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MONUMENTAL TOMB ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN ROUGH CILICIA

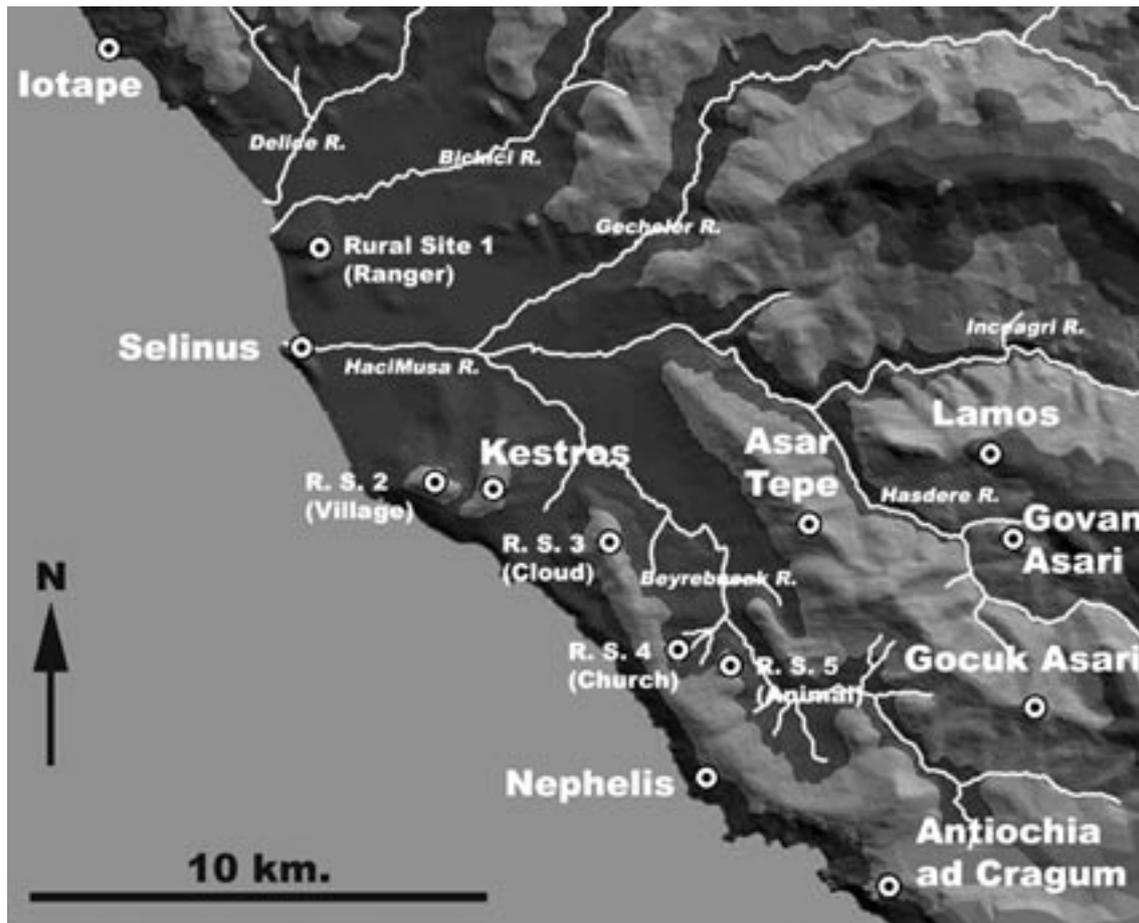
Introduction

Since 1996, the Rough Cilicia Survey Project (RCSP) has investigated approximately 180 km² of little explored archaeological territory in western Rough Cilicia. The area covered extends for approximately 30 km along the southern coast of modern Turkey, from ancient Iotape to Antiochia ad Cragum, and as much as 10 km inland (fig. 1)¹. Utilizing both extensive and intensive survey techniques, the project team has collected geomorphological, floral, ceramic, and architectural data in order to investigate the history, material culture, settlement, and use of this semi-peripheral region of the Mediterranean basin, placing particular emphasis on the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. The present authors have been charged with the collection and analysis of the architectural evidence and in this paper address one particular building type found at sites throughout the survey zone, specifically monumental freestanding or built tombs, their classification, and their relation to the urban environment of western Rough Cilicia. Two types of tombs in particular are examined: the German ‘Grabtempel’, grave temple or temple tomb; and the ‘Grabhaus’, literally grave house or house tomb. The temple tomb consciously imitates the Hellenistic tradition of small non-peripteral temples and in some cases does so to such an extent that it can be confused with its model; indeed, at least two examples discussed here have been erroneously identified as temples. The ‘Grabhaus’, while sharing some features with the temple tomb, is easily recognized as a funerary monument and distinguishes itself both in materials and technique of construction as well as in essential elements of design².

Before turning to the material itself, some general remarks concerning the methods used in the architectural survey are required in order to understand the nature of the evidence gathered.

¹ For seasonal reports, see N. K. Rauh – L. Wandsnider, Dağlık Kilikiya Yüzeý Arařtırma Projesi: 2001 Sezonu Raporu, in: XX. Arařtırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (2003) II, 213–224; *idem*, Dağlık Kilikiya Yüzeý Arařtırma Projesi: 2000 Sezonu Raporu, in: XIX. Arařtırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (2002) II, 45–56; N. K. Rauh, Dağlık Kilikiya Yüzeý Arařtırma Projesi: 1998 ve 1999 Raporları, in: XVIII. Arařtırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (2001) II, 259–272; *idem*, Dağlık Kilikiya Yüzeý Arařtırma Projesi: 1997 Sezonu Raporu, in: XVI. Arařtırma Sonuçları Toplantısı (1999) I, 339–348. For preliminary publication of various aspects of the project, see N. K. Rauh – E. Lyding Will, ‘My Blood of the Covenant’: What Did the Apostles Drink at the Last Supper?, *Archaeology Odyssey* 5/5, 2002, 46–51. 62–63; N. K. Rauh – L. Wandsnider, Uncovering the Secrets of Ancient Turkey, *Imaging Notes* 17, 5, 2002, 23–25; N. K. Rauh – R. F. Townsend – M. Hoff – L. Wandsnider, Pirates in the bay of Pamphylia: an archaeological inquiry, in: G. J. Oliver – R. Brock – T. J. Cornell – S. Hodkinson (eds.), *The Sea in Antiquity*, BAR International Series 899 (2000) 151–180; N. K. Rauh – K. W. Slane, Amphora Production in Western Rough Cilicia, *JRA* 13, 2000, 319–330; N. K. Rauh, Rough Cilicia Regional Archaeological Survey Project, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62, 1999, 54–55 (abstract); N. K. Rauh, Who Were the Cilician Pirates?, in: S. Swiny – R. L. Hohlfelder – H. W. Swiny (eds.), *Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity*, American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports 4 (1997) 263–283. Preliminary versions of this paper were presented at the XVI International Conference of Classical Archaeology, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. in August 2003 and at the 26th International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys and Archaeometry, Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums, Selçuk University, Konya, Turkey in May 2004. Additional material on the project is available at its web site: <http://pasture.ecn.purdue.edu/~rauhn/>.

² Smaller built tombs, sarcophagi, and rock-cut tombs are not included in this investigation. For more detailed discussion of the two types, temple tomb and ‘Grabhaus’, see below.



1 RCSP. Map of survey region

Three main criteria have governed the collection of data. First, the architectural team has recorded only immediately visible material, including that which has been revealed by recent looting at many sites. While such activity has exposed portions of buildings that otherwise would not be, inevitably the earth debris heaped up by the looters has obscured other areas that once may have been clear. With few exceptions the sites in the survey zone are covered by very dense, often thorny vegetation that impedes investigation. Elsewhere the rubble wall fall is often so dense as to cover all but the very top surface of walls, even though the walls themselves are frequently preserved well above ground level. The survey team has undertaken no clearing of this material other than the removal of a few branches and the cleaning of leaves and dirt from some surfaces to aid in measuring and photographing.

Second, the broad scope of the project as a whole has restricted the amount of time that can be devoted to the architecture of a given site, the richness of which has only added to the challenge of data collection. In order to meet these demands, the authors developed the following methodology. Upon the discovery of a site and after initial reconnaissance, the authors produce freehand sketches of walls and any other significant architectural features they encounter. At those sites fully surveyed, an attempt is made to include all visible material other than very short isolated stretches of wall that bear no discernible relation to other remains. The authors each concentrate on individual sections of a site but confer with each other regarding major questions of interpretation. Once the sketches are completed, the remains are precisely measured using a total station tied to GPS coordinates. Occasionally, tape measures, both 5-meter and 30-meter, are used for supplementary measurements. In addition to the architecture, the total station is used also to record the surrounding topography. Invariably, the sites are on hills, and thus the relation-

ship of architecture to landscape is crucial³. The structures under discussion in this paper rely on this general method of data collection. Because they display greater architectural refinement than much of what has been found in the survey, however, some additional study has been undertaken. In particular, the buildings at Lamos and Asar Tepe have been measured more closely, including details such as moldings. But the plans nevertheless remain provisional to the extent that the buildings have not been fully cleared.

Third, in order to maximize output the team further determined to avoid resurveying structural remains that, in its view, have been adequately described and published by earlier scholars. Previous investigation of the region has been limited overall; none of the sites has been excavated, and no buildings have received more than preliminary study. The Italian archaeologists R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli visited the region in the early part of the last century⁴, and the British epigraphists G. Bean and T. Mitford made several trips to the area in the 1960s⁵. Paribeni and Romanelli recorded both architecture and inscriptions. Bean and Mitford focused almost exclusively on epigraphical inquiry, although they did note some architecture in passing. There has been one general architectural survey prior to RCSP. Undertaken by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum in the early 1960s, it was restricted to the monumental architecture at the major urban sites along the coast⁶. Nevertheless, her work recorded valuable information of interest in the current context, in particular the necropoleis at Iotape and Selinus. The present authors have incorporated these findings into their analysis, especially when addressing remains that were visited by Alföldi-Rosenbaum but are no longer extant.

The architectural team of RCSP has mapped 14 sites to date, in whole or in part, divided into two categories – primary and secondary (fig. 1). The six primary sites are Lamos, Iotape, Selinus, Nephelis, Kestros, and Antiochia ad Cragum⁷. Of these, Lamos and Selinus have been thoroughly surveyed; Iotape and Antiochia ad Cragum selectively; Kestros and Nephelis preliminarily. Iotape and Antiochia ad Cragum were included in Alföldi-Rosenbaum's survey, as was Anemurium, which lies well outside the RCSP zone, at the very eastern extremity of western Rough Cilicia and well separated from the other sites. Primary sites range in size between 19 ha (Iotape) and 45 ha (Selinus) and contain recognizable monumental public architecture from at least two of the following types: agora, bath, bouleuterion (or other structure relating to civic authority), fortification, temple, theatre/odeion. Tombs are not included, as they typically fall into the area of private architecture, although as will become evident, the variety examined in this paper actually bridge the gap between the public and private sphere. Of the eight secondary sites, none is known for certain by its ancient name⁸. They range in size from less than ½ ha to nearly 4 ha and, with the exception of Asar Tepe, have no more than one of the types of structures listed above (either fortification or bath). Built tombs are found at all primary sites; they occur

³ Over the course of approx. 135 days of fieldwork since 1996, the architectural team has surveyed an area of more than 100 ha.

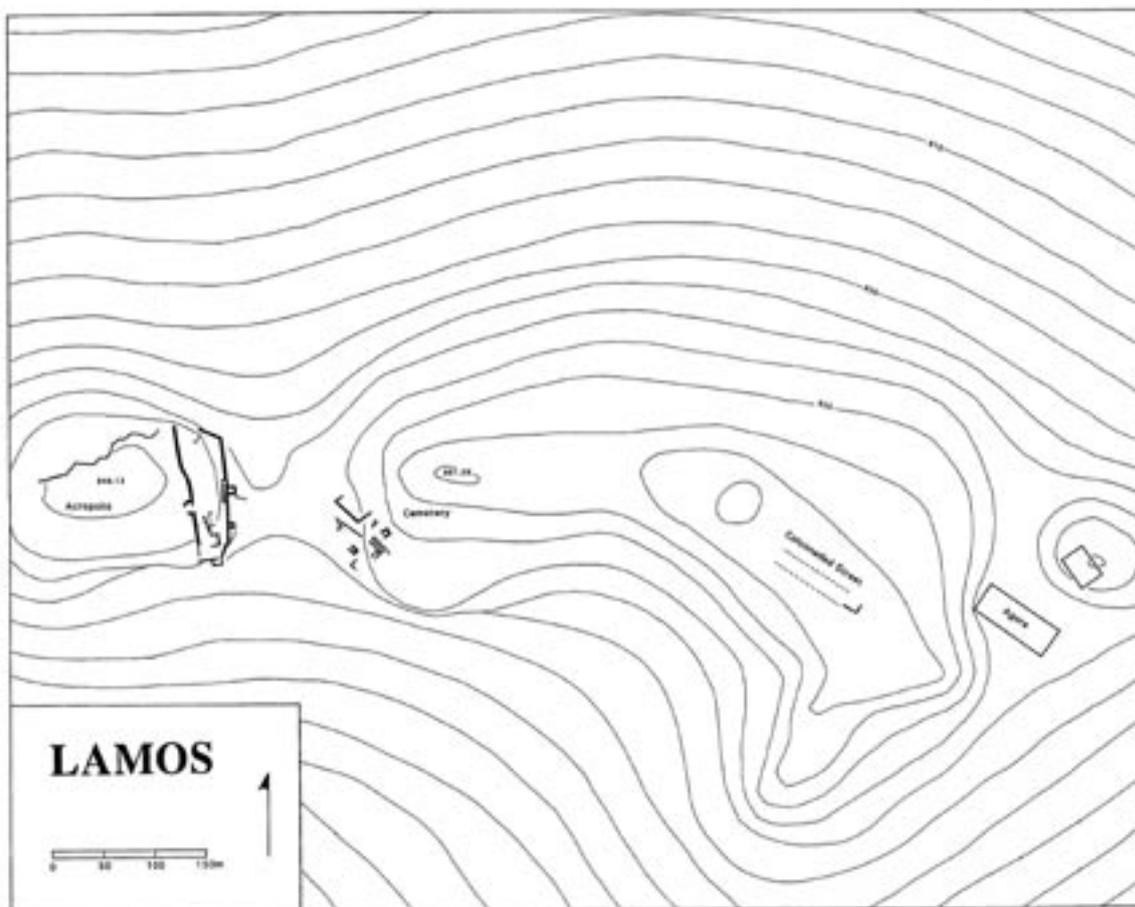
⁴ R. Paribeni – P. Romanelli, *Studii e Ricerche Archeologiche nell'Anatolia Meridionale*, *MonAnt* 23, 1914, 5–274.

