpretation of the Christianity, this was not true, because its capital Tarsus was in the hands of a Nicene bishop. We have seen Lupus of Tarsus and Amphion of Epiphania at the councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea and then at Antiochia in early 325.⁶⁸ In a work written about 356, Athanasius reported that the same Lupus and Amphion were pro-Nicene bishops who supported him.⁶⁹

From looking at the position of Narcissus, we can draw some conclusions. First of all, the city of Neronias was one of the important political strongholds of the Arian form of Christianity. We have seen that the name of its bishop frequently occurred in the Arian group. The same can also be said for Mopsuestia. Narcissus was one of the most reliable bishops of Constantius, because whenever the emperor organized a church synod or helped to promote one, Narcissus was at the head of the list. Furthermore, the absence of the bishop of Tarsus, before Silvanus, shows that the Cilician capital was controlled by an anti-Arian faction, and its bishop(s) did not therefore share the same platforms with Narcissus. It also leads us to think that the emperor Constantius, though an Arian (or at least a ruler who saw the possibility of ecclesiastical unity with the Arian bishops), was tolerant towards the other groups, so long as no one emerged from them as a troublemaker. Having examined the existence of the three different changing theological trend in Cilicia, we must note that particular regions did not stick to their own brand of Christianity, but rather the forms of

⁶⁸ The list of signatories given by Mansi does not name Lupus but Theodora instead.

⁶⁹ Athanasius, *Ad Episcopos Ægypti* (=To the Bishops of Egypt), 8.

Christianity changed as the bishops trimmed their sails in the political winds at least in the fourth century.

As to the question of how the Cilician bishops managed to maintain their position in the forefront of church politics, the answer must be discerned from the whole of this paper, which has emphasized the central place of Antiochia in the fourth century. Its geographical and cultural connections and closeness to Antiochia must have been a substantial advantage for Cilicia,⁷⁰ because as an important province of the Roman empire, Cilicia was a central link between Asia Minor and Syria. Therefore it does not surprise us to find Cilician bishops together with Syrians in the church meetings. As we have also seen, most of the important church councils were held in Antiochia, and creeds were formulated there. Furthermore Cilician bishops, such as Athanasius of Anazarbus, Silvanus, Diodorus, and later Theodore of Mopsuestia, were educated at Antiochia and even ordained to their Cilician sees from Antiochia.

Apart from Diodorus of Tarsus, those Cilician bishops were no great pioneers on matters of theology, because, though they had attended in the acceptance of various creeds, and disputed doctrine, it was only Diodorus who had found followers and whose views were a matter of concern in the centuries to come. Another point that has to be made here is that Antiochia occupied a central place in those political and theological conflicts. Most of the councils, which promulgated new creeds or installed or deposed bishops were held in that city. This was not only because Antiochia was the center of the East, and was called crown city of the East by Ammianus, it was because in the 340s the emperor frequently stayed in or close to Antiochia. In fact, when Constantius moved to the West in 350s, the center of the church politics shifted too, though the players of the political games remained the same. Thus, it is not difficult to understand that while the bishops of Antiochia became the central focus of the church politics, the Cilician bishops remained secondary to them. In other words, in the church politics of the fourth century Cilicia worked under the shadow of Antiochia.

⁷⁰ To emphasize the close connection between Cilicia and Antiochia (or Syria) A Harnack notes that under Domitianus or Traianus *Κοινὸν Κιλικίας* met in Antiochia. Harnack 1905, 324, note 1.

Appendix

A List of the Cilician Bishops at the Fourth-Century Church Councils (up to the Second General Council in A.D. 381).

The Council of Ancyra (before 325): Lupus of Tarsus, Narcissus of Neronias, Amphion of Epiphania (Mansi II.534, cf. Hefele 1871, 200).

The Council of Neocaesarea (before 325): Lupus of Tarsus, Narcissus of Neronias, Amphion of Epiphania (Mansi II, 549).

The Council of Antiochia (early 325): Amphion of Epiphania; Narcissus of Neronias; Macedonius of Mopsuestia; Nicetas of Flavias; Paulinus of Adana; Lupus of Tarsus, Tarcondimantus of Aegae; Hesychius of Alexandria Minor. (Opitz 1934, Urkunde 18; Cross 1938)

The Council of Nicaea (AD.325): Theodorus of Tarsus, Amphion of Epiphania, Narcissus of Neronias, Moses of Castabala, Nicetas of Flavias, Paulinus of Adana, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Hesychius of Alexandria Minor, Tarkondimantos of Aegae; Eudemius,, a chorepiscopus. (Mansi II, 694)

The Council of Tyrus (AD. 335): Narcissus of Neronias, Macedonius of Mopsuestia (Socrates, HE, I.27, 30; Sozomenus, HE, II.25).

The Council of Antiochia (AD. 341): Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Narcissus of Neronias, Tarcondimantus of Aegae, Hesychius of Alexandria Minor, Moses of Castabala, Nicetas of Flaviadis (Mansi II, 1308)

The Council of Serdica (AD.343): Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Dionysius of Alexandria Minor, Eustathius of Epiphania, Pison of Adana, Narcissus of Neronias. (Mansi III, 138-40; Hilarius, Against Valens and Ursacius, I.2. 29, cf. Wickham 1997, 38-41).

The Council of Seleucia (AD. 359): Silvanus of Tarsus (Socrates, HE, II.39. Sozomenus, HE, IV.22). (A list of the forty-three bishop of the party of Acacius of Caesarea in Palastine preserved by Epiphanius, Panarion 73.26.2-8, do not include any Cilician bishop's names.).

The Council of Lampsacus (at some point between 364 and 66): Silvanus of Tarsus, Theophilus of Castabala (Socrates, HE,IV.12; Sozomenus, HE, VI.11).

The Second General Council (Constantinopolis 381): Diodorus of Tarsus, Cyriacus of Adana, Hesychius of Epiphania, Germanus of Corycus, Olympius of Mopsuestia, Philonius of Pompeiopolis, Aeriis of Zephyrion, Theophilus (or Philomusus) of Alexandria Minor. (Mansi III, 569).

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⁷¹ The following abbreviations are used throughout this work: C.Th: *Codex Theodosianus* (tr. by Clyde Parr, *The Theodosian Code*, Princeton 1952); DCB: *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (ed. by H. Wace & W. Smith London 1877); HE: *Historia Ecclesiastica* (a conventional abbreviation for the church histories of the fourth and fifth century writers like Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoret, Philostorgius); PLRE: *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* vol. I, (ed. by A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris, Cambridge 1971) VC: *Vita Constantini* (=The Life of Constantinus)

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THE PRESENCE OF CILICIA AND ITS TOWNS IN THE GREEK WRITERS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE (I-II Cent. A.D.)

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ÖZET

Bu çalışmada İ.S. 1. yüzyıldan, 3. yüzyılın başlarına kadar olan dönem içinde Kilikia'daki kentler, coğrafi bilgiler, yazarlar ve aydınlarla ilgili tüm bilgiler toplanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Amaç, sözü edilen dönemde bölgenin kültürel ve dinsel kimliğinin bir tanımının yapılmasının mümkün olup olmadığını belirlemektir. Bu dönemde, bölgenin politik kimliğinin varlığından söz etmek güçtür. Dönemin kimi kaydadeğer kişilikleri (Tarsus'lu Hermogenes, Anazarbus'lu Dioscorides, Korykos'lu Oppianus ve Aegae'li Maximus) Kilikia kökenlidirler. Özellikle Prusa'lı Dio ve Philostratus bölgedeki kentler ve sakinleri konusunda çok önemli saptamalarda bulunmaktadırlar. Araştırmalarım sonucunda, Tarsus'un kendi içindeki durumu ile ilgili olarak genel bilgiler ve kentin komşu kentlerle olan ilişkilerinin Dio'nun yazdıklarından öğrenmekte olduğumuzu gördüm. Aegae konusundaki verilerde de çok ilginç bilgiler ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu kent, Asklepios kutsalyeri nedeniyle büyük ün sahibi bulunmakta, Kappadokia'lı (Tyana'lı) Apollonius'un kendisini "kutsal kişi" olarak yetiştirme çabalarını verdiği gençlik yıllarını burada geçirdiği bilinmektedir. Severus'lar dönemi sofistlerinden Philostratus Apollonius'a büyük önem vermekte; hatta Philostratus öncesinde de yerel anlamda bir biyografi geleneğini oluşturmuş olduğu izlenmektedir. Bu durum, bölgede dinsel ve entelektüel konulara olan canlı ilgiyi de kanıtlamaktadır. Bunların yanısıra, özellikle de Kilikia'lıların konuştukları dille ilgili olarak İ.S. 2. yüzyılın önde gelen aydınlarından olan Pergamon'lu Galen'in verdiği ilginç bilgiler vardır. Son olarak, kanımca ulaşılan en başarılı sonuç, antik çağın en önemli farmakologlarından Anazarbus'lu Discorides'in Kilikia kökenleri ile bilimsel çalışmalarını arasında bağlantı kurabilmektir.

Two and a half years ago, on the occasion of the second meeting on Cilicia which was held in Istanbul¹, I had the opportunity of once again

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¹ The Proceedings of this meeting were published last year: Jean - Dinçol - Durugönül 2001 (my text: Desideri 2001).

examining two of the most interesting speeches of the Bithynian sophist Dio of Prusa². These speeches, which were delivered to the general assembly of the Cilician metropolis Tarsus, offer the possibility of tracing the elements of the social and political situation of this great town and of the territory of the Roman province of Cilicia, in the period from the Flavians to the first years of the reign of Trajan. From this point of view, no other written text of the first to the beginning of the third centuries of our era can be compared with these Dionean λόγοι, which provide first hand information about the internal enmities between citizens and non-citizens, the external feuds with other towns of the province, or the troubled relations with the Roman governors³. In any case, there are, in this same period, many other “literary” texts –in the broad sense of texts preserved thanks to a manuscript tradition, besides any other consideration– which can be profitably scrutinised in order to obtain more evidence about our region, its towns, and its geographical and environmental elements. Therefore, today I’d like to propose some reflections upon a selection of this kind of texts, excluding in particular the Christian ones (since one of our colleagues is going to speak on Paulus of Tarsus), with the aim of recovering the idea(s) of Cilicia of which each text can be considered the bearer. Indeed, none of these testimonies have the immediacy of Dio’s speeches, which build up a vivid, though biased, picture of a dramatic moment in the history of the region. On the contrary, they are all embedded –so to say– in some particular context, which will have to be filtered in order to arrive at the result we are interested in.

The best way to more clearly explain what I mean is probably to begin examining a text which takes us into an earlier period than that to which Dio’s speeches can be attributed, that is in the central decades of the first century A.D.⁴. In his **Life of Apollonius (VA)**, written much later, in the Severan Age, the sophist Philostratus constructs an idealised picture of his hero’s life, a Pythagorean philosopher who is proposed as a model of

² I had examined them for the first time when developing a general study upon Dio’s life and works, in the seventies: Desideri 1978, pp. 122-129; 423-430.

³ For a general reassessment of Dio’s testimony see now Salmeri 2000 (in particular pp. 73, 75, 78-79, as far as Tarsus is concerned).

⁴ The chronology is much debated, due to the uncertainties of Apollonius’ life: see especially Flinterman 1995, pp 68 ff..

religious and moral behaviour for his own and future generations⁵. This Apollonius had been born (possibly in the forties) in the Cappadocian city of Tyana, but at the age of fourteen was brought by his father to Tarsus, to the school of Euthydemus, a rhetor from Phoenicia. In fact, the father intended to offer his son the best opportunities for education, Tarsus being the centre both of the political, and of the intellectual life not only of Cilicia, but of the neighbouring provinces as well. Unfortunately, Philostratus says, the atmosphere which the young Apollonius found in Tarsus was absolutely inadequate to his moral needs: it was “harsh and strange and little conducive to the philosophic life, for nowhere are men more addicted than here to luxury: jesters and full of insolence are they all, and they attend more to their fine linen than the Athenians did to wisdom” (VA 1.7). Here we perceive some echoes of the sharp criticism laid upon the Tarsians by Dio, especially in the first of his Tarsian speeches, for the moral implications of their mysterious “snoring”⁶. Of course, we also find a fleeting reference to the dominant role played by flax and its industrial products in the economic life of the town, but clearly Philostratus has no interest at all in this kind of problem. What he really does is use a probably stereotyped characterisation of the Tarsians in order to extol his hero’s superior human qualities, and to justify his decision to leave Tarsus, “with his father’s consent”, moving –together with his teacher– to the nearby town of Aegeae.

Aegeae is portrayed by Philostratus as a quiet country town, congenial to anybody who –like Apollonius– had the intention of becoming a philosopher. In fact, there he had the possibility of listening to followers of Plato, of Chrysippus, of the Peripatetic, and even of the Epicurean schools, and at the end choosing the Pythagoreans. More than that, the city was surrounded by a religious aura, due to the famous temple of Asclepius, “where the god reveals himself in person to men”. According to Philostratus, Apollonius very soon began living in this temple, and became an object of admiration for his way of life, with the result that “the Cilicians themselves and the people all around flocked to Aegeae to visit him. Hence –Philostratus remarked– the Cilician proverb: ‘Whither

⁵ On this text see Flinterman 1995. An important essay by E. Bowie had been previously devoted to the history of the formation of the tradition on Apollonius (Bowie 1978).

⁶ Desideri 1978, pp.125-126

runnest thou? Is it to see the stripling?” (VA 1.8). In the following chapters Philostratus relates a series of episodes referring to Apollonius’ activity in the temple, where the young Cappadocian succeeded in increasingly obtaining the priest’s, and the god’s himself, trust. The most interesting of these episodes, from the point of view of the relevance of the historical details, is the one narrating the Roman governor of Cilicia’s visit to Apollonius. Philostratus says that the governor, having been informed of Apollonius and of his beauty, devised to obtain his love: so he suddenly “cast aside the matters he was busy upon (and he was just then holding a court in Tarsus)”, and hurried off to Aegeae. Of course, he was not able to carry out his abominable project, nay he “was executed only three days after by the officers of justice on the high road for having intrigued with Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, against the Romans. These and many other similar incidents –Philostratus continues– are provided by Maximus of Aegeae in his treatise, a writer whose reputation for oratory won him a position in the emperor’s secretariat (βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν)” (VA 1.12).

Even though it is difficult to identify the Cilician governor and the particular episode, alluded to by Philostratus, which apparently brought an end to the Cappadocian kingdom⁷, what is important for us now is Philostratus’ reference to the Aegeaeian writer Maximus, whom he had already mentioned, in the introductory chapters of his work, as the author of an essay on Apollonius’ Aegeaeian years (VA 1.3). It appears that a local Aegeaeian tradition had existed, which insisted on the close connections between the holy man Apollonius and the Asclepius’ temple, and, eventually, on Apollonius himself’s (and the temple’s) Roman loyalism in the Archelaus affair, even against the Cappadocian kingdom. Moreover, Philostratus underlines the rhetorical abilities which gave Maximus the opportunity of a smart career in the imperial bureau⁸. Maximus, therefore, might have been the man who promoted and enhanced such a local tradition, which, among other things, aimed at giving the devotion to

⁷ For a discussion on these points, which raise serious questions on Apollonius’ biography from a chronological point of view, see Flinterman 1995, pp. 68 ff., in the context of an evaluation of Maximus as a source for Philostratus. Flintermann considers Maximus’ historical dimension absolutely certain, and dates him at a time “between Trajan and Caracalla”.

⁸ Furthermore, at least one of Philostratus’ σοφιστοί, namely Antiochos, was of Aegeaeian origin, “nay was a member of one of the prominent families of the city” (VS 2.4, 568).

Asclepius (and the figure of Apollonius himself) a philosophical tone; so that it is not surprising to learn from Philostratus that, after his return to Aegeae from Tyana, where he had taken part in his father's funerals, Apollonius "turned the temple into a Lyceum or Academy, for it resounded with all sorts of philosophical discussions" (VA 1.13).

It is evident that this was not the only vision of the religious atmosphere of the town. Philostratus himself says that his appreciation for Maximus is intended to discredit the interpretation given of Apollonius' personality by another of his biographers, Moeragenes (VA 1.3), who apparently insisted on its 'magic' and 'astrological' dimension (VA 3.41)⁹. The ability to prophesy, as well as long-distance vision and medical and therapeutic arts, were in fact characteristic of the holy man Apollonius according to Philostratus, too¹⁰. But the differences between θεϊότης and γοήτεια ought to be rigorously underlined, according to the Severan biographer - otherwise, Apollonius' figure risked assuming the traits of one of the numerous charlatans of the age, of whom the great satiric writer Lucian had preserved unforgettable portraits in **The passing of Peregrinus, or Alexander the False Prophet**¹¹. The latter of these texts, in particular, contains a passage full of contempt for Apollonius, one of whose followers, "who knew –Lucian says– his whole bag of tricks", was afterwards to become himself Alexander of Abonouteichos' teacher and admirer (Alex. 5).

Lucian's **Alexander** contains many references to another famous Cilician sanctuary, as well, that of Amphilochus in Mallus, not far from Aegeae. The first of these references conveys the suggestion that the Amphilochus' settlement in Cilicia was a sort of model of how to obtain the reputation of being a good prophet –or, at least, that this was Alexander of Abonouteichos' firm belief. According to Lucian, he had already convinced of his divine nature, not only his countrymen, from Paphlagonia and Pontus, "thick-witted, uneducated fellows that they were", but also the people of Bithynia, Galatia, and Thrace (Alex. 17-18). At this point he needed a sort of official consecration of his ability to make predictions and

⁹ Which does not necessarily mean that Moeragenes had been hostile to Apollonius: see Bowie 1978, p. 1673 ff.

¹⁰ On the proteiform figure of the holy man, as a dominant character of the Graeco-Roman world of this age, see. Anderson 1994.

¹¹ On this satirical text see in particular Jones 1986, pp.133-148.

give oracles, and this consecration he could only obtain “taking his cue from Amphilochus in Cilicia, who, as you know, after the death and disappearance of his father Amphiarus at Thebes, was exiled from his own country, went to Cilicia, and got on very well by foretelling the future, like his father, for the Cilicians and receiving two obols for each prediction” (Alex. 19). Later in this same work, Lucian said that Alexander managed to obtain the friendship of the priests of the most famous shrines of the Greek world, among which Mallus (Alex. 29), whose importance is further confirmed in passages of **The lover of lies** (Philops. 38), as well as in the brief dialogue **The Parliament of the Gods**. Here at last, the author has Momus speaking in an openly sarcastic way of Amphilochus “who, though the son of an outcast and matricide, gives prophecies, the miscreant, in Cilicia, telling lies most of the time and playing charlatan for the sake of his two obols” (Deor. Conc. 12)¹². Lucian had, as is well known, a very critical attitude towards religion in general and prophecies in particular, and one might say that his judgement of the Cilicians was negatively affected by their devotion to Amphilochus and to his lies, not the least because the fame of this shrine represented an incentive for modern imitators.

But we have another important literary testimony on the Cilician oracles, going back to two generations before Lucian, that of the great Boeotian intellectual Plutarch. Plutarch’s position on this same subject had been very different, as **The obsolescence of oracles**, one of his Delphic dialogues, shows clearly¹³. Among the figures who took part in the dialogue there was a Cilician, or more precisely a Tarsian man, the grammarian Demetrius, whom the narrating voice of Lamprias, Plutarch’s brother, asked to inform the audience about the real situation of the Cilician oracles, which were supposedly concluded, as were the Beotian ones. Demetrius replied that the oracle of Mopsus and that of Amphilochus were still flourishing when he had left Cilicia some years before, and he narrated an edifying episode concerning the Mopsus shrine in which the Roman governor had been involved. Together with some of his friends, who were Epicureans, he had dared to make fun of the god, putting to him a question in a closed

¹² See Jones 1986, p. 37

¹³ I have tried to assess the religious and cultural meaning of this essay in Desideri 1996, 91-102.

missive; the god, however, had been able to read the question, and to give an adequate response: so that the governor “not only duly performed the sacrifice, but ever after revered Mopsus” (Plut., **De def. orac.** 434cd). Not even in this episode, as in the other narrated by Philostratus, are we able to identify the Roman governor of Cilicia; but the important thing is that in both stories the oracle seems to play the role of the defender of the Greek civilisation in the presence of the brutality, or of the arrogant contempt, of the Roman government. And, according to both Plutarch and Philostratus, the people themselves who gave hospitality to the shrines ought to be considered as the repositories of the values out of which these same shrines had arisen a long time before.

On the other hand, it is difficult to trace a special “political” identity of the Cilician people during the first two centuries of the Roman government in our region. Dio’s testimony quoted above tells us a story of mutual enmities among its towns, which seem to efface any feeling of regional belonging of their citizens that might have existed. Indeed, if we look for any traces of ethnic consciousness coming from this same area, we are totally disappointed: it is enough to say that, even though Κίλικες remained the name of an apparently recognisable ἔθνος throughout the period¹⁴, and Κίλιξ is still attested by the historian Arrian of Nicomedia –who underlines his Phoenician connections– as their common forefather¹⁵, not even a feeble sign of the existence of a regional historical or antiquarian literature has survived.

We have, at any rate, some testimonies upon the linguistic characteristics of the Κίλικες. Here we are primarily indebted to the Pergamene physician Galen, whose linguistic interests are well known. In some passages of his **On the Differences of the Pulse**, when speaking about his education and his studies “on the texts of the ancients” (8, 587 K.), Galen defends in general his own use of the current language of the Greeks as the clearest medium of expression (8, 566-590 K.), even though definitely affirming that in no case ‘the prevailing usage’ has to do with the speech

¹⁴ *FGrHist* 156F86, from Eustathius’ comment on Dionysius Periegeta’s passage about the Cilicians.

¹⁵ Of course the name of the mythical hero Kilix was already to be found in Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3F86).

of sailors, traders, innkeepers, bath-keepers, and tax collectors. What is particularly interesting for us is his resolute statement that this “most pleasing and most humane” Greek must be kept free of contamination with “these wonderful words coming from the interior of Syria or Cilicia, which no Greek man has ever heard, and have to be despised as foreign and barbarian” (8, 569 K.; “wonderful” is of course ironical). You must speak Greek, he insists, or even some other language, provided that it is pure: the worst thing is to insert in your speech “three words which come from Cilicia, four from Syria, five from Galatia, six from Athens; I cannot master –he concludes– so many dialects” (8, 585 K., and compare 8, 631 K.)¹⁶. What seems clear from these passages is that the Cilicians possessed a vernacular language of their own, possibly having something in common with the Syrians¹⁷; which confirms, in some way, Arrian’s theory of their Phoenician origin, and lends more plausibility, incidentally, to the linguistic interpretation of the passages of the first Tarsian speech of Dio referring to the “snoring” of Tarsus inhabitants¹⁷.

In any case, we can be sure that whichever literary expressions or products came out of our region, in this as in the subsequent periods of Antiquity, they were written in Greek. It is presumable that what Galen said about the Cilician dialect referred to the countrymen, whereas in the towns Greek was the dominant language; and we have already recalled, through Philostratus, the importance from the cultural point of view of centres like Tarsus or Aegeae, whose intellectual prestige –especially as far as Tarsus is concerned– was widespread throughout the Mediterranean world. It is likely that, after the traumatic experiences of the Roman civil war, Tarsus itself did not recover the cultural level it had enjoyed, as regards both the philosophical and rhetorical studies, in the Hellenistic age. But, of course, we no longer have at our disposal, for the Roman age, so precious a guide as Strabo’s geographical survey was for the Hellenistic age. Our sources, as regards the cultural atmosphere of the Cilician towns in general, are now Plutarch, with sparse references in some of his **Moralia**; Philostratus, mostly with the biographic notes of his **Lives of the**

¹⁶ On this topic see Swain 1996, p. 56 ff. On the multiple interests of Galen’s testimony see Manetti 2000.

¹⁷ See above, n. 6.

Sophists (VS) - which can be considered a sort of catalogue of the prominent Greek “intellectuals” of the Second Century A.D.¹⁸; Galen, with some information on his predecessors; Diogenes Laertius, with his philosophical chains; and some other authors of minor relevance. They are useful, of course, for our research, but it is evident that their contexts are completely alien to our present interest, and that therefore we will have to obtain the information we need, filtering, as we have said before, their contexts. In fact, there are no traces of the existence either –as we have already noted – of a regional, or of a local historiographical or antiquarian tradition, which could have inserted this kind of data in a single picture of, say, “the famous men of such or such town”; the only possible exception being Aegeae, as we will see.

Beginning with the capital of the province, Tarsus, studies of grammar and rhetoric still flourished, anyway. As for rhetoric, one has only to recall the great name of Hermogenes, who lived in the second half of the second century. He was one of the prominent intellectual figures of his age, having had the honour, when still very young, of the appreciation of a learned emperor such as Marcus Aurelius. He was eloquent in the art of declaiming, but wrote important treatises of rhetoric as well, two of which we can still read. Philostratus underlines his very early intellectual decline, but cannot help devoting one of his biographical sketches to him (**VS** 2.7, 577). As for the grammatical studies, apart from the grammarian Demetrius, whom we have already found as a character in Plutarch’s **The obsolescence of oracles**, we might mention the name of the grammarian Protogenes, another of Plutarch’s guest-friends, whom the Beotian writer introduces more than once in his **Table-talks** (7.1.2; 8.4.3; 9.2.2; 9.12), as well as in his **Dialogue on Love** (2, 749c etc.). To my knowledge, only one Tarsian philosopher is known for this period: a certain Herodotus mentioned by Diogenes Laertius as Sextus Empiricus’ teacher (9.116)¹⁹. Besides that, in the Roman period some special interest for medical studies seems to have developed in the town. We will say something on this point later.

¹⁸ On this important text, which has been much studied in the last years, see at least: Bowersock 1969; Anderson 1986; Anderson 1993; Swain 1996; Schmitz 1997; Campanile 1999.

¹⁹ His identification with the physician Herodotus mentioned by Galen (6.516 K.; 8.751 K.; 11.432 K.; 18a.599 K.; etc.) is far from certain.

As far as Aegeae is concerned, its intellectual dimension was evidently a later phenomenon than Tarsus', and we have very poor information about it until the Severan age²⁰. As we said at the beginning, it seems appropriate to underline the role apparently played by Apollonius' stay, and by the development of the Apollonius myth, in its cultural growth. But we would also like to add something more about the personality of the already mentioned philostratean sophist Antiochos (VS 2.4, 568-570), whose complete name, Publius Anteius Antiochus, was revealed by a famous inscription in Argos²¹. Philostratus' real interest is, as always, for declamation, which accounts for the amount of details he provides on Antiochos' special abilities in this field. But he concludes his sketch saying that "Antiochos also took pains with written compositions, as others of his works make evident, but above all with his **History**". This is one of the two cases in which Philostratus recalls the composition of a **History** by his sophists (the other **History** being that of the deeds by Severus, attributed to Antipater from Hierapolis, which awarded him an appointment as imperial secretary, VS 2.24, 607). This means that he considered this work by Antiochus of special interest, as the praises he attributed to its formal qualities may confirm, even though he said nothing about its contents. Thanks to the above-mentioned inscription, in any case, we know now that it probably was a local history of Aegeae, in which, among other things, the connections between Argos and Aegeae were strongly stressed.

We have some further information upon the cultural achievements of Cilician men in this period. In his Lives Philostratus mentions two more Cilician sophists: Alexander, nicknamed Peloplato (that is "Clay-Plato"), from Seleucia, "a not obscure city of Cilicia" (VS 2.5, 570), and Philagrus, generically called "Cilician" (VS 2.8, 578). As for the former, we are informed that his mother, who was extraordinarily beautiful, was loved by Apollonius of Tyana, and that a tradition existed, according to which "she gave herself to Apollonius because of her desire for noble offspring, since he more than ordinary men had in him something divine". Philostratus goes on to say that what he has already stated about Apollonius proves this story to be unbelievable. In his **Life of Apollonius**, in fact, Philostratus

²⁰ See Weiss 1982, n. 1.

²¹ Robert 1977; see also *FGrHist*747T1.

had not explicitly rejected it, even though affirming clearly Apollonius' Pythagorean refusal of marriage (VA 1.13); but what he says here makes us think of Moeragenes' work as the possible source of a story like this, and more generally of a larger network of Cilician relations in which the holy man Apollonius was inserted. Alexander Peloplaton is abundantly praised by Philostratus for his declamatory qualities, but also for the services he had paid to his town (for example leading a delegation on its behalf to the Emperor Antoninus), and finally for obtaining from Marcus Aurelius the post of imperial secretary for the Greeks (like Maximus of Aegeae had obtained from some other emperor). As for Philagrus, nothing is said in his biography which may be connected with his declared Cilician origin - not even which town might have been his birthplace.

We still have to deal briefly with two relevant personalities of our region in the early Roman imperial period, some of whose works at least have been preserved, Oppianus and Dioscorides. As for the former, we learn of his Cilician origin from his **Halieutica** (3.7 ff.; 205 ff.), which was dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and completed before 178 A.D.²². It is possible, but not certain, that his πατρίς was Corycus. In fact, one of the ancient *Lives* we have referring to him, clearly says that his father came from Anazarbus, whereas another is uncertain between Anazarbus and Corycus. We do not need to examine the question thoroughly now, since there is no doubt about his Cilician origin. However, if I may dare to express a personal opinion, the subject of the work seems to me to better fit a maritime, rather than an inland, origin of its author. In fact, this **Halieutica** is a poem in five books dedicated to the description of the various types of fish, and the ways of fishing. As far as I know, Oppianus is the only Cilician poet of the early Roman imperial period, but his very existence is perhaps a sign of the presence in our region of some strictly literary interest²³.

²² A new Oppian's edition, with a commentary, is now available (by F. Fajen, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1999). On Oppian's biographical dates see Rebuffat 1997.

²³ Actually, an Anazarbean "poet and learned grammarian", named Naevianus, is known from a Delphic inscription of the beginning of the 3rd Century A.D.: the text of this inscription can now be read in Sayar 2000, pp.14-15.

As for Dioscorides, he is defined Ἀναζαρβεὸς in some of his manuscripts, in many passages of Galen's works (however in some cases he is termed Ταρσεύς: e.g. 13.857 K.), in Stephanus of Byzance's **Ethnica** (s.v. Ἀναζαρβεα), in the section (cod. 179) of Photius' **Bibliotheca** devoted to Dioscorides' Περὶ ὕλης, and at last in the pertinent entries of Suda. Consequently, there is no doubt in this case regarding the cultural potentiality of this inland Cilician town, which was later to become the capital of the Eastern part of Cilicia (Cilicia II in Late Roman times), but whose earliest testimonies go back to the beginning of the Roman imperial age²⁴, that is to the period to which Dioscorides' own activity as a surgeon with the Roman armies can be attributed. From this point of view, it is extremely interesting to read what Galen has to say about Dioscorides' knowledge of the Greek language, in one of the many passages in which he quotes, always with great admiration, the man who can properly be considered the founder of ancient, and modern, pharmacology.

“If one should say whether men are more mistaken in the names of things or in things themselves - Galen states - I would surely say that they are more mistaken in the names, especially those who are not accustomed to the Greek language. This is in fact the case of the Anazarbene Dioscorides, who properly explained many of the discoveries which he had made in the medical field, but was unaware of the meaning of the Greek words” (12.330 K.). In this passage, coming from the **Eleven books on the mixtures and properties of the simple drugs (De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus libri XI)**, we can see an application to a special, very important, case of the general principles in the linguistic field laid down by Galen himself, which we mentioned above. In any case, Dioscorides' medical, and, in particular pharmacological, interests seem to be just the point of an iceberg: and this is the last aspect of the intellectual life of our region which we will even more rapidly (if possible) touch upon. Galen, in fact, mentions many physicians whom he knows as being of Cilician origin: from Tarsus come for example: Areius (12.636 K., etc.),

²⁴ According to its monetary legends, its era goes back to 19 B.C., that is to a supposed foundation by August, who would have given the new town the name Καισάρεια πρὸς Ἀναζάρβῳ which can be found in Ptolemy (5.7.7; see also Pliny, *N.H.* 5.93 “Anazarbeni, qui nunc Caesarea Augusta”, which is in fact the earliest of the literary testimonies on the town). These testimonies are now collected in Sayar 2000, 9 sgg.

Philon (13.267 K.), Lucius (13.295 K.), Magnus (13.313 K.), Aristarchus (13.824 K.), Apollonius (13.843 K.) - all of whom are experts in pharmacology (but we are not certain that all of them are of the imperial age). Furthermore, Galen (as well as Dioscorides, and the subsequent medical tradition) is familiar with many natural products (especially vegetables) that are designated as Cilician, or attributed to some special place in Cilicia: which could mean not only what is quite obvious, that they could be found in Cilicia, but also that their medical qualities were first discovered by Dioscorides himself, or by some other researcher of the region.

In conclusion, what I hope I have been able to do is to point out some traces of a cultural life of our area in the first two centuries of the Roman imperial age, indicating what seem to have been its most relevant and special elements. To this end I first used such testimonies as we have of this life in the contemporary Greek literary production, and, in the latter part of my speech, I gave voice to the few Cilician writers of the period. Religion and medicine are perhaps, at the end, the two fields to which the eminent Cilician personalities devoted themselves, and for which Cilicia itself obtained some fame among the contemporaries. This conclusion may be disappointing, but I believe that it is better, anyhow, to be known for religion and medicine than for piracy. Thank you for your attention.

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İLKÇAĞ VE ERKEN HİRİSTİYANLIK KAYNAKLARINDA OLBA SÖZCÜĞÜNÜN DEĞİŞİK KULLANIMLARI

(LEV. 34)

Murat ÖZYILDIRIM*

ABSTRACT

The name Olba had several meanings in ancient texts such as the large territory in Rough Kilikia, the administrative and religious capital of Olba region (Olba-Diocaesarea) or finally, the secular settlement Olba (Ura) located 4 km. east of Olba-Diocaesarea.

Ancient written sources, coins, archaeological and epigraphical evidences reveal that there was no settlement in Olba before the Hellenistic period. The earliest authors mentioning Olba are Strabo and Ptolemaios.

Early Christian monastic records refer to Olba as a bishopic center. The names of the bishops of Olba known to us are Eusebios who attended the 1st Concil of Konstantinopolis (Istanbul) in 381, Poplios to the 1st Concil of Ephesos (Efes) in 431, Diapherontios both to the 2nd Council in Ephesos (Efes) in 449 and Khalkedon (Kadıköy) in 451, Theodoros to the 3rd Council in 680-681. It was understood that the Church of Olba had accepted the Monophysist belief for a certain period of time in A.D. 6th century as well as many other eastern churches.

Today, along with the remains of Roman secular buildings and monuments such as the aquaeduct, nyphaeum, theater; a monastery and several churches in Olba attest the importance of this settlement as a bishopic center during Christian times.

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a) İlkçağ yazılı kaynaklarında, sikkelerde ve yazıtlarda Olba

Kilikia'nın ilkçağda coğrafi sınırlarını Strabon (*Geographika* XIV. V. 1) "...Kilikia'ya gelince: onun bir parçası Trakheia (dağlık) ve diğeri Pedias (ovalık) olarak anılır. Trakheia'yı soracak olursanız, kıyısı dardır ve düzlük toprağı yoktur veya yok denecek kadar azdır..."¹ olarak verir.

Olba sözcüğü, ilkçağ yazılı kaynaklarında değişik adlandırmalar için kullanılır; Kilikia'da oldukça geniş bir bölgeyi içine alan *Olba territorium*'u, bu territorium'un Hellenistik dönemden başlayarak dinsel yönetsel merkezi² olduğu arkeolojik verilerle bilinen Olba-Diocaesarea (Uzunca-burç), buranın 4 km. doğusunda bulunan sivil yerleşim yeri Olba akropolis³ (Kaletepe)⁴. *Olba territorium*'unun doğal coğrafi sınırlarını doğuda Lamos Irmağı (Limonlu), batıda Kalykadnos Irmağı (Göksu) ile kuzeyde Toros Dağları ve güneyde Akdeniz çevreler⁵ (Fig. 1).

Olba, Hellenistik dönemde diğer bölgelerde olduğu gibi Kilikia'da da birbiriyle çatışan Seleukos ve Ptolemaioslar için önem taşır. Genel olarak bunun nedenleri; halktan vergi almak, paralı asker toplamak, bölgenin doğal kaynaklarından yararlanmak ve bu devletlerin egemenlik alanlarını genişletme istekleridir⁶.

İlkçağ yazılı kaynaklarında ve araştırmalarla bugüne kadar bulunan sikkelerde ya da yazıtlarda 'Olba' sözcüğünün Hellenistik dönem öncesinde kullanılmadığı bilinmektedir⁷.

Diocaesarea'da bulunan ve İ. Ö. I. yüzyıla tarihlenen bir yazıtta Olba halkından (δημος) söz edilir⁸. Yerleşimin adı Olba'daki, İ.S. 199 Septimius Severus dönemine tarihlenen *su kemerinin* üzerinde Eski Yunanca yazıtta

¹ Çev. A. Pekman.

² Durugönül 1998, 69.

³ Günümüzde Ura, Uğra ya da Uğur Alanı. MacKay 1968, xx'de Olba'nın İ. Ö. VI. yüzyılda Pirindu'nun başkenti olduğunu yazar.

⁴ Williams 1974, 405; Mac Kay 1990, 2084; Durugönül 1998, 69; Erten 2003.

⁵ MacKay 1976, 641; Durukan 1998, 87.

⁶ Durukan 1998, 90.

⁷ Mac Kay 1990, 2086.

⁸ Keil-Wilhelm 1939, 69 Nr: 68; Mac Kay 1990, 2088.

yer alan “...ΟΛΒΕΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ...” “*Olbalıların kenti*” yazısından anlaşılır⁹.

Sikkeler, Olba sözcüğünü izleyebileceğimiz eldeki diğer yazıtlı malzeme grubunu oluşturur. Sikkeler üzerinde yer alan “Olba” ya da “Olbalıların” para yazıları çok erken dönemlere ait buluntular üzerinde yer almaz. Bu konuda bilinen en erken örnek İ.Ö. I. yüzyıl sonuna tarihlenen ve arka yüzünde ΟΛΒΕΩΝ (Olbalıların) para yazısı bulunan sikkedir¹⁰.

Zeus Olbios Rahibi Teukros oğlu Aias (10-11/14-15) döneminde basılan sikkeler üzerinde Olba ya da Olbalılara aitlik bildiren bir para yazısı bulunmaz¹¹. Ancak bu sikkeler üzerinde yer alan ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ¹² “*başrahip*” ünvanı Olba ile Teukros oğlu Aias arasındaki ilişkiyi kurmak için yeterlidir¹³. Şimdiye kadar bulunanlara göre, ilk kez İ.S. 10 -11 yıllarına tarihlenen Olba sikkelerinde Eski Yunanca genetivus pluralis olarak ΟΛΒΕΩΝ (Olbalıların) para yazısı okunur.

Bu tarihten sonra İ. S. 41 yılında Dağlık Kilikia’nın yöneticiliğinin İmparator Caligula tarafından Pontos Kralı II. Marcus Antonius Polemon’a verilmesiyle¹⁴ *Olba territorium*’u yönetimi de II. Polemon’a geçer ve bölgeyi İ.S. 68’e dek yönetir. Olba sözcüğü bu dönem sikkelerinde de bulunur, II. Marcus Antonius Polemon dönemi sikkelerinde şöyle yazılıdır: ΔΙΝΑΣΤΟΥ ΟΛΒΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΝΝΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΛΑΣΣΕΟΝ¹⁵.

Bir başka Polemon dönemi örneğindeyse ön yüzde ΜΑΡΚ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ve arka yüzde ΔΥΝΑΣΤΟΥ ΟΛΒΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΝΝΑΤΟΝ “Olbalıların, Kennatosluların yöneticisinin tapınağı” para yazısı vardır¹⁶.

⁹ Hicks 1891, 270 (no:71); Bent 1891, 222; Heberdey - Wilhelm 1896, 90.

¹⁰ Hill 1900, 119.

¹¹ Hill 1900, 52; ayrıca s. 53’de “...Ancak (Olba ya da Olbalıların yazısı bulunmayan) bu sikkelerin de aynı yerde basıldığı kuşkusuzdur...” der.

¹² αρχ|ιερευς, -εως, ~ιερεως, -ω, ο: başrahip.

¹³ Hill 1900 ibid.

¹⁴ Mac Kay 1990, 2092.

¹⁵ Mac Kay 1990, ibid.

¹⁶ Staffieri 1978, 20.

İmparator Hadrianus (117-138) Roma İmparatorluğu'nun doğu eyaletlerine İ.S. 129 yılında yaptığı gezide Kilikia'ya da gider. İmparatorun bu yolculuğu sırasında Olba ve Diocaesarea'ya da uğramış olabileceği bazı araştırmacılar tarafından öne sürülür¹⁷. Hem Olba hem de Diocaesarea'da bu dönemde *Hadriane* sıfatını Olba adıyla birlikte sikkelerde kullanılır¹⁸. Bunlarda ön yüzde AΥTO(K)AITETPA ΠAP(Y)I AΔPIANO arka yüzde OΛBEΩN para yazısı vardır¹⁹.

Roma İmparatorluğu *Provincia Cilicia* sikkelerinde Antoninus Pius (138-161) döneminde Olba adı yanında *Antoniniani* sıfatı kullanılır²⁰. Marcus Aurelius Caesar (138-161), Lucius Verus (161-169) Septimius Severus (193-211) ve Caracalla (198-211) için bölgede (?) basılan ve önyüzlerinde imparator portreleri olan sikkelerin arka yüzlerinde yine OΛBEΩN para yazısı görülür²¹. Ayrıca portresiz tiplerde de aynı para yazısı vardır.

Ancak Levante'nin verdiği katalogda bu tip beş Roma İmparatorluk sikkesinde kullanılan OΛBEΩN para yazısında epsilon (E-ε) küçük harf olarak yazılıdır²². Commodus (180-192) için basılan sikkelerdeyse OΛBEωN(N-v ters) yine arka yüzde ancak omega (Ω-ω) harfi küçük ve N harfi ters olarak basılıdır. Olba sikke serileri içinde para yazıları üzerinde bulunan ω ve ters N harfleri ender bulunan düzensiz kullanımı gösterir²³. Zeus Olbios Tapınağı'nın bulunduğu Diocaesarea'da ise, basılan geç dönem sikkelerin üzerinde 'mutlu' anlamına gelen OΛBOC para yazısı kullanılır²⁴.

Sikke ve yazıtların dışında ilkçağdan günümüze ulaşan yazılı kaynaklarda Olba'dan hemen hiç söz edilmediği görülür. Strabon ve Ptolemaios Olba'dan söz ettiği bilinen ilkçağ yazarlarıdır. Roma İmparatorluğu döneminde su kemeri, *nymphaeum*, tiyatro gibi görkemli anıtsal yapıların inşaa

¹⁷ Hill 1900, 124; Mac Kay 1968, 116.

¹⁸ RE 1937, 2402; Mac Kay 1968, ibid.

¹⁹ Hill 1900, ibid.

²⁰ RE 1937, 2401.

²¹ Staffieri 1987, 234-237; Staffieri 1994, 238-240.

²² Levante 1986, 603.

²³ Staffieri 1987, 237.

²⁴ Mac Kay 1976, 114.

edildiği yerleşimin kaynaklarda yer almaması ilgi çekicidir. Bunun nedeni bölgeye kıydan ulaşımın güçlüğü ya da korsanlığın engelleyici etkisi olabilir.

Strabon, Olba'dan sözettiği bilinen en eski yazardır. Yerleşimin tarihçesini kısaca anlatır (XIV. 5, 10); "...Kyinda ve Soli'nin yukarısında dağlık ülkede, içinde Teukros oğlu Aias'ın kurduğu Zeus Tapınağı bulunan Ολβη kenti vardır. Bu tapınağın başrahibi Kilikia Trakheia'nın yöneticisi oldu. Sonra ülke sayısız tyranlar tarafından ele geçirildi ve korsanlar örgütlendirildi. Bunların yok edilmesinden sonra bu ülkeye Teukros'un ülkesi ve rahiplerin çoğuna da Teukros ya da Aias adı verildi. Ama Tyranlardan biri olan Ksenophanes'in kızı Aba evlilik yoluyla bu aileye girdi. Babası daha önce muhafız kılığında ülkeyi ele geçirmişti. Daha sonra hem Antonius hem de Kleopatra kibar davranışlarından dolayı bir lütuf olarak burayı kendisine başışladılar. Sonra Aba ortadan kaldırıldı, fakat hanedan onun soyu tarafından sürdürüldü..."²⁵ der. Ptolemaios da Olba adını "...Dağlık Kilikia'da Ketisler'in bölgesi Olbasa (Ολβασα)...” olarak kullanır²⁶.

b) Hıristiyanlık kaynaklarında Olba

Stephanos Byzantios, Strabon'dan çok sonra Olba'nın Kilikia dışında da birçok yerleşim yerinin adı olduğunu yazar. Byzantios, *Ethnika*'da (sv.) Olba adlı kentleri şöyle sayar; ‘...ikinci Pontos'taki kenttir, üçüncü Bithynia'da Olbia nehrinin uzağındadır. Dördüncü Pamphylia'daki Philon gibi Pamphylia'ya değil Solumos topraklarına aittir... Hem Ολβιοι yurttaşları hem Ολβιος hem de Ολβια diye çağrılır. Beşinci Iberia'da altıncı Sardinia'da yedinci Illyria'daki sekizinci Hellespontos'ta dokuzuncu Kilikia'da hem Ολβανος hem Ολβιακος hem de dişil biçimiyle Ολβιακη derler...’. Byzantios, Olba adını taşıyan sekiz yerleşimi saydıktan sonra Kilikia'daki Olba'yı yazar. Stephanos Byzantios'un Ολβιακος, Ολβιακη, Ολβανος kullanımları ilginçtir. Başka kaynaklarda sözcüğün bu üç şekilde yazıldığı görülmez.

²⁵ Çev. A. Pekman.

²⁶ Gastaldo 1548, 144; Lequien 1740, 1031 “...Quae Ptolemaeo Olbasa, Cetidis regionis...”; Evans 1899, 181; Hellenkemper 1990, 369; Stevenson 1932, 120.

Olba, önemli bir dinsel merkez olma özelliğini Hıristiyanlıkla birlikte değişen inanç kimliğine rağmen korur. Bu durum yazılı kaynaklar dışında bu inanca ait dinsel mimari kalıntılarla da anlaşılabilir. Bu mimari yapılar; Olba akropolisinin batısında bulunan büyük kilise kalıntısı, akropolis üzerinde yer alan birçok küçük kilise kalıntıları ve su kemerinin bulunduğu akropolis doğusundaki vadide geniş bir alana yayılan manastır kalıntıları olarak sayılabilir²⁷.

Olba bir piskoposluk merkezi olarak Erken Hıristiyanlık döneminde önemini sürdürür. Bu dönemde Olba ve hemen yakınındaki Diocaesarea ayrı ayrı piskoposluk merkezleri olur. Olba Piskoposluğu da, Isauria'nın Başpiskoposluk merkezi olan Seleukeia'nın²⁸ (Silifke) alt birimi olarak diğer Isauria ve Kilikia Piskoposlukları Diocaesarea, Kelenderis, Claudiopolis ile öteki piskoposluklar gibi IV. yüzyılın başından VII. yüzyıla kadar Antiokheia Patrikhanesi'ne bağlıdır²⁹.

Olba, Nikaia (İzmit-325) ve Antiokheia (Antakya-341) konsillerinde temsil edilmemesine rağmen kristolojik tartışmalarının karışıklıklara yol açtığı bu yüzyıllarda toplanan Konstantinopolis (İstanbul), Ephesos (Efes) ve Khalkedon (Kadıköy) konsillerine temsilci olarak giderler. Büyük Theodosios (379-395) kendisinden önceki II. Konstantios ve Valens dönemlerinde doğu dünyasına egemen olan Ariusçuluğun³⁰ önüne geçmek ve Nikaia inanç ilkelerini yeniden oluşturmak için doğulu piskoposlardan oluşan bir konsil toplamaya karar verir.

Büyük Theodosios, hem imparatorluğun ve hem de Ortodoks Hıristiyanlığın tehlike içine girdiğini düşünür³¹. Bu da imparatorun Ariusçuluğun mahkumiyetiyle sonuçlanacak bir konsil toplamaya neden olur.

²⁷ Hellenkemper-Hild 1986, 62-64.

²⁸ Hellenkemper 1990, 39'da Isauria metropolisi olarak yirmi iki kentten bağlı bulunduğu Seleukeia'yı yazar.

²⁹ Çelik 1996, 63'de "...III. yüzyılın sonunda Antiokheia Kilisesi'nin Suriye, Fenike, Arab Vilayetleri, Filistin, Kilikia, Kappadokia, Kıbrıs, Mezopotamya ve İran toprakları üzerinde 12 metropolitlik ve 137 piskoposluğu yönettiği konusunda Süryani ve Batılı kaynaklar görüş birliği halindedir..." der. Olba Piskoposluğu da bu yüz otuz yedi piskoposluk içinde yer alır.

³⁰ Kaçar 2000, 64; Grant 2000, 87; Ariusçuluk: Mısır-Aleksandria'da (İskenderiye) Rahip Arius'un düşünceleriyle IV. yüzyıl başlarında *teslis* teolojisi anlayışına karşın tek ve mutlak Tanrı'nın varlığını vurgulayan inanç ilkeleri ile oluşan dinsel akım (bkz. Kaçar 2002, 4).

³¹ Dvornik 1990, 11.

Böylece Olba'nın bilinen ilk piskoposu olan Eusobios (Eusebius Olbensis)³², diğer Isauria piskoposları ile birlikte toplam yüz elli³³ piskoposun hazır bulunduğu ve batı kiliseleri piskoposlarının davet edilmediği³⁴ I. Konstantinopolis Konsili'ne (381) katılır³⁵.

Bundan sonra Olba Piskoposu Poplios, yüz doksan üç piskoposun katıldığı bilinen I. Ephesos Konsili'ne (431) gider³⁶. Daha sonra Olba'dan Piskopos Diapherontios³⁷ (episcopus civitatis Olbae) Tek Doğa³⁸ öğretisi yandaşlarının bir zaferi olan II. Ephesos Konsili'ne³⁹ (449) katılır. Bu konsilden sonra Diapherontios doğu Hıristiyanlığı ile batı Hıristiyanlığı'nın birbirinden ayrılışına neden olan ve II. Ephesos Konsili kararlarının geçersiz sayılarak kınanacağı Khalkedon Konsili'ne⁴⁰ (451) katılır⁴¹.

Khalkedon Konsili'ne yaklaşık altı yüz piskopos gelir ve bunlardan yalnızca beşi batı kiliselerini temsil eder⁴². Böylece, Olba Piskoposluğu'nun da içinde yer aldığı doğu kiliselerinin Tek Doğa öğretisiyle belirginleşen kristolojik tartışmalara yoğun olarak katıldıkları anlaşılır⁴³. Khalkedon Konsili'nde Tek Doğa öğretisinin en önemli adlarından biri olan Istanbulu Rahip Eutykhes'in aforoz edilmesine karar verilir⁴⁴. Olba

³² Lequien 1740, 1031'de Eusebios'un toplanan bu konsilde görüş bildirdiğini yazar.

³³ Kaçar 2000, 71.

³⁴ Çelik 1996, 132'de "...Önceleri sadece doğu kiliselerinden temsilcilerin katıldığı bu konsil (Konstantinopolis), yerel (doğuya ait) kabul edilmesine rağmen, 451 Kadıköy (Khalkedon) Konsili'nde resmen onaylanması üzerine ekumenik (evrensel) olarak kabul edilmiştir..." der.

³⁵ Piskopos listeleri için bkz. Mansi 1901, 569-570; Dvornik 1990, ibid.

³⁶ ACO I. i, 2 - 3 vd.; Lequien 1740, 1032; Çelik 1996, 160.

³⁷ Lequien 1740, ibid. 'de *Diapherontius* ya da *Differentius* der.

³⁸ Monophysist / Tek Doğa öğretisi (Eski Yunanca μονο: tek Φυσικ; doğa sözcüklerinden) Hıristiyan dinbiliminde Hz. İsa'daki insani doğanın tanrısal doğa içerisinde yok olduğunu ve dolayısıyla onda yalnızca bir tek tanrısal doğa bulunduğunu savunan kristolojik öğreti. İlk kez 431 Ephesos Konsili'nde kabul edilir.

³⁹ Dvornik 1990, 16; Papa I. Leo tarafından *Haydutlar Synodu*, bazı kaynaklarda da *Efes Haydutluğu* olarak nitelendirilen konsil.

⁴⁰ Çevik 1990, 219.

⁴¹ Lequien 1740, 1031-1032; Grant 2000, 89.

⁴² ACO II. i, 7 - 56; Maier 1973, 64.

⁴³ Dvornik 1990, ibid.

⁴⁴ Dvornik 1990, 15; Çevik 1990, 208; Ostrogorsky 1991, 54; Lemerle 1994, 39.

Piskoposu Diapherontios da bu kararı imzalayarak Eutykhes'in cezalandırılmasını onaylar⁴⁵. Buradan Olba'nın bu dönemde Tek Doğa öğretisini benimsemediği sonucu çıkarılabilir.

Burada adı bilinen bir başka Olba Piskoposu Paulos (*Paulus episcopus*), 458 yılında Isauria Piskoposları'nın İmparator I. Leo'ya yazdıkları mektubu sözcüğü Olbi olarak (*Olbi, pro Olbae*) kullanıp imzalar⁴⁶.

Hıristiyan yazarlar ya da kilise tarihçileri verdikleri listelerde Olba'yı kullanırlar. Ancak sözcüğün yine birbirinden değişik yazımları görülür. Örneğin V. yüzyılda Hierokles, *Synekdemos*'da Olba sözcüğünü liste numaraları 709, 9'da Olba ve 840'da Olbe (i) olarak kullanır. Olbe (i) yazımının *Synekdemos*'un Ortaçağ kopyalarından birinde biçim değiştirdiği düşünülebilir.

Seleukeialı Basileos V. yüzyılda *Miracula Sanctae Theclae*, *Miraculum 24*'de bir gözünü kaybetme korkusu yaşayan Olbalı bir çocuktan söz ederek "...Çocuk adı Olba olan bu komşu kentten indi, zamanını inziva, gözyaşlarıyla geçirdiği tapınağa çıktı..." der.

Antiokheia Patrikhanesi'nin *Notitiae episcopatum*'unda sözcük yine Olba olarak kullanılır. Khronikon Theophanes Olba'yı, Orba ve Ourba olarak yazar. Belki de bu Ourba yazımı nedeniyle sözcük *Acta Sancti Bartholomei*'de (120) Ourbanopolis olarak kullanılır.

Olba Piskoposluğu'nun özellikle VI. yüzyılda kiliseler arasındaki dinsel tartışmalarda taraf olduğu ve Tek Doğa öğretisini genel olarak benimseyen doğu kiliseleri ile aynı çizgiyi bir süre koruduğu görülür. Bu dönemde Kilikia ve Isauria bölgelerinde bulunan Arsinoe, Diocaesarea, Pompeiopolis, Korykos, Kelenderis, Tarsos gibi birçok piskoposluk merkezi kısa sürelerle de olsa Hıristiyanlığın Tek Doğa öğretisini benimser. Bu yerleşimler ve Seleukeia Başpiskoposluğu ile beraber ona bağlı olan Olba Piskoposluğu da Tek Doğa öğretisini VI. yüzyılda bir süre (513-517) kabul eder⁴⁷ (bkz. Figür I).

⁴⁵ Lequien 1740 ibid.; "... Eutykhes haeresis convictus fuit, aderat, illiusque damnationi subscripsit Diapherontius, seu Differentius episcopus civitatis Olbae, pro quo Basileos Seleuciensis an. 451..."

⁴⁶ Lequien 1740, 1032; ACO II. i, 1; Hellenkemper 1990, 369

⁴⁷ Hellenkemper 1990, 369

Bizans İmparatoru Iustinianus'un (527-565) Ortodoks inancın herkese kabul ettirilmesi gereğine inanması ile Tek Doğa öğretisini benimseyen piskoposluklara yapılan şiddetli baskılar artar⁴⁸. Iustinianus döneminde Yakub Baraday⁴⁹ adlı Süryani din adamı Tek Doğa inancı konusunda Kappadokia, Kilikia ve Isauria bölgelerinde önemli propaganda çalışmaları yaparak buraları baştan başa dolaşır⁵⁰. Özellikle Isauria'daki bu yayılmacı çabalar sonucunda Olba Piskoposluğu'nun da bağlı bulunduğu Seleukeia Başpiskoposluğu 553-578 arasında yeniden Tek Doğa öğretilisine döner.

Olba Piskoposu Theodoros (*episcopus civitatis Olbeorum*), yüz yetmiş piskoposun katıldığı III. Konstantinopolis Konsili'ne "*Concilium trullanum*"⁵¹ (680-681) Olba temsilcisi olarak gider⁵².

Olba Piskoposluğu VII. yüzyılda Konstantinopolis Patrikhanesi'ne bağlanır ve bu durum X. yüzyılda kentin Antiokheia Patrikhanesi'ne katılmasına kadar sürer⁵³.

Öte yandan Roma İmparatorluk dönemine ait bir hac yolu seyahatnamesinin Ortaçağ kopyası olan *Itinerarium Antonini et Augusti Hierosolymitanum*'da sözcük Oropa, Oropo ve Ropo olarak verilir⁵⁴. Sözcük olasılıkla Theophanes'in Orba yazımıyla bağlantılı olarak bu biçimiyle algılanır.

c) Sonuç

Genel olarak değerlendirilmesi gerekirse, özellikle Pamphylia bölgesi yer adlarını inceleyen Sundwall, Olba sözcüğünün kökeninin yerli Anadolu dilleriyle ilişkili olduğunu söyler. L. Zgusta ise bu görüşü kabul etmeyecek Olba'nın yerel bir Anadolu adının Eski Yunan diline uyarlanan şekli olduğunu öne sürer. Bu durumda Eski Yunanca ya da Hititçe yeni bir yazıtlı belge bulunana kadar Zgusta'nın görüşü yani Olba sözcüğünün

⁴⁸ Lemerle 1994, 46; Kawera 1985, 50

⁴⁹ Süryanca 'baraday - dilenci', dilenci kılığında gezdiği için.

⁵⁰ Hayes 2002, 291

⁵¹ İmparatorluk sarayındaki kubbeli salonda yapıldığı için bu Latince adla anılır.

⁵² Lequien 1740 *ibid.*; Dvornik 1990, 23

⁵³ Hellenkemper 1990, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Parthey et Pinder 1848, 327'de Oropa-365'de Oropo, Ropo olarak.

Eski Yunanca ολβιος sözcüğünden türediği en azından şimdilik doğru kabul edilebilir. Çünkü Olba, Eski Yunanca ολβοϛ: şans, mutluluk, zenginlik, başarı ve bunun sıfatı olan ολβιοϛ: şanslı, mutlu, zengin, başarılı (zarf halinde ολβιωϛ) sözcükleriyle ilgili olmalıdır.

Olba sözcüğünün ilkçağ kaynaklarından çok Erken Hıristiyanlık kaynaklarında özellikle de kilise khronika'sında yer aldığı görülür. Bu da Olba'nın günümüzde de kalıntıları görülebilen büyük bir manastır ve birçok kilise yapısı ile Isauria bölgesindeki önemli Hıristiyanlık merkezlerinden biri olmasıyla açıklanabilir.

Olba Piskoposluk merkezi olarak Isauria Kiliseleri içinde Seleukeia Başpiskoposluğu'na bağlıdır. Burada ilginç olan birbirine çok yakın merkezler olmasına rağmen Olba ve Diocaesarea'nın ayrı birer piskoposluk merkezi olarak Erken Hıristiyanlık kaynaklarında yer almalarıdır. Tek Doğa öğretisinin V. yüzyılda özellikle Mısır'da ve Antiokheia yakın çevresinde bulunan doğu kiliseleri arasında giderek yayılmasıyla Seleukeia Başpiskoposluğu ile birlikte Diocaesarea ve Olba piskoposluklarının da bu öğretiyi bir süre benimsediği görülür.

Olba'nın konsil katılım listelerinde adı yer alan piskoposları özellikle önemli kristolojik tartışmalarının yaşandığı ekumenik konsillere katılarak görüşlerini bildirirler ve buralardan çıkan kararları imzalarlar. Bu katılımlar ve görüş bildirmelerin Ariuşçuluk, Tek Doğa öğretisi gibi Hıristiyan dünyasının özellikle doğu kiliselerinin en çok karıştığı konularda ve dönemlerde olması önemlidir.

Sözcüğün Olba, Olbe, Olbi, Oropus, Oropa, Ourbanopolis gibi birbirinden değişik kullanımları ilkçağ ya da Erken Hıristiyanlık dönemi yazımlarının ortaçağa aktarımlar sırasında yazıcıların hataları sonucu olduğu düşünülebilir.

Yazılı kaynaklarda bir yerleşim yeri ya da bölge adının bu kadar değişik biçimde kullanımı sık görülmeyen durumdur. İlkçağda yerli halkın bir göçle değiştiği ve dolayısıyla Olba adının yeni gelenler tarafından değişik kullanıldığına dair bir bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Araştırılan kaynaklar Hıristiyanlıkla birlikte Olba'da yeni adlandırmaların yapıldığı hakkında bir kayıt da bulundurmaz. Ancak değişik yazımlar en azından kilise khronika'sının Olba sözcüğünü kullanımlarındaki farklılıkları ortaya koyar.

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NOTES ON NATURAL RESOURCES OF CILICIA: A CONTRIBUTION TO LOCAL HISTORY

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ÖZET

Günümüz yazarları gibi ilkçağ yazarları da Kilikia olarak bilinen bölgenin verimli topraklarını överler. Aristomakhos, Khryssippos, Philemon, Dioskorides gibi bilim adamı, düşünür ve şair yetiştiren Kilikia, ilginç yerbilimsel özellikleri olan Korykos'u, orada yetişen *crocus sativus*'u, 'safran çiğdemi', *styrax*, endemik *smilax*, *Valeriana tuberosa*, *Thymus graveolens* gibi, parfüm yapımı ve tıpta kullanılan çok sayıda bitkisiyle de ünlüdür. Ormanlarında yetişen *cedrus*, korsanlık faaliyetini ya da Kleopatra'ya armağan edilen orman alanlarının gösterdiği gibi bölgenin ekonomik, toplumsal ve siyasi yapısını etkilemiştir. Günümüzde Ankara keçisi olarak bilinen tür, ilkçağa özgü ve *kilikium* adını taşıyan dokumalara malzeme oluşturur, giysiden savaş âletleri yapımına kadar çeşitli alanlarda kullanılır. Bildiride, ilkçağ yazarlarının tanıklıkları doğrultusunda Kilikia'nın doğal kaynakları gözden geçirilmeye çalışıldı.

Ancient and modern authors seem to consider Cilicia a prosperous region that is captured well by the words of Xenophon, in regard to the expedition of Cyrus, when he descends into Cilicia; “to a large and beautiful plain, well-watered and full of trees of all sorts and vines; it produces an abundance of sesame, millet, panic, wheat, and barley, and it is surrounded on every side, from sea to sea, by a lofty and formidable range of mountains” (*Anabasis*, I,2,22). Then Cyrus marches to Tarsus, “a large and prosperous city, where the palace of Synnesis, the king of Cilicians, was situated, and through the middle of the city flows a river named the Cydnus, two *plethra* in width” (*ibid* 23).

Dio Chrysostom, too, in his speeches for Tarsus, makes eulogies to the same plain saying that the people of Tarsus should consider themselves “fortunate and blessed” because their home is a great city that “occupies a

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fertile land” and they find “the needs of life supplied in the greatest abundance and profusion” (*First Tarsic Discours*, 33,17). The Cydnus river is particularly praised by the same author who addresses these words to Tarsians: “You may even expect to hear a eulogy of your land and of the mountains it contains and of yonder Cydnus, how it is the most kindly of all rivers and the most beautiful and how those who drink its waters are ‘affluent and blessed’, to use the words of Homer” (*ibid* 2).

Cydnus, one of the two greatest rivers (the other is Pyramus) which flows through the plain, is praised also by Quintus Rufus, not only for its size but also for its quality: the river is very clear because “from its spring, it is received by a pure soil, and no torrents empty into it to discolour its quietly flowing channel” (*History of Alexander*, III 4,8).

Ammianus Marcellinus, as a historian native Antiochia, confirms the fertility of the Cilician land, “abounding in products of every kind” (XIV 8,1).

The speech of Dio Chrysostom is also critical toward the Tarsians, based on analyses of their inefficiencies in administering the city. “It is not river or plain or harbour that makes a city prosperous” he says, nor riches or multitude of houses, “instead it is sobriety and common sense that save. These make blessed to employ them” (*op cit* 33,28). Dio expresses the incompetence of Tarsus’ leaders and criticizes them because they have “a special grievance against philosophers...because they are guilty of some blunder” (*ibid* 34,3).

The “blunder” in question may be the act of Boethus, although not a philosopher – he was a poet and the gymnasiarchus of the city, who was expelled for secreting the oil olive or for other things by Athenodorus, called Cananites, to distinguish him from the other Athenodorus, called Cordylion, a Stoic philosopher and former tutor of Augustus, who also an old friend of Strabon, to his returned in native land at a old age and broke up the government of Boethus to establish a new one (Strabon, *Geography*, 14,5,14; cf Jones, 73).

Strabon gives an account of other philosophers of Tarsus, like the Stoics Antipater, Archedemus and Nestor, or Plutiades and Diogenes, “who were among those philosophers that went round from city to city” (*ibid* 14-15; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI 81). Antipater, according to Diogenes Laertius, is the author of a tract *On Words, on Terms*

(VII 57). Strabon, contrary to Dio Chrysostomus remarks that “the people of Tarsus have devoted themselves...not only to philosophy, but also to the surpassed Athens, Alexandria, or any other place that can be named where there have been schools and lectures of philosophers. But it is so different from other cities that there the men who are fond of learning are all natives, and foreigners are not inclined to sojourn there; neither do these natives stay there, but they complete it they are pleased to live abroad, and but few go back home” (*ibid* 13). Strabon tells us also that there are many learned men in Rome, who arrived from this city (*ibid* 15).

Other famous natives of Cilicia are enumerated by other authors: Aristomachus of Soli, who lived after Aristoteles, of whom Plinius says that “his love for bees inspired him to devote himself to nothing else for fifty eight years” (XI 9), and inducted him to write a treatise on bees. He wrote also on the method of preparing wine (XIV 120). He must be well informed on agriculture since Plinius doesn’t hesitate to report his experiences: “Aristomachus advises stirring off the leaves (of raphanus) during winter, and piling up earth round the plants to prevnt muddy puddles forming round them and he says that this will make them grow a good size in summer” (XIX 84).

Another famous Cilician is Philemon (361-262 BC), comic poet, according to Diogenes Laertius, author of a play entitled *Philosophers* (VI 87; VII 27), and famous enough to figure on the coins of Soli.

Aratus, the author of an astronomical poem *Phaenomena*, that had great success, and has translated also in Latin by Cicero, Germanicus and Avienus, is another famous Cilician of Soli. He went to Athens as a young man and there joined to the Stoics. In Avienus who made an adaptation in hexameter of the poem of Aratus we find these words: “this science, Jupiter again charged genius and the rythms of poet of Soli, of divulger for the second time, and better, like Taurus, his native land” (*Phaenomena ex Arato Versa*, 62; cf Manilius, I 402). In Soli, “on a small eminence” says Pomponius Mela, “there is the tomb of poet Aratus, that deserves to be mentioned for the fact that, for unknown reasons, the stones thrown in it, are breaking in pieces” (I 13,71).

Chrysippus (280-202 BC) the Stoic, who became head of the Stoic school after Cleanthes, was from Soli, too. “He was so renowned for dialectic that” says Diogenes Laertius, “most people thought, if gods took to dialectic,

they would adopt no other system than that of Chrysippus...In industry he surpassed every one, as the list of his writings shows; for there are more than 705 of them” (VII 180). Just to cite some of his works: *Physics*, *Exposition of Doctrine*, *On Various Types of Life*.

Diogenes Laertius gives other names like Crantor, Clearchus, Bion, all from Soli. Crantor (340-290 BC), “though he was much esteemed in his native country, left it for Athens...He left memoirs extending to 30.000 lines... He died before Polemo and Crates, his end being hastened by dropsy” (IV 24); Clearchus wrote tracts like *On Education*, *Encomium on Plato* (III 2); Bion wrote a work on *Aethiopia* (IV 58). Pliny gives the name of Milon of Soli, pupil of Pyromachus, the sculpture of human figure (XXXV 146).

Diogenes Laertius himself, is said to have been a native of Laerte in Caria or Laerte(s) in Cilicia, both unknown towns, – according to others he received this surname from the Roman family of the Laertii or again it was a learned nickname (Long, 1972, introduction).

Other learned men mentioned above: the grammarians Antemidoros and Diodoros (Desideri-Jasink, 1990, 47); the tragic poet Dionysides; Zeno (Diogenes Laertius VII 41;64); Heracleides who told that “the sins are not equal” (*idem* VII 121); Herodotus, son of Arieus (*idem* IX 116). Crates, grammarian of Mallos, also, is another famous Cilician (Strabon, *op cit* 14, 5,16).

Tarsus was an important pharmacological centre and Areios, a medical writer on pharmacy whose works are lost, is famous for being the master of Dioscorides of Anazarbus (now Anavarza). Living in 40-80, Dioscorides left us the most important pharmacological book of antiquity, the *Materia Medica*, in which are listed more than 700 plants and 1,000 drugs and survived as the basic tract until the XVth century (cf Özbayoğlu, 2002, 101-108). Anazarbus –according to others Corycus– gave birth also to famous poet Oppian, author of *Cynegetica*, ‘hunting’, and *Halieutica*, ‘fishing’ important works on natural life, especially of Cilician territory.

The Corycian Cave with its interesting geological structures, had also become the scene of mythological events. Pindarus tells that “Cilician Typhoeus”, with hundred heads was “nurtured of old by the famed Cilician cave” (*Pythia*, VIII 16) and Apollodorus relates the history of the struggle

between Zeus and Typhon saying that “Zeus pelted Typhon at a distance with thunderbolts...but Typhon twined about him and gripped him in his coils, and wrestling the sickle from him severed the sinews of his hands and feet, and lifting him on his shoulders carried him through the sea to Cilicia and deposited him on arrival in the Corycian cave” (*The Library*, I, VI 3).

The description of the cave made by Strabon is important and presents a picture of it: “...one comes to Crambousa, an island, and to Corycus, a promontory, above which, at a distance of twenty stadia, is the Corycian cave, in which the best crocus grows. It is a great circular hollow, with a rocky brow situated all round it that is everywhere quite high. Going down into it, one comes to a floor that is uneven and mostly rocky, but full of trees of the shrub kind, both the evergreen and those that are cultivated. And among these trees are dispersed also the plots of ground which produce the crocus. There is also a cave here, with a great spring, which sends forth a river of pure and transparent water; the river forthwith empties beneath the earth, and then, after running invisible underground, issues forth into the sea. It is called Picron Hydor” (*op cit* 14,5,5).

The description made by Mela, on the other hand, contains more details: “Not far from (the tomb of Aratus near Soli) there is the place Corycus, surrounded by a harbour and an anchorage, and linked to land by a strip. Above there is a cave called Corycus of a singular type and so extraordinary that one cannot describe it easily. It is opened by a large wide open slit, immediately from the summit, an eminence located just to edge, and the slope of it, of 10 stadion length, is quite stiff. Then the cave sinks down deeply and deviates in larger measure. The bush, suspended from all parts, makes the cave green and is all enclosed by a bushy circle along the edges. Thus, the cave is so extraordinary and beautiful that, at first sight, it strikes fright in the mind of him who approaches, but later one with difficulty stops to contemplate. The only path that descends in the middle of the waters that run down from all parts, is strait and rough, of 1,500 passus in length, and conducts, through delicious umbrages and dark bush which resounds of echos that has something of the savage. Coming down to the bottom, another grotto opens, which for other reasons must be noticed. When one enters, the cave frightens with its sound of cymbales that with a supernatural manner resound with an enormous crashing. Now, clear at a certain distance when one enters, it becomes darker as one penetrates. The grotto conducts the venturouses to his depths and leads to the bottom through a

kind of gallery. There, an enormous torrent spouts from an enormous source, just in time to show itself; then, after being shot out with all of the force of its current in a short canal, it immerses and disappears again. The place where it sinks is too frightful for one to dare to go ahead; thus it is unexplored. The character of the rest of the grotto is entirely venerable and sacred; it is worthy of being inhabited by a deity, and has believed to be so. It has nothing that not inspire reverence and appears as if invested with a kind of divine majesty. Not far from there is another grotto which carries the name of Typhon. Its entrance is narrow and, as one who entered there relates, is very low, as if immersed in a perpetual night” (I 13,73-76).

Some centuries later Quintus Smirneus, author of *Posthomerica*, tries to return to the mythological background, not without errors, when he says that “Archelochus, used to live under the ridge of Corycia and the crag of clever Hephaestus. This is a marvel to mortals, because there burns within it a fire untiring and unquenchable night and day around the fire palm trees flourish and bear great quantities of fruit, although their roots are burned along with the rocks. The immortals, I fancy, fashioned this for future generations to see” (11,91-98). In fact, mention of Hephaestus and palm trees evidently must be considered a confusion with a Phoenician legend adopted here (cf Vian, 1959, 142).

In the description of the cave given by Strabon above, can be noted the mention to *crocus*. In fact, it is *crocus sativus* which yields saffron and Cilician *crocus* was extremely famous in antiquity. Ovid says that “(neither can I say) how many crocuses the Cilician earth doth bear” (*Ibis*, 200); Virgil, too, is aware of Cilician saffron and says “and here saffron sprung from Cilician fields” (*Culex*, 401); Columella, who evidently visited Cilicia, as is concluded from an inscription (CIL IX 235; cf Ash, 1960, introduction) says that Corycus was considered famous for its saffron flower (III 8,4); Plinius insures that the best *crocum silvestre* grows in Cilicia (XXI 31); Curtius Rufus who lived in the same century, says that “the cave of Typhon and the Corycian grove, where saffron grows and other places of which only the fame has endured” (*op cit* III 4,8); the very famous plant continues to take part in poems, while Propertius says “and thrice let Cilician saffron bathe my locks” (4,6,74), Nonnos, in his *Dionysiaca* adorns his poems with the words “(Earth)...crowned the marriage bed with lovely flowers: there sprouted Cilician saffron” (XXXII 86), again “Cadmus came

down the horned peaks of lofty Tauros along the saffron glens of Cilicia” (III 16).

The vegetative richness of Cilicia is not limited by *crocus*. Dioscorides asserts that the best root of *Cyperus rotundus*, ‘bulrush’, to the Cilician (I 4); the best *Thymus graveolens* is that of Cilicia (III 35); “the fruit of the wild vine, when it flowers, is called *Oinanthé*” and the best is in Cilicia (V 5). Again, he says that the *Valeriana tuberosa*, ‘mountain nard’, grows in Cilicia (I 8); *Tordylium officinale*, ‘hartwort’, and *Smyrniium* “which they call *Peroselinum*, ‘parsley’, plentifully grow on the hill called Amanus in Cilicia” (III 63;79); *Teucrium*, ‘germander or spleen wort’, grows very much in Cilicia, “in that part near Gentias, and Kissas so-called” (III 111), and Plinius, although contemporaneous of Dioscorides and resemblances between the two authors are striking, does not list him among his authorities (cf Özbayoğlu, *op cit* 106), and repeats that “(Teucrium), they praise most highly the sort that comes from the mountains of Cilicia” (XXV 46). In fact, when he says that “hyssop wine is made of Cilician *hyssop* by throwing three ounces of *hyssop* into a gallon and a half of wine” (XIV 109) or “hyssop crushed in oil is good for phthiriasis and itch on the scalp. The comes from Mount Taurus in Cilicia” (XXV 126), he agrees with Dioscorides who says that “*hyssop* wine is the best which is made of the Cilician hyssop” (V 50), and “*hyssopus*, a known herb is of two sorts, one is mountainous, the other grows in gardens, but the best is that which grows in Cilicia” (III 30). It must be noted that the above-mentioned *hyssopum* –not *Hyssopus officinalis*, a sacred herb to the ancient Hebrews, still remains unidentified.

Plinius enumerates other plants that grow abundantly in Cilicia, among them *styrax* (XII 125), which is used largely in medicine, but even more by perfumiers; *smilax*, a species of bind-week, “which first came from Cilicia, but is now more common in Greece; it has thick jointed stalks and thorny branches that make it a kind of shrub; the leaf resembles that of the ivy, but is small and has no corners, and throws out tendrils from its stalk; the flower is white and has the scent of a lily...This plant is unlucky to use at all sacred rites and for wreaths because it has a mournful association, a maiden named Smilax having been turned into a smilax shrub because of her love for a youth named Crocus. The common people not knowing this usually pollute their festivals with it because they think that is ivy...Smilax

is used for making tablets; it is a peculiarity of this wood to give out a slight sound when placed to one's ear" (XVI 153-154; cf Dioscorides, II 176;IV 144); a kind of fig-tree found in Cilicia and in Cyprus which has a "remarkable thing...that the figs grow underneath the leaves but the abortive fruit that does not mature forms after the leaves have grown" (XVI 113); *helianthes*, 'sun flower' is plant resembling to myrtle, "grows... on the mountains along the coasts of Cilicia. A decoction of it in lions' fat, with saffron and palm wine added, is used...as an ointment by the Magi and the Persian kings to give to the body a pleasing appearance, and therefore it is also called *heliocallis*, 'beauty of the sun'" (XXIV 165).

Cilician forests furnished timber that was praised in antiquity, especially cedars and junipers that "can produce excellent timber even after 600 years" (Meigs, 1982, 50). It was well known that the production of timber had a great role in the policy and commerce of the region, and ancient authors were well aware it. Strabon, in his description of the Cilicia, explains the reason for which Antony gave to Cleopatra a well-forested part of this region: "After Coracesium, one comes to Arsinoe, a city; then to Hamaxia, a settlement on a hill with a harbour, where ship-building timber is brought down. Most of this timber is cedar; and it appears that this region beyond others abounds in cedar-wood for ships; and it was on this account that Antony assigned this region to Cleopatra, since it was suited to the building of her fleets" (14,5,3).

Before, Theophrastus deals with the regions which produced wood fit for shipbuilding, namely Cilicia, Sinope and Amisus, and Mysian Olympus, and Mont Ida. "But in these parts it is not abundant" he says, "for Syria has Syrian cedar, and they use this for their galleys" (*Enquiry into Plants*, IV 5,5). According to Theophrastus "the silver-fir, fir and Syrian cedar are, generally speaking, useful for ship-building; for triremes and long ships are made of silver-fir, because of its lightness, and merchant ships of fir, because it does not decay" (*ibid.* V 7,1).

In terms of the longevity of cedar, Plinius says that in the temple of Apollo at Utica, the beams of Numidian cedar had lasted for 1178 years "just as they were when they were put in position at the original foundation of that city" (XVI 216). According to Plinius, "the largest cedar is reported to have been grown in Cyprus" and "in Egypt and Syria for want of fir, the kings are said to have used cedar wood for their fleets" (*ibid.* 203). He says

that the kind of *fraxinus* grown on Ida in the Troad “so closely resembles cedar-wood that when the bark has been removed it deceives buyers” (*ibid.* 62). Production of naval timber implies good organisation and Diodorus of Sicily explains how Antigonus instructed the kings to assist him in building ships: “He himself collected wood cutters, sawyers, and shipwrights from all sides” he says, “and carried wood to the sea from Lebanon. There were eight thousand men employed in cutting and sawing the timber...He established three shipyards in Phoenicia...and a fourth in Cilicia, the timber for which was brought from Mount Taurus” (*The Library of History*, XIX 58,2-5).

The pirates, after becoming the strongest power in the Mediterranean, had bases in Cilicia, where they had excellent ship-timber from the Taurus range. Strabon gives account of how the region “was naturally well adapted to the business of piracy both by land and by sea -by land because of the height of the mountains and the large tribes that live beyond them, tribes which have plains and farm-lands that are large and very easily overrun, and by sea, because of the good supply, not only of ship building timber, but also of harbours and fortresses and secret recesses” (14,5,6).

Rome under Pompey had eliminated the pirates (67 BC) and the demand for ship-timber had increased with the Rome’s civil wars, causing the exploitation of the forests (cf Meiggs, 1982, 84); an exploitation that continued for later centuries.

Gagates lithos of Dioscorides, interpreted as fossil bitumen (Goodyear, 1655, *ad loc*) was an important product of Cilicia. According to Dioscorides it grows in Cilicia “at a certain fall of the river flowing into the sea, and it is near the city which is called Plagiopolis. The place and the river at the mouth of which these stones are found is called Gagas” (V 146). The Latin translation of the Greek term *gagates lithos* is *gagates lapis*, ‘jet’, in Pliny who says that “jet derives its name from a district and a river in Lycia known as Gages. It is said also to be washed up by the sea on the promontory of Leucolla and to be gathered at places up to a distance of XII *stadia*, ‘a mile and a half’” (XXXVI 141), where “Gages” is interpreted as probably Alagöz, between Finike e Çıralı and “Leucolla” a place in Pamphylia, to the east of Lycia (Eichholz, 1962, *ad loc*). Pliny makes also description of jet, “it is black, smooth, porous, light, not very different from wood, and brittle, and has an unpleasant smell when rubbed...When

is it burnt it gives off a smell like that of sulphur. What is remarkable is that it is ignited by water and quenched by oil” (*ibid.*). Eichholz in his commentary says that “the spontaneous combustion of coal (jet is a vitreous form of lignite) is aided by moisture; but the quenching by oil is an oft-repeated fiction. Much of Pliny’s account is true of jet, but some of it would also suit asphalt, which is sometimes the meaning of *gagates* (*ibid.*).

Dioscorides and Pliny report other stones peculiar to Cilicia. Dioscorides says that *melantheria*, ‘blackening’, “is dugged out in Cilicia, and in certain other places” (V 118). Pliny says about whetstone, intended for sharpening iron, that the Cilician whetstones are effective “if used with oil and water mixed, and those of Arsinoe if used with water alone” (XXXVI 164), on hephaestitis that it acts “like a mirror in reflection images, even though it is red. The test of its genuineness is that boiling water when poured over it should cool immediately; or, alternatively, that when placed in the sun it should immediately set fire to a parched substance. The stone is found in Corycus” (XXXVII 166).

Cilicia produces also some famous perfumes. Oil of saffron from Soli, according to Pliny, “was for a long time praised most highly, but subsequently that of Rhodes” (XIII 5) and “there was also once an unguent called *pardalium*, ‘pantherscent’, at Tarsus, even the recipe for compounding which has disappeared” (XIII 6). The Latin name *pardalium*, derived from Greek *pardalis*, ‘panther’, was believed to emanate a graceful scent (cf VIII 62). Also, the iris oil of Cilicia was highly praised, although the best came from Pamphylia (XXI 42).

Ancient sources refer to some curiosities peculiar to Cilicia. Aristotle says that “in Cilicia they say there is a whirlpool; when birds and other creatures which have been drowned are put into it, they come to life again” (*On Marvellous Things Heard*, 832,5). “Geese in Cilicia”, says Plutarch, “in fear of eagles, take a large stone in their beaks whenever they cross Mount Taurus, as it were reining in and bridling their gagging loquacity that they may pass over in silence unobserved” (*Moralia, The Cleverness of Animals*, 967B). Another history comes from Pliny: “The deers cross seas swimmings in a herd strung out in line with their heads resting on the haunches of the ones in front of them, and taking turns to drop to the rear: this is most noticed when they crossing from Cilicia to Cyprus; and they do not keep land in sight but swim towards its scent” (VIII 114; cf Aelian, *On Animals*, V 56; Oppian, *Cynegetica*, II, 217).

Again Pliny says that “in Cilicia near the town Cescum flows the river *Nuus*, ‘intelligence’. Those that drink of it become, says Marcus Varro, of keener perception” (XXXI 15).

The most famous products of Cilicia are *cilicium*, ‘cloth made of goat’s hair’ and *cilicia*, ‘articles made of cilicium’. Cilician mountains nourish, in fact, a kind of horned and shaggy-haired goat, whose long hair served to manufacture garments, tents for soldiers awnings, curtains for protection against wind and humidity, war machines like *catapulta*, *ballista*, and *tabulata*, ‘wooden walls’ of moving towers or bags for fulling earth, and boat equipment that was subject to the trade of tent-making material. The glossaries have, in brief, “cilicium” as “textum ex pilis caprinis factum; postea omnino velamentum asperum” (Thesaurus) and “ sic appellat tactici centones ac feltra quae muris appndebant, ut telorum ac lapidum e machinis emissorum vim retundant” (Du Cange).

The goat in question is the Phrygian goat which is now called *angora* (Hooper, 1934, *ad loc*), in Turkish ‘Ankara keçisi’. Varro explains how Phrygian goats took the name of Cilicia: “Because they have long hair, goats are clipped over a large part of Phrygia; and it is from this that hair-cloth (*cilicia*) and other fabrics of the kind are made. But it is said that the Cilicians gave the name to it from the fact that his clipping was first practised in Cilicia” (*On Agriculture*, II,XI 12).

The passage of Procopius depicts well the use of *cilicia* in war: “Wherefore the barbarians devised the following plan. They provided screens of goats’s hair cloth, of the kind which are called Cilician, making them of adequate thickness and height, and attached them to long pieces of wood which they always set before those who were working on the “agesta” (for thus the Romans used to call in the Latin tongue the thing which they were making). Behind this neither ignited arrows nor any other weapon could reach the workmen, but all of them were thrown back by the screens and stopped there” (*History of the Wars*, II,XXVI 29-30). The passage of Jerome, on the other hand, shows us another sense of *cilicium*, as a special ecclesiastical garment put on as the sign of penitence and sufference: “He rent his clothes and put *cilicium*, ‘sackcloth’ upon his flesh and fasted in sack cloth and went softly” (*Select Letters*, 77,4).

An important product of Tarsus was flax and the *linourgoi*, ‘linenworkers’ who were in grand number must must have been organized in guilds, as

they were at Anazarbus and commonly in Asian cities (Jones 1978, 80). Dio Chrysostom illuminates us about their conditions: “there is a group of no small size...Some are accustomed to call them ‘linen-worker’ and at times the citizens are irritated by them and assert that they are a useless rabble and responsible for the tumult and disorder in Tarsus, while at other times they regard them as a part of the city” (*Second Tarsic Discours*, 34,21). Most of these workers had been born in this city but also had fathers and forefathers who had, but they were not able to pay the five hundred drachmas “to be found worthy of citizenship” and so Chrysostom bid the Tarsians enroll them all as citizens (*ibid.*, 23).

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Avienus' and P. Mela's texts above have been translated by the author; translation of Dioscorides' text is based on Goodyear *cit*; all other quotations are derived from Loeb Classical Collection texts.

THE ECONOMY OF CILICIA IN LATE ANTIQUITY

(LEV. 35-36)

Hugh ELTON*

ÖZET

Bu bildiri de Geç Roma Döneminde (MS 4. yüzyıldan 7. yüzyıla kadar) Kilikya bölgesinde yer alan Domuztepe yerleşimi örnek alınarak, bölgenin ekonomik yapısı sorgulanmaktadır. Özellikle üzerinde durulan nokta, Kilikya'nın bir bütün olarak ele alınan Akdeniz ekonomisindeki yeridir. Ekonominin incelenebilmesi amacıyla dikkatler keramiklerde gözlenen birkaç sorun üzerine çekilmektedir. En önemlisi, buluntu tabakalarına göre elde edilmiş keramiklerin kesin miktarının saptanmasıdır. Her bir formun, özellikle amphora formlarının, daha sonra ayrıntılı olarak incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Bu çalışma sırasında günümüze kadar korunmuş arkeolojik malzemenin kullanılması, araştırma yöntemiyle ilgili birkaç problemin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmaktadır. Şöyle ki, bölgedeki ekonomik faaliyetler (örneğin kereste ve tekstil üretimi) geride ne kadar arkeolojik kanıt bırakmıştır. Kilikya'ya ithal edilen ve Kilikya'dan ihraç edilen keramiklerle ilgili bulguların bugünkü durumu, özellikle LR 1 amphoraları tartışılmıştır. Bu bildiri de, son olarak, bölgenin Roma ekonomisiyle nasıl bütünleştiği, Kuzey Afrika'daki Vandal istilasıyla doğulu tüccarların karşısına çıkan yeni olanaklar değerlendirilerek, ele alınmıştır.

At Domuztepe in eastern Cilicia, about 12 km north of Castabala and 55 km inland, there is a late Roman country house. With no inscriptions recovered from the site, we know little about the owners. Although the house lay on the river Pyramus, it lay above the point where the river was navigable. Nonetheless, the house owners were able to buy pottery imported from other parts of the Mediterranean world. From western Anatolia they received Phocaeen red slip tableware and LR 3 amphorae, while from North Africa they received more red slipped tableware.¹ The imported

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¹ Rossiter and Freed 1991.

ceramics thus show links between Cilicia (here broadly defined as the area between the river Melas in the west and the Amanus mountains in the east) and the Mediterranean economy as a whole during the fourth to seventh centuries AD. Domuztepe was not simply a residential site, but was also involved in the production of olive oil. It had a large oil press with a tank that seems too big for domestic needs (1.85 m in diameter, capacity 5000 litres). Domuztepe can be used not just to show links, but to outline a much more complex understanding of the way in which Cilicia was integrated into the Mediterranean economy.

Ceramics provide enormous potential for understanding economic relationships between Cilicia and the rest of the Mediterranean economy. At the simplest level, the presence of imported or exported goods does show links between regions. But unless we expect there to be no changes in patterns of regional exchange, then showing links is only a first stage of analysis. A second stage is to show changes in relationships between different sites over time. This can only be done with a quantified approach. Ideally, publications would include a full quantification of all pottery (including coarse wares) by deposit on a site, though full quantification is rarely the case in Roman archaeology. One reason is that quantities of recovered ceramics are large, e.g. the 15,000 kg of pottery from the British Excavations on the Avenue Bourguiba site at Carthage.² However, these apparently large quantities these need to be viewed in conjunction with known manufacturing practices. Three third-century leases of potteries from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt show a minimum annual production of 15,000, 16,000 and 24,000 20 *sextarii* jars, each of which would have weighed more than 1 kg. In other words, one village potter in one year was expected to produce as much pottery as was recovered from one large trench (700 m²) from an urban excavation.³ We will never be able to analyse more than a minute percentage of the material in circulation although this is not a statistical problem as long as the samples themselves are sufficiently large.⁴ Full quantification also allows analysis by type of deposits, e.g. make-up layers, domestic dumps, commercial dumps, and

² Fulford and Peacock 1984, 1.

³ Cockle 1981; Mayerson 2000.

⁴ Orton 2000, 23-24.

destruction layers. Thus commercial dumps contain larger quantities of amphorae and fewer tableware and faunal deposits, whereas domestic deposits have fewer amphorae, but more tableware and faunal deposits. With full publication of all material in deposits (both ceramic and non-ceramic), rather than a selected series of tablewares, the different types of deposit should be detectable from the publication and can be incorporated into any analysis.⁵ As a tool, quantification of deposits allows us to ask more questions about the nature of the site and about changing relationships between sites over time.

All of the red-slipped tablewares at Domuztepe were transported by sea from the production centres to ports on the Cilician coast. Although this was common in the ancient Mediterranean, it is worth some consideration. Since pottery was not only cheap, but also heavy and breakable, it was rarely traded in its own right. Parker's 1992 analysis showed that although pottery (excluding amphorae) was part of the cargo of 26 of 98 ancient shipwrecks, it made up the complete cargo of only two ships.⁶ Moreover, pottery was made throughout the Roman world and thus finding a market outside big cities may not always have been easy. But if the profit on pottery was small, and it was an awkward cargo, easy to damage, then why was it so often traded over long distances?

But even when we have a full publication of evidence, we must also be aware of what ceramic evidence does not tell us. Amphorae were moved long distances in large quantities; in Parker's list of 98 ship cargoes, amphorae made up the sole cargo for 45.⁷ However, amphorae were not traded for their own sake but as containers worth far less than their contents. Diocletian's Price Edict gives 12 denarii as the cost of a container holding 20 sextarii (11-12 litres). To fill such a vessel with 'rustic wine' would have cost 160 denarii. If it was filled with 'first quality wine' it would have cost 480 denarii, so the contents would be worth forty times the cost of the container.⁸ Second, as throughout the Mediterranean, most

⁵ Reynolds 1997-1998, 56-59.

⁶ Parker, 1992, 20.

⁷ Parker, 1992, 20.

⁸ Lauffer 1971, 2.10, 2.1.

of Cilicia's production was cereals, and vine and olive products.⁹ Much of this production need not have been transported in amphorae, e.g. olive oil and wine could have been carried in barrels or skins, though neither is well-suited for oil. Other regional goods could not be transported in amphorae, for example textiles and timber, or were probably not transported in amphorae, such as saffron from Corycus and storax from Isauria and the Amanus.¹⁰ This caution is particularly relevant for one form of amphora, often referred to as LR 1, which were produced in Cilicia between the late fourth and seventh centuries and used to export Cilician products. Unlike some late antique amphorae which were used for either wine or oil, LR 1 were used to carry both oil and wine. Their production was not confined to Cilicia, but they were also produced in the rest of the southern coast of Anatolia, in North Syria, Cyprus, and Rhodes. These amphorae help to explain the economy, but there was much more to the region's economy than these vessels.¹¹

With these cautions in mind, we can now consider the ceramic evidence showing links between Cilicia and the rest of the Mediterranean. For late Roman Cilicia, as for many areas of the Roman Empire there has until very recently been a tendency to concentrate on cataloguing tablewares, with little attention paid to quantification or to analysing coarse wares and amphorae. In the case of LR 1 amphorae although there are numerous variants of form and fabric, there is still no reliable guide to these. Without a clearer typology and systematic petrographic analysis, the often-quoted statement of Empereur and Picon regarding the origins of many LR 1 amphorae in Egypt as either Cypriot or Cilician must be regarded as unproven.¹² Other amphorae are often treated as a single manufacturing block, sometimes referred to as a 'standard package' of types LR 1 - LR 7, though this is highly misleading. The numbering system and their ease of identification helps conceal numerous other types of late antique amphorae, some of which have only recently been identified such as those

⁹ Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 1.104-127; Broughton 1938.

¹⁰ Mango 2001.

¹¹ Some recent literature on LR 1 amphorae: Peacock and Williams 1986, 185-187; Hayes 1992, vol. 2, 63-64; Arthur and Oren 1998; Kingsley and Decker 2001, 4-5.

¹² Empereur and Picon 1989, 242-243.

from Beirut or Sinope.¹³ Perhaps because of these difficulties there is only one report from a Cilician city which provides quantification and a study of all types of ceramics (though not the lamps) found at the site, that of Williams on Anemurium.¹⁴ However, there are ongoing or recently completed urban excavations, in particular at Celenderis, Sebaste, Tarsus (the Cumhuriyet Alanı) and Pompeiopolis, which should produce good results. More work could also be usefully done on museum collections, along the lines of Şenol and Kerem's recent article on amphorae in the Mersin Museum.¹⁵ Nonetheless, in the current state of our knowledge, it is only possible to show presence or absence of imports on a few sites (fig. 3).

Analysing late antique Cilician exports presents different challenges. Most obviously, Cilician products are hard to define in ceramic terms. No widely distributed tablewares were produced in the region and, besides LR 1 amphorae, the only possible ceramic product was a wheel-made lamp, Bailey Q3339, perhaps produced at Anemurium (fig. 1).¹⁶ Thus the only ceramic form certainly exported from Cilicia was the LR 1 amphora, though this was also produced elsewhere in southern Anatolia, Cyprus and north Syria. In the current state of our knowledge, we cannot subdivide LR 1 types by areas of production.

Although there were almost certainly regional trade details that we cannot detect at present, the exports of LR 1 can be divided into three major geographical zones (fig. 2). These are very broad generalisations and there are exceptions at every site and within every zone. The first zone, Egypt, southern Gaul (especially Marseille), Constantinople, the Balkans, and probably Greece and western Asia Minor, saw a consistent flow of imports from the late fourth century into the seventh century.¹⁷ The second zone, Italy, North Africa and Spain, had very small numbers of LR 1 imports during the late fourth and early fifth centuries, but much larger numbers from the mid to late fifth centuries.¹⁸ The third zone was the

¹³ Reynolds 1997-1998; Kassab-Tezgör and Touma 2001.

¹⁴ Williams 1989; the only publication on lamps to date is Williams and Taylor 1975.

¹⁵ Şenol and Kerem 2000.

¹⁶ Bailey 1988, 418 and pl. 125; Reynolds 1993, 144-145; Williams and Taylor 1975.

¹⁷ Bonifay 1986.

¹⁸ Arthur 1998.

Levant where there were few imports.¹⁹ Although close to the production areas, this may have been because Cilician wine was similar to Ascalon wine.²⁰ Although finds are known from Britain and south Russia, these were in minute quantities and not significant for reconstructing trade patterns.²¹

This trade was probably both direct and indirect. As far as potentially Cilician products are concerned, direct trade might be suggested by the collocation of lamp Q3339 and LR 1 amphorae, but as yet there is not a great deal of data.²² Thus in fifth and sixth century Carthage, although LR 1 and other eastern amphorae were present in large numbers, eastern produced tablewares like Phocaean and Cypriot Red Slip were not, which might suggest limited direct contact between Cyprus or western Anatolia and Africa, a hypothesis reinforced by the almost total absence of other eastern produced materials like the lamp Q3339, Palestinian cookwares and coins minted in Antioch. However, we should try to avoid being too dogmatic, since many ships would have had mixed cargoes, some of which were directly traded, others redistributed.

The environment in which this trade took place involved a substantial private sector.²³ But it was not a totally free market, being distorted by the enormous state contracts for supplying the army and the cities of Rome and Constantinople.²⁴ The transportation of food for Rome and Constantinople (the *annona*) was by private shippers on government contracts, though they were allowed to carry small quantities of other goods for private trade. On their return voyage, the ships presumably carried some goods back with them, though in the case of the subsidised cargoes this may not have been economically necessary. The majority of the wheat imported to Rome came from Africa, to Constantinople from Egypt. In Italy, this situation produced an enormous volume of African imports before c. 450, shown by the lack of market penetration by LR 1 and large numbers of

¹⁹ Reynolds 1997-1998, 53-54; Riley 1975.

²⁰ Mayerson 1993.

²¹ Thomas 1959.

²² Reynolds 1995, 133 and fig. 173.

²³ Wickham 1988; Temin 2001; Whittaker 1983.

²⁴ Sirks 1991.

African amphorae and cooking wares. But from the 440s, the Vandal conquest of Africa destroyed the *annona* system. Once African imports were no longer subsidized by the state, eastern merchants could compete more effectively in Italy and Africa. For the owners of Domuztepe and those like them, an opportunity appeared. The exploitation of this economic opportunity is shown archaeologically by the sudden increase in finds of LR 1 (as well as other eastern) amphorae on sites in Italy and Africa from the late fifth century.²⁵ Events elsewhere in the Mediterranean that would at first glance appear remote, like the Vandal conquest of Africa, could thus have a profound effect on the economy of Cilicia, as well as of other regions.

Conclusion

In studying the economy of late antique Cilicia there are a number of problems. Much of the evidence for production has not been recorded textually or has not survived archaeologically while the use of the archaeological material that has survived presents a number of methodological problems. At the moment, we can say little more than the region was linked to the rest of the Mediterranean, but with a few quantified studies, it will be possible to say much about the economic relationships of Cilicia with neighbouring regions and the Roman Empire, including discussion of how these changed over time. In this way, a more detailed understanding can be created of how goods moved within the late antique Mediterranean.

²⁵ Fulford 1980; Reynolds 1995, 70-83.

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WELCHE TRACHÄER BEKÄMPFTE VERANIUS?

(LEV. 37)

Mustafa ADAK*

ÖZET

Veranius Hangi Trakheialılar'a Karşı Savaştı?

Çağının en yetenekli komutanlarından birisi olarak kabul edilen Roma senatörü Quintus Veranius (İ.S. ~12-59), ününü öncelikle Likya'daki halk ayaklanmalarını bastırmakla kazanmıştır. Roma Kenti'nin yakınlarında bulunan (olasılıkla kızının) Latince mezar yazıtında, Veranius'un Likya Valisi iken (İ.S. 43-47) "Trakheialılar'a" karşı sefer düzenleyip, onların müstahkem bir yerleşimini ele geçirdiği ve tahrip ettiği belirtilmektedir. Bilim dünyasında bu Trakheialılar, Dağlık Kilikya halklarıyla, özellikle İ.S. 36 ve 52 yıllarında ayaklanan *Kietis* Bölgesi'nin sakinleriyle özdeşleştirilmektedir. Söz konusu ayaklanmaların kökeninde, bölgeyi yöneten yabancı kralların, hakimiyetlerini güçlendirmek amacıyla düzenledikleri kentleşme ve vergi toplama girişimlerine karşı yerli halkın gösterdiği tepki yatmaktadır.

Ancak, Veranius'un yönetiminden sorumlu olduğu bölge, Kilikya'ya askeri bir müdahale için uygun değildi. Yetki sahibi olduğu Likya Eyaleti Dağlık Kilikya'dan uzakta bulunmaktaydı ve bu iki bölgeyi birbirinden ayıran Pamfilya Bölgesi hâlâ Galatya Eyaleti'ne bağlıydı. Dağlık Kilikya'nın kuzey ve batı sınırını Galatya Eyaleti, doğu sınırını ise, Ovalık Kilikya'nın da dahil olduğu Suriye Eyaleti oluşturmaktaydı. Bu coğrafi durumdan dolayı Galatya veya Suriye valisinin Dağlık Kilikya Bölgesi'ne müdahale etmesi Roma'nın idari anlayışına daha yatkındı. Nitekim, İ.S. 36 ve 52 yıllarında bölgedeki ayaklanmaları bastırmak üzere Roma birlikleri Suriye Valisi tarafından gönderilmiştir. Ayrıca, iç savaşların yarattığı anarşik ortamın kaldırılması ve Roma otoritesinin sağlanması, Veranius'un zaman ve enerjisini Likya'ya sarf etmesini gerektiriyordu. Eğer, zaten fazla olmayan askeri birliklerinin bir bölümüyle Dağlık Kilikya'ya sefer düzenleyip, aylarca eyaletinden uzak kalmış olsaydı, Likya'da kurduğu düzeni tehlikeye sokmuş olurdu.

Bütün bu nedenlerden, yazıtta geçen Trakheialılar'ı Dağlık Kilikyalılar'ın yerine, Batı Toros halklarıyla özdeşleştirmek daha uygun gözükmektedir. Veranius, Likya'yı, Kibyatis Bölgesi'ni de içerecek şekilde bir eyalet olarak düzenlerken, birçok kentte direnişle karşılaşmış ve ayrıca haydutlara karşı harekete geçmiştir. Söz

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konu Trakheialılar, yazıtın eksik kısmında yer alan “Likya’nın filanca bölgesinde” gibi bir ifadeyle daha yakından tanıtılmış olmalıydılar. Yukarıda sözü edilen Roma yazıtında, Trakheia sözcüğünün Dağlık Likya halkları için de kullanılmış olması, olasılıkla Likya sözcüğünün yazıtta sık tekrar edilmesinin istenmemesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu durum, yazıtın dilinde gözlemlenen edebi üslupla örtüşmektedir.

Der Senator Q. Veranius (ca. 12-59 n. Chr.) galt als einer der fähigsten Feldherren seiner Zeit. Erworben hat er diesen anscheinend weit anerkannten Ruf als *vir militaris* in erster Linie durch die Bekämpfung und Niederwerfung der Aufstände in Lykien in den Jahren 43-48 n. Chr. Bekanntlich sorgte der Militärhistoriker Onosander dafür, daß dieser Ruhm auch der Nachwelt erhalten blieb, indem er seine Schrift über den “Feldherrenkunst” (Στρατηγικός) dem kriegserfahrenen Konsul widmete.¹

Wichtige Momente in der beachtlichen Karriere des Veranius sind festgehalten in der vieldiskutierten Grabinschrift aus Prato Lungo, auf die Arthur E. Gordon im Jahre 1948 im Garten des Museo Nazionale Romano aufmerksam wurde und der er anschließend eine ausführliche Untersuchung widmete.² Die Inschrift setzt im erhaltenen Teil mit der Ernennung des Veranius zum Statthalter von Lykien ein, die fünf Jahre dauerte, und nennt anschließend bis Z. 6: Erstürmung und Zerstörung einer befestigten Ortschaft der *-acheotae*; Schleifung von Stadtmauern und anschließend mit *[totam provinciam a latroni]b[us] pacavit* die Befriedigung eines Volkes, womit doch wohl nur die Lykier gemeint sein können.³ Es schließen sich an die Designierung des Veranius zum consul im Jahre 48 und die Übernahme des ordentlichen Konsulates, die am 1. Januar 49 erfolgte. Aus der Fortsetzung der Inschrift, die mit der Entsendung des Veranius in den Kriegsschauplatz Britannien im

¹ Zu Onosander, seinem Werk und seiner Beziehung zu Veranius s. zuletzt Le Bohec 1998, S. 169ff.

² Gordon 1952; weitere Editionen: Oliver 1954, S. 207; Smallwood 1967, S. 68, Nr. 231c; H. Zosel in Helbig 1969, S. 101-104, Nr. 2180; Birley 1981, S. 50; Gordon 1983, S. 119-121, Nr. 45; Remy 1989, S. 279f., Nr. 229/14; CIL VI, 41075.

Diese 1926 an der via Tiburtina (10 km nördlich von Rom) gefundene Inschrift stammt wohl nicht aus dem Grabmal des Veranius selbst, der in Britannien fiel, wo er wohl auch bestattet worden sein dürfte (so schon Reynolds 1954, S. 313); vielmehr gehört sie dem Grab der jung verstorbenen Veranius-Tochter, deren Name in der letzten Zeile deutlich größer eingemeißelt war. Sie hieß laut einer Ehreninschrift aus dem Letoon Verania Octavilla (Balland 1981, S. 98, Nr. 39).

³ Vorschlag von Syme 1995, S. 273; *a latroni]b[us] pacavit* entspricht der Wendung ἀπαλλογ[έ]υ[τε]ς ... λησ[τ]ειῶν im Stadiasmus Patarensis (Şahin/Adak 2003). Auf der Frontseite dieses Monuments wird Claudius dafür geehrt, daß er durch die Entsendung des Veranius nach Lykien deren Bewohner nicht nur vom Bürgerkrieg und Anarchie, sondern auch vom Räuberwesen befreite.

Jahre 58 und dessen dort eingetretenen Tod abschließt, wird deutlich, daß wir es mit dem sehr ausführlich gefaßten *cursus honorum* des Verstorbenen in aufsteigender Reihenfolge zu tun haben. Schon aus dem chronologischen Aufbau der Inschrift ist zu folgern, daß die in den Zeilen 2-6 genannten militärischen Leistungen des Veranius in die Jahre fielen, in denen er Statthalterlegat über Lykien war.

Ein Hindernis zur vollständigen Erschließung der Inschrift bildet nicht nur der große Ausfall im Stein, sondern auch der Text selbst, der in einer ganz und gar untechnischen, stereotype Formulierungen vermeidenden Ausdrucksweise verfaßt ist. Daher sind die Lösungsvorschläge des Erstherausgebers, etwa über die Rolle der Ritter und des Volkes bei der Übertragung der *cura* über die heiligen Gebäude und die öffentlichen Bauwerke und Plätze an Veranius oder über den Zusammenhang zwischen den von Veranius geleiteten *ludi* und seiner Ernennung zum Statthalter von Britannien, nicht ohne Vorbehalte akzeptiert worden.⁴ Problematisch sind auch Gordons Ergänzungen der Zeilen 1-6, um die es im Folgenden geht.

Die erste der im lückenhaften Text fest greifbaren Taten des Veranius ist die Erstürmung und Zerstörung einer Ortschaft der *-acheotae* (Z. 3). Gordon hat unter Berücksichtigung aller in Frage kommenden Ethnika evident erschlossen, daß hier nur Trachäer gemeint sein können.⁵ Folgerichtig war daher seine Vermutung, daß sich der Feldzug des Veranius gegen die ungestümen Bergstämme der Kilikia Tracheia richtete, die damals unter der Herrschaft des Antiochos IV. von Kommagene standen.⁶

⁴ Oliver 1954, S. 206ff.; Reynolds 1954, S. 313; Birley 1981, S. 53; Gordon 1983, S. 119ff.

⁵ Gordon 1952, S. 246ff.

⁶ Belege zur Herrschaft des Antiochos von Kommagene zusammengestellt bei Jones 1971, S. 205ff.; Shaw 1990, S. 229ff.

Das als Kilikia Tracheia bekannte Gebiet westlich des Kalykadnos wurde von Augustus nach der Schlacht von Actium dem galatischen König Amyntas überlassen. Nach dessen Tod erhielt es bald nach 25 v. Chr. Archelaos von Kappadokien (Shaw 1990, S. 228f.) zusammen mit dem nördlich anschließenden Isaurien, deren Bewohner bei den Römern als Nomaden galten, die lieber vom Raub als vom Ackerbau lebten (Mitchell 1999, S. 156f. mit Belegnachweis). Das Desinteresse Roms, das Gebiet zu annektieren, zeigt sich in den Ereignissen nach dem Tod des kappadokischen Königs. Während sein Stammland eingezogen wurde, überließ Tiberius die Tracheia seinem Sohn Archelaos II. (Tac. ann. 2.78.3; Remy 1986, S. 32). Der letzte König, der über die Tracheia herrschte, war der von Claudius 41 eingesetzte Antiochos von Kommagene, bis Vespasian 72 den Schritt wagte, es zu annektieren und zusammen mit der Kilikia Pedias, die bis dahin einen Teil der Provinz Syrien bildete, zu einer Doppelprovinz zu schließen.

Sowohl Antiochos als auch seine Vorgänger, allesamt von Rom eingesetzte, landesfremde Klientelkönige, haben versucht, zur Festigung ihrer Herrschaft, in der zerklüfteten Region eine Infrastruktur aufzubauen (Ausbau des Wegenetzes, Maßnahmen zur Förderung des Urbanisierungsprozesses u.a.), und den Raum nach römischem Modell zu ordnen, was Tributzahlungen nach census mit einschloß.⁷ Diese Maßnahmen der Könige stießen bei der einheimischen Bevölkerung der Tracheia und Isauriens, die nach wie vor in alten Stammensverbänden lebten und die Transhumanz pflegten, auf Widerstand, der bisweilen zu Rebellion ausartete.

Größere Aufstände gegen die fremden Landesherren sind für die Jahre 6, 36 und 52 n. Chr. belegt. Der Aufstand des Jahres 6 ging von den Isauriern aus und wurde vom Kappadokierkönig Archelaos I. anscheinend mit römischer Unterstützung blutig niedergeschlagen.⁸ Als Anlaß für die die Rebellion des Jahres 36, die von den Kieten, dem größten Stamm der Kilikia Tracheia, geführt wurde, nennt Tacitus ausdrücklich den Versuch Archelaos II., die Stämme mit Tribut zu belegen und sie nach census zu erfassen.⁹ Im dritten Aufstand unternahmen die Kieten sogar Raubzüge an die Küste und belagerten die Stadt Anamurion.¹⁰ Keiner der Könige war in der Lage, die Rebellionen aus eigener Kraft zu unterdrücken, sondern forderte römische Hilfe an.

⁷ Der Romanisierungsprozeß ist deutlich herausgearbeitet bei Lenski 1999, S. 413ff.

⁸ C. Dio 55.28.3: *Ἰσαυροὶ τε γὰρ ἐκ ληστείας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐς πολέμου δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρις οὗ καταδαμάσθησαν.*

⁹ Tac. ann. 6.41: “Per idem tempus Cietarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Syriae cum quattuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant - minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est -, operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit”.

¹⁰ Tac. ann. 12.55: “Nec multo post agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Cietarum cognomentum, saepe et alias commotae, tunc Troxoboro duce montes asperos castris cepere, atque inde decursu in litora aut urbes vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque in mercatores et navicularios audebant. obsessaque civitas Anemuriensis, et missi e Syria in subsidium equites cum praefecto Curtio Severo turbantur, quod duri circum loci peditibusque ad pugnam idonei equestre proelium haud patiebantur. dein rex eius orae Antiochus blandimentis adversum plebem, fraude in ducem cum barbarorum copias dissociasset, Troxobore paucisque primoribus interfectis ceteros clementia composuit”. Vgl. Magie 1950, S. 509f.; 1364f. Anm. 40. 550; 1408f. Anm. 31; Gordon 1955, S. 945; Syme 1995, S. 272; Hopwood 1999, S. 181f.

Aufgrund der Beteiligung römischer Truppen an der Unterdrückung der oben paraphrasierten Aufstände lag für Gordon der Schluß nahe, daß auch in den 40er Jahren Römer um militärische Unterstützung gebeten wurden, als sich wieder einmal die westkilikischen Bergstämme erhoben. Diese Aufgabe sei Veranius zugefallen, sind doch dessen Erfolge gegen die Trachäer in der Grabinschrift aus Pratulungo genannt. An der Historizität eines von Veranius gegen die kilikischen Trachäer geleiteten Feldzuges, der seit Gordons Veröffentlichung der Inschrift als abgemacht gilt, kommen jedoch einige ernsthafte Zweifel auf.