⁵ G. W. Bean – T. B. Mitford, *Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia*, *AnatSt* 12, 1962, 185–217; *idem*, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*, *DenkschrWien* 85 (1965); *idem*, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, 3. *Ergbd. TAM*, *DenkschrWien* 102 (1970).

⁶ E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia. Preliminary Report* (1967).

⁷ In addition the site of Laertes was partially surveyed in 1996 but has come to lie outside the region of the survey zone as now defined.

⁸ Some have fairly distinctive individual local names: Govan Asari, Gocuk Asari, Asar Tepe. Others do not; these have been identified as 'Rural Site' (R.S.) and numbered. The survey team nicknamed many of the rural sites, and these names have appeared in other maps of the survey region; for this reason, they are given in parentheses in fig. 1 (e. g., 'Ranger', 'Village', etc.) Asar Tepe and/or Gocuk Asari may possibly be the long-sought Augustan colony of Julio-Sebaste; for discussion see <http://pasture.ecn.purdue.edu/~rauhn/> with link to [article](#); see also, K. Tomaschitz, *Iuliosebaste in Kilikien*, *Tyche* 18, 2003, 207–222. RCSP has identified additional secondary sites, and the architectural team has examined them. They have not been mapped, however, since they do not differ in type from those that have.



2 Lamos. Plan of site

for certain at no secondary sites except Asar Tepe⁹. The following section considers evidence for built tombs at Lamos, Asar Tepe, Selinus, and Iotape.

Sites

Lamos

Lamos lies about half way between the coastal cities of Selinus and Antiochia ad Cragum and approximately 9 km inland, along a ridge that separates the Hasdere River valley from that of the Inceagri River to the north. The site extends more than 1 km in length (fig. 2). Four knolls or hillocks act as hubs for various areas of activity within the city: from east to west, agora, colonnaded street, cemetery, and acropolis¹⁰. At first glance, the cemetery appears to be confined to a relatively small area at the base of one of the knolls where several freestanding sarcophagi crowd into a small, open area of bedrock outcropping (fig. 3)¹¹. The slope of the ridge below the knoll continues downhill to the south and west, however, where very dense, almost jungle-like vegetation has obscured all remains (fig. 4). Careful survey within this growth reveals that tombs

⁹ Asar Tepe is unlike the other secondary sites. While it clearly falls into this category by virtue of its size, the concentration, variety, and sophistication of its architecture would place it among the primary sites.

¹⁰ The area of the agora was identified by Bean – Mitford (note 5:1970) 172, as a stadium; evidence for its proper identification as an agora will be published in the survey's final report. The site extends farther east beyond the edge of the plan, fig. 2, where there is some evidence for a road approaching the site from that direction.

¹¹ The best preserved among them (visible in fig. 3) was published by Paribeni – Romanelli (note 4).



3 Lamos. View of sarcophagi in cemetery area, from east



4 Lamos. View of cemetery area and saddle, from east (acropolis)



5 Lamos. View of southern arm of L-shaped retaining wall, from northeast

are scattered throughout the area and continue to the very bottom of the slope¹². Here, where the ground levels out into a saddle before rising once more to the acropolis hill, the natural topography has been landscaped to some degree. At the base of the short but steep rocky incline that marks the end of the cemetery hill, an L-shaped retaining wall has been built (figs. 5. 6)¹³. It creates an open, flat area in front of this small cliff-like face, into which a few diminutive rock-cut tombs are carved. The retaining wall also helps to form a terrace,

extending the area of the cemetery farther to the south and east, helping to level the ground for a distance of some 25–50 m before a real cliff face marks the edge of the site as it plunges into a deep ravine.

Among the remains that hide in the thick overgrowth that extends onto the terrace from the slope above are two temple tombs (TT1 and TT2, fig. 6), contemporary with the retaining wall, to judge by their similar construction technique¹⁴. Today recognition of structure TT1 as a tomb rather than a temple is indicated by the fact that it lies no more than a few meters distant from two other tombs upslope from it, including a freestanding sarcophagus that is visible just behind TT1 in figure 7. Its identification is confirmed, however, by the inscribed sarcophagus that R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli found inside it¹⁵. A second, very similar temple tomb, TT2, located on the same terrace 15 m away, was identified in 1962 by G. Bean and T. Mitford as a temple on the basis of an inscribed dedication to the emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. According to Bean and Mitford, the stone was found »built into a wall just below the building«¹⁶. Subsequent studies have accepted this identification¹⁷, most recently an architectural analysis of the building by B. Söğüt¹⁸. At least three aspects of the association of inscription and building are faulty, however. First, the wall does not lie »below the building« but actually cuts across the entire front edge of the stylobate and continues beyond in both directions; an extension of it even closes off the porch between the corner column and east anta of TT2. The position of the wall is indicated in figure 6; figure 8 shows the inscription and the east anta of the porch¹⁹. Thus, the

¹² With the exception of the two temple tombs, TT1 and TT2, discussed below, the positions of the tombs were not individually plotted and thus do not appear separately on the plan, fig. 2.

¹³ Both Paribeni – Romanelli (note 4) 153, and Bean – Mitford (note 5:1962) 208, mention the retaining wall but mistakenly call it a »building«.

¹⁴ See further below.

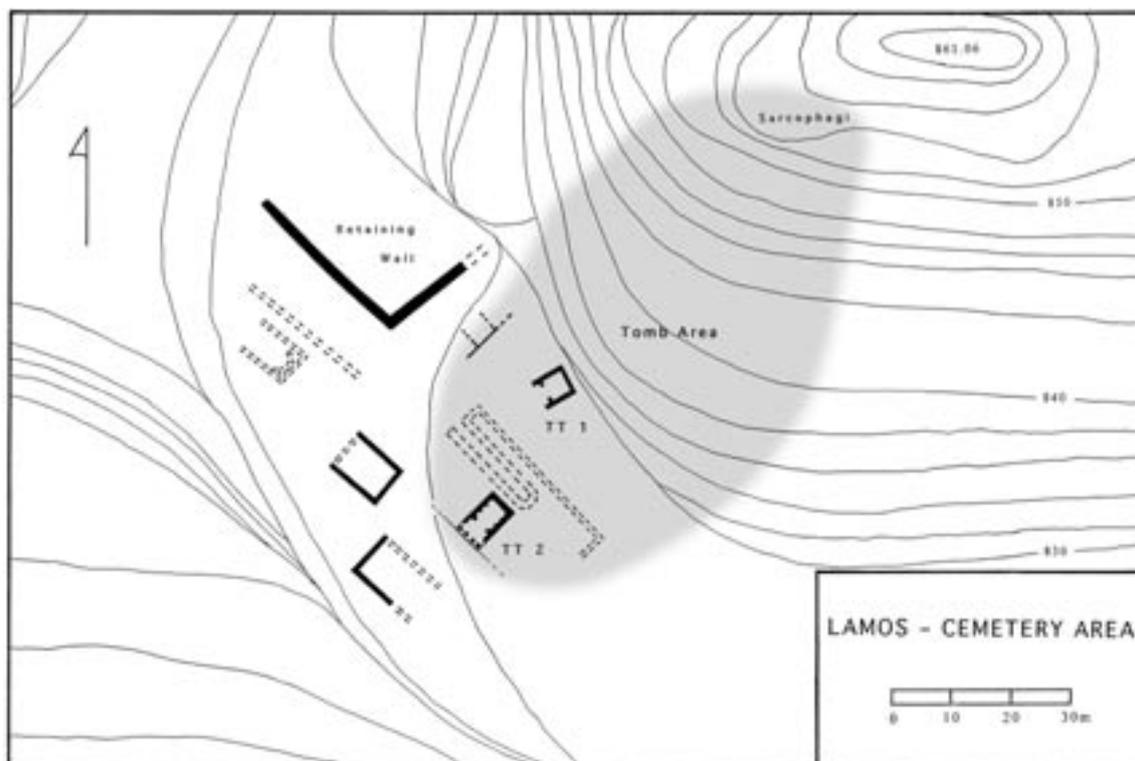
¹⁵ Paribeni – Romanelli (note 4) 154–155; the inscription is their no. 112. Bean – Mitford (note 5:1970) 173, mention that they did not examine this inscription; apparently they could not find it during their visits to Lamos. Nor did RCSP locate any trace of it.

¹⁶ Bean – Mitford (note 5:1962) 208.

¹⁷ For example, S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (1984) 273 no. 151. Price does lament, however, that Bean and Mitford did not describe the building.

¹⁸ B. Söğüt, *Lamos'da Bulunan Bir Tapınak*, in: *Olba II. Mersin Üniversitesi Kilikia Arkeolojisi Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları* (1999) 399–409. In identifying the building as a temple, Söğüt *ibidem* 399. 401–402, further states, somewhat circuitously, that the area around TT2 is the city »center«, that temples in the mountainous areas of Rough Cilicia usually are found in and around agoras, or they are surrounded by a peribolos or portico; and that therefore the area around TT2 is either one or the other. Yet the area around TT2 is not at the center of Lamos, the agora is actually to be found in the place where Bean and Mitford put the stadium (see above note 8), and there is no evidence of an enclosure around TT2.

¹⁹ The heap of dirt also visible in fig. 8 was created by looters digging within TT2.



6 Lamos. Plan of cemetery area

inscription clearly postdates the structure, which no longer could have been in use for its original purpose when the wall was constructed. Second, the inscription itself is reused in the wall and so is not in its original position as G. Bean and T. Mitford's description might suggest; it is not overly large and need not even have come from the immediate area. Third, Bean and Mitford speak of the dedication as referring to an *aedicula*, but the inscription makes no mention of anything of the sort; indeed, it does not specify what is being dedicated²⁰. The true function of TT2 is shown both by its location close by TT1 on the same terrace and by its similarity in size, form, and construction to TT1. In 2003, the survey team found a third temple tomb that lies midway down the slope between the freestanding sarcophagi at the top of the cemetery hill and the terrace at its base, on which TT1 and TT2 are positioned. Less well preserved and virtually hidden by vegetation, the basic form of the tomb is nonetheless unmistakable; its construction is very fine, as a detail of one of its steps shows (fig. 9). Thus, at least three temple tombs may be counted, two on the terrace and a third on the slope above.

Other remains on the terrace are clearly later and probably belong to the late antique to early medieval history of the site, to judge from their form and masonry style. These include two apsidal structures and adjacent walls that are indicated by dotted lines in the plan, figure 6²¹. Two

²⁰ For the text, see Bean – Mitford (note 5:1962) 208 (no. 32); also K. Tomaschitz, *Repetorium der westkilikischen Inschriften*, 22. Ergbd. TAM, DenkschrWien 265 (1998) 15 (Adana 11).

²¹ In the vicinity of the apsidal structures, lying halfway between the eastern arm of the terrace wall and the TT1, are remains of three intersecting walls made of mortared rubble (fig. 6). One stretch runs approximately parallel to the eastern arm of the terrace, while the other two extend at right angles from it in the direction of the terrace wall. They lie below the current ground level and are only revealed today as a result of looting activity. Amongst the debris thrown up by the looters in the process of exposing the walls are fragments of round terracotta tiles used to create the hollow floor (*suspensura*) in the hypocaust system of Roman baths (for terminology and use, see I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* [1990] 14; R. Ginouvès – R. Martin, *Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaine* [1985] 53–54; Vitruvius, 5, 10, 2). It is possible that these remains, which undoubtedly are to be associated with a bath complex, may also relate to the apsidal structures, but these latter could also be churches.



7 Lamos. View of back wall of TT1 with lidded sarcophagus beyond, from south

other structures (also on the plan, fig. 6) are less easily dated since only bare traces of their foundations remain; they may be earlier, contemporary with or later than the tombs. The first set, a single course of foundation blocks placed around three sides of a flat open area perhaps defines a small courtyard. The second set belongs to one end of what may be a rectangular structure bordering the site at the cliff edge. Even if these buildings were contemporary with TT1 and TT2, their presence would not affect the identification of the latter as tombs since the area of the cemetery is not set apart from the rest of the city²².