Aus den Angaben des Tacitus fällt zunächst auf, daß die von den Klientelkönigen geforderte militärische Unterstützung zur Unterdrückung der Aufstände von 36 und 52 jeweils aus Syrien kam. Das hat auch seinen guten Grund, zumal nur der syrische Statthalter über die nötigen Truppen verfügte, von denen er ein Teil bei Bedarf in die betreffende Unruheregion entsenden konnte. Hinzu kommt, daß er der Kilikia Tracheia geographisch am nächsten lag, weil sein Herrschaftsbereich die Kilikia Pedias mit einschloß.¹¹ Allerdings hat keiner der syrischen Statthalter das Unternehmen selbst geleitet, sondern in die Unruheregion jeweils einen Legionslegaten (M. Trebellimus i. J. 36) bzw. Reiterpräfekten (Curtius Severus i. J. 52) abkommandiert. In der Inschrift aus Pratulungo heißt es aber, daß Veranius als Statthalter das aktive Kommando selbst führte. Sein Verdienst, eine befestigte Ortschaft der Trachäer erstürmt und zerstört zu haben, wird ihm als ein großer militärischer Erfolg angerechnet.

Gordon war sich bei der Rekonstruktion des Veranius-Feldzuges gegen die kilikischen Bergstämme auch deswegen so sicher, weil er irrtümlich glaubte, daß der Verwaltungsbereich des Statthalters neben Lykien auch Pamphylien mit einschloß, seine Machtbefugnisse also bis an die Grenzen der Kilikia Tracheia reichten.¹² Eine Fülle von Indizien beweist jedoch in aller Deutlichkeit, daß Claudius Lykien als eine eigenständige Provinz einrichten ließ, Pamphylien hingegen weiterhin innerhalb der Provinzgrenzen

¹¹ C. Dio 49.22.3; Syme 1939, S. 325; Magie 1950, S. 418. 1271f. Anm. 44; Ziegler 1999, S. 137.

¹² Gordon 1955, S. 944f.: "Cilicia Tracheia, die bergige Westhälfte Kilikiens, lag sozusagen Tür an Tür mit Lycia-Pamphylia ... Unter diesen Umständen ist es sehr gut möglich, daß der römische Statthalter der benachbarten Provinz ... römische Truppen einsetzte, um ein castellum tracheotischer Bergbewohner zu stürmen und zu zerstören ...".

Galatiens beließ. An diesem Zustand hat sich bis Vespasian nichts geändert, der im Rahmen seiner weitläufigen Neuorganisation des Reiches Lykien und Pamphylien zu einer Doppelprovinz zusammenlegte.¹³

Somit ist klar, daß Veranius aufgrund seiner geographischen Position für die Leitung einer militärischen Operation im Rauhen Kilikien, das mehrere Hundert km von den Grenzen seiner eigenen *provincia* entfernt lag, ungeeignet war.¹⁴ Zudem brauchte er die Truppenabteilungen, die ihm für die Niederwerfung Lykiens wahrscheinlich ohnehin vom Statthalter Syriens gestellt worden waren und die darüber hinaus nicht allzu zahlreich gewesen sein dürften, um den hart erkämpften Frieden in seiner eigenen Provinz aufrechtzuerhalten. Nach dem, was über die Verwaltungstätigkeit des Veranius in Lykien bekannt ist, erforderte die Unterwerfung und Neuordnung des von Bürgerkriegen schwer betroffenen Landes einen hohen Aufwand an Zeit und Arbeit.¹⁵ Ein militärischer Einsatz in Kilikien hätte ihn aber mehrere Monate lang von seinem eigentlichen Herrschaftsgebiet ferngehalten. Außerdem mußten sich bei einem Einsatz des Veranius die Statthalter von Galatien und Syrien übergangen fühlen. Nach römischer Amtsauffassung wäre eine militärische Intervention im Rauhen Kilikien eher diesen zugefallen, reichte doch ihre Verwaltungsbereich bis an die Grenzen des betreffenden Gebietes heran. Daher ist zu bezweifeln, daß sich die kaiserliche Zentrale in Rom ausgerechnet für Veranius entschieden haben sollte.¹⁶

¹³ Das Thema ist in der endgültigen Publikation des Wegweisermonumentes aus Patara, die demnächst in Form einer Monographie in der Reihe der "Inschriften aus griechischen Städte in Kleinasien" unter dem Titel "S. Şahin - M. Adak, Stadiasmus Patarensis. Itinera provinciae Lyciae" erfolgen wird, ausführlich behandelt; vgl. vorläufig Brandt 1992, S. 98f.; Şahin 1999, S. 43f., Nr. 24; Şahin 2003, Nr. 466 mit neuen Belegen.

¹⁴ Veranius hätte, um mit dem Heer in das Rauhe Kilikien zu gelangen, Pamphylien und Teile Pisidiens überqueren müssen, die zum *imperium* des galatischen Statthalters gehörten, es sei denn, man nahm den Seeweg und lief in einem der kilikischen Häfen (z.B. Korakesion oder Anamurion) ein.

¹⁵ S. dazu Şahin/Adak, Stadiasmus Patarensis (s. Anm. 13).

¹⁶ Daran ändert auch die Tatsache nichts, daß Veranius bei Claudius in hoher Gunst stand, was teilweise durch die Verdienste seiner Vorfahren um die kaiserliche Familie herrührt. Mehr dazu s. Şahin/Adak, Stadiasmus Patarensis (s. Anm. 13).

Aufgrund dieser Einwände ist der Feldzug des Veranius gegen die Trachäer in den westlichen Taurus zu verlegen und am ehesten mit der Annektion Lykiens und der Organisation des Landes als römische Provinz in Zusammenhang zu stellen. Im Abschluß seiner Leistungen als Statthalter von Lykien wird in Zeile 6 derselben Inschrift aus Pratulungo die Rolle des Veranius als *pacator* hervorgehoben, hat er doch nach römischer Auffassung die Bewohner der Halbinsel, wie es in der neuen Stadiasmos-Inschrift aus Patara heißt, von Bürgerkrieg (στάσις), Anarchie (ἀνομία) und Räuberwesen (ληστεία) befreit und ihnen die Eintracht (ὁμόνοια), die Gleichheit aller in der Rechtssprechung (ἴση δικαιοδοσία) und die väterlichen Gesetze (πάτριοι νόμοι τῆς πολιτείας) zurückgebracht.¹⁷ Als die römischen Truppen unter seinem Befehl im Jahre 43 in Lykien einmarschierten, regierten offensichtlich in vielen Städten in den Quellen nicht näher definierte “Usurpatoren”, die mit Hilfe des Volkes die traditionelle Herrschaft der romtreuen Oligarchie beendet und ihre Mitglieder ums Leben gebracht oder in die Verbannung getrieben hatten. Daher bestand die erste Aufgabe des Statthalterlegaten darin, deren unerwünschten Herrschaft ein Ende zu setzen. Nicht alle Städte werden sich dem Veranius kampflös ergeben haben, sondern, wie möglicherweise das nordlykische Oinoanda, hartnäckig Widerstand geleistet haben.¹⁸

Veranius war auch in der Landschaft Kibyrtis, die sich im Norden an Lykien anschließt und ein Teil der Provinz Asia bildete, tätig.¹⁹ Dieser Eingriff des lykischen Statthalters läßt sich am ehesten mit politischen Unruhen erklären, die sich von Lykien aus auf die Kibyrtis ausgeweitet hatten. Verwundern kann dies nicht, da zwischen Kibyra und den nordlykischen Städten, die einst eine politische Gemeinschaft unter der Führung Kibyras gebildet hatten, trotz der Provinzgrenze eine intensive Beziehung bestand.²⁰ Auf den Bürgerkrieg unter den Kibyrtaten ist im Ehrendekret für Q. Veranius Philagrus hingewiesen, wo von einer “großen

¹⁷ Şahin/Adak 2002.

¹⁸ In Oinoanda verläuft das unter Vespasian gebaute Aquädukt durch einen verbrannten Befestigungsabschnitt. Die mutwillige Zerstörung des Mauerabschnittes könnte unter Veranius erfolgt sein; vgl. Milner 1998, S. 120.

¹⁹ Belege bei Erkelenz 1988, S. 82ff.

²⁰ Heiratsbeziehungen zwischen Kibyra und den nordlykischen Städten ist in der berühmten Liciniii-Inschrift aus Oinoanda klar belegt; Hall et. al. 1996, S. 124f.

Verschwörung, die der Stadt aufs Härteste zusetzte“, die Rede ist.²¹ Für die Niederschlagung dieser *μεγάλη συνωμοσία* war Veranius aufgrund seiner geographischen Nähe besser geeignet als der Statthalter von Asia.²² Anscheinend wurde er bei dieser Operation von Philagros, einem der reichsten und mächtigsten Bürger der Stadt, logistisch unterstützt, wofür er ihn zum römischen Bürgerrecht verhalf. Daß die Verdienste des Veranius in der Kibyrtis in der Grabinschrift aus Pratolungo verschwiegen wurden, ist kaum anzunehmen.²³

Als eine Begleiterscheinung des Bürgerkrieges kam es in Lykien und der Kibyrtis wahrscheinlich zur Ausbreitung des Räuberwesens.²⁴ Der Gebirgscharakter des Landes war der Bildung von Räuberbanden förderlich, da es vielenorts Unterschlupfmöglichkeiten gewährte. Aktivitäten von Räuberbanden sind zu verschiedenen Zeiten vor allem in den nördlichen und östlichen Grenzregionen Lykiens bezeugt.²⁵ Veranius könnte im Rahmen seiner Säuberungsmaßnahmen eine berühmte Bergfeste

²¹ Corsten 2002, S. 56, Nr. 41, Z. 9f.: *καὶ καταλύσαντα συνωμοσίαν μεγάλην τὰ μέγιστα λυποῦσαν τὴν πόλιν* (vgl. auch Nollé 1982, S. 267f.). Magie 1950, S. 1456 Anm. 15 vermutet hinter der Verschwörung „some sort of a social uprising“.

²² Die ungünstige Lage Kibyrtis innerhalb der Provinz Asia ist hervorgehoben bei Erkelenz 1998, S. 89ff.

²³ Veranius hat zudem in Kibyrtis im Auftrag des Claudius die Ausführung irgendwelcher nicht näher spezifizierte *σεβαστὰ ἔργα* überwacht (Corsten 2002, S. 48, Nr. 36). Daß zu diesen auch der in der Inschrift aus Pratolungo erwähnte Wiederaufbau der Stadtmauern gehörte, ist immer wieder angenommen worden (Gordon 1952, S. 252; Smallwood 1967, S. 68 Nr. 231c, Z. 5f.; Syme 1995, S. 273; Levick 1990, S. 178). Da aber in den vorangehenden und nachfolgenden Zeilen die militärischen Erfolge des Veranius in Lykien gerühmt werden, dürfte sich die betreffende Stelle eher auf die Schleifung von Mauern als auf deren Wiederaufbau bezogen haben, weswegen an Stelle von *restitutio* das Wort *dirutio* vorzuziehen wäre. In diesem Fall ist der Ergänzung von Kibyrtis der Boden entzogen.

²⁴ Sofern sich das Wort *ληστεία* im Stadiasmus Patarensis (Şahin/Adak 2003) nicht auf die Usurpatoren bezieht, muß Veranius auch gegen Räuberbanden vorgegangen sein.

²⁵ Im lykisch-pisidischen Grenzgebiet unternahmen die Mnariten in spätklassischer Zeit von ihrer Bergfeste Kavak Dağı aus regelmäßig Raubüberfälle auf das Gebiet von Phaselis (Diod. 17.28; Arr. an. I.24.6). Im Osten Lykiens gründete ein gewisser Zeniketes im frühen 1. Jh. v. Chr. einen „Räuberstaat“, der mehrere lykisch-pamphyliche Städte (Olympos, Korykos, Phaselis und Attaleia) mit einschloß (mehr dazu Adak 2003). Ein Beispiel für die Existenz von Räuberbanden auch während der *pax romana* ist der Brief des Kaisers Commodus an die Bürger von Bubon, wo diese Ergreifung von Banditen gelobt werden (Schindler 1972, S. 11ff., Nr. 2). Eine Gruppe von Inschriften aus Ovacık berichten von Banditeneinfällen in der Milyas im späten 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Mitchell 1999, S. 161ff.)

eingenommen haben, die ein Hauptsitz der Räuber war und deren Bezwingung Veranius besonders großen Ruhm einbrachte.

Es läßt sich mit einiger Gewißheit sagen, daß das *oppidum* oder *castellum* der Trachäer, gegen die Veranius zu Felde zog, nicht in Kilikien, sondern entweder in Lykien oder in der Kibyris lag. Allerdings sind wir außer Stande, eine genauere Lokalisierung vorzunehmen, weil keine näheren Anhaltspunkte zur Verfügung stehen und das Lokativ, das die Trachäer näher definierte, im Text ausgefallen ist. Auch läßt sich nicht entscheiden, ob diese Trachäer einfache Räuberbanden waren oder Anhänger jener Bürgerkriegspartei, die der alten Adelsherrschaft ein Ende gesetzt hatten und somit eine militärische Intervention Roms provoziert hatten. Der Auftraggeber, zu denken ist am ehesten an die Witwe des Senators, wollte mit dem Wort *Trjacheotae* (“die Rauhen”) zum Ausdruck bringen, daß die Landschaft, in der Veranius militärisch operierte, ziemlich rauh und beschwerlich gewesen ist; und diese Eigenschaft erfüllt Lykien genauso gut wie Kilikien. Eine Ausweitung des Namens “Trachäer” von den Kilikiern auf die Bewohner des westlichen Taurus, wie sie uns hier entgegentritt, ist ansonsten nicht greifbar. Der Verfasser der Inschrift hat sich des öfteren die Mühe gegeben, auf Ausdrücke und Formulierungen zurückzugreifen, die aus dem Rahmen des für die Darstellung von Beamtenlaufbahnen üblichen Wortschatzes abweichen.

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PIRACY ON THE SOUTHERN COAST OF ASIA MINOR AND MITHRIDATES EUPATOR

(LEV. 38)

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ÖZET

Bu makalenin amacı, İÖ II. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren özellikle Küçük Asya'nın güney sahillerinde ortaya çıkıp giderek artan korsanlık faaliyetlerinin nedenlerini tartışmak ve İÖ I. yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki Mithridates-Roma Savaşları sırasında korsanların Pontos Kralı Mithridates VI. Eupator'la olan ilişkilerini antik kaynaklar, epigrafik belgeler ve modern literatür ışığında sistematik bir şekilde incelemektir. Bütün bunlar yazılırken, Hellenistik Dönem boyunca Anadolu kıyı kentlerinin ve adaların korsanlara karşı tutumları ve Romalıların Lykia, Pamphylia ve Kilikia sahillerindeki korsanlara karşı yaptıkları uzun savaşlar detaylı bir şekilde gözler önüne serilmeye çalışılmıştır.

During the second half of the second century BC the south coast of Anatolia (Fig. 1) appears to have been the base of a large number of pirates that made an income mainly via the slave trade with Rome, and who assisted Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus, with military operations against the Romans during the Mithridatic Wars between 90 and 63 BC.

The purpose of this paper is to reconsider and discuss the following questions: Why did piracy come to flourish especially during this period of time? How did the cities on the coast of Asia Minor deal with the menace of the pirates and what kind of textual and epigraphic information do we have on piracy? Furthermore the relationship between Mithridates Eupator and the pirates during the Mithridatic Wars will be described and finally the measurements that were eventually taken by the Romans against the pirates towards the first half of the first century BC will be presented.

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Cilicia Tracheia in particular appears to have been infamous for its bandits and pirates – the geographical characteristics along its coast were well suited for banditry both on land and by sea. On land due to the size of the mountains and the size of the ethnic groups in the highlands, and because the plains and extensive farmlands in the region are open and easily exposed to raids. By sea because of the supply of wood for building ships, naturally sheltered harbours, fortified outlooks and hidden inlets¹. Moreover, due to the busy trade route along this coast from Syria to the Aegean and western Mediterranean there was sufficient opportunity for taking up piracy. In fact, according to Appian (Mithr. 21), the word “Cilician” eventually became synonymous with pirate². The same writer (Mithr. 92), as well as Cassius Dio (xxxvi. 20-23), Strabo (xiv. 3. 2 c. 664) and Plutarch (Pomp. xxiv. 1 ff.) all present a picture of Cilicians and Pamphylians as either being pirates themselves, or otherwise furnishing the pirates with docking facilities and markets for their plunder. The Lycians, on the other hand, according to Strabo (xiv. 3. 3 c. 665), were known as civilised, Hellenised people living in well-organised cities, who did not lust after shameful booty but stayed in their fatherland organised as the Lycian League, with such a decent behaviour that Rome allowed them considerable autonomy.

Probably the main reason for the growth of piracy from the middle of the 2nd century BC onwards was the combined result of political instability in the Mediterranean and the increased economic opportunities that arose due to the demand on slaves in Rome.

¹ Strab. xiv. 5. 6 c. 671; see also Shaw 1990, 263.

² App. Mithr. 21; see also Strab. xiv. 5. 2 c. 669; Magie 1950, 281.

Initially, something has to be said about the identity of the pirates: As mentioned above, the word “Cilician” became synonymous with pirate, as the region of Cilicia was especially suited as a hideout for bands of pirates. It appears, however, that pirates came from all over the Mediterranean, especially the southern Anatolian coast, but some were also from the Black Sea coast.

It is important to keep in mind when speaking of pirates, that it does not necessarily mean all the pirates in the region, but only one, or perhaps some, of the many groups of pirates that terrorised the Mediterranean. Some pirates, like Tryphon (Strab. xiv. 5. 2 c. 668) and Zeniketes (Peek 1978, 247-248), were leaders of bands that grew in power and they eventually called themselves kings of larger, organised groups, but there does not seem to have been any formal cooperation between the groups.

After the battle of Pydna in 168 BC the Senate in Rome decided to separate parts of Lycia and Caria from Rhodes, which thereby lost the resources of the mainland, constituting a major part of the island's economy. At the same time the Senate decided to make Delos a free port as well as liberating several cities of the Peraia, making Rhodes lose its hitherto privileged position in the maritime trade in the Aegean. Consequently Rhodes lost a considerable part of its navy strength and was no longer able to suppress piracy, as it had made successful attempts to do until then³.

Shortly afterwards, in 142 BC, Antiochus VI. Epiphanes died, leaving the Seleucid dynasty shaken in a succession struggle that gradually diminished its power and, among other things, its hold on Cilicia. The region was quickly taken over by local rulers, one of whom was Diodotus, called Tryphon, who had led a revolt against the Seleucids already in the late 140s BC. Attacking the Syrian coastline and the cities of the Levant⁴, he seized control over much of Syria from his base in Coracesium⁵ and during his time the Cilicians took up organised piracy. This was looked upon as a means of further weakening the power of the Seleucids by their enemies, the Rhodians and the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt and Cyprus. Consequently they would only reluctantly interfere with the activities of the pirates⁶. According to Strabo (xiv. 5. 2 c. 669) during this period of time Rome was preoccupied with matters that were nearer and more urgent, and therefore they were unable to keep an eye on the undesirable elements within the Hellenistic kingdoms in Asia Minor. For the Romans the priority concerning Anatolia was to protect the *status quo* of Asia Minor. Fighting the Hellenistic kingdoms was considered more important than suppressing piracy. In fact, until the end of the second century BC, the Romans did not consider themselves responsible for security matters in this region, but put the blame of the flourishing piracy on the incompetence of the Seleucids.

³ Polyb. xxv. 4-6; xxvii. 3-4; 7; xxx. 1-5; 5. 12; Liv. xli. 6-8; xlii. 45-46; 48. 8; xlv. 20-25; App. *Mithr.* 62; see further Sherwin-White 1976, 3 n. 8.

⁴ Strab. xiv. 5. 2 c. 668; xvi. 2. 14 c. 754; 19 c. 756.

⁵ Coracesium was a safe base for Diodotus because it lay well beyond the geographical limits of Seleucid power as defined by the treaty of Apameia. Souza 1999, 98 n. 4.

⁶ Strab. xiv. 5. 2 c. 669.

In brief, the political instability in the regions surrounding the Mediterranean opened up the possibility for an illegal trade such as piracy, as the powers so far concerned with piracy no longer had the sufficient strength to carry on their fight against the freebooters. The nature of the pirates, operating in small and unorganised bands⁷, meant that tracking them down and confronting them in battle was difficult⁸.

Another aspect, apart from politics, mentioned above as a cause for the growth of piracy, was economy.

Strabo (xiv. 5. 2 c. 668/669) linked the growth of Cilician piracy with the slave trade that appears to have grown by the mid second century BC due to increased demands by Rome, the city having become rich after the victories over Carthage and Corinth (146 BC). The pirates raided the coasts of the Mediterranean and captured both free people and slaves from the cities. Trading in slaves appears to have been a very profitable business indeed; the slave markets at Crete, Rhodes and especially at Delos were capable of taking in and selling tens of thousands of slaves every day. Especially Delos became the main market in ancient world, where people from all over gathered together, bringing their wares and cargoes to trade, crammed full with riches⁹. Whence arose the proverb¹⁰, “*Merchant, sail in, unload your ship, everything has been sold*”.

Despite a certain degree of moral objections to the trade in free people, even fellow Greeks, the pirates’ trade appears to have been carried out without interference¹¹. As a matter of fact, piracy seems to have been the major source of the much-needed slave supply in the Mediterranean region, at the same time as the slave trade, according to the ancient historians, was the major source of income for the Cilicians¹².

⁷ They were never formally united in any kind of organisation, and the various groups appear to have been operating fully independently. The fact that Delos was sacked by pirates in 69 BC (Phlegon 12-13 = FGrHist II 257, 1163-1164) in spite of its important slave market is compelling evidence that the pirates were not operating in any organised manner. For a city being on friendly terms with one group did not necessarily mean being let off from attacks from other groups.

⁸ App. Mithr. 93; Cass. Dio xxxvi. 3.

⁹ Cic. Leg. Man. xviii. 55.

¹⁰ Strab. xiv. 5. 2 c. 668.

¹¹ Garland 1978, 13-18; Souza 1999, 63.

¹² Souza 1999, 64-65.

An even bigger economic advantage of piracy was to hold prisoners for ransom, which, from both textual and epigraphic evidence, appears to have been a very common practice. Depending on the individual prisoners, the ransom which relatives or fellow citizens might be willing to pay for one person, would often be higher than the price paid for the same captive by auction on the slave market. By asking for a ransom, a deal could be made without having to ship the prisoners to the slave market. All in all, a highly advantageous business and from the ancient sources it appears to have become one of the principal aims of piracy¹³.

Not only the pirates themselves gained from their business - it appears that some of the slave markets, for instance, deliberately chose to provide facilities for groups of pirates¹⁴, and that some coastal cities such as Phaselis (Cic. Verr. 4. 21) and Side (Strab. xiv. 3. 2 c. 664), without being directly involved in piracy, cooperated with pirate bands in exchange for a substantial share of their profit.

Certainly a large amount of men, women and children were moved around the Mediterranean as a result of the slave trade. How did the coastal communities of the Mediterranean respond to this threat? An inscription dated from the second half of the 3rd century BC from Teus in Ionia describes how the citizens of this city agreed on paying a tenth of their fortune in order to buy back a group of fellow citizens, among them women and children, who had been taken prisoner by pirates¹⁵. The money was collected by the city's magistrates and handed over to representatives of the pirates who had stayed in the city for the same purpose, and the inscription gives the impression that this arrangement was far from unusual. From Miletus we have evidence of a treaty from mid 3rd century BC¹⁶, which the Milesians made with several Cretan cities, obliging all parts to refrain from buying slaves from either Miletus or Crete, in an attempt to protect the citizens of these cities. Other inscriptions commemorate the courageous deeds of citizens of a coastal city in battles against pirates,

¹³ For example, Naxos: SIG 520; Crete: SIG 535 lines 1-20; Teus: Şahin 1994, 6 ff.

¹⁴ Souza 1999, 58.

¹⁵ Şahin 1994, 1-40.

¹⁶ The inscription was found in Miletus and dates some time between 260-230 BC. SdA III 482 = ICret I Knossos, no. 61. See further Souza 1999, 62 n. 71.

or the lucky escape from pirate attacks through the warning cries of observant guards. A 1st century inscription from Xanthus celebrates the deeds of a Xanthian general called Aichmon, son of Apollodoros. He was the commander of the fleet of the Lycians, and according to the inscription he fought a sea battle around Cape Chelidonia, invaded pirate territory, laid it waste and was victorious in three battles¹⁷. As the Romans are not mentioned in the inscription, we can infer that these military actions against pirates were made without the help of Rome, that is, the battles were the initiative of Xanthus and not part of a larger-scale campaign. The city of Syedra appears to have openly refused pirates entry into their harbour and engaged in independent military actions against them just before 67 BC¹⁸, as did Seleucia on the river Calycadnus¹⁹. There is no evidence, however, of any coastal cities ever uniting in an attempt to confront and fight off the pirates. The force of the pirates was simply too strong. Possibly the cities thought that suppressing piracy was the responsibility of the Hellenistic kingdoms or the Roman Empire.

At the end of the 2nd century BC piracy had become so widespread that the Romans finally took action against this trade. Under the command of Marcus Antonius²⁰ Rome initiated a military campaign against the Cilician pirates in ca. 102 BC that included both naval and land operations²¹. As a

¹⁷ OGIS 552-554; ILLRP 3. 607 A-B; 620; Souza 1997, 480; 1999, 137-138.

¹⁸ Bean and Mitford 1965, 21-23; Parke 1985, 157-159; Souza 1997, 477-481; 1999, 139-140.

¹⁹ Strab. xiv. 5. 4 c. 670. But neighbouring city Coracesium was well known as a centre of piracy which resisted the Romans in 67 BC. They were defeated by Pompeius near the promontory of Coracesium and then besieged (Plut. Pomp. xxviii. 1; Vell. ii. 32. 4).

²⁰ The sources refer to Marcus Antonius as both *praetor* and *proconsul*. According to Livy (perioch. 68) and Cicero (Orat. i. 82) he was *praetor*. But an inscription (IGR IV 1116) from Rhodes which honours a naval officer who served under Antonius calls him *proconsul* (= στρατογός ἀνθύπατος). He is also referred to as *proconsul* in a Latin inscription from Corinth (ILLRP 1. 342) *pro consule*. According to Taylor & West 1928, 10 ff, *pro consule* was the usual terminology for provincial governors at that time. See further Souza 1999, 103 n. 31-34; 104. For Antonius' career pattern the date 103 BC fits his praetorship. He seems to have gone out to his *provincia* Cilicia immediately after his praetorship in 102 BC, where he held the proconsular *imperium*. Two years after the end of his praetorship he was elected consul in Rome. This was common among the Roman aristocrats at that time (Souza 1999, 103-104). For the high success rate of praetorian *triumphatores* in the consular election see (Harris 1979, 262-3).

²¹ Liv. perioch. 68; Cic. de Or. i. 82; Tac. ann. xii. 62; Obseq. Prodig. 44; IGR IV 1116; ILLRP 1. 342; see further Crawford 1996, 261-162; Ferrary 1977, 657 ff; Souza 1999, 102-104; 107.

result of this campaign Cilicia was made a praetorian province²², which Marcus Antonius celebrated with a triumph on his return to Rome²³. To defeat the pirates completely, however, more than one campaign was needed. As soon as Marcus Antonius left the province, piracy was taken up again by the Cilicians. Ironically, a few years later Marcus Antonius' own daughter was captured by pirates²⁴.

The next step for Rome was to issue a *Senatus consultum* against piracy, hereby declaring pirates the enemies of the people, friends and allies of Rome. This law was declared around 101-99 BC. In the so-called *lex de provinciis praetoris*²⁵ Rome promised to guard the Mediterranean and provide sailing safety for all her citizens, friends and allies²⁶. Rome's view of pirates, as expressed through the words of Cicero (Off. iii 107; Verr. II.

²² The Romans called the province Cilicia though it contained no Cilician territory. In that time Cilicia Tracheia was under the control of pirates and local chiefdoms and Cilicia Pedias was under the control of the Seleucids. But around 83 BC the Armenian king Tigranes II. Megas attacked the Seleucids and their king Antiochus X. Eusebes was not able to withstand him. Thus Tigranes conquered Cilicia Pedias. See further detail in Plut. Luc. xiv. 5; xxi. 4-5; Pomp. xxviii. 4; App. Syr. 48; 69-70; Mithr. 105; Cass. Dio xxxvi. 37. 6; Iust. xl. 1. 2-4; 2. 3; Iosep. Ant. Iud. xiii. 16. 14; Strab. xiv. 5. 2 c. 669; Diod. xl. 1a dn. 4.

²³ Plut. Pomp. xxiv. 6; see also Souza 1999, 109; 114.

²⁴ While he was away from Rome (Cic. Rab. Post. 26). Cic. Leg. Man. xii. 33; Plut. Pomp. xxiv. 6.

²⁵ The Greek translation of this law fragment was found on the inscribed monument of L. Aemilius Paulus at Delphi and a slightly different translation of the same law has been found at Cnidus, which has made a far greater proportion of the text available to study. See further Hassal 1974, 195 ff; Shaw 1990, 220 n.63-65; Crawford 1996, 231-270; Souza 1999, 108.

²⁶ A Roman consul wrote to “... the king ruling in the island of Cyprus, and to the king [ruling at] Alexandria and Egypt [and to the king] ruling in Cyrene and to the kings of Syria [who have] friendship and alliance [with the Roman people, he is to send letters] to the effect that it is also right for them to see that [no] pirate (πειρατῆς) [use as a base of operations] their kingdom [or] land or territories [and that no officials or garrison commanders whom] they shall appoint harbour the pirates (πειρατῶς) and to see that, insofar as [it shall be possible.] the Roman people [have (them as) contributors to the safety of all...]”. The consul is instructed to give the letters to the Rhodian ambassadors -which indicates that the Rhodians were the most concerned of all the allies and friends of Rome about the problem of piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean (Sherwin-White 1976, 5 n. 21; Crawford 1996, 253-257; Souza 1999, 109-111.

As a consequence of the *lex de provinciis praetoris*, in 95 BC Sulla appears to have been assigned as praetor and Cilicia as his provincia, with the intention of fighting the pirates. But when he was on his way to Cilicia, his instruction were changed; the invasion of Cappadocia by Tigranes II. Megas made the restoration of Ariobarzanes I. Philoromaioi a more pressing and prestigious task -at that moment- than fighting the pirates (Badian, 1959, 284 ff; McGing 1986, 78 n. 45). See further Rubinsohn 1993, 18-19 n. 59.

5.76) was that “*..they were the bitterest and most dangerous enemies of the Roman people, in fact, the common enemies of all mankind, to whom only a severe punishment would be adequate, as they did not deserve the normal respect that was due to enemies according to the conventions of war*”.

Rome did not eliminate the existence of piracy in Southern Anatolia through these first attempts, and during the three Mithridatic Wars between 90 and 63 BC they were continually faced with forces of pirates that, according to Appian (Mithr. 63), gradually increased in strength until they were more like a regular navy than individual pirate bands.

Mithridates VI. Eupator, king of Pontus, who reigned from 120/119 BC and fought against Rome until his death in 63 BC, was blamed by several ancient authors for encouraging, and even initiating, piracy in the Mediterranean. The importance of Mithridates in this respect seems highly overrated and rather more a product of Roman propaganda against the king than the actual truth²⁷. Nevertheless, it is certain that Mithridates and the pirates of the 1st century BC cooperated – the pirates took advantage of the general chaos of war to go on with their criminal business unopposed. It is certain that Mithridates used bands of pirates for his own purposes on more than one occasion. He gave them free hands on the sea in return for military services, particularly attacks on Roman naval forces and supply ships²⁸. As Mithridates needed their assistance in conquering and controlling the Eastern Mediterranean, the pirate forces were free to plunder any enemy of the Pontus kingdom on the sea and on the coasts. There are also examples of pirates being formally hired as mercenaries by Mithridates. According to several ancient writers²⁹ Mithridates also recruited mercenaries from Crete, which was notorious for its pirates and bowmen.

²⁷ Most probably Appian (Mithr. 63) and Plutarch (Pomp. xxiv. 1) may, in fact be repeating the hostile propaganda of earlier Roman writers, aimed at discrediting the Pontus king and trying to find a better interpretation of Rome's war against an eastern despot like Mithridates who had done the worst crimes (App. Mithr. 62). Souza 1999, 116-117 n. 107 is conscious of the dangers of believing everything that Appian and Plutarch say.

²⁸ Maróti 1970, 485; 488 ff.

²⁹ App. Sic. vi. 1; Flor. epit. i. 42. 1; Memnon 43. 1; see also 48. 1.

During the First Mithridatic War in 89-85 BC, Mithridates and the pirates appear to have been in close cooperation when Sulla's *quaestor*, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, attempted to gather a fleet in order to challenge the Pontic naval supremacy, and suffered numerous attacks from pirates on his journey³⁰. At the end of the same war, when Mithridates found himself losing control over Asia Minor, he let hordes of pirates pillage the coastlines and the islands that had betrayed him³¹. Even after Sulla defeated Mithridates in the First Mithridatic War, the pirates continued, and intensified, their activities regardless of their ally's defeat. Clazomenae, Iasus, Samos and Samothrace were attacked and even the temple of Samothrace was sacked and 1000 talents stolen from it, while Sulla was nearby. It is interesting to note that Sulla did not interfere with the looting but left Asia Minor to participate in the Civil War of Rome³².

Possibly the best evidence of the alliance between Mithridates and the pirate bands is the fact that the king in the Third Mithridatic War, during a storm where a substantial part of his fleet sank, boarded a ship belonging to a pirate named Seleucus. The pirate brought the king safely to Sinope³³. Seleucus was a leading figure among the Cilician pirates and played an important role in his alliance with Mithridates during the Third War. From

³⁰ Plut. Luc. ii-iv; App. Mithr. 33; see further Ormerod 1997², 212; Pohl 1993, 140-44. But according to Souza 1999, 119; neither of the authors (Plut. Luc. ii. 5; App. Mithr. 56) suggest that any pirates attacked him on Mithridates' instructions or on their own initiative with the intention of helping the Pontic king's cause. Because of this reason we cannot be sure that those were the pirates who co-operated with Mithridates against the Romans. See also Plut. Luc. iii. 2-3.

³¹ App. Mithr. 62; 92. During the First Mithridatic War the island of Tenos was continually attacked by the pirates (IG XII 5. 860; SEG 29 no. 757). See also Ormerod 1997², 233 n. 1; Souza 1999, 162-163.

³² Sulla did nothing to protect the coast cities from the pirates. He might have wanted that those who had offended him should feel the effect of the pirates, or possibly he was simply in haste to put down the hostile fraction in Rome; in any circumstance he left Asia Minor and sailed for Greece (App. Mithr. 63).

According to Rostovtseff (1941, 1514 n. 48) and McGing (1986, 130 n. 183) the raid on Ephesus referred to in (IGR IV 1029; IG XII 3. 171= IGSK Ephesos 1a no. 5; IG XII 3. 173; Sherk 1969, no. 16) may be dated to the First Mithridatic War. The Astypalaeans came to the rescue of Ephesus and defeated the pirates. But other scholars prefer to date this rescue operation to the late second century BC (Magie 1950, 1160 n. 9; Souza 1999, 100-101).

³³ App. Mithr. 78; Plut. Luc. 13. 3; Oros. hist. vi. 2. 24; 3. 2; see also Münzer 1921, 1247; Ormerod 1997², 211; Maróti 1970, 487 n. 24; McGing 1986, 139; Souza 1999, 125.

Memnon (53. 1-5) we know that Seleucus³⁴ was also known as Mithridates' general and the commander of the Cilician garrison that held Sinope occupied on behalf of Mithridates³⁵.

Sulla's successor in the province of Asia, Lucius Licinius Murena, continued to campaign against the pirates in 83 BC and appears to have been successful – he was honoured as a benefactor, patron and saviour of the people of Caunus for his anti-piratical achievements³⁶. Also the *proconsul* of Asia Minor, Gaius Claudius Nero, campaigned against pirates – from around 80 BC we have an inscription from Ilium commemorating his campaign³⁷.

At the same time, however, there is plenty of evidence from the ancient sources that pirate attacks were regularly taking place along the coast of Asia Minor. Despite the efforts of the Romans, no effective steps to control piracy had yet been taken.

In 78 BC Publius Servilius Vatia arrived in the province of Cilicia as *proconsul*. The fact that Rome appoints an *ex consul as proconsul* of Cilicia shows the concerns of the Romans for piracy and banditry in this area as well as the strategic importance of Cilicia in the war against Mithridates. Servilius carried out several campaigns against the pirates in the years 78-74 BC, at first forcing the pirates to enter naval battles with his fleet³⁸ and afterwards attacking and besieging their strongholds on the mainland³⁹. The cities and strongholds most commonly mentioned in the

³⁴ Ormerod (1997², 211 n. 1) cites Orosius' brief account (hist. vi. 2. 24), in which the pirate vessel's commander is identified as Seleucus. This Seleucus is supposed to be the same Seleucus who rescued the king's life on the way back from the siege of Cyzicus. Orosius (hist. vi. 3. 2) also identified Seleucus as an arch pirate in the Sinope blockade and adds that Cleocharis was a eunuch of Mithridates. See further Münzer 1921, 1247; Souza 1999, 126 ff.

³⁵ Plut. Luc. 23. 2-3. Memnon (53. 3) also mentions that the Roman admiral Censorinus had 15 escort triremes, but these were defeated by Sinopian triremes under Seleucus who captured the supply ships for their booty.

³⁶ Bernhardt 1972, 123; 126 ff; see also Reddé 1986, 463; Pohl 1993, 259; Ögün 2001, 23; 123 ff.

³⁷ I. v. Ilium no: 73, lines 1-6; IGR IV 196; OGIS I 443; see also Ormerod 1997², 206 n. 4; Souza 1999, 123-124.

³⁸ Liv. perioch. 90; Flor. epit. i. 41. 5-6; Amm. Marc. xiv. 8. 4.

³⁹ Strab. xii. 6. 2 c. 569; xiv. 5. 7 c. 671; Flor. epit. i. 41. 5; see further Sall. Hist. frg. 1. 127-133; Cic. Verr. ii. (4) 10. 21; Leg. agr. ii 50, Liv. perioch. 90; 93; Vell. ii. 39. 2; Amm. Marc. xiv. 8. 4; Eutr. vi. 3; Oros. hist. v. 23. 21; Festus Brev. xii. 3; Ormerod 1922, 37; 1997², 114 ff; Magie 1950, 288 ff. n. 22; Sherwin-White 1994, 232 n.1.

sources are Phaselis⁴⁰, Corycus⁴¹ and Olympus⁴². After that he extended his operations into Pamphylia and captured territory from Attaleia⁴³. At the end of his campaigns he attacked Isaura Vetus and Nova⁴⁴. Then he turned to the *ager Oroandricus et Gedusanus* (Cic. leg. agr. ii. 50) in 76-75 BC, apparently with some temporary success⁴⁵. Through his campaigns Servilius ended up controlling such strategically important regions as Lycia, Pamphylia and certain parts of Cilicia Tracheia and was able to threaten the Pontus kingdom from the southern side⁴⁶.

In his speech on the Manilian Law in 67 BC⁴⁷ Cicero claims that the Romans were left to the mercy of the pirates until Pompey drove them

⁴⁰ “*Phaselis, which Publius Servilius captured, had not always been a city of Cilician pirates. It was the Lycians, a Greek people, who inhabited it. But, because of its situation, and because it was protected so far out to sea the pirates often had cause to call in on their expeditions from Cilicia, both on the outward and the return journey, and they made the city their own, first through commercial ties, then also by an alliance*”. (Cic. Verr. ii. (4) 10. 21). See further Cic. leg. agr. ii. 50; Sall. Hist. i. 127-137; Strab. xiv. 5. 7 c. 671; Flor. epit. i. 41. 5. Eutr. vi. 3; Oros. hist. v. 23.

⁴¹ Sall. Hist. i. 127-137; Strab. xiv. 5. 7; Oros. hist. v. 23. 21; Eutr. vi. 3. For further detail see Keyser 1997, 64 ff.; for localization of Hellenistic Olympus and Corycus, see forthcoming Adak 2003.

⁴² Cic. Verr. ii. (1) 21. 56; Sall. Hist. i. 127-137; Strab. xiv. 5. 7 c. 671; Flor. epit. i. 41. 5; Oros. hist. v. 23; see also Strab. xiv. 3. 3 c. 665.

⁴³ Strab. xiv. 5. 7 c. 671; see also Cic.; Verr. ii. (4) 10. 21; leg. agr. i. 5; ii. 50; Ormerod 1922, 36.

⁴⁴ Liv. perioch. 93; Strab. xii. 6. 2 c. 569; Flor. epit. i. 41. 5; Frontin. strat. iii. 7; Eutr. vi. 3; Festus. Brev. xii. 3; Vell. ii. 39. 2; Oros. hist. v. 23. 22. See further, Ormerod 1922, 44 ff; Hall 1973, 568 ff; Keyser 1997, 168 ff.

⁴⁵ Shaw 1990, 221; Keyser 1997, 65 ff; Arslan 2000, 100 dn. 389.

⁴⁶ Sall. Hist. ii. 47. 7; see also Ormerod 1997², 214-220, Sherwin-White 1976, 11;

⁴⁷ Cicero (Leg. Man. xii. 33) points out that, even in Italy the coastal cities like Caieta, Misenum and Ostia were attacked by pirates. Vellius Paterculus (xxxi. 2) says that pirates plundered certain cities of Italy. Florus (epit. i. 41. 6) mentions that the pirates extended their operations to a far wider area than before and they created panic on the coasts of Sicily -App. Mithr. 93- and Campania. According to Appian (Mithr. 92), pirates attacked Brundisium -see also Cic. Leg. Man. xii. 32- and Etruria. Cassius Dio (xxxvi. 22. 1-2) speaks of pirates pillaging and burning Ostia and other cities of Italy. Plutarch (Pomp. xxiv. 1-8) also indicates that the pirates started to attack the coast of Italy, and the Romans became their main targets for attack. They raided the cities, harbours, roads and villas and disgraced the Roman supremacy. He also describes the humiliations and insults which the pirates enjoyed inflicting upon their Roman victims. See in detail Souza 1999, 165-66.

Pirates even conquered some of the Roman generals in naval engagement. They dominated the entire Mediterranean to the Pillars of Hercules and no sea could be navigated safely (Cic. Leg. Man. xi. 32-xii. 33; xviii. 55; App. Mithr. 93).

away. Up until then the menace of the pirates had become increasingly worse; high-ranking Romans had already become the victims of pirates⁴⁸; many islands and cities had been either abandoned out of fear of the pirates, or had been taken by them. Numerous cities and islands, such as Cnidus, Colophon, Samos and Delos, had been sacked⁴⁹. Plutarch (Pomp. 24. 5) lists 13 plundered sanctuaries and claims that no less than 400 cities were captured by pirates at the height of their power. Both Cassius Dio (xxxvi. 20-21) and Appian (Mithr. 63; 92-93) note how the pirates had gone from the occasional attacks on ships to the bolder raiding of harbours and even fortified cities until they dominated the whole Mediterranean⁵⁰.

Consequently, around 67 BC the power of the pirates was felt all over the Mediterranean. It was impossible to sail anywhere and all trade was stopped⁵¹. The pirates began to interrupt the grain supplies of Rome from Egypt and the markets in Rome started to go short of food, threatening the enormous population of the city with famine. This was finally the point that made Rome stir and respond to the pirate menace⁵². The tribune Aulus Gabinius proposed a law to clear the sea from piracy in 67 BC⁵³, and Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was appointed commander for three years with supreme command over all of the Mediterranean as well as all its coastlines to a distance of 80 km from the sea, in order to suppress piracy in the Mediterranean once and for all⁵⁴.

Pompey's main military activity confirms that securing Rome's grain supply was of the utmost importance⁵⁵. The sea around Italy was secured

⁴⁸ Cic. Leg. Man. xii. 32-33; Plut. Pomp. xxiv. 4-6.

⁴⁹ Cic. Leg. Man. xi. 31-xii. 35; 54-57. Cicero (Verr. ii. (3) 37. 85) points out that the Lipari islands and some towns followed the course of purchasing exemption from pirate raids by a fixed annual tribute (Ormerod 1997², 208).

⁵⁰ Plut. Pomp. xxiv. 1-4.

⁵¹ Plut. Pomp. xxv. 1; see also Cic. Leg. Man. xii. 32.

⁵² Plut. Pomp. xxv. 1; Liv. perioch. 99; App. Mithr. 93-94; Cass. Dio xxxvi. 23. 2.

⁵³ Cic. Leg. Man. xvii. 52; xviii. 54; xix. 57-58; Plut. Pomp. xxv. 2; xxvi. 1-4; App. Mithr. 94; Cass. Dio xxxvi. 23. 4; Vell. ii. 31. 2.

⁵⁴ The Romans were well aware at this time that this was the most effective way to deal with the pirates. Cic. Leg. Man. xxiii. 67; Plut. Pomp. xxv. 1-3; App. Mithr. 94; Cass. Dio xxxvi. 37. 1; Vell. ii. 31. 2. See further Shaw 1990, 222; Sherwin-White 1994, 249; Souza 1999, 161-167.

⁵⁵ Souza 1999, 167.

first⁵⁶. Pompey then divided up the sea and its coastlines into 13 regions, assigning each of them to his generals and providing them with a sufficient number of ships. Having thus spread out his forces, he was able to surround the pirates from all sides and they could not escape⁵⁷ – the first part of his campaign in the western Mediterranean was completed in 40 days⁵⁸. The attack on Cilicia itself, the region of the final strongholds of the pirates, was facilitated by the reputation that Pompey now had – most strongholds surrendered without battle⁵⁹.

The overall success of Pompey's campaign, and the permanence of the arrangements that resulted from it, was due to the way the general treated his prisoners: Contrary to common Roman opinion, Pompey did not believe that the pirates deserved death; on the other hand he treated the pirates more like political enemies and agreed on generous terms for them to surrender. The land he had conquered in Asia Minor and Achaia he offered to the pirates in exchange for their ships – in this way he not only made them give up piracy for the time being, but also gave them an opportunity to resettle in a new life as farmers⁶⁰. Thus he successfully completed a three-year mission in less than three months⁶¹.

To summarise, the growth of piracy from the middle of the 2nd century BC was the combined result of changes in the centres of power around the

⁵⁶ Cic. Leg. Man. xii. 34; Plut. Pomp. xxvi. 4; see further Souza 1999, 167-69.

⁵⁷ Plut. Pomp. xxvi. 3; App. Mithr. 95.

⁵⁸ Liv. perioch. 99; App. Mithr. 95. According to Livius (perioch. 99) and Florus (epit. i. 41. 15), it took only 40 days to complete the entire mission, including the conquest of Cilicia. But Cicero (Leg. Man. xii. 35) indicates that sailing from Brundisium to bringing Cilicia into the Roman empire took Pompey 49 days.

⁵⁹ Cic. Leg. Man. xii. 35; App. Mithr. 96; Flor. epit. i. 41. 13-14.

⁶⁰ After his achievement against the pirates he did not return to Rome, but remained in Asia. He made various regulations for the towns which he had conquered. He selected the thinly populated or deserted cities, some as a result of the Mithridatic Wars, and resettled them with pirates (Seager 1979, 37-8; Greenhalgh 1980, 91-100; Shaw 1990, 222 n. 72; Pohl 1993, 278-80; Souza 1999, 176). Those were the cities of Cilicia like Adana, Mallus, Epiphaneia, and Soli, which was renamed Pompeiopolis (Strab. viii. 7. 5 c. 388 ; xiv. 3. 3 c. 665; 5. 8 c. 671; Plut. Pomp. xxviii. 3-4; App. Mithr. 96; 115; Cass. Dio xxxvi. 37. 6; see also Cic. Off. 3. 49; Flor. epit. i. 41. 14; Vell. ii. 32. 6-7). A certain amount of Cilician settlers was also transferred to Dyme, a city of Achaia (Strab. viii. 7. 5 c. 388; xiv. 3. 3 c. 665; Plut. Pomp. xxviii. 4; App. Mithr. 96).

⁶¹ Plut. Pomp. xxviii. 1; see further Cic. Leg. Man. xi. 31-xii. 35; Liv. perioch. 99; Plin. nat. vii. 26. 97; App. Mithr. 114; Flor. epit. i. 41. 12-15.

Mediterranean, opening a space for pirate bands to operate in, and the increased economic opportunities that arose due to the demand on slaves particularly in Rome.

The relationship between Mithridates and the pirates seems to stem from a mutual need of assistance; Mithridates was in need of extra naval forces, and the pirates were dependent on free movement on the Mediterranean to carry out their unlawful trade. Some pirate bands, notably those under the command of Seleucus mentioned above, appear to have held strategically important positions within the forces of Mithridates, whereas other bands were probably more loosely connected.

The victims of piracy, the coastal and island communities, seem to have arranged themselves in whatever way they could. Some cities cooperated with the pirates, others fought them off or, apparently more commonly, entered “embargo” treaties with other cities, or simply paid the ransom demanded by the pirates for their citizens. There does not seem to have been any attempts of a united war against the pirates from the side of the cities.

Rome made only half-hearted attempts at suppressing piracy until the city found its own food supplies cut by the lack of safety on the Mediterranean. At this point finally Pompey was given sufficient time and means to clear the seas from pirates once and for all⁶².

⁶² We should keep in mind that after Pompeius' campaign piracy in the Mediterranean did not completely disappear, but their numbers were reduced very much. According to Cassius Dio (xxxvi. 20. 1) “*Pirates always used to harass those who sailed the sea, even as brigands did those who dwelt on land. There was never a time when these practices were unknown, nor will they ever cease probably so long as human nature remains the same*”.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

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- IG Inscriptiones Graecae, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Borussicae ed. maior: I-IV., VII., IX., XI., XII., XIV. Berlin 1873-1939.
- IGR Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas Pertinentes. Ed. by R. Cagnat- J. Toutain. I-IV. Paris 1906-1928.
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- I.v. Ilion Inscripfen von Ilion. P. Frisch. Bonn 1975 (I.K. 3).
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**ANADOLU'DAKİ KAYA MİMARLIĞI
ÖRNEKLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI VE
KÜLTÜRLERARASI ETKİLEŞİM OLGUSUNUN
YENİDEN İRDELENMESİ**

(LEV. 39-46)

Nevzat ÇEVİK*

ÖZET

**Überlegungen zu kulturellen Beziehungen
in der Antike unter besonderer Berücksichtigung
der Felsarchitektur Anatoliens**

Die Existenz und der Umfang der kulturellen Beziehungen antiker Zivilisationen und Gebieten zu bestimmen, ist immer noch die interessanteste und schwierigste Aufgabe der Archäologie. Es führte dazu, daß zahlreiche Archäologen sich intensiv damit beschäftigen. Man entwickelte dabei einige Theorien wie z. B. "die Diffusion", die der Wissenschaft herrschen, wobei viele Wissenschaftler herkömmliche Theorien akzeptiert haben und sich nur mit Einzelheiten beschäftigen. Eine gründliche Untersuchung zeigt doch, daß die Entstehung der Elemente verschiedener Kulturen nicht immer auf irgendeinen auswärtigen Einfluß angewiesen ist, wobei die mögliche Beziehungen und sichtbare Einflüsse der Kulturen nicht außer Acht gelassen werden. Zunächst wird auf einige dieser Grundgedanken kurz eingegangen und es unter Berücksichtigung der Felsarchitektur zur Diskussion gestellt, ob und wie weit dieser Einfluß feststellbar ist. Besonders sollten die Felsmonumente der in Anatolien ansässigen Kulturen wie in Urartäer, Phryger, Lyder und diejenige in Kilikien mit ihren spezifischen Besonderheiten gründlich untersucht werden, wobei man auch feststellen sollte, wie weit sie sich in dieser Hinblick voneinander unterscheiden. Die Beispiele zeigen, daß die Monumente unabhängig voneinander entstanden sind.

Solange es vorhanden ist, ist der gewachsene Fels als ein stabiles Material in vielen Gebieten der Erde für verschiedene Zwecke verwendet. Schon vor der Erfindung von Metallgeräten, womit man das harte Gestein bearbeiten konnte,

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standen zahlreiche natürliche Felshöhlen und –Plätzen verschiedener Größe und Form den menschlichen Gebrauch zur Verfügung. Wie zahlreiche Beispiele zeigen, wurden diese Räumlichkeiten auch mit dem Ansetzen von Metallgeräten weiterhin bewohnt, in dem sie nun analog zu dem wachsenden Bevölkerung vergrößert und nach dem Gebrauch mit verschiedenen Einrichtungen sowie Bänke, Nischen, Fenster etc. versehen. Mit anderen Worten, hat die Felsbearbeitung in verschiedenen Gebieten eine lange Tradition, die sich sogar wie z. B. in Kappadokien bis heute hält. Auch wenn man dabei mögliche technische und formliche Eigenheiten anderer Kulturen übernommen haben sollte, muß man schon das eigene traditionelle Erfahrungen angesetzt haben, da die Architektur vom örtlichen Baumaterial stark abhängt. Das bedeutet, daß die Entstehung der Entwicklung der Felsarchitektur nur in dem Fall möglich ist, wenn dort der Fels in der zur Bearbeitung günstigen Form und Größe vorhanden ist. Wo es nicht der Fall war, dienten die luftgetrockneten Ziegel oder aus Steinbrüchen gewonnene Blöcke als Baumaterial. Besonders in den Gebieten, wo die Geländeformation eine unermühsame und schnelle Bearbeitung ermöglicht, wird der Fels ausnahmslos und zu verschiedenen Zwecken bevorzugt. So zeigen uns z. B. die Katakomben Roms oder die unterirdische christliche Architektur Kappadokiens eindeutig, wie man die günstige Felsformation nach Gebrauch bearbeitet und geformt hat. Mir scheint es kaum möglich zu sein, daß die Christen Kappadokiens es von einer anderen Kultur übernommen haben.

Ein Vergleich der Felseinrichtungen Anatoliens in verschiedener Form und Funktion zeigt, daß diese sich in vielen baulichen Einzelheiten unterscheiden. In dieser Hinsicht muß man sich fragen, wie weit man von einem intensiven Einfluß der Kulturen sprechen kann. Wenn sogar z. B. in den geographisch und historisch eng benachbarten Gebieten wie Lykien und Pamphylien erhebliche Unterschiede festzustellen sind, wäre es unverständlich, daß man zwischen Urartäer und Etrüsker eine enge kulturelle Beziehung bauen will. Einerseits wird die wissenschaftliche Untersuchung der möglicherweise eigenen Elementen vieler Kulturen nicht weitergeführt, andererseits wird das Verstehen tatsächlich vorhandener Beziehungen schwieriger. Falls solche Beziehungen so intensiv wären, wie behauptet, könnten zahlreiche und verschiedene Kulturen in Anatolien nicht entstehen. Daher müssen viele Theorien in dieser Hinsicht revidiert werden. Zahlreiche Untersuchungen zeigen, daß die Kulturen Anatoliens vorklassischer Zeit sich voneinander stark unterscheiden. Hinsichtlich vieler gemeinsamer Elemente dieser Kulturen, welche zu den klimatischen und geographischen Gegebenheiten und zu den damals vorhandenen Material zurückzuführen sind, darf man es, wie manche es wagen, nicht als “anatolische Kultur” betrachten, wie es noch heute in der Türkei der Fall ist. Daß man die Bundheit der antiken Kulturen Anatoliens als eine ungeäderte und glatte Marmorfläche empfinden will, kann keinesfalls wissenschaftliche, sondern nur politische Gründe haben, was nicht die Aufgabe der Archäologie ist oder sich einem objektiven Wissenschaftler gehört.

Da die Felsmonumente der o. g. Kulturn Anatoliens sich stark voneinander unterscheiden, ist es m. E. nötig, daß die bisherigen Theorien über Grenzen von kulturelle Beziehungen und Einflüsse revidiert werden müssen. Dabei sollte man besonders damalige Verkehrsverhältnisse außer Acht lassen. Die Menschen sind immer auf

das Wissen der Anderen angewiesen und dabei werden auch viele Elemente von einer Kultur zu einer anderen übertragen. Doch sollte es nicht vergessen werden, daß man dabei auch seine Gewohnheiten und eigene Kultur aufzubewahren pflegt. Bei einem Einfluß muß man auch massenweise Wanderungen mehr als Handelsbeziehungen vor Auge halten, wie es z. B. bei der Eroberung Anatoliens von Perser oder von Alexander in der hellenistischen Zeit der Fall war. Falls die Invasoren nur aus Militär und Plünderern bestanden, war es kaum möglich, daß sie irgendwelche kulturelle Einflüsse auf das eroberte Gebiet ausübten. Manche erhaltene Kunstobjekte entstehen überwiegend nach dem traditionellen Interesse der Regierenden und Reichen, so daß wir von einer Kunst normalen Volkes kaum reden. Sie spiegeln nicht immer das Geschmack des gesamten Volkes wider, dürfen nicht als Tradition einer Kultur angesehen werden. So z. B. der bronzene urartäische Kessel aus dem Großen Tumulus in Gordion dürfte nicht darauf hinweisen, daß die Phryger von der urartäischen Metallkunst beeinflusst worden, solange derartiger Kessel, welcher dem phrygischen König verschenkt oder verkauft wurde, von den Phrygern nicht hergestellt worden ist.

Zum Schluß muß man betonen, daß Anatolien sich mit seinen unterschiedlichen klimatischen und geographischen Gegebenheiten als eine vielfältige Landschaft bietet und sich von den Landschaften mit homogenen Kulturen erheblich unterscheidet. Dies macht das Land archäologisch besonders wichtig und günstig, um es zu untersuchen, ob und wie weit sich die zeitgenössischen Kultur der frühen Eisenzeit gegenseitig beeinflusst haben. Es wäre unkompliziert, wenn die sich damit beschäftigenden Wissenschaftler es überzeugend und objektiv darstellen würden, daß kulturelle Beziehungen und Einflüsse im bestimmten Rahmen und Umständen doch möglich und festzustellen sind oder viele Kulturgüter der Antike auch ohne irgendwelchen Einflüssen entstehen konnten und jede einzelne Kultur auch sich eigene Traditionen entwickelt hat. Dadurch wird man feststellen können, daß die vermeintlichen Einflüsse nicht so stark wirkten, wie man es sich vorstellen und darstellen will und viele der bekannten Kulturen solche Beziehungen zueinander kaum gehabt haben. Andererseits man muß sich nicht zwingen, antike Kulturen oder Siedlungen innerhalb der heutigen politischen Grenzen zu ziehen, wie es bei den neolithischen Siedlungen von Nevalı Çori, Hallan Çemi und Çayönü der Fall gewesen ist. Diese Siedlungen waren in der Zeit ein Teil Nordmesopotamiens und auch wenn sie sich heute in Grenzen der Türkei befinden, dürften sie nicht als "Kulturen Altanatoliens" bezeichnet werden. Besonders die modernen Wissenschaftler sollten in dieser Hinsicht unpolitisch denken, und bei der Benennung der betreffenden Kulturen und Siedlungen und ihrer Kulturgüter sorgfältiger sein. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß sich die türkischen Altertumswissenschaftler mit Kulturen Anatoliens intensiv beschäftigen und sie sich eigen betrachten, doch müssen sie andererseits die Kulturen im wissenschaftlichen Rahmen und objektiv betrachten. Das führt dann dazu, daß einige Wissenschaftler nicht mehr irgendwelche unsinnige Terminologien wie z. B. "anatolische Kultur" oder "anatolische Tradition nordsyrischer Abstammung" erfinden oder die Entstehung einfacher Einrichtungen wie die Felsstufen in der Midasstadt nicht zu den Felsstufen in den urartäischen Städten von Tuşpa und Ruşahinili zurückführen können.

Arkeolojinin öncelikli amacına bağlı olarak en büyük zorluklarından biri eskiçağ toplumları arasındaki ilişkilerin kültürel ya da sanatsal boyutunun varlığını ve sınırlarını saptamak ya da kültür ekinlerinden yola çıkarak toplumlar ve bölgeler arasındaki ilişkiyi belirlemek ve bu sonuçların yardımıyla her kültürün özgün kültürel ve sanatsal yapısını belirlemektir. Bu nedenle, kültürler arası ilişki ve etkileşim arkeolojide her zaman ilgi ve merak konusu olmuş ve sıklıkla işlenmiştir. İlk ortaya çıkan ‘yayılmacılık’ gibi bazı temel kuramlar da bugüne dek bilimi etkisi altına almış, düşünce biçimlerinin standartlaşmasına etki etmiştir. Bilimsel tartışmalar da temel kuramlara karşı değil, genellikle onların izinden ayrılmadan ayrıntılara yönelik kalmıştır. Bu makalede, bu konudaki temel düşüncelere çok kısa bir bakışla giriş yapıldıktan sonra¹ yine bir kültürel ayrıntı olarak kaya mimarlığı kalıtları örnek alınarak ilişki/ilişkisizlik konusu tartışmaya sunulacaktır. Yöntem olarak, bugünkü Anadolu sınırları içerisinde bulunan ve kaya mimarlığında önemli eserler veren Urartu, Frig, Likya ve Kilikya kültürlerine ait kaya sanatının özgün yanları belirlenecek ve kültürlerarası karşılaştırmalar yapılarak farklılıkları ortaya konulmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu çalışma, ilişkisiz ve etkisizce (bağımsız) ortaya çıkışların varsayılandan çok daha yüksek düzeyde olduğunu örneklerle göstermeye yöneliktir, arkeolojide önemli yeri olan ilişkileri yada somut etkileşimleri yadsımamaktadır.

Kültürel etkileşimin aslında sınırlı bir olgu olduğunu arkeolojinin kendisi göstermektedir. H. Frankfort, “Sümer ve Mısır kültürlerinin tamamen farklı” olduğunu ve “kültürün değişik yerlerde ve dış etki almadan geliştiğini” belirtir. Aynı doğal çevreye uyum zorunda olan iki ayrı insan, ya da sosyal düzene sahip iki topluluk aynı uyum araçlarını kullanmasa da, asıl yaratıcı ve biçimlendirici doğal çevrenin kendisidir. G. Childe, ekosistemik bir bakışla, ‘doğal çevrenin kültürü etkilediğini’² ve ‘kültürlerin, özgün niteliklerini yaratıcılarının içinde yaşadığı coğrafi ortama -fizyografik yapı, yağış miktarı, sıcaklık, toprak, bitki örtüsü, mineraller, bitki, hayvan ve su yolları gibi- borçlu olduklarını’ belirtir.³ Konuyu açıklamının en kolay yolu, ulaşılması imkansız uzaklıktaki bölgeler arasındaki

¹ Etkileşim üzerine temel kuram ve tartışmalarla ilgili bir çalışmam yayına hazırlanmıştır: Çevik 2003.

² Child 1944, 109; Trigger 1978, 85.

³ Child 1994, 32.

benzerliklerin örnek verilmesidir: Örneğin Amerikan erken kültürleri için, B. Fell, 'Amerikalılar kendi kültürlerini kendileri yaratmışlardır⁴: Ne Asya'dan ne de Avrupa'dan gelmiştir' derken, A. Şenel de, 'Yeni Dünya Neolitikliği Eski Dünya'nın etkisi olmaksızın bağımsız olarak başlamıştır'⁵ der.

Kültürler arası etkileşim zinciri oluşturulurken en çok göz ardı edilen konulardan biri de ilişki ve etkileşimin karşılıklı olması gerektiğidir. Farklı kültür bölgeleri arasındaki kültürel etkileşim çok yönlü ve karşılıklı bir olgudur ve akışı tek bir etkenle ve de tek yönlü açıklanamaz⁶. Arkeoloji bir topluluğun, yeni bir fikrin varlığı ve kabulü konusunda her zaman önyargılı davranmıştır. Özellikle de yeni fikrin kabulü kaçınılmaz görülmüştür. Bu yolla, tüm kültürler birkaç ana kültür merkezinin sürgünü olan az farklı versiyonlarına dönüştürülmüştür. Kültür, bir bütündür; ayırt edici özelliklerinin bir toplamı değil. "Herhangi bir kültürün içinden ayırt edici özelliklerinden birini alıp, biçimsel açıdan benzer bir diğeriyle karşılaştırarak ve buradan hareketle bu bileşenin kökeni üzerine çıkarsamalarda bulunmak ya da ait olduğu kültürü değerlendirmek mümkün değildir".⁷ Bu yanıltıcı bir indirgemeciliktir.

Doğadaki değişime bağlı kültür değişimi o kadar net bir resim vermektedir ki, bu baskın etki bazen neredeyse başka etkenler arama gerekliliğini ortadan kaldırır. G. Child'ın "Neolitik Devrim"⁸, R.J. Braidwood'un "İlk Üretim Toplulukları"⁹ olarak adlandırdığı, yerleşik düzene geçişle başlayan olağanüstü değişikliğin nedenine baktığımızda bunun durup dururken oluşan bir değişim olmadığını görürüz. Bu "devrim" in yegane nedeninin yeni iklim şartları olması çok çarpıcıdır¹⁰. Değişen iklim beraberinde, daha yaşanabilir ılıman şartları getirir (Holosen)¹¹. Bitki ve canlı ortamı büyük çaplı değişikliklere uğrar. Dünyanın değişik yerlerindeki benzer iklim ve canlılık değişimi gösteren bir çok bölgesinde benzer

⁴ Amerika'daki erken kültürler için genel olarak bak., Fell 1989.

⁵ Şenel 1995, 162 dn.109.

⁶ Ashmore - Sharer 1988, 177.

⁷ Child 1994, 18.

⁸ Neolitik için genel olarak bak., Child 1958; Mellaart 1975; Yakar 1991; Esin 1999.

⁹ Özdoğan 1995, 270. Genel olarak bak., Braidwood 1960.

¹⁰ Esin 1999, 13.

¹¹ Yakar 1991, 9 vdd.

kültürel gelişmeler olur. İlk köy yerleşimleri ve köy toplulukları ortaya çıkmaya başlar. En büyük öğretici ve yol gösterici hep doğa olmuştur. Doğa insan elbirliğiyle kültür biçimlenmiştir.

Mimari etkileşim kuramları öne sürmek diğerlerine göre çok daha kolay ve popülerdir. Kültürlerin mimari ekinleri arasındaki benzerliklere arkeolojik kanıtlar sunmak da o denli kolaydır. Çünkü, mimari yaşamın tam kendisidir. Eksiksiz ve fazlasızdır. İlgili olduğu dönemin teknikleri ve sosyal yaşam biçimindeki gelişmişliğe göre yaşamda gereken ne varsa karşılığını mimaride bulur. Ve doğada ne varsa kaya, taş ya da ahşap gibi yerini yaşamda bulur. Yapı malzemelerindeki çok sınırlılık tüm dünya kültürlerinin benzer malzemeleri kullanmalarını da zorunlu kılar. Bu kurallar ve ihtiyaçlar her bölge ve her insan topluluğu için geçerli olduğundan, benzer koşullarda yaşayan birbirinden habersiz toplulukların mimari ekinlerinde kaçınılmaz benzerlikler oluşur. Bu nedenle eğer eskiçağ kültürlerinin mimari örnekleri arasında karşılaştırma yapılacaksa işlevsel planlama ve malzemedeki¹² çok bezeme ve tarz üzerinde durulmalıdır¹³. Diğer yanıtıcı etkileşim savlarına yöneltebilir.

Bu makalede etkileşimin olduğu değil olmadığı (bağımsız oluşum ve gelişim) durumlar, Anadolu kaya mimarlıkları örneğinde incelenecek ve bir ön örnekten etki almaksızın kendiliğinden ortaya çıkan ve kendi şartlarında gelişen kültürel unsurların hiç de azımsanamayacak düzeyde olduğunu, evrensel kültürel renkliliği de bu bağımsız oluşum ve gelişimlerin yarattığını gösteren kaya mimarisi örnekleri sunulacaktır. Girişte ortaya konulmaya çalışılan düşünce biçimi ve kültürlerin karakterlerini belirleme ve onların diğerleriyle ilişkilerini saptama yöntemi¹⁴, kaya mimarisi üzerinde gözlemlenecek ve somut arkeolojik örneklerle “ilişkisizlik”

¹² Örneğin, megaron için Bittel, ‘ahşap mimari geleneği olan her yerde bu tip yapıların ortaya çıkabileceğini’ belirtmektedir: K. Bittel, *IstMitt* 5, 1934, 144 vd. Coulton da, “Stoa tipinin Grekler’de kendiliğinden geliştiğini” anlatmak için şunları söyler, “İlkel yapı ustalarının dikdörtgen bir bina için dar ve uzun bir plan benimsemeleri doğaldır. Çünkü bu plan minimum çatı aralığına karşın maksimum örtülü alan sağlar. Ve, alanın harcanmaması için de, kapı açıklığı olabildiğince dar yanlarda olur. Megaronlarda ve sonra da tapınaklarda olduğu gibi. Bu yapısalılık, teknik sınırlılıkların ve basit düşüncelerin doğal ve temel sonuçlarıdır aslında. Basit elemanların kombinasyonundan daha kompleks bir yapının ortaya çıkması normal gelişmedir” der: Coulton 1976, 23.

¹³ Çevik 2000a, 104.

¹⁴ Bu konuda ayrıntılı bilgi için bak., Çevik 2003.

yansımaları en bilinen ve de en çok yazılıp çizilen örneklerle anlatılmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu bölüm için örnek alınan kültürler Urartu, Frig, Likya ve Kilikya; karşılaştırma örneği olarak ele alınan öğeler ise bu belirgin kültürlerin kaya anıtlarıdır. Bunlardan da en belirgin ve de bilinen grup olan **kaya mezarları** ve **açık hava kaya tapınakları** seçilmiştir. Nedeni ise tapınak ve mezarların her dönem ve kültürde olduğu gibi bu örneklerde de en yaygın, en anıtsal ve öz kültürünü yansıtmaya ihtimali en çok olan yapılar olması ayrıcalığı ve de kayaya oyulmuşluklarıyla da günümüze en sağlam gelmiş anıtlar olmalarıdır.

a. Kaya Mezarları: (Fig. 1a-c) Kayayı işleme yetisi gelişkin **Urartular**, erken yer altı oda-mezar örneklerinden bildikleri, ölüye oda/ev yapma düşüncelerini başarılı ve özgünce kayalara uygulamışlardır¹⁵. Bu mimari biçim, kayanın rahat işlenebildiği dönemden itibaren sadece Urartu sanatında değil, kayalık coğrafyaya sahip diğer bölgelerde de ortaya çıkmış ve her kültürde yeni bir resim içinde yaygınlaşmıştır. Kayanın güvenilir sağlamlığı ve taşıyıcılıkta örme tekniğinde raslanan teknik sorunları çıkarmaması, onun kolayca tercih edildiğini göstermektedir. Başka bir deyişle kayayı oyma tekniğinin mutlaka birilerinden öğrenilmesi gerekmemektedir. Bu nedenle kültürler arasında benzerlik ararken, sadece kayaya oda açmış olmalarının yetersiz kalacağı bilinmelidir. Anadolu'da en erken kaya mezarlarına sahip olan Urartu'da ve Mısır'da bu örneklerin öncüsüz ve birbirinden bağımsız ortaya çıkabilmiş olmaları¹⁶ başka kültürlerde de bir ön modele gereksinmeksizin, sadece yerli sivil mimariyi kayalara uygulayarak kaya mezarı mimari formunun yaratılabileceğini göstermektedir. Benzerlikler, seçilen yöntem ve bütünü oluşturan kültüre özgü çizgilerde aranmalıdır. Sadece kapısı olan bir odayı kayalara açmak, kültürler arasında ilişki kurmaya yeterli olmamalıdır. Bu, kayaya mezar açmak eyleminde minimum işçiliktir. Etkileşimden bahsedebilmek için özel ayrıntılarda buluşan benzerlikler aranmalıdır.

¹⁵ Çevik 2000a, 104.

¹⁶ Brandenburg, Morgan'ın "Mısır'da öncüsü olmayan ve daha önce denenmemiş bir kaya işçiliğiyle karşılaştığını" söyler: Lehmann-Haupt 1931, 636. Gerçi aynı kaynakta, Hyksos'un "Filistin'den getirilen kölelerin Mısır'da kendi ölüleri için kayalara odalar açtıklarını ve Mısırlıların da buradan öğrendiklerini" yazdığı belirtilir: age., 636.

¹⁷ Bu konuda geniş bilgi için bak. Çevik 2000a.

Urartu'da, Sevan Gölü'nden Urmiye Gölü'ne ve Divriği'ye kadarki geniş bir coğrafyada yayılan kaya mezarlarının¹⁷ en önemli örnekleri beklenildiği gibi 2. ve asal Başkent Tuşpa'dadır. Kaya mezar yapımı akropolün güney sarp kayalıklarında değişik yerlere konumlandırılmış 7 mezarla ve bunlardan da "kurucu" mezarlarıyla, İ.Ö. 9. yy'ın son çeyreğinde İşpuini ve Sarduri'yle başlar (Fig. 1c) ve ardından Menua ve Argiştı (Fig. 1b) mezarlarıyla da kaya mezar mimarisinde doruğa çıkar (Fig. 1). Krallığın en güçlü olduğu 8. yy ve devamındaki 7. yy boyunca da pek çok mezar yapılır. Urartu'da saptanan irili ufaklı 46 mezar Urartu kaya mezarı sanatının her detayını bizlere açıkça göstermeye yeter. Bu örneklerle bakıp Urartu kaya mezarlarının belirleyici asal özelliklerini ortaya koymak mümkündür: Zor ulaşılabilen akropol kayalıklarına yapılmışlardır; Çok mezardan oluşan nekropoller söz konusu değildir. Çoğu yerleşimde 1-3 mezar vardır. Başkent'te bile sadece 7 mezar bulunur¹⁸; Çok yalın bir cephe söz konusudur; Cephe bazı örneklerde düzeltilmiş olsa bile kaya yalınlığını korur: –İki örnek dışında– Herhangi bir kabartma, bezeme v.s. yoktur; Ev mimarisini daha çok tasarda kopyalar. Cephede de, kerpiç mimarinin yalınlığına bağlı olarak, yalın Urartu evi kısmen taklit edilmiştir¹⁹; Çok odalıdır; Salondan odalara geçit verilmiştir. Odadan odaya geçilmez; Soylu mezarları olarak yapılmışlardır. Detaylarda ise, Anadolu'daki diğer kaya mezarlarında bulunmayan en önemli özelliği mezar içi kült alanları ya da mimari elemanları²⁰ ve derin kuyulardır²¹ ki bu özellik,

¹⁸ Ancak bu 7 mezarın varlık nedeni sadece Başkentte ölen soylular değildir. Aynı zamanda ikinci başkent Toprakkale'den ve Çavuştepe'den de eski kralların gömüldüğü Tuşpa sülale mezarlarına ölümler getiriliyor olmalıydı. Çavuştepe ve Toprakkale'de kaya mezarlarının bulunmamasının nedeni de belki de buydu.

¹⁹ Kerpiçle örülen duvarların yüzü kerpiç çamuruyla sıvandığından, mezarların kaya duvarlarına yansıdığı gibi hareketsiz düz bir görünüm oluşmaktadır. Ortada sadece kapı vardır. Ancak ev mimarisinde, üst yapı başlangıcının ahşap kiriş uçları çıkıntısıyla oluşan düzdam örtüsünün cephe görünüşü kaya mezar mimarisinde yansımaz. Bu bakımdan Likya'da olduğu gibi cephenin tamamen kayaya kopya edilmesi Urartu'da söz konusu değildir. Yapıların tüm cephelerinin kayalara yansıtılışı, Frig'de tapınaklarda, Likya'da ise mezarlarda görülmektedir. F. Işık, "Urartu mezarlarının bu yapısı için, "Urartu'da düz dam ve yalın cephe bir yöresel yapı geleneğinin sonucu olmalıdır" der: Işık 1987, 176.

²⁰ Tüm örnekler için bak., Çevik 1997, 419-459.

²¹ Mezar içlerindeki bu kuyuların işlevi için Burney, "sarnıç; ölünün ikinci yaşamında kullanacağı kutsal su kuyusu ya da kuyu-mezar odası" (AnatSt 16, 1966, 107 vd., dn. 116); Piotrovski, "Transkafkasya geleneğinde kuyu mezar"; Işık, "Yer altı tanrılarına ilişkin kurban kuyusu" (Belleten 200, 1987, 509) ve ben de "eski ölü ve eşyalarına yönelik atık/toplama kuyusu/mezar deposu" demekteyim. Kuyular konusundaki tüm bu tartışmalar ve bu konudaki görüşüm için detaylı olarak bkz. Çevik 2000a 46-49; ay., TürkAD 31, 1997, 427 vd.

kaya mezarına sahip diğer Anadolu kültürlerinde bilinmez. Diğeri de iç mimariye ilişkindir. Örneğin Urartu kaya mezarlarında –Menua/Neftkuyu mezarı dışında– sivri ya da tonoz tavana raslanmaz: düzdamlıdırlar. Urartu'da mezar yazısı yazılmaz, yazılsa da içeriği ölüm olmaz²².

Yukarıda özetlediğimiz Urartu kaya mezarı karakterini **Frig** kaya mezarlarıyla karşılaştırdığımız zaman aralarında dikkate değer pek çok farklılık olduğu görülür. Frig kaya mezarlarının özellikleri de aşağıdaki gibi özetlenebilir (Fig. 2):

Frig kaya mimarisine en çok emek veren uzmanlardan biri olan Haspels, erken mezarları 8. yy'ın son çeyreğine, geç olanları da 6. yy'ın 2. yarısına verir. Siyasi ve coğrafi yakınlıklarına rağmen Urartu ve Frig kaya mezarlarının ortaya çıkışlarında şimdilik yaklaşık 100 yıl fark görülmektedir. Frig mezarlarının, özellikle de erken olanların karakteristik, ortak özelliklerinin belirlenmesi Urartu örnekleriyle karşılaştırma kolaylığı sağlayacaktır: Mezarlar, Frig kentlerinin yerleşim kayalıklarında olabildikleri gibi kent dışı kayalıklarda ve hatta Köhnüş Vadisi gibi yerleşimsiz kayalık alanlarında da olabilmektedirler (Fig. 2a,b). Frigya'nın erken örnekleri her zaman küçük ve kare kapılara sahiptir. Bunlardan üçü Midas Kent kayalıklarında yer alır²³; Tek odalıdırlar (Sadece Aslan Taş mezarında bir yan bölüm vardır. O da, oda değildir (Fig. 2b,c). Çok odalı gibi görünen Hamamkaya ve Yapıldak Kale gibi örnekler da farklı cephelerden girilen iki mezarın buluşması nedeniyledir. Bunlarda bir değil iki ayrı mezar söz konusudur); Yalın cephelerde sadece birkaç silmeli kapı çerçevesi göze batmaktadır. Girişler küçük ve kare formudur. Dıştaki yalınlığa karşı mezar odalarının içleri ahşap mimari taklidinde oyulmuştur. Odalarda ölü yatakları veya tekneleri açıktır. Mezar odaları sadece ölü yerleşimine yetecek kadardır. Salon anlayışı yoktur. İç mimaride ise Aslantaş'daki hafif içbükey tavadan²⁴, Dübecikkale²⁵, Yapıldakkale²⁶ ya da

22 Van'daki mezarın giriş yolundaki (Horhor) Arğişti yazıtı ve Mazgirt/Kaleköy'deki mezarın giriş yanında bulunan Ruşa yazıtının ikisi de mezar ana girişi yanında olmasına karşın, ölü ya da mezarla ilgili değil tarihsel içeriklidir.

23 Haspels 1971, 112 Fig. 530

24 Haspels 1971 Fig. 534 kesit 1.

25 Haspels 1971 Fig. 533.

26 Haspels 1971, Fig. 532.

Köhnüş 8, 18, 27, 20 nolu mezarlarında ve daha pek çok diğer benzerlerinde²⁷ olduğu gibi sivri tonozlu tavana kadar tümünde ahşap konut tavanlarının taklidi olan formlar vardır. Mezar içi mimaride ahşap konut taklidi için en iyi örneklerden biri olan Köhnüş no 17 tam tamına ahşap bir konut çatısının iç görünüşünü yansıtmaktadır²⁸. Anlaşılan her bölge kendi konut mimarisini bazen tasarda bazen de işçilikte kaya mimarlığı için örnek olarak kullanmıştır. Ve hatta kültür bölgesinin kendi içindeki farklı mimari uygulamaları bile orada mezara yansıtmakta gecikmemiştir. Çünkü kaya ustasının örnek aldığı mimari form en yakınındaki evidir. Örneğin, Urartu-Dedeli yer altı mezarının sivri tonoz çatılı tavanı aynı köydeki evlerde de vardır. Bu benzerlik sadece tavan yapısında değil, taka yerinin odadaki seçiminde de vardır²⁹. Frig kaya mezarlarını E. Haspels, “erken ve geç örnekler olarak iki ana kümede inceler ve mezar odası ahşap bir eve benzer, ölü evidir” der³⁰. Bu tip mezarlar genellikle “ölü evi” olarak adlandırılır ve “konut mimarisinden esinlendikleri”³¹ bilinir. Ancak önemli bir ayrımın üstünde durulmaz: bu “esinlenmede” de farklar vardır. Örneğin, Urartu’da konut mimarisinden teknik ve tasarda örnek alınmışken³². Frig’de sadece teknikte esinlenilmiştir: Tasarda değil çünkü Frig mezarları tek bir küçük odadan ibarettir, Urartu’daki gibi salonlu ve çok odalı bir bey evi gibi değil. Her kültür bölgesindeki kaya mezarlarında oranın yerli yapı gelenekleri yansıdığıdır. Ancak, bu yansımadaki kriter de yine yerli tercihlerle dayanır: Sadece yatak odasını kopyalayan Frig ya da Likya mezarı ile tüm yapıyı mutfak ve salonuyla kopyalayan Urartu arasındaki farkta olduğu gibi. Ya da yatak odasını iç mimari tasarımı ve ahşap işçiliği tekniğiyle birlikte kayaya yansıtan Frig’e karşın, bu tek odayı sadece tasarıyla kayaya mezar olarak aktarmayı tercih eden Likya arasındaki ayrım gibi. Hatta bu kültürlerin hiç birinde bulunmayan ev içi donatıları ve iç mimari detayların kayaya yansıtılmasını da Etrüsk mezarlarında görmekteyiz (Fig. 8a). Bu örneklerde, ev, tasarımından aplikelere kadar

²⁷ Haspels 1971, 535-539.

²⁸ Haspels 1971, Fig. 537.

²⁹ Çevik 2000a 9 Lev. 64b.

³⁰ Haspels 1971, 112.

³¹ Wealkens 1986, 22.

³² Ayrıntılı bilgi için bak., Çevik, Urartu 2000, 30 vdd.

her yönüyle kayalara işlenmiştir³³. Urartu'da iç donatıların kayalara yansıtılmayışının nedeni bu geleneğin olmamasından değil, donatıların bağımsız olarak mezara yerleştirilmesinden kaynaklanır. Evin tümünü mezarda mimari olarak sahneleyen Urartu, içini de unutmamıştı ve en iyi Altın-tepe III nolu prens mezarından bildiğimiz gibi salonu, mutfağı ve yatak odası olan bir ev tasarlanmış ve içlerine de gereken masa, sedir, sandalye v.b. konulmuş hatta yemek masasının üstüne yemek de konulmuştur³⁴.

Urartu ve Frig kaya mezarlarının temel yapısalıkları karşılaştırıldığında ortaya benzerliklerden çok ayrılıklar çıkmaktadır. Ve, elde sadece kayaya oda açmak fiilindeki benzerlik kalmaktadır³⁵. Sanırım, açtığı kaya odasını pek çok detayda özgünleştirme ve başka bir kültürün kaya mezarı resmine sokmayı başarabilme yeteneğine sahip bir halk kayaya mezar odası açma düşüncesini oluşturmak için başka bir öğreticiye ihtiyaç duymayacaktır. Zaten, mimari ya da başka alanlarda kayayı kullanmayı da, –eğer bu zorunluysa– öncelikle aynı toprakların geçmişindeki Hitit'in eserlerinden görmüş olmalıydı. Ancak Yazılıkaya gibi açık hava kaya tapınaklarının en görkemlisinin sahibi Hititler'in kayaya mezar açma geleneği yoktur. Gavurkale'deki yapının mezar olup olmadığı tartışmalarını bir kenara bırakırsak, Hitit'lerde, Demirçağ kültürlerinden bildiğimiz anıtsal kaya mezarlarına rastlanmamıştır. Hatta Hitit krallarının mezarları da hala bilinmemektedir. Bu durumda, daha önce Frig-Urartu sanat ilişkilerinin varlığını savunan C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, K. Bittel, M.N. von Loon, Forbes, P. Demargne, P. Calmeyer³⁶, F.W.König³⁷ ve F. Işık gibi bilim adamlarının bu

³³ Proietti 1986, 123. 238 vdd.

³⁴ Özgüç 1969, 18 vdd., Fig. 18.

³⁵ Kaya mimarlığındaki bu mecburi başlangıç görüntüsünü “kültürel ilişki” olarak değerlendirmek çok anlamlı değildir. Örneğin, F.Işık'ın Urartu-Frig ilişkisini belgelemek için sunduğu (Işık 1987 Plt.32) ve benim de önceleri bir kısmını inanılır bulduğum Dübecik ve Şirinlikale ya da Küçük Frig-Kapıkaya ve Urartu-Alyar benzerlikleri aldatıcıdır. Çünkü Alyar nişi mezar kültürüne ilişkindir, Küçük Kapıkaya ise Kybele'nin kült nişidir. Aralarında ise bir niş içinde bulunmaktan öte bir benzerlik yoktur. Nişlerin bile yapıları farklıdır. Birine basamaklarla çıkılır ve çerçeveslidir, diğeri ise tamamen kabartma alanı oluşturmaya yönelik yalın bir niştir. Dikkat edilmeyen çok önemli ayrımlar daha vardır: Örneğin Urartu'da tanrısal kült nişlerinin hiçbirinde tanrı kabartması yoktur. Frig'de ise nişlerin içinde sahibi olan Kybele vardır.

³⁶ Calmeyer 1975, 99.

³⁷ König 1972, 67.

yargılarının tekrar gözden geçirilmesi gerekmektedir. En azından kültürler arası bu ilişkilerin hangi düzey ve yoğunlukta olduğu tekrar irdelenmelidir. ‘Benzerlik’le ‘ilişki’nin ve ‘etkileşim’in aynı kavramlar olmadığı ve her benzerliğin etkileşim sonucu olmadığı göz önüne alınmalıdır. Bunlardan P. Demargne, “Frig sanatının oluşumunda kesinlikle batı etkisinin olmadığını, Yeni Hitit ve Urartu gibi büyük kültürlerle ilişki içinde olduğunu kabul etmek zorundayız”³⁸ derken, F. Işık da “Kabartma ve mimaride Frigler Urartu’ya öykünmüşlerdir”³⁹, “bu ilişki çömlekten fibulaya dek çoktandır bilinmektedir”⁴⁰ diyerek de Urartu Frig ilişkilerinin çoktandır öne sürülmekte olduğunu anlatır. Işık’ın kurduğu katı etkileşime göre aslında, Urartu olmazsa, Frig ve hatta Likya’da kaya mezar olgusunun ortaya çıkmayacağı anlamı çıkmaktadır. Aslında, en doğal ve öğrenilmeden rahatlıkla bulunabilecek işçilik olan kayalara basamak açmak gibi daha akıl almaz örneklerde de bu etkileşimden söz edilir: K. Bittel, “Midas kentteki kaya basamakları ve tünelleri için Tuşpa ve Ruşahinili benzerlerini”⁴¹ gösterir. F. Işık da bu öneriye tamamen katılır⁴². Bunu Lehmann-Haupt’un, “Urartu kaya mezarları ile Paflagonya, Frigya, Yunanistan, Etrurya ve Filistin’deki kaya mezarları arasında var olduğunu düşündüğü ilişki”⁴³ için, Forbes “bu ilişki plandaki ana benzerliklere dayanan, aslında sadece kayaya mezar açmak eyleminden öteye gitmeyen bir yaklaşım içermektedir”⁴⁴ der. Frig kaya mimarlığının uzman ismi Haspels konuya mantıklı ve doğal çözümü sunar: “Frigler yerli ahşap yapı geleneklerini kaya anıtlarının cephelerinde, mezar odalarının içlerinde taklit ettikleri gibi taklit ettiler. 8. yy’da Gordion’da, tümüslerin mezar odalarından ahşap evlere, mobilya ve oyuncuğa kadar pek çok alanda yüksek oranda ahşap kullanıldı”⁴⁵ der.

³⁸ Demargne 1962, 398.

³⁹ Işık 1987, 163 vdd.; Işık 1989, 17.

⁴⁰ Işık 1989, 16.

⁴¹ Bittel 1950, 85.

⁴² Işık 1987, 169 vdd., Plt.36a,b.

⁴³ Lehmann-Haupt 1931, 633.

⁴⁴ Forbes 1983, 97.

⁴⁵ Haspels 1971, 101.

Likya ise Anadolu'nun en zengin kaya mezarlıklarıyla bilinir (Fig. 3). Bu çeşitlilik ve zenginlik nedeniyle Anadolu'daki kaya mezarlarını karşılaştırmada üçüncü örnek kültür olarak seçilmiştir. 6. yy öncesinde kaya mezarları yaptıklarına dair bir iz olmayan⁴⁶ Likyalılar 5. yy ortalarında kaya mezarı türünün her bir çeşidiyle doldurmuşlardı nekropollerini⁴⁷. Tarihsel olarak dikkati çeken ilk unsurun kaya mezarlarının ilk başlangıcının Pers egemenliğinden sonraya denk gelmesidir. Geldikleri vatanlarında kaya mezar gelenekleri bilinen Persler öncesi Likyası'nda kaya mezarı olduğuna ilişkin hiçbir veri yoktur⁴⁸. Frigler, en geç 8 yy'ın son çeyreğinde ilk kaya mezarlarını yapmış olmalarına ve coğrafi olarak da çok yakın olmalarına karşın bu "geleneğin" Likya'ya gelişi nedense, en az 200 yıl kadar gecikmiştir. Oysa Frig'in kayaya mezar anıtları oyduğu aynı erken dönemlerde Likya Beyleri büyük olasılıkla, başlangıçta tümülsülere⁴⁹ ve dinastik dönemde de dikme mezarlara gömülmekteydi⁵⁰. Bu aynı zamanda sınıfsal bir farkın göstergesiydi: J. Zahle, "Dikmelerin soylulara, ev tipi mezarların orta sınıfa ait olduğunu yazar"⁵¹. Dolayısıyla Likya'da soylular için anıt mezarı yapımı kaya mezarlarıyla başlamamıştır. Üstelik oda mezarlarda bilinen erken örnekler oyma değil örmedirler. Ve, ilk örnekleri Avşar Tepe'de kazıyla ortaya çıkaran F. Kolb, "...bu tip mezarlar kaya mezarlarının öncüleridir..." der⁵². Bu öneri tipolojik olarak değil, teknik olarak doğrudur. Tıpkı Urartu'da olduğu gibi kendi içinde,

⁴⁶ Akurgal 1961, 108.

⁴⁷ Kjeldsen-Zahle 1975, 349. Likya nekropollerinden örnekler için bak, Çevik 2002a.

⁴⁸ Tapınak cepheci Kyrene mezarlarının da aynı oluşum süreci içinde olduğu konusunda (Fedak 1990, 55) "Pers kral mezarları Kyrene mimarlarınca biliniyordu. Özellikle 530-510'da Pers satrabi Arkesileos III döneminde bölgeye geldiğini" belirtir.

⁴⁹ Zahle 1975, 77 vdd.; Çevik 1996, 63.

⁵⁰ Likya'nın erken soylu mezarı olan dikmeler için bak., Deltour-Levie 1982.

⁵¹ Zahle 1980, 37 vdd. Gerçi bazı çok önemli kentlerde dikme mezarlara rastlanmayışı bu geleneğin Likya içinde de lokal olduğunu göstermektedir. Örneğin Limyra, Myra, Arykanda, Phellos, Telmessos gibi daha bir çok kentte dikme mezara rastlanmaz. Patara'da ise dikme mezar olmadığı gibi Likya'ya özgü Klasik kaya mezarlığı bile yoktur. Buna karşın Apollonia gibi küçük bir yerleşimde bile dikme mezar olabilmektedir. Likya'daki mezar tipleri ve varlıkları kentlerin, kronolojilerin hangi diliminde önemli olduklarının izlerini de vermektedir. Örneğin Patara'nın Klasik Çağ'da, Xanthos'un denize açılma ihtiyacını karşılayan, önemsiz bir liman yerleşimi olduğunun rahatlıkla anlaşıldığı gibi. Bu erken kadersizlik Andriake için de geçerlidir. Andriake'nin erken ölülere, her yönden bağımlı olduğu Myra'nın muhteşem kaya mezarlığında gömülmekteydi. Bu nedenle de şehirde kaya mezarı yoktu.

⁵² Kolb 1998, 43.

yerli bir gelişim görünmektedir. Bu yerlilik ve kendi gelişim sürecinde yaratılmışlık sadece mezarlar için değil, örneğin kuleler için de geçerlidir: Yine Kolb, “kule çiftlikler klasik Likya yerli kule çiftliklerinden gelişmiştir” der⁵³. Görüldüğü gibi köken çoğu zaman toprakların kendi geçmişindedir. Klasik dönemde sanatında doruğa vuran, özgün Likya Lahdi’ni kendiliğinden yaratan kültür⁵⁴ Likya kaya mezarını da üretecek güçteydi. Üstelik, eğer etkilenme söz konusu olacaksa, Likya Akdeniz ticaret yolları üstünde doğu kültürlerine, kuzeyde Anadolu içlerine, güneyde deniz yolları aracılığıyla Kıbrıs ve Mısır’la da ilişki içinde olduğundan farklı etkilenme alternatiflerine de sahiptir. Kıbrıs’taki ahşap taklidi işçiliğe sahip daha erken mezarlar da vardı⁵⁵.

Urartu ve Frig kaya mezarlarıyla kolayca karşılaştırabilmek için Likya kaya mezarlarının da genel karakteristiği çıkarılabilir⁵⁶. Yukarıda özlüce verilmeye çalışılan kültürlerin pek çok unsuru kendiliğinden yaratmış olma süreçleriyle ilişkili açıklamaya rağmen yine de alışlagelmiş arkeolojik yöntemle de denendiğinde benzer sonuç çıkmaktadır. Klasik Çağ Likyası’nda akropol uzaklarında merkezi-soylu nekropoller (Likçe’de qlah) genellikle bulunmaz⁵⁷. Beylerin yaşamları üstte, ölüm hemen alttadır. Frigya’daki gibi tek tek mezarlar değil, birbirlerine kaya yüzünde açılmış sokaklarla/sokakcıklarla bağlanmış mezar mahalleleri söz konusudur (Fig. 3a,b). Likya’da mezarlıklar akropoldeki kent gibi planlanmıştır. Anadolu’daki kaya mezarlıklarında ilk kez şehircilik anlayışıyla yapılan nekropol düzenlemesi görülmektedir. Mezarlık kurumsallaşmıştır. Minti olarak adlandırılan mezarlık örgütü nekropol işlerini örgütlemektedir⁵⁸. Mezarlar, sokakları, ön alanları ve ölü kültü alanlarını ortak kullanır. Frigya’da hiç rastlanmayan montaj tekniği, ana kayanın çürük ve yetersiz

⁵³ Kolb, 1998, 47; F. Kolb (Ed), *Lykische Studien I* AMS 9, 1993, 87.

⁵⁴ Rodenwaldt 1933, 212; Çevik 2002a 56.

⁵⁵ Fedak, (1990, 50.) “Tamassos gibi Kıbrıs örneklerinde, İç ve dış mimaride taş yapıda ahşap taklidi Likya örneklerinden önce başlar”. Ancak bu konuda farklı görüşler de vardır: Ussishkin, (1993, 315) “Kıbrıs anıt mezarları Anadolu’dan etkilenmiştir”. Karageorghis de Kıbrıs mezarlarının Anadolu’dan etkilendiğini belirtir.

⁵⁶ Likya kaya mezarları için genel olarak bak., Kjeldsen-Zahle 1975, 312 vdd.

⁵⁷ Likya nekropollerinin nicelik, nitelik, konum, akropol ilişkisi v.b. açısından iyi örnekler olarak bak., Borchhardt 1975; İşkan-Çevik 1998, 423-442; İşkan-Çevik 2000, 169-180.

⁵⁸ Likya’da bir ölümün kurgusu için bak. Çevik 2002a.

olduğu durumlarda Likya'nın her nekropolünde yoğunca kullanılmaktadır⁵⁹. Bu uygulamadaki yüksek teknik beceri kaya/taş işçiliğinde Likya'nın çok ilerde olduğunu göstermektedir. Likya öncesi kültürlerde çeşitlenmeyen ve çoğunlukla birbirlerine benzeyen mezarlar Likya'da çeşitlenir. Kaya yüzünde tapınak cephelilerden ev cephelilere ve bunların çok değişik versiyonlarıyla kendi içlerinde çeşitlenen mezarlar, Frig ve Urartu'da olduğu gibi sadece kaya yüzünde bir cephe olarak değil, kayadan kurtulup öne çıkmış hatta tamamen bağımsızca kayadan oyulmuş örneklerle kökten farklılaşır (Fig. 3b). Erken örneklerin tamamı ahşap konstrüksiyon taklidi cepheye sahiptir. Yalın yüzlü bir mezar yoktur. Buna karşın ve çok ilginç bir biçimde, Likya mezarlarının ölü odaları, anıtsal cephelerine tam tezat oluşturacak biçimde yalın ve niteliksizdirler. Bu niteliksizlik hem tasarda hem de işçiliktedir. Likya'nın en anıtsal kaya mezarlarında dahi bu durum değişmez. Fasat her zaman önde ve önemlidir. Nekropol cepheleri sanki eski zamanların Likya kentlerinde yan yana dizili, birbirinden az farklı evlerin bir kopyası gibidir⁶⁰. Kopyalanan sadece tek tek yapılar değil ayrıca tüm şehirdir sanki. Bu resim Likya öncesi kültürle yabancıdır. Onlarda sadece yerel mimari, tek tek ve birbirinden farklı da olabilen evler özelinde kayaya yansıtılmıştır. Likya mezarlarında tüm kapılar yana sürgülü açılırken, Frig ve Urartu'da bu böyle değildir. Kapı açılışı gibi çok özgün detaylar aslında bir kültürün mimari sanatını ele vermekte onların diğerlerine göre farklarını ortaya koymamıza yardım etmektedir. Özellikle Likya'da mezarların çoğunlukla yazıtlı ve kabartmalı oluşu mezar mimarisinde beliren sözlü ve resimli yerel anlatma geleneğini temsil eder ki bu da Likya öncesi Anadolu'ya yabancıdır. Ne Urartu'da ve ne de Frig'de mezar sahibi ailenin günlük yaşamı ya da ölü kültürüne ilişkin

⁵⁹ Montaj tekniği için bak., İşkan-Çevik 1998, 169-180;

⁶⁰ Mezarlar 'ölü evi' olarak düşünülmüşlerine bağlı olarak bu dünyadaki evleri taklit ederler: Fellows, 1853, 241 vd.; Bendorf-Niemann 1884, 95 vd.; Çevik 2000a 70. Ölen sevgili yakınların aileden hiç ayrılmadığını düşünebilmek için ölümler her zaman eve, yerleşime yakın olmuşlardır. Bu davranış biçimi komşu kültürlerden öğrenmekle değil tüm insanların ölümlerine karşı olan ortak duygularından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu duygu mezarın yaşayanların mekanlarına yakınlığı belirlerken, öldükten sonra yaşanılacağına inancı da mezarların ev mimarisine benzemesine yol açmaktaydı. Bu nedenle de çoğu bölge ve zamanda evin içine ya da eve benzer yapıdaki mezarlara gömülmüş ölümlere rastlanır. Örneğin Asur'da da evlerin zeminine ölümler gömülürdü Hatti'de de ve Çatal höyük'te de. M. Wealkens'in, "Ölümler düşüncesinin Anadolu'nun 3. binden başlayarak kökleşen eski bir geleneği olduğu" düşüncesine (M. Wealkens, AA 1975, 340. 349) katılmıyorum.

ayrıntılar mezar cephesinde anlatılmamıştır. Urartu'da 46 mezar içinde sadece Doğubayazıt ve Alyar örneklerinde görülen kabartmalarda mezar sahibinin tanrıya sunusu anlatılmaktadır. Başkent Tuşpa mezarlarında bile tek bir kabartma yokken, bunlara göre daha önemsiz olan bu iki mezarda varlıkları şaşırtıcıdır⁶¹. Urartu içinde sadece iki örnekte bulunduğu ve asla geleneksel olmadığı anlaşılan bu kabartmalara Frig'de ise hiç raslanmaz. Frig'de Aslan Taş ve Yılan Taş gibi yine azınlık örneklerde seçilen kabartmalar güncel değil daha çok apotropaiktir. Likya bu konuda hem sayısal yaygınlıkta ve hem de güncel sahnelerin mezar cephesine işlenişinde çok farklı bir yer edinmektedir. Mezar sahiplerinden bahseden yazıtlarda ise Likya iyice farklılaşır. Bu alışkanlık Urartu ve Frig'de hiç yoktur

Üç kültürün kaya mezarı mimari geleneğine ilişkin yukarıda özetlenen karşılaştırma birbirlerinden çok farklı ve de özgün olduklarını göstermektedir. Aralarında gözlemlenen benzerlikler ise dikkat edilirse en yalın ve ortaya çıkışı en doğal unsurlardır. Üç kültürün de kendi başlarına ve yardımsız başarabilecekleri “ilk akla gelenlerdir”. Her kültür kendi günlük mimarisine bakıp bunları kayalara uygulamışlardır. Yaşamlarına ait mimarilerini özgün olarak üretirken nasıl ki bağımsız olabilmeyi becerdiler ve birbirlerinden öğrenmeye gerek duymadılarsa, bunları kayalara yansıtırken niye başka kültürün bilgisine ihtiyaç duysunlar ki? Üstelik yakma (cremation) ve ceset gömme (inhumation) geleneklerinin birlikte var olduğu Urartu'ya karşın Frig kaya mezarlarında –urne nişleri gibi– yakmaya ilişkin mimari elemanlara raslanmaz. Ölü gömme geleneğindeki bu çarpıcı ayrılık, Frig mezarları içlerinde kremasyon elemanlarının olmamasına yol açar. Aslında eldeki verilere bakıldığında ölü gömme geleneklerinin farklı olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Altıntepe ölü tapınağı benzeri bir düzenleme Frig'de söz konusu değildir. Urartu ölü kültürüne yönelik kullanılan temel unsurlardan olan dikmelerin de Frig'de olmadığı görülmektedir⁶².

Yerli mimari gelenekle bunun kayaya yansısı Likya açısından ele alındığında kolay anlaşılır bir geçmiş görülmektedir⁶³. Son zamanlara

⁶¹ Çevik 2000a 72 Lev. 35, 46. Bu örneklerde mezar sahibinin duruşu ve tapınımın anlatım tarzı Asur geleneğindedir.

⁶² Altıntepe ölü tapınağı, steller ve hayatağacı için bak., Çevik 1999, 335-357; Çevik, 1997a, 229 vdd.

⁶³ Çevik 2002a 52 vdd.

kadar bölgede kullanılagelen alaçık çadır-konutu⁶⁴ semerdam yapısallığıyla tam bir lahit örtüsünü çağrıştırmaktadır. Alaçık dalı denilen çam dallarından yapılan bu konut belli ki bölgenin çok erkenlerinden itibaren vardır. Belki de ilk konutlardandır. Ve geçmişte de, olasılıkla lahit örtüsünün yaratılmasında örneklik etmiş olmalıdır. Karakovan örtülerine öncülük etmiş olabileceği gibi. Çünkü bu oluşumda sıra yaşamdan ve öncelikle de insan yaşamından yanadır: Önce, insana konut, sonra, hayvana-üretim barınak ve ardından da bu formların ölü mimarisine uygulanışı. Likya'da halkın yaşadığı konutlardan bugüne çok az şey kalmış oluşu, onların gerçekten, alaçık gibi çoğunluğu ahşap olan bir konstrüksiyonla yapılmış olmalarından kaynaklanmaktadır. Taş konstrüksiyona sahip erken Likya evlerine ilişkin yeni bulgular Avşar Tepesi'nde ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu araştırmaların ilginç yanı, kazıcısı Kolb'ün de belirttiği gibi, bulunan bir hanedan mezarının da tıpkı evlerin planında olduğudur⁶⁵. Bu, Likya'da başlangıçtan beri mezarlar için günlük yapı formları, özellikle de ev mimarisinin model olarak alındığını göstermektedir⁶⁶. Sivil mimarinin salt dış yapısallığı taklit edilmekle kalmaz, aynı zamanda içe de yansır. Örneğin, bey evinin konuk odası doğrudan mezar içlerindeki üç yataklı düzenlemeye kopya edilmiştir. Likya yapılarının içinde ve dışında bolca kullanılan ahşap da mezarlara yansır. Dışta kayaya oyulmuş taklitleriyle içte ise doğrudan kendisiyle: Mezar içlerindeki ahşap kullanımını belgeleyen onlarca iz tespit edilmiştir. Kayanın yetmediği ya da zor geldiği yerde ahşap ya da bazen örgü devreye girmektedir. Doğanın zorlamasıyla ortaya çıkan hybrid mimari tekniği ve yeteneği Likya'da da kendini açıkça göstermekte ve fark ettirmektedir. Tüm Likya'da olduğu gibi Trebenna'daki çalışmalarımızda da incelediğimiz, akropol çevresinde ve üstündeki hybrid yapılar⁶⁷ sayıda ve nitelikte konuyu iyi örneklerken, Trebenna'nın üç bölgenin kavşağındaki konumu bu özelliğin herhangi bir kültür alanının değil coğrafik karakterin sonucu olduğunu göstermektedir. Ve zaten tüm kültür bölgelerinde de görülür.

⁶⁴ Geleneksel konutlar için bak., M.N. Gönüllü, "Alanya Yaylalarında Geleneksel Meskenler ve Barınaklar", Türk Akdenizi 2000, 50 vdd.

⁶⁵ Kolb 1998a, 348.

⁶⁶ Aslında her kültürde ve çoğu zaman mezar için özel bir yapı türü geliştirmekten çok günlük yaşam mimari formlarından örnekler ölü için adapte edilmektedir. Tamamen mezar olan bir form neredeyse yok gibidir.

⁶⁷ Çevik-Kızgut-Aktaş 1997, 402 vdd. Trebenna antik kenti ve çevresindeki tüm kalıntılar toplu olarak yayına hazırlanmaktadır.

Kaya mezarlarının tamamı çeşitli yapı konstrüksiyonlarından uyarlanmadır⁶⁸. Bu nedenle, ev mezarlar, dikme mezarlar⁶⁹, tapınak cephe mezarlar ve lahitler⁷⁰ olarak sınıflandırılır. Likya sanki bir mezarlar ülkesidir. Özellikle kaya mezarları ve lahitler bölge için karakteristik bir resim çizer. Rodenwaldt, Anadolu'nun güney ve güneybatısının bir lahitler yurdu olduğunu ve bunların Anadolu'nun diğer bölgelerine göre çok daha zengin bir çeşitlilik gösterdiğini ve Likya'nın kendi elleriyle ve kendi geleneğiyle lahitlerini ürettiğini anlatmaktadır (Fig. 3c)⁷¹. Likya yöneticileri kendilerine mezar olarak dikmeleri ve tapınak mezarları, orta sınıfı da ev tipi kaya mezarlarını seçmiştir. Tiplerin kendi içlerinde sınıflanmaları bile sosyal katmanlaşmayı aynen yansıtmaktadır (Fig. 3a)⁷². Erken Tunç Çağ'dan beri bilinen ahşap kulübeler ve belli ki bugün henüz yapılarını tam bilemediğimiz, değişik niteliklerdeki evler, kaya mezarlarına yansımıştır. Günümüzde eski gelenekte yapılmış irili ufaklı ahşap mekanlar, zahire depoları olarak hala kullanılmaktadır. Düz damlı yada çatılı olabilen konutlar, tüm çeşitleriyle, olduğu gibi kayalardaki ölü evlerinde kullanılmışlardır. Yüksek gövdeli dikme mezarlar ve lahitler bile salt mezarlara özgü görünmelerine karşın diğerlerinde olduğu gibi örneklerini yine günlük yaşamdan, kule gövdeli, geleneksel arı kovanlarından alırlar. Aslında bu çok eski yerli bir yapı formudur: Karataş'ın Orta Tunç Çağı katmanında (2500-2000) ele geçen çark yapımı seramikler üstünde semerdamlı konut çizimleri de, lahitlerdeki mimari geleneğin aslında, alaçık çadır-konut gibi İ.Ö. 3. hatta 4. bine kadar inebilecek yerli bir yapı geleneği olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Likya'da da pek çok sanat unsuru, zaman zaman da dış etkiler de olarak ancak çoğunlukla kendi içinde ve kendi şartlarında gelişmiştir.

Tüm bunlardan sonra bilim adamlarının kendi aralarında, “kaynak Frig mi yoksa Likya mı ya da Urartu mu” diye tartışmaları aslında çok da anlamlı görünmemektedir. Buna rağmen, diğer bakış açılarının da aynı sayfalarda görünmesini ve karşılaştırılmasını sağlamak üzere burada bazı görüşleri sunmak isterim: H.Gonnet-Bağana'nın öne sürdüğü “Frig sanatında Hitit kökeni”⁷³ seçeneği de aradaki 500 yıl ve sanatta benzersizlik

⁶⁸ Bu konuda ayrıntılı bilgi için bak., Kjeldsen-Zahle 1975, 312 vdd.

⁶⁹ Dikme mezarlar için bak., Deltour-Levie 1982.

⁷⁰ Lahitler için bak., İdil 1985.

⁷¹ Rodenwaldt 1933, 212. Andrea de “Anadolu'nun sütunlu lahit tipini yaratan üreticilikte olduğunu” belirtir: Andrea 1973, 559.

⁷² Zahle 1980, 37 vdd.

⁷³ H. Gonnet-Bağana, IX. TTK 1, 1986, 276.

nedeniyle kabul edilemez. Asıl sorun Hititler'de kaya mezarı geleneğinin olmamasıdır. Hatta, Hitit krallarının anıt-mezarları bile hala tam bilinmemektedir. Üstelik, Mısır'la ilişkileri olduğunu bildiğimiz Anadolu'nun ilk imparatorluğu Hitit'te –madem etkilenme bu denli yüksek boyutlardaydı– gözler Mısır türünden kaya mezarları da aramaktadır. Beklentimiz, Hitit soylu mezarlarının da Hatti prenslerinin Alacahöyük'teki gibi yer altı oda mezarları benzeri biçimde olabileceğidir. Bugüne dek bulunamamış olmaları da yer altı odalarını düşüncede güçlendirmektedir. Anadolu kaya mezarları için erken 1. bin, şimdilik alt sınır olarak görünmektedir.

E. Akurgal, Frig kaya anıtlarının oluşumuna Likya kaynağını gösterirken⁷⁴, F.İşık, Likya için Frig kaynağını göstermektedir. İşık “zamanlamanın ters olduğunu erken olanın Frig olduğunu ve kayanın Likya'da salt gömüt işlevine yönelik oyulduğunu”⁷⁵ öne sürerek konuyu tartışır. Burada sorulması gereken asal soru şudur: Likya'da kayanın sadece mezar olarak oyulmuş olması Frig'le ilişki kurarken sorun yaratıyorsa, aynı sorun Frig'den Likya'ya kaya anıtlarını köklendirirken de sorun olmalıdır. Frig ve Likya kaya mezarları arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki olasılığına kronolojik sorunlar imkan tanımaz. Zaten, Haspels'in belirttiği gibi “iki kültürün stilleri oldukça farklıdır ve her biri kendine özgü, kendi içinde ve bölgeseldir”⁷⁶ diye etkiyi çok da gerekli görmediğini belli eder. Daha önce de yazdığım gibi ben de bu etkileşimi gerekli bulmamaktayım⁷⁷.

Yakın Doğu kaya mezarları konusunda sürekli olarak köken arayan ve mutlaka tümünün birbirine bağlı ve ilişkili olarak ortaya çıktığını düşünmek isteyen arkeologlar başka köken ve etki kaynakları da öne sürerler: Örneğin, D. Ussishkin, “Kaya mezarı gömme stiline, Mısır'dan çok etkilenen Fenikeliler tarafından yakın Doğu'ya 1. binde yayıldığını ve bu geleneğin

⁷⁴ Akurgal 1955, 88; Akurgal 1961, 108 vd.

⁷⁵ İşık 1989, 16.

⁷⁶ Haspels 1971, 48.

⁷⁷ “... All the time, the forms from daily life were copied onto the rock face: adapted to the status of the dead. The local technique and materials and the architectural fashion of each period, have important parts to play in causing the differences between rock cut tombs. The common basic factors for the inner planning of the tombs are the deceased measurements and expected population for each tomb. Therefore, the differences between the rock-cut tombs are generally observable primarily on their façades. There cannot be big changes to the tomb itself. This is the reason why the similarities between the rock-cut tombs of different regions are mostly inside. ... tombs are based on natural and technical reasons or through local architectural traditions, or were taken from the rock-cut architecture of neighboring cultures. At this point, the basic similarities, such as to open a tomb chamber into the rock, could be created without any influences from other cultural regions. Sometime, the reasons are common burial needs, natural materials are architectural knowledge.”: Çevik 2002b.

olasılıkla Urartu'ya da bu yolla gittiğini" öne sürer⁷⁸. Silwan nekropolündeki en önemli mezar olan "Firavunun kızının mezarı" ile "Mısır arasında güçlü bir ilişki olduğunu" belirtir⁷⁹. "Bu tip mezarların bir yerden bir yere taşındığını ve birbirlerini etkileyerek, Mısır'dan Anadolu'ya oradan da Etrürya'ya kadar yayıldıklarını"⁸⁰ öne sürerken tek merkezli bir çıkış ve yayılışı savunur. Hatta, Karageorghis'in "Kıbrıs mezarlarında gördüğü Anadolu etkisini"⁸¹ de "ana kaynak Mısır'dır" diyerek karşılar. Fedak ise, "Kıbrıs-Tamassos'daki kaya mezarlarının iç ve dış mimarilerindeki ahşap taklidi, Likya mezarlarından önce başlar" der⁸².