TT1 is a small naos-like building; nearly square in plan, it measures 5.98×5.79 m at the level of the toichobate (fig. 10, left). Although the building is well preserved, the remains are not fully exposed, hidden in part by dense vegetation, build-up of soil, and

debris from looting activity. Currently, two steps of the crepis are visible along the western flank of the building; whether or not there are more cannot be ascertained without considerable clearing around the tomb. The area of the porch is even more obscured, covered by a heap of looters' debris. The return of the toichobate here is visible directly in front of the one preserved anta (fig. 11), indicating that the porch was almost certainly *in antis* rather than prostyle in design; distyle *in antis* columns would have axial spacings of ca. 1.75 m²³. A console, shaped in the form of a diminutive statue base, projects from the anta at a height of 1.79 m above the toichobate; the console itself measures 0.415 m in height, 0.45 m in width, and projects 0.41 m from the face of the anta. The doorway, if centered between antae (the eastern half of the door wall is not visible) will have been quite wide, ca. 3.65 m.

The tomb is constructed of ashlar masonry on the exterior, the individual blocks carefully carved from the local limestone and erected in pseudo-isodomic courses finished with a fine, stippled surface. All eight courses above the toichobate of the west flank wall are preserved in whole or in part, enough so that the jointing of all but the last (eighth) wall course can be reconstructed (fig. 10, left). The courses vary in height but consistently alternate between high and low. The length of individual blocks is not regular, with the result that there is no consistent alternation of vertical joints, but care is taken to avoid any alignment from one course to the next. There is no indication that the wall blocks were secured by clamps and dowels. One half of a pi-clamp cutting may be observed at the outer end of one anta block, on the inner return face (i. e., that which would have looked across to the anta on the opposite side of the porch).

²² On this point, see further below.

²³ The only other possible reconstruction requires that an arch spanned between the two *antae* in place of columns, but two reasons seem to preclude this solution. The extant anta is preserved to more than half its original height and displays no indication of pilaster or spandrel for an arch. Its relatively narrow width also speaks against such a design. For a similar discussion regarding reconstruction of the façade of the mausoleum of Licinnia Flavilla and Flavianus Diogenes at Oinoanda, see A. S. Hall – N. P. Milner – J. J. Coulton, *The Mausoleum of Licinnia Flavilla and Flavianus Diogenes of Oinoanda*, *AnatSt* 46, 1996, 113–16 with figs. 1 and 2. In that case, an arcuated façade is proposed, but the design of the porch is different than in TT1.

The block belongs to the course immediately above the console (thus, the fourth course above the toichobate), and the only conceivable use for a clamp in this position would have been to secure a statue standing on the base. Blocks, of the upper courses at any rate, appear to have been raised into place by means of a lifting-lewis, to judge from the cutting in one architrave/ frieze block still roughly in its original position on the back wall of the tomb. The shape of the lewis cutting is unexpected, having been carved according to the traditional Greek manner with only one short end cut on a slant rather than both ends, as in Roman practice²⁴. Within the cella or naos of the tomb the technique of construction changes. The inner face of the ashlar wall blocks is left irregular and unfinished, the remainder of the wall thickness



8 Lamos. TT2. Inscription and east anta, from west

masonry set in mortar and covered in stucco to make a smooth surface. The thickness of the flank walls, ca. 0.860–0.885 m, as opposed to that of the back wall, 0.60 m, suggests that they may have supported a vault, which in turn would have been covered by a ridged roof, with a pediment at each end.

For the most part the architectural details of the tomb are only roughly blocked out. The vertical face or riser of the toichobate exists as an angled surface, with a simple fascia at top and bottom (fig. 11). The base and crown moldings of the console are the same in miniature. A simple apophyge suffices as the anta base (the anta capital was not discovered). The architrave and frieze are carved together in the same block. Most extant examples are not finished, but one block shows the intended profile: an architrave of three fascias, the frieze simply a torus between two angled fascias (fig. 12e). A cornice block has not yet been located; given the remarkably

²⁴ R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque*, I. Matériaux et techniques (1965) 216–219.

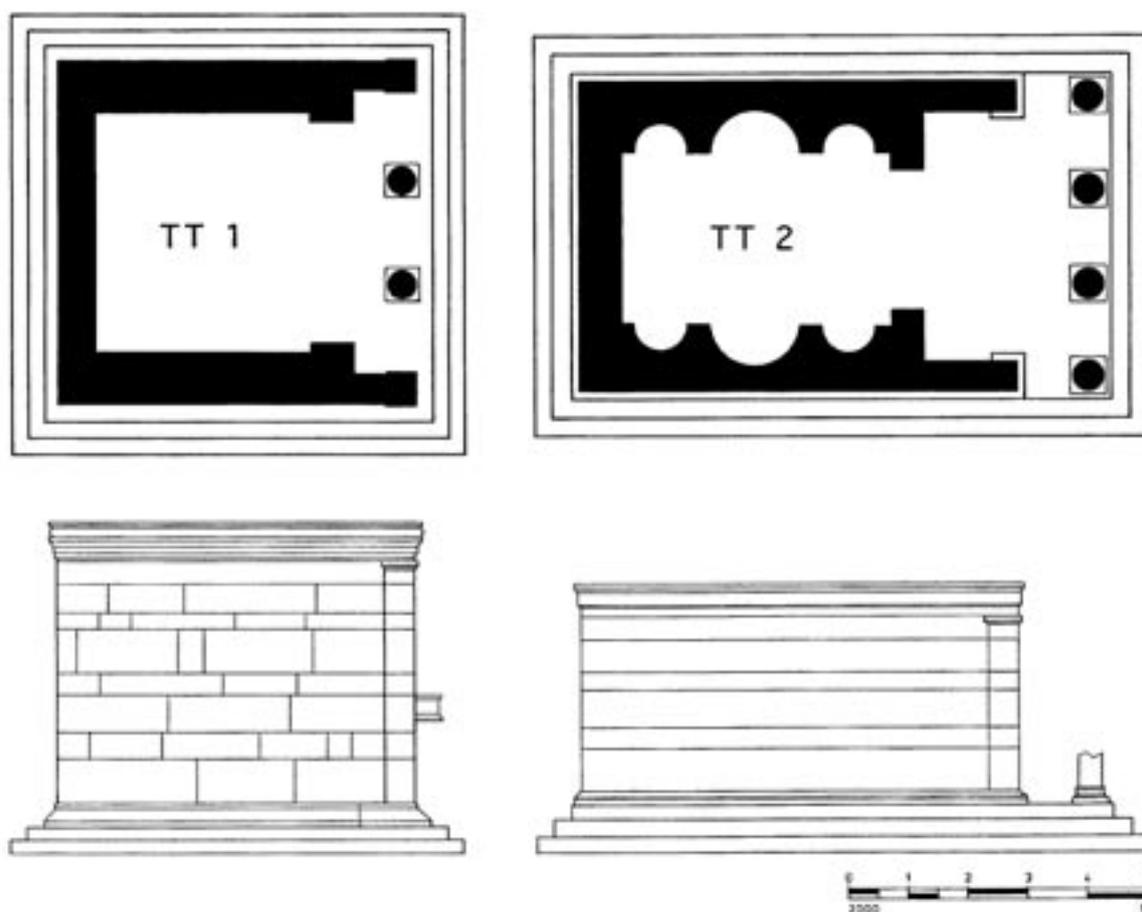


9 Lamos. Temple Tomb. Detail of crepis

high state of the tomb's preservation, however, one suspects that clearing of the area around the building would reveal remains of this course as well as other elements.

The second tomb, TT2, is in a state of repair comparable to that of TT1, except that the area of its porch is not only largely buried under dirt tossed up by looters, but also by the wall bearing the inscribed stone that G. Bean and T. Mitford used to identify the building as a temple (fig. 8). This later wall cuts directly across the stylobate of the tomb. In plan, TT2 is tetrastyle prostyle (fig. 10, right). Raised on a crepis of three steps, it measures 9.28×5.80 m at the stylobate. The order is Ionic/Corinthian, as revealed by a single column base still in situ and just barely visible from within the fabric of the later wall (fig. 12b). On the exterior local limestone is used in a technique of careful ashlar construction to form courses in pseudo-isodomic style similar to that seen in TT1. There is no sign that either clamps or dowels were used to join blocks. The ashlar wall is one block thick at the ends of the antae but changes in front of the door wall to a block-and-fill technique (*emplekton*) where the space between outer and inner faces of the wall is packed with mortared rubble. In the interior of the building the inner face of the wall is built entirely of rubble and mortar masonry set against the outer wall, the blocks of which are left unfinished on the inside. The east, or right-hand flank wall is articulated by this means to form three semi-circular niches, a larger, central niche with a smaller one to either side, that were veneered in stucco (fig. 13). In the building's current state, the niches stop short of the top of the wall, but their substantial construction suggests that originally they extended the full height²⁵. Elsewhere the inner wall faces are largely obscured by debris that looters have tossed up in their effort to expose the east wall, but a sufficient part of the back wall is visible to indicate that this surface was probably left flat. Too little of the west or left-hand interior wall is visible to determine with certainty how it may have been treated; one detail from the interior door wall, however, suggests that the west wall was articulated like the east wall opposite. The inner face of the west doorjamb is roughly worked except for a smooth strip that runs along the vertical edge of the actual doorway (fig. 14). The same treatment distinguishes the inner face of the east jamb where it is clear that the rough portion was covered by the projection of the niche, leaving exposed only the smooth strip along the vertical edge. The presence of this same treatment on the west jamb suggests that the wall on this side may very well have been treated with the same or similar design of niches. The doorway, centered in the door wall between *pronaos* and *cella*, is 1.955 m wide and 2.835 m high. Only the jambs at either side remain *in situ*. The block that currently serves as the central jamb is not the original, although it supports the original lintel block, the length of which appears to have been cut short at either end to lower the height of the door at some point during the course of the building's history. The considerable thickness of the east flank wall, ca. 1.20 m,

²⁵ They extend at most to the bottom of the third course below the *epikranitis*. The central niche is ca. 0.70 m deep, those to each side, ca. 0.50 m. The mortar and rubble construction of the niches uses a high percentage of aggregate in relation to mortar, with relatively large individual pieces, although each is small enough to be carried by one mason. Many are roughly square cut, with particular care given to those that form the ends of the semi-circular niches.



10 Lamos. Plan and partial elevation of structures TT1 and TT2

suggests that it may have supported a vaulted ceiling; a fragment of the pediment found by B. Söğüt indicates that this was covered by a ridged roof with gables²⁶.

Despite minor differences in construction technique and form, the temple tombs TT1 and TT2 are remarkably similar and are not likely to be far removed from each other in time. With the epigraphical evidence of the Flavian inscription disassociated from TT2, it is necessary to turn to ceramic data and architectural evidence for clues to the dating of the tombs. The ceramic evidence, gathered by the walking team of RCSP, helps to set chronological parameters for the site as a whole. Three periods are represented: ‘Pre-Roman’ (ca. 3rd–1st centuries BC), ‘Early Roman’ (ca. 1–3rd centuries AD), and ‘Late Roman’ (ca. 4th–7th centuries AD) in the following proportions: Pre-Roman, 8.4%; Early Roman, 71.6%; Late Roman 20%²⁷. On the basis of their construction technique alone, the dating of TT1 and TT2 would appear to accord with the ceramic category of Early Roman. With them belongs the L-shaped retaining wall which helped to formalize the area on which the tombs stand and is built in a similar fashion, allowing for certain changes as befits its function. The wall consists of two arms, a longer one extending from northwest to southeast and a second, slightly shorter one from northeast to southwest, intersecting the first at a right angle (figs. 5. 6). Although the shorter arm currently peters out before reaching the rock face in front of the wall, no doubt it originally extended as far. Today, the

²⁶ Söğüt (note 18) figs. 13. 20g. The RCSP team was unable to relocate this fragment.

²⁷ For more detailed chronological analysis, see N. Rauh, Rough Cilicia Archaeological Survey Project, <http://pasture.ecn.purdue.edu/~rauhn/> ⇒ Project Archive ⇒ 2001 Season, with link to [Report of the 2001 Season](#) and additional links to [Lamos](#) (photographs detailing transects) and [accompanying tables](#) (graphs of pottery data).



11 Lamos. TT1. Detail of toichobate

longer arm ends with a short return to the northeast. This return is clearly later, however: It is attached at an angle less than 90° , is not as thick as the rest of the wall, and differs in all other aspects of material and technique. There is no evidence currently visible to determine how far, or even in what direction the longer arm may have extended originally. At the corner where the two arms meet, the wall is preserved to a height of 10 courses, some 4.60 m. Ashlar blocks cut from the local gray limestone comprise the outer face; individual blocks vary in size²⁸. Each course is set back from that beneath it by ca. 0.03–0.05 m; the height of courses varies. The

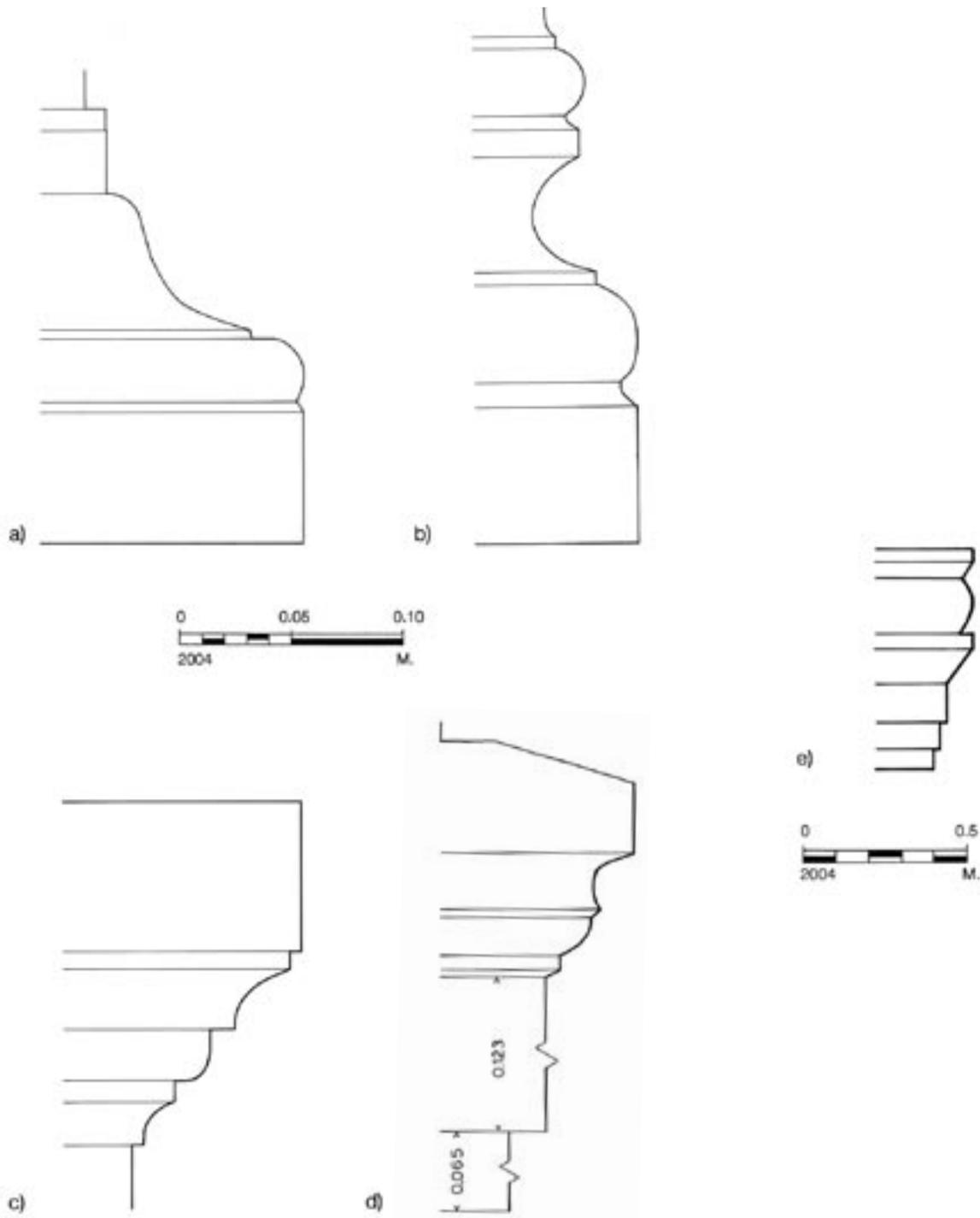
overall effect is of squared ashlar construction, but individual blocks may be trapezoidal or even rhomboid in shape. There is rough alternation of joints from course to course, and while this is not adhered to strictly, overlapping of joints is carefully avoided. Occasional examples of keyed work are discernable. The face of each block is finished with a pointed chisel, commonly executed in such a way as to produce a pattern of either vertical or diagonal striations. The joints are carefully fitted at the face with either one or both edges beveled. Behind the face, the ends of each block are splayed, and rubble is used to fill in the spaces between blocks and to thicken the wall, the overall depth of which is ca. 1.60 m.

A characteristic feature of the construction technique of the retaining wall and tombs is the combined use of ashlar and mortared rubble. The ashlar is never a mere facing; it always serves a structural function, and the understanding of its use appears innate and native. The apparent lack of clamps and dowels points away from more traditional Hellenistic methods, but the use of the Greek form of lewis cutting seemingly reverts back in that direction. The variations in the use of ashlar – simple ashlar, *emplekton* (block-and-fill technique), and in combination with mortar – might suggest a stage of transition in building techniques but more likely indicates the use of different methods for different purposes of construction. In both TT1 and TT2 ashlar is the primary supporting material. Mortared rubble serves an ancillary role but is used freely, as a fill between the outer faces of ashlar blocks in the anta wall of TT2 or as a finishing for interior wall faces, whether highly articulated as in the niches of TT2 or simply as a kind of plaster veneer in TT1. Mortared rubble takes on a more substantial role in the retaining wall but still represents only one half its thickness. It is generally held that pseudo-concrete (lime mortar employed to hold broken stone together) was not used in Asia Minor prior to the middle of the 1st century BC, and this date therefore may be taken as a general *terminus post quem* for the building of these structures. It is unlikely, however, that its appearance at Lamos represents a particularly early application²⁹.

The moldings utilized in the two tombs may also provide a general guide to the date of the tombs. The Ionic/Corinthian column base (fig. 12b) displays the Attic form of *torus – scotia – torus* set on a square plinth; no trace of a capital has been found. The moldings of the Ionic anta

²⁸ Some examples of the varying dimensions of blocks: height 0.35 m, 0.48 m, 0.59 m; length 0.36 m, 1.00 m, 1.35 m; depth 0.60–0.70 m.

²⁹ For a summary history of construction techniques, see M. Waelkens, *The Adoption of Roman Building Techniques in the Architecture of Roman Asia Minor*, in: S. Macready – F. H. Thompson (eds.), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, *The Society of Antiquaries of London Occasional Papers N. S.* 10 (1987) 94–105.



12 Lamos. Architectural moldings of TT1 and TT2

capital of TT2 (fig. 12c) consist of two cavettos separated by a simple ovolo; the doorjamb and lintel display a deeply undercut cavetto and ovolo (fig. 12d). All these elements find numerous parallels in temple tomb architecture of southern and southwestern Asia Minor in the Roman period. More unusual is the profile of the frieze of TT1 (fig. 12e) and the anta base of TT2 (fig. 12a). The frieze of TT1 is a simple torus offset by fascias above and below, the whole carved in the same block as the three-fasciaed architrave. In much tomb architecture of southern and southwestern Asia Minor, the frieze features a cyma recta molding, but three tombs in Lycia – one at Xanthos, a second at Patara, and a third near Myra – display the more unusual torus and

closely resemble the appearance of TT1³⁰. The tomb at Xanthos is dated to the later 2nd century AD on the basis of a carved sarcophagus found within. The tomb near Myra is dated to the Antonine-Severan period on the basis of its ornament. The cyma recta of the anta base belonging to TT2 also finds parallels in this period; it is found, for example, on the anta base of the Mau-



13 Lamos. TT2.
East interior
wall, from west



14 Lamos. TT2.
Interior face of
doorjamb, from
north

³⁰ Xanthos: P. Coupel – P. Demargne, *Un héroôn romain à Xanthos de Lycie*, in: *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie offerts à P. Collart* (1976) 107 and fig. 6; Patara: C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure* (1847) pl. 189; near Myra: *ibidem* 213 pls. 212–214, E. Petersen – F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyrtis* (1889) 43 fig. 32 pl. 11, and J. Borchhardt (ed.), *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, *IstForsch* 30 (1975) 61–63 fig. 11 pls. 30–31.

soleum of Licinnia Flavilla and Flavianus Diogenes of Oinoanda in Pisidia, a tomb whose construction is dated in the second half of the 2nd century AD on the basis of its extensive inscriptions³¹. Another example of a cyma recta used as a base molding on a temple tomb comes from the Lycian city of Balboursa, where the so-called Pediment Tomb employs it for the toichobate³². This is one of several tombs constructed for wealthy Balbouran citizens during the second half of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD. On the anta base of the Mausoleum of Licinnia Flavilla at Oinoanda, the cyma recta is accompanied by an undercut plinth below; in the Balbouran tomb it is found with a torus beneath, just as in TT2. Finally, at Ariassos in Pisidia, an important temple tomb incorporates the same unusual feature found on TT1 at Lamos, i. e., consoles projecting from the front face of the antae. The consoles on the Ariassos tomb have been compared to those on columns at the site that have been dated to the reign of Alexander Severus on the basis of inscriptions³³. Based on these comparanda, the dates of TT1 and TT2 would appear to fall into the latter half of the 2nd to early 3rd centuries AD.

Asar Tepe

This dense concentration of architectural remains occupies a hill known locally as Asar Tepe³⁴. Situated on a long ridge that divides the Hasdere River valley from that of the Beyrebucak River, Asar Tepe lies directly opposite Lamos, at a distance of just 4.5 km to the west as the crow flies (fig. 1). The hilltop affords excellent views in every direction, particularly along the two river valleys it straddles. Lamos is clearly visible, as are Selinus and Kestros approximately 8.5 km distant to the northwest. The architectural remains extend down from the highest point of the hill eastward where the slope is the gentlest (fig. 15). The northern slope of the hill, though somewhat steeper than the east, could accommodate building, but the only structure found in this direction is a bath and a large cistern that served it. Steep precipices prevent any construction on the west and south slopes of the hill. The site is one of the most densely packed within the survey zone, with over 100 independent structures having been recorded within an area a little less than three hectares. The majority of the buildings observed likely functioned as domestic structures, although some also show evidence of industrial/production activity. Of monumental architecture, there is the bath on the northern slope and what may be a bouleuterion at the summit. G. Bean and T. Mitford, who visited the site first in 1962 and again in 1968, also identified a temple situated »a short way below the summit« on the eastern slope standing »in places 5 m high, with a door on the south side ...«³⁵. This is the building under immediate consideration, and which the current authors believe should be correctly identified as a tomb.

Only the basic plan and general dimensions of the structure can be observed, since so much of it, both inside and out, is covered by its own wall fall and other debris strewn about by looters. The plan (fig. 16) is that of a naos 6.19 m wide and 9.55 m long, but it is not possible to say with any certainty whether there were columns, or how they were arranged. Given that the building immediately in front (i. e., south) lies so close, columns *in antis* would appear more likely than prostyle. The doorway between porch and cella is set oddly to the right (or east) of center. The number of steps that comprised the crepis is unknown; all that can be said is that there were more on the south (front) and east (right-hand) sides owing to the rather steep slope of the ground on which the structure stands. The west wall is the best preserved today and consists of ashlar masonry on both interior and exterior faces; that on the interior (fig. 17) is less

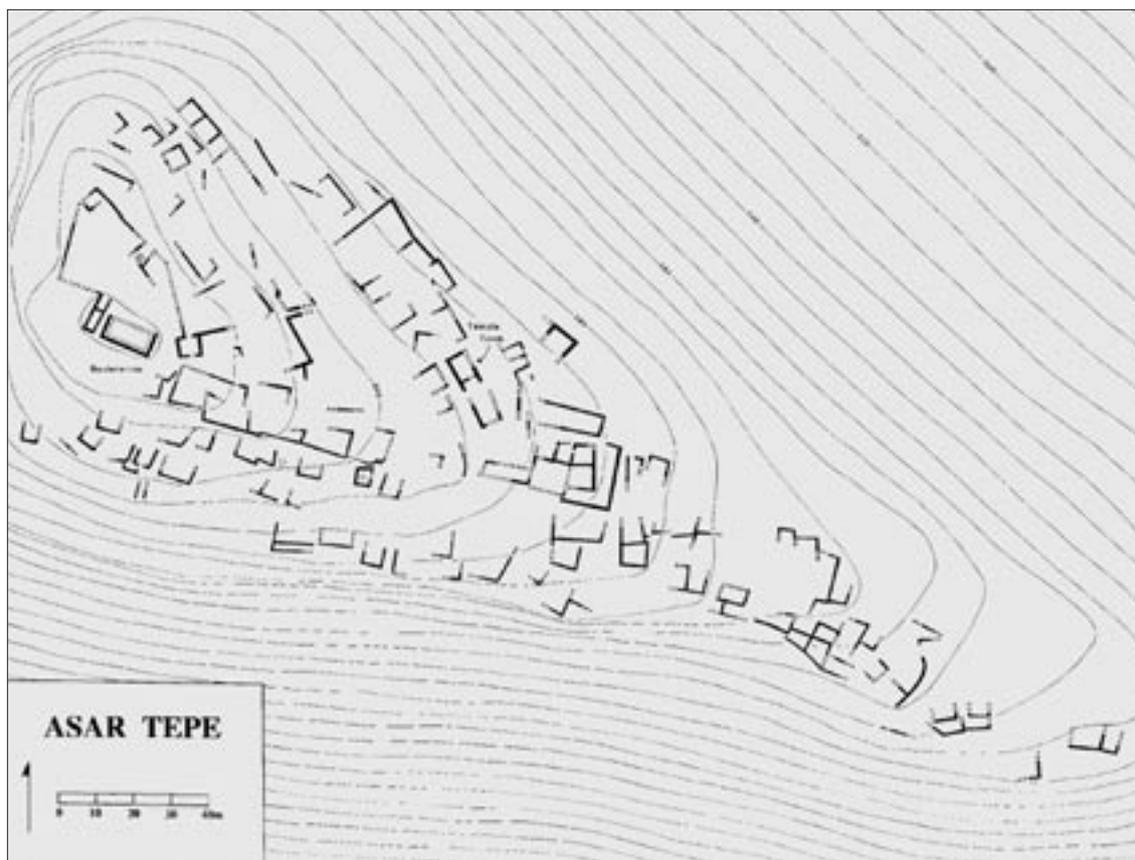
³¹ Coulton (note 22) p. 113 and fig. 3d (anta base); 121. 142 (date).