Kaya mezarları konusunda çok da uzak etkileşim savlarına girmeden yapılacak kolay şey, çok yakın bazı kültür alanlarını karşılaştırmaktır. Örneğin, çok baskın ve özgün kaya mezar mimarisine sahip Likya ile onun komşusu Pamfilya arasında ne gibi bir etkileşim olduğu sorusu mutlaka sorulmalıdır⁸³. Çünkü Likya'da Klasik Çağ beyleri kayalara mezar açtırırken, Pamfilya'da da, aynı dönemde en az onlar kadar güçlü beyler yaşamaktaydı. O Pamfilya soylularının mezarları neredeydi ? ve daha da önemlisi neden bunlar kaya mezarı yapmamışlardı ? Neden, Likya benzeri hiçbir kaya mezarı nekropolü yoktu ? Oysa yeterince kayalık da vardı, kayalara mezar açacak güçte bey de vardı. Pamfilya'daki tüm olumlu şartlara rağmen ve Likya'nın kaya mezarı konusundaki "baskın olduğu" ileri sürülen etkisine rağmen etkileşim gerçekleşmemiş ve Pamfilya nekropollerini Likya nekropollerinden farklı kalmıştı. Melas Vadisi'ndeki Etenna (Fig. 4a) gibi Pamfilya'nın doğu sınırında ya da Trebenna⁸⁴ gibi batı sınırında ki bazı yerleşimlerde görülen kaya mezarları ise Klasik Çağ'dan değillerdi ve Likya'nın ahşap mimariye öykünen özgün cepheleriyle ilgileri de yoktu. En ilginç mezar örneklerinden biri Typallia'dadır. Likya'da bize yabancı olan mezar içi ahşap imitasyonu ve tavanın çatı biçiminde oluşu buradaki üç mezarda karşımıza çıkar. Likya'ya yabancı olan bu durumun

⁷⁸ Ussishkin 1993, 319.

⁷⁹ Bu mezardaki piramidal çatı yapısı ve Mısır tipi korniş nedeniyle bu ilişki kurulur: Ussishkin 1993, 319.

⁸⁰ Ussishkin 1993, 318.

⁸¹ Ussishkin 1993, 317.

⁸² Fedak 1990, 50.

⁸³ Likya ve Pamfilya ilişkilerinin kaya mezarları örneğinde irdelenmesi için bak., Çevik 2002b.

⁸⁴ Trebenna'daki 1. yy. Trokondas mezarı için bak., Çevik 2000b, Fig. 4.

Frig'e özgü olduğu yukarıda belirlenmişti. Doğrusu Typallia örnekleri yalnız cepheleriyle ve atnalı yastıklarıyla da Likya'dan ayrılır. Bölgesel olarak Likya'nın kuzeydoğu köşesinde bulunan kentteki toplam üç mezarın Likya mezar sanatının dışında bir resim çizmesi ve onun etkisinde olmaması etkileşimin bu kadar yakınken bile söz konusu olmaması açısından ilginç ve de önemlidir. Bu bağlantısızlık siyasi olarak Likya'dan sayılan ve kaya mezarı olmayan Olympos ve Faselis gibi kentlerde de söz konusudur. Rhodiapolis'ten⁸⁵ sonra Likya kaya mezar nekropollerine artık raslanmaz. Asartaş'ta⁸⁶ ve Kemer çevresindeki bazı yerleşimlerde tekil birkaç örnek vardır⁸⁷. Dolayısıyla Likya kaya mezarlıkları doğuda sadece Alakır vadisine kadar yayılabiştir. Likya'ya özgü dikme mezarlar ise, gerçek Likya'nın sınırlarını çizercesine çok daha batıda Orta Likya'da sonlanmıştır.

b. Açık Hava Kaya Tapınakları: Yukarıda, Urartu Frig ve Likya arasında kurulan ve bugünkü Anadolu sınırları içindeki başka kültürlerle de sıçratılan kültür sanat ilişkileri açık hava kaya tapınaklarında da söz konusu edilmektedir. Bu kuram, kültürler arasında her hangi bir konuda yakalanan bir ilişkinin yada etkinin artık her alanda öne sürülebilir olduğu önyargısından kaynaklanmaktadır. Yoksa anılan üç ana/örnek kültürün kayalarda yansıyan açık havada tapınımı/kültü ve mimarisi birbirlerine göre kaya mezarlarında izlenenden çok daha farklı bir resim vermektedir. Çünkü, dindeki ve tanrılar dünyasındaki ayırım, ölüm ve geleneğindeki ayırmalardan çok daha özgün ve farklı bir çeşitlilik göstermekte, kültürlerin kendilerine has karakterleri ve farkları hakkında çok daha fazla iz vermektedir. Açık hava kaya tapınaklarının belirlenmesi kaya mezarlarına göre çok daha zordur. Kaldı ki kaya mezarlarında bile belirleme zorluklarına düşülmektedir⁸⁸. İnsanlarda mekan anlayışı başladığı mağara günlerinden bu yana kayanın pek çok amaca ve farklı fonksiyona göre biçimlendirilmiş olması bazı alanlarda işlev karışıklıklarına yol açabilmektedir. Bu bölümde de Urartu Frig ve Likya açık hava tapınımına yönelik kaya mimarisinin özellikleri sıralanacak ve sonra da benzerliklerinin varlığı ve varsa derecesinin saptanması amacıyla birbirleriyle karşılaştırılacaktır.

⁸⁵ Çevik 2002, 124 Res. 40.

⁸⁶ Işın 1994, 68-78; Borchhardt 1997, 8 Res 11-16.

⁸⁷ Çevik 2002a 119.

⁸⁸ Örneğin, bir şapel olan Aşağı Oyumca/Köseoğlu kaya odası "Urartu kaya mezarı" olarak sunulmuştur. Şapel görüşü için bak, Çevik, 2000a 27 vd., "Urartu kaya mezarı olduğu yolundaki görüş için bak, Işık 1996, 211 vdd.

Urartu (Fig. 5) kaya tapınakları Urartu dininin önemli bir parçasıdır. Urartu ülkesinin her yanında değişik boyutlarda rastlanır. Von Loon “Tapınak ve açık-hava kutsal alanlarının bir alaşımı” olarak tanıtır⁸⁹. Melikishvili bunlara “yol boyu tapınakları”⁹⁰ der. Meherkapı ve Hazine Piri Kapısı’nda olduğu gibi bazı nişlerin üzüm bağları ve meyve bahçeleri yanında yapıldığı ve yazıt içeriğinde de bu tür tarım üretiminden bahsedildiği görülmektedir. Kırsalda, genellikle kent dışlarında kurulan bu Açık hava tapınakları sanki doğaya üretime yönelik gibidir. İşlevleri konusunda en çok yandaş bulan öneri ise: “kapı şeklindeki bu nişler içerisinden tanrıların çıkacağına inanılmasıydı”⁹¹. Gerçekten de Urartu tapınak kapılarıyla biçim ve ölçüde büyük benzerlik içinde olan anıtsal nişler aslında mimari ve işlevsel olarak da tapınakları temsil ediyordu⁹². Tek farkları nişlerin sadece kapıyı temsil etmesi ve genellikle yerleşim dışında olmasıydı. Yoksa, saray içlerinde bulunan tapınaklarda da insanlar içeride değil dışarıda-avluda tapınmaktalardı. Bu durumda tapınma mimarisinin her tipinde tapınım açık havada yapılmaktaydı. Tapınaklar daha çok tanrı armağanlarının depoları işlevindeydi. Pek çok irili ufaklı kült nişi barındıran Urartu’nun, bilinen en erken nişi Hazine Piri Kapısı iken (İşpuini 830-810), en önemli iki dinsel nişi Meherkapı⁹³ ve Yeşilalıç’tır (Fig. 5a)⁹⁴. Meherkapı nişinin içinde Urartu tanrıları ve adakları listesi bulunduğundan, diğerleri arasında ayrıcalıklı bir yer edinmektedir⁹⁵. Urartu anıtsal nişlerinin kendilerine özgü yanlarını belirlemeye çalıştığımızda şu sonuç çıkar: Yerleşim dışındadır; Kayaya oyuludur; Yalındır; Profilli çerçevelere sahiptir; Ölçüleri, dıştan dışa 5.10x2.40 m’ye ulaşan anıtsal boyutlara varır⁹⁶; Genellikle dikdörtgen

⁸⁹ von Loon 1966, 54.

⁹⁰ Melikishvili 1954, 354.

⁹¹ Geniş bilgi için bak., Tarhan-Sevin 1975, 397; Sevin-Belli 1977, 370 dnot. 14; Çilingiroğlu 1997, 106. “Taşkapı”, “Hazine Kapısı”, “Mithra Kapısı”, “Aşot Kapısı” adlarıyla anılan ve aslında “Haldi Kapısı” olarak adandığını bildiğimiz anıtsal nişlerin bugün de kutsal günlerde açılacağına inanılır.

⁹² Bu konuda geniş bilgi için bak., von Loon 1966, 54; Tarhan-Sevin 1975, 389 vdd.

⁹³ Tarhan-Sevin 1975, 389 vdd.; Belli 1998, 30 vdd.

⁹⁴ Sevin-Belli 1977, 367 vdd.; Belli 1998, 30 vdd., Res. 36.

⁹⁵ Meherkapı’daki Urartu tanrılar listesi için bak., Piotrovski 1965, 39 vdd.; Salvini 1995, 147 vd.

⁹⁶ Urartu’daki en büyük niş Yeşilalıç/Pagan nişidir dıştan dışa 5.10x2.40m ölçülerindedir. En önemlisi olan Meherkapı ise yine dıştan dışa 4.10x2.61m ölçülerindedir: Sevin-Belli, 1977, 369

formdadır⁹⁷; Kaya cephesinde kapı açıklığı dışında hiç bir mimari eleman ya da bezek içermez; Bazı nişlerin içinde yazıt vardır ancak kabartmaya raslanmaz⁹⁸; Önlerinde tören alanları ve döşemeleri bulunur; Niş ön alanlarında sunu unsurları ve steller bulunabilir; Sadece tapınma amaçlı değil ata kültü ve yazıt amaçlı da benzer nişler oyulmuştur. Örneğin Palu'daki (Şebeteria) anıtsal nişin içinde Menua'nın tarihsel konulu yazıtı yer alır⁹⁹. Ya da Van Analıkız nişinde ata kültürüne ilişkin bir düzenleme vardır ve içindeki Sarduri yazıtı bunu kanıtlar (Fig. 5b)¹⁰⁰. Nihayet kayaya oyulu bir kör pencere-niş, tapınak içerikli kapı işlevi yanında bir tabula gibi yazıt yeri ya da anı levhası olarak ve ölü kültüne yönelik niş olarak da kullanılmaktadır¹⁰¹. Nişler çok yaygın bir mimari formdur ve dinsel yada sivil çok değişik işlevler yüklenerek zaman ve coğrafyada yaygın olarak kullanılmışlardır. Urartu'daki küçük boyutlu niş ve çanak/çukurların yerleşim kayalıklarında saray yapılarıyla bağlantılı olarak bulunmaları dinsel olarak başka işlevler için de kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Bu kaya alanlarının çoğu saray yapılarının organik parçaları olarak ve de sivil işlevle karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Van¹⁰², Toprakkale¹⁰³, Mazgirt-Kaleköy¹⁰⁴ ve daha birçok kale içi kaya alanları gibi örnekler ya tamamen ya da kısmen dinsel işlevden uzaktırlar. Ve zaten bu tür yerleşim içi alanların tekil unsurlardan oluşmaması, bir mimari bütünün parçaları olmaları sivil komplekslerin uzantıları olduklarını göstermektedir. Aksi halde, F. Işık'ın tamamını kült alanları olarak değerlendirmesi doğru olduğunda, kaya akropollerde onlardan geriye sivil yaşam alanları neredeyse kalmamaktadır. Oysa dar alanlı kaya tepelerde oluşturulmuş alanlar daha çok yaşayanları barındırmaya yönelik kullanılmıştır. Bunlardan bir kısmı saraya bağlı kaya mekanlarının içinde sivil amaçla kullanılmış nişlerden ibarettir.

⁹⁷ Farklı formda olan tek ayrı Van Analıkız nişleridir. Tesadüf değilse eğer, başkent kayalıklarındaki bu nişli alanın işlevi de diğerlerinden farklıdır. Burası ata kültürüne bağlı olarak "Sarduri II anısına yapılmıştır" (Forbes 1983, 84).

⁹⁸ İçinde kabartma barındıran Herir-Batas'ın Urartu olmadığı düşünülmektedir.

⁹⁹ Köniğ 1967, 64 No. 25; Çevik 1992, 29 Res. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Riemschneider 1966, 62 vd. Res. 16; Forbes 1983, 84 vdd., Plt. 9 Fig. 43.

¹⁰¹ Çevik 1997, 423 vdd.; Çevik 2000a 49 vdd.

¹⁰² Işık 1995a 5 Abb. 147.

¹⁰³ Işık 1995a 21 Fig.11.

¹⁰⁴ Işık 1995a 5 Fig.3.

Pertek örneklerindeki derinliği 5 m'yi geçen kuyular da yine sarnıç işlevine yönelik açılmışlardır; kutsal değildir¹⁰⁵. Değerlendirme hataları, bu gibi kaya elemanlarının çevresindeki boşlukların yapısız alanlar olarak değerlendirilmelerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Oysa bu kaya alanlarının etrafında pek çok yapı yükseldiği düşünülmelidir. Ayrıca açık hava kaya tapınakları örnekleri içinde, aslında kayanın olmadığı kesimlerde duvarların yükseldiği ve üstlerinin kapalı olabileceği de unutulmakta ve hem işlevde hem de tasarım tanımlamasında hatalara düşülmektedir. Örneğin, Umudum kalesinde bulunan kaya odası yan ve arka duvarıyla çevresel bir form göstermesi ve giriş yuvaları ve konsolu da görülmesine rağmen açık hava kaya tapınakları başlığında değerlendirilmiştir¹⁰⁶. Aynı bakış bir çok örnekte yanıltıcı olmuştur. Bir kısmı kaya bir kısmı da taş yada kerpiç olan hybrid yapılardan bugüne kalan genellikle sadece kayalara oyulu, çoğunlukla da alt ve arka bölümleridir. Urartu'da aynı mimari formda niş ya da başka mimari elemanların çeşitli amaçlar için kullanıldığını bildiğimizden, bu formların sadece tapınma amaçlı yapılmış olduklarını düşünemeyiz.

Urartu açık hava kaya tapınaklarının merkezi elemanını oluşturan nişler ile **Frig** nişleri (Fig. 6) arasında da kaya mezarlarında olduğu gibi güçlü bir ilişki ve etkileşim zinciri kurulur. Lehmann-Haupt, “nişlerin formları batıyla kurulacak ilişkiye tanıklık eder”¹⁰⁷; Von Loon, “Batıda Urartu'yla komşu olan Frig krallığının kaya tapınaklarında bu tip kutsal alanların bağlantısı görülür”¹⁰⁸; Akurgal, “Urartu ve Frig kaya nişleri arasında içerik birliği olduğunu”¹⁰⁹; F. Naumann, “bu anıtların Frig'in öz buluşu olmadığını”¹¹⁰; V.Sevin ve O. Belli, “Malazgirt ve Herir-Batas'ın içinde kabartma olan Frig nişlerini etkilemiş olabileceklerini”¹¹¹; F. Işık ise, “Urartu ve Frig kaya anıtlarının türde, biçimde, amaçta, dinsel içerikte çarpıcı benzerlikler içinde olduklarını. Bunları birbirleriyle ilintisiz düşünebilmenin mümkün olmadığını, tamamen özdeş olduklarını”¹¹² belirtirler.

¹⁰⁵ Işık 1995a 31 Abb.101: Işık'ın, “basamaklı sunak (Stufenaltar)” olarak değerlendirdiği bu örnek aslında sarnıca çıkan basamaklardan ibarettir.

¹⁰⁶ Işık 1995a 9vd., Abb. 21-25.

¹⁰⁷ Lehmann-Haupt 1931, 625.

¹⁰⁸ von Loon 1966, 54.

¹⁰⁹ Akurgal 1961, 27.

¹¹⁰ Naumann 1983, 56.

¹¹¹ Sevin-Belli 1977, 370.

¹¹² Işık 1989, 23.

Tüm bu görüşlerin uzağında onlardan bağımsız olarak ve sadece anıtların özelliklerine bakarak düşünürsek sanırım, varsa ilişkiyi ya da ortaya çıkış ve gelişmeyi daha kolay belirleyebiliriz. Frig kaya tapınaklarının özellikleri de şöyle sıralanır¹¹³: Görkemli, anıtsal cephelerdir (Fig. 6); Sadece kapıdan oluşmazlar; Frig tapınaklarının üçgen alınlıklı cephesinin tümü, anıtsal ölçülerde kayaya kopya edilmiştir (Fig. 6b); Tüm cephe, boşluk bırakmamacasına geometrik bezeklerle işlenmiştir (Fig. 6a,c); Yalın değildir; Kaya tapınaklarının merkezinde yer alan kapı da, ahşap kapıları, çerçevesinden kanatlarına dek her şeyiyle taklit eder; Kapı içlerinde tanrıça kabartması vardır; Bahşeyiş gibi bazı örnekler kayadan öne çıkar, bağımsızlaşıp, örnek aldığı yapıya daha çok benzer¹¹⁴.

Ve, şimdi sorulur. Urartu ile Frig arasında yukarıda özetlenen ve bizi çok temel ayrıntılara götüren bu farklılıklar varken bu iki kültürün kayalara kendilerince açtıkları açık hava tapınakları etkileşim içinde bu görüntülerine nasıl ulaşmış olabilir? Frig'in tamamen bir yapıyı kopya eden fasat anıtları nasıl olur da Urartu'nun sadece bir girintiden oluşan yalın kapılarından kaynaklanır? Frig'in ahşap ve tekstil işçiliğinden gelen bezek özellikleri tamamen kayalara yansırken Urartu'da neden bu denli yalın kalabilmiştir. Ve neden, Urartu da Frig'den en küçük bir şekilde etkilenmemiştir? Urartu'da tam cephesiyle kayaya oyulmuş, Midas Anıtı¹¹⁵ benzeri bir tapınak var mıdır? Neden Frig mezarlarında olmayan ahşap cephe imitasyonu ve zengin bezeme, Frig kaya tapınak cephelerinde vardır? Frig'de ve Urartu'da tapınaklarla mezarları ayıran görüntü aslında tanrıyla insanın da ayrıydı. Hiç kimsenin mezarı Kybele'nin ya da Haldi'nin tapınağı kadar anıtsal olamazdı¹¹⁶.

Haspels, "Frigler kendi yapılarını kaya anıtlarının cephesinde taklit ettiler"¹¹⁷ öngörüsüyle doğal ve beklenen bir oluşum öyküsü sunar. Fedak da, "Frig Midas anıtı küçük eserlerdeki tekstil stiline anıt kayaya yansıtılışı

¹¹³ Bu konuda ayrıntılı bilgi için bak., Haspels 1971, 73 vdd.; Neumann 1983.

¹¹⁴ Haspels 1971 Fig. 124.125.

¹¹⁵ Gabriel 1965, 51 vdd., Fig. 30-35 Plt.24-32.

¹¹⁶ Öldüklerinde Mısır ve Hitit kralları gibi tanrılaşmamakla birlikte, Urartu kralları Frig ve Asur kralları gibi tanrının yeryüzündeki temsilcisi sayılmaktaydı. İşte Urartu Anadolu'daki Demirçağ egemenlerinin ulaşabilecekleri en yüksek merteye bu olabilirdi: Tanrı'nın temsilcisi. Başrahip: Çevik 2000a 67; Çevik 1997a 229 vdd.

¹¹⁷ Haspels 1971, 101.

ve gigantic ölçülerde yeniden üretiliştir”¹¹⁸ der. Bu konuda zorlanmış etkileşim kuramları da gözlemlenmektedir: Örneğin, P. Calmeyer, “görmekli cephele Frig kaya tapınaklarında, üç boyutlu Urartu kule tapınaklarının iki boyutta kayaya yansması olarak Urartu’nun köken olduğunu önerir”¹¹⁹.

Kaya işçiliğinde karşılaştırma örneği olarak ele aldığımız bir diğer kültür **Likya**’dır (Fig. 7). Anadolu’nun en kayalık coğrafyalarından birinde yayılan Likya kültürü, bu dağlık coğrafyanın özelliğine koşut olarak kayayı en çok işleyen ve ondan farklı mekanlar yaratan kültürlerin ilk sıralarına yerleşmiştir. Önce gelenekten değil zorunluluktan gelişmiştir Likya kaya mimarlığı. Kayalık akropol tepelerinde kompakt mekanlar yaratarak üstleri kullanması yanında aynı kayalıkların cephelerini de ölü mimarlığına ayırarak tüm kayalıkları değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu, insanların kayayı işleme yetisiyle ilgili olmayan sadece doğanın zorlamasıyla ortaya çıkan bir durumdur. Ve kayalık coğrafyada yerleşik olan tüm topluluklarda aynıdır.

Frig’le karşılıklı ya da tek yanlı etkileşim kuramlarına sıkça konu olduğundan burada diğerlerinde olduğu gibi özetle ele alınması gerekir. Likya’nın açık hava kaya tapınaklarının genel karakteri şöyle çizilebilir¹²⁰: Likya’da gözlemediğimiz açık hava kaya kült alanlarının az sayıda oluşları yanında anıtsal da değildir (Fig. 7); Klasik Çağ öncesi kayalara açılmış bir kült alanı henüz belgelenmemiştir¹²¹; büyük boyutlu, görkemli hiç bir kaya tapınağı yoktur; Bilinen az sayıda örneğin çoğu yerleşim içindedir; Nişler bir konut ya da yapıyla ilişkilidir (Fig. 7a,b); Kayalıklara örgütlenmiş, tek başına, organize bir açık hava tapınağı yoktur; Bilinen örnekler ya küçük bir çukur ya da nişten ibarettir. Bunlar da genellikle ölü kültürle ya da başka güncel gereksinimlerle ilgilidirler; Kaya cephesinde bulunan bazı

¹¹⁸ Fedak 1990, 48.

¹¹⁹ Calmeyer 1975, 99.

¹²⁰ Bu konuda Likya örneklerinin değerlendirilmesi ve ayrıntılı bilgi için bak., Çevik 2000b 37 vdd. Ve, bazı örneklerle yoğun etkileşim temeline oturan farklı bir değerlendirme için de bak., Işık 1995b, 110 vdd.

¹²¹ Her ne kadar, F.Işık (1995b 122) “...savlanandan çok erkenlerde oyulmaya başlamış olmalıdır Likya’da; Klasik çağ bunun için çok geç olmalıdır” diye belirtse de bunun kanıtı yoktur. Likya’da erkende kaya tapınağı olmayışın yanıtı da Işık’ın öne sürdüğü Letoon Artemis tapınağı sellasında sağlam temel oluşturduğu için kesilmeye gerek duyulmayan doğal kayanın özünde aranmaz. O sadece tapınak sellasında gereken doğal ve sağlam bir alt yapı olarak bırakılmış bir kaya parçasıdır. Üstelik işlendiğine yönelik en küçük bir iz de bulunmamaktadır.

küçük boyutlu anıtlar da simgesel içeriğe sahip sunak ya da kalkan kabartmalarıdır; Kaya yüzünde açılı nişler küçük ölçülerde ve yalındırlar. Kaya yüzü bezenmemiştir; Erken başkent Ksanthos ve geç başkent Patara'da her hangi bir kaya tapınağına raslanmaz. Likya kaya anıtlarının doruğa vurduğu Pınara, Myra ve Tlos gibi kentlerde de bu tür anıtlara raslanmaz¹²². Telmessos ve Simena gibi bazı kentlerde görülen küçük nişler de ölü kültüne yönelik olarak mezarlıklarla ve mezarlarla bağlantılı açılmışlardır din ve tanrı tapınımlarıyla bağlantıları yoktur¹²³. Açık hava kaya alanlarından hangi grubu karşıladığı tam da kesinleşmeyen ancak nekropollerindeki ölü kült alanları işlevinde olabileceği düşünülen alanlara Likçe'de "hrrma" denilmekteydi¹²⁴. En iyi Ksantos agorasındaki yazılı dikme alanından¹²⁵ bildiğimiz gibi, Likya'da da açık havada tapınım törenleri yapılmaktaydı. Ancak bu, mekanların elle yapılamadığı, doğadan hazır bulunduğu dönemlerinden kalma genel bir alışkanlıktır ve bir çok bölgede bugün de hala devam etmektedir. Açık havada tapınma alışkanlığında bir etki söz konusu olmamalıdır. Her bölgede kendi erken dönemlerinden gelen bir öğrenme ve gereklilik söz konusudur. Tıpkı Hitit İmparatorluk tapınaklarının, erken dönem açık hava tapınım günleri alışkanlıklarının devamı olarak çok pencereci yapılması gibi¹²⁶.

Likya kaya anıtlarının önlerinde anıtsal tapınım alanları görülmez. Örneğin Kınıclar¹²⁷ ve İslamlar örnekleri sadece basit kaya cephelerinden ibarettir. Dağlık Likya'daki Girdev'de bulduğumuz çevresel basamaklı kaya alanı sadece bir sunaktır¹²⁸. Telmessos nekropol alanı içindeki kaya yüzüne açılı nişler, Termessos'taki benzerleri gibi ölü-ata kültüne yöneliktir¹²⁹. Antalya-Hurma vadisinde bulduğum ve Zeus Solymeus'a ait olduğunu düşündüğüm kabartma önündeki düzlük ise Likya'da benzer bulmaz ve de Likya sanatını yansıtmaz¹³⁰. Olsa da bu sadece, dinsel amaçlı bir yol boyu

122 Çevik 2002a.

123 Çevik 2000b 37vdd.

124 West 1995, 44.

125 Kolb 1989, 19 vd.; Keen 1998, 206 vd.

126 Darga 1992, 89 vd.

127 İşkan-Çevik 1996, 195.

128 İşkan-Çevik 1996, 196 Res. 9.

129 Çevik 2000b 42 Fig.2.

130 Çevik 1995, 40 vdd, Res. 1, 5.

kabartmasından ibarettir. Ne anıtsal bir tapınak cephesi vardır ne de Tapınımaya yönelik bir mimari iz. Likya kaya anıtlarıyla Urartu ve Frig kaya anıtları arasında bir bağıntı görülmemektedir¹³¹. En doğal görülebilecek olgu, anıtların da yansıttığı gibi hepsinin de kayaları kendi istek, gelenek ve gereksinimlerince kullanmış olduklarıdır. Biçim ve işçilikte olduğu gibi aynı tiplerin kullanma yoğunluğu da bölgeler arasında farklıklar gösterir. Başka işlevlerdeki kaya işçilikleri olsa bile yoğunluk ve gelenekselleşmişlik açısından, Akurgal'ın dediği gibi, "Likya'da sadece mezar vardır"¹³². Akurgal'ın değinisine ek olarak, mezar ve mezarlıklara yönelik, ölü kültürle ilgili bazı kaya alanları ve konut aralarında kalmış sokak ve ev sunakları biçiminde bazı niş ve sunaklar olduğu belirtilmelidir.

Hem kaya mezarları ve hem de açık hava kaya tapınaklarıyla **Kilikya** (Fig. 4c) ele alındığında ise daha farklı başka bir resimle karşılaşılır. Örneğin, anıtsal açık hava kaya tapınakları görülmez. Frig'de olduğu gibi tapınak cepheleri ve ön yarılardan oluşan 1/1 ölçekte kaya modellerinin çok ötesinde, Korykos¹³³ gibi bilinen küçük boyutlu, ölü kültüne yönelik, mezarlarla birlikte düzenlenmiş nişler vardır. Çoğunlukla içlerinde mezar sahibinin kabartmalarını barındırırlar¹³⁴. Tapınımaya yönelik olarak da sunu çanakları ve bazı kaya alanları bulunur.

Kilikya'da, Urartu ve Frig kültürlerinde bilinen anıtsal açık hava kaya tapınakları söz konusu değildir: Bu türden, bilinen bir tek örnek bile yoktur. Farklı kültlere yönelik kaya alanları gözlemlenmiştir. B. Söğüt'ün araştırdığı Silifke-Kabaçam ve Gülnar-Şırşır Kalesi'nde olduğu gibi bazı küçük nişler bulunmaktadır. M. H. Sayar'ın keşfettiği Olba'nın KB'sındaki Efranköy ve Silifke-Ekşiler mağaralarında Athena Oreia kaya alanları vardır. Burada ilginç olan kült nişlerinin zeytinyağı üretim işlikleriyle birlikte ve ona yönelik yapıldıklarıdır. Sayar'ın, "Zeus Olybris ve Aphrodite Kasalitis isimli dağ tanrı ve tanrıçalarına adandığını düşündüğü ve

¹³¹ "When we look at the Urartian and Phrygian rock architecture, we can not find much similarity with Lycian examples. ...there is no evidence of any monumental open-air temples in Lycia.": Çevik 2000b 339.

¹³² Akurgal 1961, 108 vd. Başlangıçta, Akurgal'ın bu düşüncesine katılan F. Işık (1989, 16), sonradan vazgeçer (1995b 112).

¹³³ Machatschek 1967 pl. 11 figs. 21-27.

¹³⁴ Çevik, 2000b 42.

kült törenlerinde önemli rol oynadığını sandığı”¹³⁵ Anazarbos örneklerinde, tiyatro arkasından dağa tırmanan basamaklar ve kayalara oyulmuş sunaklar vardır. Sayar, “yuvarlak sunağın yağmur kültüyle ilgili olduğunu ve dağ tanrıçası olan Aphrodite Kasalitis’in buna bağlı olarak dağ ve yağmur ile ilgili tapınım gördüğünü düşünmektedir. Aphrodeite Kasalitis sadece Anazarbos’ta tapınım gören yerli bir tanrıçadır. Dağ tanrısı olması ve dağlardaki küçük sunu alanlarında tapınım görmesi kadar doğal olan bir şey, bu tapınımın, sunu çanağı ve niş gibi küçük boyutlu ve yalın kent dışı kült elemanları aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilmesidir. Dağda tapınmak ve sunuda bulunmak için en doğal yol olan kaya çanaklarına burada da rastlanması doğal ve kendiliğinden bir benzerliği ifade etmektedir. Etkileşimle öğrenmeyi değil. En azından şu söylenebilir ki, doğada tapınımı gereken bir tanrı için sunuda bulunmaya yönelik ilk akla gelebilecek düzenleme ve kullanılacak malzeme kayalara sunu çanağı açmaktır: Öğrenilmesi gerekmez.

Kilikya kaya mezarlıklarının ortak resmi de şöyledir: Akropol kayalığında üst üste düzenlenmiş kalabalık bir mezarlık cephesi yoktur. Daha çok, alçak kayalıklarda yan yana açılmış mezarlar vardır (Lev.4c); Mezarların, yol ya da ön alan gibi ortak bağlantıları yoktur; Arasına da olsa Korykos’daki gibi ön ya da yan odaları olan mezarlar olmakla birlikte, genellikle tek odalıdır; Ahşap taklidi cephe yoktur; Yalın cepheli, küçük girişli kaya odaları söz konusudur; Mezar cephelerinde, niş ya da sunak gibi kült unsurları bulunur. Kayalıktan dışarı taşmazlar. Aksine kayalık içine açılan, üstü açık giriş ön alanından sonra mezar açılmıştır; mezarların ön ve üstlerinde mimarının devam ettiğine ilişkin kaya işçilikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Bu özellikleriyle akla gelen en yakın örnekler Silwan nekropolündedir.

Minare adıyla bilinen Kelenderis yakınındaki Duruhan kaya mezarlarında Kilikya örneklerinin resmi çıkar¹³⁶: Etenna örneklerinde olduğu gibi her mezarın kendine ait, kısa bir ön alanı oluşturulmuş ve içine de kapı açılmıştır. Ön boşluk kare olabildiği gibi tonoz biçiminde de olabilmektedir. Tonoz cepheli örneklerden Gargara nekropolünde de vardır¹³⁷. Bunlar da Duruhan’da olduğu gibi yalın, kısa bir ön alan ve yine yalın bir kapı açıklığında ibarettir ve anıtsal cepheli değildir.

¹³⁵ Sayar 1999, 237; ay., 19. AST 2001, 113.

¹³⁶ Bean-Mitford 1970, 192 vd., Res.166.

¹³⁷ Bean-Mitford 1970, 209 vd., Res.182.

Elaiussa Sebaste ve Korykos örneklerinde bölgeyi değerlendiren Machatschek şu vargılara ulaşır¹³⁸: “Her iki kıyı kentindeki kaya mezarları 1. binin 1. yarısında Anadolu’daki yerli gömme geleneğini sürdürürler. Bu iki kentteki kaya mezarlarının da benzerlikleri ve ilişkileri olmakla birlikte yine de kendi özelliklerini korumuşlardır. Zamanın akışı içinde kendi özel gelişimlerini göstermişlerdir. İki kentin mezarları, yerel yapı geleneğinin kendi içinde oluşması ve gelişmesini göstermişlerdir. İki kıyı kentinin mezarları kendilerini zaman içinde çok az değiştirmişlerdir. Suriye ve Pisidya gibi komşu bölgelerdeki ve hatta daha erken ve önemli kentler olan Olba ve Diocaesarea’da sıkça görülen mimari formları bile almazlar”¹³⁹.

Kilikya mezarlarında görülen yalınlık aslında K.Suriye ve Komma-gene’nin doğu komşu bölgelerinde sık raslanan bir özelliktir¹⁴⁰. “Roma çağından önce Anadolu’da görülmeyen arkosol mezar nişlerinin kökenlerinin İskenderiye’de olduğu ancak bunları dış etki almaksızın Anadolu’nun kendiliğinden de geliştirmiş olabileceğini, ilk basit nişlerin ek gömü alanları gereksinimini karşılamak üzere oluşturulduğunu, geç dönemde eski düşünce ve geleneklerin ortadan kalktığını, geleneksel klineden uzaklaşıp yerine arkosollerin konulduğunu” belirtir Machatschek¹⁴¹. Asıl İ.Ö. 1. yy’dan önceye gitmeyen hatta yazıtlar yardımıyla İ.S. 1. yy’ın ilk yarısından başlatılan Kanytelleis mezarları ve İ.S. 2. yy’a verilen Elaiussa Sebaste mezarları, bölgede geç Hellenistik öncesi kaya mezarının olmadığını şimdilik göstermektedir. Erken anıtsal gömü geleneğinin büyük olasılıkla yer altı oda mezarları olduğu öne sürülebilir. L.Zoroğlu’nun Kelenderis’te ortaya çıkardığı mezarlardaki buluntular bunu destekler niteliktedir¹⁴². En azından kaya mezarlarından erken oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Şimdilik eldeki veriler Arkaik ve Klasik soylu gömü geleneğinin ne olduğunu tam doğrulamıyorlarsa da bunun kaya mezarları olmadığı bellidir. Doğusunda, kuzeyinde ve de batısında kaya mezarlıklarına sahip daha erken kültürler olmasına rağmen Kilikya’da kaya mezar geleneğinin geç başlamış olması dikkat çekicidir. Bu zaman boşluğu da kültürlerin komşularında var olan

138 Machatschek 1967.

139 Machatschek 1967, 57 vd.

140 Machatschek 1967, 58.

141 Machatschek 1967, 60.

142 Genel olarak bak. Zoroğlu 1994.

her şeyi benimsemedikleri kendi geleneklerini sürdürdüklerini düşündürmektedir¹⁴³. Kilikya ana kültür bölgeleri arasındaki konumuyla, farklı gelenekler ve ilişkileri konusunda yardımcı olacak veriler içermektedir. Örneğin, Kıbrıs örnekleri Kilikya kaya mezarlarıyla tamamen aynı görüntü vermektedir. Kıbrıs-Tsambres ve Korykos kaya mezarlarının karşılaştırılmasıyla bunu doğrulamaya yetmektedir. Kıbrıs araştırmalarında mezarları inceleyen S. Durugönül, “bunların Likya mezarları geleneğinde olduğunu” belirtmektedir¹⁴⁴. Oysa Likya kaya mezarları ahşap cephelerindeki çok baskın mimari geleneklerine rağmen, komşuları Pisidya ve Pamfilya’yı bile etkileyememiştir¹⁴⁵. Trebenna’dan Etenna’ya kadar olan geniş Pamfilya düzlüğünde kaya mezarı bulunmamaktadır. Likya kaya mezarları Kıbrıs örneklerinden ayrı bir resim çizer. Kıbrıs örneklerinin benzerliği Kilikya’dan yanadır. Kilikya mezarlarının benzerlerine Kidron Vadisi’nin batı yamacındaki Silwan nekropolünde rastlanır. Yalın fasatlar ve iç düzenlemelerde benzerlikler bulunur. Kilikya kaya yapıları konusundaki verilerin derlenmesi ve toplu olarak değerlendirilmesi bu konuda büyük önem taşımaktadır. Mersin Üniversitesi’nin yapacağı çalışmalarla bu konunun açıklığa kavuşacağını bekliyorum.

Sonuç

Kalıcı, güvenilir ve doğadaki en hazır ve sağlam yapı malzemesi olan kaya, dünyanın birçok bölgesinde ve döneminde değişik amaçlarla kullanılmıştır. Bu kullanımı iki ana başlıkta değerlendirmek mümkündür: 1. Genellikle kayayı işleyebilecek sert metaller öncesindeki dönemlerde görülen ve kolaylığı nedeniyle sonraki dönemlerde de süren, hazır doğal mekanlara (mağaralar) ve alanlara (kaya galerileri, kaya düzlükleri ya da duvarları) insani işlevler yükleme biçimindeki, kayanın olduğu gibi, doğadaki özgün formuyla kullanımı, 2. Kayalıkların işlenebildiği dönemlerdeki, doğal kayalıklara gereksinilen biçimin kazandırılmasıyla mekanlar ya da döşemler elde edilmesi yoluyla kullanımı. Kayalıklara biçim kazandırarak

¹⁴³ M. Durukan’ın değerlendirdiği ve bu toplantıda sunduğu, Olba-Diocaesarea’daki piramit çatılı mezarın, bazı Suriye etkilerine karşın benzersiz lokal bir karakter göstermesi” bunu başka bir boyutta doğrulamaktadır.

¹⁴⁴ Durugönül 2002, 65 vd., Res.11.

¹⁴⁵ Bu konudaki ayrıntılı bilgi için bak., Çevik 2002b.

kullanma alışkanlığı yukarıdaki bölümlenmeden anlaşılacağı üzere en eski dönemlerden kalan bir alışkanlıktır. Başlangıçta mağaraları kullanan insan alet niteliği ve mekan ihtiyacı değiştikçe kayalıklara biçim vererek kullanmayı sürdürmüştür. Kimi zaman komşu kültürlerden yeni mekan anlayışlarına tanık olup onları kendi kültürüne aktarmış olsa da genellikle geçmişinden öğrendiklerini geliştirerek yeni kaya mekanları ve alanları yaratmıştır. Bu anlatımla, mimarinin yerli malzemeye olan bağımlılığı bir kez daha gündeme gelmektedir. Özetle; eğer bir bölge kayalık değilse kaya mimarlığının ortaya çıkması ve gelişmesi beklenemez. Ya da bir bölgede ahşap yoksa, bu kez kerpiç ya da taşla bağlı bir mimari söz konusu olacaktır. Kapadokya'daki Hıristiyanlık mimarisi, gereklilik ve eldeki malzemeye bağlı olarak farklı fonksiyonlarda kaya kullanımının en iyi örneklerinden biridir (Fig. 8b). Kapadokya örneğinde, sanırım kimse, bunun bir başka kültürden öğrenildiğini öne süremez. Açık havada tapınmak fiili ise mimarinin olmadığı günlerdeberi uygulanan bugüne dek de aynı ihtiyaçların varlığını sürdürmesi nedeniyle bugüne dek kullanılmaktadır. Osmanlı Çağı'ndan, 1478 tarihli Gelibolu Namazgahı (Fig. 8c) gibi bugün de Likya yolları kenarlarında bulunan namazlıklar bunun en iyi göstergeleridir. Bunlar, benzer ihtiyaçlar sonucu oluşan doğal, yapısal benzerliklerdir.

Anadolu'nun her bir yanında ve de her biçimde kullanıldığına tanık olunan kaya yapıları karşılaştırıldığında, değişik amaçlı kullanımlar için kayanın benimsenmesi dışında, çoğu zaman özgün detayların birbirlerinden oldukça farklı olduğu görülür. Tüm bu farklılıkları görerek ileri derecede kültürel ilişkilerden bahsetmek ne kadar doğrudur tartışılmalıdır. Pamfilya ve Likya gibi tarihsel ve coğrafik yakınlıkları olan kültürler arasında bile izlenen bağlantısızlıklara rağmen, Urartu-Etrüsk gibi yakın ilişkisi olmayan toplumlar arasında bile koyu kültürel etkileşimlerden bahsediliyor olması aslında çok anlaşılır değildir. Bu tarz yaklaşımın aslında yerel ve özgün kültürel özelliklerin belirlenmesi sürecinde bilimi gereksiz çıkarmalara sürüklediği de görülmekte ve anlaşılır ve belli olan etkileşim izlerinin de yeterince güçlü algılanmasını önlemektedir. Zaten öngörülen kadar koyu ilişkiler söz konusu olsaydı, bugünkü Anadolu'nun her bir yanında filizlenen kültürlerin birbirlerinden bu denli farklı resim vermeleri de beklenmemeliydi. Eğer bu denli farklılıklar varsa –ki görünüyor– ilişki ya da etkileşim kuramlarına ilişkin uygulama sınırlarının yeniden gözden geçirilmesini doğru buluyorum. Bugünkü Türkiye sınırları içindeki “Anadolu

kültürleri” olarak adlandırılan, hatta “Anadolu Kültürü” demeye getirilen yüzlerce uygarlığın izleri binlerce yılın yakınlığına rağmen farklı resimler vermeyi inatla sürdürmüşlerdir. Anadolu'nun gerçek zenginliği de buradan gelmektedir. Anadolu hiç bir zaman mozaik özelliğini yitirmeyecek, tüm parçalar bir arada zengin bir resim oluşturmaya devam edecektir. Anadolu kültürlerini bir mermer yüzeyi gibi tek göstermeye çalışanlar sanki bilimden çok siyaset yapmaktadırlar. Arkeoloji biliminin böyle bir misyonu yoktur. Arkeoloji nesnelere olduğu gibi görmeyi ve göstermeyi hedefler. Bugünkü Anadolu'nun T.C. bayrağı altındaki onur verici birliği geçmiş zaman uygarlıklarını ilgilendirmemektedir.

Bu makalede seçilen kültürler arasında, seçilen unsurlarda bile eğer bu denli farklılıklar varsa ilişki ya da etkileşim kuramlarına ilişkin uygulama sınırlarının yeniden ele alınmasını doğru buluyorum. Bunu yaparken de tarihsel süreç içerisinde ulaşım tekniklerinin gelişmesi boyunca ‘gidilebilirliğin’ artması paralelinde kültürler ya da etnik boylar arasında bir kültürel alışverişin gelişmesi gerçeğinin de göz önünde bulundurulması zorunludur. Kültürler de insanlar gibi birbirinden öğrenirler. Ancak, kültürler de insanlar gibi kendileri gibi yaşamayı ve özgünlüklerini korumayı hedeflerler. Etkileşimde, bölgeler arası insan akışlarının niteliği de mutlaka göz önüne alınmalıdır: Eğer bu geliş, örneğin İskender'in taşıdığı egemen bayrakla gelen bir Hellenistik kültüre ya da tüm Anadolu'yu etkisine alan bir Pers egemenliği dönemiye baskın ve yeni unsurlar daha çok beklenebilir. Ya da baskın bir Roma çağı yaşanıyorsa Anadolu topraklarında, o zaman tüm ilgili yerleşimlerde Roma sanatı” unsurlarının yaygınlaşması olasılığı daha yüksek görünmektedir. “Sadece askeri ve yağmacı bir işgal ise, gelenin yeni izler bırakması daha zor olmaktadır. Kalıcı sanat ekinlerinin genellikle yönetim aygıtının içinde bulunan güçlülere ait “devlet” sanatı niteliğinde olması ve bu nedenle çoğu kez özgün halk sanatına ilişkin bilgilerimizin sınırlı kalmışlığı, sanat ilişkileri kuramlarını tartışırken ölçüt olarak yönetim sanatını örnek olarak sunmamıza yol açmakta ve bu nedenle de sürekli ve yoğun biçimde bir etkileşimden ve sanat değişiminden söz etmekteyiz. Başka bir deyişle, akropole yerleşen yeni “bey”in ürettiği yeni ve kendisine ait kalıtlar, aslında halkı çok da bağlamamaktadır. Üstelik bu bey'in dışardan satın alarak sahip olduğu ürünlerin ilgili kültür içerisinde değerlendirilmesi de farklı bir boyuttadır. Örneğin, Frig Büyük Tümülüsü'nde bulunan bir Urartu bronz kazanı, hiçbir zaman Frig'in

Urartu bronz sanatından etkilendiğini göstermez¹⁴⁶. O satın alınmıştır ya da armağan edilmiştir. Ne zaman ki Frigler bu kazanın benzerlerini ya da ondan etkilenmişlerini kendileri yaparlar, o zaman Urartu, Frigler'in maden sanatını etkilemiş olur.

Özlücesi; Anadolu arkeolojisindeki akıl almaz kültürel renklilik bu konuda önemli pencereler açmakta ve daha homojen yapıdaki başka kültür bölgelerine göre ilişki ya da ilişkisizlik kuramlarının daha kolay belirlenebilmesine olanak tanımaktadır. Aslında bana göre oldukça belirgin olan bu 'karmaşada' kültürel ilişkiler ve etkileşimler belli bir sınır içerisinde saptanabildiği gibi etkileşime ve öğrenmeye gerek duymadan üretilmiş eserler de belirlenebilmekte ve dolayısıyla her bir kültürün varsayılandan öte bir özgünlük taşıdığı da görülebilmektedir. Bu yaklaşımla, etkileşimin düşünülemediği gibi çok güçlü bir düzeyde olmadığı ve bazen, sanatta ilişkisizliğin ilişkililikten daha fazla olabileceği de düşünülebilirse, belki yoğun tartışmalara yol açan bazı kavramların da artık tartışılabilirliği kalmayabilecektir. Örneğin, Nevali Çöri Hallan Çemi ya da Çayönü gibi Yakın Doğu Neolitik yerleşimlerinden bahsedilirken hep "Anadolu kültürleri" olarak belirtilmesinin doğru olup olmadığı gibi. Bu ve buna benzer kullanımlar hatalıdır. Onlar bugünkü Anadolu sınırları içindeki Yukarı Mezopotamya kültürleridir. Halktan öte, özellikle bilim adamlarının, bugünün siyasal sınırlarından kendilerini uzaklaştırmaları ve ilgili dönemlerin kültürel kavramlarını ve adlandırmalarını ve de sınırlarını kullanmaları gerekmektedir. Bugün, Anadolu'da yaşayan Türk bilimcileri olarak, topraklarımızda yaşamış tüm zamanların kültür ekinlerine sahip çıkmamız başka, onların gerekli bilimsel sınırlar içerisinde doğru tanımlanmaları ve değerlendirilmeleri başka şeylerdir. Bu tür bir yaklaşım, örneğin "Kuzey Suriye kökenli Anadolu geleneği"¹⁴⁷ gibi anlamsız kavramların üremesine de kavram yol açmayacak ya da, Midas kentteki kaya basamakları gibi, kendiliğinden yapılabilecek en yalın işçilik ve tasarım için "Urartu'nun Tuşpa ve Ruşahinili kentlerindeki kaya basamakları kaynak/öncü" gösterilemeyecektir¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁶ Aslında bu konudaki tartışmalar sürmektedir. Bu kazanların Urartu yapımı olduğunu savlayanlar yanında, yerli Frig yapımı olduğunu öne sürenler de vardır: Çilingiroğlu, 1997, 125.

¹⁴⁷ Işık 1989, 13.

¹⁴⁸ Bittel 1950, 85.

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THE SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF THE OLBIAN TERRITORY IN ROUGH CILICIA IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

(LEV. 47-53)

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ÖZET

Olba Territoriumu, Dağlık Kilikia'da, Kalykadnos (modern Göksu) ve Lamos (modern Limonlu) nehirleri arasında yer alır. Anadolu tapınak devletlerinden birinin otonom bir yönetime sahip olduğu bu territoriumda M.Ö. 2. yüzyıl başında yerel rahip hanedanlığı ile Seleukos'ların işbirliği ile bir imar etkinliği dönemi yaşanmıştır. Ortak bir savunma ve yerleşim sistemi kurma isteğinin sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan yerleşim düzenlemesi bu çalışmadaki inceleme konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, Olba Territoriumu'ndaki çalışmada ele alınan yerleşimler bilinen anlamıyla birer kent değildir. Bunlar savunmaya, kontrole ve tarımsal ekonomiye yönelik yerleşimlerdir ve sahip oldukları savunma yapıları ve diğer mekanlarıyla "kent benzeri" bir yapılanmaya sahiptirler ve tek tek yerleşimlerin oluşturduğu bölgesel ağ yerel bir yerleşim düzenlemesinden bahsetmemize olanak sağlamaktadır. Olba Territoriumunda incelenen yerleşimlerin karşılıkları Hellen dünyasında vardır ve bunlar garnizon-kale olarak bilinen, genellikle bir akropolis üzerinde bulunan ve bir surla çevrili olan alanlardır ve bir garnizon niteliğindedirler. Bunların, buldukları bölgenin özel şartlarına bağlı olarak farklı işlevleri olmakla birlikte, genelde içinde buldukları territoriumun savunmasını sağladıkları kabul edilmektedir.

Territoriumdaki düzenlemenin temel unsuru, yerleşimlerin savunma amacını ve sivil ihtiyaçları içinde barındırması olmuştur. Territoriumdaki M.Ö. 2. yüzyıl imar etkinliğinin karakteristik özelliği olan özenli işçilikli polygonal duvarlar bu dönemin yerleşimlerinde kullanılmışlardır. Bu yerleşimlerin hepsinde yerleşimi çevreleyen bir savunma duvarı vardır, sivil amaçlı mekanlar bu sur yapılanmasının içerisinde bulunurlar ve bu sur tarafından korunurlar. İçlerinde sivil amaçlı mekanları da içermeleri sebebiyle bu karakterdeki yerleşimleri kale-yerleşim olarak adlandırmak mümkündür. Ayrıca, akropolis konumları ve kuleler de bu

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yerleşimlerin diđer bir karakteristik özelliđidir. Ayrıca, ulaşımı sağlayan vadilere hakim noktalarda kurulmuş olmaları da bir diđer yerleşim özelliđidir.

Territoriumda, varolan ikinci bir yerleşim düzenlemesi ise, diđer düzenlemeden savunma yapılarına sahip olmaması açısından farklılık taşımaktadır. Sahip oldukları konum, territoriumdaki kale-yerleşimlerde olduđu gibi bir akropolis kale yaratmaya elverişli değildir.

I. Introduction

The Olbian Territory is located between the Kalykadnos river and the Lamos river in Rough Cilicia. In this article, the two peculiar settlement patterns of the Olbian Territory will be investigated in detail on the basis of the architectural structures that these settlements have and their geographical locations. By doing so, it is aimed that the characteristic of the urbanization in the territory will be determined in order to find out whether the factors that affect this urbanization process are external or internal the Olbian Territory in the Hellenistic period.

In the early 2nd century B.C., an extensive construction period began in the Olbian Territory. These construction activities were carried out by the local dynasty, supported by the Seleucid kingdom in order to protect and secure their western borders after the Apameia treaty¹. The major elements of this construction activities is the extensive use of the polygonal masonry, either with roughly or finely carved stones, which provides evidence about the existence of the Hellenistic settlements.

Up to now, a few scholars have researched a number of construction in the territory and have observed the types of the polygonal masonry used in this construction. Based on these observations, they have proposed various classifications of the polygonal masonry, which, in turn, have been used to date these constructions archaeologically². However, the present article adopts the view that the polygonal masonry is a sufficient indicator to prove the existence of the Hellenistic activities in the territory. This position implies that this article does not attempt either to classify or to date the constructions with the polygonal masonry in detail. Rather, it tries

¹ Durugönül 1998a, 116

² About relations between settlements and fortification systems in Olbian Territory see Durugönül, *Türme und Siedlungen im Rauhen Kilikien, Eine Untersuchungen zu den archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften im Olbischen Territorium*, Asia Minor Studien Band 28, Bonn, 1998

to determine the Hellenistic settlements and to draw a conclusion about the patterns and the nature of these settlements by the help of the observation of the constructions with the polygonal masonry.

In accordance with the views mentioned above, nine settlements, which are Paslı, Hüseyinler, Adamkayalar, Imbriogon Kome, Takkadın, Tabureli, Veyselli, Kabaçam and Karaböcülü, have been selected for the investigation of the settlement patterns³. These settlements will be analysed in terms of their locations, fortifications systems, necropoleis, and civil structures. This analysis will provide us with the common features of these settlements so that these features can be used in order to propose certain settlement patterns in the territory (fig.1).

II. The Hellenistic Settlements in the Olbian Territory

The nine settlements investigated in this article are divided into two groups on the basis of the type of the settlement pattern that these sites have. The first group consist of the settlements that can be defined as garrisons, including Paslı, Hüseyinler, Adamkayalar, Imbriogon Kome, Takkadın, Tabureli and Veyselli, while the second group comprise the settlements which are nearby a city, the only two members of this group being Kabaçam and Karaböcülü. A significant point to be mentioned in relation to the first group, i.e. garrisons, all the settlements have a fortification wall that surrounds the area on which the settlements are situated except for the valley side, which is protected naturally.

The Paslı settlement is located 10 kms. north of the Mediterranean coast and is situated on the eastern slope of the valley formed by Yenibahçe Deresi. This location of this settlement is extremely suitable for controlling the ancient route at the bottom of the valley, coming from modern town Susanoğlu (ancient Korasion) on the coast leading to the religious center of the territory, Olba/Diocaesareia. The settlement is situated on a hill that is surrounded by a Hellenistic fortification wall, which was build with a polygonal masonry, except for the western slope of the hill. The only remaining parts of the fortification wall consist of a

³ Among these settlements, the only settlement whose original name is known to us is Imbriogon Kome, due to the existence of an inscription found in this settlement, see. Keil-Wilhelm, 1931, 23-29. All the others have a name given after a modern nearby settlement in the territory.

47-meter-long section, with is good condition, on the northern slope and a section on the southern slope, only the lower part of which is preserved today (fig.2). There are also the remnants of a Hellenistic tower on the northern section of the fortification wall (fig.3). From these remains, it can be concluded that Paslı was a settlement which was enclosed in a fortification wall with a tower⁴. Within this fortification wall, there are the remnants of a number of civil structures with the Olbian symbols, such as a club, on a door lentil. An interesting point with all these structures and the wall is the existence of numerous repairs carried out in the later periods.

The second settlements included in the first group is Hüseyinler. It is located 15 kms. north of Korykos and situated on a bend of the eastern slope of the Şeytan Deresi valley, which stretches parallel to the Yenibağçe Deresi valley and which leads to the same destination as the former, Olba/Diocaesareia. Due to its position on the bend, it can easily control the two directions of the valley⁵ (fig.4). The settlement is on a hill, surface of which amounts to 700 m². The settlement is surrounded by a fortification wall, some parts of which preserved quite well with some sections that are 2 meters high (fig.5). There is also a structure, possibly a tower, at the north-east corner of the wall. Since this tower-like structure has been used for the domestic purpose for a long period of time, it is quite difficult to determine the original plan of it (fig.4). A number of rock-cut graves can be observed on the western slope of the valley. In addition to this, a necropolis area, which contains some Roman temple-tombs, can be seen on the eastern slope of the hill on which the site is located.

The third settlement that is contained in the first group is Adamkayalar⁶, which is located 7 kms. north of Korykos and 8 kms. south of Hüseyinler in the same valley. It is situated on a position such that type coastal cities of Korykos can be seen with bare eyes clearly. Although this settlement has usually been called a sanctuary, it is more likely that the settlement was a garrisons in the Hellenistic period because of the existence of

⁴ Some scholars offer it as a settlement in the Late Antiquity because of ruins from that period, but, in my opinion, here is a fortification/settlement in the Hellenistic period because of its location and ruins. In general see. Tirpan 1994, 419; Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 376.

⁵ On the same route, there is an older road pavement than this period.

⁶ In general see. Durugönül 1989, 19 ff.; Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 153; MacKay 1968, 238; Tirpan 1994, 419

a fortification wall with a tower, built with a polygonal masonry (fig.6,7). In later periods, some arches were added to the tower in order to use this structure as a workshop. Even though there are a number of civil structures within the fortification wall, it can be observed that these structures belong to later periods.

The fourth settlement of first group is Imbriogon Kome⁷. It is located 8 kms. north of Silifke, the modern city having the same location as the ancient Seleuceia Kalykadnos. The settlement is situated on a hill on the edge of the valley of Bebek Deresi so that it can check route from Seleuceia to Olba/Diocaesaria. Although it is extremely difficult to follow the remaining parts of the fortification wall due to some recent destructions and dense vegetations along with the steep slopes of the hill, it is still possible to observe the bases of the southern and northern sections of the Hellenistic wall with a polygonal masonry (fig.8). There are numerous civil structures, some of which belong to later periods, enclosed in the fortification wall.

The last three settlements of the first group are Takkadın, Tabureli and Veyselli. A slight difference in the polygonal masonry technique of the fortification walls and other structures of these three settlements is caused by the employment of second-rate workmanship in the polygonal masonry with roughly carved stones. In the following parts of this article, it will be apparent that this minor difference in the workmanship of the polygonal masonry might be perceived as an indicator of a slightly later stages of the Hellenistic period for the construction date of these settlements.

Among these three settlements, Takkadın⁸ is located 13 kms. north of modern town Susanoğlu and is situated on the eastern slope of the Yenibahçe Deresi valley, being very close to the first settlement of this group, Paşlı. The settlement is on a hill which is enclosed by a fortification wall with polygonal masonry (fig.9). The fortification wall has numerous

⁷ In general see. Keil-Wilhelm 1931, 23-29; Tırpan 1994, 419; Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 275; Zoroğlu 1988, 394

⁸ In general see. Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 424; Keil-Wilhelm 1931, 32; The first research on the settlement was held by Hellenkemper-Hild. They studied in the settlement by kept in views of ruins in late antiquity, but the ruins in Hellenistic period was not determined by them; see Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 424. I think this settlement is a fortification/settlement is dated in Hellenistic period.

additions due to later repairs which are not necessarily in the form of polygonal masonry. Even though there are a number of civil structures within the fortification wall, none of them belong to the Hellenistic period. However, there exist some remnants of the Hellenistic structures out of the fortification walls, which form an outer settlement next to the eastern part of the fortification wall (fig.10). In addition to these structures in the outer settlement, there are a large number of rock-cut chambers (fig.11).

Another settlements in this group, called Tabureli⁹ named after the modern nearby village which is 2 kms. west of the ancient site, located 34 kms. north-east of Silifke and is very close to Kızıldağ, a well-known pass over the Lamos valley. The settlement is quite difficult to comment on due to the extensive destruction caused by the inhabitation during the Late Antiquity and an extremely dense vegetation which bars anyone from investigating the site exhaustively. However, it is apparent that the settlement was founded on two hills next to each other on the eastern side of the Lamos valley. A tower, which is about 4 meters high, can be observed on the southern slope of the eastern hill. It is probable that this tower was the part of the fortification system of the settlement although it is not possible to observe this system directly (fig.12). There are a large number of civil structures with the polygonal masonry on the southern slope of the same hill (fig.13). An Olbian symbol, which is composed of a sword and a shield, can be seen on a wall of one of these structures. This symbol can be used as an archeological evidence for dating this site as a Hellenistic settlement.

The last settlement of this group, Veyselli¹⁰, which is named after the modern nearby village 3 kms. south-west of the ancient settlement, lies to 18 km. north of the modern town Limonlu on the coast. Veyselli settlement is situated on a very steep hill on the eastern slope of the Lamos valley. It is surrounded by a fortification wall with the polygonal masonry, whose southern part has been preserved quite well up till now (fig.14). Even though there are number of structures within the fortification wall, some of them belongs to the Hellenistic period (fig.15). Moreover, it has not been possible to detect a tower so far.

⁹ In general see. Durugönül 1989, 44 ff., no. 34-37; Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 273

¹⁰ In general see. Durugönül 1989, 42 ff., Nr. 30-33; Keil-Wilhelm 1931, 99; Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 455

The settlements included in the second group, namely Kabaçam and Karaböcülü, will be analysed in the fourth section of the article.

III. The Settlement Patterns of the Olbian Territory in the Hellenistic Period

The seven Hellenistic cities in the Olbian Territory, mentioned in the previous section, have a distinctive settlement pattern with their fortification systems which form the very purpose of these sites. This particular settlement pattern is the direct consequence of the geographical, economical, and political conditions of the territory. These Hellenistic settlements were not the cities in the modern sense. These settlements were, in fact, military garrisons with their fortification walls and towers. These military structures were the central architectural constructions of these settlements which enable them to defend and control the Olbian Territory. The distribution of these settlements constitutes a network of military bases throughout the territory. In fact, all the settlements that are mentioned in the previous section can be said to be acropoleis with their specific geographical position –an elevated position on a hill– and their fortification systems strengthen with towers.

This territorial defensive network of the settlements was not a unique example in that period. On the contrary, this type of territorial defence networks were employed in some regions in the Hellenistic world from the 5th century B.C¹¹. In addition to this military purpose, it can be proposed that these settlements had a considerable number of structures that accommodate a civilian population even if the number of the inhabitants is not so high as in other places due to the particular geographical conditions in the territory. This network of the settlements was also extremely suitable for the agricultural economy on which the residents depended in this mountainous region¹².

¹¹ Settlement patterns and the local urbanization model in the Olbian Territory in Hellenistic period are compared to the those in the other regions in the Hellenistic world by Aydınöglü, *Dağlık Kilikia'da Hellenistik Dönem Kentleşmesi. Olba Tapınak Devlet Modeli*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Ege University, 2002.

¹² Durugönül 1998a, 113

A common characteristic of the structures in these settlements is the extensive usage of the polygonal masonry, particularly in the defence structures. It is suggested that the widespread usage of the polygonal masonry was caused by the discouraging effect created by this type of masonry on the part of possible enemies. Another common feature of these settlements is their strategic position on which these settlements were found. It is a fact that all these settlements were established on the slopes of the deep valleys that provided the communication between the inland and the coastal regions. While their specific locations at the edges of the valleys enabled these settlements to control and defend these important routes, their naturally protected positions made their own defence easier as well. Finally, all of these settlements had necropolis areas in their neighbourhoods.

Çatiören and Emirzeli settlements can be compared with the seven settlements that are mentioned before in terms of their characteristics. Since Çatiören and Emirzeli settlements were studied by Durugönül elaborately in terms of their polygonal masonry used in their fortification system and towers¹³. These two sites are also acropolis settlements (or garrisons) that are the parts of the specific settlement pattern investigated here. In this respect, these two settlements constitute the standard examples of the acropolis settlements in the territory. It is suggested that these two settlements have a temple in addition to the fortification walls, the tower, and the civilian structures. This suggestion might be valid for the seven settlements previously mentioned. Furthermore, Kaleyakası, Efrenk, Çatalkale, Hisarkale, and Mancınıkkale settlements are the examples of the sites which share most of the characteristic of the settlements analysed so far. For instance, according to Durugönül, these settlements are composed of both military and civilian elements which is a significant common feature of such settlements in the Olbian Territory¹⁴.

In conclusion, the particular settlement pattern observed in the Olbian Territory, which emerged at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. and continued to exist in the later periods, is composed of a network of acropolis settlements, such as the ones mentioned above, all over the territory.

¹³ Durugönül 1998a, 92

¹⁴ Durugönül 1998a, 100 ff.

IV. The Settlements Nearby a City

As for the remaining settlements which comprise the second group, Kabaçam and Karaböcülü, a very distinct settlement pattern should be proposed. The most striking feature of these two settlements is the absence of their fortification systems. Even though these settlements are situated near the edges of valleys as in the case of the seven settlements mentioned in the second section, their locations are not suitable for building an acropolis due to their plain topographies. However, this topographical condition did not pose a serious problem for the protection of these settlements because it was almost impossible to reach these settlements from any directions except for one difficult mountain path. Both settlements have their necropoleis next to them and these settlements have been inhabited up till now.

The first settlement of this second type of settlement pattern is Kabaçam. It is located 5 kms. north of Elaiussa Sebaste on the coast and it can see this city directly thanks for its immediate location in the valley (fig.16). The settlement was positioned on a flat ground rock that covers 1.5 km² of area. In this settlements, there are a large number of civilian structures with the square and rectangular plans (fig.16). These structures were built by using polygonal masonry which did not reflect a fine workmanship with their roughly carved building stones (fig.17). In addition, there is a tomb-house with polygonal masonry in the necropolis of the settlement, which is a well-known type of tomb buildings in the territory. Moreover, there exist an Olbian relief which is composed of a sword and a shield on an architectural block in the necropolis (fig.18). Both the tomb-house and this relief can be used to date the settlement to the Hellenistic period.

The second settlement of the second group is Karaböcülü¹⁵, which is located 10 kms. north of Seleuceia. This settlement was also founded on a rock area at the edge of a valley (fig.19). The same location and construction features are valid for this settlement as well (fig.20). A great number of Olbian symbols have been found in the settlement, which provides dating evidence for the Hellenistic period¹⁶.

¹⁵ In general see. Durugönül 1998a, 89; Hellenkemper-Hild 1990, 288

¹⁶ Durugönül 1998a, 89

The most significant characteristic of these two settlements is their function as a secondary or supplementary sites for the cities on the coast, Elaiussa Sebaste and Seleuceia, because of their very close locations to these cities. It can be proposed that these two supplementary settlements were used as a temporary shelters for the populations of two cities during turmoil periods. A similar suggestion has been made by Zoroğlu in relation to the ancient city of Kelenderis, by referring to Pilinius, who mentioned some *regio celenderitis* in his works¹⁷.

V. The Dating of the Settlements in the Olbian Territory

The inscriptions, the construction technique of polygonal masonry, and the symbols of the local dynasty on the walls built with this technique can be used as critical elements for dating this construction period in the territory supported by the Seleucid kingdom. Up to now, a number of scholars have suggested some chronological sequences for the usage of polygonal masonry in the Olbian Territory¹⁸. However, Durugönül proposed that it is not possible to form a chronology based exclusively on the polygonal masonry because the different types of polygonal masonry can be observed in a single construction in most of the settlements in the territory. In addition to this, Durugönül states that a relative chronology which is based on the inscriptions on the walls of the towers in the territory can be constructed and should be preferred. In accordance with this opinion, Durugönül suggests a number of dating proposals based on relative chronology¹⁹.

An inscription on a tomb, which was built with a polygonal masonry technique in Mancınıkkale settlement, forms a departing point for the relative chronology²⁰. This inscription is dated to beginning of the 2nd century

¹⁷ Zoroğlu 1999, 373

¹⁸ Tırpan 1994, 405-422

¹⁹ Durugönül 1998a, 119

²⁰ Some inscriptions were found in Mancınıkkale. The inscription on the gate of the acropolis do not read, but the names of *eponym* officer Demiourgos and other people who dedicated the inscription can read on another inscription falling from the wall. This inscription, according to Durugönül, is dated to 3rd or 2nd centuries B.C.; see Durugönül 1998a, 51. Tomb house on the opposite slope of the settlement, constructed by polygonal masonry has an inscription that can be read. "*Pondebomoros, son of Pondebomoros...*" can be read on the inscription. The name of Pondebomoros, according to Tırpan, was a local name of the tribes in the hilly land of Cilicia and Lycia; see Tırpan 1994, 420.

B.C. Other dating criteria are the inscriptions and an Olbian symbol on the wall of a tower in Kanytella. These are dated to the 2nd century B.C. as well²¹.

In the settlements that are analysed in this study, such as Paşlı, Hüseyinler, Imbriogon Kome and Adamkayalar, there are a large number of constructions built with the polygonal masonry technique. Due to the similarity in the masonry technique, these structures can also be dated to the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. Likewise, the towers in these settlements have similar structures with the ones in Çatiören and Emirzeli settlements, firmly supporting these dating suggestions.

It can be observed that the polygonal masonry with a rough workmanship was employed in all the settlements in the territory during the Hellenistic period. This type of polygonal masonry was not only used in the repairs of the earlier structures, which were originally built with a skilfully worked polygonal masonry, but also utilized in the construction of the annexations or extensions of these earlier buildings and walls during the later stages of the Hellenistic period. For instance, the fortification walls in Takkadın, Tabureli and Veyselli and the structures for the civilian usage in Karaböcülü and Kabaçam were also built with this roughly worked polygonal masonry technique.

The utilization of the polygonal masonry with coarsely carved stones and with workmanship can be explained in terms of the declining importance of the construction campaign, initiated by the local dynasty with the support of the Seleucid kingdom, during the later stages of the Hellenistic period. Durugönül claims that this construction activities appeared in the territory around the year of 197 B.C., the date when Antiochos III became a powerful ruler. In addition, Durugönül says that the state of the relations between the Seleucid kings and the local rulers in the territory is not known after the year of 133 B.C., when the Roman Republic began to enlarge its borders towards the east²².

It is interesting that the polygonal masonry technique was not used after the Hellenistic period in the territory. For instance, Durugönül suggest that the early Roman structures that can be dated properly in the territory have

²¹ Durugönül 1998a, 119

²² Durugönül 1998a, 116-117

an isodomic masonry technique²³. It can be concluded from these fact that the polygonal masonry technique was only used in the Hellenistic period transforming slowly from a good workmanship into a roughly one.

The Olbian symbols in Kabaçam, Karaböcülü, and Tabureli enable us to date the polygonal masonry technique with a rough artisanship to the Hellenistic period. The reliefs of well-known Olbian symbols, a sword and a shield, can be seen in Tabureli²⁴ and Kabaçam settlement as well. In this reliefs, the shield is positioned at the center and the sword is placed behind the shield with its handle up and its blade down. There are a considerable number of Olbian symbols, such as Heracles's club, phallus, and the cup of Dioscuri, on the door lentals in the Karaböcülü settlement²⁵. There is also a club on a door lental in the Paslı settlement²⁶.

The tomb-house in Kabaçam settlement was built with a polygonal masonry with a fine workmanship as in the case of the tomb-house, date to the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., in Mancınıkkale²⁷. Therefore, the tomb-house in Kabaçam can also be used as a dating criterion in this respect. There are number of tomb-house built with the same technique and the same level of expertise in Hisarkale and these are dated to the same period like the previous ones.

²³ Durugönül 1998a, 123

²⁴ Bent 1890, 322

²⁵ Durugönül 1998a, 89; Durugönül 1998b, 286-87

²⁶ Durugönül 1998a, 89

²⁷ Durugönül 1998a, 51; Tırpan 1994, 418

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PROCESSES OF HELLENIZATION IN CILICIA

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ÖZET

Bu makalenin amacı, özet olarak da olsa, Kilikia ve Yunan dünyası (İÖ 1200- İS 250) arasındaki ilişkilerin ve bağlantıların tarihinin rekonstruksiyonunu vermektir. Kilikia her zaman insanların buluşma yeri ve Tanrıların doğu ile batı arasında karşılaştıkları yer olmuştur. Konu irdelenirken, özellikle linguistik değişimler dikkate alınmıştır.

1. In the biography of Thalelaeus, included in the Religious History¹ by Theodoret of Cyrrihus, a work devoted to the holy men of Syria of the V century AD, concerning the language of the personage we read that he made use of Greek because he was of Cilician origin. This assertion is in perfect agreement with the strategy of the Religious History, which aims at presenting Syria as devoid of external contacts and very tied to its language²: to say in fact that Thalelaeus spoke Greek because of his Cilician origin, means confirming the organic unity of the area. But taking the passage referred to above as starting point, we are not interested in discussing the linguistic situation of late antique Syria³; rather –considering this reference to Thalelaeus as Greek-speaking given his Cilician birth as marking its final phase– we should like to attempt a reconstruction of the history of relations and contacts between Cilicia, always a place for the meeting of peoples and the shunting of goods between East and West, and

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¹ R.H. 28. 4.

² See Urbainczyk 2000.

³ On this subject, see Bowersock 1990 and Millar 1998.

the Greek world. This history appears quite clear for the centuries following Alexander, when the language and, to a lesser degree, the culture of the Greeks started to become dominant in the region. Similar situations, moreover, determined perhaps more by processes of interaction and acculturation than by the movements of conspicuous groups of Greek-speakers, evolved over a large part of the eastern Mediterranean, with the result that one can say that by the Roman imperial period Greek was the language generally adopted in the area⁴. Much more uncertain is the history of relations and contacts between Cilicia and the Greek world from the XII to the IV century BC: however, it is not to be read in the light of the almost complete linguistic Hellenization of the region after Alexander; it is important, instead, to keep in mind the strong reservations concerning the Hellenism of Cilicia still being expressed in the II century AD by some Greek intellectuals and finding their roots in a distant past. Let us, then, start with the end of the II millennium BC.

2. Generally accepted until a few years ago⁵, but much debated today, the idea that significant groups of Greek-speakers were settled in Cilicia at the end of the II millennium BC was founded on a picture of the peopling of the region deriving from Greek literary sources⁶.

At the beginning, there are two passages in the *Iliad*⁷ in which the Cilicians turn out not to be settled in their normal homeland in the eastern Mediterranean, but living in the Troad governed by Eëtion, the father of Andromache. This location, owing to the uncertainty it creates concerning the identity of the ethnos, fuelled ancient speculation on its origin and formation⁸. Given the silence of Herodotus, who derives the ethnic name of the Cilicians from the hero Kilix, son of the Phoenician Agenor⁹, links

⁴ See, also for later periods, Bowersock 1990, Fowden 1993, Millar 1983 and Millar 1993, pp. 270-271, 524-525. On the notion of Hellenization, and its limits, see Bowersock 1990 and Hornblower 1996, pp. 677-679.

⁵ See Boardman 1999, pp. 35-36.

⁶ On these sources, cf. Desideri - Jasink 1990, pp. 25-48; on the history of Cilicia until the end of the Persian rule, still useful is Erzen 1940.

⁷ Z 397, 415.

⁸ See below n. 11.

⁹ Hdt. 7. 91. On the characteristics of Herodotus' 'Eastern' perspective, see Thomas 2000, pp. 75-101.

between the Homeric Cilicians of the Troad and those of the Levant are assumed by that branch of ancient ethnography and local historiography interested in reconstructing in detail the ethnic picture of our region¹⁰. The most important developments in the subject seem to go back to the period following Alexander, and they are summed up in the Geography of Strabo thus: “Since the Cilicians in the Troad whom Homer mentions are far distant from the Cilicians outside the Taurus, some represent those in Troy as original colonisers of the latter, and point out certain places of the same name there, as, for example, Thebe and Lyrnessus in Pamphylia, whereas others of contrary opinion point out also an Aleian Plain in the former”¹¹. Strabo moreover –following literary works such as the Hesiodic Melampodia and not, as is commonly believed, the seventh-century elegiac poet Callinus– has two Greek heroes, the Argive Amphilochus and the seer Mopsus, leading a march of fugitives from Troy to southern Asia Minor and the Levant¹².

Responding to the need to impose order on the complex map of the peoples of Asia Minor and on a mass of disparate sources, the two reconstructions of the movements of the Cilicians mentioned by Strabo in the passage quoted above are clearly the result of theoretical work inspired by a migrationist model, without doubt the most widespread in the ancient ethnographic tradition¹³. The geographer for his part, in a period in which the process of linguistic Hellenization in Cilicia was reaching its conclusion, seems to have been bent on somehow anchoring the peopling of the region in the Aegean area, through figures such as Mopsus and Amphilochus, as well as attributing the foundation of Soloi and Tarsus respectively to the Rhodians and Achaeans and to the Argives¹⁴.

¹⁰ On the work method of ancient ethnography, see Salmeri 2000, pp. 168-169.

¹¹ Strabo 14. 5. 21 (transl. H.L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library).

¹² Strabo 14. 1. 27 (Hes. fr. 278 MW), 14. 4. 3 and 14. 5. 16-17 (Hes. fr. 279 MW). In the second passage, instead of Callinus, M.L. West (IEG II2 Callin. [8]) rightly suggests reading the name of the historian Callisthenes. On the legends dealing with Amphilochus and Mopsus, see Scheer 1993, pp. 153-173, 222-271.

¹³ For Strabo’s need to impose order on the complex map of the peoples of Asia Minor, see Salmeri 2000, pp. 163-164 and Mitchell 2000, p. 120.

¹⁴ For the dating of Strabo’s Geography, see Bowersock 2000. Amphilochus and Mopsus: above n. 12; colonization of Soloi and Tarsus: Strabo 14. 5. 8, 12.

Some scholars, mostly classicists, have sought confirmation of the view expressed by Strabo in the Karatepe bilingual¹⁵, an important epigraphic monument in hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician, datable to between the end of the VIII and the beginning of the VII centuries BC, and now accompanied by another hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician bilingual inscription found at Çinekoy, recently published¹⁶. At any rate, the attempt to identify the ‘Muksas’ (Phoenician *MPS*), mentioned in both inscriptions as the founder of an important dynasty, with the Mopsus who, according to Greek sources, led a group of people into Cilicia from the Aegean area of Asia Minor, does not seem well-grounded especially in view of the wide diffusion of the name in Greece and Anatolia from the XV century BC¹⁷. It is possible, instead, that the Greeks, once they were in fairly regular contact with the Cilician world, incorporated into their own mythological system figures such as the legendary neo-Hittite dynast ‘Muksas’ (*MPS*)¹⁸. Moreover the terms ‘Adanawa-URBS’/ (people) *DNNYM*, found in the Karatepe bilingual inscription, do not refer to *Danaoi*, i.e. Greeks, but, in keeping with other ancient sources, to the inhabitants of Adana and the Cilician plain¹⁹. In short, we should rather, it seems, agree with Laroche in rejecting the grandiose hypothesis of a Greek migration which places the arrival of the *Danaoi* in Cilicia, guided by Mopsus, during the course of the II millennium BC²⁰.

Confirmation of the migrationist picture of the peopling of Cilicia presented in Strabo’s *Geography* has also been sought in finds of Mycenaean and Mycenaean-type pottery in the region, datable to the XII century BC and thought to have been transported by Mycenaean Greeks²¹.

¹⁵ For example Cassola 1957, pp. 110-118 and Boardman 1999, p. 36. The final publication of the Karatepe bilingual is provided by Çambel 1999; for the hieroglyphic Luwian text, see Hawkins 2000, I, pp. 45-68.

¹⁶ Tekoğlu - Lemaire 2000.

¹⁷ Against the identification of ‘Muksas’ (*MPS*) with the Greek seer Mopsus, see especially Vanschoonwinkel 1990.

¹⁸ This may have started with the Hesiodic Melampodia (frs. 278-279 MW), dated to c. 550 BC in Löffler 1963, p. 59. See Braun 1982, p. 30.

¹⁹ See Laroche 1958, p. 268; Vanschoonwinkel 1990, pp. 195-197; Hawkins 1982, p. 430; Hawkins 2000, I, p. 40.

²⁰ Laroche 1958, p. 275.

²¹ Boardman 1999, p. 35.

Recently, however, even this piece of support has been called into question above all as the result of a detailed study of the material gathered during the course of a visit to Kazanlı Höyük, some eighty years ago, by Burton Brown and of that collected in the surveys carried out in Cilicia by Gjerstad and Seton-Williams, respectively in 1930 and 1951²².

S. Sherrat and J. Crouwel on the basis of analysis of pottery fragments decorated in LH IIIC style from Kazanlı Höyük tend to exclude the possibility that these pieces, and other similar material from the region, are to be connected with the arrival of groups of Mycenaeans from the Aegean world. For them it seems preferable to regard the Mycenaean-type pottery found in Cilicia, attributable to the period immediately following the fall of the Hittite empire, as an index of changing economic and social relationships and of a privileged link with the dynamic urban centres of coastal Cyprus, rather than a sign of the arrival of a significant number of Greek-speakers²³. Anna Lucia D'Agata, on the other hand, having re-examined the material gathered in their surveys by Gjerstad e Seton-Williams, has concluded that it can no longer be argued that the entire Cilician plain was affected by the circulation of Mycenaean IIIA-B pottery and the subsequent arrival of IIIC pottery, nor can we speak of some Aegeanising phenomenon for the area. Rather, relations with the Aegean world appear extremely localised throughout all phases of the Late Bronze Age in the Tarsus and Kazanlı area²⁴.

3. A second period to which the presence of Greek settlements in Cilicia is commonly, but perhaps not rightly, attributed is represented by the VIII and VII centuries BC. In particular, on the basis of information handed down especially by Strabo, there has been a tendency to regard the centre of Soloi as a Rhodian, or preferably Lindian, colony²⁵. A further incentive

²² Gjerstad 1934, Seton-Williams 1954. For Burton Brown's visit to Kazanlı Höyük, see Sherrat - Crouwel 1987, p. 327. For the Mycenaean-type pottery found in Cilicia, attributable to the XII century BC and coming especially from the excavations conducted at Tarsus (Goldman 1956), and its interpretation (import/local production?), see French 1975; Mee 1978, p. 150; Mee 1998, p. 145; Jean 1999, pp. 31-32.

²³ Sherrat - Crouwel 1987; see also Sherrat 1994 and Sherrat 1998.

²⁴ Salmeri - D'Agata forthcoming. See also Salmeri - D'Agata - Falesi - Buxton 2002.

²⁵ See Ruge 1927, c. 936 and Jeffery 1976, p. 197. At any rate in Strabo 14. 5. 8 Soloi is presented as a *ktisma* of the Achaeans and of the Rhodians of Lindos; in Polyb. 21. 24. 10 and Liv. 37. 56. 7, instead, she is said by the Rhodians to be descended from Argos just as they were. See also Mela 1. 71.

to consider Soloi a colony was provided by the discovery of “LG pottery, mainly East Greek” in the neighbouring sites of Tarsus and Mersin; it was thought in fact that such material could only come from a colonial centre²⁶. It is not possible here to enter into a discussion whether or not there were Greek colonies on the south-east coast of Asia Minor and the Syro-Phoenician coast at the period in which they fell within the confines of the Assyrian empire²⁷. But for a useful insight into the role of Soloi it is worth recalling that for one single centre in the Levant the existence of a Greek settlement in the middle decades of the VIII century BC has been hypothesised, and not unanimously²⁸. The place in question is Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes, which for the final part of the VIII century is now described as a port of trade frequented by Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots²⁹. It should also be remarked that the Late Geometric (and later) pottery from Tarsus and Mersin which until just a few years ago was an established East Greek import, has now –on the basis of research on similar material found by M.H. Gates during the excavations at Kinet Höyük (ancient Issus)– come to be regarded as local production, indicative of processes of acculturation rather than Greek settlement³⁰. For the moment, then, it is perhaps preferable to avoid attributing to Soloi the status of late eighth-century Rhodian colony.

This does not mean, however, that every type of Greek intervention or presence in Plain Cilicia is to be excluded. This area, called *Que* by the Assyrians, was marched across during the incursions of Shalmaneser III in the 830s BC and became a province of the empire some time before 710

²⁶ Boardman 1965, p. 15 and Coldstream 1977, pp. 95, 359. But, see below n. 30.

²⁷ Against the existence of a Greek colonial movement towards the Levant in the VIII and VII centuries BC, comparable to the westward one, see Liverani 1988, pp. 876-878. In favour of the presence of Greek colonies on the southern coast of Asia Minor (Phaselis, Nagidus, Celenderis) we find, for example, Graham 1982, p. 93 and Baurain 1997, p. 301 (here also Soloi is considered a Greek colony), but both scholars rule out this possibility for Al Mina (below n. 28).

²⁸ Popham 1994 and Boardman 1999, pp. 38-46 assert the presence of a settlement of Greeks at Al Mina, in the VIII century BC, consisting chiefly of Euboeans, while Perreault 1993, pp. 63-68 and Snodgrass 1994, pp. 4-5 tend rather to rule it out on the basis of a different interpretation of the pottery finds. Kearsley 1999, pp. 127-130 seeks to demonstrate that around the mid-eight century BC a mercenary group mainly comprising Euboeans was living briefly at the mouth of the Orontes. See also Boardman 1999a.

²⁹ Kearsley 1999, pp. 130-131.

³⁰ For the Kinet Höyük material, see Gates 1999, pp. 308-309.

under Shalmaneser V, or more probably Sargon II³¹. In the first place it is likely that sailors and merchants, not only from Cyprus but from the Greek world too, and in particular from the eastern Aegean, stayed in the ports of the region – especially Soloi – given the non-hostile attitude on the part of the provincial Assyrian administration towards foreign trade³². Further, in 696 BC, there is evidence for an ill-fated rebellion against the central authority by Kirua, ruler of Illubru, in which Greeks were involved along with the cities of Ingira and Tarzi, and with Rough Cilicia. Assyrian sources tell us that Kirua, defeated by the generals of Sennacherib, was captured and burned alive, while Illubru was taken and turned into an outpost of the empire³³. The Chronicle of Eusebius in Armenian –which goes back to two Greek authors respectively of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus– records the defeat inflicted on the Greeks by the army of Sennacherib³⁴. According to Alexander Polyhistor the Greeks “having advanced into the land of the Cilicians to make war” were defeated in a land battle that was particularly bloody for both sides.

The formulation “having advanced into the land of the Cilicians to make war” does not square with the hypothesis that the Greeks in question were permanent residents of the province of *Que*. Rather, they appear to belong to the same group of Ionians (ia-ú-na-a) who had been involved in military activity against the Assyrian authority since the 730s BC, when a tablet from Nimrud records them making an incursion into Phoenicia³⁵. That is to say, it is most likely that they were mercenaries, given also to piracy, who had perhaps some of their bases on the island of Cyprus. Moreover, the tablets in cuneiform script and neo-Assyrian language found at Tarsus³⁶ do not in any case point towards the presence of

³¹ Hawkins 1982, pp. 395, 415-420 and Hawkins 2000, I, pp. 41-42.

³² See Lanfranchi 2000, pp. 10-11, 31-34, although as a whole the work tends to view the Greek presence in the Assyrian world in an excessively triumphalistic light.

³³ Hawkins 1982, pp. 426-427 and Hawkins 2000, I, p. 43. See also Dalley 1999.

³⁴ Euseb. (Arm.), Chron. p. 14 Karst (Alexander Polyhistor: FGrHist 273. F79); pp. 17-18 Karst (Abydenus: FGrHist 685. F5); see Desideri - Jasink 1990, pp. 153-156.

³⁵ The text (Nimrud Letter 69) is re-edited in Parker 2000. On Greek mercenaries in the East see Kearsley 1999.

³⁶ Goetze 1939.

conspicuous groups of Greeks in the province of *Que* in the course of the VII century BC. There does not seem to be preserved any trace of Greek onomastics in the tablets; the Luwian element is dominant, which may possibly document a remarkable continuity in the composition of the local population with respect to the Hittite period³⁷.

Luwian onomastics appears to be dominant at the same period in Rough Cilicia as well³⁸, with the result that the picture of the population of the whole of Cilicia turns out to be substantially homogeneous³⁹. From the point of view of politics, however, Rough Cilicia presents a quite different picture from the Plain, since it was not a settled possession of the Assyrians. After both areas fell into the hands of Sargon II, the former became the nerve-centre of Kirua's revolt and for a large part of the VII century BC preserved its independence from the empire⁴⁰. This may also be why the Greeks took their name for the whole region (*Kilikia*) from the Assyrian designation for Rough Cilicia (*Hilakku*), but it is impossible to be certain⁴¹. On the basis of the excavations at Celenderis, however, and the material they produced, it can be stated with some certainty that there were no western-type colonies in Rough Cilicia in the VIII and VII centuries⁴². In the region as a whole, then, in the two centuries in question the Greeks were if anything a marginal element; if in centres like Kinet Höyük, Tarsus or Celenderis the inhabitants followed the fashions in tableware from Miletus, Chios or Rhodes, this is to be regarded as the product of processes of acculturation in which Cyprus and her Greek cities certainly performed an important mediating role⁴³.

³⁷ Goetze 1962, p. 54.

³⁸ Consider the absolute predominance of Luwian names in the Phoenician inscription from Cebel Ire Dağı, not far from Alanya, attributable to the end of the VII century BC: see Mosca - Russel 1987.

³⁹ On the interaction between Rough and Plain Cilicia in the ancient world see Jean 2001a, pp. 5-7.

⁴⁰ Hawkins 1982, pp. 431-433 and Hawkins 2000, I, pp. 42-43.

⁴¹ Cf. Desideri - Jasink 1990, p. 12.

⁴² For Celenderis, see Zoroglu 1994, pp. 14-21. In Mela 1. 77 she is said to be a foundation of Samos.

⁴³ Gates 1999, pp. 308-309. Unfounded is the hypothesis advanced by Bing 1971, presenting Tarsus as a forgotten colony of Lindus.

The use of the Phoenician language and alphabetic script in inscriptions found in Cilicia and dating back to the VIII and VII centuries BC is to be handled similarly; that is to say, by locating it at the centre of a dynamic process of interaction and acculturation⁴⁴. It has to be underlined, instead, that in multilingual Cilicia⁴⁵, on the fringes of the Assyrian empire, the language of the Greeks, in keeping with the marginal presence of its speakers –at least, until now– is not attested; this did not, however, prevent Jeffery from supposing that in the first half of the VIII century the Greeks took their alphabet from the area which includes northern Syria and Cilicia, where the Phoenician language and script were rooted as medium of communication⁴⁶. The question is complex, at any rate in support of Jeffery's hypothesis it may at least be emphasised that in order for processes such as the transmission of an alphabet to take place, even a marginal presence of the receiving party suffices; the Levant, moreover, with its long history of linguistic and alphabetic interaction, seems a more likely candidate than Crete to play the role of place of origin of the Greek alphabet⁴⁷. Cilicia in particular, over and above its substantially Luwian population, from the IX to the VII centuries BC was –on account of its intermediate position between the world of imperial Mesopotamia and that of Anatolia– an eminently suitable place of exchange and contact between East and West. And its candidacy as place of introduction of the Greek alphabet is surely strengthened by the fact that the Phrygians, independently of the Greeks but not without some interference, seem also to have taken their alphabet from there⁴⁸.

4. After the end of Assyrian rule Cilicia makes her appearance on the political scene of the eastern Mediterranean with the participation of king Syennesis as guarantor, along with the Babylonian Labynetos, at peace

⁴⁴ Instead of considering it the product of the presence of large Phoenician settlements in Cilicia which has not so far been proven. See Gras - Rouillard - Teixidor 1989, pp. 32-35; Lemaire 1991; Lemaire 2001, pp. 188-189.

⁴⁵ Together with hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician in Cilicia are also present, as written languages, cuneiform Assyrian and alphabetic Aramaic: Lemaire 2001, p. 189.

⁴⁶ Jeffery 1982, pp. 819-833 (especially 832-833) and Jeffery 1990, pp. 10-11. Johnston in Jeffery 1990, pp. 425-426 argues the role of Cyprus as a catalyst between Greeks and Phoenicians.

⁴⁷ For Crete, see Guarducci 1978.

⁴⁸ On this point, see Brixhe 1995.

negotiations between the Lydians and the Medes in 585 BC⁴⁹. This Syennesis –the first in a line of Cilician dynasts bearing this name down to the end of the V century BC– was in all likelihood the master of *Hilakku*, the mountainous western part of the region which, just as in the Assyrian period, maintained a substantial independence under the Babylonians also, taking the name *Pirindu* and perhaps extending its territory. Plain Cilicia, the *Que* of the Assyrians, was known in turn as *Hume*, and may have been for some periods under Babylonian rule⁵⁰.

In the second half of the VI century BC it is not easy to identify the moment at which our region, insofar as there seems not to have been a true campaign of conquest, entered into the orbit of the Persian empire of Cyrus the Great: there is, however, a proposal to date the process to a period between the pacification ‘campaign’ in Caria, a little later than 546, and the conquest of Babylon in 539 BC⁵¹. As for the role of Cilicia in the empire from a political and administrative point of view, we should not allow ourselves to be misled by the existence of the dynasty of Syennesis into considering the integration of our region into the Achaemenid area as purely theoretical. In fact Cilicia, even though retaining its traditional function as a link between Mesopotamia and Anatolia, paid to Darius a tribute of 360 white horses and 500 talents of silver; and she furnished to the army of Xerxes troops and 100 ships, more than the Lycians and the Carians and as many as the Ionians. Under Persian rule Cilicia was more or less a vassal kingdom, with a few special prerogatives, but *not* thereby granted autonomy or governed –from the perspective of the imperial centre– on principles different from those of a satrapy⁵².

With regard to the presence of a Greek element in Cilicia in the Persian period, by far the most important testimony is provided by silver coins which began to be struck a little after the middle of the V century BC in the principal centres of the region: from Nagidus, Celenderis and Holmoi

⁴⁹ Hdt. 1. 74. 3.

⁵⁰ Syennesis: Asheri 1991, pp. 45-46; Casabonne 1995 and Briant 1996, p. 515. For Cilicia in the Babylonian period, see Hawkins 1982, pp. 433-434 and Hawkins 2000, I, pp. 43-44.

⁵¹ Casabonne 2000a, p. 21.

⁵² Tribute paid to Darius: Hdt. 3. 90. 3; troops and ships furnished to Xerses: Hdt. 7. 91. See Asheri 1991 and Briant 1996, pp. 514-515, and more in general Casabonne 1999.

in Rough Cilicia, to Issus, Mallus, Soloi and Tarsus in the Plain. On the coins it is easy to detect a trace of linguistic and figurative Hellenism, even if not always of the same depth⁵³. The local coins of Cilicia turn out in fact to be marked with a toponymic legend for the most part in the Greek language and alphabet, except that in the case of Tarsus the prevalent language is Aramaic, which may have been intended to support some dynastic agenda. The iconography of the coins in cases such as Nagidus and Celenderis is decidedly Greek, as also in the case of pieces from Soloi with the helmeted head of Athena on the obverse; while Tarsus again stands out in presenting subjects of Persian derivation⁵⁴. Beyond these differences, all the Cilician coins in question were nevertheless struck taking up the Persian standard: a decision –adopted in Cyprus and in Pamphylia, and also at Aradus and Phaselis– which can be seen as indicative of a tendency towards integration under Persian authority, at least in the trade and traffic sector, on the south-eastern coast of Asia Minor⁵⁵. But how did the urban centres of Cilicia, which cannot be described as Greek in the VII and VI centuries BC from the perspective of political and social organisation, arrive at the use of Greek legends and iconography on their coins?

It is prudent to exclude the possibility that the coin production in question was determined by large migrations of Greek-speakers into Cilicia between the VI and the V centuries BC, a movement for which there is no real evidence⁵⁶; on the contrary, the coin production could have been a result of the network of connections which had been established between Cilicia and the Greek world especially after contingents from the region had taken part in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece. To this of course can be added the enormous influence that Greek coinage –in particular that of Athens– had in Cilicia and in the rest of the Mediterranean on account of its conspicuous artistic quality and wide circulation⁵⁷.

⁵³ Capecchi 1991, p. 67.

⁵⁴ See Kraay 1976, pp. 278-286; Capecchi 1991; Casabonne 2000a.

⁵⁵ See Casabonne 2000a, p. 54.

⁵⁶ On Greeks in the Persian empire, see Miller 1997, pp. 97-108.

⁵⁷ For the presence of Attic coins in Cilician hoards, see Casabonne 2000a, pp. 27-31; for the imitations of Attic coins also in Cilicia, Figueira 1998, pp. 528-535.

One of the earliest opportunities for contact between the Cilicians and the Greek world, after the Persian wars, was created by the expeditions of Cimon to the eastern Mediterranean. The son of Miltiades, he defeated the Persians in or about 466 BC in a land and sea battle around the mouth of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia; in 450 he launched a campaign against Cyprus during the course of which –after his own death– the Athenians defeated the Cypriots and the Cilicians around Salamis once again in a land and sea battle⁵⁸. We may see as a result of the first expedition the emergence of Phaselis, a foundation of Lindos on the eastern fringe of Lycia, in the first assessment (454/3 BC) of the Delian League with a tribute of six talents. Moreover, to the east of Phaselis another urban centre appears to have belonged to the Delian League: Celenderis, in Rough Cilicia, which is included in the extravagant assessment of 425 BC, and also probably in one of the earliest in the 450s⁵⁹. A little more than a decade later, between 440 and 430 BC, Celenderis appears to have been one of the first centres in our region to produce silver staters⁶⁰, but it is not possible on the basis of the documentation at our disposal to establish any connection between this fact and the presence of the city in the lists of the League. However, the material belonging to the Classical period found in the excavations of the city's necropolis deserves some attention: apart from Attic red-figured lekythoi it includes a large amount of non-Attic vases, among which stand out Cypriot imports, bowls of local manufacture, and Phoenician transport amphorae⁶¹. The society that we glimpse behind this mixed collection is not one dominated by Greeks. The red-figured Attic lekythoi are in fact prestige items adopted by the local elite in their burial practice, just as, on a more general level, the 'reference' on local coinage to Greek numismatic production represents one of the ways in which Celenderis could affirm herself in the regional context of Cilicia.

⁵⁸ Battle of the Eurymedon: Thuc. 1. 100, Plut., Cimon 12. 5-8 and Badian 1993, pp. 2-10, 100; campaign against Cyprus: Thuc. 1. 112 and Badian 1993, pp. 19-20, 103 with discussion of other sources.

⁵⁹ Meiggs 1972, pp. 102, 329. On Phaselis, see Blackman 1981. On Celenderis, see above n. 42.

⁶⁰ Casabonne 2000a, p. 39.

⁶¹ Zoroglu 1994, pp. 61-63 and Zoroglu 2000.

The networks which tie Soloi, another Cilician centre remarkable for its coinage⁶², to the Greek world extend along routes which –somewhat differently from Celenderis– are directed on one side towards Cyprus and on the other towards Rhodes. With Cyprus there was a constant stream of trade and contacts. Here we cite the information given by Isocrates, according to which Evagoras, the future king of the Greek Salamis, shortly before 411 BC – while the city was in the hands of the tyrant Abdemon of Tyre – went into exile at Soloi. Having conquered and consolidated control of Salamis, king Evagoras was able –certainly exploiting contacts formed during his exile– to annex areas of Cilicia, creating serious problems for the Persian empire in the decade between 391 and 381 BC, and further confirming the strategic potential of the axis between Cyprus and the area of Asia Minor that faces it⁶³.

The link between Soloi and Rhodes appears to be of an essentially cultural and religious type. Important evidence for this is found in the Lindian Temple Chronicle where for a year that can not be pinned down with certainty – perhaps around the beginning of the V century BC – we read that the people of Soloi offered to Athena Lindia a golden *phiale* as a tithe of the booty which, together with Amphilocheus, they had taken from some neighbouring peoples whose names we cannot restore with any certainty⁶⁴. A short text, but one which raises a whole series of questions related to the tradition concerning the foundation of the city, a tradition condensed as follows by Strabo: “Soloi is a *ktisma* of the Achaeans and the Rhodians of Lindos”⁶⁵.

As for the Rhodians, this tradition seems to have its roots in the same decades of the early fifth century to which, in my view, the offering of the *phiale* to Athena Lindia by the people of Soloi also dates. At that time, as we know from Herodotus, the town of Posideion, south of the Orontes,

⁶² On the coinage of Soloi see, of late, Casabonne 2000a, pp. 40, 47.

⁶³ Exile: Isocr., Euag. 27-28; annexation of Cilicia: *ibid.*, 62. On Evagoras’ political perspective, see Costa 1974, Collombier 1990 and Briant 1996, pp. 628-629, 666-668, 671.

⁶⁴ The entry in the Lindian Temple Chronicle dealing with Soloi (33) is referred with some doubt to the Archaic period in Blinkenberg 1915, p. 29 and Lindos II, 1, c. 177. The Amphilocheus of this text does not seem to have anything to do with the Argive hero (above n. 12).

⁶⁵ Strabo 14. 5. 8, but see above n. 25.

claimed to have been founded by the Argive hero Amphilochus⁶⁶; and king Xerxes and the Persians, under whose control both Posideion and Soloi fell, considered themselves to be descendants of the Argives through Perseus⁶⁷. In this context it is easy to understand the decision of the people of Soloi to send an offering to Lindos, traditionally considered a colony of Argos, and to establish a connection with Argos parading an homonym of the mythical Amphilochus, who according to the Hesiodic Melampodia was killed by Apollo just near to Soloi⁶⁸.

During the course of the V century BC, the cities of Cilicia –represented here by Celenderis and Soloi– show every sign of being bound to the Greek world by a network of relationships that were, on the whole, well-established. As for the population of these cities, and more generally of the region, on the basis of the data at our disposal, no distinct Greek presence can be reconstructed. Apart from the coin inscriptions already mentioned, no other significant traces of Greek writing from fifth-century Cilicia can be cited.

Quite different is the case of Aramaic, generally adopted for administrative purposes throughout the Persian empire, which is attested in the region in a dozen inscriptions from the V and IV centuries BC⁶⁹. And it is also worth mentioning the inscriptions in the same language which appear on a particular class of local coins: these so-called caranic coins were struck at several of the city mints by Persian military commanders such Tiribazus and Pharnabazus, charged in the 380s and 370s with expeditions against Evagoras and the Egyptian rebellion respectively⁷⁰.

On this coinage Cilicia (*HLK*), by reason of its strategic position and its use as a point of departure and support for Persian military expeditions, saw its unitary character as a region underlined and, at the same time,

⁶⁶ Hdt. 3. 91. For the identification of Posideion with Ras al Bassit, see Courbin 1986, pp. 187-188.

⁶⁷ Hdt. 7. 150.

⁶⁸ See Strabo 14. 5. 17 (Hes. fr. 279 MW). Soloi is said to be a colony of Argos by Polybius and Livy, cf. above n. 25.

⁶⁹ The inscriptions are listed and discussed in Lemaire - Lozachmeur 1996, pp. 102-106. On the use of Aramaic in the Persian empire: Briant 1996, pp. 523-524, 981 (with bibliography).

⁷⁰ See Davesne 1989; Casabonne 2000a, pp. 31-36, 60; De Callataÿ 2000. The adjective caranic, used for example in Casabonne 2000a, is formed from the Greek word *karanos*.

through the use of specific Persian iconography by Tiribazus and of Aramaic for the legend, found that its ties to the imperial centre were made clear. The translation of all this into administrative terms is represented by the transfer of Cilicia to the condition *tout court* of satrapy in the final phase of Persian control⁷¹. But such geopolitical and administrative tendencies should not obscure the Hellenizing stylistic elements and the decidedly Greek types, adopted by Pharnabazus, which characterise caranic coinage. These features may find an explanation in the fact that the coin production of Tiribazus and Pharnabazus was undertaken mainly to pay the mercenary troops in their service – troops largely made up of Greeks, who, in any case, do not seem to have developed lasting relations with the local population⁷².

Two Attic funerary stelae, with appropriate inscriptions, found in the area of Soloi are a sign of a Greek presence in the region which begins to look more stable. Both pieces date to the second quarter of the IV century BC, and their inscriptions are characterised by the use of the Attic dialect, except for one name in Doric (*Athanodotos*)⁷³. But these traces are too exiguous to support hypotheses on the manner and mechanisms by which the Greeks consolidated their presence at Soloi, which along with Celenderis was always the community in Persian Cilicia most integrated into the diverse world of Greek culture and tradition. On a more general and political level, however, we cannot but agree with Pierre Briant, who interprets as propaganda the passage in Isocrates' Panegyricus, referring to 380 BC, in which the orator alleges that most of the cities of Cilicia were on the side of the Greeks and their allies, and that the remainder were easily detachable from the Persians. Rather than reflecting the real situation, Isocrates wishes to incite his compatriots to war⁷⁴.

The picture of Cilicia under the Achaemenids, which presents the Greek component in a subordinate and marginal position, finds an exact parallel in certain Greek texts which are ascribable, they or their sources,

⁷¹ Briant 1996, p. 730.

⁷² Xenophon's *Anabasis* offers a good picture of the type of relations there were between Greek troops in the service of the Persians and local populations of Asia Minor.

⁷³ von Gladiss 1973-74, p. 177 (*Athanodotos*); Hermary 1987, pp. 227-229: cf. Jones - Russell 1993, p. 297.

⁷⁴ Isocr., *Paneg.* 161; Briant 1996, p. 669.

to the IV century BC or the first decade of the III. In the first place Ephorus, in his division of the peoples of Asia Minor into Greeks and barbarians, with a special category for those of mixed race, has no hesitation in placing the Cilicians in the second group⁷⁵. In the Periplous of Ps.-Scylax, on the other hand, the only community of Rough and Plain Cilicia, apart from Holmoi, which earns the definition *hellenis* is Soloi⁷⁶. Finally, in the section of Arrian's *Anabasis* dedicated to the march of Alexander along the southern coast of Asia Minor, and derived from Ptolemy I and Aristoboulus, the author presents a picture of ethnic and cultural diversity in which it is difficult to identify clearly the space occupied by the Greeks⁷⁷. Only in the case of Mallus, owing to its vaunted Argive foundation, was there talk of Hellenism – and, more importantly, of her relationship with Alexander, who also claimed descent from the Argos of the Heracleidae⁷⁸. Thus began in the Hellenistic age a second chapter in the fortunes of Argos in Cilicia, through which the longing for Hellenization of some cities of the region was revealed.

5. Before the time of Alexander's expedition, then, the Hellenism of Cilicia does not present the same pronounced character as in the western area of Asia Minor; on the contrary, it turns out to be in position of clear inferiority compared to the other ethnic and linguistic elements in the region. It principally concerns port cities such as Soloi, from where contact with the Greek centres of Cyprus was easy; and by and large its manifestations appear to derive from processes of interaction and acculturation rather than from the actions of a significant core of Greek residents.

After the expedition of Alexander it is clear that the Greek presence in the region did not materialise suddenly. A fundamental role in this regard was played by the 'colonising' activity of the Seleucids and Ptolemies in the course of the III century BC, which was continued even through the conflicts that characterized their relations in Cilicia as elsewhere⁷⁹. Without taking into account cases such as Tarsus, which was renamed

⁷⁵ Eph. in Strabo 14. 5. 23, on which see Desideri 1992.

⁷⁶ Ps.-Scyl. 102. In Xenophon's *Anabasis* (1. 2. 24) Soloi is simply presented as a maritime city.

⁷⁷ Arr., *Anab.* 1. 26 - 2. 5, on which see Bosworth 1980, I, pp. 164-198.

⁷⁸ Arr., *Anab.* 2. 5. 8.

⁷⁹ See Cohen 1995, pp. 55-57. For conflicts between Seleucids and Ptolemies in Cilicia, see Will 1979, I, pp. 140, 239, 255, 259; Jones - Habicht 1989, pp. 335-337.

Antioch on the Cydnus, the most significant Seleucid intervention was the foundation of Seleuceia on the Calycadnus in Rough Cilicia by Seleucus I⁸⁰. In the city, according to Strabo, were settled the inhabitants of the neighbouring Holmoi, most likely along with those of other Greek communities of Asia Minor. On this basis Seleuceia was described as “well peopled” (*eu synoikoumene*) and “standing far aloof from the Cilician and Pamphylian usages”⁸¹. As for the Ptolemies, most significant is the foundation by the *strategos* Aetos of a city called Arsinoe, not far from Nagidus in Rough Cilicia, between 279 and 253 BC⁸². During the course of the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221 BC), in a decree from Nagidus, the event was recalled with words⁸³ which are in general indicative of the promotional function of the Greek element stressed by the colonising activities of the Hellenistic kings to the detriment of indigenous elements.

The route followed by Soloi to consolidate and reinforce her own Hellenism was different. The city had been given a constitutional (non-tyrannical) government by Alexander⁸⁴ and –counting on an ancient relationship with Rhodes and, perhaps through Rhodes, with Argos⁸⁵– already by the end of the IV century BC had, just like Aspendos, established kinship-ties (*syngeneia*) with the city of the Heracleidae⁸⁶, from whom Alexander claimed descent. We can add that through the intervention of Rhodes in 189 BC, on the eve of Apamea, Soloi sought to free herself from the Seleucids by winning *eleutheria* from the Romans, but without success⁸⁷. Thus a general strategy of Hellenization ‘by diplomacy’⁸⁸ on the

⁸⁰ Cohen 1995, pp. 358-360 (Antioch on the Cydnus), 369-371 (Seleuceia on the Calycadnus).

⁸¹ See Strabo 14. 5. 4. Holmoi, as we have already remarked (above n. 76), is defined *hellenis* in the Periplus of the Ps.-Scylax.

⁸² Jones - Habicht 1989; Cohen 1995, pp. 363-364.

⁸³ Jones - Habicht 1989, p. 320 lines 22-24.

⁸⁴ Arr., Anab. 2. 5. 8 (*demokrateisthai edoken*); for the interpretation of *demokrateisthai* in the sense proposed here, and not of democracy *tout court*, see Corsaro 1997, p. 36.

⁸⁵ See above notes 25 and 64.

⁸⁶ As we know from an inscription found at Nemea: see Stroud 1984, p. 197 line 7, and also Curty 1995, pp. 7-9.

⁸⁷ Polyb. 21. 24. 10, Liv. 37. 56. 7 and above n. 25. In Polybius the relationship between Soloi and Rhodos is defined as *adelphike syngeneia*, Argos being the common ancestor.

⁸⁸ A ‘kinship diplomacy’, to use C. Jones’ formula: Jones 1999.

part of Soloi is clear; it is not, however, possible to delineate in detail the progress of Hellenization, linguistic or otherwise, in the city after Alexander, owing especially to the scantiness of the epigraphic material at our disposal. We are well informed, in contrast, on the contribution of Soloi to Hellenistic culture, a contribution which for the most part flowed into Athens. This was in fact the destination of two men of letters and one philosopher from Soloi: the comic poet Philemon; Aratus, author of the *Phainomena*; and finally Chrysippus, who was head of the Stoa⁸⁹.

This connection with Athens through her poets and philosophers proved to be a certificate of Hellenism of the first importance for Soloi. And it is likely that the remodelling of the tradition regarding the city's origins by Euphorion in his poem *Alexander* (second half of the III century BC) can be traced, as a form of homage to Aratus⁹⁰, to this relationship: according to Stephanus of Byzantium, it was claimed in the poem that Soloi took her name from Solon⁹¹. At any rate, the Athenian origin of the city supposed by Euphorion and her ongoing diplomatic offensive aimed at Argos and Rhodes need not, given the difference in context, appear contradictory. Indeed, the former fits in with the normal practice of refined and erudite Hellenistic poetry, which was always in search of novelty. Moreover the phonetic similarity between the names of Soloi and Solon is undeniable and, at the time the poet composed his *Alexander*, the tradition that Solon played a role in the foundation of the Cypriot Soloi must already have been widely known⁹². It cannot, then, have been a particularly daring move on the part of Euphorion to connect Cilician Soloi with the Athenian legislator, by means of a simple application of poetic *variatio*.

With firm connections to the Greek world established by various means, through one of these connections –Athens– Soloi also saw the etymology of the term *solecism* attached to herself. The etymology is

⁸⁹ For the origin from Soloi of Philemon, Aratus and Chrysippus, see Strabo 14. 5. 8. At any rate, in Suda *ph* 327 Philemon is said to be from Syracuse. On the contribution of Soloi to Hellenistic culture, see Ingholt 1967-68.

⁹⁰ He was greatly admired by Euphorion.

⁹¹ Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Soloi; cf. Treves 1955, pp. 34-35 and van Groningen 1977, pp. 20-21.

⁹² See Plut., Sol. 26. 2-4 and Gallo 1975, pp. 185-201; Gallo 1976, pp. 31-35; Irwin 1999, pp. 187-189.

attested for the first time in Strabo⁹³, and is explicated as follows in the first book of Diogenes Laertius: Solon, having left Croesus “lived in Cilicia and founded a city which he called Soloi after his name. In it he settled some few Athenians, who in process of time corrupted the purity of Attic and were said to *solecize*”⁹⁴.

Here, it is not possible to investigate date and circumstances of the birth of this etymology. But, at least, it has to be said that, with a reasonable margin of error, it may be assigned to the final decades of the III century BC, a little after the appearance of Euphorion’s Alexander, and that the conceptual basis on which it appears to be founded is identifiable in the conviction, widespread in antiquity, that an inexorable process of corruption is triggered in a language when its speakers, particularly if they live in isolation, come into contact with foreign peoples⁹⁵. Examples are easily found in Herodotus and in the historians of Alexander⁹⁶.

A little more attention will be paid to identify what exactly provided the impetus for the explanation of the term solecism reported in Diogenes Laertius and centred on the fate of the Athenians who –abandoned by Solon in Soloi in conditions of isolation– corrupted their language. A plausible hypothesis is the presence in Athens of Chrysippus of Soloi, the man responsible for the advancement of the study of solecism in the sphere of logic⁹⁷, but who, paradoxically, at the same time was also the object of criticism in the city for not having taken the necessary care over mastering Greek in his native land and for the numerous mistakes he made in speaking⁹⁸. On the basis of this, one of the professional enemies of Chrysippus, or the inevitable grammarian-defender of Attic purity, eliding the positive air that the legend of Soloi’s foundation by Solon seems to have in Euphorion, could have cooked up the etymology which linked the term solecism with Soloi and the poor quality of the Greek that the Athenians, abandoned by Solon, had with time started to speak⁹⁹. Now, this is merely

⁹³ Strabo 14. 2. 28.