³² C. H. Hallett – J. J. Coulton, *The East Tomb and Other Tomb Buildings at Balboursa*, *AnatSt* 43, 1993, 64 fig. 7b.

³³ S. Cormack, *The Roman-Period Necropolis of Ariassos, Pisidia*, *AnatSt* 46, 1996, 5–6.

³⁴ See above note 8 for the possibility that Asar Tepe may be ancient Julio-Sebaste.

³⁵ Bean – Mitford (note 5:1970) 170; see *ibidem* 170–171, for the full discussion of the various finds addressed below.



15 Asar Tepe. Site plan

carefully executed than on the exterior. Mortared rubble fills the interior space of the wall between faces in an *emplekton* technique³⁶. Some keyed work and even irregularly shaped stones are evident. There is no indication of either clamps or dowels. No recognizable fragments of entablature blocks are located in the immediate vicinity of the tomb, but a fragmentary column drum just down slope might possibly belong. The capital on the preserved southeast anta is only roughly blocked out, as if unfinished. At present no other architectural details may be associated with the building.

G. Bean and T. Mitford identified the building as a temple in their first discussion of Asar Tepe, presumably on the basis of its plan, although they do not specify³⁷. On their return to the site, they managed to read an inscription near the building that had been »illegible« just six years earlier and so record a man's name and his title as a priest. They further venture that he was a priest of Zeus, on the basis of another block, a statue base with a sculpted head »resembling Zeus« that they found within the building. A number of discrepancies exist, however, between Bean and Mitford's accounts of their first and second visit³⁸. Not only did the unintelligible inscription of 1962 become legible in 1968, apparently it moved, from outside the »temple« where they originally described its location, to inside the »temple« in 1968. If so, the inscription has somehow moved back once again, for it currently rests on its side outside the »temple« as Bean and Mitford first described it. Likewise, it has gone silent once again; the inscription itself is

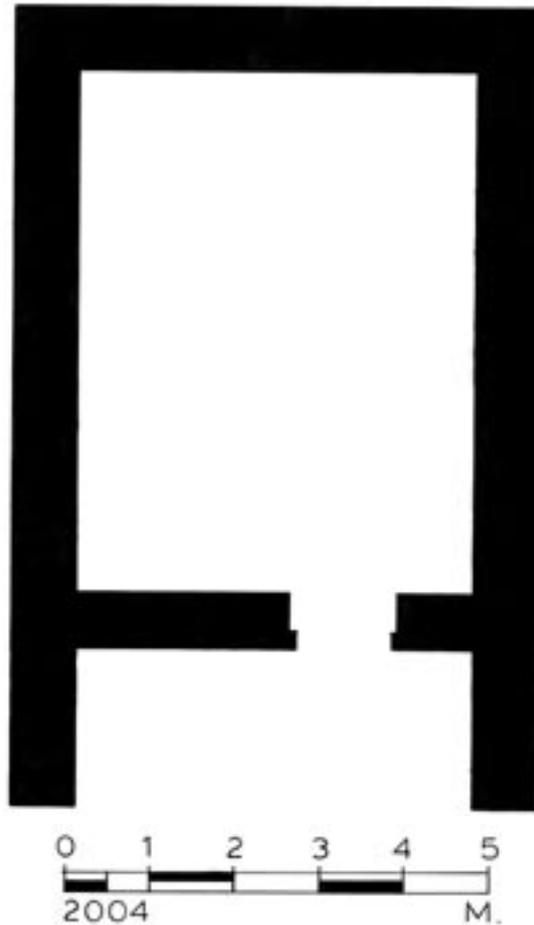
³⁶ The interior face of the door wall west of the door itself is also exposed today; the masonry appears less carefully crafted, as if it might represent a repair.

³⁷ Bean – Mitford (note 5:1965) 33.

³⁸ The discrepancies are all the more difficult to understand, since in their second account Bean and Mitford quote verbatim from their first. It seems as if they may be conflating one or more finds.

barely discernable; the faint traces of letters look, even on close examination, very much like natural weathering. In addition, the statue base with the head resembling Zeus has completely disappeared, and a third block, located »a few yards to the southeast« and identified as »a stepped platform, apparently an altar«, is actually located some 20 m distant, on the far side of a building that lies between the block itself and the so-called temple. Finally, it is a statue base, not an altar³⁹.

A sufficient number of problems arise from these various pieces of evidence to cast doubt on Bean and Mitford's identification of the building as a temple. There is admittedly no conclusive proof that it is a tomb either. But there are indications that suggest this association. First, once the evidence to confirm the building's function as a temple is removed, its plan is most reasonably explained as a temple tomb. Second, the specifics of its location argue against a sacred use. Not only is the building hemmed in on all four sides by other structures, but the approach to its south-facing entry is blocked by another monument. This second building is more ruinous but is almost identical to Bean and Mitford's so-called temple in plan, orientation, size and proportion, and material and technique. Its north end wall was less than 3 m from the anta of the 'temple'. Such close proximity may well explain the placement of the 'temple' door off-center to the south as an attempt to ease access. Remains of structures to the east, west, and north lie no more than 5 m away in any direction. Those *in situ* directly to the east consist of a step course to yet a third monumental structure; weather marks on the top surface of this course and a toppled orthostate block lying next to it suggest that this too exhibited ashlar construction like the two just described.



16 Asar Tepe. Temple Tomb. Plan

³⁹ It is not uncommon to find statue bases in connection with temple tombs; see Hallet – Coulton (note 32) 63 note 93. In this connection, it may be noted that in later visits in 1969 and 1970 Mitford recorded in his notebooks three additional inscriptions at Asar Tepe: K. Tomaschitz, Unpublizierte Inschriften Westkilikiens aus dem Nachlaß Terence B. Mitfords, 21. Ergbd. TAM, DenkschrWien 264 (1998) 61–66 nos. 34–36. Two inscriptions (no. 34–35) were found, »in der Nähe des Tempels«; a third (no. 36) was found »aus der Rückwand einer dem Tempel gegenüberliegenden Exedra«. The last mentioned text records a statue erected by the brother of the man named in no. 34. In no. 34 the wife of a man named Rhondas (the brother in question and apparently a member of a town council) was honored by the city of Lamos. No. 35 records a memorial erected for a similarly prominent town elder by his brother. The memorial lists the various offices the honorand had held, including *dekaprotos* (a local dignitary who ensured the collection of Roman taxes and levies: for which, see Bean – Mitford [note 5:1965] 200 no. 17), imperial priest, gymnasiarch, 'oracular priest' (*pronoetes*), and »all other offices of the city«. Despite the reference to *pronoetes*, it seems clear that like the unreadable text published by Bean – Mitford (note 5:1970) no. 188, these texts functioned as elogia of prominent town elders, listing their offices (including priesthoods) and accomplishments, in accordance with the requirements of funerary monuments. None of these confirms the identity of the neighboring structures as temples.



17 Asar Tepe. Temple Tomb. Detail of west interior wall, from east

In short, no less than two, and perhaps as many as three, naos-like structures once stood in this heavily built-up area of the site, all lying cheek by jowl beside one another. This fact raises considerable doubt about G. Bean and T. Mitford's identification of a temple here. Even the most modest temple would have required a surrounding sacred area or temenos, however small, where construction would be prohibited and which at the very least would have accommodated an altar⁴⁰. Such a restriction apparently did not apply to funerary monuments, however, based on the examples furnished

by other temple tombs in southern and southwest Anatolia. Much like funerary complexes at Lamos and elsewhere, in other words, no deliberate or distinct area of Asar Tepe was set aside exclusively for a necropolis⁴¹.

Insufficient evidence survives by which to date the temple tomb at Asar Tepe with any degree of refinement. As at nearby Lamos, the survey team has identified three ceramic periods at the site: 'Pre-Roman' (ca. 3rd–1st centuries BC), 'Early Roman' (ca. 1–3rd centuries AD), and 'Late Roman' (ca. 4th–7th centuries AD). At Asar Tepe the processed pottery arrayed itself in the following proportions: Pre-Roman, 12%; Early Roman, 83%; Late Roman 5%. There seems little doubt that the temple tomb dates to the Early Roman period. Apart from the general similarities that this tomb shares with the two temple tombs at Lamos, however, there is little else to go on.

Selinus

Selinus lies on the coast at the mouth of the Hacimusa River, which combines and carries to the sea the discharge of the Gecheler, İnceagri, Hasdere, and Beyrebucak Rivers after their waters converge in the coastal plain approximately 4 km inland from the city (fig. 1). The site of Selinus occupies what remains of a conical hill known locally as Kale Tepe, whose seaward portion, having been subjected for millennia to damaging wave action, has become a precipitous cliff that affords a highly defensible location right at the very edge of the Mediterranean (fig. 18). Although the territory around Selinus is referred to as early as 557 BC in the Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings and the site is described as one of the coastal cities of Rough Cilicia in the Periplus of pseudo-Scylax of the 4th century BC⁴², the oldest visible remains are probably no earlier than the Ptolemaic period at least. These are a few courses of a fortification wall near the top of the

⁴⁰ See Söğüt (note 18) for the observation that temples in mountainous Rough Cilicia tend to be found either in the area of the agora or surrounded by an enclosure. Neither claim can be made for the building at Asar Tepe.

⁴¹ On this point, see further below.

⁴² See A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (1975) 103 f.; D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings (625–556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (1956) 40. 74–77. 88; P. Desideri – A. M. Jasink, *Cilicia dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista macedone* (1990) 168–171; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² (1971) 197; P. H. J. Houwink Ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (1961) 29–31.



18 Selinus. General view from southeast (Kestros)

acropolis and now embedded in the Ottoman fortifications of the city⁴³. The ashlar masonry of the wall, well carved from local limestone, shows no sign of mortar, either on the outer face of the blocks or in the joints between blocks. The possibility cannot be ruled out, however, that mortar was used in the interior of the wall; excavation against the inner face, currently not exposed, would have to be undertaken in order to address this question. The majority of extant architecture at the site belongs to the Roman period (and later) and makes extensive use of mortared rubble, including the tombs of the necropolis located on the lower slopes of Kale Tepe, to the east of the remains of the city's public architecture⁴⁴.

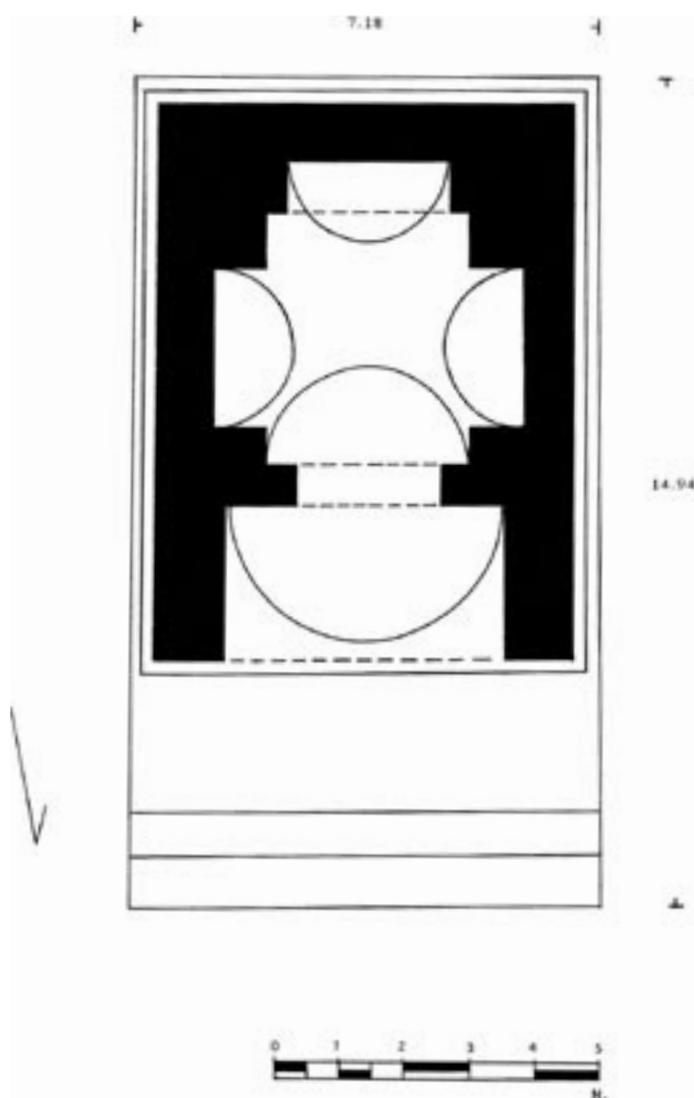
The largest and still most promi-



19 Selinus. Large tomb, from northwest

⁴³ Liv. 33, 20, 4–5, describes Selinus as a »castella«, one of several Ptolemaic forts that surrendered to Antiochus III in 197 BC. It is possible that the fragment of this wall may belong to this castella.

⁴⁴ Rosenbaum (note 6) 53, hypothesized that the cemetery once continued north onto the flat plain between the hill and the river, but how far is uncertain.



20 Selinus. Large tomb. Plan

ment tomb in the cemetery is located close to its eastern edge (figs. 19 and 20). Set on an artificial terrace and facing northeast, the structure is further raised on a podium that is mounted by a series of steps leading to the projecting antae of the deep porch. The tomb proper consists of a two-storied chamber with arcosolia on the flank and rear walls in both stories, a total of six arcosolia in all. Beneath the main chamber is a crypt divided into two barrel-vaulted rooms oriented east-west. A large barrel vault serves to roof the entire tomb. The only detail that may be added is a lintel found *in situ* by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum but no longer extant⁴⁵; its elaborate moldings suggest a richly decorated façade. The tomb does not make use of ashlar construction. Although the two antae incorporate large blocks that are approximately square-cut, mortar is still to be found between individual stones, clearly showing that the final surface would have been a plaster veneer. Elsewhere on the exterior face, the blocks are even more irregularly shaped, and mortar is more extensively used; there is no attempt at coursing. The inner faces of the walls tend to be built

of smaller stones than used on the outside, again set in heavy mortar. The arches of the arcosolia are formed by thin slabs of shale, set on their narrow ends and arranged like voussoirs in a fan-like fashion. The one exception to this type of construction in the cemetery is a tomb E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum described as »of unusual type«, having »a platform with carefully cut moulding, a course of flat, regular blocks« as well as a pilaster base at the corner of a wall and threshold block still *in situ* »that suggests an original flight of steps leading up to the entrance. All the blocks are regular and carefully cut of good-quality compact sandstone.«⁴⁶. These remains are no longer to be found, but from their description it would seem that this was a temple tomb of ashlar construction, with crepis, steps, and cella articulated at the corners with attached pilasters. Indeed, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum calls it a temple tomb, comparing it to another of the same type at Iotape⁴⁷.

The dating of the tombs at Selinus is considered in conjunction with those at Iotape (see below).

⁴⁵ Ibidem 53–54 pl. 16, 2.

⁴⁶ Ibidem 55.

⁴⁷ See below.

Kestros

Kestros lies on a hill only about 5 km southeast of Selinus, and the two sites are clearly visible from each other⁴⁸. Kestros has one well preserved tomb located below the summit on the north-eastern brow of the hill (figs. 21. 22). This structure is very similar to the large ‘Grabhaus’ at Selinus, sharing even the exact same width, 7.18 m, although it is somewhat longer at 10.98 m. It faces north and is approached by means of a stepped podium leading to an *in antis* porch; there is no indication of columns. Both porch and tomb chamber proper were vaulted. To either side of the door leading into the main chamber are small semi-circular niches, one on each side. The tomb itself is divided into three levels, the lower two of which are well preserved enough to show that they each contained three arched arcosolia set into the flank and rear walls; presuming the third level

held the same number, there would have been nine arcosolia in all. On the east side of the podium are two arched entryways into vaulted crypts. The tomb is made up of rubble, ranging from fist-to head-sized stones, heavily set in mortar. The only exceptions to this material are a paving slab from the porch and a fragmentary anta base



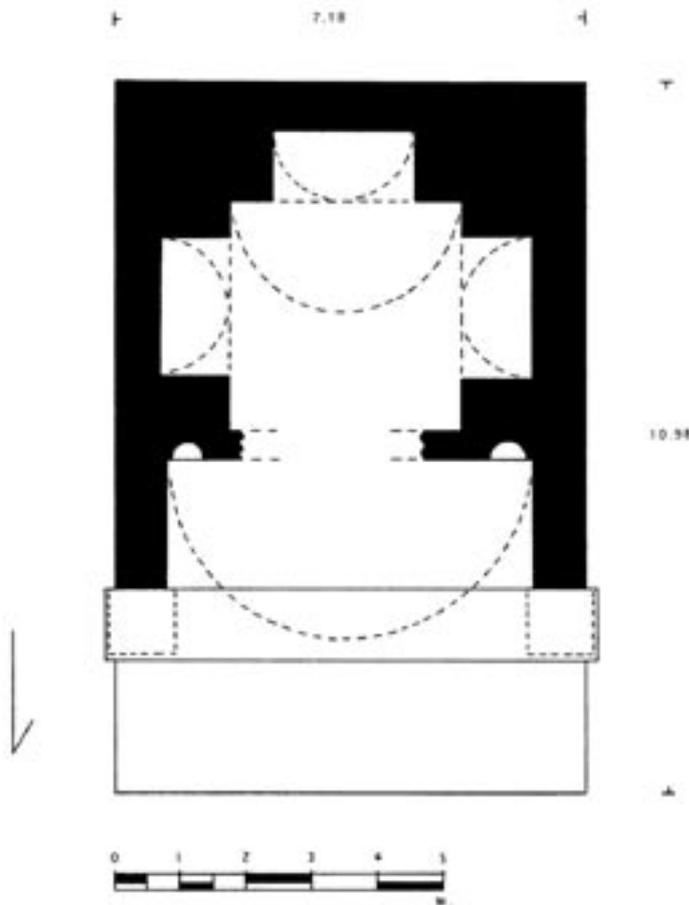
21 Kestros. Tomb. View, from east

which are carved from local limestone. Like the tomb at Selinus, that at Kestros, while making use of larger blocks at the corners, does not show any attempt at coursed ashlar construction.

Iotape

The Roman client king Antiochos IV of Commagene founded Iotape in AD 52, naming it after his wife. He chose for the site a small, thumb-shaped promontory on the coast, approximately 10 km northwest of Selinus (fig. 23). The promontory serves as the acropolis; the area of public architecture lies next to it on the shore, while the domestic area and necropolis are situated on the slope of the hill that rises on the landward side. As described by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, the

⁴⁸ The site was identified by Bean – Mitford (note 5:1962) 211–216 and further discussed by them (note 5:1970) 155–170.



22 Kestros. Tomb. Plan

tombs cluster in the eastern part of the site, one group to the north, another to the south of a wadi that crosses the area of the city on an east-west line⁴⁹. At least one tomb, however, is located farther west, closer to the domestic area of the city. The tombs do not adhere to a single orientation but rather make use of whatever the topography accommodates best, as they do at Selinus. Thus, those lying to the north of the wadi tend to be oriented roughly north-south, those to the south of the wadi more east-west, but even this rule of thumb is not followed exclusively. Alföldi-Rosenbaum lists or describes fifty some tombs and recognizes the existence of many more that were too ruined to make out in any detail. With one notable exception, the tombs are similar in design and construction and would appear to belong to a single period in the history of the site, although the sheer number of them suggests one of extended duration, especially considering the small size of the city

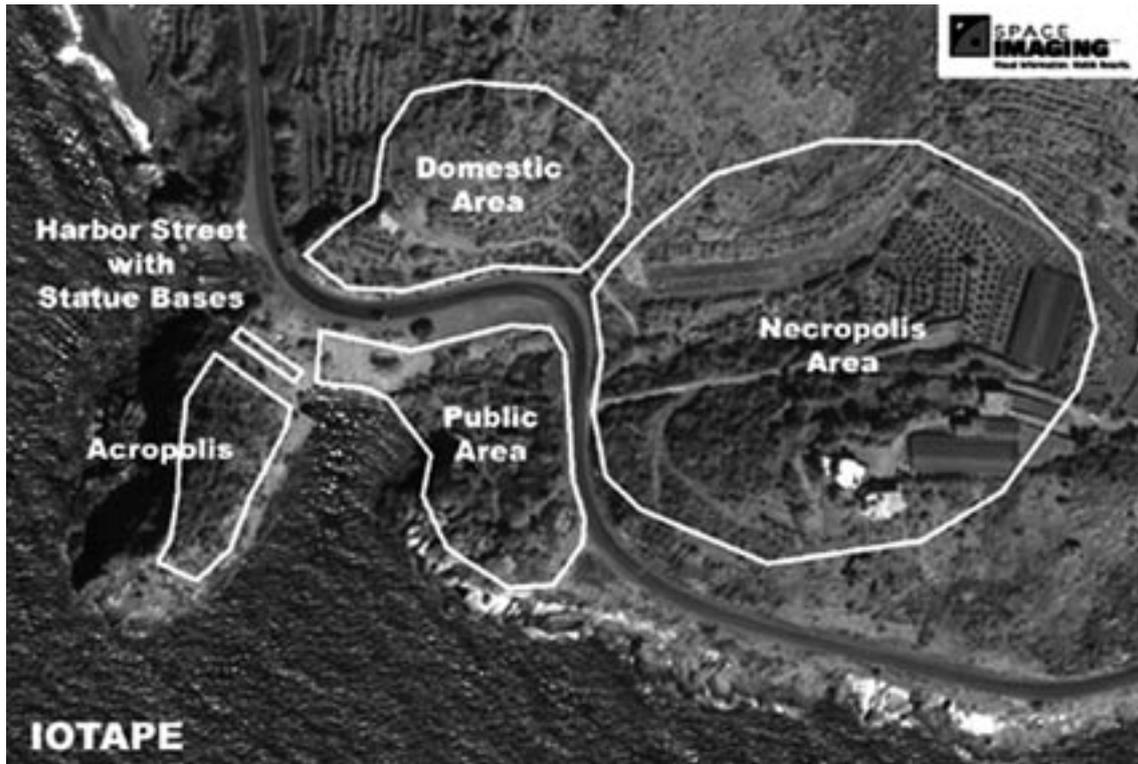
overall. For the most part the structures are small barrel-vaulted chambers, occasionally paired, mostly single. They are built of mortared rubble. Three much larger tombs, constructed in the same materials and technique, share a number of features found in the large tomb at Selinus and that at Kestros⁵⁰. Two are distinguished by a surrounding courtyard. The courtyard around one includes two cisterns built in its north wall, the wall itself serving as an aqueduct to feed them (fig. 24). Set into the back wall of the courtyard are eight niches. The third large tomb lacks a courtyard but is raised on a podium housing a crypt beneath the main two-storied tomb proper (fig. 25). A flight of steps (not shown on plan) leads to a porch preserving one pilaster; the pilaster does not face frontally as a normal anta, but is turned to look toward its mate opposite, no longer extant. The porch is further elaborated with niches. The tomb chamber in each floor has six arcosolia, a total of twelve altogether. Barrel vaults covered both porch and the two stories of the tomb's chambers. As in the case of the large tomb at Selinus there is no evidence that the vault was covered; it probably served as both ceiling and roof.

A valuable inclusion in E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum's account of the tombs at Iotape is that of »a very well preserved tomb of the temple-type, quite unusual in the cemeteries of the area surveyed«⁵¹, all the more precious because her description and sketch (fig. 26) are all that remains of this monument today. While it was nearly complete in the spring of 1964, it had been totally

⁴⁹ Alföldi-Rosenbaum (note 6) 58–65. Relatively few of the tombs are visible today, many of them having been plowed under in the construction of terraces for banana trees.

⁵⁰ In Alföldi-Rosenbaum's discussion, these are identified as Tombs I. 1, II. 22 (illustrated here as fig. 24), and III.10 (illustrated here as fig. 25).

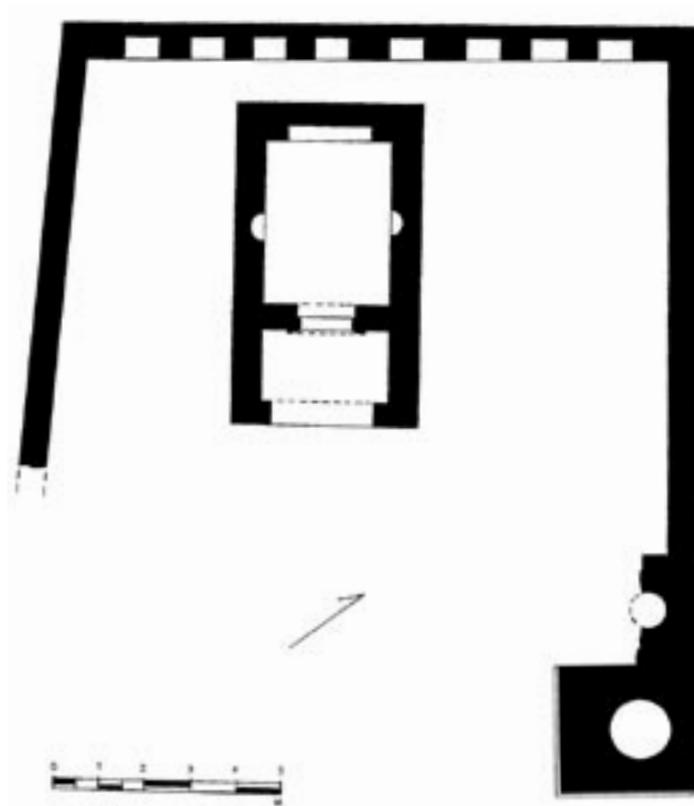
⁵¹ *Ibidem* 61.