⁹⁴ Diog. Laert. 1. 51 (transl. R.D. Hicks, Loeb Classical Library).

⁹⁵ See Salmeri forthcoming, § 5, and also Aheri 1983, pp. 25-26.

⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. Hdt. 4. 108, 117; Curt. 4. 12. 11 and 7. 5. 28-35; Arr., Anab. 1. 26. 5.

⁹⁷ See especially Flobert 1986.

⁹⁸ Cf. Gal., De diff. puls. 2. 10 (8. 631-632 K).

⁹⁹ Cf. Irwin 1999, pp. 192-193, although she follows a somewhat different line.

a hypothesis which, even if it does not correspond exactly to the truth, has perhaps the merit of throwing light on the uncertainties in Chrysippus' command of Greek about a century after the end of Persian control in Cilicia. At any rate, taking a longer view, it cannot be denied that the etymology of *solecism* reported in Diogenes Laertius, at whatever level of consciousness it was formulated, amply reflects the fortunes of Hellenism in Cilicia between the VII and the III centuries BC: a Hellenism that was feeble and uncertain, felt itself under siege and was in constant search of legitimization.

6. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the II century BC the process of linguistic Hellenization appears already firmly in motion in our region, and could be said to be complete, at least in the urban areas and along the coastal belt, some time before the territory of Rough Cilicia was added to the province of Cilicia by Pompey in the 60s BC¹⁰⁰. The victory of Greek in Cilicia can be attributed to the fact that during the Hellenistic period the region was integrated into imperial states, such as those of the Ptolemies and, to a larger extent, of the Seleucids. As well as reorganising the territory and putting it under the control of their own governors, the Seleucids –at least until the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes– continued their work of establishing colonies and refounding cities, a policy always inclined to favour the Greek element¹⁰¹. When in 83 BC the Armenian king Tigranes invaded the Cilician plain he found himself confronted by cities which are defined in literary sources simply as Greek; their inhabitants were chosen by the king to be the principal vehicles of the Hellenization of his new capital, Tigranocerta¹⁰².

The adoption of Greek as the spoken language of the cities of Cilicia does not imply, however, that the region can be described as Hellenized tout court during the imperial period. To begin with, there are a few reservations in the writings of the grammarians concerning the purity of

¹⁰⁰ After defeating the pirates in 67 BC. For the 'province' of Cilicia from its origins as a military command until after Sulla's reorganization of Asia Minor, see Syme 1939; Syme 1995, pp. 118-120; Freeman 1986. The province, at any rate, until the campaigns of Pompey in the 60s did not include any part of Cilicia proper.

¹⁰¹ See above notes 79-83.

¹⁰² Strabo 11. 14. 15; Plut., Luc. 26. 1; Dio Cass. 36. 2. 3 and 37. 6; Plut., Pomp. 28: cf. Ruge 1927, c. 936 and Will 1982, II, pp. 457-459, 500.

the Greek spoken in Cilicia which, in line with the etymology of *soloikismos* analysed previously, tends to be viewed as an object of the corrupting influences of neighbouring languages¹⁰³. In Tarsus there is evidence not only of a Jewish community, most likely settled during the Seleucid period, but also of a substantial group of linen-workers, whom Dio of Prusa presents as situated on the margins of civic life, and who are considered by M. Rostovtzeff “as descendants of serfs who originally had been attached to the temple-factories”¹⁰⁴. Furthermore, on a more general level there is evidence throughout Cilicia, but particularly in the Rough and in areas which were mountainous and lacking in urban centres, for the survival in some measure of Luwian onomastics and of local cults¹⁰⁵. And on top of all this there is the perception that the Greek world had of Cilicia and her inhabitants – a perception which, for the period in question, is attested in a series of proverbs and epigrams and in writers such as Dio of Prusa or Lucian. On the basis also of recent historical precedents the inhabitants of the region were generally presented as bandits, pirates, liars, dishonest and debauched: and as such located on the margins of Hellenism¹⁰⁶.

In a Cilicia that in the II century AD was Hellenized linguistically, but not completely in other respects, it is easy to identify in analysis of the epigraphic and numismatic material a movement on the part of the local ruling groups to consolidate the claims of their respective cities to Hellenism. This phenomenon turns out to be perfectly integrated into the cultural climate of rediscovery on the part of the Greeks of the Empire of “self and unity”¹⁰⁷ which constituted the fertile soil in which the *Panhellenion* flourished. None of the cities of Cilicia or the Near East, however, on the basis of the material at our disposal, seems to have joined the Athenian assembly, most probably since the Hellenism of the area could not be considered above suspicion¹⁰⁸. In Tarsus and Aigai, as though

¹⁰³ Cf. Latte 1915, p. 387 n. 1.

¹⁰⁴ On the Jewish community at Tarsus, see Schürer 1986, III, 1, pp. 33-34. On the linen-workers of Dio (or. 34. 21-23), see Rostovtzeff 1957, p. 179; Jones 1978, p. 81; Salmeri 2000a, pp. 75-76 (n. 112).

¹⁰⁵ See Hopwood 1990, and Houwink Ten Kate 1961 especially for the Hellenistic period.

¹⁰⁶ See North 1996.

¹⁰⁷ Jones 1996, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Spawforth 1999, pp. 347-350.

to counter this defect, and following a regional tradition that can be traced back to the Persian period, as has been superbly shown by Louis Robert, there was insistence on a connection with Argos¹⁰⁹. At Soloi –which became Pompeiopolis in 66 or 65 BC on the wishes of Pompey¹¹ – they chose a different route. After the visit of Hadrian in 130 AD there arose a desire to embellish the appearance of the city and make her comparable to any of the illustrious centres of Hellenism. They started the construction of a monumental harbour, which was completed under Antoninus¹¹¹, and made plans for a colonnaded street, which would have been among the most imposing in the eastern Mediterranean¹¹². The city, like many others in the Greek world, also erected a statue of Hadrian in the precinct of the Olympieion at Athens¹¹³, and repeatedly featured her illustrious sons Aratus and Chrysippus on her coinage in the second half of the II century AD, the portraits being intended to point out her rightful place in the Greek cultural orbit¹¹⁴. But none of this was sufficient for Soloi –despite having changed her name to Pompeiopolis¹¹⁵– to succeed in shaking off the etymology which connected her with the term *solecism*, and underlined her doubtful claim to Hellenism¹¹⁶. Even in the V century AD, when Thalelaeus was said to speak Greek because of his Cilician origin, the history of the region, in which languages had always met and interacted, weighed heavily upon her.

¹⁰⁹ See Robert 1977, pp. 88-132.

¹¹⁰ Above n. 102, IGR 3. 869 and Jones 2001, p. 234.

¹¹¹ Boyce 1958.

¹¹² Peschlow-Bindokat 1975; Bejor 1999, pp. 72-73.

¹¹³ IG II/III2, 3302, see Paus. 1. 18. 6.

¹¹⁴ See Ingholt 1967-68, and also Bacchielli 1979.

¹¹⁵ Cf. above n. 110. However some of the authors of the Imperial period, such as Plutarch, continue to use the old name, see Jones 2001, p. 234.

¹¹⁶ See Irwin 1999.

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LEVHALAR



Tarsos



Anazarbos

Fig. 1

Coins with architectural representations from Cilicia

1. Aigeai (lighthouse, Macrinus). SNG France, 2344.
2. Anemurion (temple with syrian pediment and Artemis, Severus Alexander). SNG France, 706.
3. Tarsos (pyre of Herakles-Sandan). SNG France, 1319.
4. Tarsos (pyre of Herakles-Sandan, Marcus Aurelius). SNG France, 1451.
5. Tarsos (decastyle temple, Antoninus Pius). SNG France, 1446.
6. Tarsos (Tyche with two temples, Gordianus III). SNG Switzerland, 1144.
7. Anazarbos (decastyle temple, Faustina Minor). SNG Switzerland, 1391.
8. Anazarbos (two temples, Iulia Moesa). SNG Switzerland, Suppl. I, 339.
9. Anazarbos (three temples, Decius). SNG Switzerland, Suppl. I, 354.



Fig. 2 Mut (Erdem Sokak): stone pipes.

LEVHA 2

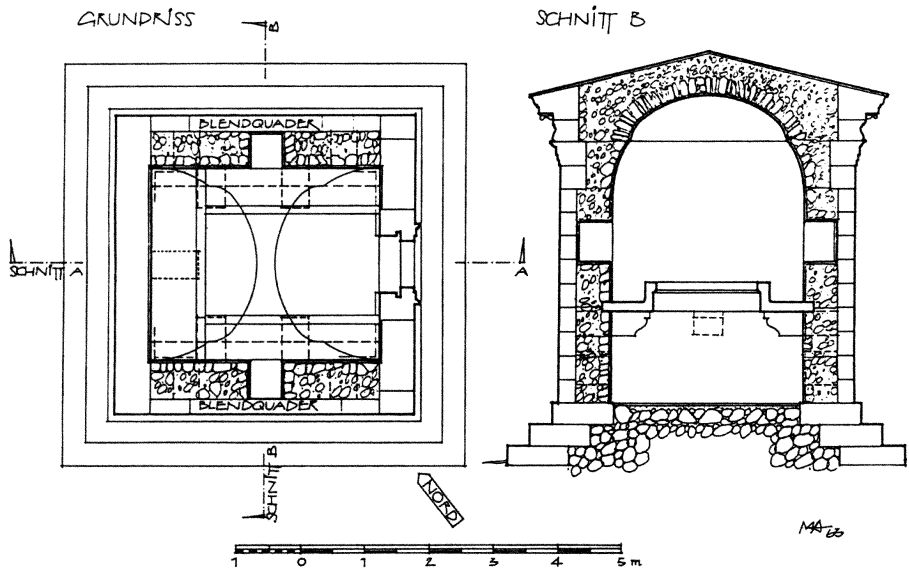


Fig. 3 Elaiussa Sebaste: tomb with double-arch vault (Machatschek 1967, taf. 56).

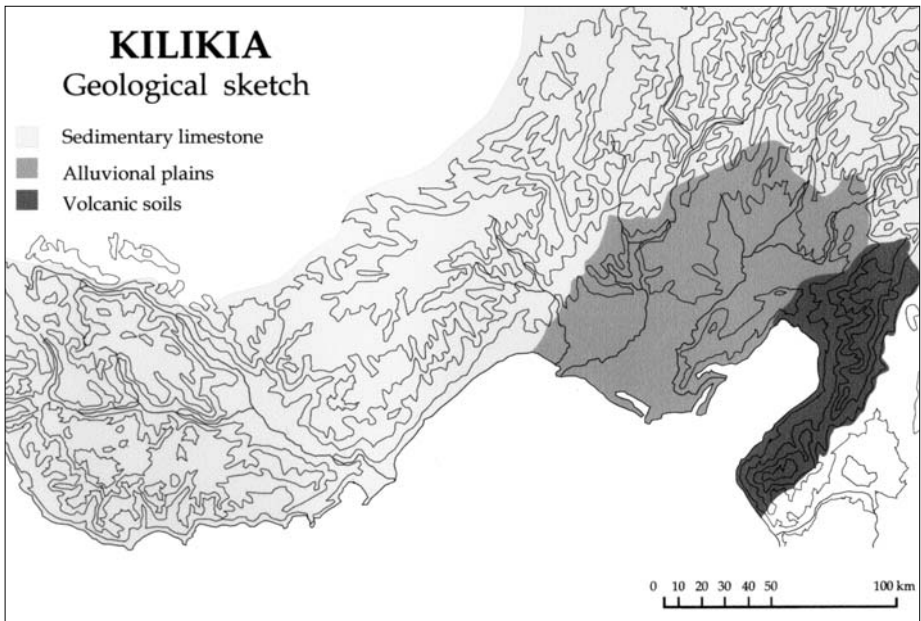


Fig. 4 Cilicia. Geological sketch.



Iotape - Baths



Hierapolis
Kastabala



Fig. 5 Cilicia, facing samples:
Iotape, Hierapolis Kastabala
(arrow shows a brick with X
groove), Epiphaneia.

Epiphaneia

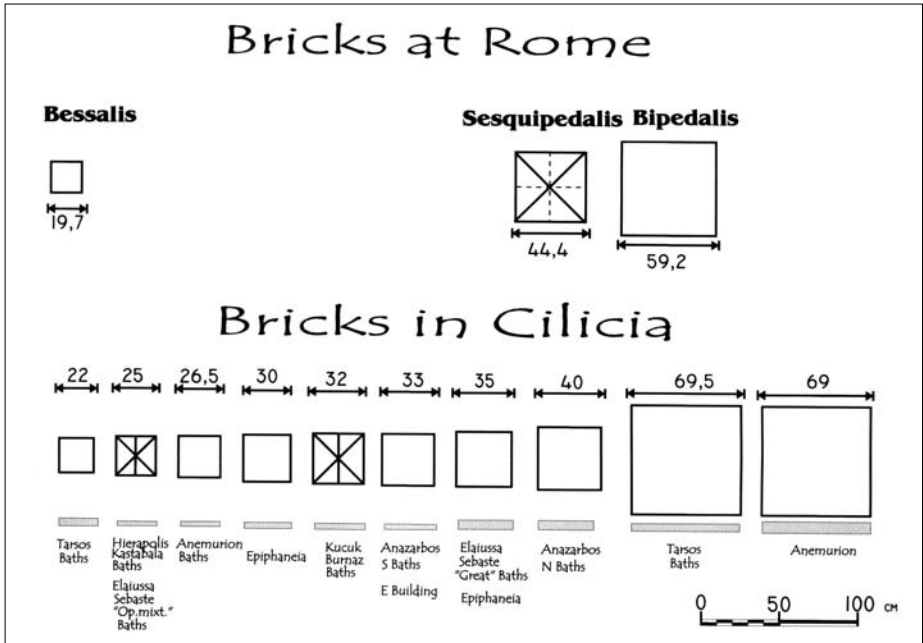


Fig. 6 Bricks at Rome and in Cilicia during imperial age.

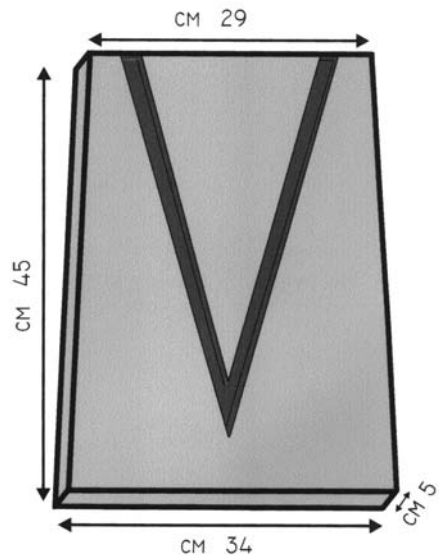


Fig. 7 Anemurion, Baths III.2.B: tiles with V groove.

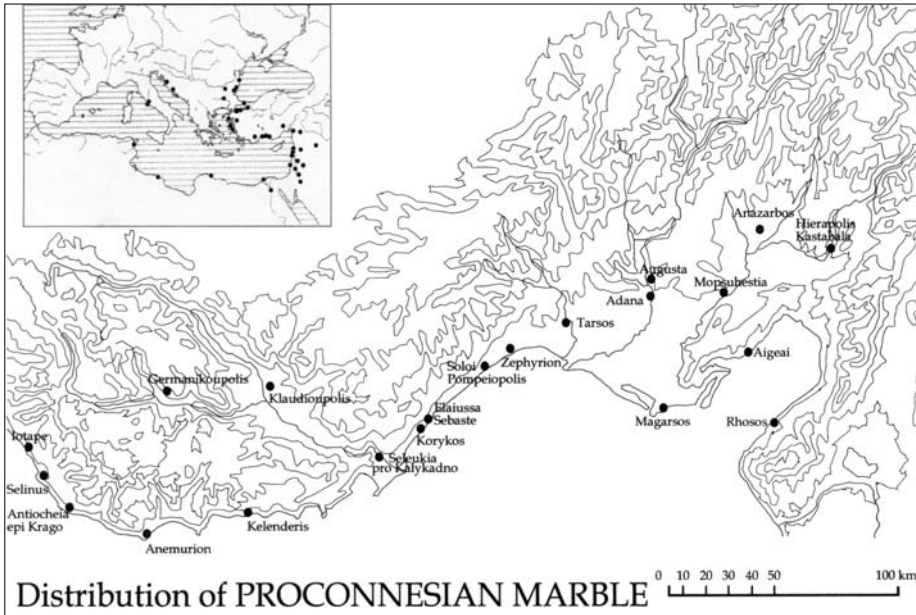


Fig. 8 Cilicia: distribution of Proconnesian marble. In the corner, general distribution map (Dodge 1988)

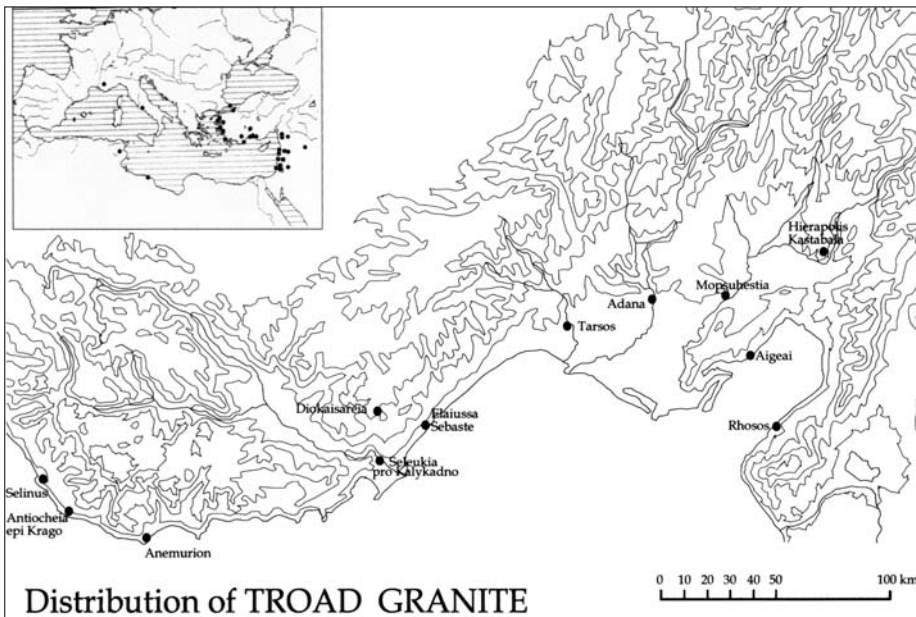


Fig. 9 Cilicia: distribution of Troad granite. In the corner, general distribution map (Dodge 1988).

LEVHA 6



Fig. 1 Colonnaded avenue at Soli-Pompeiopolis (photo: Suna Güven)



Fig. 2 Consoles on columns at Soli
Pompeiopolis (photo: Suna Güven)



Fig. 3 Consoles on columns at Olba
Diocaesareia (photo: Suna Güven)

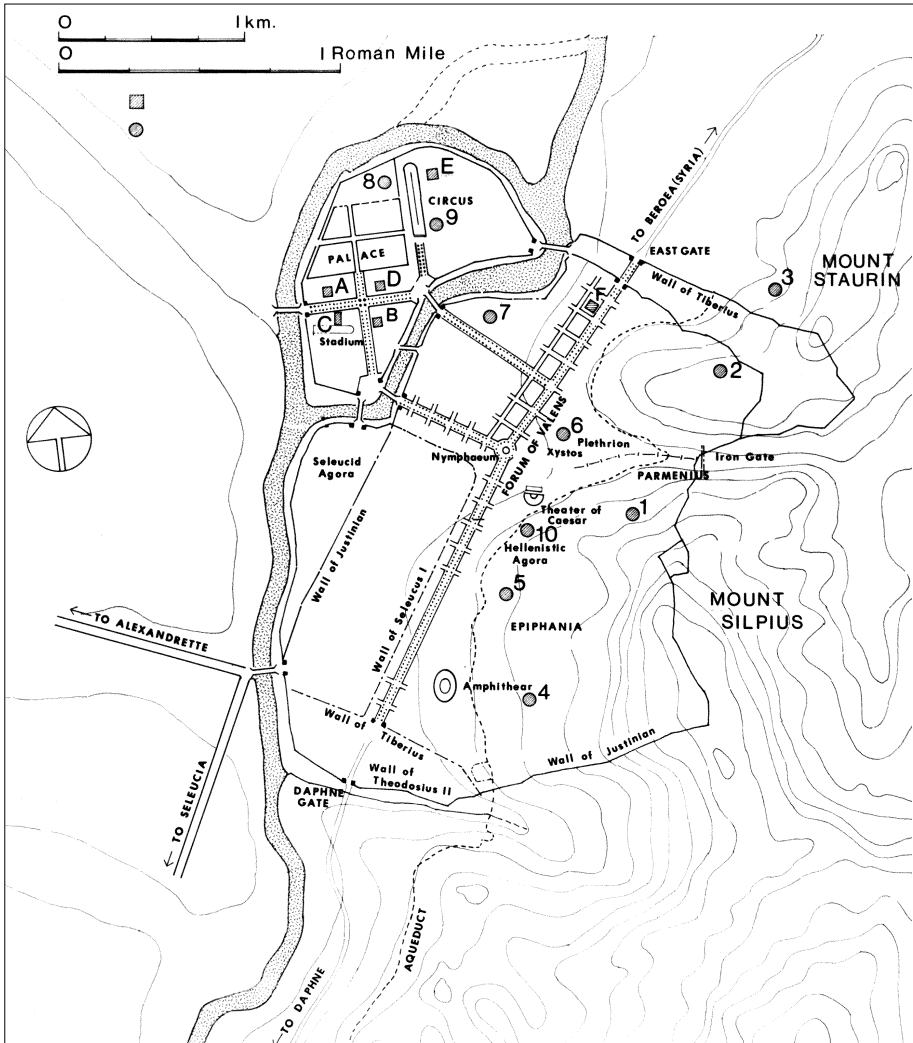


Fig. 1 Restored plan of Antioch with real and hypothetical locations of public baths (Yegül)

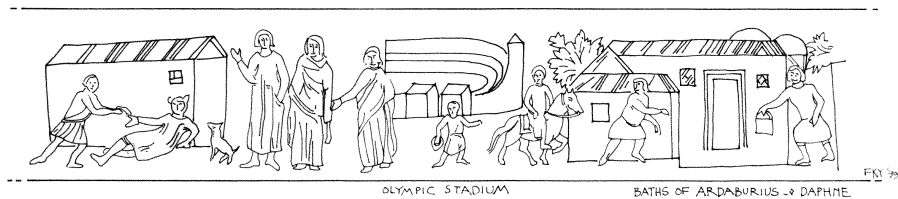


Fig. 2 Baths of Ardaburius, detail from the topographical border of a mosaic from Daphne (Yegül)

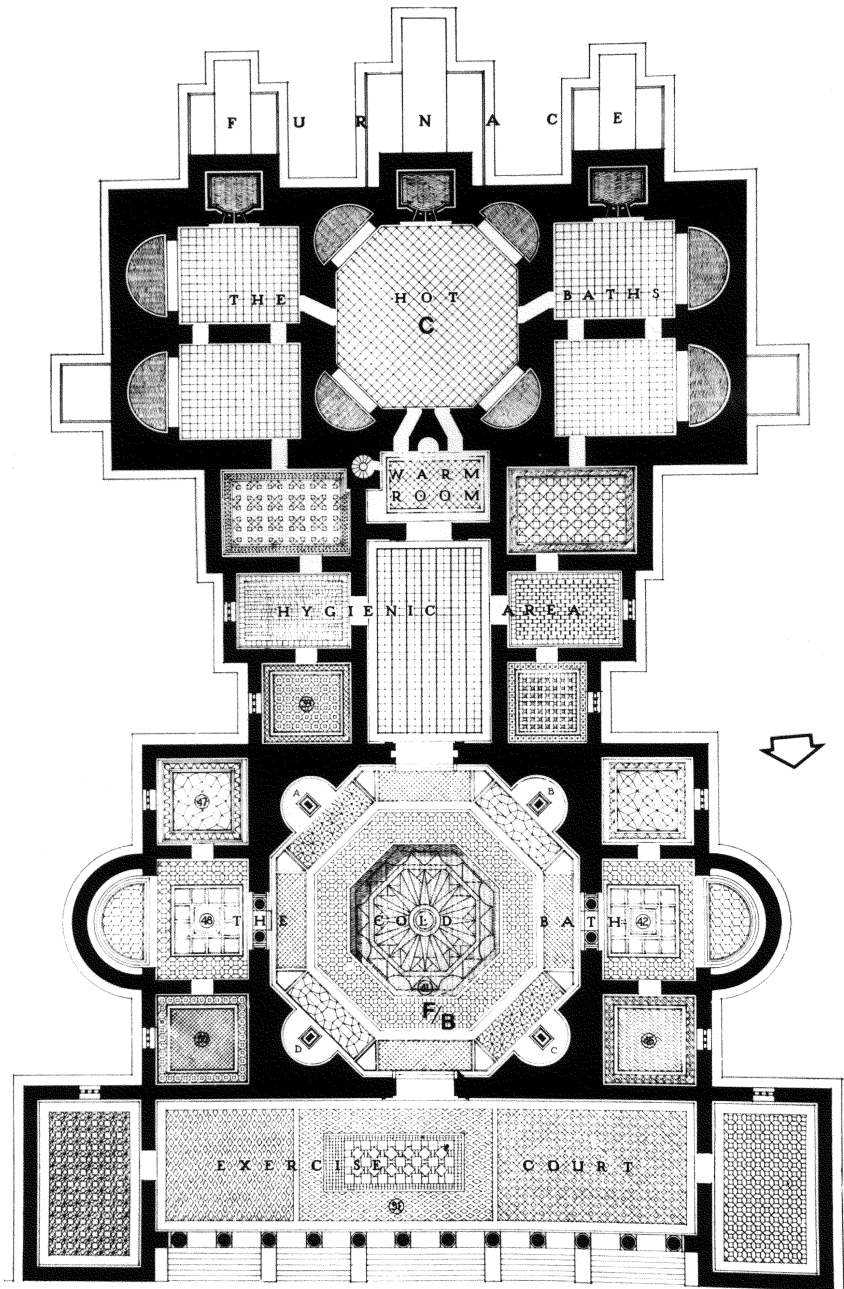


Fig. 3 Plan of Bath C, Antioch (Yegül 1992, fig.414)

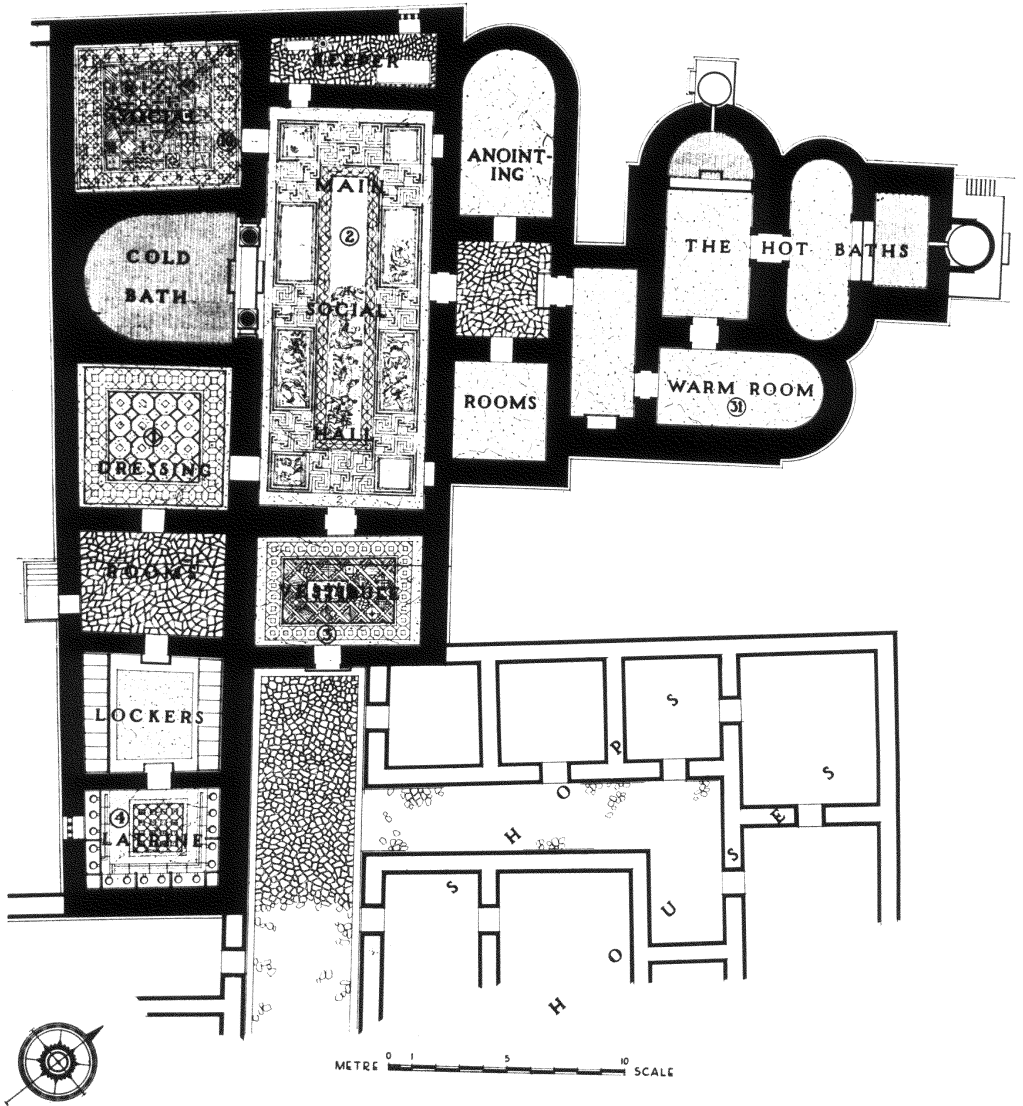


Fig. 4 Plan of Bath E, Antioch (Levi 1947, fig.5)

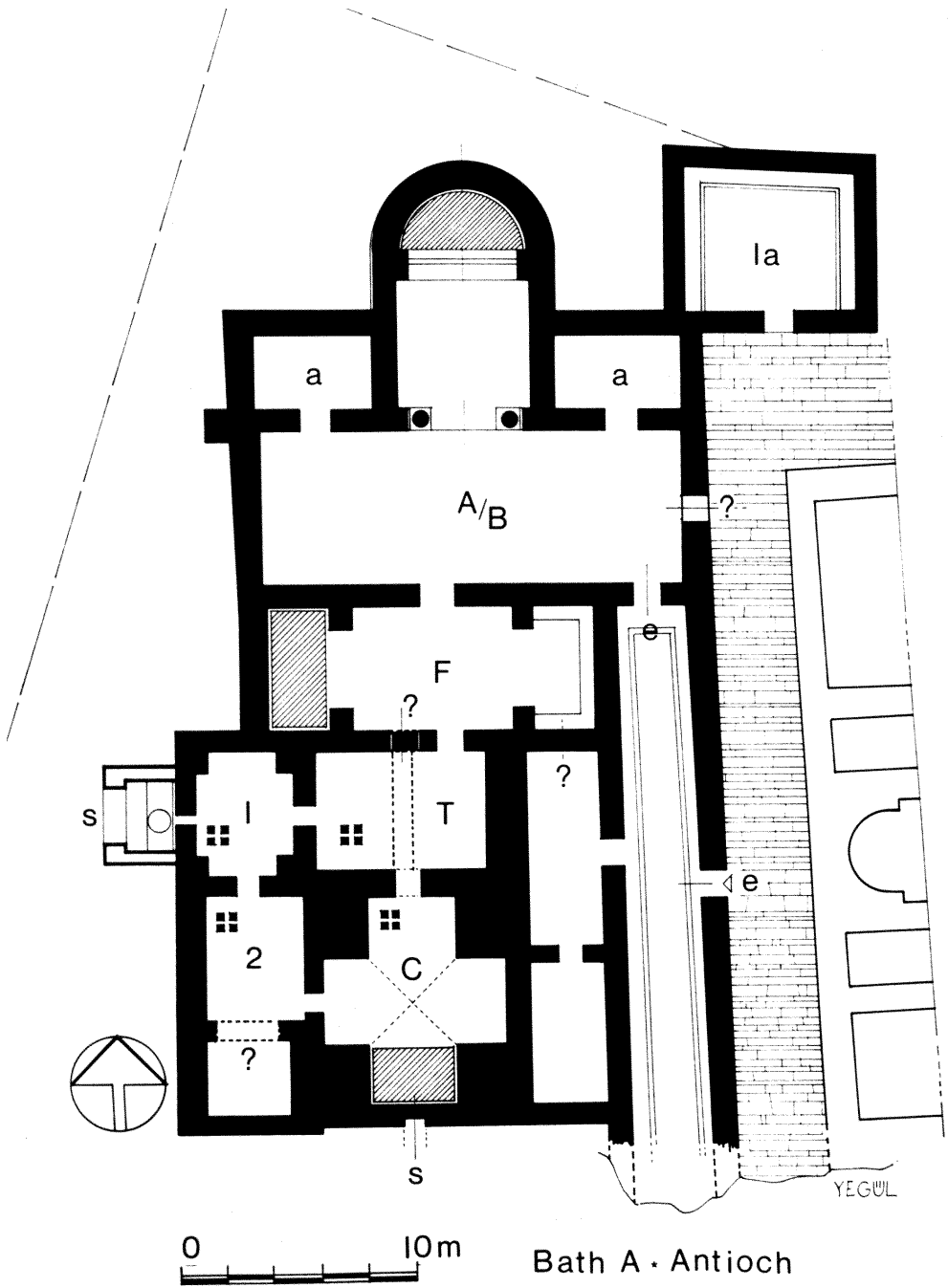


Fig. 5 Plan of Bath A, Antioch (Yegül)

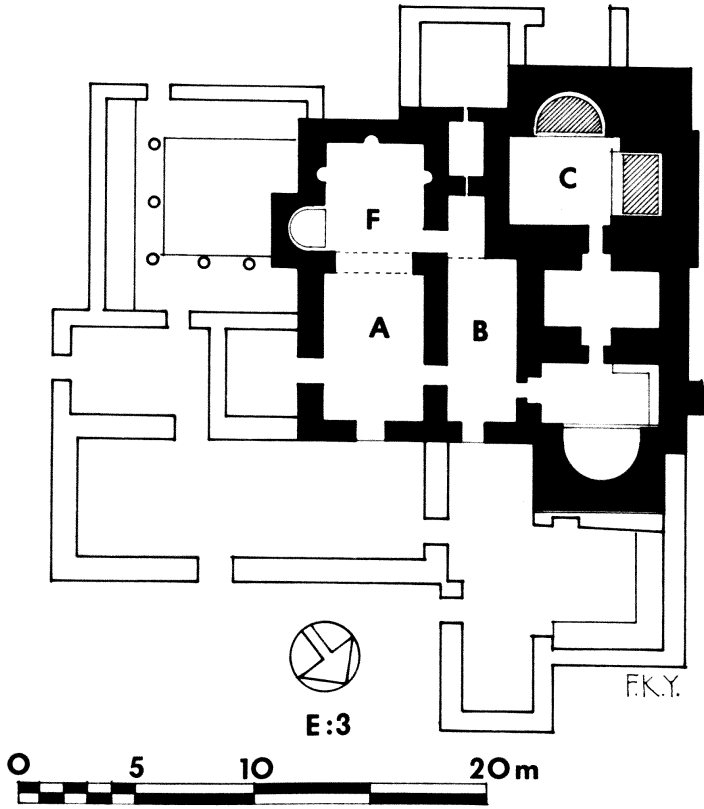
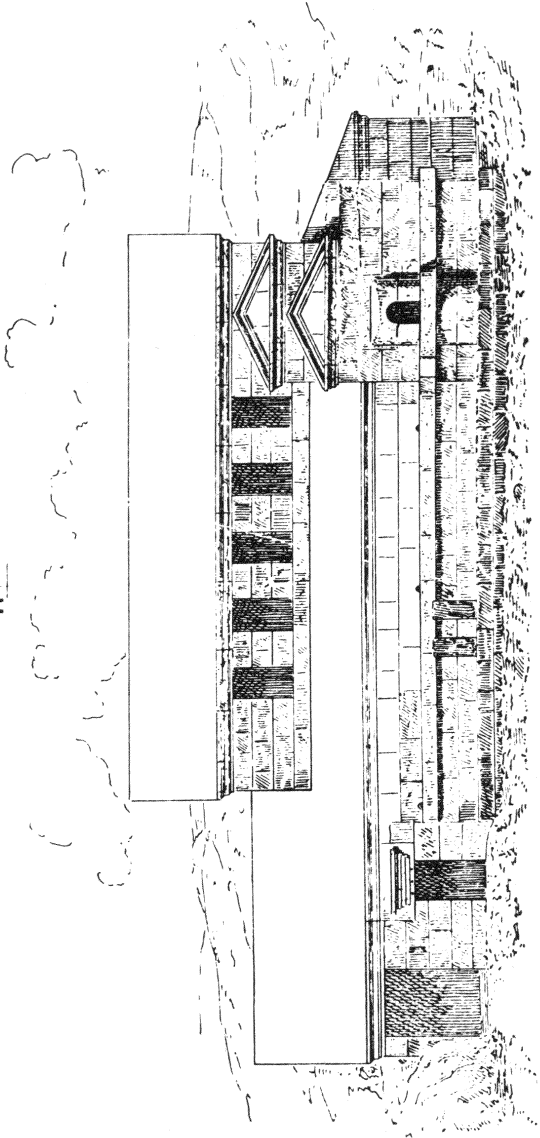
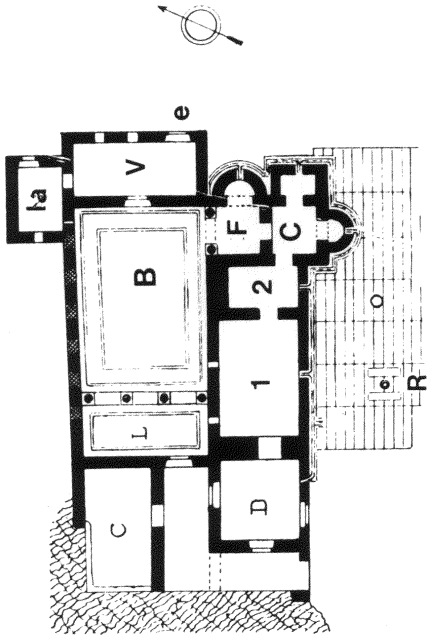


Fig. 6
Plan of Bath E-3,
Dura-Europos
(Yegül)



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

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



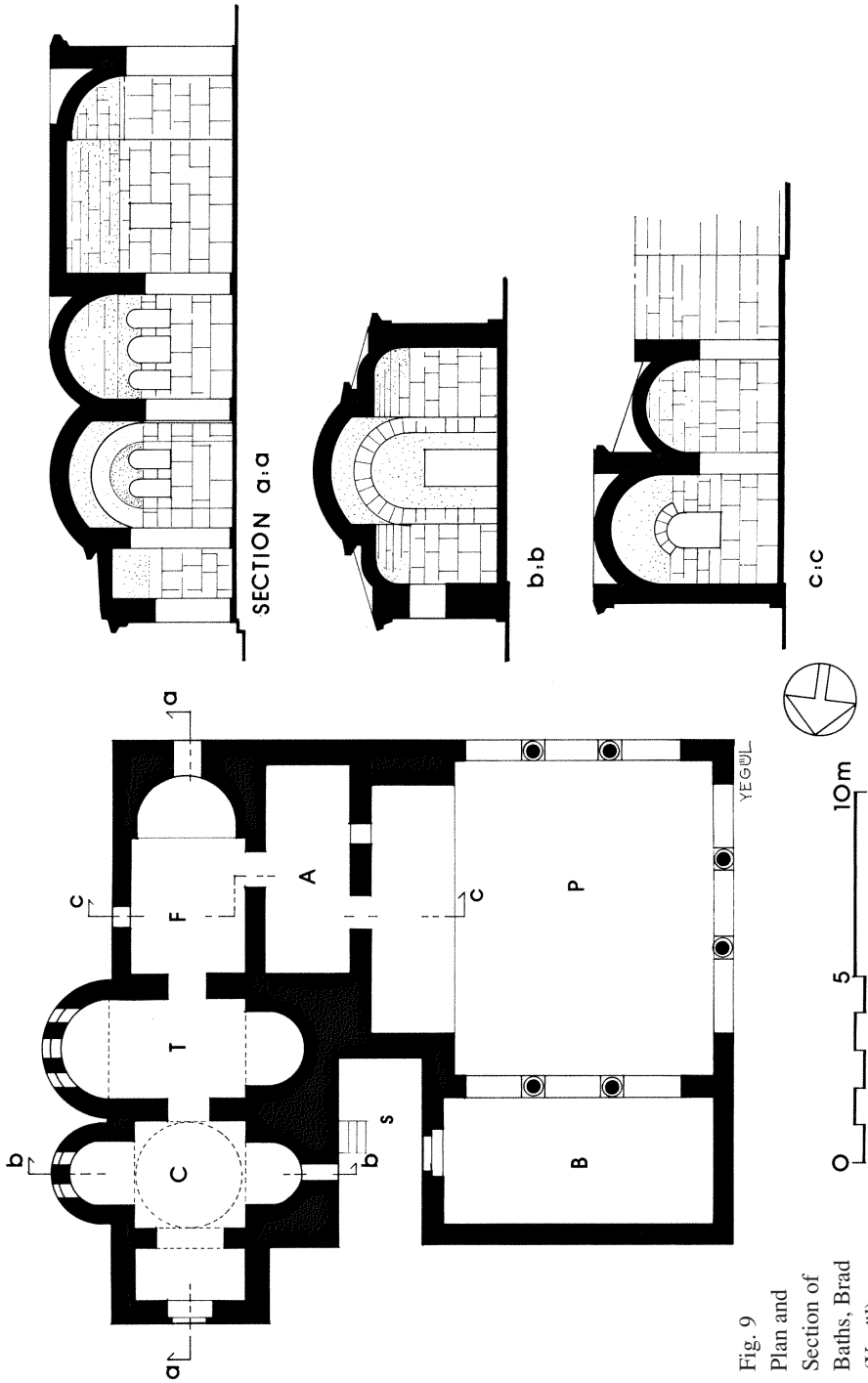


Fig. 9
 Plan and
 Section of
 Baths, Brad
 (Yegül)

LEVHA 14

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

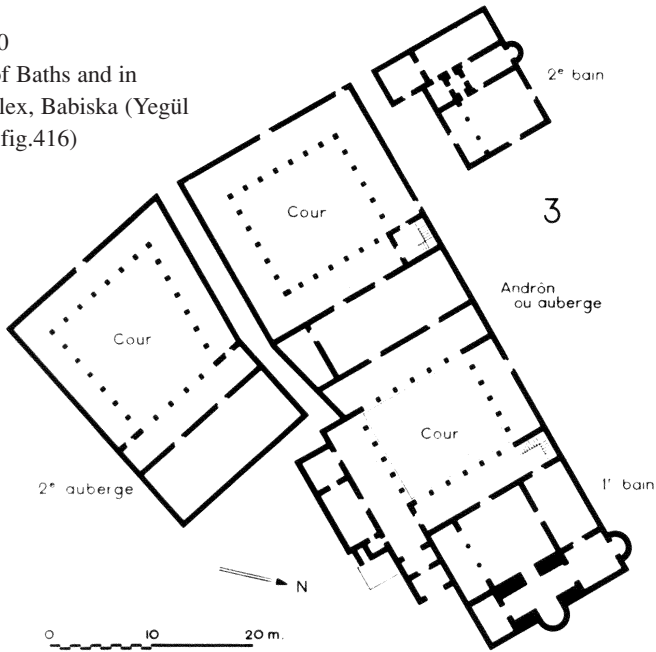
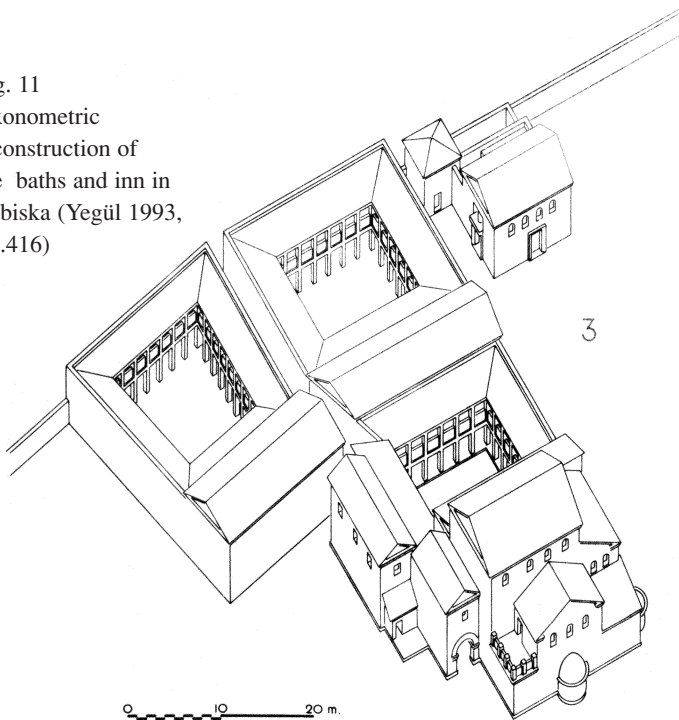


Fig. 11
Axonometric
reconstruction of
the baths and inn in
Babiska (Yegül 1993,
fig.416)



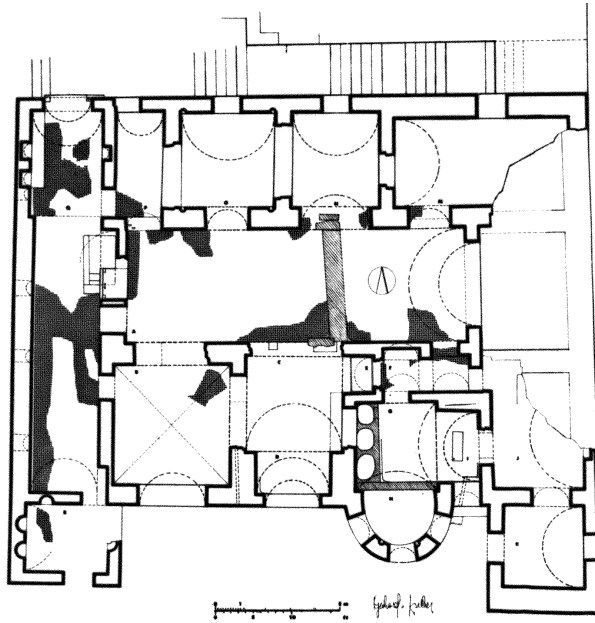


Fig. 12 Plan of Baths II-7A, Anemurium (Rosenbaum 1967, fig.3)

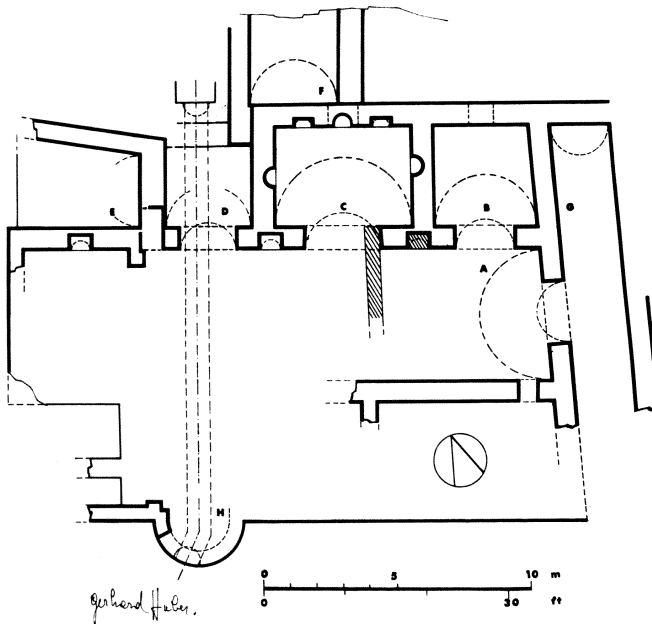


Fig. 13 Plan of Baths I-12A, Antiocheia ad Cragnum (Rosenbaum 1967, fig.21)

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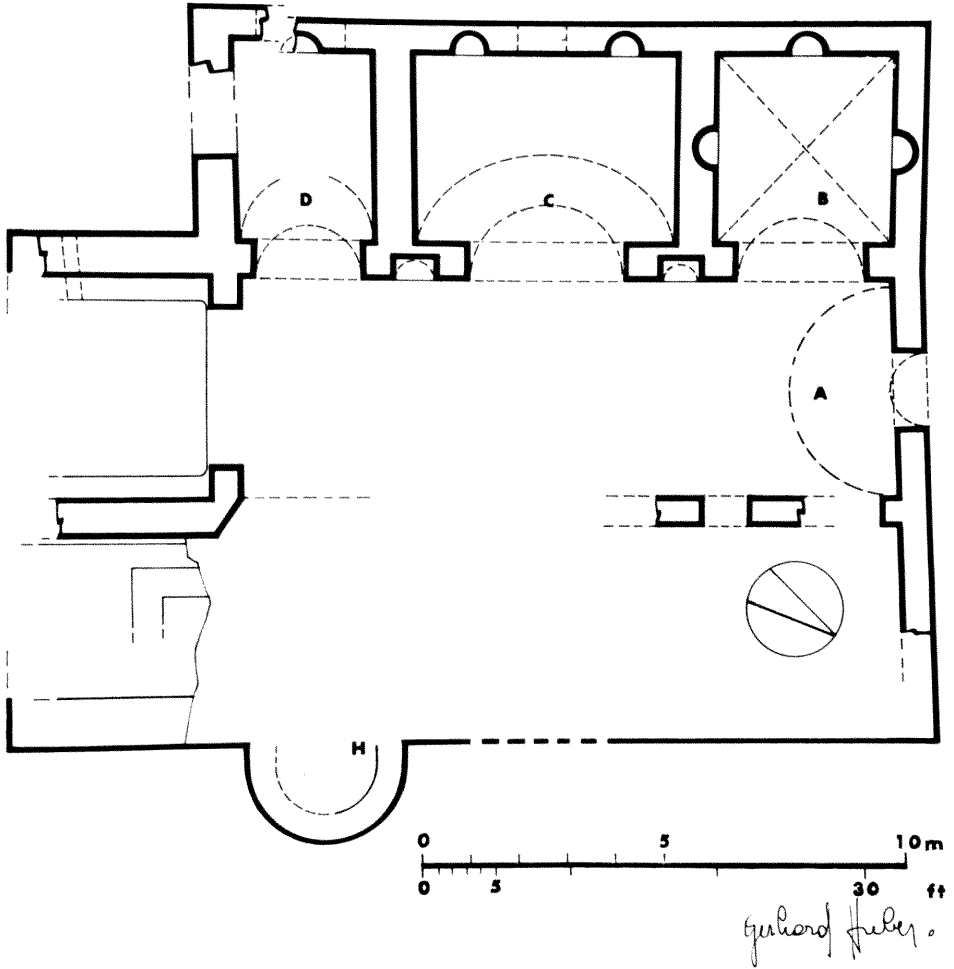


Fig. 14 Plan of Baths II-1A, Syedra (Rosenbaum 1967, fig.32)

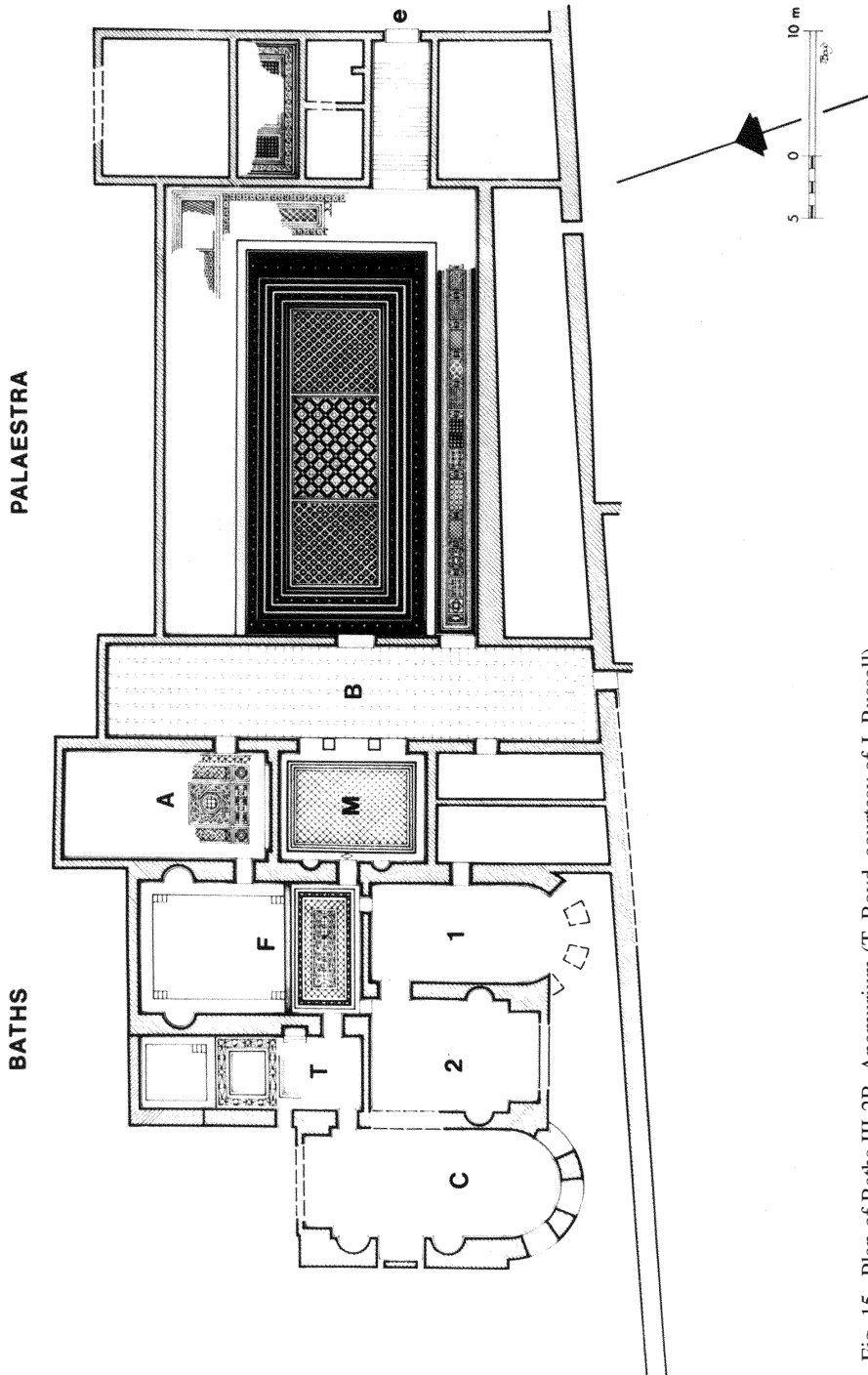


Fig. 15 Plan of Baths III-2B, Aremurium (T. Boyd, courtesy of J. Russell)



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

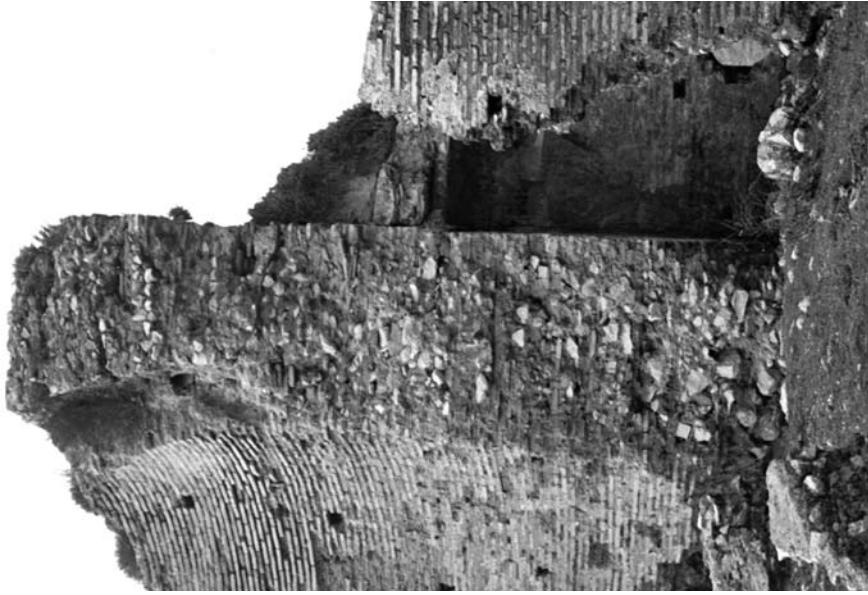


Fig. 16 Roman Baths in Anazarbos (photo: Yegül)

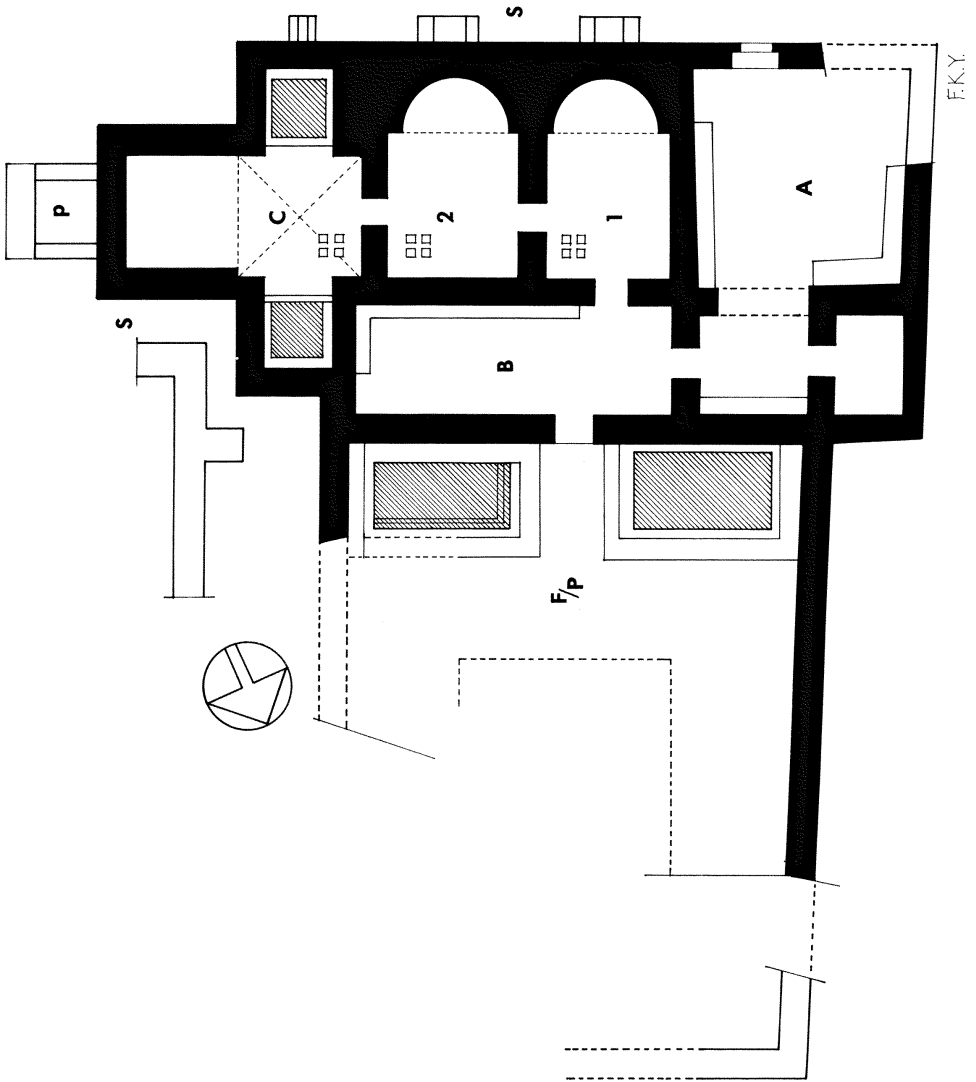


Fig. 18 Plan of Small Bath, Kasr al-Hayr East (Yegül)

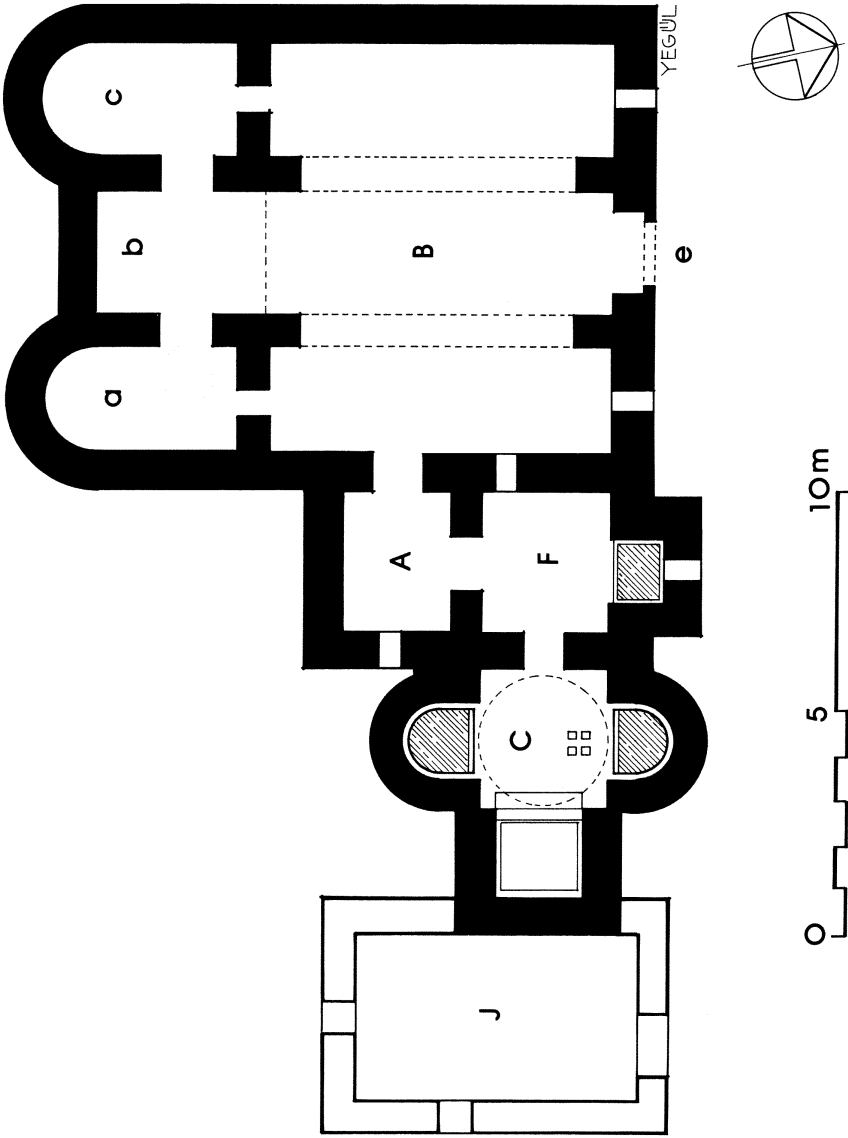


Fig. 19 Plan of Baths and Hunting Lodge, Kasr al-Amra (Yegül)

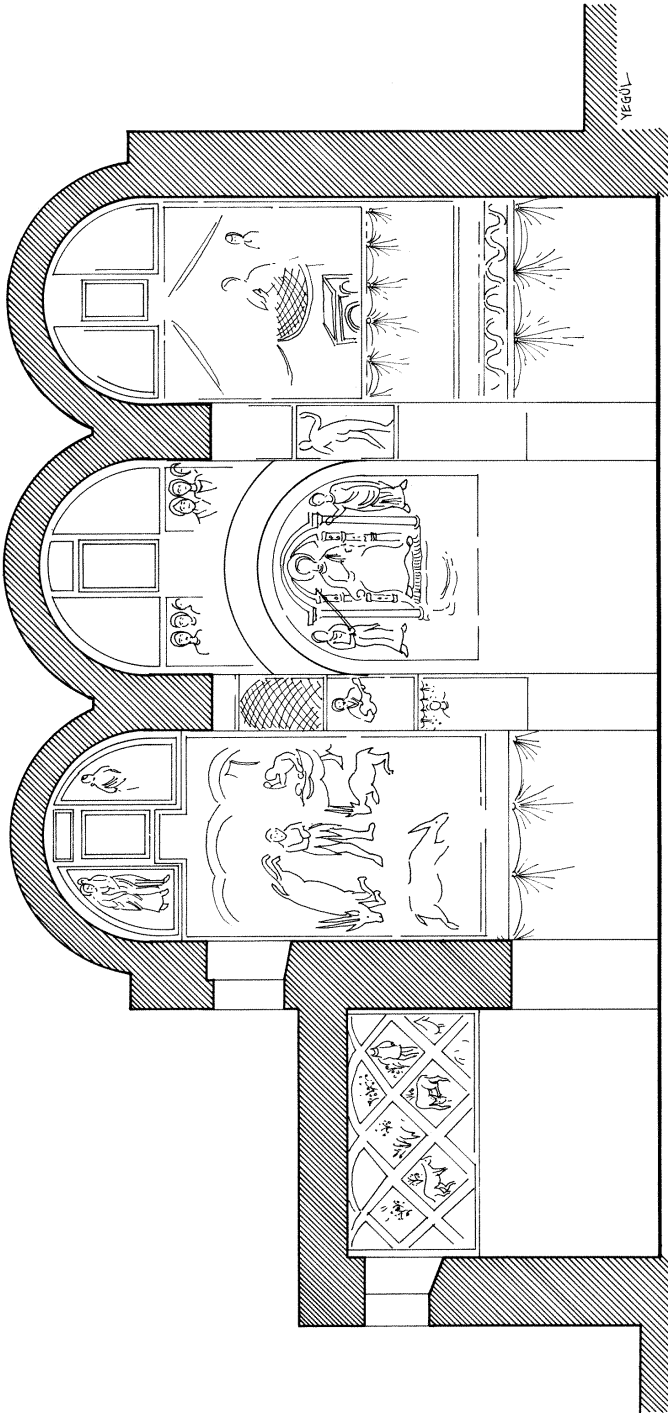


Fig. 20 Restored drawing of the wall paintings (south wall) from the Baths and Hunting Lodge, Kasr al-Amra (Yegül)

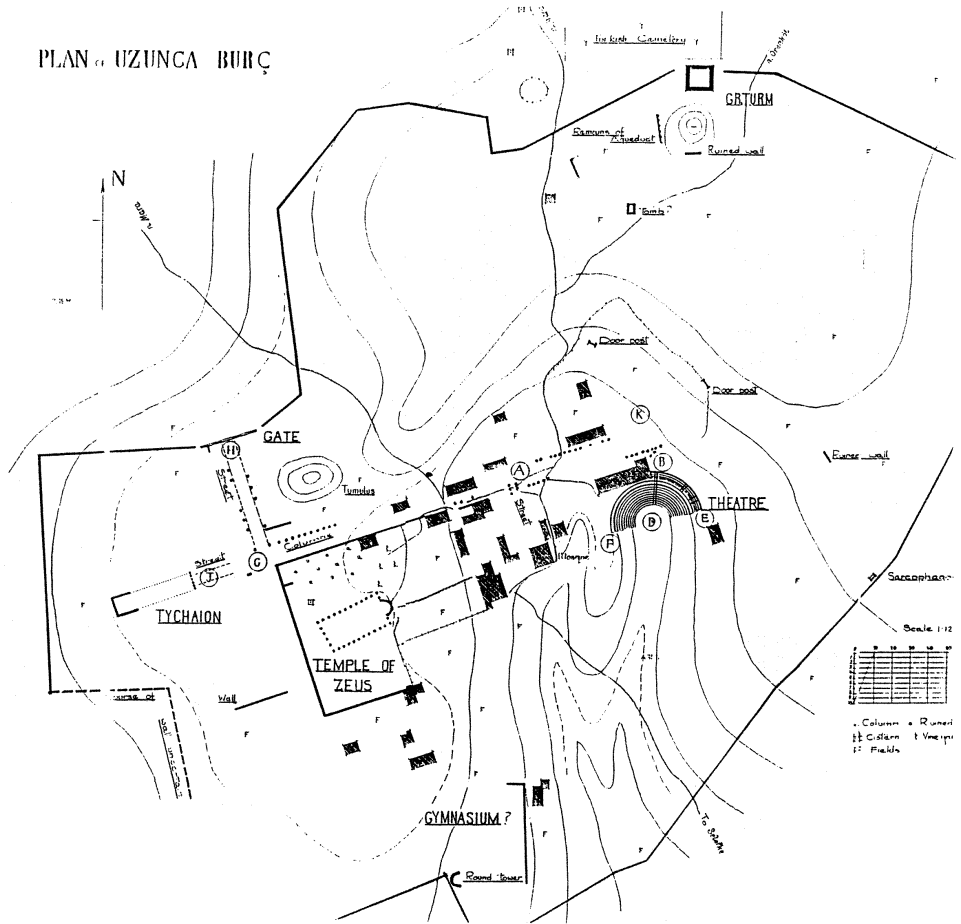


Fig. 1 Plan of Olba Diocaesarea.

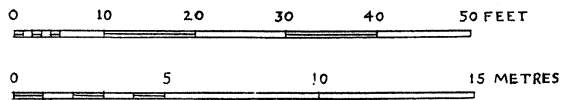
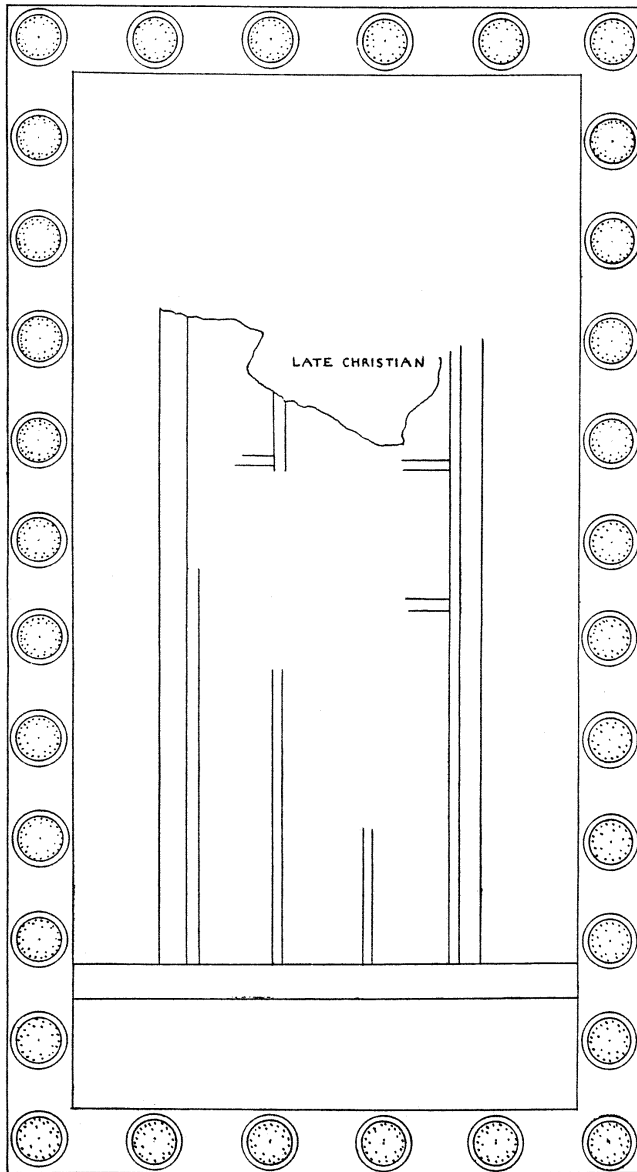


Fig. 2 Temple of Zeus-Olbios, plan, Keil-Willhelm 1931.

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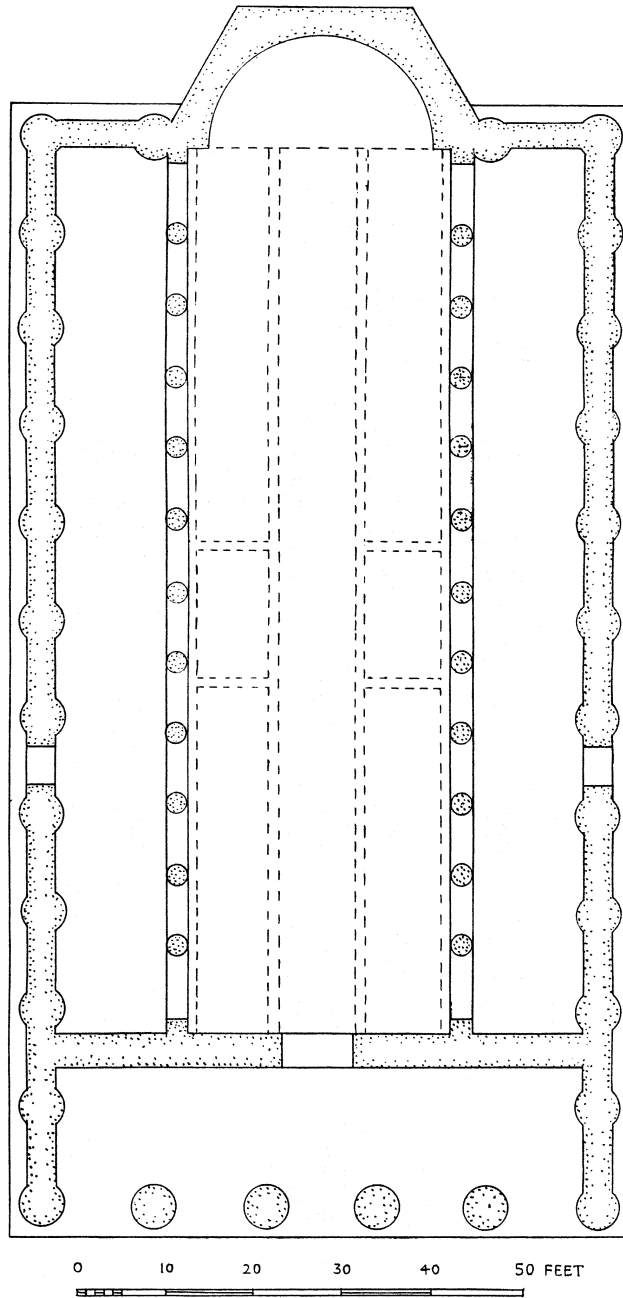


Fig. 3 Temple church, plan, Keil-Willhelm 1931.

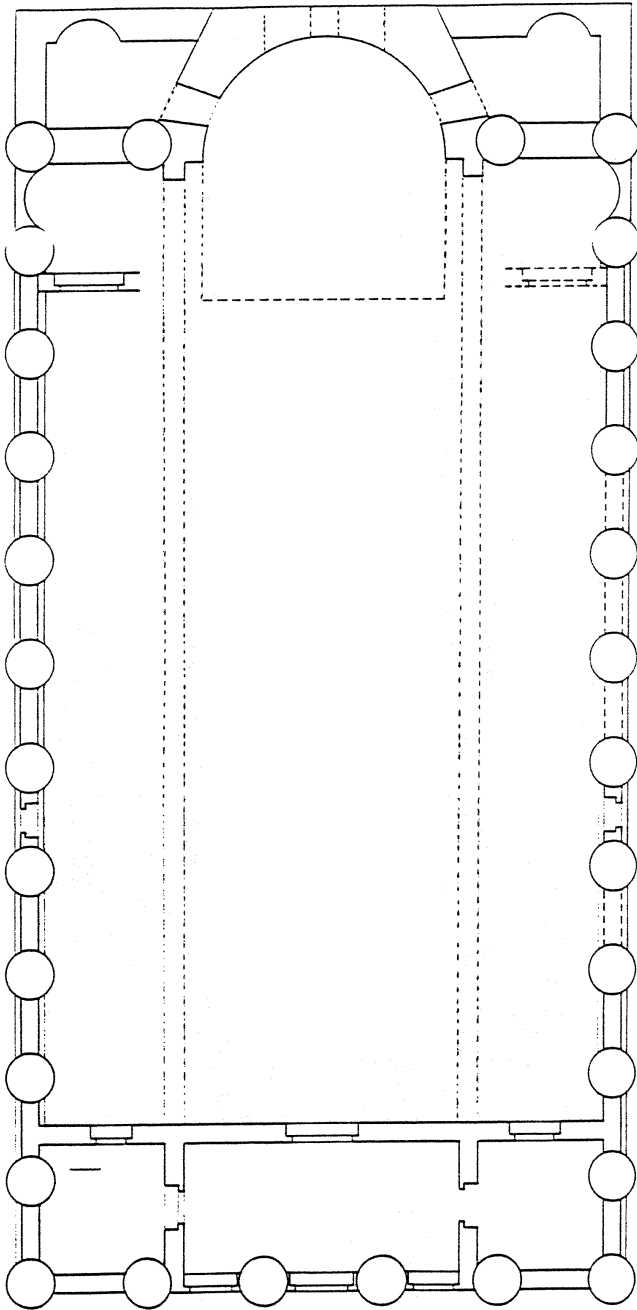


Fig. 4 Temple-churc, plan, Hild, Hellenkemper, Hellenkemper-Salies 1984.



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

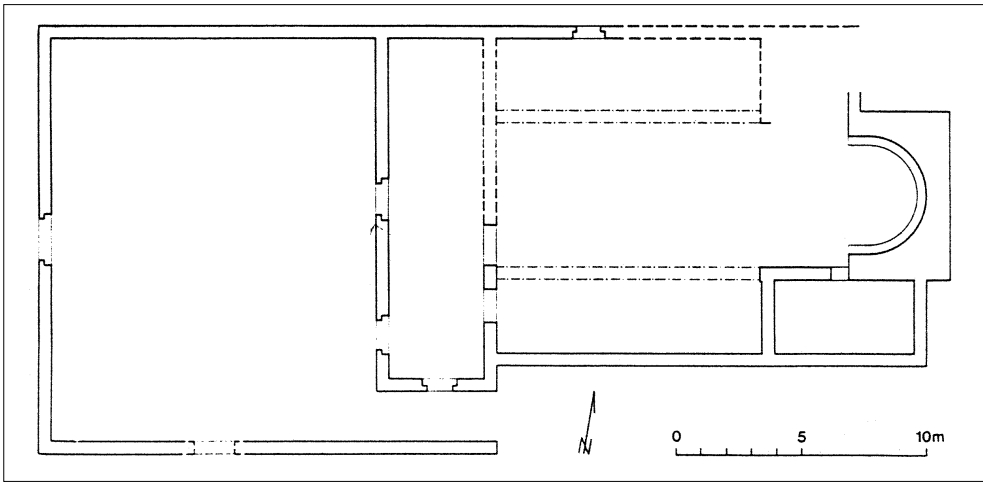


Fig. 1 Der Grundriss der Kirche A in Tapureli (RBK IV 1990, Abb. 23)

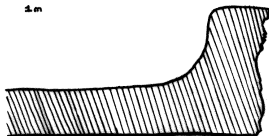
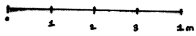
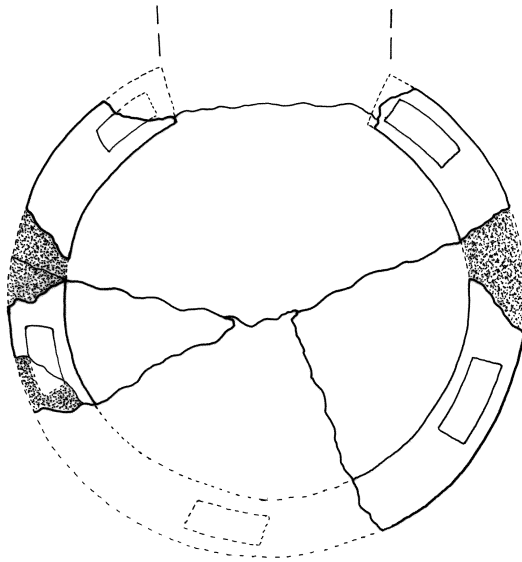


Fig. 2 Fragment des Sockels der Kirche A in Tapureli



Fig. 3 Die äußere Seite des Sockels der Kirche A in Tapureli



Fig. 4 Der Ambonssockel der Kirche A in Tapureli



Fig. 5 Detail des Sockels



Fig. 6 Der Ansatz der Treppe des Ambons



Fig. 7 Kleine Pfeiler des Ambons

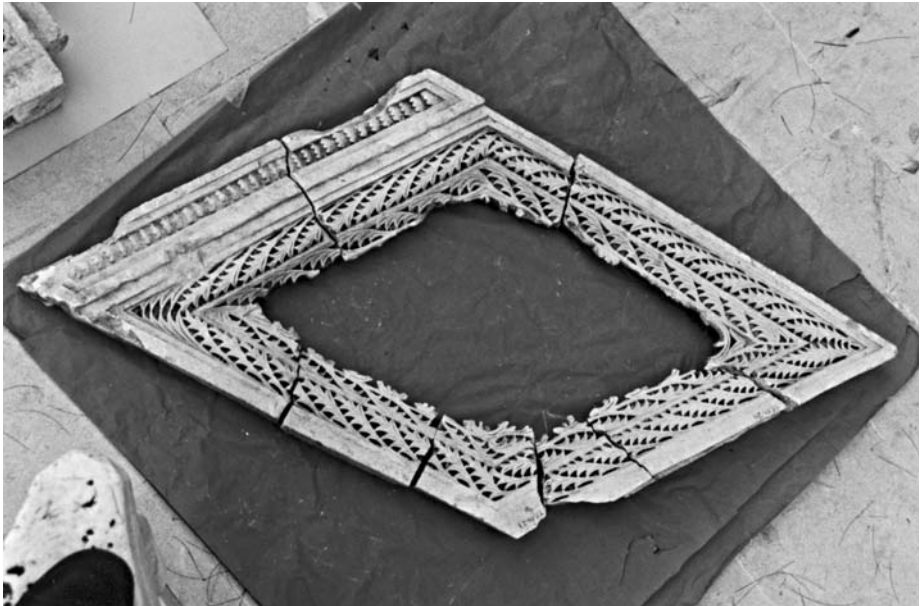


Fig. 8 Fragmente der Treppenwangen des Ambons



Fig. 9 Fragmente aus dem Oberteil des Ambons

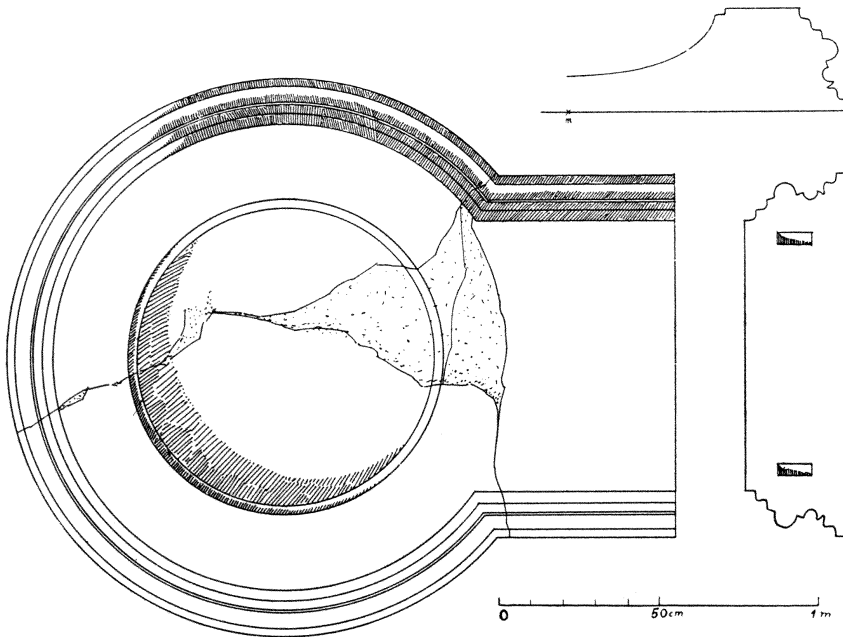


Fig. 10 Fragment der Kuppelkirche in Meriamlik (MAMA II, Abb.66)

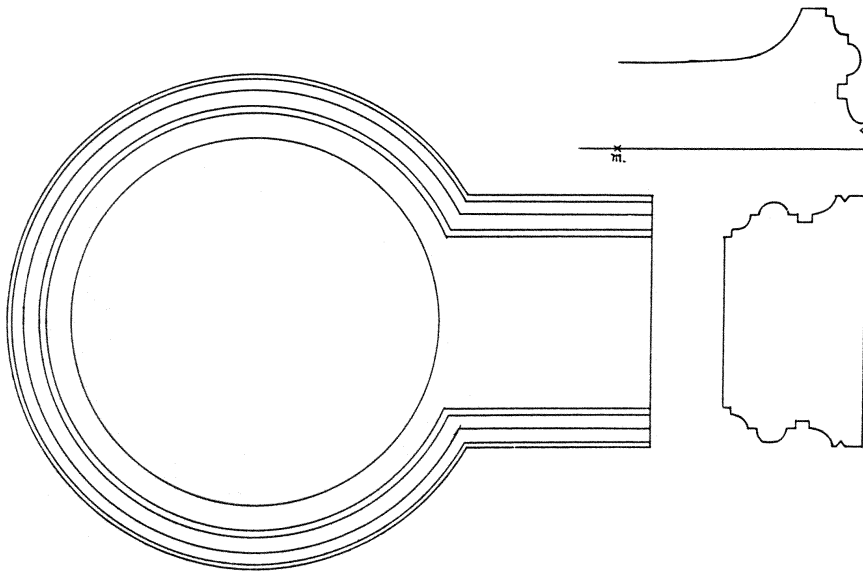


Fig. 11 Fragment der Nordkirche in Meriamlik (MAMA II, Abb. 72)

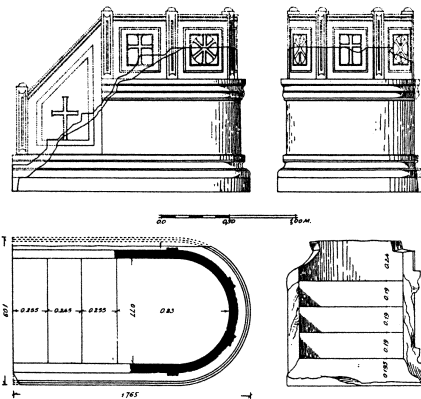


Fig. 12 Der Ambon der Acheiropoietoskirche (Jakobs 1987, Pl. 130)

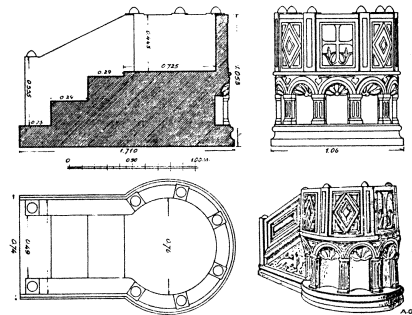


Fig. 13 Der Ambon der Sophienkirche (Jakobs 1987, Pl. 118)

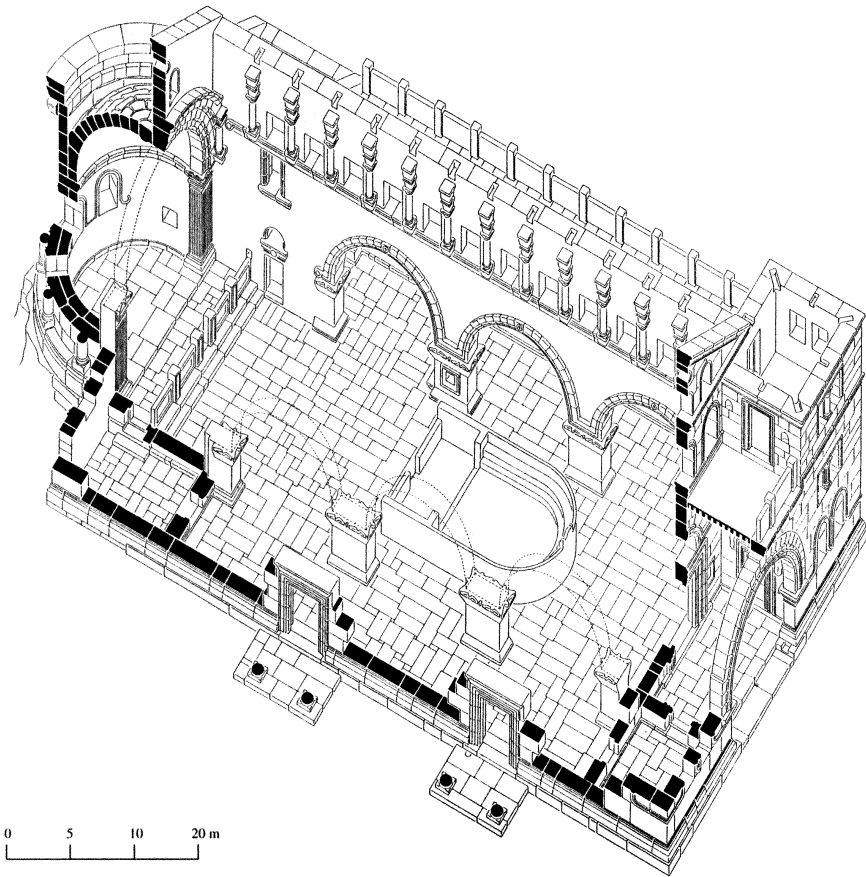


Fig. 14 Das Bema der Kirche in Dehes (Strube 1996, 61 Abb. 103)

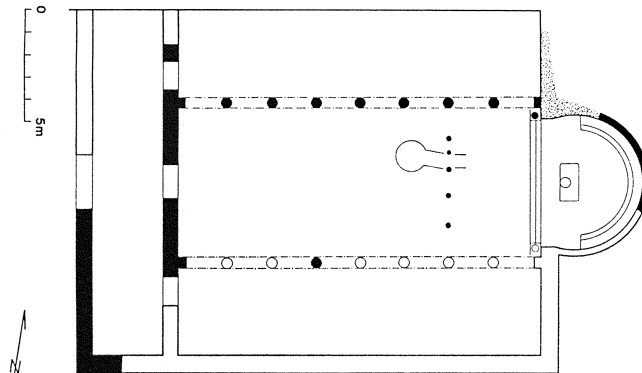


Fig. 15 Der Ambon der Kirche 'extra muros' von Dağpazarı (RBK IV 1990, 268 Abb. 35)

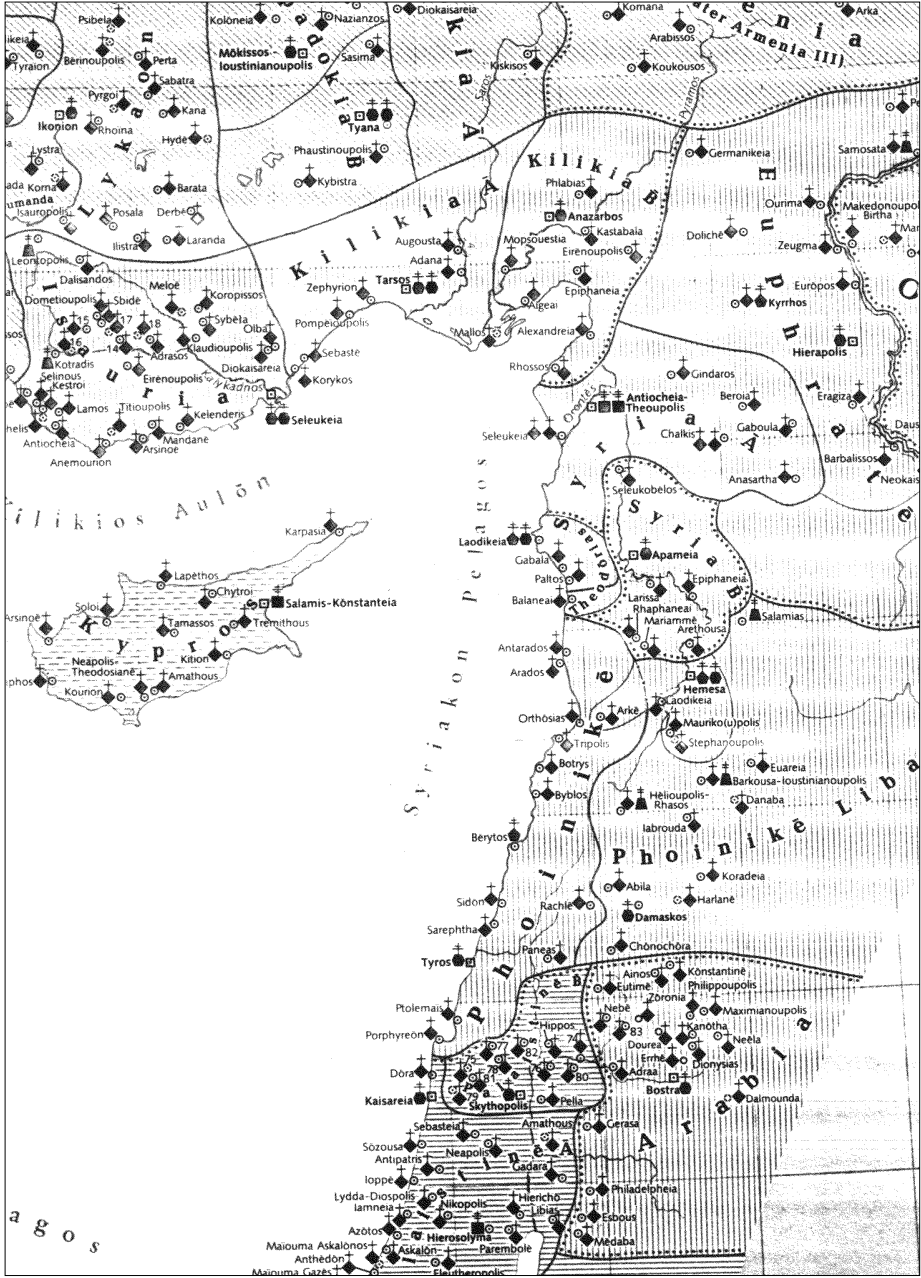


Fig. 1 Isauria ve Kilikia'da başpiskoposluklar ve bunlara bağlı piskoposlukların IV. – VII. yüzyıllar arasında Tek Doğa öğretisini benimsediklerini gösteren harita (TAVO 1989).

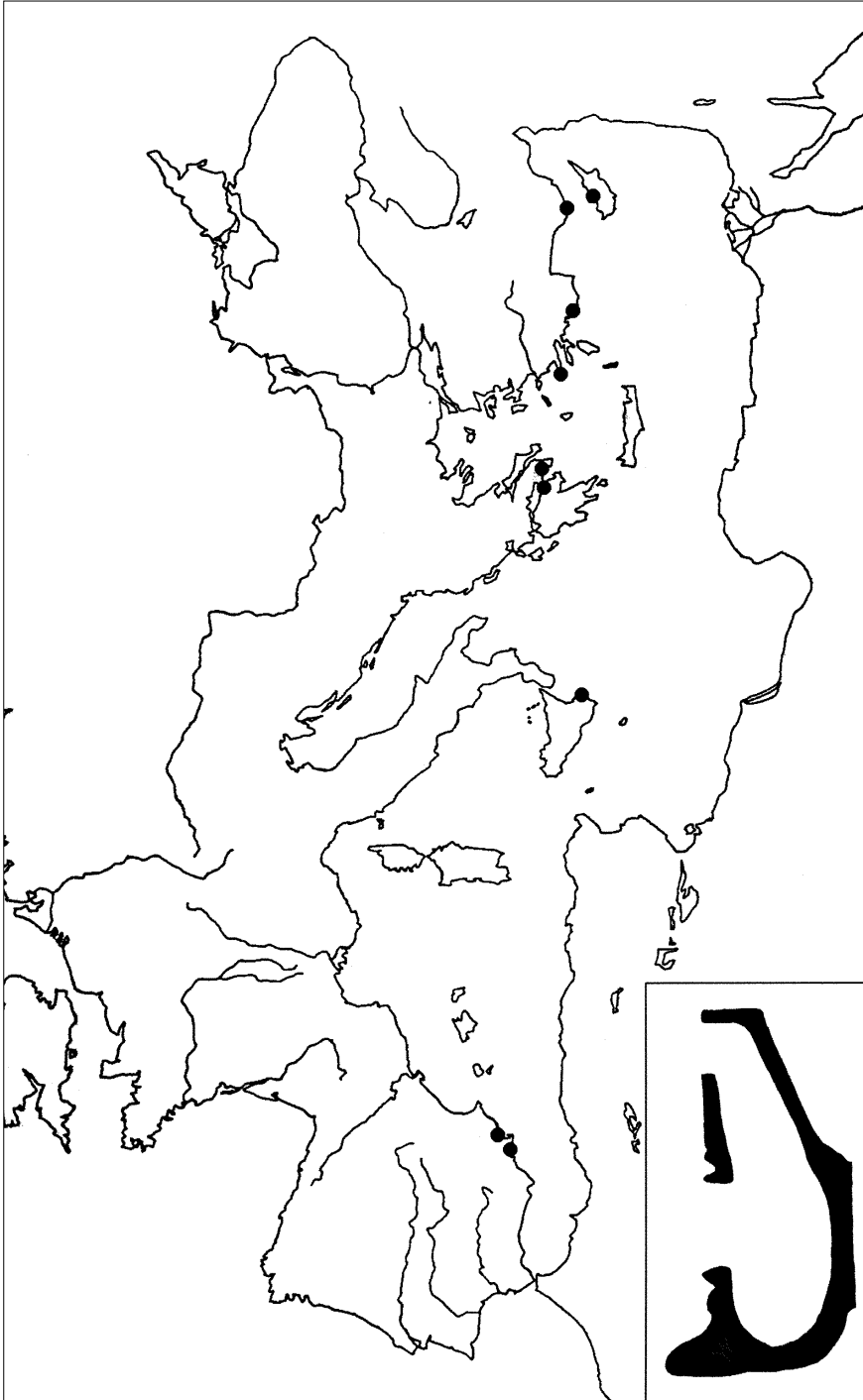


Fig. 1 Distribution of Bailey Q3339

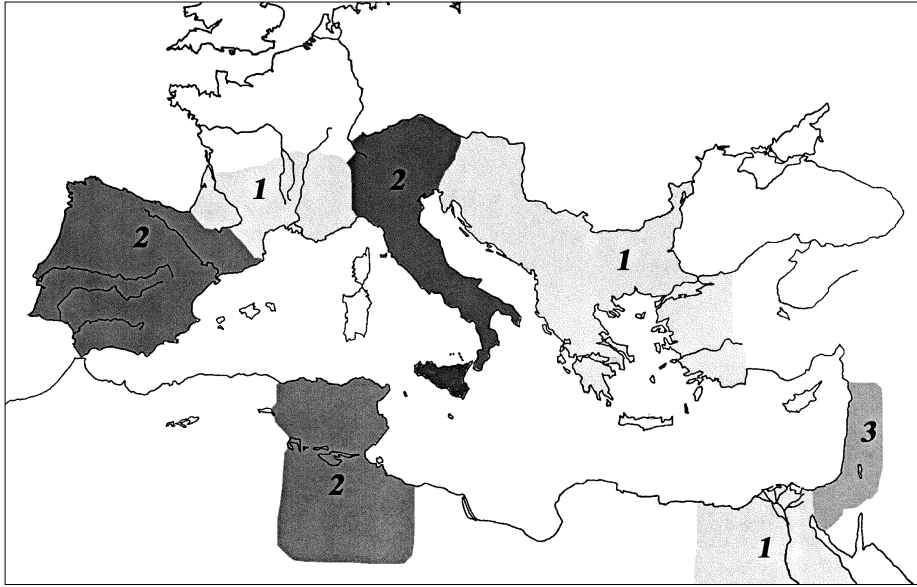


Fig. 2 Export Zones of LR 1 Amphorae

Site	LR 1 Amphora	LR 3 Amphora	LR 4 Amphora	LR 5 Amphora	ARS	PRS	CRS	ERS A	ERS C	Lamp Q3339	Palestinian Cookware
Adana Museum	X										
Alahan	X				X	X	X		X	X	
Anemurium	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Domuztepe Excavation	X	X			X	X					
Domuztepe Survey					X	X					
Kilise Tepe	X					X	X				
Rough Cilicia Survey	X		X		X	X	X				
Silifke Museum	X		X								

Fig. 3 Tableware and Amphora Imports in Cilicia



Fig. 1

- 1 [] quinq[ue]nnio pr[a]efui[t],
 2 [] in pot[est]at[em] Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug.
 3 [] Tr]acheotarum expugnatum delevit
 4 [] Ti.] Claudii Caesaris Augusti Germanici
 5 [] utionem moenium remissam et interceptam
 6 []]b[.] pacavit, propter quae auctore
 7 []] consul designatus, in consulatu nominatione
 8 []]ni augur creatus, in numerum patriciorum adlectus est;
 9 [] Aug. Germ]anici aedium sacrorum et operum locorumque
 10 [] o]rdo et populus Romanus consentiente senatu ludis
 11 [] p]etierit, ab Augusto principe, cuius liberalitatis erat minister
 12 []]ici provinciae Britanniae. In qua decessit.
 13 [Verania Octavilla, filia Q. Ve]rani vixit annis VI et mensibus X

[als Statthalter] leitete er [die Provinz Lycia] fünf Jahre lang. [In dieser Zeit brachte er ... in die] Gewalt des Ti(berius) Claudius Caesar Aug(ustus) [Germanicus], zerstörte [— eine Befestigung der Tr]achäer, die er vorher eingenommen hatte; [im Auftrag und auf das Schreiben des Senats und des römischen Volkes und des Ti(berius)] Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus [vollendete er — den Ab]riß der Mauern, der aufgeschoben und unterbrochen worden war, [—] befriedete er. Wegen dieser (Verdienste) wurde er auf Veranlassung [des Ti(berius)] Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus] zum Konsul designiert, in seinem Konsulat wurde er auf Vorschlag [des N.N. an Stelle des verstorbenen —]nus zum Auguren gewählt und in die Zahl der Patrizier aufgenommen; [gemäß dem Urteil des Nero Augustus Germ]anicus [übertrugen ihm der Ritterstand] und das römische Volk mit Zustimmung des Senates [die Verwaltung] der heiligen Gebäude und der [öffentlichen] Bauwerke und Plätze. [Die Leitung der] ludi [maximi] wurde ihm vom Kaiser [übertragen, um die er nicht nach]gesucht hatte; er war ein Gehilfe der kaiserlichen Freigebigkeit. [Er wurde Statthalter des Nero Augustus Germani]cus in der Provinz Britannia, in der er verstarb.

[Verania Octavilla, die Tochter des Q(uintus) Ve]rانيus, lebte 6 Jahre und 10 Monate



Fig. 1
Map of Anatolia
with cities mentioned
in the text.



Fig. 1a
Urartu-Tuşpa,
"Doğu Odaları"
kaya mezarı.
Cephe:
Foto Çevik.

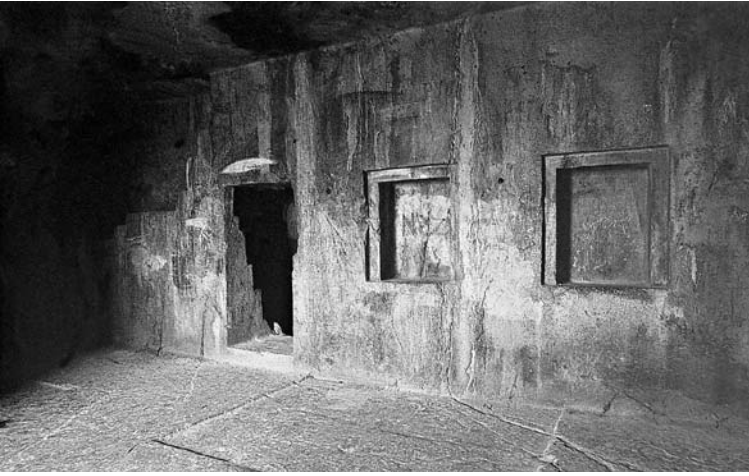


Fig. 1b
Urartu-Tuşpa,
Argiştı kaya
mezarı.
Salon:
Foto Çevik.

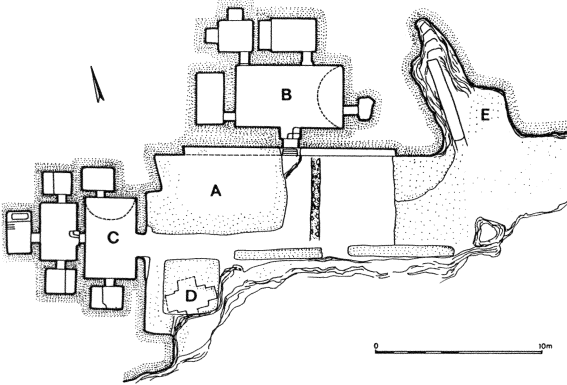


Fig. 1c
Urartu-Tuşpa,
"Neft Kuyu" ve "İç Kale"
kaya mezarları: Sevin'den.

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Fig. 2a Frig-Köhnüş Vadisi kaya mezarlığı. Foto Çevik.



Fig. 2b
Frig-Köhnüş
Aslantaş kaya
mezar. Foto Çevik.

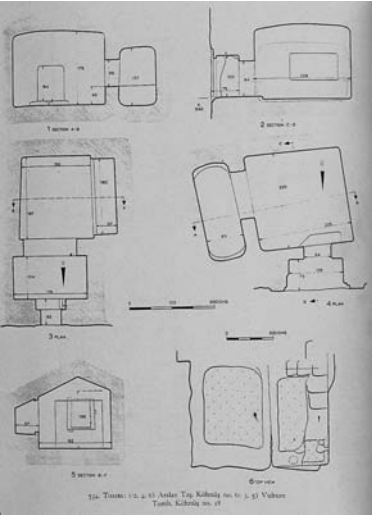


Fig. 2c
Frig-Aslantaş kaya
mezar. Plan. Haspels'ten.



Fig. 3a
Likya kaya mezarları.
Fellows'tan.



Fig. 3b
Likya-Myra kaya mezarlığı.
Fellows'tan.



Fig. 3c
Likya-Sura
kaya mezarlığı.
Foto Çevik.

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Fig. 4a
Pamfilya-Etenna
kaya mezarlığı.
Foto evik.



Fig. 4b
Pamfilya-Delikören
kaya mezarlığı.
Foto evik.



Fig. 4c
Kilikya-Korykos
kaya mezarı.
Foto evik.



Fig. 5a
Urartu-Yeşilalıç (Pagan)
kaya tapınağı.
Foto Çevik.



Fig. 5b
Urartu-Tuşpa-Analıkız
anıtsal nişleri.
Foto Çevik.



Fig. 5c
Urartu-Atabindi
kaya olukları.
Işık'tan, Foto Çevik.

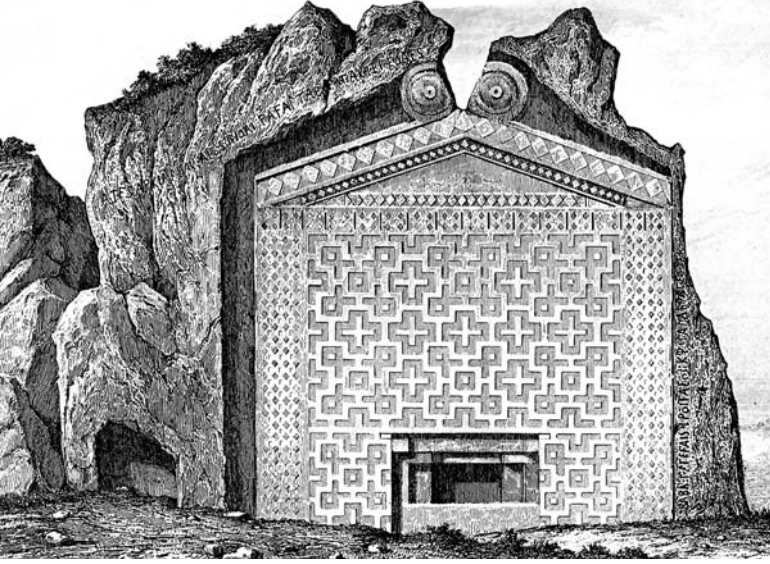


Fig. 6a
Frig-Midas
Yazılıkaya
kaya tapınağı.
Başgelen'den.

Fig. 6b
Frig-Midas
anıtının megarona
hipotetik
uygulanması.
Sey'den.

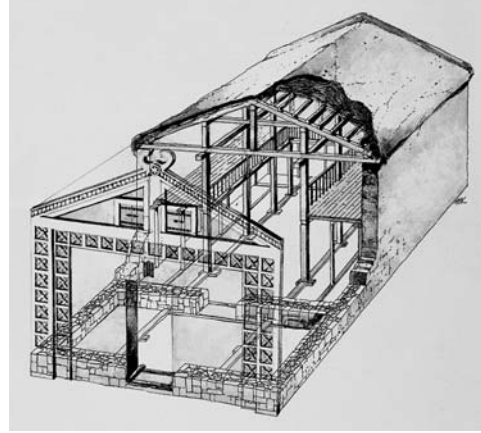
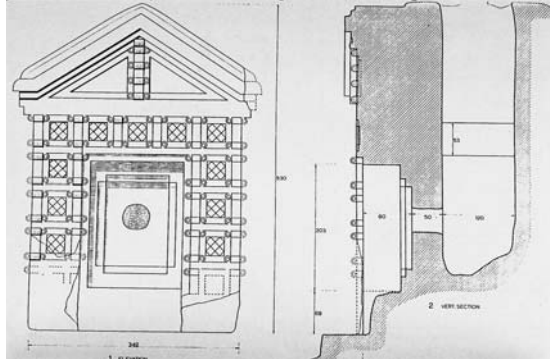


Fig. 6c
Frig-Maltaş
kaya tapınağı.
Gabriel'den.



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Fig. 7a
Likya-Limyra
konut alanındaki
kaya nişleri.
Foto Çevik.



Fig. 7b
Likya-Limyra
konut alanındaki
kaya nişleri.
Borchhardt'tan.



Fig. 7c
Likya-Simena
nekropoldeki
kaya nişleri.
Foto Çevik.

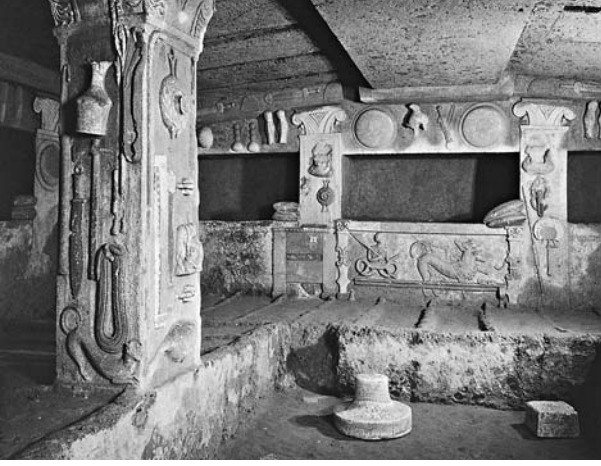


Fig. 8a
Etrüsk kaya
mezarı içten.
Cerveteri'den.

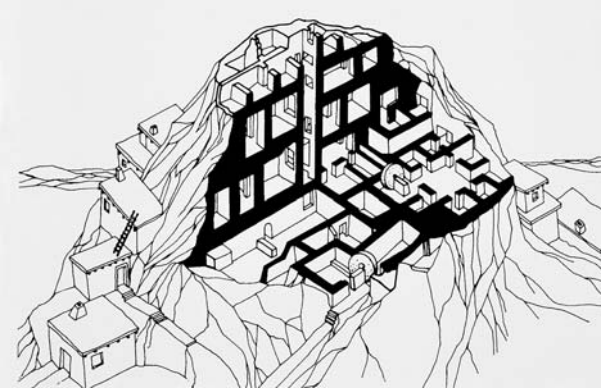


Fig. 8b
Bizans kaya mimar-
lığına örnek:
Kaymaklı yer altı
şehri. Sey'den.



Fig. 8c Bizans. Silifke
Müzesi'nden kilise kaya
modeli. Foto Çevik.



Fig. 8d
Osmanlı-Gelibolu
açık hava namazgahı.



Fig. 1 Hellenistic Settlements in Olbian Territory

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Fig. 2
Pashı,
Fortification
Wall



Fig. 3
Pashı,
Tower



Fig. 4
Hüseyinler,
Location
and
Tower (?)



Fig. 5
Hüseyinler,
Fortification
Wall



Fig. 6
Adamkayalar,
Fortification
Wall



Fig. 7
Adamkayalar,
Tower



Fig. 8
Imbriogon Kome,
Bases of
Fortification Wall



Fig. 9
Takkadin,
Fortification Wall



Fig. 10
Takkadin,
Structures out of
the Fortification
Walls



Fig. 11 Takkadın, Rock-cut Chambers



Fig. 12 Tabureli, Tower



Fig. 13 Tabureli, Structures



Fig. 14
Veyselli,
Fortification
Wall



Fig. 15
Veyselli,
Structures
within the
Fortification
Wall



Fig. 16
Kabaçam,
Location
and the
Structures



Fig. 17 Kabaçam, Structures



Fig. 18 Kabaçam,
Olbian Symbol



Fig. 19 Karaböcülü, Location and the Structures



Fig. 20
Karaböcülü,
Structures