23 Iotape. General view

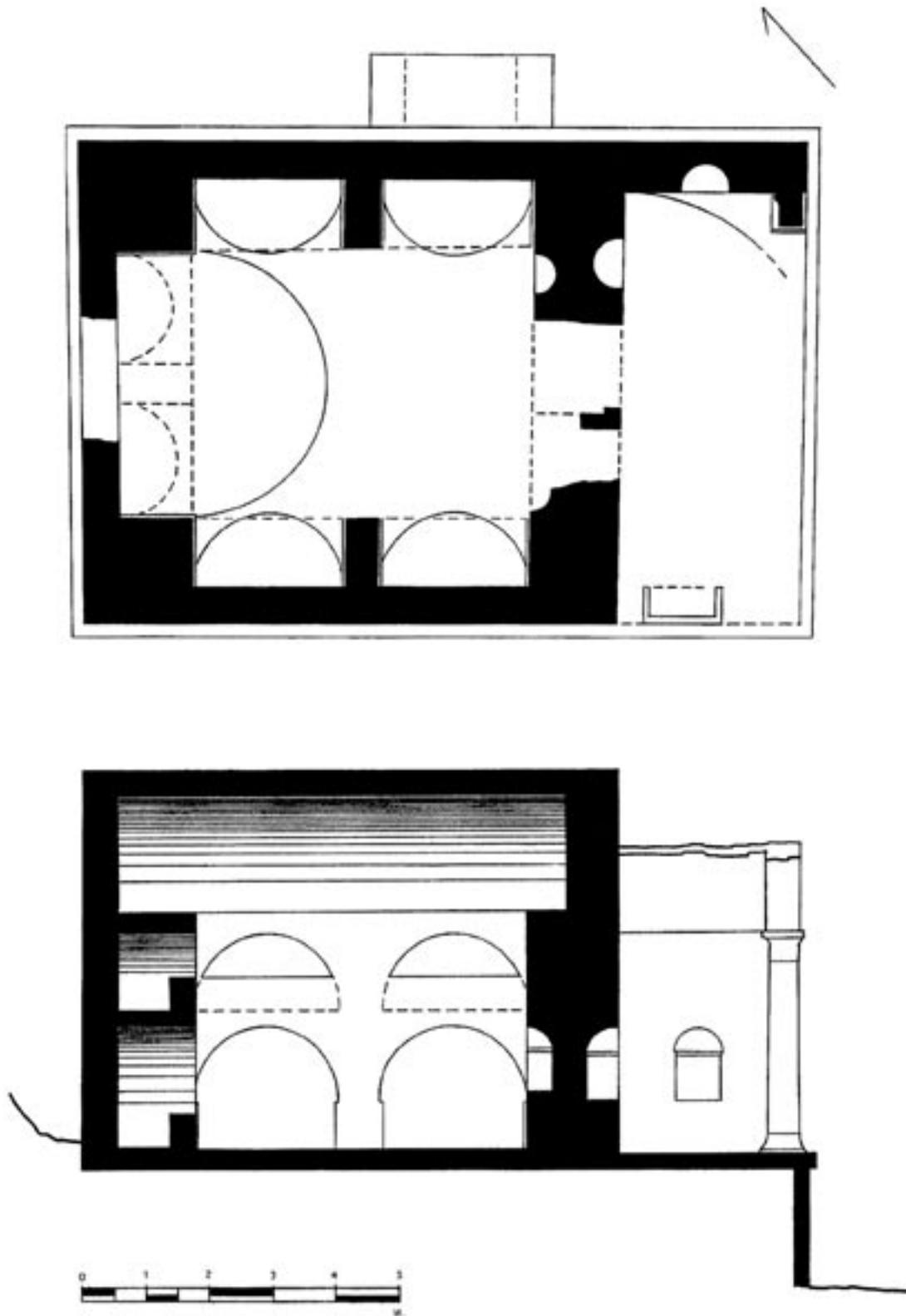
destroyed by September of that year, and »the beautifully cut blocks had been cut up and used to build some new irrigation channels«. Since it is the only written record of the building, Alföldi-Rosenbaum's further description is worth citing in detail: »The door had jambs and a lintel with delicate mouldings ... There was an egg-and-dart moulding on top, and there were scroll-like patterns on the lower bands of the moulding. The only parallel for this type of tomb, built of carefully dressed ashlar blocks in our area is in Selinus, but there, only the platform on which the walls rose, has survived.«

In short, what Alföldi-Rosenbaum's sketch and description reveal is the following: a temple tomb, of fine ashlar construction with carved moldings, raised on a crepis of two steps; what appears to be an *in antis* porch and attached columns along the flanks; an Ionic entablature, and pedimented ridge roof.

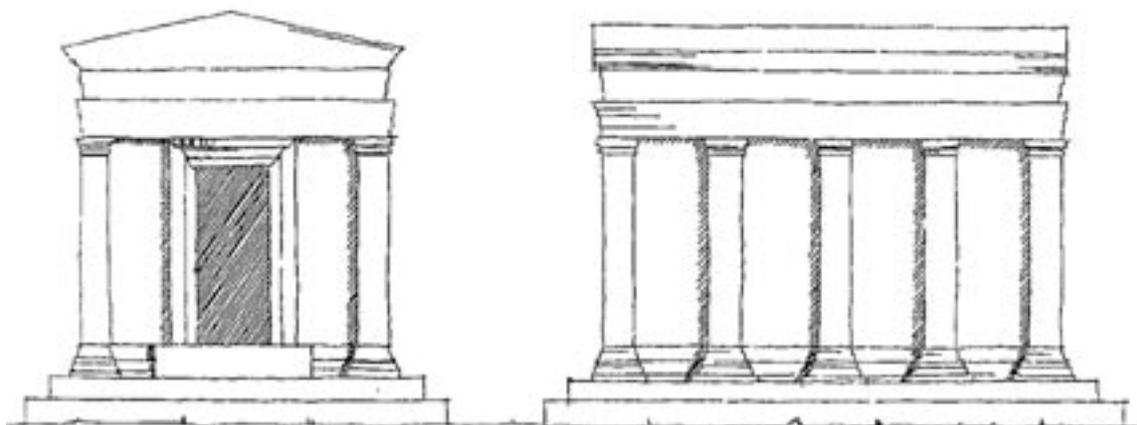


24 Iotape. Tomb. Plan

to be an *in antis* porch and attached columns along the flanks; an Ionic entablature, and pedimented ridge roof.



25 Iotape. Tomb. Plan



26 Iotape. Tomb. Plan

E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum concludes that the majority of tombs included in her survey – at Anemurium, Antioch, Selinus, Iotape, and Syedra – probably belong to the 3rd century AD⁵². She bases this conclusion on the essential similarity of the tombs at the other four cities to those at Anemurium, whose cemetery she dates to ca. AD 200–300, primarily on the basis of the evidence of the frescoes they preserve. However, because Alföldi-Rosenbaum thinks it unlikely for all the tombs at the four sites to belong to this one century, she hypothesizes that some must be earlier. Certainly, the two ashlar temple tombs at Selinus and Iotape are, but so too must be some of the many other tombs at these sites. They are not later, she argues, because according to her findings there is no evidence at Anemurium of any tombs dating after ca. 300 AD. The ceramic data collected by the walking team of RCSP indicate that substantial inhabitation continued at several sites along the coast during the Late Roman period of the 4th through 6th centuries AD, including Iotape and Selinus. Thus, some of the tombs may date from this period. At the same time, it must be recognized that the Late Roman village at Selinus exhibits a definite Christian element, and there is nothing overtly Christian about any of the tombs there or at Iotape. It is equally likely, therefore, that a number of tombs at Selinus and Iotape date earlier than the 3rd century, as Alföldi-Rosenbaum suggests. More detailed analysis of the chronology of the large tombs must await the final report of RCSP; in the meantime, her suggestion of a date probably in the 3rd century AD seems reasonable. The same dating would apply to the tomb at Kestros as well.

Classification

Two fundamental types emerge from this examination of monumental freestanding tombs in western Rough Cilicia. The first type is the temple tomb or grave temple, the German ‘Grabtempel’. It is finely constructed in ashlar masonry; while mortar is used, it is not allowed to be visible, at least on the exterior, and the structural integrity of the building relies as much on the cut ashlar blocks as it does on the mixed concrete added to it. Such use of ashlar masonry has not been recognized in the architecture of the region, which is commonly characterized as falling heavily and from an early date under the influence of Roman practices of concrete and mortar imported from Italy⁵³. The choice of materials and construction technique thus represents a de-

⁵² Ibidem 65–66.

⁵³ E. g., Waelkens (note 29) 99, who states that Cilicia »developed totally different building practices with a pronounced Italian character ... The ubiquitous building material here is a stout mortared rubble masonry of volcanic

liberate choice, to emulate the appearance of a small Greek or Hellenistic naos. Also essential to this imitation are three aspects of plan and elevation. Significantly, the tomb is not connected to a temenos enclosure or other ancillary buildings, but its typical plan otherwise resembles a temple with porch and columns either *in antis* or prostyle that lead to a cella behind. In elevation, it is raised on a crepis of steps placed on more than one side; the number of steps appears to be determined as much by topography as by any overriding canon; orientation also follows the dictates of the lay of the land, with tombs found to lie on an east-west axis as often as north-south or any points in between. Although a barrel vault may have covered the tomb, this is hidden beneath a ridge roof with pediment at either end. The area in which the tomb is placed is not deliberately segregated from the rest of the city. Within this broad description variations may occur, but the structure is so clearly fashioned after the temple of Greek/Hellenistic tradition that it may be mistaken as such. Of those under examination here, the earlier tombs at Selinus and Iotape belonged to this type, as do the freestanding tombs at Lamos and Asar Tepe.

The second type of tomb, found at Selinus, Iotape, and Kestros among the sites studied in the RCSP zone, differs in material and technique as well as overall design⁵⁴. In terms of material and construction technique it is distinguished by its use of rough blocks of varying size, set in a concrete lime mortar in which regular coursing is not observed. Ashlar construction is not used. Barrel vaulted roofs may be exposed rather than hidden beneath a gabled ridge roof as is usual for the temple tomb. The tomb proper is raised on a high podium accessed by steps on the front only. The presence of columns on the façade is not a standard feature; among the tombs studied here, none can be said definitively to have had them. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for the tomb to be enclosed by a peribolos. Arcosolia are a standard feature in the interior and are often distributed on more than one floor level; crypts or hyposoria occur often as well. While the tomb can be large and impressive outside, the greater emphasis would appear to be on articulation of the inside, as if in reference to a domestic interior. For this reason and because the attempt to emulate Greek/Hellenistic temple design is no longer so deliberate and conscious, the term ‘Grabhaus’ is used here to refer to this type⁵⁵. On the basis of current evidence, the ‘Grabhaus’ appears to date to the third century, although it quite likely came into use somewhat earlier. It is restricted to sites along the coast; in number it greatly outweighs the temple tomb in the survey region.

Temple tombs abound in southwestern Asia Minor in the regions bordering the RCSP survey zone. Examples that may be compared to those studied here appear to the east and north, in Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lykaonia. Elsewhere in Rough Cilicia itself temple tombs are found farther east near the border between Rough Cilicia (Cilicia Tracheia) and Smooth Cilicia (Cilicia Pedias) at sites such as Elaiussa Sebaste and Olba. These tombs share certain basic features, many of which are found in the temple tombs of the survey zone: ashlar construction, on the exterior at least; ridge roof with pediments at either end; cella, regularly combined with a columned porch, either prostyle or *in antis*. Other features are more variable and may include use of the traditional crepis of steps around the building, either alone or in combination with a

basalt, laid horizontally in mortar, roofed with barrel-vaults, half-domes and even full domes, constructed around an inner face of stones laid radially upon a wooden framework.« For a similar view, see S. Cormack, *Funerary Monuments and Mortuary Practice in Roman Asia Minor*, in: S. E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxbow Monograph 95 (1997) 152–153. RCSP has revealed far more varied building practices, including the use of ashlar construction.

⁵⁴ This type is also found at Antiochia ad Cragum and Nephelis, but the architectural team of RCSP has not studied the tombs at either site in any detail.

⁵⁵ The features of and distinctions between ‘Grabtempel’ and ‘Grabhaus’ made here apply to the tombs found in the region covered by RCSP. The types overlap, as H. von Hesberg, *Römische Grabbauten* (1992) 182, points out, and in other areas the line between the two may be drawn somewhat differently; cf. A. Machatschek, *Die Nekropolen und Grabmäler im Gebiet von Elaiussa Sebaste und Korykos im Rauhen Kilikien*, 2. Ergbd. TAM, DenkschrWien 96 (1967) 74–110.

plinth or podium⁵⁶; addition of a hyposorion or crypt; substitution of the columned porch with an arched opening, sometimes configured as a porch, sometimes as a niche with seats; door of normal scale and position in the front wall of the cella, or of diminutive size and placed either in the front or back wall of the cella. The result in each case may be a tomb that is easily distinguished from a temple or one that is virtually identical; critical in this regard are the elements of podium and/or crepis on the one hand and the façade in elevation on the other.

Temple tombs make use of a podium in different ways. At Arycanda in Lycia, on the terrace above the gymnasium and bath complex, are two temple tombs. The first tomb at the west end of the terrace makes use of a plinth to elevate a naos distyle *in antis*; there are no steps at all by which to enter⁵⁷. Just to the east of this structure, a second distyle *in antis* tomb, also raised on a plinth, does have a set of steps in front⁵⁸. Nevertheless, access is limited because the steps lead only to the bottom of the plinth. At Termessos in Pisidia is another example of a tomb raised on a plinth without steps⁵⁹. And in Pamphylia at Gelchik (ancient Etenna?) is a tomb with a two-stepped crepis, but this is further elevated on a 1.00 m high plinth⁶⁰. In all these cases, access to the tomb is clearly restricted. The plinth or podium may also enclose a hyposorion below the tomb proper. A well preserved tomb at Elaiussa Sebaste near the eastern border of Rough Cilicia⁶¹ is raised on podium that in turn supports a plinth, stylobate, and tetrastyle prostyle naos, providing ample space for a hyposorion below. There are no steps by which to climb to the level of the stylobate, and the tomb is thus quite inaccessible, a point further underlined by the fact that the door into the cella is false; though articulated with jambs and lintel, the courses of wall continue right through the doorway. Elsewhere the combination of plinth/podium and crepis may be reversed. At Balboura in Lycia, British scholars⁶² have reconstructed a partially exposed tomb as resting on a relatively high plinth that is itself raised on a series of steps, two of which lie exposed; there may be more beneath the rubble. The combination of crepis and plinth above is enough to allow for a hyposorion with low ceiling beneath the cella, the cella reached by means of steps at the front of the building.

Accessibility, then, is one way that a temple tomb may be similar or different from the house of the god. The detailed appearance of the façade is another. Columned porch, either *in antis* or prostyle, set beneath an entablature and pediment, before a cella with central door: this is the visual sign that most distinctly links the tomb of the dead with the temple of the god. Changing this sign alters the connection to one degree or another, as occurs, for example in a number of tombs in the eastern portion of Rough Cilicia where columns are replaced by an arched opening between the antae of the temple tomb's façade. The type is common at Elaiussa Sebaste and neighboring sites where the arch leads to a large niche with a bench for sitting on each of its three sides⁶³. The structure is clearly meant to be visited and used, and is made further accessible by means of a low, one or two stepped crepis. But the arched opening is not immediately associ-

⁵⁶ These terms are often interchanged and interchangeable. Here plinth is used to refer to a relatively low base, usually articulated with base and/or crowning moldings, while podium is used to refer to a built foundation, one that is nevertheless meant to be at least partially exposed. Obviously, the distinction between the two may be blurred at times.

⁵⁷ For an illustration of the tomb, see C. Bayburtluoğlu, *Arykanda* (2003) 165.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem* 167.

⁵⁹ R. Heberdey – W. Wilberg, *Grabbauten von Termessos in Pisidien*, *ÖJh* 3, 1900, 204–205 figs. 79 and 80. It should be noted that the absence of steps is implied rather than stated; no steps are included on the plan, fig. 80, nor are any mentioned in the description of the tomb.

⁶⁰ H. Swoboda – J. Keil – F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien, und Isaurien* (1935) 114–116 figs. 25–27.

⁶¹ Machatschek (note 55) 98–100 pls. 52–530 figs. 68–69. The tombs at Elaiussa Sebaste have been recently restudied by E. Equini Schneider, *Elaiussa Sebaste II* 1 (2003) 394–411 (»Templi Funerari«).

⁶² Hallett – Coulton (note 32) 41–67.

⁶³ Machatschek (note 55) 92–96 pls. 40–50 figs. 61–66.

ated with a temple⁶⁴. Moreover, the tomb chamber itself, placed behind the niche and closed off from it, cannot be entered, at least not on a daily basis; it is accessed only by a small, sealed door in the rear wall of the tomb. Another type of tomb at Elaiussa Sebaste is similarly raised on a low crepis of only one or two steps, but rather than an arch and niche replacing the columns, the columns are simply omitted altogether. The overall proportions of these structures, however, and the presence of a standard entablature comprising architrave, frieze, and cornice, as well as pediment, still produce the effect of a simple naos⁶⁵. Only the door into the structure gives away its purpose as a tomb. It is small, both in relation to the overall size of the building and to human scale: the actual opening may be only 1 m or so high and about 0.75 m wide. Thus, both types – arched niche and naos without porch – display an interesting combination of similarity to and difference from the temple form. Other variations may be found as well. At Demircili (formerly Dösene; ancient Imbrogion?) is a distyle *in antis* temple tomb raised on a crepis of two steps. Rather than lead to a canonical cella the porch yields to an open, arched chamber that extends the full height of the structure. Projecting from the back wall of the chamber is a console, presumably to hold an image of the deceased. The distinction between porch and cella thereby is reduced to such an extent that it really no longer exists⁶⁶. Nor is there any sign of a crypt, and this particular monument therefore may have been a cenotaph or memorial⁶⁷.

In many cases, characteristics of accessibility and façade appearance alone are insufficient to make the distinction between temple and tomb. In the absence of other deciding evidence, which might not even be visible from the outside such as the presence of an actual burial (whether sarcophagus, ossuary or other means of internment), the true identity of a given structure may well be open to question. A second temple tomb at Demircili, located some distance away from that just described, by itself presents almost no distinguishing markers. Raised on a two-stepped crepis, it is a naos with Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle porch. The only possible sign that the building contains to suggest its function is a console set into the back wall of the cella at a height of 2.70 m. Unlike the narrow console of the previous tomb, large enough only to support a relatively small object, this one is approximately 2.60 m long and has been interpreted as a platform for laying out the corpse⁶⁸. But it is only the presence of a second tomb just 4 m to the east (in which the sarcophagus is preserved) that clinches the identification and establishes the area as funerary in purpose. At Saraycık in Lycia (ancient Apollonia?), a naos distyle *in antis* rests on a three-stepped crepis. One flank (that on the left hand when facing the entrance) abuts against a hill, and the slope of ground is steep enough to require the construction of a podium enabling the structure to stand on a level surface. This foundation, at least 2 m in height, is exposed at the rear of the building as well as along much of the opposite long side (that on the right hand when facing the entrance). The ground begins to rise into the hill along the front of the building, and here it seems that only the three-stepped crepis was visible⁶⁹. From this side in particular, the building looks every bit like a temple, and it is only the presence of carved reliefs on the orthostates with typical funerary motifs that belies the temple-like appearance. These reliefs continue on the right-hand side and back; the podium also contains a hyposorion. Accordingly, there is no doubt about the building's function, any more than there is question regarding what building type it sought to emulate. At Isaura (or Isaura Vetus) in Lykaonia a temple tomb is built on flat ground that makes use of only a one-stepped crepis to support a naos

⁶⁴ Ibidem 107, suggests that the arcuated façade is reminiscent of the Roman triumphal arch, and thus in combination with the temple form it demonstrates an amalgamation of Greek and Roman motifs.

⁶⁵ Ibidem 91–92 pls. 38–39 figs. 59–60. Machatschek calls the type »einfacher Grabtempel«.

⁶⁶ A. Machatschek, Die Grabtempel von Dösene im Rauhen Kilikien, in: Mélanges Mansel I (1974) 252.

⁶⁷ On the distinction between the cenotaph and memorial, see B. Frischer, Monumenta et Arae Honoris Vistutisque Causa: Evidence of Memorials for Roman Civic Heroes, BCom 88, 1982/83, 51–86.

⁶⁸ Machatschek (note 66) 253.

⁶⁹ Petersen – Luschan (note 30) 151–153, with figs. 69–72 and 67 (p. 143), who note, however, that owing to debris piled up against the front of the building, the precise reconstruction cannot be certain without excavation.

with Corinthian prostyle porch⁷⁰. Within the cella are two levels of small wall niches (to hold ossuaries?). From the outside, however, there is little if anything to distinguish the true function of the building. To the west of Isaura at Ariassos in Pisidia are temple tombs that perhaps bear the most similarities to those discovered by RCSP⁷¹. Like the tombs at Lamos and Asar Tepe, they are constructed in ashlar masonry cut from local limestone and use mortared rubble on their interior walls. The number of steps the Ariassos tombs may have varies, depending on the lay of the land. Topography also determines their orientation, and they lack any temenos or other enclosure. Their size, averaging approximately 6 by 7 m, is a little smaller than the examples at Lamos and Asar Tepe but still comparable, and among them are a number of larger tombs. They favor either gabled or arcuated façades, and like those at Lamos and Asar Tepe, the tombs at Ariassos are very restrained in their use of molded decoration⁷². This is in contrast to many of the examples already discussed here – at Isaura, Demircili, Elaiussa Sebaste, and elsewhere where elaborate Corinthian capitals and ornate moldings predominate. While the tombs at Ariassos cluster together, they are not segregated from the rest of the city, and a number appear to have been deliberately placed close to major civic buildings. Some also command dramatic views of the city. The connection between the tombs at Ariassos and those in the RCSP region is strengthened by the knowledge that masons from the city of Selge, just a few kilometers east of Ariassos, are known to have worked in western Rough Cilicia in the region of the RCSP survey⁷³.

The tomb type at Ariassos is thought to have originated directly from indigenous Anatolian tradition⁷⁴, and this would seem to be the case with the temple tombs in the RCSP survey zone as well. The two earlier (and now largely destroyed) tombs at Iotape and Selinus, and the newly recognized tombs at Lamos and Asar Tepe display influences from a variety of sources, both Hellenistic and Roman, but they make use of these sources in a fashion that has as much if not more to do with adaptation to native ideology than with capitulation to a colonial force. In their close imitation of a temple, these tombs clearly intend to elevate the rank of the deceased, to give the person something of the status normally afforded a god. And yet there is little else that is overtly religious about the tomb: no iconography to suggest appeasement of the gods, no temenos to separate the sacred from the profane, no indication of preference for the world of the hereafter over that of the here and now⁷⁵. Instead, the social status of the deceased and his or her family appears to lie at the core of the temple tomb's message. At Lamos, as well as at other sites inland, the temple tomb form is only the most elaborate and extravagant of a variety of types that may also include rock-cut tombs and freestanding sarcophagi. Thus, in conjunction with the quasi-divine status it confers upon the owner, the tomb also draws attention to his wealth and social position in the community. The accessibility of the tomb is also important. First, the incorporation of such tombs within the general area of the city proper shows an independence from the Roman law against intramural burial. Second, ignoring such an interdiction further underscores the tombs' relative lack of religious import. Third, placement within the city itself raises the visibility of the tombs and hence their daily impact on social relations in the community.

⁷⁰ Swoboda – Keil – Knoll (note 60) 139–142 figs. 69–72.

⁷¹ See Cormack (note 33) 1–25, and S. Cormack, A Mausoleum at Ariassos, Pisidia, *AnatSt* 39, 1989, 31–40, for a study of the tombs at Ariassos.

⁷² Note in this regard the unusual feature of consoles on the front face of *antae* on temple tombs at both Ariassos and Lamos (see above with note 33). Although common on the columns of colonnaded streets, the console is not often found in such a prominent location in tombs.

⁷³ Bean – Mitford (note 5:1970) 177–179. They suggest that the time during which the Selgians first came to the area was in the reign of Vespasian. The chronological evidence is slim, however. Moreover, the tradition of Selgian masons working in the mountainous areas of western Rough Cilicia could well have continued for some time.

⁷⁴ Cormack (note 33) 25.

⁷⁵ Cormack (note 52) 151 notes this tendency elsewhere in the tomb architecture of south and southwestern Asia Minor.

Such burial fashion had deep roots in the Hellenistic tradition of Asia Minor, extending far back to the beginning of the period with the development of heroa, funerary structures of social elites that were more honorific, even glorifying, than religious. These were often erected within the inhabited quarter of the city in order to help focus attention on the civic virtues of the deceased. Even though intramural burial *per se* was frowned upon in the Roman west, family and birthright certainly had a long history there as well and was an important part of the social fabric. Nevertheless, it is misleading to assume that its manifestation in the east was simply ‘romanization’ in the conventional sense of local cultures uncritically absorbing and adopting Roman ideas and ideals⁷⁶ any more than ‘hellenization’ had been for Greek views in the period following the conquest of Alexander the Great. In the case of Rough Cilicia, perhaps especially in the isolated area RCSP has studied, a semi-peripheral region that is neither urban center nor farthest frontier exhibited a complex relationship to Roman rule as well as to an even older Hellenistic past. The recognition of two distinct types of monumental tomb architecture in the RCSP region, the temple tomb and the ‘Grabhaus’, suggests the possibility that the difference may be more than just one of style but also may reflect social and/or ethnic distinctions. The ‘Grabhaus’, utilizing techniques of strong Italian character, is restricted to the coastal cities where Roman presence was more dominant. The temple tomb, making conscious use of more Hellenistic techniques, may be more commonly associated with the native peoples who originated inland⁷⁷. This was the area of the Luwians, an indigenous population of various tribes that together were called Isaurian and who had their own lineage system that was meant to establish and maintain a strong hierarchical social order of its own⁷⁸. There will be no black and white line drawn between the two types of tombs, of course, anymore than the Luwians and Romans themselves would have kept entirely separate from each other. Nevertheless, by consciously selecting the temple tomb design as a sign of elite status, and by burying their dead within the city limits, the Luwians helped to demonstrate their own cultural identity and reinforce their social presence through deliberate choice and traditional native practice.

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⁷⁶ Cormack (note 52) *passim* discusses this more nuanced notion of Roman influence in terms of funerary monuments and practices in Asia Minor generally; and A. Schmidt-Colinet in: Alcock (note 53) 157–177, demonstrates its application to the tomb architecture of Roman Palmyra.

⁷⁷ To the temple tombs found inland that are discussed here may be added another, at the site of Kene Tepe, discovered by RCSP in the summer of 2003.

⁷⁸ N. Rauh, *Merchants, Sailors, and Pirates in the Roman World* (2003) 182–185. The authors would like to thank Professor Rauh for his helpful comments on this paper. Even more, we are indebted to him for his undefatigable leadership of RCSP for the eight consecutive seasons of fieldwork conducted since 1996. We are further grateful to the National Science Foundation for its support, as well as our home institutions, Clark University (R. F. Townsend) and the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (M. C. Hoff). We wish also to express our gratitude to the Turkish Ministry of Culture with whose kind permission and under whose auspices RCSP has been carried out.